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ON

# Y ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

# SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON PERIOD TO THE EXISTING RECEIVED AND DIALECTAL FORMS, WITH A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING

A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHAUCER AND GOWER, REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521, ABSTRACTS OF SCHMELLER'S TREATISE ON BAVARIAN DIALECTS, AND WINKLER'S LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON, AND PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY

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## PART V.

[pp. 1*–88*, 1433–2267.]

EXISTING DIALECTAL AS COMPARED WITH WEST SAXON PRONUNCIATION.

*With two Maps of the Dialect Districts.*

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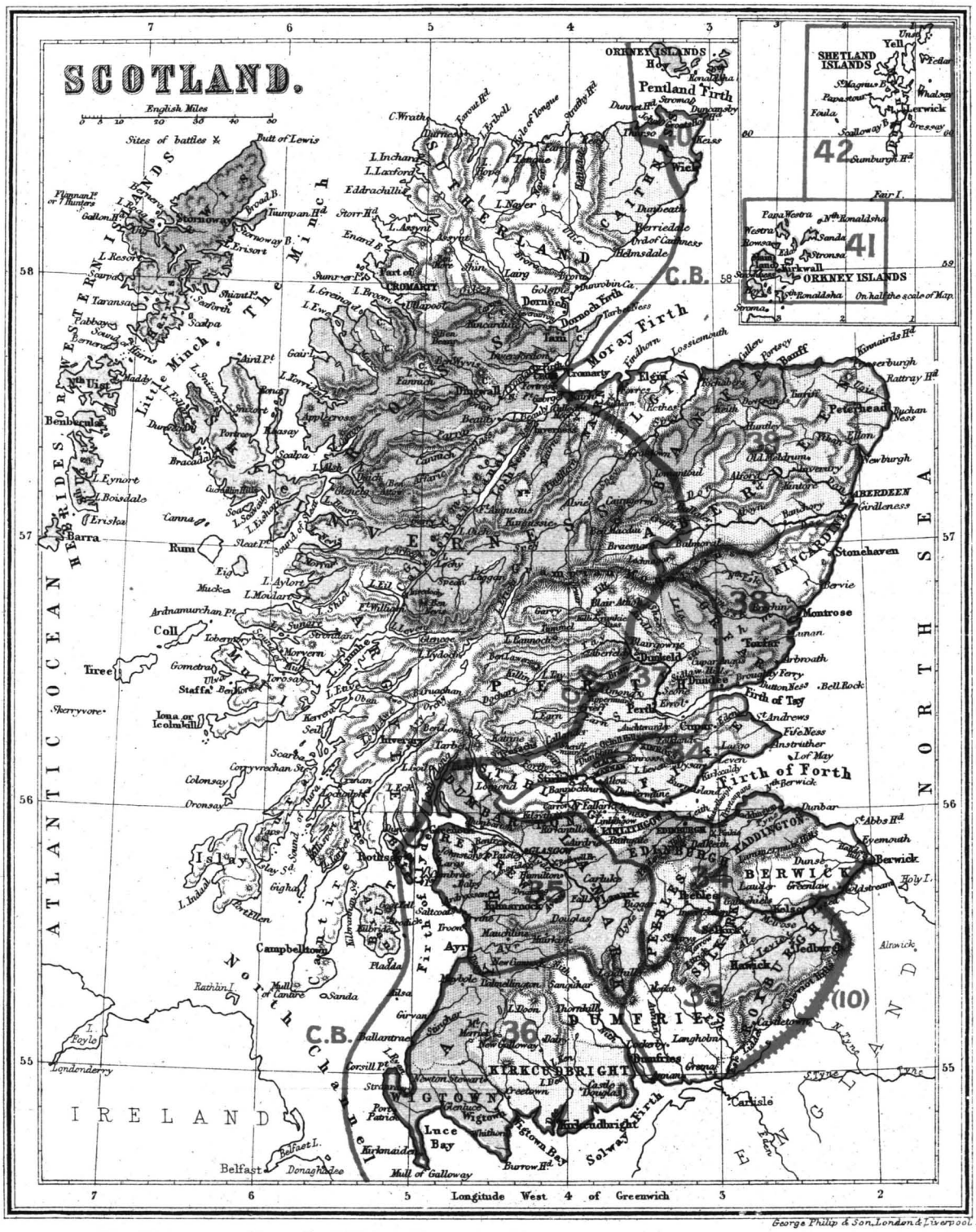
# LOWLAND DIALECT DISTRICTS, by J. A. H. Murray & A. J. Ellis.




*To illustrate Alex. J. Ellis's* "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS," *and* "ENGLISH DIALECTS—THEIR SOUNDS AND HOMES."

George Philip & Son, London & Liverpool.

# ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, by Alexander J. Ellis, 1887.

*To illustrate Alex. J. Ellis's* "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS," *and* "ENGLISH DIALECTS—THEIR SOUNDS AND HOMES."

THE

# EXISTING PHONOLOGY

OF

# ENGLISH DIALECTS

## COMPARED WITH THAT OF WEST SAXON SPEECH.

FORMING PART V. OF "EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION."

# ERRATA.

p. 20, l. 20, *read* or *t'*.
p. 32, l. 5, *read* La ($u_o$).
,, dt. par. 1, *read* ʊba'ut dat.
p. 37, l. 19 from bottom, under *Do.*, *for* *Blandford *read* *Cranborne.
p. 45, par. 6, last word, *read* æks)ʊr.
p. 47, note 6, first line, *read* the (d).
p. 57, line 3 from bottom, No. 904, *read* vdýlɛt.
p. 58, line 3, *read* 923*.
p. 65, par. 0, l. 8, *for* Potter *read* Trotter.
,, par. 10, l. 3, *read* but (win·ikʊn).
p. 66, l. 1 and 2, *for* Potter, *read* Trotter.
p. 80, East Dorset cwl., l. 2, *read* Cranborne, and l. 5 *dele* and.
p. 85, joke on (ɑtj) last line, *read* ʊd)ʊ)a·d.
p. 94, l. 10, *read* — L (m$u_o$ni).
p. 109, l. 6, *read* Miss M. A. Firth.
p. 111. *Authorities*, *Np.* *add* †Daventry, †Farthinghoe, †Helmdon, †Long Buckley, †Silverstone, °Slapton, †Syersham, †Towcester, †Watford, †Weedon, †Wood Burcote, †Woodford.
p. 113, paragraph B, line 1, *read* a nonagenarian widow about 94; line M, *read* Malvern Wells.
p. 114, l. 30, *read* Claverdon, Wa. (5 w. Warwick).
p. 129, l. 15 from bottom, *read* may have possibly.
p. 131, l. 4, *read* Pasingworth.
,, l. 6, *read* °Shadoxhurst.
p. 133, dt. par. 3, *read* ʊ)dɛ rɔq.
p. 136, last line but one, *read* Rev. J. W. Rumny.
p. 140, No. 422, *read* 'vomited.'
p. 157, l. 9, *read* Mr. Shelly's
p. 162, No. 646, *read* bɔ'y$_1$$^5$.
p. 163, l. 2, *read* mɛɛ'k)'n.
p. 175, *Area*, l. 2, *after* Br., *add* outlying parts of Wo.
p. 183, l. 2 from bottom, *read* drə'*u*ndid.
p. 186, No. 702, *read* uth.
p. 194, line B, *read* Chackmore, *and line* T, *read* Tyrringham.
p. 199, line S, *read* n-by-w.
p. 201, *for* 125 oni, *read* 194 oni.
p. 217, l. 23, *read* H. F. Tollemache.
p. 222, l. 31, *read* degradation.
p. 225, l. 6, *read* dɛ''*u*n.
p. 235, l. 3, *read* Henley-on-Thames in *Ox.* and l. 4, *read* Penn, *Bu.* (3 e-by-n. High Wycombe).

p. 248, note, col. 2, lines 1 and 2, *read* plêis, meed.
p. 249, l. 10, *read* 10 s.
p. 253, note, col. 2, l. 1, *read* of which Li. has ($u_1$) and Nf. ($u_0$).
p. 255, l. 4, *read* — Pt.; *notes*, col. 2, l. 1, *read* was also.
p. 278, l. 1, *read* s.Nf.
p. 279, l. 3, *read* Tuddenham.
p. 315. *Boundaries*, l. 5, *read* Featherbed; l. 7, *read* Mam Tor, *and Authorities*, *Ch.* l. 2, *read* Tintwistle; *La.* l. 2, *read* Royton.
p. 332, under *Leyland*, *for* 1887 *read* 1877.
p. 345, under *Chorley*, *read* 10 nw.Bolton.
p. 347, No. 222, *add at end*, or from old Fr. *hure*, head of a man or an animal, especially a shaggy boar's head.
p. 352, l. 11 from bottom, and *Authorities*, *La.* l. 2, *read* Goosnargh.
p. 354, col. 2, l. 9 from bottom, *read* dɪʊr)ʊ.
pp. 360, 361, 362, and 363, *read* Lezayre.
p. 362, notes to Lezayre dt., par. 1, *read* or (ʊbɜ'ʊt).
p. 363, l. 3 from bottom, *read* — P pɛrikʊt.
p. 375, l. 10 from bottom, 13. vii, *read* noon, *corrected* on p. 405, notes, par. 13.
p. 387, l. 12, last word, *read* Bradley.
p. 409, l. *Authorities*, *St.*, l. 2, *after* Longport *insert* †Longton.
p. 421, West and South Cheshire cwl., l. 1, *dele* Churton.
p. 425, l. 8 from bottom, *read* Db.
p. 435, l. 4, *add* ,, *under* t', and in lines 12 and 13 from bottom, that is, in Nos. 4 and 5, *transpose* A *and the* ,, *above it.*
p. 436, par. 15, Nos. 1 and 3, *read* tɜ'ʊd, fɜ'ʊl.
p. 442, No. 39, *read* kjɜ'ʊm.
p. 443, par. I-, l. 1, *read* — B gji.
p. 445, l. B, *for* 3 e. *read* 6 e.
p. 447, last line, *read* reen.
p. 449, l. 2, *for* 71, *read* 76.
p. 472, l. 8, after *Coalbrookdale* for *St.* read *Sh.*
p. 524, No. 331, *read* final (t).
p. 529, l. 2, *insert* J. *after* Rev.
p. 567, l. 4 from bottom, *read* vare.
p. 572, l. 4, *read* itsɛl'.
p. 606, l. 7 from bottom to No. 49, *add* —.
p. 607, in par. xl, l. 7, second No. 0, *add* —
p. 718, under U: *for* snɛb *read* sneb.
p. 738, note 46, last number, *read* 153.
p. 747, line 1, *read* 12 sw.
p. 748, in title, and l. 1 of poem, *for* Grey *read* Gray.
p. 755, l. 5 from bottom, read *Kc.*
p. 824, last line but one of small print, *read* of I, Y,

In the Consonantal Index there are a few evident displacements, and the following misprints, *read* under G- 13 gnagan, under SC- 220 scæphirðe, under -T- cetel, under -W 371 streáw. Omit 90 bláwan under -Ð.

There are possibly many other slight errors which have escaped observation. For the comparative correctness of a text of such great complexity as the present, I am much indebted to the vigilance of the printer's reader, Mr. Wood, who also read the four preceding Parts, and, in many districts, the scrupulous care of Mr. T. Hallam.

A. J. E.

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Var. iv. Bradford, 388–394. Introd. 388. Windhill dt. 389. Calverley dt. 390. Notes to Bradford cs. 390. Bradford and Windhill cwl. 391.
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Var. vi. Dewsbury, 402. Barnsley dt. 403. Notes to Dewsbury cs. 404.
Var. vii. Rotherham and surrounding villages, 404. Notes to Rotherham cs. 404
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Var. ix. Doncaster, 405. Doncaster cwl. 406–408.

D 25=w.MM.=western Mid Midland, 408–424.

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Phonetic Version of Ruth, chap. i., p. 698, No. 4.

D 26=e.MM.=eastern Mid Midland, 424–447.

Introd. 424. Eight Interlinear Derbyshire cs. from 1 Bradwell, 2 Taddington, 3 Ashford, 4 Winster, 5 and 6 Ashbourne (two), 7 Brampton, 8 Repton, 426–438. Seven Interlinear Derbyshire and east Staffordshire dt. from 1 Eckington, 2 Barlborough, 3 Bolsover, 4 South Wingfield, 5 West Hallam, 6 Brailsford, 7 Flash, St., 438–441. Further Examples, all observed by TH. from 1. Middleton-by-Wirksworth, 2. Wirksworth, 3. Idridgehay, 4. Flash, 5. Alstonefield, 6. Hartington, 7. Bolsover, 441–442.

Var. i. Northern South Peak cwl. 442.
Var. ii. Western Derbyshire and East Staffordshire cwl. 444.
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Var. iv. Southern Derbyshire cwl. 446.

D 27=EM.=East Midland, 447–451.

Introd. 447. Nottinghamshire dt. 448. Other Examples dictated to TH. at Bingham and Mansfield, 449. Fragments of two Bingham cs. 449. Nt. cwl. 450.

D 28=w.SM.=western South Midland, 451–459.

Introd. 451. Four Interlinear dt. from 1. Ellesmere, 2. Whixall, 3. Hanmer, 4. Farndon, 452–454.

Var. i. North Shropshire cwl. 455.
Var. ii. Detached Flint cwl. 456.
Var. iii. South Cheshire cwl. 457.
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D 29=e.SM.=eastern South Midland, 459–493.

Introd. 459–463. Forms of negatives, 461. Table of varieties, 462. Five Interlinear cs. from 1. Cannock Chase, 2. Dudley, 3. Atherstone, 4. Waltham, 5. Enderby variants, 463–471. Eight Interlinear dt. from 1. Edgmond, Sh., 2. Eccleshall, St., 3. Burton-on-Trent, St., 4. Lichfield, St., 5. Wellington, Sh., 6. Coalbrookdale, Sh., 7. Darlaston, St., 8. Belgrave, Le., 471–476. Additional Illustrations from Market Drayton, Sh., Edgmond, Sh., Eccleshall, St., Haughton, St., Burton-on-Trent, St., Barton-under-Needwood, St., Darlaston, St., Walsall, St., 476–478.

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Var. iii*a*. East Warwickshire cwl. 487.—Var. iii*b*. West Warwickshire cwl. 488.
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V. The Northern Division of English Dialect Districts, 494–680.

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D 30=EN.=East Northern, 495–537.

Introd. 495. Variations described, 497. Market Weighton and Marshland contrasted, 497. Ten Interlinear cs. from 1. Mid Yo., 2. South Ainsty, 3. North Mid Yo., 4. New Malton, 5. Lower Nidderdale, 6. Washburn River, 7. South Cleveland, 8. North-East Coast, 9. Market Weighton, 10. Holderness. Introd. 499–502. Text, 502–513. Notes, 513–519. Four Interlinear dt. from 1. Danby, 2. Skelton, 3. Whitby, 4. The Moors,

with notes, 519–521. Three Interlinear dt. for South-East Yorkshire, viz. 1 East Holderness, 2 Sutton, 3 Goole, 522.

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Var. ii. North-East Yorkshire cwl. 527–528.
Var. iii*a*. Market Weighton cwl. 529–532.
Var. iii*b*. Holderness and Var. iv. Snaith cwl. 532–537.

D 31=WN.=West Northern, 537–637.

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VI. THE LOWLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, BEING CHIEFLY THOSE LYING IN SCOTLAND, 681–820.

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D 33 = SL. = South Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties*, 709–723.

Introd. 709. Phonetics, 710–712. Unaccented syllables, 712. Bewcastle cs. 682, 684. Hawick cs. 682, 684. Teviotdale Ruth, chap. i. 698. Melville Bell's Teviotdale sentences, 714. Dr. Murray's arrangement of the Scotch Hundredth Psalm, 715. Hawick cwl. 716–721. Liddesdale Head cwl. 721–723.

D 34 = e.ML. = eastern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Lothian and Fife*, 723–728.

Introd. 723. Melville Bell's Lothian sentences, 724; his Fife sentences, 725; and Lothian and Fife numerals, 726. Chirnside dt. 726. Mid Lothian cwl. 726.

D 35 = w.ML. = western Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Clydesdale*, 728–747.

Introd. 728. Melville Bell's Clydesdale sentences, 730. Kyle, Ay., dt. 731.
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D 36 = s.ML. = southern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Galloway and Carrick*, 747–751.

Introd. 747. Phonetic transcription of Burns's *Duncan Grey*, 748. Southern Mid Lowland cwl. 749.

D 37 = n.ML. = northern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Highland Border*, 751–755.

Introd. 751. North-West Fifeshire dt. 752. Neighbourhood of Perth dt. 753; ditto cwl. including words from *Enga*, 753.

D 38, 39, 40 = NL. = north Lowland = Dr. Murray's *North Eastern Group*, 755.

D 38 = s.NL. = southern North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Angus*, 755–763.

Introd. 755. Arbroath cs. 684. Two Interlinear dt. from 1 Dundee, and 2 Glenfarquhar, 758. Dundee Miscellaneous Notes and Phrases, 759. Notes to Glenfarquhar dt. 759; ditto to Dundee dt. 760. Glenfarquhar cwl. 760–763.

D 39 = m.NL. = mid North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Moray and Aberdeen*, 763–785.

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D 40=n.NL.=northern North Lowland=Dr. Murray's *Caithness*, 786–788.

Introd. 786. Wick cs. 683, No. 7. Wick cwl. 787.

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D 41=s.IL.=southern Insular Lowland, 790–814.

Introd. 790. Mr. Dennison's PAETY TORAL'S TRAVELLYE pal. and translated, 791–798; annotated, 798–802. JOHN GILPIN translated into the oldest existing form of Orkney by Mr. Dennison, 802–809; annotated, 810. Orkney cwl. 812–814.

D 42=n.IL.=northern Insular Lowland, 814–820.

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# NOTICE.

After fourteen years' delay I am at last able to produce Part V. of my *Early English Pronunciation*, containing the relation of the present to the past pronunciation of our language as exhibited in "The Existing Phonology of the English Dialects." A glance at the Table of Contents, the Alphabetical County List, p. 32*, and the Alphabetical List of Informants, p. 67*, will I trust sufficiently explain the cause of the delay. The work I found myself involved in was far greater than I had contemplated, and the difficulty of obtaining intelligible information on which reliance could be placed far exceeded my anticipations. The list of Informants will shew how large a number of persons came forward to help me. It will also shew that I am more especially indebted to a very few of these, whom I have mentioned on pp. 4 and 5, and far the foremost among them as regards the number of places from which information was obtained (over 500), accuracy of report in the system of notation here adopted, trustworthiness of detail and length of time during which he worked, was Mr. Thomas Hallam, of Manchester. Without his unflagging diligence, and his many excursions to gain phonetic knowledge during nearly twenty years, the account I have been able to give of the Midland Division and its adjacent regions would have been very deficient, instead of presenting remarkable fullness of detail. Next in order, and though far inferior in the number of places, in no respect inferior in the importance of his contributions, and in correctness of detail obtained by extraordinary diligence, was Mr. J. G. Goodchild, whose work in D 31, comprising Cumberland, Westmorland, and North-west of Yorkshire, leaves scarcely anything to be desired in minute accuracy and repeated careful verification.

I have endeavoured in the lists of 1145 places from which, and 811 persons from whom, I obtained information and assistance, to specify every case, but I cannot hope to have been perfectly successful. To every one, however, named and unnamed, and especially to the natives themselves, from whom the information was ultimately obtained, but whose names are only occasionally mentioned, I tender my grateful thanks. To them is

due the value of the present volume as an authentic document, for future philologists to consult.

Finally I have sincerely to thank the three Societies—the Philological Society, the Early English Text Society, and the Chaucer Society—and in connection with them Dr. F. J. Furnivall, the indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the first and Director of the other two, and of other literary societies, who is so well known by his labours in Early English, for enabling me to print and publish these researches. The extent and the consequent expense of my work have greatly exceeded my anticipations. I have in every instance studied brevity and compression, and I believe the results could not have been legibly printed in smaller space, while it seemed important in the interests of philology generally, and English philology in particular, to secure the information obtained, which is becoming rapidly irreplaceable. It might perhaps have been possible with a few years more work to reduce the bulk of this volume, but considering that I was 75 on 14 June, 1889, I did not think it safe to delay. If however health and strength allow, there will be a brief Part VI. containing a summary of the whole work, a consideration of the observations of other scholars, and an index of such matters as have not been otherwise indexed.

In conclusion, I add some dates concerning my *Early English Pronunciation*, of which the present investigation forms a part, as I wish to preserve them in connection with an undertaking that has occupied me for so many years.

1848, June, first attempt at writing dialectal pronunciation from dictation, being *Duncan Gray*, p. 748.

1859, Feb. 14, on this (Valentine's) day I discovered in the British Museum Salesbury's "Dictionary in Englyſhe and Welſh—wherevnto is p*re*fixed a little treatyſe of the englyſhe pronu*n*ciacion of the letters," 1547, which was the origin of my paper in 1867, and hence of the whole of my work on *Early English Pronunciation* (E. E. P.) and the present inquiry into dialectal phonology. See III. 743-794.

1866, Dec. Paper on "Palaeotype, or the representation of Spoken Sounds for philological purposes by means of the Ancient Types," to the Philological Society (Ph. S.). This was the alphabet which made my E. E. P. and investigations of Dialectal Phonology possible, as no new types were required.

1867, Feb. Paper to Ph. S. on the Pronunciation of English in the xvi th century, the foundation of my E. E. P.—Oct. Began the MS. of E. E. P.

1868, Aug. First dialectal information for this book written from dictation at Norwich, pp. 275-7.

1869, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part I. For dialectal collections, see I. 277 and 291. — Aug. Publication of E. E. P., Part II.

1870, April. Paper on Glossic to the Ph. S., printed entirely in Glossic in the Transactions, with Key to Universal Glossic. This is the Alphabet in my *English Dialects —their Sounds and Homes*, for the English Dialect Society, and it has been used in many of that Society's publications.

1871, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part III., with a *Notice* starting my systematic enquiry into the Pronunciation of English Dialects, and giving a table of "presumed Varieties of English pronunciation." In a reprint of

this, widely circulated, containing a Key to Glossic, and called "Varieties of English Pronunciation," I suggested the formation of an *English Dialect Society*, which has subsequently done good work.

1872, April and May. Papers on Diphthongs to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.

1873, Feb. Paper on Accent and Emphasis to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—May, Paper on Final E to the Ph. S., to form part of E. E. P., Part VI.—Sept. First edition of the Comparative Specimen (cs.), p. 7*, used for collecting information on dialectal pronunciation. Of this I have printed below 104 translations.

1874, Jan. Paper on Physical Theory of Aspiration to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—March. Paper on Vowel Changes in English Dialects to the Ph. S.—Dec. Publication of E. E. P., Part IV.

1875, March. Paper on the classification of the English Dialects to the Ph. S.—June, second edition of cs.

1876, March. Lecture on Dialects to the London Institution, when my first large Dialectal Map was drawn and shewn, leaving a blank from the Wash to Sussex.—July to Sept. Going over the whole of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's Dialect Library, and making extracts for this work.—Dec. The London Institution Lecture repeated at Norwood. These lectures were most important preliminary work for the investigation.

1877, Mar. Paper on Dialectal Phonology to the Ph. S.—Oct. Issue of my original Word-Lists (wl.) suggested by the last paper. Of this I have printed below 112 rearrangements as a cwl. or classified word list.—Nov. and Dec. Obtaining dialectal information at Whitelands Training College.

1879, Jan. Two lectures on Dialects at Newcastle-on-Tyne, with the large map reconstituted and gaps filled in, whence I got much information for N. div.—Feb. Issue of my Dialect Test. Of this I have printed below 116 translations.—April and May. Two reports to the Ph. S. on the state of my investigations.

1880, Oct. Lecture on "English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes," to Working Men's College.

1880, Dec. Paper on Dialects of South of England to Ph. S.

1881, June. Obtaining supplementary dialectal information from Whitelands Training College.

1882, April. Paper on the Dialects of Midland and Eastern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Paper on the "Delimitation of English and Welsh" (that is, the present Celtic Border, p. 12) to the Cymrodorion Society.

1883, March. Paper on the Dialects of the Northern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Repeat Lecture on "English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes," to the College for Men and Women.—Nov. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Mainland) to the Ph. S.

1884, April. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Insular) and of the Isle of Man to the Ph. S.

1885, May. A Report to the Ph. S. on the Dialectal Work I had done since 19 Nov. 1883.

1886, May. First (published) Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.

1887, May. Second (published) Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.—Nov. First proofs of this Part V. received, the first draft having been completed.

1888, May. Short report to the Ph. S. on the state of the work.

1889, May. Final report to the Ph. S. announcing the practical completion of Part V. at press.—June. Last proof of Part V. received.

To account for some of the delays and gaps I may mention that in 1874, April, I wrote my treatise on *Algebra identified with Geometry*, and in June, my treatise on the *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, and that in 1875, June, I published the first edition of my translation of Helmholtz on the *Sensations of Tone*; in 1876 my tract on the *English, Dionysian and Hellenic Pronunciations of Greek*, and in 1881

two papers on the *Computation of Logarithms* for the Royal Society (Proceedings, vol. 31, pp. 381–413); in 1880, Mar., my laborious *History of Musical Pitch* for the Society of Arts; in 1885, April, my account of the *Musical Scales of Various Nations*, also for the Society of Arts, and in July the second edition of my translation of Helmholtz, all works requiring much preparation and often lengthy investigations, and hence greatly interfering with other work. I had also five Presidential Addresses to prepare for the Ph. S. and deliver in 1872, 1873, 1874, 1881, and 1882, each of them occupying much time, and three of them involving considerable correspondence.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS,

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.
15 *June*, 1889.

# PRELIMINARY MATTER.

I. The Relation of this Treatise to Preceding Chapters.

II. Key to the Maps, and List of the principal Abbreviations used.

III. Comparative Specimen (cs.).

IV. Dialect Test (dt.) and Notes.

V. Classified Word List (cwl.). With Index.

VI. Alphabetical County List.

VII. Alphabetical Informants List, and Index to all the Names of Persons mentioned in this Treatise.

VIII. Table of Dialectal Palaeotype.

# I. NOTE ON THE RELATION OF THIS TREATISE TO PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, Part V, Chapter XI. continued. § 3. *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects.*

The above gives the true relation of the present investigation, forming Part V. of my 'Early English Pronunciation,' to the four preceding parts.

In 1874, when the portion of Chapter XI. § 2, *Natural English Pronunciation*, contained in Part IV. pp. 1243–1432, was printed, it was intended to include in it the present § 3. But my subsequent labours have resulted in such a development of the whole subject that what was originally meant to be merely a brief illustration, occupying only 30 pages of manuscript in the original draft of my Early English Pronunciation, made in 1867, before any part was printed, has become a substantive and unexpectedly complete treatise, which must therefore bear a separate title.

This again has conditioned many changes. In Part IV. § 2, No. 3, p. 1248, I gave a sketch of the proposed arrangement of § 2, which in 1874 had already much increased in extent and character from the jejune table of contents of Chapter XI. prefixed to Part I. This whole arrangement, and hence also the allusions to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's versions of the Song of Solomon, p. 1246 *c*, and p. 1374 *a*, must be considered as cancelled. The versions of the Song of Solomon published by the Prince, and written by the best authorities he could procure, were admirable when made, as opening out the whole question of English Dialects in a comparative form ; but when I endeavoured to utilise them for the present investigation, I found it impossible to determine the pronunciation from the orthography with any approach to the necessary accuracy, and hence I have been reluctantly compelled to pass them by altogether.

The Dialectal Alphabet, § 2, No. 3, Part IV. pp. 1252–1265, was also premature. This section is practically superseded 1) by the new table of Dialectal Palaeotype, that is, the modification of palaeotype which the experience of dialectal work has shewn to be necessary, with little or no reference to foreign languages, which will be given at the end of this preliminary matter, and 2) by the table of Approximative Glossic prefixed to my abridgment of this treatise, made for the English Dialect Society, and called *English Dialects,—their Sounds and Homes;* in which Glossic is used as an approximate representation of dialectal sounds sufficient for readers, who, not having made a study of phonetics, are contented with general conceptions, instead of the scientific accuracy aimed at in palaeotype.

Even the section on Vowel Fractures and Junctures, Part IV., pp. 1307–1317, although mostly sound, requires slight modification after my subsequent far wider experience, as will appear in detail hereafter.

Hence I erect Part V. into an independent treatise, under its own separate title, "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS."

## II. KEY TO THE MAPS OF THE ENGLISH AND LOWLAND DIALECT DISTRICTS, AND LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.

The MAPS themselves are loose, and kept in pockets in the cover, for greater ease of reference.

The BOUNDING LINES OF THE DISTRICTS are drawn in red over Philip & Son's convenient little maps, but on account of the smallness of the scales (that of England being about 57 miles to the inch, and that of Scotland about 42 miles to the inch), the boundaries could be only roughly laid down. They had been, however, all previously traced out on maps of 4 miles to the inch, and will hereafter be indicated in words as accurately as the information hitherto obtained allows.

The COUNTRY CONSIDERED lies east and south of the CELTIC BORDER marked CB, commencing in Ireland, and passing through Wales and Scotland.

The six principal DIVISIONS, Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern and Lowland, are bounded by thick lines, and, being sufficiently indicated by these positional names, are, to prevent overloading the maps, not further marked.

The forty-two DISTRICTS, in each of which a sensible similarity of pronunciation prevails, are bounded by continuous lines, numbered with bold figures, in the order in which they will be treated, and are named positionally in the following list.

VARIETIES, or parts of Districts separately considered, are not entered on the map, but are numbered with small Roman numerals, named and roughly located on the next two pages.

The CHARACTERS, principally phonetic, by which Districts and Varieties are distinguished, are fully detailed and illustrated in the following pages.

The TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, passing from sea to sea, and limiting certain dialectal usages, are represented on the map by broken lines, which, when the Transverse Lines coincide during any part of their length with the boundaries of Divisions or Districts, are expressed by small cross-lines. The Transverse Lines are numbered with small figures in ( ), and when two or more of them are partially coincident with one another, all the corresponding numbers are annexed as (1. 2), (4. 5), (8. 9. 10).

The names of these ten lines are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) the north *sum*. | (6) the south *hoose*. |
| (2) the south *sŏŏm*. | (7) the north *tee*. |
| (3) the reverted *ur*. | (8) the south *sum*. |
| (4) the south *teeth*. | (9) the north *sŏŏm*. |
| (5) the north *theeth*. | (10) the south Lowland. |

The meaning of these names is fully explained in a special section below.

### Abbreviations used in the following List.

B, b. Border.
C Celtic.
D District.
Div. Division.
E, e. East-ern.
I Insular.
L Lowland (Scotch).
M, m. Mid, Midland.
N, n. North-ern.
S, s. South-ern.
V Variety.
W, w. West-ern.

### Two-letter Abbreviations of Names of Counties considered.

Ab. Aberdeenshire.
Ar. Argyll.
Ay. Ayr.
Ba. Banff.
Bd. Bedford.
Be. Berks.
Br. Brecknock.
Bt. Bute.
Bu. Bucks.
Bw. Berwickshire.
Cb. Cambridge.
Cc. Clackmannan.
Cd. Cardigan.
Ch. Cheshire.
Co. Cornwall.
Cr. Cromarty.
Cs. Caithness.
Cu. Cumberland.
Db. Derby.
Df. Dumfries.
Dm. Dumbarton.
Dn. Denbigh.
Do. Dorset.
Du. Durham.
Dv. Devon.
Ed. Edinburghshire.
El. Elgin.
ER. East Riding of Yo.
Es. Essex.
Fi. Fife.
Fl. Flint.
Fo. Forfar.
Gl. Gloucester.
Gm. Glamorgan.
Ha. Hampshire.
Hd. Haddingtonshire.
He. Hereford.
Ht. Hertford.
Hu. Huntingdon.
Kb. Kircudbright.
Kc. Kincardine.
Ke. Kent.
Kr. Kinross.
La. Lancashire.
Le. Leicester.
Li. Lincoln.
Lk. Lanark.
Ll. Linlithgow.
Ma. Isle of Man.
Mg. Montgomery.
Mi. Middlesex.
Mo. Monmouth.
My. Moray.
Na. Nairn.
Nb. Northumberland.
Nf. Norfolk.
Np. Northampton.
NR. North Riding of Yo.
Nt. Nottingham.
Or. Orkney Isles.
Ox. Oxford.
Pb. Peebles.
Pm. Pembroke.
Pr. Perth.
Rd. Radnor.
Rf. Renfrew.
Rt. Rutland.
Rx. Roxburghshire.
Sc. Scilly Isles.
Sd. Shetland Isles.
Se. Selkirk.
Sf. Suffolk.
Sg. Stirling.
Sh. Shropshire.
Sm. Somerset.
Sr. Surrey.
Ss. Sussex.
St. Stafford.
Wa. Warwick.
We. Westmorland.
Wg. Wigtonshire.
Wi. Isle of Wight.
Wl. Wiltshire.
Wo. Worcester.
Wx. Wexford.
WR. West Riding of Yo.
Yo. Yorkshire.

### List of Divisions, Districts and Varieties, with their Names.

#### I. S. Div.

D 1 to 12.

**D 1. w.CS.**
That is, S on C ground, shewn on the map by the CB pointing to 1 in margin, representing the position of the se. of Wx. in Ireland, opposite Aberystwith Cd. Dialect in existence a century ago, but now extinct.

**D 2. m.CS.**
In sw. Pm.

**D 3. e.CS.**
In sw. Gm.

**D 4. w.MS.**
V i. Wl.
ii. Gl.
iii. e.He.
iv. Do.
v. Utchland.
Merriott, Montacute, and about a dozen villages between the railways w. of Yeovil Sm., where the personal pronoun I is called *utch*.
vi. n. and e. Sm.

**D 5. e.MS.**
V i. Ox.
ii. Be.
iii. Ha. and Wi.
iv. s.Sr. and w.Ss.

**D 6. n.BS.**
V i. Wo.
ii. s.Wa.
iii. Banbury.
iv. sw.Np.

**D 7. m.BS.**
In m. and s. Ox.

**D 8. s.BS.**
Containing s. London and suburbs in Be. Sr. and ne.Ke.

**D 9. ES.**
V i. e.Ss.
ii. n.Ke.
iii. e.Ke.

**D 10. n.WS.**
In w.Sm. and ne.Dv.

**D 11. s.WS.**
V i. n.Dv.
ii. s.Dv.
iii. e.Co.

**D 12. w.WS.**
In w.Co. and Sc., modern, varied, not dialects proper.

#### II. W. Div.

D 13 and 14.

D 13. SW.
In Mo. He. Rd. and s.Sh.
D 14. NW.
In m. and se.Sh.

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III. E. Div.
D 15 to 19.
D 15. WE.
In m. and n.Bu.
D 16. ME.
V i. Ht.
ii. Bd.
iii. Hu.
iv. m.Np.
v. Es.
D 17. SE.
Containing n. London and suburbs in Bu. Mi. and Es.
D 18. NE.
V i. Cb.
ii. ne.Np.
iii. Rt.
D 19. EE.
V i. nw.Nf.
ii. ne.Nf.
iii. s.Nf.
iv. e.Sf.
v. w.Sf.

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IV. M. Div.
D 20 to 29.
D 20. BM.
The whole co. of Li.
V i. s.Li.
ii. m.Li.
iii. n.Li.
D 21. s.NM.
V i. se.La.
ii. nw and n. Peak of Db.
D 22. w.NM.
V i. Ormskirk.
ii. Bolton and Wigan.
iii. Chorley & Leyland.
iv. Blackburn.
v. Burnley.
vi. Old Colne Valley.
D 23. n.NM.
V i. The Fylde in m.La.
ii. Ma.
D 24. e.NM.
Mostly in WR.
V i. Huddersfield.
ii. Halifax.
iii. Keighley.
iv. Bradford.
v. Leeds.
vi. Dewsbury.
vii. Rotherham.
viii. Sheffield.
ix. Doncaster.
D 25. w.MM.
V i. e.Ch.
ii. m.Ch.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. n.St.
D 26. e.MM.
V i. s.Peak of Db.
ii. w.Db.
iii. e.Db.
iv. s.Db.
D 27. EM.
The whole co. of Nt.
D 28. w.SM.
V i. nw.Sh.
ii. detached or English Fl.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. Dn. and se. of main or Welch Fl.
D 29. e.SM.
V i*a*. ne.Sh. and nm.St.
*b*. wm.St.
*c*. em.St.
ii*a*. me. and s.Sh.
*b*. s.St.
*c*. n.Wo.
iii*a*. e.Wa.
*b*. w.Wa.
iv. Le.

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V. N. Div.
D 30 to 32.
D 30. EN.
Mostly in NR. and ER.
V i*a*. m.Yo.
*b*. York Ainsty.
*c*. Northallerton.
*d*. New Malton.
*e*. Pateley Bridge.
*f*. Washburn River.
ii*a*. s.Cleveland.
*b*. ne. Coast and Whitby.
iii*a*. Market Weighton.
*b*. Holderness.
iv. Goole & Marshland.
D 31. WN.
In WR. Cu. and We.
V i. n. Craven and nw. Mining Districts of Yo.
ii*a*. s.Lonsdale.
ii*b*. n.Lonsdale.
iii. s.We
iv. Edenside.
*i.e.* basin of River Eden in Cu. and We.
v. w.Cu.
vi. s.Du.
D 32. NN.
V i. n.Cu.
ii. n.Du.
iii. Hexham or sw. Nb.
iv. Coalfields or se. Nb.
v. m.Nb.
vi. n.Nb.

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VI. L. Div.
Chiefly after Dr. Murray, whose names of districts are given in Italics.
D 33 to 42.
D 33. S L.
*Southern Counties.*
With a different s. boundary.
V i. English.
In n.Cu. and nw.Nb.
ii. Scotch.
In e.Df., Se. and Rx.
D 34. e.ML.
*Lothian and Fife.*
In Bw. Cc. Ed. Fi. Hd. Kr. Ll. and Pb.
D 35. w.ML.
*Clydesdale.*
In Ar. n.Ay. Bt. e. and s. Dm. Lk. Rf.
D 36. s.ML.
*Galloway and Carrick.*
In s.Ay. w.Df. Kb. Wg.
D 37. n.ML.
*Highland Border.*
In nw.Fi. w.Fo. w.Sg. e.Pr.
D 38. s.NL.
*Angus.*
In e.Fo. and m. and s.Kc.
D 39. m.NL.
*Moray and Aberdeen.*
In Ab. Ba. e.Cr. El. n.Kc. n Na.
D 40. n.NL.
*Caithness.*
In ne.Cs.

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The following were not treated by Dr. Murray.
D 41. s.IL.
The Orkneys.
D 42. n.IL.
The Shetlands.

## Other Abbreviations in Frequent Use.

| | |
|---|---|
| abl. | ablative. |
| acc. | accented, accusative. |
| adj. | adjective. |
| adv. | adverb. |
| AJE. | A. J. Ellis, the author. |
| ans. | answers. |
| aq. | answers to questions. |
| art. | article. |
| b. | border, (preceding a date) born. |
| CCR. | Mr. C. Clough Robinson. |
| cs. | comparative specimen-s. |
| co. | county. |
| cwl. | classified word list. |
| d. | (preceding a date) died. |
| D. | Dutch. |
| dat. | dative. |
| def. art. | definite article. |
| dia. | dialect-s-al. |
| dict. | dictate-d, dictation. |
| diff. | differ-ent-ence. |
| diph. | diphthong-s-al. |
| dp. | dialectal pronunciation. |
| ds. | dialectal speech, or speaker-s. |
| DSS. | Dr. J. A. H. Murray's Dialects of the South of Scotland. |
| dt. | dialect test-s. |
| EEP. | Early English Pronunciation. |
| ex. | example-s. |
| freq. | frequent-ly. |
| gen. | generally, genitive. |
| gl. | glossic, or written in glossic. |
| imp. | imperfect. |
| imp. t. | imperfect tense. |
| imper. | imperative. |
| ind. | indefinite. |
| indic. | indicative. |
| inf. | infinitive. |
| io. | informant's orthography. |
| JAHM. | Dr. James A. H. Murray. |
| JGG. | Mr. J. G. Goodchild. |
| LLB. | H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte. |
| lw. | list of words (as distinguished from the wl. and cwl.). |
| N. | old Norse. |
| nom. | nominative. |
| nwl. | numbered word list, that is with sounds expressed by the numbers sent with the wl. |
| obs. | observe-d, observation-s. |
| occ. | occasional-ly. |
| orig. | original. |
| orth. | orthography. |
| pal. | palaeotype-d. |
| par. | paragraph. |
| pc. | post card, with an answer to the question it contained. |
| pf. | perfect. |
| pf. t. | perfect tense. |
| pl. | plural. |
| pp. | past or passive participle. |
| pre. | preposition. |
| pro. | pronoun. |
| pron. | pronounce-d, pronunciation-s. |
| prp. | present participle. |
| prt. | present tense. |
| pt. | past tense. |
| pwl. | partial wl., one in which less than half the words had their pron. assigned. |
| rec. | received. |
| ro. | received orthography, or that commonly used. |
| rp. | received pronunciation, or that of pronouncing dictionaries and educated people. |
| rs. | received speech, with the grammar as well as pron. that educated people speak. |
| sb. | substantive. |
| sg. | singular. |
| sim. | similarly. |
| so. | some kind of systematic orthography. |
| sp. | speech. |
| spec. | specimen-s |
| TH. | Mr. Thomas Hallam. |
| unacc. | unaccented. |
| v. | version-s, or translation-s of cs. or dt. into dialectal speech or pron. |
| vb. | verb-s, verbal. |
| vn. | verbal noun. |
| vv. | vivâ voce. |
| wd. | word-s. |
| wl. | word list, as issued in Oct. 1877. |
| Ws. | Wessex, and West Saxon, both the country and language, literary Anglo-Saxon of the Southern type. |
| wn. | words noted from speakers, chiefly by TH. in his travelling note books. |
| y. | (following a number) years, as 10 y. = ten years acquainted with the dialect. |

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To shew where places not on the Maps of the Dialect District are to be found, they are referred to places on those maps, thus:

4 nw. Lancaster = 4 miles measured in a northwesterly direction from Lancaster, and so in other cases.

## III. COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN.

*referred to in the following pages as* CS.

This was constructed in Sep. 1873 by JAHM. and AJE., for the purpose of obtaining dia. renderings of familiar words in various connections and some characteristic constructions. A second edition was prepared in June 1875. It has been broken up into 15 short numbered paragraphs, and a title (0.), for convenience of rapid reference. The present copy in ro. will serve as a key to the numerous versions and extracts which follow. The paragraphs cited are always numbered to correspond with this copy.

(0.) WHY JOHN HAS NO DOUBTS.

(1.) Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there.

(2.) Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? What should make them? It is not very likely, is it?

(3.) Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken!

(4.) *I* am certain I heard them say—some of those folks who went through the whole thing from the first themselves,—that did I, safe enough,—

(5.) that the youngest son himself, a great boy of nine, knew his father's voice at once, though it *was* so queer and squeaking, and I would trust *him* to speak the truth any day, aye, I *would*.

(6.) And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if you will only ask her, oh! won't she?—

(7.) leastways she told it *me* when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and *she* ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think?

(8.) Well as I was saying, *she* would tell you, how, where and when she found the drunken beast that she calls her husband.

(9.) She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying stretched at full length, on the ground, in his good Sunday coat, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of yon lane.

(10.) He was whining away, says she, for all the world like a sick child, or a little girl in a fret.

(11.) And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the wet clothes to dry on a washing day,

(12.) while the kettle was boiling for tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week ago come next Thursday.

(13.) And, do you know?, I never learned any more than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!

(14.) And so I am going home to sup. Good night, and don't be so quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of this that or t'other.

(15.) It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good b'ye.

## IV. DIALECT TEST.

*referred to in the following pages as* dt.

This was constructed in Feb. 1879, in order to have a short specimen which contained an example of almost all the Ws. categories in the following cwl. No V., in which all the words occur separately. Here every word is numbered, and to each are added long notes, especially addressed to persons not much acquainted with phonetics, shewing the special points to which attention should be paid, and how to give the information required. These notes are here retained as forming a succinct and unsystematic conspectus of the principal varieties of English dialectal pron. In printing the versions, the numbering of the words has been abandoned, but the whole has been broken up into 7 short paragraphs to facilitate comparison. It is here printed in ro. to serve as an interpretation of all the v. that follow.

(1.) So[1] I[2] say,[3] mates,[4] you[5] see[6] now[7] that[8] I ([2]) am[9] right[10] about[11] that[12] little[13] girl[14] coming[15] from[16] the[17] school[18] yonder.[19]

(2.) She[20] is[21] going[22] down[23] the ([17]) road[24] there[25] through[26] the ([17]) red[27] gate[28] on[29] the ([17]) left[30] hand[31] side[32] of[33] the ([17]) way.[34]

(3.) Sure[35] enough,[36] the ([17]) child[37] has[38] gone[39] straight[40] up[41] to[42] the ([17]) door[43] of ([33]) the ([17]) wrong[44] house,[45]

(4.) where[46] she ([20]) will[47] chance[48] to ([42]) find[49] that ([12]) drunken[50] deaf[51] shrivelled[52] fellow[53] of ([33]) the ([17]) name[54] of ([33]) Thomas.[55]

(5.) We[56] all[57] know[58] him[59] very[60] well.[61]

(6.) Won't[62] the ([17]) old[63] chap[64] soon[65] teach[66] her[67] not[68] to ([42]) do[69] it[70] again,[71] poor[72] thing![73]

(7.) Look![74] Isn't[75] it ([70]) true?[76]

*Notes.*

*** The number of the wd. in the following cwl. is put at the end of each note, preceded by —.

1. **So.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Note whether *o* has a vanishing *ŏŭ* after it as in London. Mark the various fracture sounds, frequently used in the north, as *ee*, *ay*, or *oo*, followed by *a* in Chin*a*.—1, 73.

2. **I.** Attempt in a note to indicate the first element of this diphthong, the second is almost always *ĕĕ*. The first may be the sound of the *italic* letters in f*a*ther, p*a*ss, p*a*t, p*e*t, n*u*t, c*u*r, p*u*ll, c*a*ll, p*o*p, or some foreign sound. Reference to any named European language will be intelligible. Or this pronoun may not be a diphthong at all, but the simple vowel in f*a*ther, f*a*ll, f*o*lly. These distinctions are all characteristic. Also note if *ic*, *itch*, *itchy*, *utch*, *utchy*, *'ch* (as *'ch am*, *'ch 'ould*, *'ch 'ill*=*I am*, *I would I will*), *ise*, *es*, *us*, have ever been heard for *I*. They all occur in older books, but at present only *utch*, *utchy*, have been recorded at Merriott and Montacute, near Crewkerne, S. Somersetshire.—452.

3. **say.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Observe whether *do* is inserted, as *Zo I do zay*, this is general when *s* becomes *z*; and then observe the vowel in *do*, which is generally unemphatic as *a* in Chin*a*. Note whether *ay* has or has not a vanishing *ĕĕ* after it as in London. Note whether it is pronounced with *a* in f*a*ther, followed by *ĕĕ*, that is, as the English-Greek *αι*, German *ai*, French *aï*, or English *aye*=yes. Mark if the *ay* be very broad like *e* in th*e*re. Mark if *say* is sounded like *see*, or almost like *seer* without a trill, or almost like the first syllable of *Sar-ah* also without a trill.—261.

4. **mates.** Use *mates*, *makes*, *mar-*

*rows*, *soce*, *bo's*, *butties*, *boys*, *chums*, according to the district, but select the word most familiarly used in a good sense as companion or fellow-worker. In *mates* or *makes* mark the long *a*, which may have all the varieties of *ay* in *say*, noted in No. 3, which see. *Soce* and *bo's* offer no difficulty, but in *butties* or *chums* mark (by an accent, as *ù*, to be explained) whether the sound is between *u* in *but* and *u* in *put*, so that *but* nearly rhymes to *foot*. This is the Lancashire *ù*, see No. 15. In *boys*, the diphthong requires attention, it may have its usual sound, or rhyme to *pies* (in which case it must be treated as *I* in No. 2), or be made up of *oo* and *ĕĕ*.—737.

5. **you**. Note whether *you*, *ye*, or *'e* is used. If *you*, whether it rhymes to *too*, *toe*, or *now*. *You* is here plural, note whether it is also commonly used for the singular, or whether *thou* is commoner (and if so, whether *thee* is used as the nominative), or whether *thou* is used to some classes and *you* to others. Usage differs much.—435.

6. **see**. Note whether *s* or *z*. Observe whether *do* is inserted, as *you do zee*, which is generally the case when *z* is used; see No. 3. Note whether *ee* has quite a uniform sound or whether it seems to begin with *i* in *sit* and then to glide up to *ee*. Note if it is sounded like *say*, with or without a vanishing *ĕĕ*. The form of *eh!* very closely united to *ĕĕ*, is common. Mark whether it is followed by *ŭ* as in *seer* without a trill.—428.

7. **now**. A word of very numerous forms. The *ow* may be a simple vowel, as in *too*, *tar*, *taw*, or may even be as in *near*, *ne'er*, without the trill. It is commonly a diphthong in which the last sound is *ŏŏ* and the first the vowel in *father*, *pass*, *pat*, *pet*, *pate*, *nut*, *cur*, *pot*, *toll*, or some foreign sound. The second element may also be *ĕĕ*, while the first is *a* in *father*. The second element may even be French *u*, and then the first may be *u* in *cur*, or broad French *eù*, German *ö* nearly. The *ow* is also very often a triphthong, a short sound of *ĭ* or *ĕ* or *ăĭ* being prefixed as *niow*, *neow*, *naiow*.—643.

8. **that**. Observe that the word is unemphatic and must be pronounced accordingly, the emphatic form No. 12 is reckoned as a different word. The unemphatic vowel is generally like *a* in *China*, or *e* in *pocket*, or *a* in *principal*, *ocean*, or *i* in *it*. Note whether the *th* is entirely omitted. Also whether it is replaced by *d*.—177.

9. **am**. Use *am*, *is*, *are*, or *be*, according to the habit of the district, always selecting an uneducated person, such as an old native man or woman, because all young people have been *taught* to use *am*. If *am* or *is* is used, it generally reduces to *-m*, *-z*, being run on in the same word with *I*, which may have all the sounds of No. 2; but in case *-m* is used, *I* is very often pronounced as *a* in *fall*, or *o* in *folly*. Note particularly the districts where *I are* occurs, and observe where it is used emphatically, as "I *are* to wait," or in answers, as "Are you to do it? Yes I *are*." Note whether the *r* is pronounced, or whether the whole word is not like *a* in *far*. When unemphatic, as *I're*, note whether the whole sound does not rhyme to *fire* without a trill. Especially note the use of *be*, and whether *he be* is also used. Note whether the several forms are all occasionally used in the district, and if so which is the most frequent. Note whether *we am*, *you am*, are ever used, as *we'm*, *you'm*, especially when followed by *to* as "you'm to go home." Note the use of the negative forms *I aint*, *I baint*, *beeŭnt*, etc., *it baint*, *it aint*, *'taint*, *tent*, *tyent*, *chent*, etc. Note whether *we is*, *you is*, *they is*, are used. All these forms are highly characteristic.—391.

10. **right**. First mark the *r*, whether it is trilled with the tip of the tongue as in Scotch or Italian, or whether the tip of the tongue is merely raised without being trilled as frequently in London and Spain. Note if the effect is produced by a rattle of the uvula at the back of the mouth as in Paris, or else by the same accompanied by a considerable closure of the lips as in Northumberland. Note also if the effect is produced by turning the tongue up so as almost to point down the throat as in Dorsetshire, or by retracting the tongue very much as in Oxfordshire, both sounds being very harsh and but slightly if at all trilled. Then as to *igh*, note whether *gh* is pronounced as a guttural, as in Scotch, and if so whether the guttural is the German *ch* in *ich* or that in *ach*, or the last with the lips much closed, and if the *i* is then as in *nick* or *neck*. If the *gh* is not pronounced, note if the *i*

has any one of the sounds of *I* No. 2, or of the vowels in *see* No. 6, as any such sound may occur.—459.

11. **about.** Note the *a* unaccented, whether it is like *a* in Chin*a*, ide*a*, or whether it is distinctly the short of *a* in f*a*ther, as in Italian. Note that the *ou* may have any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, and when it sounds like *oo*, note whether the vowel is long or short, or of middle length.—650.

12. **that.** The word is here emphatic. See No. 8. Note whether the *a* is as in London c*a*t or p*a*ss, or *a* in f*a*ther, or the same short or of middle length. Note whether *th* has its usual sound, or is *t* (often the case after the *t* of *about*) or *d*, or is omitted altogether.—177.

13. **little.** Note whether *t* or *d* is used, or the *tt* omitted altogether as *lite*. If *tt* is omitted, note the sound of *i* either as one of the diphthongal forms of No. 2, or as *a* in f*a*ther. Note, when *tt* is sounded as *t* or *d*, whether *i* is as in sk*i*ttle, or as *ee* in n*ee*dle, or as *a* in f*a*ther.—682.

14. **girl.** The word *girl* is common, but in some districts is replaced by *wench*, *lass*, *maid*, *mauther*, or is not so frequently used as any one of these words. Note which word is most common and use it, but give also the pronunciation of the other words, if used. For *girl*, note whether the *r* is trilled or is pronounced as in one of the ways named in *right* No. 10; if not, note whether it rhyme to s*a*l or s*e*ll, or c*u*rl, p*ea*rl; and if the *r* is the Dorsetshire *r* (see No 10), note whether it rhyme to h*ur*dle, with inserted *d*. For *wench* note if it rhymes to dr*ench*, p*inch*, br*ăn*ch (with *a* in *cat*). For *lass* note if it rhymes to *gas* or *pass*. For *maid* note especially if it has the sound of *a* in f*a*ther followed by *ëë*, very distinctly, or any other sound of *ay* in No. 3. For *mauther*, note if *th* is sounded as in *rather*, or omitted altogether.—758.

15. **coming.** For first syllable, note if it rhymes to *hum*, or l*oo*m or l*oa*m, or is the short sound of the two last, or something between these two short sounds, nearly *u* in *pull*, but thicker (Lancashire *ŭ*). For the second syllable (and all participles in *-ing*) note whether *ng* has its received sound of *ng*, or whether another *g* seems to be added, or whether it sounds as the words *ink* or *in*; if it ends in *n* (as is usual), note whether the *i* is like *i* in *in*, *e* in wool*len*. *o* in mot*ion*. ☞ In the phrase "They were dans*ing* and such dans*ing* I never saw," note whether the two *ings* would be pronounced alike; they are sometimes different, and that is very characteristic. —603.

16. **from.** For *f* note if it is ever or generally *v*, or *th* as in *th*row. If *th* is used, note whether *-om* rhymes to a very broad *ā* sound like French *ê*, German *ä*, or almost *a* in c*a*t. If *f* remains, note whether *-rom* be not pronounced as the last vowel described, or whether the word sounds like *fy* in stuf*fy*, or like *fee*, *fay*. If *f* becomes *v*, note if the *r* does not become the Dorset *r* described in No. 10. If *fr*, *vr* remain in any form, note whether *-om* (as the word is unemphatic) rhymes to the last syllable of bott*om*. Note also its emphatic form, and whether in either form *m* is not often omitted as *fro'*.—58.

17. **the.** The definite article is very characteristic. Note whether *th* remains as usual, or becomes *d*, or is omitted altogether. In each case note the sound of *e* like *a* in Chin*a*, or *y* in pith*y*, or *ee* in prith*ee*; and note especially if the latter vowels are used when *th* is omitted. Note particularly whether the vowel is omitted altogether, and then whether *th* keeps its usual sound before a following vowel as in *th-arm* for *the arm*, or becomes *th'* in *th'in* (as it is convenient to write the acute sound), forming a hiss, before consonants, as *th'-man*, in one word. In these latter cases note whether the *th* or *th'* is not assimilated to *d* or *t* after a word ending in *d* or *t*, causing a *suspension* of the *t* or *d*, by the tongue remaining a sensible time against the palate, which may be conveniently written *d'* or *t'*, as *at t' door*. Note also particularly whether *the* does not always become a suspended *t'* when it is possible, as when it follows another word, as *from-t' school*, or, when this is not possible, whether it becomes just perceptible by a dull kind of minute thud, due to trying to speak without moving the tongue from the palate, as *t' man*, *t' ass* (not *tass*) = *the ass*. This is the regular form in Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham and Yorkshire. See examples in the Test after *from* 16, *down* 23, *through* 26, *on* 29, *of* 33, before *child* 37, after *to* 42, before *old*

63. The proper marking of the definite article is important.—231.

18. **school.** Note whether the initial letters are always sounded as *sk*, or sometimes as *sh*. Note whether the vowel is as usual *ōō*, or becomes *yoo*, or French *u*, or *ee* followed by *a* in China, or *ee* or *y* followed by *u* in *dull*, or by French *eu*. Note whether the usual *oo* is begun with the mouth open, giving the effect of a high *a* in China preceding the *oo*; this sound may be conveniently written *óó* as *skóól*. Note whether *oo* does not receive one of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, like the word *scowl*. Note also whether the *ool* does not become *weel* or *wĭll*, so that the word sounds like *squeal* or *squill*.—560.

19. **yonder.** Note if this word is ever used as *yonder*, *thonder* (with *th* in *then*), or *ĭnder*. If not, use *out there*, and treat *out* as in *about* No. 11, and *there* as No. 25. Also if *the school yonder* is not used, employ *yon school*, and then notice whether *yon* is pronounced with *y* or *th* in *then*, or acute *th'* in *th'*in, as *th'on* (see No. 17). The form *ĭnder* should be especially noted, if ever heard in the district, even occasionally.—394.

20. **She.** The feminine personal pronoun is very important. It usually has *sh* preserved, with *ee* when emphatic, as in *sheet* (with one of the sounds of *ee* in *see* No. 6, or *ay* in *say* No. 3), but when unemphatic becomes *shy* in slu*shy*, or *chsia* in fu*chsia*, and the vowel is frequently entirely omitted in rapid speech, so that only the *sh* of hu*sh!* remains. But the forms *shoo*, *oo*, *ow*, *uh*, generally written *shoo*, *hoo*, *how*, *her*, are also used. For *shoo* note whether it ever sounds like *shoe*, *shoh*, *shuh*. For *hoo* note whether *h* is ever heard unless the word is very emphatic, and whether the *oo* is not the *óó* explained in No. 18. For *how* or *ow* note which of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7 is used. For *her* or better *uh* (the *u* in *cur* without any trill of an *r* after it), note whether it is ever pronounced with an *r* after it, even before a vowel, as *uh ĭz*, not *uh rĭz*, with emphatic *iz*. Note also if *hĭm iz* or *mee ĭz* are ever said. Note also when the form *she* is used, whether *sh* ever changes to *zh* or *s* in division (French *j*), when the word is emphatic.—412.

21. **is.** First note the use of the forms *is*, *be*, *are*, see No. 9. Next see whether in unemphatic forms the *i* or *a* are not omitted, as *she's*, *she're*. Give the emphatic forms also.—482.

22. **going.** First note whether *a-* is commonly inserted, as *she's a-going*, where this *a-* is pronounced as in *a-bout* No. 11. Note whether the form *go* or *gang* or *gan* is used. For *go* note the *o*, whether it rhymes to *toe* or *too* or *hay*, and for the second syllable *-ing*, not only see No. 15, but observe if the two syllables *go-ing* do not coalesce, sounding like *g* prefixed to *wine* (with any sound in No. 2), or *wain* (with any sound in No. 3), or *wĭn*, very short.—67.

23. **down.** This may have any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, or *ou* in *about* No. 11. It is a very characteristic word, especially when *ow* has the sound of *a* in father or *a* in cat lengthened, followed or not by short *ĕĕ* or short *ŏŏ*, or *a* in China.—658.

24. **road.** For the *r* consult *right* No. 10. The *oa* may be pronounced with a short *ŏŏ* after it, as it is often in London, and then the *oo* may be lengthened and the *oh* shortened till the word sounds like *rŏh-ōōd* or nearly *rowd*, and then the *ow* may receive any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7. These are London forms. It is more common to add a short *ŭ* or *a* in China as *roh-ŭd*, and then the *oh* is sometimes broadened to French *o* in *homme* or to *awe* in *awed* as *raw-ŭd*. But also very commonly the *oh* falls into *oo* followed by this *ŭ*, as *rooŭd*. And the sound is still more complicated by inserting a *w* as *rwooŭd*. Note what form is used, and whether simple *rohd raud rahd* or short *rŏd* are employed, and sometimes one of the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4. The word is very variable and characteristic.—104.

25. **there.** First for *th*, note if it has its usual sound, or if it falls into *d*, and occasionally into *t* after a word ending in *t*. Then as to *r* final, observe whether it is trilled strongly as in Scotland or weakly as mostly in England. Also whether it is not trilled at all, and then whether it is a mere vowel as often in London, or a raised stiff tongue, or a Dorset or Northumberland untrilled *r*, see No. 10. The vowel varies much. It often becomes a very thin *ay*, almost an *ee*, rhyming nearly to *wear* or *seer*. Sometimes it rhymes to *tar*. With the Northumberland *r* it may become *ŏ*,

and with the Dorset *r* it may become *uh* in *cur*.— 223.

26. **through**. First for *thr*, note whether *tr* is used with a trilled *r*, and next whether *dr* is used with a reverted or retracted *r*, as explained in No. 10. Also observe if *fr* is used, generally with *e* in *there*. Next note whether the *gh* is a guttural, or is replaced by *f*. Then note the vowel whether simple as *oo* in *too*, *oe* in *toe* or *u* in *cut*, or Lancashire *ŭ* (No. 15), or diphthongal having one of the sounds of *ow* in No. 7.—634.

27. **red**. Note the *r* as in No. 10. Note the vowel, which may be usual, or as *reed* spoken long or short, or *rid*, or like *raid* or *rud*-dy. Particularly note whether the vowel is transposed and an aspirate prefixed, like *herd* with the Dorsetshire *r*, No. 25. Or if the aspirate is prefixed to the same *r* without transposition as *hred*.—352.

28. **gate**. Note all the changes of vowel as in *mates* No. 4. The word is generally very characteristic. It may also be *yate*, *yat* or *yet*.—346.

29. **on**. This does not vary much, but note the vowel when usual or like French *o* in *homme*, or like the short of *one* in *bone*, or like *an*, with the *a* of father shortened.—543

30. **left**. Observe whether *t* is pronounced. Note whether the vowel is *e* in pet, or *a* in pat, or *i* in pit. —749.

31. **hand**. First note whether the aspirate is used, and make a note as to the habits of the district in using or not using the initial aspirate both at right and wrong times. Next note the *d*, sometimes *t*, and often omitted. Lastly see if the vowel is *a* in c*a*t, *a* in father at full length or shortened, *aw* in *awn*, or *o* in on.—43.

32. **side**. The long *i* may have any of the sounds of No. 2. Note especially whether it is *a* in father, or a diphthong consisting of *uh* in *cur*, followed by short *ĕĕ*.—492.

33. **of**. Note whether *f* is preserved; it is usually *v*, but is not unfrequently entirely omitted, especially before *the*, so that *of the* becomes *ŭ-thŭ*, or even simply *ŭth*, or *ŭth'* with acute *th'* (No. 17). Often the word is a short *oh*, as *ŏh thŭ* or *ŏh ĕĕ*.—525.

34. **way**. Note whether the *w* ever becomes *v*. Observe the same possible varieties of *ay* as for *say* No. 3. The sound of *ay* in *say* is however often different from that of *ay* in *way* in the same district.—262.

35. **sure**. Note whether *s* remains or becomes *sh*. Note the *r* as for *there* No. 25. Observe the vowel, whether as *oo* in *poor*, *you* in *your*, *ew* in *ewer*, French *u*, or French *eu*, or whether it becomes one of the *ow* diphthongs as in *now* No. 7.—969.

36. **enough**. Note also the form *enow*, and say whether in this district *enough* is used with singular and *enow* with plural nouns, as *bread enough*, *apples enow*, or whether one form is always used, and if so which. For *enow* note the different forms of *now* No. 7, and also the use of *enew*, or the French *u* or French *eu*. For *enough*, first note whether the guttural remains or is changed into *f*. If *gh* is German or Scotch *ch* in *loch*, observe the vowel, whether simple as *u* in *cut*, *o* in *cot*, or the same preceded by *y*; or whether *ew* in *ewer*, or distinct *ee* followed by indistinct *o* in *cot*, or the French *u* or *eu*. For *f* observe whether the vowel is *u* in snuff, *ew* in *ewer*, or French *u* or *eu*, or *ee* followed by *a* in China, or *y* followed by *u* in *dull*, or by French *eu*. —579.

37. **child**. Note whether *child* or *bairn* is ever used when speaking of a girl merely. If not, use in the translation some of the words in No. 14, but if *child* is used in the district in any sense, observe its pronunciation. First note the *ch*, whether as in *ch*eese, or *ch*aise, that is *sh*, the last is very characteristic. Next observe whether *d* is omitted. Then see if the vowel is diphthongal, having one of the forms of No. 2, or simple, as in chilled, or shield. In all cases note the form of the plural, *childer*, *childern*, *chŏŏldern*, *children* or *chillern*, with the pronunciation of *ch* and vowel as before. If only *bairn* is used, note the sound of *air* as in *there* No. 25.—466.

38. **has**. This is in the unemphatic form, and hence probably omits *ha*, sounding simply as *-z* hung on to the preceding word. Note however also the emphatic form, and whether *h* is pronounced (see *hand* No. 31), and if *s* is ever *s* or always *z*. Then note the value of the vowel, as *a* in mazzard, *u* in buzzard, *i* in lizard, *e* in fez. Also note particularly whether it is customary in the district to say *the child have*, and if so note the *h* and vowel of *have* especially. Please con-

jugate as in the district: I *have*, *thou hast*, *he has*, *we*, *you*, *they*, *have*, and the same negatively.—159.

39. **gone.** Notice especially whether *a-* is inserted, as *the child has a-gone*, as this is very characteristic. If so, note whether this *a* is pronounced as *a* in Chin*a*. For *gone* note the vowel as *o* in *on*, or *aw* in *awn*, or as in *in*, p*e*n, b*ee*n (short), or with *y* prefixed to these vowels, or as very short *i* in *in* followed by very short *a* in Chin*a*. Or again with *a* in f*a*ther or the same very short. Also observe if the habit of the district is to use *has go-ed*, *has went*, *has been and gone*, or *been* simply without either *has* or *gone*.—121.

40. **straight** First observe whether the guttural *gh* is heard as Scotch or German *ch* in *loch*. Next as to the initial *str*, observe the *r* as in *right* No. 11, but especially whether the *t* is pronounced thickly by bringing the tip of the tongue quite against the teeth as for *th*, forming the dental *t*, which may be written *st'r*, a pronunciation highly characteristic in words beginning with *str*, or *tr*, or ending with *-ter* as wa*t'er*, bu*tt'er*, and if this is usual in the district, it should be noted carefully. Note also whether *t'* passes quite into acute *th'* No. 17, as *sth'raight*, *wath'er*, *buth'er*, or whether in the last two words it is not altogether omitted as *wäh-er*, *bŭ-er*. Then for the vowel in *straight*, note the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4, or *ay* in *say* No. 3, and especially the diphthongal form of *a* in f*a*ther followed by short *ĕĕ*. —265.

41. **up** The vowel may be as usual or somewhat thicker, but note the Lancashire *ù* (see No. 15), which is highly characteristic. Note also French *eu*. ☞ It is particularly necessary to distinguish *u* in *dull* from *u* in *full*, or from Lancashire *ù* (No. 15). Dialect writers, following the usual orthography, use *u* for all three sounds. Great confusion thus arises. It is believed that *u* in *dull* is never found within the district bounded on the south by a line from the N. of Shropshire to the S. of Lincolnshire, and on the north by a line from Silloth in Cumberland to Hartlepool in Durham, but information is much wanted for the districts adjacent to these boundaries. The distinction has strong dialectal significance.—632.

42. **to.** Note if *at* is ever used for *to* before the infinitive, see No. 67. Note the vowel, as *oo* in t*oo*, *oe* in t*oe*, *ew* in t*ew*, French *u* or *eu*, all especially when emphatic, or in *to and fro*, *where are you going to;* and the unemphatic form of *a* in Chin*a*. Observe also how it coalesces with the following *the*. —556.

43. **door.** Note the *r* as in *there* No. 25. Note the *oor* as in *oar*, as in dr*awer*, or as in n*or*, or as m*ower*, p*oor*, or the same shortened, or as *ewer*, or as in d*eer*, c*ur*, or French s*ûr* or s*œur*, or with the Lancashire *óó*, No. 18, or as *ow*.—606.

44. **wrong.** First as to *wr-*, note if the *w* is omitted (as is generally the case) or is pronounced as *wŭ* with the *a* in Chin*a*, or as a *v* as *vrang*. Next as to *ng*, note if another *g* is added on to the end as *ngg*, or whether the word ends in *nk*. The vowel is very characteristic, note the usual *o* in wr*o*ng, or the short of *a* in f*a*ther, or *a* in c*a*t, or *u* in r*u*ng, or Lancashire short *ù* (No. 15). This word with the next is sufficient to determine whether the district is to the N. or S. of a line passing from Cockermouth in Lancashire to the mouth of the Humber in Yorkshire —64.

45. **house.** First notice the aspirate, whether it is used, No. 31. Particularly notice the vowel in all the forms of *ou* in *about* No. 11, and *ow* in *now* No. 7. This and *home* are the most characteristic words we have. How is *home* pronounced? See sounds of Nos. 22, 39, 58, 62.—663.

46. **where.** Note the *wh* especially, and say whether the *h* is ever pronounced before or after the *w*, as it is very desirable to determine the limits of the pronunciation of *wh* proper. Next notice whether when *h* is not pronounced, *w* ever falls into *v*, as is often asserted to be the case. Lastly note where *wh* becomes *f*. For the *r* see *there* No. 25. For the vowel, determine whether it is in *air*, *ear*, *far*, n*or*, dr*awer*.—224.

47. **will.** Being unemphatic this will probably be run on to the preceding word as simple *-l*, thus *she'll*. But also note which of the emphatic forms as *wĭl* or *wŭl*, and perhaps *wŏl* or *wŏŏl*, or even *ŏŏl*, is used in the district.—469.

48. **chance.** Very possibly this word may not be used in such a phrase in the district. Use the word employed,

as *hap* or *happen* or *mebby* (may be) for *chance to*. The *h* and *a* in the first two words treat as in *hand* No. 31. But the word *chance* is sure to be used in some sense, so please to note its sound, and especially if *ch* is as in *c*heese or *ch*aise. The *-ance* may be variously pronounced, as *a* in *f*ather long or short, *a* in p*a*ss long or short, *a* in c*a*t long or short, all these six sounds being heard from educated people. But *a* may also be as in *a*ll, or have one of the sounds of long *ī*, No. 2.—841.

49. **find.** First as to the final *d*, often omitted, see *hand* No. 31. Notice whether the word is like *fined*, with one of the sounds of long *ī*, No. 2, or like *finned;* it may be also like *fand* or *fund*, *fan* or *fun*, with *a* as in *hand* No. 31, or *u* as in *up* No. 41, or with *o* in *fond*.—477.

50. **drunken.** Notice the form *drucken*, much used in Scotland. Notice whether *dr-* is pronounced with the tongue against the teeth as for *th*, thus *d'r*, see *straight* No. 40 for a similar *t'r*. Notice also whether this is common in the termination *-d'er* as *rid'er bladd'er*, and whether it passes into *th* as *blather* in the district. These are very characteristic pronunciations. As to the vowel, observe whether it is *u* in s*u*nk, or the Lancashire *ŭ*, Nos. 15 and 41. In some districts, where every one is in the habit of drinking, the word *drunken* is objected to. Then use the common word, but as *I have drunk* must be used, also give the sound of *drunk*.—804, 613.

51. **deaf.** Note the vowel as usual or rhyming to *reef*, *stiff*, or fractured as *ee* or *ay* followed by the *a* in Chin*a*. —355.

52. **shrivelled.** This may not be a common word, and may be unknown to the informant in the dialect, although it is sure to be known in other connections. In this case *wizened*, *weazen*, *withered*, or *dried up* may be used. But if *shrivelled* cannot be given, take any word beginning with *shr-* as *shrammed*, *shred*, *shrewmouse*, *shriek*, *shrike*, *shrill*, *shrimp*, *shrink*, *shroud*, *shrub*, *shrug*, and state whether *shr-* or *sr-* is used in speech. It is particularly desirable to know how far the sound of *sr-* extends. For the *r* see *right* No. 10.—760

53. **fellow.** Note whether *f* or *v*. For the last syllable note whether the word ends in a distinct *oh* or rhymes to *seller*, with the *r* merely a vowel, see *there* No. 25, or whether it is like the Egyptian *fellah*.—297.

54. **name.** The vowel may have any of the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4, or *gate* No. 28. The word is also often like *neeŭm*, *neeăm*, *nyem*, or even *nem*, —21.

55. **Thomas.** Use whatever name is commonest in the district. If *Thomas* is kept, note whether *th-* is ever different from *t*. For the first syllable note whether the vowel is that in p*o*t, h*u*m, or the Lancashire *ŭ* Nos. 15 and 41. For the second whether it is ever different from *us* in omnib*us*. —770.

56. **We.** This vowel may have all the sounds of *ee* in *see* No. 6, and the sound like very short London *way* should be especially noted. Note if *we* is ever used for *us* in the district, as *after we* (John Gilpin), *laughed at we*, *give it we*. Note also if *us* is used for *we*, as *us saw she*, *us told he*, for *we saw her*, or *we told him*.—293.

57. **all.** Note if the *ll* is omitted. Note the vowel as in f*a*ll or f*a*ther, or *ay* followed by *a* in Chin*a*, or whether the word sounds like *yell*.—335.

58. **know.** As this is plural, *we* being the nominative, note whether it has the plural in *-en* as *we known*, or in *-s* as *we knows*, and explain which is used in the district, or if *we know* is commonest. Similarly note *you* and *they know*, *knows*, or *known*. *We known* is sometimes used for *we have known*, or *we knew*. This must not be confused with *we known*, meaning *we know*. But it is best to note whether it is used. For the initial *kn-* note whether *k* is ever sounded as *k*, or ever indicated by using an *h* or *t* or *d*, instead of *k*, or is entirely omitted. Then note the vowel, whether as in *owe*, *awe*, f*a*ther, f*a*te, or *o* followed by short *ŏŏ*, or the *awe*, *ah*, *ay*, followed by short *a* in Chin*a*. Note whether *do* is inserted between *we* and *know* as *we do know*, and if so, how *do* is pronounced, see end of notes on *say* No. 3, and *see* No. 6. The use of *we doh know* for *we don't know*, should be noted, but not confused with *we do know*. Note also whether the word *know* is superseded by *ken*, and the sound of the vowel in *ken*. In this case take some other word beginning with *kn-* as *knife*, *knuckle*, and ascertain whether

*k* is entirely omitted or pronounced, or indicated by *h* or *t* or *d*.—92.

59. **him.** Note particularly whether the form *en* or *un* or simple *'n* is used, as *we do know 'n*. If *him* is used, note if *h* is ever heard, 1) when the word is unemphatic, 2) when emphatic. Note the vowel, whether *im*, *em*, *um*. Note if *we know ŭm*, or *we knows 'm*, could mean indifferently *we know him*, and *we know them*.—470.

60. **very.** Note particularly whether the *v* changes into *w*. If possible, ascertain whether it is a perfect *w*, or rather a *v* spoken without allowing the underlip to touch the upper teeth. The *r* between the two vowels also requires attention. Note if it is entirely omitted as *ve-y*, *va-y*, or only represented by raising the stiffened point of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth without touching it, or slightly advancing the uvula; both forms occur, and it is desirable to know how far they extend. If the *r* is trilled, note which of the *r*'s in *right* No. 10 is used. The first vowel may be as in sherry, or Harry, or father, and the second may be as in sherr*y* or Chin*a*.—885.

61. **well.** Note whether the *w* becomes *v*. Note the vowel whether as in tell, or wheel rather shorter, or whether a short *a* in Chin*a* or *y* in sherr*y* is inserted after either of these. —266, not 244.

62. **won't.** Note if *o* is pronounced as in don't, hunt, *awe*, *taunt*, or *o* in don't followed by *a* in Chin*a*, or *oo* followed by *a* in Chin*a*, or *ee* so followed. Note also if the forms *winna*, *winnad* (before a vowel), *wunna*, *wonna*, *winnut*, are employed. Note if *w* is entirely omitted, thus *'ōn't* or *'ōōn't*. Note also the various forms of *don't*, which includes those of *on't* in *won't* and also *divv'nt*, etc.—541.

63. **old.** Note whether both *l* and *d* are pronounced or either *l* or *d* omitted. Vowel as in *owed*, hole, got, *awe*, father, *ee* followed by *a* in Chin*a*. Or whether *o* has not one of the sounds of *now* No. 7.—326.

64. **chap.** This word is pretty sure to be used. but, if not, use *man*. Observe whether *ch* is as in *ch*eese or *ch*aise, and whether the vowel is as in c*a*t, in father or the same shortened, or in g*e*t.—364.

65. **soon.** Observe whether *s* or *z*, or even *sh*. Observe the vowel especially, which may be *ee*, *yoo*, French *u* or *eu*, or *ee* followed by *ŏŏ*, or by *a* in *China*, or *u* in *dull* or French *eu*.—564

66. **teach.** Observe vowel as in r*ea*ch, or *ai*tch. If, as is very commonly the case, *learn* would be used in this sense, mark the vowel as in *urn* or *darn* or *ay* followed by short *o*, and note the *r* (No. 26). If *teach* is not used in this sense, *teacher* will certainly be known, and its pronunciation should be given.—183.

67. **her.** Observe whether *h* is pronounced, and what is the nature of the *r*, see *there* No. 25. See also the *her* for *she* No. 20, and note whether *she* is not used in its place as *won't he teach she*. Observe if the usual sound of *her* in *teach her* or *learn her* is the same as *er* in *teacher* or *learner*, and note if it is *a* in Chin*a*, or how it differs from it.—447.

68. **not.** Note vowel as in *pot*, *pat*, *put*, or *nut*, and whether the *t* is sometimes *d*.—110, ii.

69. **do.** Note vowel as in *too*, *toe*, *new* or French *u*, or *ee* followed by French *u*. Observe whether *div* is used before *it*, as *div it*, or whether *do* and *it* are not contracted into one word as *dit* or *did*. Note whether *to* before the infinitive *do* is sometimes *at*, pronounced *ŭt*, especially in such phrases as *I am the man that was able to* or *at do it*, *something at eat*, *go at see him*, and write the pronunciation of these phrases. This use of *at* is highly characteristic.—586.

70. **it.** Observe whether, when not run on to *do* (No. 69), *it* becomes *et*, *ut*, *hit*, *het*, *hid*. Also state whether *its* is ever used, as in *over its* or *it eyes*, or *over the eyes of 'un*. —489.

71. **again.** Note the last vowel as in *gain*, or *hen*, *in*, or *ee* followed by *a* in Chin*a*.—144.

72. **poor.** Note *r* as in *there* No. 25, and vowel as usual or as in *oar*, or like French *u* or *eu*.—866.

73. **thing.** Note whether acute *th'* in *th'in*, see No. 17, or flat *th* in *then*, or *t* simply is used. Note the vowel as in *in* or h*e*n. Note *ng* as pure, or with an extra *g* added, as *nk* or as *n*. If the simple *n* is not used in *thing* alone, note whether it is not used in *nothing*, *something*, and write pronunciation of these words.—480.

74. **look.** Note the vowel as in *soon*, No. 65, or else as long *oo* in *loose*, or long *oh*, or short *u* in *full* or *u* in

*dull.* Note also such phrases as *loo' thee* for *look thou.*—558.

75. **isn't.** Note whether any of the forms *beant*, *aint*, *ar'n't*, *izna*, *iznad*, *innut*, etc., is used.—482.

76. **true.** Observe *tr* as in *straight* No. 40. The vowel may be *oo* or *you* or *ee* followed by *ŏŏ* or French *u*, or some variety of these sounds. —436.

# V. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST

## *referred to in the following pages as* cwl.

Finding that the cs. did not contain sufficient examples of some categories, and that the few examples of rather important cases were often ingeniously evaded by my informants, I constructed a "List of Words of which the pron. is wanted," and issued large numbers of it to clergymen in different villages where information was wanted. The greater number of these were not returned, but sufficient reached me to be of much service. This old word list is referred to as wl. and should be distinguished from the present cwl. It was stated to be a selection from the word lists in Dr. Sweet's *History of British Sounds*, and was arranged in his order, which, however, was found inconvenient for reference in practice. It was printed widely on 7 quarto pages, leaving space for informants to write in the pron. Half of the 8th page was occupied with questions on idioms and intonation. These are reproduced at the end of the cwl. as shewing the chief points beyond pron. on which it was attempted to gather information.

The following cwl. then contains all the words in the wl., cs. and dt. and a very few others. Those marked * did not occur in the original wl. Those marked † were in the cs., and those marked ‡ in the dt. The words are numbered throughout for ease of reference.

Many other words were given to me by kind informants, most of which will be introduced hereafter. But on making out a complete list for my own use, it became so unwieldy that it appeared better to confine the cwl. within the above limits. As much difficulty will undoubtedly be felt by many readers, (judging by the difficulty I have myself experienced,) in assigning any given word to its class, an index is added containing the English words in the usual alphabetical order of dictionaries, with the number of the wd. in the cwl. annexed

All the old wl. and all the local lw. which I have used will be reduced to this order. The pron. is throughout given in pal. and, when the words considered occur in this list, their numbers are prefixed as sufficient explanation. When they do not, they are placed in the position they would have occupied, if they had occurred in the cwl., and — is prefixed to shew that they have no number, and then the ordinary spelling is annexed in [], in which also any explanation or observation is inclosed.

The order and classification, which differ considerably from those in the original wl., are arranged on the following principle. The lists are divided into three sections, headed I. WESSEX AND NORSE, II. ENGLISH, III. ROMANCE. The words in each list are grouped in classes dependent on the vowel of the original language in what corresponds to the accented syllable in received English. The words in each class are arranged in order of the letters which *follow* that vowel. Only when all these letters are the same in two or more words are the preceding letters taken into account, and then the order is reckoned from the vowel backwards. Strictly alphabetical order is followed for these letters, for which purpose þ, ð will each be taken as the *two* letters, *t*, *h*.

### I. WESSEX AND NORSE, NOS. 1 TO 712.

This section contains only such words as can be referred with considerable certainty to prototypes existing in Wessex literature, (that is, books in the language of King Alfred, as distinguished from the Northymbrian forms,) or in Norse as represented by Icelandic. To the latter a small capital N is subjoined.

When no such prototypes are known, or when there is difference of opinion respecting the etymology, even when the class of words is clear, the words are placed in Section II., ENGLISH.

The Wessex or Norse words are placed first in Roman letters, and the arrangement is by the vowels they contain, which are placed *in capitals* at the head of each class, long vowels being distinguished by a following acute accent. As the change which takes place in the vowel depends frequently upon its occurrence in an open or closed syllable, as presently defined, these are distinguished thus: A- open short A; A: closed short A; Á- open long A; Á: closed long A. The vowel, by a mechanical rule which is sufficiently, but not absolutely correct, is said to be in an *open* syllable, 1) when it is final, and 2) when it is followed by a *single* consonant which is itself *followed by a vowel*, and to be in a *closed* syllable, 3) when it has *one* or more consonants after it at the end of a word, and 4) when it has *two* or more consonants between it and a following vowel in the middle of a word. In the Wessex words the orthography of Prof. Skeat in his Etymological Dictionary is usually followed, but when his differs from Ettmüller's (except in that author's peculiarities) the latter is sometimes preferred. I disclaim all responsibility for the orthography, which I could not verify by documents. Conjectural forms are excluded. Hence I have not, with Dr. Sweet, distinguished two forms of Æ', E, O.

The Wessex and Norse forms, placed first, are printed in Roman letters, followed by a comma; the corresponding English is in italics. But some little words as *a, the, to, I he we, was, had* are occasionally prefixed, and *thou* subjoined, in Roman letters, to shew the part of speech or part of the verb, and only when these are insufficient is the part of speech subjoined in Roman letters. Verbs are generally cited by their infinitive moods, but occasionally other parts are introduced either in their proper order, or placed in [] after the infinitives. Such parts are sufficiently shewn by these prefixes, which of course do not form part of the translation. Sometimes the English word is still so ambiguous that a synonym or explanation has to be prefixed or subjoined, also in Roman type.

A-

1 swa, *so* thus * ‡
2 gemaca, a *make* companion
3 bacan, to *bake*
4 tacan, to *take*
5 macian, to *make*†
6 gemacod, was *made*
7 sacu, the *sake*
8 hafa, *have* thou†
9 behafa, *behave* thou
10 haga, a *haw*
11 maga, the *maw*
12 saga sagu, a *saw*
13 gnagan, to *gnaw*
14 dragan, to *draw*
15 agi N, *awe*
16 dagian, to *dawn*
17 lagu, the *law*†
18 kaka N, a *cake*
19 talu, a *tale* told
20 lama, *lame*
21 nama, a *name*†‡
22 tama, *tame*
23 same, *same* similarly
24 scamu, *shame*
25 manar, of the *mane* of an animal, gen. of mön N
26 wanian, to *wane*
27 cnapa, a *knave*
28 hara, a *hare*
29 aron, we or they *are**‡
30 caru, a *care**, see 320
31 i. late, ii. læte, *late* adv.
32 baðian, to *bathe**
33 hraðor, *rather*
34 latost, *last*†
35 awel, an *awl*
36 þawian, to *thaw*
37 clawu, a *claw*

A:

38 also, *as**†
39 cwam, he *came*†
40 camb, a *comb*
41 þancian, to *thank*
42 and, *and**†
43 hand, a *hand*‡
44 land, the *land*
45 wand, a *want* mole, animal*, see 114, 769
46 candel, a *candle*
47 wandrian, to *wander*
48 sang, he *sang*
49 hangan, to *hang**†
50 tange, the *tongs*
51 mann, a *man*
52 wann, a *wan*
53 canna, a *can*
54 wanta N, to *want*†
55 ascan, *ashes* of a fire
56 wascan, to *wash*†
57 assa, an *ass*

A: *or* O:

58 i. fram ii. from, *from*†‡
59 i. lamb ii. lomb, *lamb*
60 i. lang ii. long, *long*
61 on i. gemang ii. gemong, *among*
62 i. strang ii. strong, *strong*
63 i. geþrang ii. geþrong, *throng*
64 i. wrang ii. wrong, *wrong*†‡
65 i. sang ii. song, a *song*
66 i. þwang ii. þwong, a *thong*

A'-

67 ic gá, *I go*
68 má, *mo* more in number*

69 ná, *no* never, see 122 nán
70 tá, a *toe*
71 wá, *woe*
72 hwá, *who* interrogative †
73 swá, *so* like as †‡
74 twá, *two* †
75 strácian, to *stroke*
76 táde, a *toad*
77 hláford, a *lord*
78 ágan, to *owe* = to own
79 ágen, his *own* †
80 hálig dæg, a *holiday*
81 i. láne ii. lone, a *lane* †
82 ánes, *once* * †
83 mánian, to *moan*
84 mára, *more* in size
85 sáre, *sore* sorely
86 áte, *oats*
87 cláðas, *clothes* †
88 cláðian, to *clothe*
89 báðir N, *both* †
90 bláwan, to *blow* as wind
91 máwan, to *mow*
92 cnáwan, to *know* †‡
93 snáwan, to *snow*
94 cráwan, to *crow* †
95 þráwan, to *throw*
96 sáwan, to *sow* seed
97 sáwel, the *soul*
98 cnáwen, has *known*
99 þráwen, has *thrown*
100 sáwen, has *sown* seed

A′:

101 ác an *oak*
102 ácsian, to *ask* †
103 ácsóde, he *asked* * †
104 rád, a *road* ‡
105 rád, he *rode*
106 brád, *broad*
107 hláf, a *loaf*
108 dág, *dough*
109 lág, *low*
110 i. náht náuht, *nought*, ii. nát, *not* † ‡
111 áhte, he *ought* †
112 hál, *hale*
113 hál, *whole* †
114 mál, *mole* a body mark, not the animal, see 45, 769
115 hám, a *home* †
116 hwám, *whom*, interrogative only
117 án, *a* † *one* *
118 bán, *bone*
119 gán, *to go* * ‡
120 ágán, *ago*, i.e. past by * †
121 gegán, has *gone*
122 nán, i. *none*, ii. *no* adj.
123 nán þing, *nothing*
124 stán, a *stone*
125 ánlíce, *only* †
126 ár, an *oar*
127 hás, *hoarse*
128 þás, *those*
129 gást, a *ghost*
130 bát, a *boat*
131 gát, a *goat*
132 hát, *hot*
133 wrát, I *wrote*
134 áð, an *oath*
135 cláð, a *cloth*
136 áwðer = áhwæðer, i. *either*, ii. *or*, see 213 æ'gðer
137 náwðer = náhwæðer, i. *neither*, ii. *nor* * †, see 214 nægðer

Æ-

138 fæder, a *father* †
139 dræge (in dræge-net), a *dray*
140 hægel, the *hail*
141 nægel, a *nail*
142 snægel, a *snail*
143 tægel, a *tail*
144 ongægen, *again* † ‡
145 slægen, is *slain*
146 mægen, *main* strength
147 brægen, the *brain*
148 fæger, *fair* adj. [not *fair* sb., Fr. foire, after 921, from Lat. feria, after 887.]
149 blæse, a *blaze*
150 læsest, *least* †
151 lætan, to *let* or hinder
152 wæter, *water*
153 sæterdæg, *Saturday*

Æ:

154 bæc, the *back* * †
155 þæc, the *thatch*
156 glæd, *glad* *
157 hræfn, a *raven*
158 æfter, *after*
159 hæfð, he *has* * †
160 æg, an *egg*
161 dæg, a *day* †
162 tó dæg, *to-day* * †
163 læg, he *lay*
164 mæg, he *may* †
165 sægde, he *said*
166 mægden, a *maid*
167 dæl, a *dale*
168 tælg, *tallow*
169 hwænne, *when* †
170 hærfest, *harvest*
171 bærlíc *barley*
172 gærs, *grass*
173 wæs, he *was* †
174 æsc, an *ash* tree
175 fæst, *fast*, firm
176 æt, *at* * †
177 þæt, *that* * † ‡
178 gnæt, *gnat*
179 hwæt, *what* †
180 bæð, *bath*
181 pæð, a *path*

Æ′-

182 sæ′, the *sea*
183 tæ'can, to *teach* †
184 læ'dan, to *lead*
185 ræ'dan, to *read*
186 bræ'do, *breadth*
187 læ'fan, to *leave*
188 hnæ'gan, to *neigh*
189 wæ'gan, to *weigh*
190 cæ'ge, a *key*
191 hæ'lan, to *heal*
192 mæ'nan, to *mean*
193 clæ'ne, *clean*
194 æ'nig, *any* * †
195 mæ'nig, *many*
196 wæ'ron, we *were*
197 cæ'se, a *cheese*
198 læ'tan, to *let* allow, see 288.
199 blæ'tan, to *bleat*
200 hwæ'te, *wheat*
201 hæ'ðen, the *heathen*
202 hæ'ta, *heat*

Æ′:

203 spræ'c, *speech*
204 dæ'd, *deed*
205 þræ'd, *thread*
206 ræ'dd, he *read*
207 næ'dl, a *needle*
208 æ'fre, *ever* * †
209 næ'fre, *never* * †
210 clæ'g, *clay*
211 græ'g, *grey*
212 hwæ'g, *whey*
213 æ'gðer = æhwæder, *either*, see 136 áwðer

214 næ'gðer, *neither* * †, see 137 náwðer
215 tæ'hte, he *taught*
216 dæ'l, a *deal* portion
217 æ'lc, *each*
218 scæ'p, a *sheep*
219 slæ'p, a *sleep*
220 scæ'phirðe, a *shepherd* * †
221 fæ'r *fear* sb.
222 hæ'r, the *hair*
223 þæ'r, *there* † ‡
224 hwæ'r hwar, *where* †‡
225 flæ'sc, *flesh*
226 mæ'st *most*
227 wæ't, *wet* †
228 swæ't, *sweat*
229 bræ'ð, *breath*, properly = odour
230 fæ'tt, *fat*, adj.

E-

231 þe, *the* * † ‡
232 brecan, to *break*
233 sprecan, to *speak* †
234 cnedan, to *knead*
235 wefan, to *weave*
236 fefer, a *fever*
237 blegan, a chil-*blain*
238 hege, a *hedge*
239 segel, a *sail*
240 gelegen, has *lain*
241 regen, *rain*
242 twegen, *twain*
243 plegian, to *play*
244 wela, *well*, argumentative adv. * †, see 266.
245 melu melo, *meal* flour*
246 cwene cwén, i. *queen* ii. *quean*
247 wenian, to *wean*
248 mere, a *mare*
249 werian, to *wear*
250 swerian, to *swear*
251 mete, *meat*
252 cetel, a *kettle* †
253 netele, a *nettle*
254 leðer, *leather*
255 weðer, a *wether* sheep

E:

256 streccan, to *stretch* * †
257 ecg, an *edge*
258 secg, *sedge*
259 wecg, *wedge*
260 lecgan, to *lay*
261 secgan, to *say* † ‡
262 weg, a *way* † ‡
263 on weg, *away* * †
264 eglan, to *ail*
265 streht, *straight* † ‡ [see 923, to which dia. forms seem to be related].
266 wel, *well*, adv. in a good manner * ‡, see 244.
267 geldan, to *yield*
268 eldest, *eldest*
269 self, *self* * †
270 belg, i. *bellows*, ii. *belly*
271 tellan, to *tell* * †
272 elm, an *elm*
273 men, *men* †
274 benc, a *bench*
275 stenc, a *stench*
276 þencan, to *think* †
277 drencan, to *drench*
278 wencle, a *wench*
279 wended, he *went* * †
280 endlufon, *eleven*
281 lengð, *length*
282 strengð, *strength*
283 merg, *merry*
284 þerscan, to *thresh* corn
285 cerse, *cress* vegetable
286 herwe, a *harrow*
287 besm, a *besom* broom for sweeping
288 lettan læ'tan létan, to *let* permit, see 198.

E'-

289 gé, *ye*
290 hé, *he* †
291 þé, *thee*
292 mé, *me* †
293 wé, *we* †
294 fédan, to *feed*
295 bréded, was *bred*
296 geléfan, to *believe*
297 félagi N, a *fellow* * ‡
298 félan, to *feel*
299 gréne, *green*
300 cépan, to *keep*
301 gehéran, to *hear*
302 gemétan, to *meet*
303 swéte, *sweet*
304 bétel, a *beetle* mallet, see 499

E':

305 i. héh ii. heáh, *high*
306 héhðe, *height*
307 i. néh ii. neáh, *nigh*
308 néd, *need* sb.
309 spéd, *speed* sb.
310 hél, a *heel*
311 tén, *ten*
312 hér, *here*
313 hércnian to *hearken*. † See 695 hyrcnian
314 gehérde, he *heard*
315 fét, *feet*
316 néxt, *next*

EA-

317 fleagan, to *flay*
318 hleahen, has *laughed* * †
319 geapian, to *gape*
320 cearian, to *care* †, see 30 caru

EA:

321 geseah, he *saw* †
322 hleahhan, to *laugh*
323 feaht, has *fought*
324 eahta, *eight*
325 wealcan, to *walk*, properly to full
326 eald, *old* † ‡
327 beald, *bold*
328 ceald, *cold*
329 fealdan, to *fold*
330 healdan, to *hold* †
331 sealde, he *sold*
332 tealde, he *told* †
333 cealf, a *calf*
334 healf, *half*
335 eall, *all* † ‡
336 feallan, to *fall*
337 weall, a *wall*
338 ceallian, to *call* * †
339 eam, I *am* *
340 geard geord, i. a court *yard* † ii. a *stick*
341 mearh, *marrow* * ‡
342 earm, an *arm*
343 wearm, *warm*
344 bearn, *bairn* * ‡
345 dearr, I *dare*
346 geat a *gate*, door-way, not road = gata N

EA'-

347 heáfod, the *head*
348 eáge, the *eye* †
349 feáwa, *few* †

EA':

350 deád, *dead*
351 leád, *lead* metal

352 reád, *red* ‡
353 breád, *bread*
354 sceáf, *sheaf*
355 deáf, *deaf* ‡
356 leáf, *leaf*
357 þeáh, *though* ‡
358 neáh, *nigh*. See 307 ii. néh
359 neáhgebúr, *neighbour* †
360 teám, a *team*
361 beán, a *bean*
362 sleán, to *slay*
363 ceáp, *cheap*
364 ceápman, *chap* * ‡
365 neár, *near*, comparative of 358 neáh, *nigh*
366 greát, *great* †
367 þreát, *threat*
368 deáð, *death*
369 sleáw, *slow*
370 hreáw, *raw*
371 streáw streaw streów streu streá, *straw*

## EI-

372 ei N, *aye* †
373 þei N, *they* †
374 nei N, *nay*
375 reisa N, to *raise*
376 beita N, to *bait*

## EI:

377 steik N, a *steak*
378 veikr N, *weak*
379 heill N, *hail*
380 þeim N, *them* * †
381 sveinn N, a *swain*
382 þeirra N, *their*

## EO-

383 seofan, *seven*
384 heofon, *heaven*
385 beneoðan, *beneath*
386 eowe, a *ewe*
387 i. neowe, ii. niwe, *new* †

## EO:

388 meolc, *milk*
389 geolca, *yolk* of eggs
390 sceolde, *should* †
391 eom, I *am* * † ‡
392 geond, *yon* * †
393 begeondan, *beyond*
394 geonder, *yonder* * ‡
395 geong, *young* *
396 i. weorc ii. werc, *work*, sb. See 694 wyrcan, vb.
397 sweord, a *sword*
398 steorfan, to *starve*= be cold
399 beorht, *bright* †
400 eornest, *earnest*
401 geornian, to *yearn*
402 leornian, to *learn* †
403 feorr, *far*
404 steorra, a *star*
405 heorð, the *hearth*
406 eorðe, the *earth*
407 feorðling, a *farthing*
408 cneow, he *knew* †

## EO'-

409 beó, a *bee*
410 heó, *hoo*, she La * † ‡
411 þreó fem. and neut., þrî mas., *three* †
412 seó, *she* † ‡
413 deófol, the *devil*
414 fleóga, a *fly*
415 leógan, to *lie*, fib
416 deóre, *dear* adj. and a *deer*
417 ceówan, to *chew*
418 breówan, to *brew*
419 eówer, *your* * †
420 feówer, *four*
421 feówertig, *forty*

## EO':

422 seóc, *sick* ill * †
423 þeóh, *thigh*
424 hreóh, *rough*, see 654*
425 leóht, *light*
426 feóhtan, to *fight*
427 beón, to *be* †
428 seón, to *see* †
429 feónd, a *fiend*
430 freónd, a *friend*
431 beór, *beer*
432 feórða, *fourth*
433 breóst, *breast*
434 beót, he *beat*
435 eów, *you* † ‡
436 treów, *true* ‡
437 treówð, *truth*

## EY-

438 deyja N, to *die* †

## EY:

439 treysta N, to *trust* †

## I-

440 i. wicu wice ii. wuce, a *week* †
441 sife, *sieve*
442 ifig, *ivy*
443 frigadæg, *Friday*
444 stigel, a *stile*
445 higian, to *hie*
446 nigon, *nine* †
447 hire, *her* * †
448 þise, *these* †
449 gitan, to *get* obtain
450 tiwesdæg, *Tuesday*
451 siwian, to *sew*

## I:

452 ic, *I* † ‡
453 cwic, *quick* * †
454 wicce, *witch*
455 licgan, to *lie* down †
456 gif, *if* * †
457 miht, the *might*
458 niht, the *night* †
459 riht, *right* ‡
460 wiht, a *weight*
461 gelihtan, to *alight*
462 gesihð, the *sight*
463 til N, *till* * †
464 hwilc, *which*
465 i. swilc, ii. swylc, *such* †
466 cild, a *child* † ‡
467 wilde, *wild*
468 cildru, *children*
469 willan, to *will* * †
470 him, *him* * ‡
471 timber, *timber*
472 scrincan, to *shrink*
473 blind, *blind*, adj.
474 rind, the *rind*
475 wind, the *wind*
476 bindan, to *bind*
477 findan, to *find* ‡
478 grindan, to *grind*
479 windan, to *wind*
480 þing, a *thing* * † ‡
481 finger, a *finger*
482 is, *is* * † ‡
483 his, *his* * †
484 þis, *this* †
485 þistel, a *thistle*
486 gist, *yeast*
487 gistrandæg, *yesterday*
488 git, *yet*
489 hit, *it* * †

## I-

490 bí, *by* near †
491 sícan, to *sigh*
492 síde, a *side* * †
493 drífan, to *drive*
494 tíma, *time* †
495 hwínan, to *whine* * †
496 íren, *iron*
497 arísan, to *arise*
498 wrítan, to *write*
499 bítel, a *beetle* insect*, see 304

## I':

500 gelíc, *like* †
501 wíd, *wide*
502 fíf, *five*
503 líf, *life*
504 cníf, a *knife*
505 wíf, a *wife*
506 wífman, a *woman* †
507 wífmen, *women*
508 míl, a *mile*
509 hwíl, *while*
510 mín, *mine my* * †
511 wín, *wine*
512 spír, a *spire* steeple
513 wír, a *wire*
514 ís, *ice*
515 wís, *wise*
516 wísdóm, *wisdom*
517 íw, a *yew*

## O-

518 bodig, a *body* * †
519 ofer, *over* * †
520 boga, a *bow* weapon
521 fola, a *foal* horse
522 open, *open*
523 hopian, to *hope*
524 woruld, the *world*

## O:

525 of, i. *of* * † ‡, ii. *off* * †
526 cohhettan, to *cough*
527 bohte, he *bought*
528 þohte, he *thought*
529 brohte, he *brought*
530 wrohte, he *wrought*
531 dohtor, a *daughter* †
532 col, a *coal*
533 dol, *dull*
534 hol, a *hole*
535 folc, *folk* * †
536 gold, *gold*
537 molde, *mould* earth
538 wolde, *would*
539 bolla, a *bowl* cup
540 hollegen, *holly*
541 wol nát, *won't* * † ‡
542 bolt, *bolt*
543 on, *on* * † ‡
544 þonne, i. *than* ii. *then* * †
545 hoppan, to *hop*
546 for, *for* * †
547 bord, a *board*
548 ford, a *ford*
549 hord, a *hoard* treasure
550 word, a *word* †
551 storm, a *storm*
552 corn, *corn*
553 horn, *horn*
554 kross N, a *cross*

## O'-

555 scó, a *shoe*
556 tó, *to* †
557 tó, *too* †
558 lócian, to *look* ‡
559 módor, *mother*
560 scóla, a *school* * ‡
561 blóma, a *bloom* flower
562 móna, the *moon*
563 mónandæg, *Monday*
564 sóna, *soon* ‡
565 nósu, *nose*
566 óþer, *other*
567 þæt óþer, *t'other* * †
568 bróðor, *brother* *

## O':

569 bóc, a *book*
570 tóc, he *took*
571 gód, *good* †
572 blód, the *blood*
573 flód, a *flood*
574 bród, *brood*
575 stód, he *stood*
576 wódnesdæg, *Wednesday*
577 bóg, a *bough*
578 plóg N, a *plough*
579 genóg, *enough* † ‡
580 tóh, *tough*
581 sóhte, he *sought*
582 cól, *cool*
583 tól, *tool*
584 stól, *stool*
585 bróm, *broom*, the plant, not 287
586 dón, to *do* †
587 gedón, *done* †
588 nón, *noon*
589 spón N, a *spoon*
590 flór, the *floor*
591 mór, a *moor*
592 swór, he *swore* †
593 móste, he *must*
594 bót, *boot*
595 fót, *foot*
596 rót, *root*
597 sót *soot*
598 sóð, *sooth*

## U-

599 ábufan, *above*
600 lufu, *love* sb.
601 fugol, a *fowl*
602 sugu, a *sow* pig
603 cuman, to *come* † ‡
604 sumor, the *summer* * †
605 sunu, a *son* †
606 duru, the *door* †
607 butere, *butter*

## U:

608 ugglig N, *ugly*
609 full, *full* †
610 wull, *wool*
611 bulluca, a *bullock*
612 sum, *some* †
613 druncen. has *drunk* † ‡, see 804
614 hund, a *hound*
615 pund, a *pound* weight
616 grund, the *ground* †
617 gesund, *sound* in health
618 wund, a *wound*
619 funden, was *found* †
620 grunden, was *ground*
621 wunden, was *wound*
622 under, *under*
623 fundon, they *found* * †
624 grundon, they *ground* *
625 tunge, the *tongue*
626 hungor, *hunger*
627 Sunnandæg, *Sunday* * †
628 nunne, a *nun*
629 sunne, the *sun*
630 wunnen, was *won*
631 þunnresdæg, *Thursday*
632 upp, *up* † ‡
633 cuppa, *cup*
634 þurh, *through* † ‡
635 wurð weord, *worth*
636 furðor, *further*
637 tusc, a *tusk*

638 busca N, to *busk* make ready
639 dust, *dust*

U'-

640 cú, a *cow*
641 hú, *how* †
642 þú, *thou*
643 nú, *now* † ‡
644 súcan, to *suck*
645 dúfa, a *dove*
646 búgan, to *bow*, bend
647 úle, an *owl*
648 úre, *our*
649 þúsand, *thousand*
650 ábútan, *about* * ‡
651 wiðútan, *without* * †
652 cúðe, *could*
653 búton, *but* = be út

U':

654 scrúd, a *shroud*
654* i. rúh, ii. rúg, iii. rúw, *rough*, see 424
655 fúl, *foul* dirty
656 rúm, *room*
657 brún, *brown*
658 dún, *down* † ‡
659 tún, a *town* any inclosure
660 búr, a *bower* = room
661 scúr, a *shower*
662 ús, *us*
663 hús, *house* † ‡
664 lús, a *louse*
665 mús, a *mouse*
666 húsbónda, *husband* †
667 út, *out* †
668 prút, *proud*
669 uncúð, *uncouth*
670 búð N, *booth*
671 múð, *mouth*
672 súð, *south*

Y-

673 mycel, *much* †
674 dyde, he *did* †
675 drygan, to *dry* †
676 lyge, a *lie* falsehood
677 dryge, *dry* adj. *
678 dyne, a *din*
679 cyrice, a *church*
680 bysig, *busy* †
681 bysigu, *business* * †
682 lytel, *little* † ‡

Y:

683 mycg, a *midge*
684 brycg, a *bridge*
685 hrycg, a *ridge*
686 bycgan, to *buy*
687 flyht, a *flight*
688 byldan, to *build*
689 ynce, an *inch*
690 gecynd, a *kind*
691 mynd, the *mind*
692 gyngest, *youngest* * †
693 synn, a *sin*
694 wyrcan wyrcean, to *work* vb. See 396 weorc, sb.
695 hyrcnian, to *hearken* †. See 313 hércnian, and 710 hy'rcnian
696 gebyrd gebeord, *birth*
697 bebyrgan, to *bury*
698 myrgð, *mirth*
699 wyrhta, a *wright*
700 wyrsa, *worse*
701 fyrsta *first*
702 wyð, *with* * †
703 pytt, a *pit*
704 fyxen, a *vixen*

Y'-

705 scy' N, the *sky*
706 hwy', *why* †
707 þreóty'ne, *thirteen*
708 áhy'rian, to *hire*

Y':

709 fy'r, a *fire*
710 hy'rcnian, to *hearken* †. See 313 hércnian, and 695 hyrcnian
711 ly's, *lice*
712 my's, *mice*

## II. English, Nos. 713 to 808.

This section contains words of which the precise prototype in Wessex or Norse is unknown; words of disputed origin; words derived from foreign sources, except Romance; words formed within the language itself, of which the origin can only be conjecturally, or cannot even be probably, assigned; slang or familiar words, etc. For want of a better plan, these have been arranged according to the vowel (or if several, the first vowel) they contain in the accented syllable, following the received orthography. Then the rest of the arrangement is alphabetical as in Section I. The differences of long and short, open or closed, are of course unnoted, as the original form is unknown. The headings of classes are in Roman capitals as before, but are distinguished from the last by a following period (.), and the absence of the hyphen (-) and colon (:) marking open and close.

A.

713 *bad*
714 *lad*
715 *pad*
716 *addle*, i. adj. and ii. vb.
717 a *jade*
718 *trade*
719 a *tadpole*
720 a *fag*
721 to *fag*
722 a *drain*
723 a *dairy*
724 *bald*
725 a *sale*
726 to *talk* * †
727 *jam* preserve
728 *sham*
729 a *frame*
730 a *canter*
731 *wanton*
732 *happen* * †
733 to *scare*
734 to *darn*
735 *smash*
736 a *lass* * †
737 a *mate* ‡
738 to *prate* †
739 *mauther* girl

740 a *wave*
741 a *maze*
742 *lazy*

E.

743 to *scream*
744 the *measles*
745 to *cheat*
746 to *breathe*
747 to *endeavour*
748 i. *fledged* ii. *unfledged*
749 *left** ‡
750 to *beg*
751 *pert*
752 *fret*, peevish fit* †

I. *and* Y.

753 to *tickle*
754 a *pig* animal
755 a *filbert* nut
756 a *shrimp*
757 *tiny*
758 a *girl* †‡
759 *fit*, suited
760 *shrivelled** †

O.

761 a *load*
762 *oakum*
763 *roam*
764 to *coddle*
765 *John** †
766 *moidered* bewildered
767 a *noise* †
768 *coke*
769 a *mole* animal*, same as 45, not 114
770 *Thomas** ‡
771 *fond*
772 a *bonfire*
773 a *donkey*
774 a *pony*
775 a *booby*
776 *goodbye**
777 *shop*
778 *afford*
779 *orts* remnants
780 to *jostle*
781 a *bother* †
782 a *pother*
783 *poultry*
784 to *bounce*
785 to *lounge*
786 to *douse*
787 to *souse*
788 to *flout*
789 a *row* noise
790 a *gown*
791 a *boy** 

U.

792 a *squabble*
793 a *hug*
794 a *jug*
795 a *shrug*
796 *blue**
797 *squeaking** †
798 *queer** †
799 *scull* of head
800 *scull* of boat
801 *rum* liquor
802 *rum* queer
803 to *jump*
804 *drunken* adj. accustomed to get drunk*, see 613.
805 *curds*
806 *fuss*
807 *puss*
808 to *put*

## III. Romance, Nos. 809 to 971.

This section comprises words taken from the French, Latin or any language derived from the Latin. Properly speaking the arrangement should have been by the Anglo-Norman forms of words, that is, those used in England by speakers of Norman-French. Failing this, the old French forms should have been adopted. But in both cases insuperable difficulties presented themselves. The late Mr. H. Nicol endeavoured to arrange the words by their English sounds in the xvith century, but this would have had to be conjectured in many words. Hence I have adopted the modern French forms in almost all cases ; for the few old French forms which I could not avoid, I am indebted to Prof. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, and disclaim the responsibility for them. Latin, and in one case, Spanish, forms have also been given. The arrangement is by the vowels as in the former sections, the Romance word coming first, is followed by (··) if modern, and (...) if old French, (—) if Latin, and (–) Span. if Spanish. The class headings are in capitals followed by (··). No distinction of long and short, open and closed, could be made with any certainty, and hence no such distinction has been attempted.

A ··

809 habile ·· *able*
810 face ·· a *face*
811 place ·· a *place*
812 lacet ·· a *lace*
813 bacon ·· *bacon*
814 maçon ·· a *mason*
815 facta—*facts* †
816 fade adj ·· to *fade*
817 radis ·· *radish*
818 âge ·· *age*
819 rage ·· *rage*
820 gai ·· *gay* *
821 délai ·· *delay*
822 mai ·· *May*
823 baie ·· *bay* of the sea
824 chaiere...a professor's and hence any *chair*
825 gaif ..*waif*
826 aigle ·· an *eagle*
827 aigre ·· *eager*
828 aigu ·· *ague*
829 gain ·· *gain*
830 train ·· *train*
831 destraindre ·· to *distrain*
832 maire ·· a *mayor*
833 paire ·· a *pair*
834 chaise ·· a *chaise*
835 raison ·· *reason* †
836 saison ·· *season*
837 laisse ·· a *leash*

838 traiter .. to *treat*
839 balle .. i. a *bale* ii. a *ball*
840 chambre .. a *chamber*
841 chance .. a *chance* ‡
842 planche .. a *plank*
843 branche .. a *branch*
844 tranchée .. a *trench*
845 ancien .. *ancient*
846 chandelier .. *chandler*
847 danger .. *danger*
848 changer .. to *change*
849 étranger .. a *stranger*
850 danse .. a *dance*
851 tante .. an *aunt*
852 napperon .. an *apron*
853 bargaigner .. to *bargain*
854 baril .. a *barrel*
855 carotte .. a *carrot*
856 part .. a *part*
857 cas .. a *case* †
858 bras .. *brace*
859 chasser .. to *chase* hunt
860 pâte .. *paste*
861 tâter .. to *taste*
862 sauf .. *safe* †
863 chauffer .. to *chafe*
864 à cause .. *because* †
865 faute .. *fault*
866 pauvre .. *poor* ‡

E ..

867 thé .. *tea*
868 geai .. a *jay*
869 veau .. *veal*
870 beauté .. *beauty*
871 agréer .. *agree*
872 chef .. *chief*
873 effrei ... a *fray*
874 reine ... a *rein* of a horse
875 feinte .. a *faint*
876 deintie ... a *dainty*
877 heir . *heir*
878 céléri .. *celery*
879 femelle .. *female*
880 exemple .. *example*
881 sens .. *sense*
882 pensée .. *pansy*
883 dent de lion .. *dandelion*
884 apprenti .. *apprentice*
885 verai ... *very* * † ‡
886 frère .. *friar*
887 clergé .. *clergy*
888 certain .. *certain* †
889 cesser .. to *cease*
890 bête .. *beast* †
891 fête .. *feast*
892 neveu .. *nephew*
893 fleur .. *flower* in garden
894 décevoir .. *deceive*
895 recevoir .. *receive*
896 bevre . *bever* labourer's drinking time

I .. *and* Y ..

897 délice .. *delight*
898 nice ... *nice*
899 nièce .. *niece*
900 prier .. *pray*
901 fin .. *fine*
902 mine .. a *mine*
903 dîner .. i. to *dine*, ii. a *dinner*
904 violette .. a *violet*
905 riote ... a *riot*
906 vipère .. a *viper*
907 tris- Spanish *trice*
908 avis .. *advice*
909 brise .. *breeze*
910 gîte .. *joist*
911 citerne .. *cistern*
912 riz .. *rice*

O..

913 coche ... a *coach*
914 broche .. a *brooch*
915 étoffe .. *stuff*
916 ognon .. *onion*
917 rogue .. *rogue*
918 foible .. *feeble*, adj.
919 oignement ... *ointment*
920 point .. *point* †
921 accointer .. to *acquaint*
922 boisseau .. *bushel*
923 etroit .. *strait*, see 265
923* moite .. *moist*
924 choix .. *choice*
925 voix .. *voice* †
926 spolier ... to *spoil*
927 tronc .. a *trunk*
928 once .. an *ounce* weight
929 concombre .. *cucumber*
930 longe .. a *loin*
931 jongleur .. a *juggler*
932 à mont .. *amount*
933 front .. *front*
934 bonté .. *bounty*
935 contrée .. *country*
936 fonts .. baptismal *font*
937 coq .. a *cock*
938 cornière .. *corner* †
939 clos .. *close* i. adj. ii. adv. † iii. sb.
940 cotte .. *coat* †
941 fou .. *fool*
942 boucher .. *butcher*
943 toucher .. to *touch*
944 allouer .. to *allow*
945 vouer .. to *vow*
946 mouiller .. to *moil*
947 bouillir .. to *boil*
948 boule .. a *bowl* ball
949 moule .. a *mould* or form, not 537
950 souper .. *supper* †
951 couple .. *couple*
952 course .. i. *coarse*, ii. *course*
953 cousin .. *cousin*
954 coussin .. *cushion*
955 doute .. *doubt* †
956 couvrir .. to *cover*
957 employer .. to *employ*
958 froyer .. to *fray*
959 convoyer .. to i. *convey*, ii. *convoy*

U ..

960 quai .. *quay*
961 gruau .. *gruel*
962 mue .. *mews* stables
963 quietus—*quiet* †
964 suif .. *suet*
965 huile .. *oil*
966 fruit .. *fruit*
967 suite .. *suit*
968 huître .. *oyster* † ‡
969 sûr .. *sure*
970 juste .. *just* * †
971 flûte .. *flute*

## Notes on Constructions and Intonation, appended to the original wl.

[*The informant was requested to underline the grammatical form which is common in his district; disregarding pronunciation.*]

I am. thou am. he am. we am. you am. they am.—I are. thou art. he are. we are. you are. they are. we ar'n. you ar'n. they ar'n. [The three last were intended for the West Midland verbal plural in *en*, but were generally confused by informants with *arn't*.]—I be. thou bist. he be. we be. you be. they be. we bin. you bin. they bin. [The three last referred to the Sh. plural *bin* for *are*, but were generally confused with *been* used for *have been*.]—I is. thou is. he is. we is. you is. they is.—I was. thou was. he was. we was. you was. they was.—I were. thou wert. he were. we were. you were. they were. we wer'n. you wer'n. they wer'n.—we ha'n. you ha'n. they ha'n. [The six last referred to the West Midland verbal plural in *-en*, but were generally misunderstood.]—him is. him be.—they goes. we goes.—he does. he doth. he do. he walketh. he live there.—thou (underline if used generally, and distinguish by underlining whether it is used to children, husband and wife, servants, friends, lovers).—I do walk. I have a-walked. I be or am a-going.—she was wash*ing* on a wash*ing* day (underline the two *-ings* if distinguished)—thease thick (=this, that, of shaped things). this that (of shapeless things).—dat man dere (=that man there).—t' man. th' man. 'e man.—theirselves. theirsells. theirsens. —I doh (*for* I don't). I will (*for* I shall). he shall (*for* he will). I would (*for* I should). he should (*for* he would).—to can, to could (*as* he won't can do it, he didn't used to could), he didn't ought.—at eat [meaning the Danishism in parts of D 31, for to eat]. to home.

Try to characterise the nature of the singsong of the speech, underlining as may be, rough, smooth, thick, thin, indistinct, clear, hesitating, glib, whining, drawling, jerking, up and down in pitch, rising in pitch at end, sinking at end, monotonous.

Give any singular pronunciations of words not mentioned; and any information respecting your dialect that you will have the kindness to impart.

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## Consonantal Index to the Wessex and Norse Division of the Classified Word List.

The preceding index will generally, but not always, suffice to refer to the numbers which in any future cwl. point out a dialectal alteration, if any, of the initial consonant or consonantal combinations, but not so for medial or final combinations. Hence the following index has been constructed to shew a few of the initial, and most of the medial and final combinations which may be required for study. Only the most interesting cases are cited.

Only Ws. and Norse consonants are given, and the words are cited only in the original spelling.

The Capital Initials mark the consonants selected, and hyphens are used thus C- initial, -C- medial, -C final, in this order.

C- 190 cæ'ge. 197 cæ'se. 285 cerse. 300 cepan. 466 cild. 468 cildru. 679 cyrice. 690 gecynd. -C- 2 gemaca. 3 bacan. 4 tacan. 5 macian. 6 gemacod. 7 sacu. 183 tæ'can. 232 brecan. 233 sprecan. 440 wicu wice wuce. 491 sican. 558 lócian. 673 mycel. 679 cyrice. -C 101 ác. 154 bæc. 155 þæc. 452 ic. 453 cwic. 500 gelíc. 569 bóc. 570 tóc. -CC- 256 streccan. 454 wicce. CE- [meaning C before, and hence affected by a following E] 320 cearian. 328 ceald. 333 cealf. 363 ceáp. 364 ceápman. -CG- 260 lecgan. 261 secgan. 455 licgan. 686 bycgan. -CG 257 ecg. 258 secg. 259 wecg. 683 mycg. 684 brycg. 685 hrycg. CN- 27 cnapa. 92 cnáwan. 234 cnedan. 408 cneow. 504 cníf. -CS- 102 ácsian. 103 ácsóde. CW- 39 cwam. 246 cwene cwén.

-D- 76 táde. 138 fæder. 385 beneoðan. 518 bodig. 559 módor. -Þ- 32 baðian. 33 hraðor. 87 cláðas. 88 claðian. 90 bláwan. 136 áwðer. 137 náwðer. 201 hæ'ðen. 254 leðer. 255 weðer. 568 bróðor. 652 cúðe. 669 uncúð. 670 buð N. 671 múð. 672 súð. -Þ 134 áð. 135 cláð. 180 bæð. 181 pæð. 229 bræ'ð. 368 deáð. 598 sóð. 702 wyð. -DN- 576 wódnesdæg. DR- 613 druncen. DW- 533 dol dwol dwal.

F- 297 félagi N. 298 félan. -F- 8 hafa. 9 behafa. 187 læ'fan. 235 wefan. 236 fefer. 296 geléfan. 347 heáfod. 383 seofan. 384 heofon. 413 deófol. 441 sife. 442 ifig. 493 drifan. 519 ofer. 599 ábufan. 600 lufu. 645 dúfa. -F 456 gif. 502 fíf. 503 líf. 504 cníf. 505 wíf. 506 wífman. 507 wífmen. 525 of. -FR- 208 æ'fre. 209 næ'fre.

G- 267 geldan. 289 gé. 486 gist. 487 gistrandæg. 488 git. -G- 10 haga. 11 maga. 12 saga sagu. 12 gnagan. 14 dragan. 15 agi N. 16 dagian. 17 lagu. 78 ágan. 79 ágen. 139 dræge. 140 hægel. 141 nægel. 142 snægel. 143 tægel. 144 ongægen. 145 slægen. 146 mægen. 147 brægen. 148 fæger. 188 hnæ'gan. 189 wæ'gan. 190 cæ'ge. 237 blegan. 238 hege. 239 segel. 240 gelegen. 241 regen. 242 twegen. 243 plegian. 317 fleagan. 348 eáge. 414 fleóga. 415 leógan. 443 frigadæg. 444 stigel. 445 higian. 446 nigon. 520 boga. 540 hollegen. 601 fugol. 602 sugu. 646 búgan. 675 drygan. 676 lyge. 677 dryge. -G 80 hálig dæg. 108 dág. 109 lág. 160 æg. 161 dæg. 163 læg. 164 mæg. 165 sægde. 166 mægden. 194 æ'nig. 195 mæ'nig. 210 clæ'g. 211 græ'g. 212 hwæ'g. 213 æ'gðer. 214 næ'gðer. 262 weg. 263 on weg. 264 eglan. 577 bóg. 578 plóg N. 579 genóg. GE- [meaning G before and hence affected by a following E] 319 geapian. 340 geard geord. 346 geat. 389 geolca. 392 geond. 393 begeondan. 394 geonder. 395 geong. GN- 13 gnagan. 178 gnæt. GR- 366 greát.

H- 489 hit. -H- 318 hleahen. -H 305 héh heáh. 306 héhðe. 307 néh neáh. 321 geseah. 357 þeáh. 358 neáh. 423 þeóh. 424 hreóh. 580 tóh. -HH- 322 hleahhan. 526 cohhettan. -HÞ 462 gesihð. HL- 77 hláford. 107 hláf. 318 hleahen. 322 hleahhan. HN- 188 hnæ'gan. HR- 157 hræfn. 370 hreáw. 424 hreóh. 685 hrycg. -HT- 111 ahte. 215 tæ'hte. 324 eahta. 426 feóhtan. 461 gelihtan. 527 bohte. 528 þohte. 529 brohte. 530 wrohte. 531 dohtor. 581 sóhte. -HT 110 náht nát. 265 streht. 323 feaht. 425 leóht. 457 miht. 458 niht. 459 riht. 460 wiht.

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-K- 18 kaka N. -K 378 veikr N.
-L- 19 talu. -LC- 325 wealcan. 389 geolca. -LC 217 æ'lc. 388 meolc. 464 hwilc. 465 swilc. 535 folc. -LD- 329 fealdan. 330 healdan. 331 sealde. 332 tealde. 467 wilde. 537 molde. 538 wolde. -LD 326 eald. 327 beald. 328 ceald. 524 woruld. 536 gold. -LDR- 468 cildru. -LF 269 self. 333 cealf. 334 healf. -LG 168 tælg. 270 belg. -LM 272 elm. -LN- 541 wol nát. -LT 542 bolt.
-M- 20 lama. 21 nama. 22 tama. 23 same. 24 scamu. -MB- 471 timber. -MB 59 lamb lomb.
-N- 25 manar, 26 wanian. -NC- 41 þancian. 276 þencan. 277 drencan. 278 wencle. 472 scrincan. -NC 274 benc. 275 stenc. -ND- 46 candel. 476 bindan. 477 findan. 478 grindan. 479 windan. 619 funden. 620 grunden. 621 wunden. 622 under. 623 fundon. 624 grundon. -ND 42 and. 43 hand. 44 land. 45 wand. 429 feónd. 430 freónd. 473 blind. 474 rind. 475 wind. 614 hund. 615 pund. 616 grund. 617 gesund. 618 wund. 690 gecynd. 691 mynd. -NDL- 280 endlufon. -NDR- 47 wandrian. -NG- 49 hangan. 50 tange. 481 finger. 625 tunge. 626 hungor. 692 gyngest. -NG 48 and 65 sang. 60 lang. 61 on gemang. 62 strang. 63 geþrang. 64 wrang. 66 þwang. -NGÐ 281 lengð. 282 strengð. -NNR- 631 þunnresdæg. -NT- 54 wanta N.
-R- 248 mere. 249 werian. 250 swerian. 301 gehéran. 606 duru. -R 312 hér. 365 neár. -RC 396 weorc werc. -RCN- 313 hércnian. -RF- 170 hærfest. 398 steorfan. -RD- 314 gehérde. -RD 547 bord. 548 ford. 549 hord. 550 word. -RÐ- 406 eorðe. 432 feórða. 636 furðor. -RÐ 405 heorð. 407 feorðling. 635 wurð weord. -RG 283 merg. 341 mearh. 697 bebyrgan. -RGÐ 698 myrgð. -RD 696 gebyrd gebeord. -RH 634 þurh. -RHT- 699 wyrhta. -RHT 399 beorht. -RM 342 earm. 343 wearm. 551 storm. -RN- 400 eornest. 401 geornian. 402 leornian. -RN 344 bearn. 552 corn. 553 horn. -RS- 285 cerse. 700 wyrsa. -RS 172 gærs. -RSC- 284 þerscan. -RST- 701 fyrsta. -RW- 286 herwe.
S- 412 seó. 422 seóc. -S- 149 blæse. 150 læsest. 375 reisa N. 497 arísan. 565 nósu. 617 gesund. 649 þúsand. 680 bysig. 681 bysigu. -S 127 hás. 128 þás. 173 wæs. 482 is. 483 his. 484 þis. 514 ís. 515 wís. 516 wísdóm. 662 ús. 663 hús. 664 lús. 665 mús. 711 ly's. 712 my's. -SB- 666 húsbónda. SC- 24 scamu. 218 scæ'p. 220 scæ'phirde. 354 sceáf. 390 sceolde. 555 scó. 560 scóla. 661 scúr. 705 scy' N. -SC- 55 ascan. 638 busca N. -SC 174 æsc. 225 flæ'sc. 637 tusc. SCR- 472 scrincan. 654 scrúd. -SM 287 besm. SP- 309 spéd. 512 spír. SPR- 203 spræ'c. 233 sprecan. ST- 377 steik N. -ST- 593 móste. -ST 34 latost. 129 gást. 175 fæst. 226 mæ'st. 433 breóst. 639 dust. -STEL 485 þistel. STR- 75 strácian. 282 strengð. 371 streáw. SV- 381 sveinn. SW- 1 swa. 73 swá. 228 swæ't. 397 sweord. 465 swilc. 592 swór.
-T- 31 late læte. 34 latost. 151 lætan. 86 áte. 198 læ'tan. 199 blæ'tan. 200 hwæ'te. 202 hæ'ta. 251 mete. 252 cetele. 253 netele. 302 gemétan. 303 swéte. 304 bétel. -TER- 152 wæter. 153 sæterdæg. 607 butere. Þ- 36 þawian. 223 þæ'r. 231 þe. 291 þé. 357 þeáh. 373 þei N. 382 þeirra N. 423 þeóh. 480 þing. 484 þis. 485 þistel. 544 þonne. 631 þunnresdæg. 634 þurh. 642 þú. 649 þúsand. -Þ- 566 óþer. ÞR- 205 þræ'd. 367 þreát. 411 þréo. ÞW- 66 þwang. TW- 74 twá.
V- 378 veikr N.
-W- 35 awel. 36 þawian. 37 clawu. 90 bláwan. 91 máwan. 92 cnáwan. 93 snáwan. 94 cráwan. 95 þráwan. 96 sáwan. 97 sáwel. 98 cnáwen. 99 þráwen. 100 sáwen. 349 feáwa. 386 eowe. 387 neowe niwe. -W- 417 ceówan. 418 breówan. 419 eówer. 420 feówer. 421 feówertig. 450 tiwesdæg. 451 siwian. -W 369 sleáw. 370 hreáw. 370 streáw streaw streów streu streá. 408 cneow. 435 eów. 436 treów. 517 íw. WR- 64 wrang. 133 wrát. 498 writan. WU- [that is, W affected by a following U] 610 wull. 618 wund.
-XT 316 néxt.

## VI. ALPHABETICAL COUNTY LIST.

The counties of England, Isle of Man, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, are taken in this order.

The counties in each country are taken in the alphabetical order of its full name (not of the two letter abbreviation, as on p. 4*), each headed by its number in the countries (supposing that all the counties were enumerated, which is not the case in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, because all do not speak English), together with its two letter abbreviation and full name, and a statement of the number of places from which information was obtained, and of the districts over which it is distributed.

Within each county are ranged all the names of places from which information has been received, in alphabetical order, preceded by the number of the district in which it is contained, and by the initial letter, or letter and number, by which it is referred to in the following Alphabetical Informants List, VII. An asterisk * shews that the information received is given, or at least spoken of in the work itself. It will be seen that a very large number of places named are not further spoken of. It must not, however, be supposed that the information received was therefore valueless. Far from it. It was often incomplete, and often difficult to interpret, but it always helped to bridge over the spaces left between places from which more complete or more easily interpretable information was given, and without this I should have had the greatest difficulty in assigning the boundaries of my districts.

After the name, its local pron. is occ. given, and if, as is most frequently the case, the place is not on the small maps of the dialect districts annexed, the distance and direction from a place actually on the map is added in ( ). When the place is on the maps, its name suffices, for a whole county on this small scale is easily looked over. The places, or their position (for they are often so insignificant as not to be marked on many maps), can thus readily be found on any county map.

Afterwards follows a description of the nature of the information, employing the abbreviations explained on p. 6*. If several pieces of information have reached me from the same place, they are often numbered as (1), (2), etc., but these numbers are generally omitted if the informant is the same.

At the end of each piece of information, when referred to in the book, is added the number of the page on which the information is given or spoken of, preceded by the letter p. in case another number comes just before, but not otherwise.

When the information is given in the book, the indications of its origin are here abbreviated as much as possible, the page where it is cited furnishing the rest.

In VII. I give a list of informants referring to the county in this list, or to the place by means of the numbered initials. Many of these obliging informants have passed away since they so kindly assisted me. Others have changed their address, and I have no means of discovering them. But to each and all I give my most hearty thanks for the trouble they have taken, often great, and the time they have spent, often very long, in helping me to render this account of English local pronunciation as complete as it now appears, a result perfectly impossible without a great cooperation.

# England.

### 1. Bd.=Bedfordshire, 16 places, all in D 16.

16. A. *Ampthill* (:æmtil) (7 ssw.Bedford) and 4 or 5 m. round, wl. io. by Mr. J. Brown, Dunstable Road, 21 y. who says "the old-fashioned native dialect is comparatively rare."

*16. B. *Bedford* and neighbourhood and the county generally, (1) T. Batchelor's book 204, (2) cs. and phrases from Mr. J. Wyatt, 206 to 209, cwl. 209, (3) cwl. from Mr. Rowland Hill 209.

*16. D. *Dunstable* (5 w.Luton), wn. by TH., 209.

16. E. *Edworth* (12 se.Bedford), dt.

io. with notes and wd. from Mrs. Buttenshaw of the rectory.

16. F. *Flitwick* (:flitɪk) (9 s-by-w. Bedford) wl. io. by Rev. T. W. D. Brooks, vic.

16. G. *Girtford* (7 e.Bedford) wn. by TH.

16. H1. *Harrold* (8 nw.Bedford) dt. io. notes and lw. by Rev. J. Steel.

16. H2. *Hatley Cockayne* (:kokin :ætli) (12 e.Bedford) full wl. io. by the Rev. E. Brickwell, rect.

16. M. *Melchbourne* (10 n.Bedford) dt. io. by Mrs. F. H. Bolingbroke, of the vicarage.

*16. R. *Ridgmont* (10 ssw.Bedford), dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Susan Wheck, of Whitelands, 206.

16. S1. *Sandy* (8 e.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. S2. *Sharnbrook* (7 nnw.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. T1. *Thurleigh* (:thurlɑ'i·) (6 n.Bedford), wl. and dt. io. by Rev. B. Trapp, vic.

16 T2. *Tilbrook* (12 nne.Bedford), wn by TH.

16. T3. *Toddington* (:tɑɑ·ʊntʊn) (6 ene.Leighton Buzzard) wl. and dt. io. by Major Cooper Cooper, T. Manor.

16. U. *Upper Dean* (11 n.Bedford) wn. by TH.

## 2. Be.=Berkshire, 14 places in D 5 and 8.

5. B. *Bucklebury* (6 ne.Newbury) dt. io. by Rev. W. M. Wallis, Roselands, for Be. between Thames and Kennet rivers.

*5. C. *Cholsey* (12 e.Wantage) dt. io. with letter from Mr. W. Brewer, national schoolmaster, at Wallingford adjoining, obtained through Mrs. Parker, Oxford, 96.

*5. D. *Denchworth* (:dentɟʊth) (3 nnw.Wantage) wl. and lw. io. by Rev. C. H. Tomlinson, vic. 10 y., 96.

5. E. *East Hendred* (4 e.Wantage) letter and wds. io. by Ven. Archd. Pott, Clifton Hampden, Ox. (3 ese. Abingdon, Be.).

*5. H1. *Hampstead Norris* (7 nne. Newbury) cs. io. by Mr. W. B. Banting, LLB. and AJE., 95.

*8. H2. *Hurley* (9 nne.Reading) dt. io. by Mrs. Godfrey, 129.

*8. H3. *Hurst* (5 e.Reading) dt. io. by Rev. A. A. Cameron, for the Loddon river valley, 129.

5. K. *Kintbury* (:kimbri) (6 w.Newbury) from Rev. W. Campbell, vic.

5. S1. *Stanford-in-the-Vale* (5 nnw. Wantage) dt. io. from Mr. W. Cleverley, and dt. io. from Miss Collins, both through Mrs. Parker, of Oxford.

*5. S2. *Steventon* (6 ne.Wantage) and neighbourhood dt. glossic by Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, from Mr. B. Leonard, 94.

5. S3. *Streatley* (:striitli) (9 nw. Reading) wl. io. by Rev. John Slatter, vic. 15 y.

*5. W1. *Wantage* lw. io. from Mr. E. C. Davey, F.G.S., 96.

*8. W2. *Wargrave* (5 ne.Reading) lw. aq. vv. by Mr. T. F. Maitland, 129.

8. W3. *Windsor* wn. by TH.

## 3. Bu.=Buckinghamshire, 19 places in D 15 and 17.

*15. A. *Aylesbury* (:*ee*'jlzbʊri) (1) wl. io. but partly pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. Kersely Fowler, 192; (2) specimen pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. R. R. Fowler, 190; (3) wn. by AJE. from labourer, 1881, 192; wn. by TH. 192.

15. B1. *Bu.*, probably the part near b. of Bd., pal. vv. by AJE. from Mr. J. Wyatt (see Bedford, Bd.).

*15. B2. *Buckingham* wn. by TH., 194.

*15. C1. *Chackmore* (1 wnw.Buckingham) dt. noted by TH., 191; wn. by TH. 194 (where it is misprinted *Clackmore*).

17. C2. *Chalvey* (name omitted on p. 189) (1 n.Eton), letter to LLB. from Mr. A. Henry Atkins, 1875.

17. C3. *Cheddington* (7 ene.Aylesbury) notes by LLB.

15. E. *Edlesborough* (:ɛdɟbʊrʊ) (10 ene.Aylesbury) wl. io. by Rev. G. Birch, vic. 12 y.

15. G. *Great Kimble* (5 s.Aylesbury) lw. io. picked up on the Chilterns by Rev. E. K. Clay, vic., communicated by Mr. J. K. Fowler (see Aylesbury).

17. H1. *Hambleden* (4 w.Great Marlow) lw. by Rev. W. H. Ridley, rec. 60 y.

*15. H2. *Hanslope* (10 nne.Buckingham) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cox, of Whitelands, native, 194 (see Wendover).

17. L. *Langley* (3 e.Eton), letter in 1875 to LLB. from Rev. W. D. Scoones.

15. M1. *Marsh Gibbon* (7 ssw.Buckingham]), letter on the pron. of the school there by a man of 90, by Mr. G. Parker, Oxford.

15. M2. *Marsworth* (6 e.Aylesbury) letter from Rev. F. W. Ragg, vic. (see Wingham, Ke.).

17. P. *Penn* (3 e.High Wycombe), letter from Rev. J. Grainger, vic., 235.

15. S1. *Stowe* (3 nnw.Buckingham) note by TH.

15. S2. *Swanbourne* (8 se.Buckingham) lw. by Rev. M. D. Malden, vic. 10 y.

*15. T. *Tyrringham with Filgrave* (13 ne.Buckingham) [misprinted Tyrinham, p. 194] wl. io. and letters from Rev. J. Tarver, rect., 194.

*15. W1. *Wendover* (5 sse.Aylesbury) (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Beeby, of Whitelands, native of Northampton, but since 8 years old living at Aylesbury and Buckingham, 192: (2) wn. in 1884 by TH. from labourers of 82 and 63 and others, 192.

15. W2. *Winslow* (:winsloo) (6 se. Buckingham) with (s), heard by TH., who was told by a fellow traveller that the dialect was "very broad."

## 4. Cb.=Cambridgeshire, 15 places, all in D 18.

*18. C1. *Cambridge* wn. by TH.

*18. C2. *Cambridgeshire* generally, (1) dt. pal. 1879 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. Perkins, M.A., Downing Coll., 249; (2) notes by Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat.

*18. C3. *Chatteris* (9 nw.Ely) wn. by TH. 253*d*', and note from Rev. Sidney A. Smith, vic.

18. E. *Ely* wn. by TH.

18. H. *Haddenham* (6 sw.Ely) note by Rev. J. M. Freeman.

*18. M. *March* (12 nw.Ely) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. J. Wastie Green, rect., 251, and wn. by TH.

18. P. *Pampisford* (:paanzv) (6 sse. Cambridge) reported by TH. from Prof. Skeat.

*18. S1. *Sawston* (5 sse.Cambridge) dt. pal. from dict. by TH., 250.

18. S2. *Shelford* (4 s.Cambridge) wn. by TH.

18. S3. *Soham* (5 se. Ely), note from Rev. J. Cyprian Rust.

18. W1. *Whittlesford* (6 s-by-e. Cambridge) wn. by TH.

18. W2. *Willingham* (8 nnw.Cambridge) wn. by TH.

*18. W3. *Wisbech* (:wisbitj) dt. and wl. io. with letters, 252, by Mr. Herbert J. Little, Coldham Hall, 252; and wn. by TH. 253.

*18. W4. *Wood Ditton* (3 sse.Newmarket) dt. and wl. with sentences pal. by AJE. in 1879 from dict. of Miss Walker, of the vicarage, 251.

*18. W5. *Wryde* (9 ene.Peterbro' Np.), a farming district 2 e.Thorney village, and in Thorney parish, wn. by TH., 254.

## 5. Ch.=Cheshire, 32 places in D 21, 25, 28.

25. A1. *Altrincham* (8 wsw.Stockport) (1) wl. and dt. io. by Mr. J. C. Clough, then Principal of the Agricultural College, Aspatria, Carlisle, native; (2) notes from JGG. and TH.

*25. A2. *Alvanly* (:AA'v'nli) (7 ne. Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

*25. A3. *Ashton* (7 ene.Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

25. A4. *Audlem* (:AAlum) (6 s.Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*25. B1. *Beeston* (9 se.Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

*25. B2. *Bickley* (5 nnw.Whitchurch, Sh.) (1) dt. pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. T. Darlington, native of Burland (6 ne.Bickley), author of *Folk-speech of South Cheshire*, and wl. in gl., 411, 422; (2) version of Ruth, chap. i., 698, No. 4.

25. B3. *Bowdon* (16 ene.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

*25. B4. *Broxton* (9 sse.Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

25. B5. *Buerton* (6 s-by-e.Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*28. C1. *Churton* (6 s.Chester) wn. by TH. 457 (wrongly referred to D 25 on p. 421).

25. C2. *Congleton* (11 ene.Crewe) wn. by TH.

*28. E. *Eccleston* (:Eklistun) (2 s. Chester) wn. by TH., 457.

*28. F. *Farndon* (:fârn) (7 s.Chester) dt. in so. by Mr. E. French, native, and wn. by TH. 452, 457.

*25. G. *Great Neston* (10 nw. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

*25. H1. *Hatton Heath* (4 se. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

*25. H2. *Helsby* (8 ne.Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

25. K. *Knutsford* (15 ese.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

25. L. *Lymm* (11 ene.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

26. M1. *Malpas* (13 sse.Chester) lw. by Mr, T. Darlington, and wn. by TH.

25. M2. *Marbury* (7 sw.Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*25. M3. *Middlewich* (7 n.Crewe) cs. pal. by TH. from dict., 413.

25. M4. *Mobberly* (9 wnw.Macclesfield) dt. io. by Mr. Robert Holland, of Norton Hill, Halton (2 ese.Runcorn) to represent m.Ch., but really representing e.Ch.

25. M5. *Mouldsworth* (6 ene. Chester) wn. by TH.

*25. N1. *Nantwich* wn. by TH. 421.

25. N2. *Northenden* (4 w.Stockport) phrases noted by TH.

25. N3. *Northwich* (11n.Crewe) wn. by TH.

*25. P. *Pott Shrigley* (4 nne. Macclesfield) cs. pal. by TH. in 1874 from dict. of a native, 413.

*25. S1. *Sandbach* (4 ne.Crewe) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 411; TH. also noted the forms of negative *canna conner* in *Manchester City News*, 26 March, 1881.

*28. S2. *Shocklach* (14 w-by-s, Nantwich) wn. by TH. 457.

*21. S3. *Stalybridge*, situate half in La. and half in Ch., formerly all or nearly all the town was in La., which see, 317.

21. S4. *Stockport* wn. by TH.

*25. T. *Tarporley* (9 ese.Chester) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native of Burland (3 wnw.Nantwich and 7 sse. Tarporley), 413, 421.

*25. W. *Waverton* (4 se.Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

## 6. Co.=Cornwall, 19 places in D 11 and 12.

*11. C1. *Camelford* (14 w.Launceston) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Ada Hill, of Whitelands, 168.

*11. C2. *Cardy'nham* (4 ene.Bodmin) dt. by T. H. Cross, 169.

12. G. *Gwennap* (3 ese.Redruth) (1) dt. io. by Rev. Saltren Rogers, vic.; (2) wn. by TH.

11. L1. *Landrake* (8 ese.Liskeard), let. from vic. unnamed.

11. L2. *Lanivet* (3 sw.Bodmin) dt. io. by the late Mr. T. Q. Couch, author of the Glossary of Polperro (9 ssw.Liskeard).

11. L3. *Lanreath* (7 sw.Liskeard) wl. io. by Rev. R. Buller, rect.

*12. M1. *Marazion* (3 e.Penzance), specimen pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. W. J. Rawlings, Downes, Hayle (6 ne.Penzance), 172.

*11. M2. *Millbrook* (22 sse.Launceston) spec. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. B. Rundell, 167.

11. P1. *Padstow* dt. io. by Hon. Mrs. Prideaux Brune, Prideaux Place.

12. P2. *Penzance* cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. W. Noye and then from Mr. W. Rawlings (see above M1), but not used, 171.

11. P3. *Poundstock* (12 nnw.Launceston) dt. io. by Rev. P. D. Dayman, vic.

11. S1. *St. Blazey* (3 ne.St. Austell) wl. and dt. io. by Miss A. B. Peniston, of the vicarage, 6 y.

*11. S2. *St. Columb Major* (10 wsw.Bodmin) and 10 m. round by Mr. T. Rogers, 169.

11. S3. *St. Goran's* (6 s.St. Austell) also written *Gorran*, *Goram*, dt. io. by Rev. C. R. Sowell, vic.

11. S4. *St. Ive* (4 ne.Liskeard) dt. io. by Ven. Archd. Hobhouse, rect.

12. S5. *St. Just* (7 w.Penzance) dt. io. by Rev. H. S. Fagan, vic.

11. S6. *St. Stephen's* (1 n.Launceston) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. E. S. T. Daunt.

12. S7. *St. Stithian's* (4 sse.Redruth) dt. by Mr. W. Martin, Penhalvar East, churchwarden of St. Stithian's.

11. T. *Tintagel* (13 n.Bodmin) dt. io. by the Rev. Prebendary Kinsman, vic.

## 7. Cu.=Cumberland, 15 places in D 31, 32, and 33.

*31. A. *Abbey Holme* or *Holme Cultram* (12 nne.Maryport) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. T. Ellwood, 562, 563, cwl. 634.

*33. B1. *Bewcastle* (16 ne.Carlisle) *to Longtown* (8 n.Carlisle) pal. by JGG. from a native, 682, 684, 693.

31. B2. *Borrowdale* (7 s.Keswick)

wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Percy C. Walker, vic.

*32. B3. *Brampton* (9 ene.Carlisle) cwl. pal. by JGG. from dict. 669.

*32. C1. *Carlisle* (1) cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mrs. Atkinson, 562, 563, 602; (2) aq. from Messrs. Coward, Harkness, Payne, Murray, and Dickinson about the s. b. of D 32.

*31. C2. *Clifton* (2 e.Workington) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. N. Hetherington, 562, 563.

*32. D. *Dalston* (4 ssw.Carlisle) cs. pal. November, 1873, by AJE. from a native maid servant, but not used, 562*d*.

*31. E. *Ellonby* (6 nw.Penrith) cs. pal. by JGG. 562, 563, 600.

31. H. *Hale* (:ɔal) (14 ssw.Cockermouth) wl. from Rev. W. Sidney Pratten, vic.

*Holme Cultram*, see *Abbey Holme* above.

*31. K. *Keswick* cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. W. Postlethwaite, 562, 563, 600.

*31. L1. *Langwathby* (:la¹qɛnbi) (4 ne.Penrith) pal. 1876–7 by JGG. from dict. of Miss Powley, 561, 563, 600.

*33. L2. *Longtown* (8 n.Carlisle) cs. io. by Rev. R. D. Hope, native, vic. of Old Hutton (4 n.Kendal), We. See under *Bewcastle*, 682, 693.

31. P. *Penrith*, notes on m.Cu. and a translation of A. Craig Gibson *Joe and the Jolly Jist*, pal. January, 1873, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. William Atkinson, an excellent authority, but this early work sadly wants revision, and as I have not been able to recover Mr. A.'s address, I have been obliged to pass it over.

31. R. *Ravenglass* (13 w.Coniston, La.) notes by Rev. H. Bell, vic., which enabled me to complete the s. *hoose* line 6 through s.Cb.

31. S. *South Cumberland*, correspondence with Rev. E. H. Knowles, of St. Bees, Cu., and his friends concerning the use of *at* and *to*.

31. W. *Workington*, cs. io. and wl. io. with many letters from Mr. W. Dickinson, author of the Cu. Glossary. As I was unable to have an interview with Mr. D., I have been obliged to pass over this work.

## 8. Db. = Derby, 67 places in D 21, 25, 26.

*26. A1. *Alvaston* (:AA·vɛstɛn) (3 ese.Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. A2. *Ashbourn* (10 sw.Matlock Bath) two cs. pal. by TH. from dict. 426, 427.

*26. A3. *Ashford* (8 ese.Buxton) with Bakewell (2 se.Ashford) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. 427.

*26. A4. *Ashover* (5 ssw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427, 445.

*26. B1. *Bamford* (12 ne.Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*26. B2. *Barlborough* (7½ ene.Chesterfield) dt. pal. from dict. by TH. 438.

*26. B3. *Belper* wn. by TH. 445.

*26. B4. *Bolsover* (:bɑ'ʌzvr) (5 e.Chesterfield) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 438, 442, 445.

*26. B5. *Bradwell* (:brad·v) (9 ne.Buxton) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 427, and wn. 442.

*26. B6. *Brailsford* (7 nw.Derby) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438.

*26. B7. *Brampton* (3 w.Chesterfield) (1) wn. by TH., (2) cs. io. by Rev. J. M. Mello, rect., with observations on the same by TH., and (3) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 427, No. 7.

26. B8. *Brampton Moor*, near Brampton, wn. by TH.

*26. C1. *Castleton* (10 ne.Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*21. C2. *Chapel-en-le-Frith* (5 n.Buxton), (1) the Song of Solomon complete in his own original so. translated by TH., and Chaps. i. and ii. in pal. and gl. compared with Taddington, which see; (2) cs. from personal knowledge by TH. with variants for places in the neighbourhood, and notes on the use of *thou* and (kh), 317, and dt. 322; (3) Parable of the Prodigal Son; (4) complete cwl. from personal knowledge with the minute distinctions which TH. prefers, 323 to 329.

*26. C3. *Chellaston* (4 sse.Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. C4. *Chesterfield* wn. by TH. 427.

*26. C5. *Codnor* (5 ene.Belper) lw. io. by Rev. H. Middleton, vic 445.

*26. C6. *Codnor Park* (5 ene.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*25. C7. *Combs Valley* (3 nw.Buxton) notes by TH., see Chapel-en-le-Frith, and dt. from personal knowledge, 411.

26. C8. *Crich* (4 n.Belper) notes by TH.

*26. C9. *Cromford* (1 s.Matlock Bath) wn. by TH. 444.

26. D1. *Derby*, wn. by TH. and also by AJE.

*26. D2. *Doe Hill Station* (7 s.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. probably belong to Codnor Park, Ilkestone, etc. 445.

*26. D3. *Dore* (8 nw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*26. D4. *Dronfield* (5 nnw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. D5. *Dronfield Woodhouse* (6 nw. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*26. E1. *Eckington* (6 nne.Chesterfield) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438.

*21. E2. *Edale* (7 se.Glossop) wn. by TH. 317, 322.

*26. E3. *Eyam* (10 ene.Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*25. F1. *Fernilee*, near Combs Valley, wn. by TH. 411.

26. F2. *Foolow* (9 ene.Buxton, 1 e. Eyam) wn. by TH.

*21. G1. *Glossop* cs. pal. by TH. from a man born 3 miles off, 317.

*25. G2. *Goyt, Dale of* (3 nw.Buxton) cs. pal. from personal knowledge by TH., whose father resided there from TH.'s childhood, 321, in the notes to Chapel-en-le-Frith, and 414.

26. G3. *Great Hucklow* (8 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH.

*26. H1. *Hartington* (10 wnw.Matlock Bath) joke pal. by TH. 441.

*26. H2. *Hathersage* (12 ne.Buxton) and 3 or 4 miles round, wn. by TH. 442.

*26. H3. *Heanor* (5 ese.Belper) wn. by TH., and dt. in gl. by Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, from dict. 445.

*26. H4. *Higham* (7 s.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. H5. *Holmesfield* (6 nw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*21. H6. *Hope Woodlands* (10 se. Glossop) wn. by TH. 317, 322, and in note to Chapel-en-le-Frith, 321.

*26. I1. *Idridgehay* (4 wnw.Belper, and 4 s.Wirksworth, to which region it belongs) wn. by TH. 441, 444.

*26. I2. *Ilkeston* (8 se.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

26. L. *Little Hucklow* (7 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH.

*26. M1. *Matlock Bath*, wn. by TH. 444.

*26. M2. *Middleton-by-Wirksworth* (2 sw.Matlock Bath), a mining village, said to speak more broadly than at Wirksworth, wn. by TH. 441, 444.

26. M3. *Middleton-by-Youlgrave* (7 nw.Matlock Bath) wn. by TH.

*26. M4. *Milford* (2 s.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. M5. *Morton* (8 nne.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. N. *Norton* (7 nnw.Chesterfield) lw. io. by Rev. H. H. Pearson, vic. 445.

*26. O. *Old Brampton* (3 w.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*21. P. *Peak Forest* (5 ne.Buxton) wn. by TH. 322.

*26. Q. *Quarndon* (3 nnw.Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. R1. *Repton* (6 sw.Derby) (1) lw. io. by the curate, name not mentioned, and TH.'s observations on them; (2) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 427; (3) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. R2. *Ripley* (3 ne.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

26. S1. *Sandiacre* (:sɛn·dɟikɐ) (8 e. Derby) wn. by TH.

*26. S2. *South Wingfield* (5 nne. Belper) dt. 438, and wn. both by TH.

*26. S3. *Stenson* (4 ssw.Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. S4. *Stretton* (6 s.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. S5. *Sutton* (3 ese.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. T1. *Taddington* (5 ese.Buxton) (1) Song of Solomon, chaps. i. and ii. in gl. and pal. by TH.; (2) cs. pal. by TH. and corrected by a native, 426, 427.

*26. T2. *Tideswell* (:tidzɐ) (6 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

26. T3. *Twyford* (5 ssw.Derby) wn. by TH.

*26. U. *Unstone* (4 nnw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. W1. *West Hallam* (6 ne.Derby) dt. by TH. from dict. 438, 439.

*26. W2. *Whittington* (2 n.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. W3. *Winster* (3 nw.Matlock Bath) cs. pal. by TH. and corrected by natives, 427, also wn. by TH.

*26. W4. *Wirksworth* (:wasɐ) (3 ssw.Matlock Bath) lw. io. with notes by Dr. Spencer T. Hall, and wn. by TH. 441, 444.

## 9. Dv. = Devonshire, 21 places in D 4, 10, 11.

4. A. *Axminster* (8 se.Honiton) cs. io. by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, not used because I had no vv.

11. B1. *Barnstaple*, cs. io. by Mr. W. F. Rock, native, pal. in 1873 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. D. H. Harris, native.

11. B2. *Bigbury* (12 sw.Totness) phr. noted, 1876, in gl. by Mr. J. B. Rundell.

11 B3. *Burrington* (10 sse Barnstaple) characteristic wds. and phr. io. by Mrs. Davis, of the vicarage, native.

*11. C1. *Challacombe* (9 ne.Barnstaple) wds. and phr. obtained from Anne Ridge, native, cook to Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, see notes to Iddesleigh, 158.

11. C2. *Colyton* (7 se.Honiton) dt. io. by Mr. W. H. H. Rogers.

*Dartmoor*, see *Plymouth*.

*11. D. *Devonport* dt. pal. from Messrs. J. Tenney and J. B. Rundell, 166.

11. E. *Exeter* (1) wl. gl. by Mr. N. W. Wyer, collected 1873–7; (2) dt. io. with aq. by Mr. R. Dymond, F.S.A.

11. H. *Harberton* (2 sw.Totness) wn. by AJE. 1 and 2 Sept. 1869, written in the glossotype of the period and pal. 23 July, 1878. This was my first attempt to write English peasant speech from hearing. I stayed with Mr. J. Paige, Little Inglebourne, Harberton, and listened while he conversed with his labourers, and then wrote down the sounds on my return to the house. I was not very successful, and the notes made have therefore not been used.

*11. I1. *Iddesleigh* (:idɹli) (15 s.Barnstaple) (1) wl. io. written by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whitelands Training Coll. from the dict. of his housemaid; (2) cs. pal. by AJE. from the dictation of the same housemaid, Mary Anstey, native, who had not been many months from Dv. 157.

11. I2. *Instow* (5 w-by-s.Barnstaple), from Rev. W. F. Dashwood Lang, rector.

11. M1. *Modbury* and 6 m. round (10 sw.Totness) dt. io. by Miss Green, of the Vicarage.

10. M2. *Morebath* (8 n.Tiverton) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. S. H. Berkeley.

*11. N1. *North Molton* (12 e-by-s. Barnstaple), (1) wl. io. by Mr. R. H. S. Spicer, B.Sc., of that place, (2) by Mr. J. Abbot Jarman, pal. by AJE. in 1877, dt. 160, cwl. 161.

11. N2. *North Petherwin* (14 nw. Tavistock) dt. io. by Rev. T. B. Taunton.

11. P1. *Parracomb* (11 nne.Barnstaple) nwl. taken from n.Dv. servants by Miss Wakefield, of the Rectory.

*11. P2. *Plymouth* (1) cs. gl. for Dartmoor, (2) lw. gl., (3) wl. gl. (4) dt. gl., (5) numerous printed papers and much correspondence from 1868 onwards, all five from Mr. John Shelley, native of Norfolk, but long resident in Plymouth, 163 to 166.

11. S1. *St. Marychurch* (2 n. Torquay) dt. by Rev. G. H. White, with words and phrases by Miss Miles.

11. S2. *Stoke* (1 nw. Plymouth) nwl. by Rev. H. G. Wilcocks, Stoke Cottage.

11. W1. *Warkleigh* (8 sse. Barnstaple) wl. io. by Mrs. W. Thorold, of the Rectory, 30 y.

11. W2. *Werrington* (12 nw.Tavistock) dt. io. by Rev. R. W. Margesson, vicar.

## 10. Do. = Dorsetshire, 14 places, all in D 4.

4. B1. *Bingham's Melcombe* (7 sw. Blandford, near Melcombe Horsey) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. Canon Bingham.

4. B2. *Blackmore, Vale of* (11 sw. Shaftesbury) wl. io. with notes and letters by Rev. John Smith, Kington Magna, rect.

4. B3. *Bradpole* (:bræfpool, :bræf'l) (1 ne. Bridport) wl. io. and notes by Rev. Canon Broadley, vic.

4. B4. *Bridport*, wl. by Mr. T. A. Colfox, native, Westmead, Bridport.

*4. C. *Cranborne* (12 ene. Blandford, and wrongly referred to Blandford on p. 37) cs. by Mr. Clarke, Gen. Michel, and Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour, 75–84.

*4. E1. *East Lulworth* (:lɑlɑʀth) (12 ese.Dorchester, on Purbeck hills) wl. io. by Rev. Walter Kendall, vic. 80.

4. E2. *East Morden* (7 sse.Blandford) wl. io. by Rev. T. Pearce, vic.

*4. H. *Hanford* (4 nw.Blandford) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour, see 75, dt. 76, cwl. 80.

4. S1. *Sherborne* (16 wnw.Blandford)

dt. io. with notes and letters by Rev. O. W. Tancock, school.

4. s2. *Sturminster Marshall* (6 se. Blandford) phrases by Mr. C. Kegan Paul, formerly curate there.

4. s3. *Swanage* (7 s.Poole) note by Mr. Paige, artist.

4. w1. *Walditch* (1 e.Bridport) notes by Mr. W. G. Stone, 10y.

*4. w2. *Whitchurch Canonicorum* (5 wnw. Bridport) (1) transcripts of letters and articles in Pulman's *Weekly News*, Crewkerne, written in glossic with great care by Mr. N. W. Wyer, from dictation of John Taylor, a small freeholder, but doubts having arisen of the trustworthiness of Taylor's Dorset pronunciation, they have been reluctantly cancelled; (2) wn. by the same, 83.

*4. w3. *Winterbourne Came* (2 sse. Dorchester), by Rev. W. Barnes, the Dorset poet (see p. 75), cs. in so. with numerous letters of explanation, from which it was pal. by AJE. 76; list of Do. words with initial (f) or (v), 38.

## 11. Du. = Durham, 31 places in D 31 and 32.

*32. A1. *Annfield Plain* (8 nw. Durham), dt. from Rev. Dr. Blythe Hurst, vic. See *Collierley*, 653.

31. A2. *Aycliffe* (5 n.Darlington) pc. from anonymous vicar.

*31. B1. *Bishop Auckland* (20 wsw.Hartlepool) (1) pc. and letter from Rev. R. Long; (2) dt. by Mr. J. Wyld, master of the workhouse, 617.

*31. B2. *Bishop Middleham* (8 sse.Du.) (1) pc. and letter from Rev. C. A. Cartlege, vicar, who introduced me to dialect speakers, 653.

*31. B3. *Bishopton* (5 nw.Stockton) pc. by Rev. C. H. Ford, vic. 644.

*32. C1. *Clickeminn* (spelling unknown) (10 w.Durham, in Lanchester par.) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. Robson, bailiff, introduced by Canon Greenwell, 653, No. 2.

*32. C2. *Collierley* (11 nw.Durham, containing Dipton and Pontop) dt. io. by Mr. Hugh Leslie, see A1, 653.

32. D. *Dalton-le-Dale* (6 s.Sunderland) pc. from Rev. T. T. Allen, vic.

*31. E1. *Easington* (9 e.Durham) dt. io. by Miss E. P. Harrison, of the rectory, 617.

*32. E2. *Edmundbyers* (17 wnw. Durham) dt. io. with notes by Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-ha'f), rect. 653.

31. G. *Greatham* (:griitum) (6 ne. Stockton), pc. from Rev. J. MacCartie, vic.

*Hart*, see *Easington*.

31. H1. *Hartlepool*, pc. from Rev. E. R. Ormsley, rect.

*31. H2. *Heathery Cleugh* (:kliuf) (27 w.Durham) dt. io. by Mr. Dalton, schoolmaster, 617.

*32. K. *Kelloe* (6 se.Durham) (1) pc. from Rev. W. S. Kay, vic., (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from R. Heightley, 653.

*32. L1. *Lanchester* (7 nw.Durham) wl. io. by Rev. J. Dingle, vic., and see C1, 653.

*31. L2. *Lower Teesdale*, near Stockton, cs. pal. by AJE. in 1876 from Mrs. Alfred Hunt, 617.

*31. M1. *Middleton-in-Teesdale* (30 wnw.Stockton) on the Tees (1) wl. io. by Rev. J. Milner, vic., 634, and notes by JGG.

31. M2. *Monk Hesledon* (5 nw. Hartlepool) pc. from Rev. R. Taylor, vic.

31. R. *Ryhope* (3 s.Sunderland) pc. from Rev. W. Wilson, vic.

31. S1. *St. Andrew Auckland* (1 s.Bishop Auckland, see B1) pc. from Rev. R. Long, vic.

*31. S2. *St. John's Weardale* (24 wsw.Durham) wl. pal. by JGG. 634

31. S3. *Seaham* (4 s.Sunderland) pc. from Rev. W. A. Scott, vic.

31. S4. *Sedgefield* (10 sse.Durham) pc. from Rev. J. P. Eden, rect.

32. S5. *Shincliffe* (2 sse.Durham) pc. from Rev. G. P. Bulman, rect.

*32. S6. *South Shields* from Rev. C. Y. Potts, wl. in gl. 672, and cs. in gl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. Pyke, native, 645.

*31. S7. *Stanhope* (18 wsw.Durham) (1) pc. from Rev. C. Clayton, vic., and letter from Rev. C. Cosbey, curate; (2) dt. io. with notes by Mr. W. M. Egglestone, 617 to 619.

*32. S8. *Sunderland* (1) dt. io. by Mr. E. Capper Robson, Esplanade; (2) full wl. by late Mr. Tom Taylor, native; (3) letter from Mr. W. Brockie with local song of "Spottee" and notes; (4) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. Taylor Potts, 17, Derwent Street, Bishop Wearmouth, 653.

31. T1. *Trimdon* (8 se.Durham) pc. from Rev. R. Simpson, curate-in-charge.

32. T2. *Tyneside*, 6 or 8 miles each way, dt. io. and MS. glossary of Tyneside words by Rev. Blythe Hurst, vic. of Collierly, see A1 and c2.

31. W1. *Witton-le-Wear* (10 sw. Durham) pc. from Rev. J. F. Hodgson, vic.

31. W2. *Wolsingham* (12 wsw. Durham) aq. from Rev. R. H. Gray, rect.

## 12. Es.=Essex, 25 places, all in D 16.

16. B1. *Black Notley* (9 nne.Chelmsford) aq. from Rev. T. Owen, rect.

*16. B2. *Bradfield* (9 ene.Colchester) dt. io. by Rev. L. G. Hayne, rect. 221.

*16. B3. *Braintree* (:brâintri) (10 nne.Chelmsford) wn. by TH. 221.

16. B4. *Brentwood* (:bərntʃʉd) (7 ne.Romford) and 4 m. round, wl. io. by Mr. Arthur H. Brown.

*16. B5. *Brightlingsea* (8 se.Colchester) dt. and notes by Rev. Arthur Pertwee, vic., to illustrate Tendring hundred, 221.

16. C. *Chelmsford* (:tʃɛmzfʉd) pron. of name obs. from a native by TH.

16. E1. *Elsenham* (15 nw.Chelmsford) wl. by Rev. J. Whateley, vic. 15 y.

*16. E2. *Essex*, various places, wn. by TH. 224.

16. G1. *Great Chesterford* (3 nw. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

16. G2. *Great Chishall* (7 w.Saffron Walden) wl. io. by Mrs. Saraita Kent, wife of a principal farmer, obtained through Rev. S. S. Lewis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

16. G3. *Great Clacton* (13 se.Colchester) dt. io. by Mr. G. Woodfall, certificated teacher.

*16. G4. *Great Dunmow* (9 nnw. Chelmsford) cs. pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of Mr. J. N. Cullingford, native, 222, and phr. pal. from dict. of Mr. Roderick (see Ware, Ht.), together with wn. by TH. 221.

*16. G5. *Great Easton* (8 sse.Saffron Walden) wn. TH. 221.

16. G6. *Great Saling* (14 nw.Maldon) aq. from Rev. T. W. Elvington, vic.

*16. G7. *Great Shalford* (15 nnw. Maldon) aq. from Rev. H. B. Philip, vic., and wn. by TH. 221.

16. H. *Henham* (6 s.Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

16. I. *Ingatestone* (10 ne.Romford) lw. from Mr. N. W. Wyer.

*16. M. *Maldon*, dt. pal. by AJE. from Miss Wing, of Whitelands, formerly pupil teacher there, 223.

16. N. *Newport* (4 ssw. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

*16. P1. *Paglesham* (5 ne.Southend) dt. io. by Mr. J. F. T. Wiseman, the Chase, 221.

*16. P2. *Panfield* (13 nnw.Maldon) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. E. J. Hill, rect., with wn. by TH. 221.

*16. R. *Rayne* (12 nw.Maldon) aq. from (anonymous) rect., 221.

*16. S1. *Southend*, lw. by LLB. and Mr. Ph. Benton, Wakering Hall, 221-2.

*16. S2. *Stanway* (3 w.Colchester) dt. io. by Rev. E. H. Crate, Rose Cottage, 221.

*16. S3. *Stebbing* (Bran End), (11 n.Chelmsford) wn. by TH. 221.

16. T. *Thaxted* (16 nnw.Chelmsford) lw. compiled by Rev. Prof. Skeat, Cambridge, from the pron. of his cook, native, and pal. by AJE. from Prof. S.'s reading.

## 13. Gl.=Gloucester, 26 places in D 4 and 6.

6. A1. *Ashchurch* (3 ne.Tewkesbury) wl. by Rev. H. S. Warleigh, rect. 10 y., and wn. by TH.

*4. A2. *Aylburton* (4 wnw.Berkeley) phr. from Miss Trotter, and cwl., 66; see Coleford Gl. (name misprinted Potter on 66).

4. B1. *Berkeley, Vale of*, cs. io. from Mr. J. H. Cooke, of that place, 25 y., obtained by Mr. Bellows for LLB.

4. B2. *Birdlip* (:bəɹlɪ'p) (7 ese. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

4. B3. *Bishop's Cleve* (3 n.Cheltenham) wn. by TH.

4. B4. *Bisley* (3 e.Stroud) wl. io. from Rev. T. Keble, vic.

4. B5. *Bristol* wn. by TH.

4. B6. *Brockworth* (4 ese.Gloucester) wn. by TH.

*6. B7. *Buckland* (11 ene.Tewkesbury) wn. by TH. from native railway porter, who resided there till 25, p. 113.

4. C1. *Cheltenham* (:tʃɛltnəm) wn. by TH.

*4. C2. *Cirencester* (:sisitər) wl. by Miss Martin, of Whitelands, pal. vv. by AJE. 66, and wn. by TH.

*4. C3. *Coleford* (9 nw.Berkeley), representing the Forest of Dean, from

Mr. R. D. Trotter (misprinted as Potter on 66), cs. 60, phr. 66, cwl. 66.

4. c4. *Compton Abdale* (8 se.Cheltenham) dt. io. by Rev. H. Morgan, vic., assisted by Rev. W. H. Stanton, rect. of Hazleton (9 ese.Cheltenham) and Rural Dean, representing the Cotswold hills Gl.

4. *Dean, Forest of.* See *Coleford.*

*6. E. *Ebrington* (18 ne.Cheltenham) wn. by TH. 113.

4. F. *Fairford* (23 ese.Gloucester) wn. by TH.

*4. G. *Gloucester Vale and Town*, vv. from Mr. J. Jones, cs. 60, cwl. 66. *Town*, wn. by TH.

4. H1. *Highnam* (2 wnw.Gloucester) wn. by TH.

4. H2. *Hucclecote* (3 e.Gloucester) wn. by TH.

6. K1. *Kemerton* (5 ene.Tewkesbury), on spike of Gl. projecting into Wo., words noted by Rev. J. I. Mercier, 3 months.

4. K2. *King's Wood* (4 ene.Bristol), representing the colliery region of King's Chase or King's Wood, cs. io. by Samuel Griffith.

6. L. *Long Marston* or *Marston Sicca* (21 ne.Cheltenham) note by TH.

4. M. *Maisey Hampton* (6 ese, Cirencester) wn. by TH.

*6. S. *Shenington* (5 wnw.Banbury), locally in Ox., (1) lw. from dict. by TH. 118, (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from Miss Harris, of Whitelands, 117, 118.

*4. T1. *Tetbury* (8 sse.Stroud), from Miss Frampton, cs. 60, cwl. 66, wn. by TH.

6. T2. *Tewkesbury*, wn. by TH.

*4. W. *Whitcomb* or *Witcomb* (5 ssw. Cheltenham) wn. by TH. 66.

## 14. Ha. = Hampshire, with Wi. = Isle of Wight, 13 places in D 4 and 5.

*5. A. *Andover* (1) lw. io. by E. S. Bewly, see Stowmarket, Sf.; (2) specimens taken down by Prof. Schröer, 98 to 107.

4. B. *Broughton* (10 wnw.Winchester) wl. by Rev. S. Lee, rect.

*4. C1. *Christchurch* notes in letter from Lady Wolf to LLB., see also Iford below, 75.

5. C2. *Corhampton* (10 se.Winchester) lw. from Rev. H. R. Fleming, vic.

*5. E. *East Stratton* (8 nne.Winchester) dt. io. by Rev. S. E. Lyon, vic. 96.

*4. I. *Iford* (1 w.Christchurch) wl. io. by Mr. W. W. Farr, representing the part. of Ha. w. of the Avon, 75.

5. N1. *Northwood* (:nauthud) (2 s. Cowes, Wi.) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. C. E. Seaman.

4. N2. *Nursling* (:nəslin) (12 sw. Winchester) wl. by Rev. H. C. Hawtrey.

4. R. *Ringwood* (7 n.Christchurch) by AJE. from dict. of a carter in service of Messrs. Moore and Moore, native, 15 y. away.

*5. S1. *Shorwell* (:shaʀ'L, :shɔʀ'L) (5 ssw.Newport, Wi.) wl. io. from Mr. James Titmouse, schoolmaster, 14 y. continuously, through Rev. R. Broughton, vic. 107.

*5. S2. *Southampton to Winchester*, so called on p. 97, see below Winchester to Southampton, so called on p. 91, cs. from dict. of Mr. Percival Leigh, 97.

*5. W1. *West Stratton* (7. ne.Winchester) dt. io. from the late Dr. A. C. Burnell, native, 96.

5. W2. *Wight, Isle of*, generally, (1) wds. by Rev. R. N. Durrant, Arreton Vic. (2 se.Newport, Wi.); (2) wds. and letter from Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., of Stroud, author of the Isle of Wight Glossary.

*5. W3. *Winchester to Southampton*, see above S2.

## 15. He. = Herefordshire, 17 places in D 4 and 13.

13. A. *Almeley* (:aˈmɛlii) (8 s-by-e. Presteign, Rd. and He.) from the (unnamed) vic. who said Eardisley (2 sw.Almeley) is called (ɑrslii).

13. D1. *Dinmore* (7 n-by-w.Hereford) wn. by TH.

*13. D2. *Docklow* (5 ese.Leominster) cs. and other specimens in so. by Mr. R. Woodhouse, Newhampton, 30 y. obtained by LLB. 177.

*4. E. *Eggleton* (8 ne.Hereford) cs. and spec. both in a peculiarly keyed orthography by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper, obtained in 1875 by LLB. 69 to 75.

*13. H. *Hereford* and its neighbourhood, (1) cs. in so. by Mr. James Davies, solicitor, of that town, obtained by LLB.; (2) cs. in the 1847 phonotypy of Ellis and Pitman [see Part IV.

pp. 1183-1186] by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, transliterated into pal. by AJE., obtained in 1875 by LLB. I was not able to use either version; (3) wn. TH. 180.

*4. L1. *Ledbury* (12 e.Hereford) cs. by Rev. C. Y. Potts and Mr. J. C. Gregg, 69–73.

13. L2. *Leintwardine* (11 nnw.Leominster) wn. by TH.

*13. L3. *Leominster* wn. b. TH. 180.

*13. L4. *Lower Bache Farm* (3 ene.Leominster) (1) lw. in io. and aq. by Mr. G. Burgiss, native, farmer, obtained through LLB.; (2) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of Messrs. T. and J. Burgiss, brothers of Mr. G. Burgiss, 176, 180.

13. L5. *Lucton* (:lʉk'n) (5 nw.Leominster) note by Rev. A. C. Auchmaty, Lucton House, 4 y.

*4. M. *Much Cowarne* (9 ne Hereford) cs. in 1847 phonotypy written in 1847 by Mr. J. Jones (see Hereford above) from dict. of Mr. Herbert Ballard, 10 y., pal. by AJE., obtained by LLB., see also Eggleton, given at p. 69; (2) wn. by TH. from Mrs. S. Griffiths, native, b. 1816, given on p. 73, notes to C.

*4. R. *Ross* (1) letter from W. H. Green to LLB. 68; (2) wn. by TH. 68.

13. S1. *Stockton* (2 ne.Leominster) wn. by TH.

4. S2. *Stoke Edith* (6 e-by-n. Hereford) wn. by TH.

4. U. *Upton Bishop* (4 ne.Ross) dt. by Mr. Havergal.

13. W1. *Wacton* (7 e.Leominster) wn. by TH.

13. W2. *Weobley* (7 sw.Leominster) cs. io. written by a farmer, communicated to LLB. by Rev. C. J. Robinson, of Norton Canon (10 nw.Hereford), and by him referred to Weobley.

## 16. Ht.=Hertfordshire, 32 places in D 15, 16, and 17.

16. A1. *Anstey* (14 ene.Hitchin) from Rev. T. T. Sale, rect.

*16. A2. *Ardeley* or Yardley (8 e-by-s.Hitchin) dt. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Malet, then curate, and wn. from several old natives by TH. 200, 201.

15. B1. *Berkhampstead* (10 w.St. Albans) notes obtained by LLB.

16. B2. *Bishop's Stortford* (:stɑ'fʉd) (11 ne.Hertford) pron. of name obtained by TH.

16. B3. *Boxmoor* (7 wsw.St. Albans) note from Rev. A. C. Richings sent to LLB.

16. B4. *Braughing* (:brɑfin) pron. of name obtained by TH.

*16. B5. *Buntingford* (:bʉnifʉt) (10 nne.Hertford) wn. by TH. 201.

*17. B6. *Bushey* (2 se.Watford) from Rev. W. Falconer, rect., 235.

16. F. *Furneaux Pelham* (11 nne. Hertford) phr. by Rev. W. Wigram, vic., with notes by Mr. Roderick, rect.

16. G1. *Gilston* (5 e.Ware) notes from Rev. J. L. Hallward, rect.

16. G2. *Great Gaddesden* (7 wnw. St. Albans) notes by LLB.

16. G3. *Great Hormead* (13 e. Hitchin) dt. io. from Rev. J. S. F. Chamberlain, vic., representing the "Wilds of Herts."

16. H1. *Hadham* (7 ne.Hertford) wn. by TH.

*16. H2. *Harpenden* (4 n-by-w.St. Albans) dt. io. from Mr. T. Wilson, Rivers Lodge, 203.

*16. H3. *Hatfield* (6 wsw.Hertford) wn. by TH. 203.

16. H4. *Hemel Hempstead* (5 w.St. Albans) note by LLB.

*16. H5. *Hertford* wn. by TH. 199.

*16. H6. *Hertford Heath* (2 se. Hertford) wn. by TH.

*16. H7. *Hitchin* dt. by Mr. C. W. Wilshere, the Frythe, Welwyn, pal. from indications by AJE. 203.

17. K. *King's Langley* (6 sw.St. Albans) note by LLB.

15. L1. *Little Gaddesden* (10 nw. St. Albans) note obtained by LLB.

15. L2. *Long Marston* (16 wnw.St. Albans) note obtained by LLB.

*17. R. *Rickmansworth* (3 sw. Watford) note sent to LLB. by Mr. W. H. Brown, national school master, and note by LLB. 235.

*16. S1. *St. Albans*, wds. from Mr. R. R. Lloyd, 8 y., 235.

16. S2. *Sandridge* (3 ne.St. Albans) dt. notes, and lw. all in io. by Rev. J. Griffith, of that place.

16. S3. *Sawbridgeworth*, called (:sæp·sʉrd) by old people (10 e-by-n. Hertford) (1) wl. and dt. io., and notes by Mrs. John Barnard, Spring Hall, 12 y., and (2) note by TH. from Prof. Skeat, who give (:saapsʉ).

*16. S4. *Stapleford* (3 nnw.Hertford)

(1) dt. io. by Rev. D. Barclay, rect., and (2) wn. by TH. 199.

15. T. *Tring* (14 wnw.St. Albans), note obtained by LLB.

*16. w1. *Ware* cs. and lw. pal. in 1876 from dict. of Mr. J. W. Roderick, 197 to 200, wn. by TH. 199.

16. w2. *Watford*, note by LLB.

*16. w3. *Welwyn* (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Foxlee, of Whitelands, not usable, 197; (2) dt. io. with notes and phr. by Mr. C. W. Wilshere, of the Frythe, 202.

16. w4. *Weston* (5 e.Hitchin) wl. io. by Rev. A. C. Roberts, vic., assisted by Mr. M. R. Pryor, Manor House, native.

## 17. Hu.=Huntingdonshire, 21 places, all in D 16.

16. A. *Alconbury* (4 nnw.Huntingdon) lw. io. by Rev. R. Conway, vic., assisted by Mr. G. Johnston, of Broughton (5 ne.Huntingdon).

16. G1. *Godmanchester* (1 se.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. G2. *Great Catworth* (9 w.Huntingdon), from Rev. E. C. Purley, vic.

16. G3. *Great Gidding* (10 nw. Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. G4. *Great Paxton* (4 ssw.Huntingdon), from Rev. H. I. Nicholson, of that place.

*16. G5. *Great Stukeley* (2 nnw. Huntingdon), (1) wl. and dt. io. by Miss Mary E. Ebden, then of the vicarage, with numerous notes pal. by AJE. 211; (2) wn. in 1881 by TH. from W. Johnson, b. about 1803, farm labourer, and James Valentine, b. 1806, to whom TH. was introduced by Miss Ebden, 211.

16. H1. *Hamerton* (8 nw.Huntingdon), from Rev. D. G. Thomas, rect.

16. H2. *Hilton* (4 se.Huntingdou), from Rev. T. Carrol, vic.

*16. H3. *Holme* (10 nnw.Huntingdon), (1) wl. io. from Rev. W. A. Campbell, rect., representing the drained fen about Whittelsea Mere; (2) wn. by TH. 212.

16. H4. *Houghton* (:hó*ut*'n, :h*oot*'n) (3 e.Huntingdon), from Rev. E. A. Peck, rect. over 50 y.

16. H5. *Huntingdon*, wn. in 1881 by TH.

16. K1. *Keyston* (12 wnw.Huntingdon), from Rev. J. P. Goodman, rect.

16. K2. *Kimbolton* (9 wsw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. L. *Little Stukeley* (3 nnw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. O. *Old Fletton* (1 s.Peterborough, Np.) wn. by TH.

16. P. *Pidley* (7 ne.Huntingdon) wl. io. by Rev. R. W. Close, 2 y., assisted by Mr. W. Mason, Somersham, (which see) representing e.Hu.

16. S1. *St. Ives* (5 e.Huntingdon) wn. 1873 and 1882 by TH.

*16. S2. *Sawtry* (9 nnw.Huntingdon), (1) dt. io. by Miss Ebden, of Great Stukeley, (which see) from dict. of a maid servant, 212; (2) wn. by TH. in 1881 from J. Harlock, b. 1800, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebden, 212.

16. S3. *Somersham* (8 ene.Huntingdon) dt. io. by Mr. W. Mason (see Pidley, which it adjoins).

16. S4. *Staneley* (8 wsw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. S5. *Stilton* (12 nnw.Huntingdon), (1) dt. io. from Rev. Thomas Hatton, rect., (2) wn. by TH.

## 18. Ke.=Kent, 16 places, all in D 9.

*9. C1. *Charing* (6 nw.Ashford) dt. from Miss Croucher, of Whitelands, 136.

9. C2. *Chatham*, a wd. from Mr. S. Price, see Montacute, Sm.

9. D. *Denton* (7 nw.Dover) from Rev. C. J. Hussey, rect.

*9. F1. *Faversham* (8 wnw.Canterbury) cs. written by Rev. H. Berin, pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, of Provender, with phrases and lw. 137 to 141.

*9. F2. *Folkestone Fishermen*, dt. glossic by Mr. R. Stead, master of the Grammar School, Folkestone, 143.

9. K. *Kent* county generally, wn. by TH.

*9. M1. *Maidstone* note by AJE. from Mr. Streatfield, native, Bankhouse, 131, l. 13.

*9. M2. *Margate* lw. by Mr. Basil Hodges, 20 y., 141.

*9. R. *Rolvenden* (12 sw.Ashford) lw. and dt. io. from Rev J. W. Rumny, vic. misprinted Ramsay on p. 136.

*9. s1. *Shadoxhurst*, mispelled *Shadshurst*, on p. 131, l. 6 (3 ssw. Ashford) dt. io. by Rev. C. T. Rolfe, 136.

9. s2. *St. Nicholas* (5 wsw. Margate) wl. and notes pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Peckham, of Whitelands, 141, 144.

*9. s3. *Sheerness*, nw. point of Isle of Sheppy, note by Miss Lowman, native of Ha., who had been all over it, 137.

9. s4. *Strood* (1 w. Rochester) note by Miss Calland, of Whitelands.

*9. s5. *Stoke* (6 nne. Chatham, between Thames and Medway) lw. and dt. io. with aq. by Rev. A. E. Harris, 136.

*9. s6. *Stourmouth* (5 nw. Sandwich) notes by Rev. R. Drake, rect., 141.

*9. w. *Wingham* (6 e. Canterbury) dt. io. by Rev. F. W. Ragg, for the Highlands of Kent, 142.

## 19. La. = Lancashire, 61 places in D 21, 22, 23, and 31.

23. A1. *Abbeystead* (7 se. Lancaster) wn. by TH.

*Ashton-under-Lyne*, see *Stalybridge*.

*22. B1. *Blackburn* (1) wn. and dt. pal. by TH., cwl. 346, dt. 339; (2) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding in cwl. 346, this list comprised also words from several other places mentioned below, very valuable at first, but superseded by TH.'s work afterwards.

23. B2. *Blackpool* (15 wnw. Preston) from H. Fisher, Mus.D.

*22. B3. *Bolton* (1) wl. by Mr. Ch. Rothwell, M.R.C.S., 40 y. to 50 y. 343; (2) wn. by TH.; (3) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see B1.

*31. B4. *Broughton-in-Furness* (:brɑ'*ut*''n *i* :fʌ'rnɛs) (8 ssw. Coniston) wn. and dt. pal. from dict. by TH., dt. and phr. 553, cwl. 627.

*22. B5. *Burnley* (1) cs. pal. 1875–6 from a native by TH. 332; (2) cwl. by Mr. T. Healey, of the Science and Art Department, with wn. by TH., forming a cwl. 350.

21. B6. *Bury*, Miss ffarington's cs. (see Leyland) read to me in 1873 by Rev. Mr. Langston, sometime curate of Bury, but I was unable to make use of it.

*31. C1. *Cark-in-Cartmel* (5 e-by-s. Ulverston), wn. in 1881 by TH. especially from Betty Butler, b. 1797, near Grasmere, but her speech was too mixed to be trustworthy, cwl. 627.

*31. C2. *Caton* (4 ene. Lancaster) wn. by TH. given in wl. 626.

*22. C3. *Chorley* (10 nw. Bolton) wn. by TH. 345.

22. C4. *Clitheroe* lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see B1.

*22. C5. *Cliviger Valley* (2 sse. Burnley) wn. TH. 350.

*31. C6. *Cockerham* (6 s-by-w. Lancaster) wn. by TH. 626.

*22. C7. *Colne Valley* (6 nne. Burnley) from Mr. Hartley Stuttard, through Mr. John Shelly, 340, 341.

*31. C8. *Coniston* (1) cs. originally written io. by Mr. Roger Bowness, b. 1804, with aq. and explanations from Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver (2 ssw. Coniston), afterwards pal. from Miss Bell, native, 558, 563, 597; (2) wl. io. by Rev. T. Ellwood, pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Bell; (3) wn. by TH., the last two, 627.

31. D. *Dalton* (5 sw. Ulverston) wl. io. by Rev. John Atkinson, Rydal, Ambleside, occasioning, on account of some anomalies, a long correspondence, and Rev. T. Ellwood's obtaining a partial wl. from Mr. T. Butler, solicitor, native, who had known the place intimately for 45 years, and who decided against the anomalies.

22. E. *Earlestown* (8 sw. Wigan) wn. by TH.

21. F1. *Failsworth* (4 ne. Manchester), phrs. noted from 'Ben Brierley' in his public readings, by TH.

*22. F2. *Farrington* (3 s. Preston) wn. by TH. 345.

*23. F3. *Fylde district*, see 352 for full account; note from Mr. T. Cumberland, Harburn, St. (3 sw. Birmingham, Wa.), not used.

23. G1. *Garstang* (:gjaa·st*i*n) (10 nnw. Preston), note by TH. attached to next.

*23. G2. *Goosnargh* (:gúuznɛr) (5 nne. Preston), (1) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mr. E. Kirk, native, 354; (2) wn. by TH. 359.

22. H1. *Halliwell* (2 wnw. Bolton) wn. by TH.

*22. H2. *Haslingden* (7 ssw. Burnley) wn. by TH. 346.

*31. H3. *Heysham* (:iisɛm) (4 w-by-s. Lancaster) wl. by Rev. C. Twenlow Royds, rect. 12 y., cwl. 626.

22. H4. *Higham* (3 nw. Burnley) lw. io. from Mr. T. Fielding, see B1.

*31. H5. *High Nibthwaite* (7 n. Ulverston) wn. by TH. 627.

*Higher Walton*, see *Walton-le-dale*, wl, below.

*22. H6. *Hoddlesden* (4 sse.Blackburn) dt. pal. 1879 by TH. from dict. of native, 339, and wn. 346.

*31. H7. *Hornby* (8 ne.Lancaster) wn. by TH. 626.

*23. K. *Kirkham* (8 w-by-n.Preston) wn. by TH. 359.

*31. L1. *Lancaster*, wn. by TH. 626.

22. L2. *Leigh* (9 ene.St. Helens). Rev. J. H. Stanning, curate in charge in 1873 said the *gh* was pron. as a guttural; places of the same name were in 1875 called (:lɛ'ith) in Ch., and (:lái) also written Lye in Ke.

*22. L3. *Leyland* (5 s.Preston) cs. pal. 1877 from Miss ffarington, with remarks by three other natives, 332, 337, and wn. by TH. 345.

*31. L4. *Lower Holker in Cartmel* (5 e.Ulverston) cs. pal. 1877 by TH. from dict. 558, 563, 596*d*.

21. M1. *Manchester* (1) wl. io. by Mrs. Linnæus Banks, acquainted with the dialect from childhood; (2) note by JGG.; (3) nwl. io. by Rev. J. C. Casartelli, M.A., St. Bede's, Manchester College, for the environs.

22. M2. *Mellor* (2 nw.Blackburn) cs. pal. 1876 by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Coulter, native, but long absent, and I felt that my appreciation was inaccurate, hence I have not used it.

21. M3. *Moston* (4 ne.Manchester) nwl. by Mr. G. Milner.

*31. N1. *Newton-in-Cartmel* (7 ene.Ulverston) note by Mr. J. Stockdale, writer of the translation of SS. chap. ii. for Lonsdale n. of the Sands, reproduced on p. 550.

*31. N2. *Newton-le-Willows* or *Newton-in-Makerfield* (4 e.St. Helens) wn. by TH. 342.

*21. O1. *Oldham* (1) lw. from Mr. T. Fielding, see B1; (2) wn. by TH. 322.

*22. O2. *Ormskirk* (7 se.Southport) wn. by TH. 342.

*21. P1. *Patricroft* (4 w.Manchester) wn. by TH. 322.

*22. P2. *Penwortham* (:pɛn·ərdəm) (1 sw.Preston) wn. 1877 by TH. from Mr. Kirk, see Goosnargh, of which he was a native, though he had resided 60 years in Penwortham.

*23. P3. *Poulton-le-Fylde* (13 nw. Preston) cs. first by Mr. Bellows sent to LLB., not used, and second pal. 1876 by TH. with phrases, 354, 357.

*22. P4. *Prescot* (3 wsw.St. Helens) wn. by TH 342.

23. P5. *Preston*, wn. by TH.

31. Q. *Quernmoor* (3 ne.Lancaster) wn. by TH.

21. R1. *Royton* (2 nnw.Oldham) wn. by TH.

*21. R2. *Rochdale* and neighbourhood, wn. by TH. 322.

22. S1. *Sabden* (5 nw.Burnley) lw. from Mr. T. Fielding, see B1.

*22. S2. *Samlesbury* (:sam·zburi) (4 ene.Preston) wl. io. by Mr. W. Harrison, F.S.A., Samlesbury Hall, representing the parishes of Blackburn, Preston, and Whalley, 346.

*22. S3. *Skelmersdale* (:skjɛm·ərzdil) (7 nnw.St. Helens) cs. pal. 1878 by TH. from natives, 332; wn. by TH. 342.

31. S4. *Skerton* (1 nw.Lancaster) wn. by TH.

*21. S5. *Stalybridge* (1 e.Ashton), half in La. and half in Ch. (which see S3) cs. pal. 1876 by TH. from Mr. J. Marsland, 317.

*31. U. *Ulverston* (:ùs''n) (1) cs. io. by Mr. Pearson, native, obtained by Rev. T. Ellwood, but I was not able to interpret it satisfactorily; (2) wn. by TH. 627.

*22. W1. *Walton-le-dale*, or *Higher Walton* (2 se.Preston) wn. by TH. 345.

*22. W2. *Warrington* wn. by TH. 342.

*22. W3. *Westhoughton* (:a'ut'n) (5 wsw.Bolton), this represents the Bolton neighbourhood, cs. pal. 1876 with wn. by TH. 332, 343.

*22. W4. *Whalley* (3 s-by-w. Clitheroe) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see B1, and Mr. W. Harrison, 346.

*22. W5. *Wigan* (:wigin) and neighbourhood, (1) wn. by TH. 343; (2) wl. io. from Wigan to Ashton in Makerfield (4 s.Wigan), by Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A., Sandy Knowe, Wavertee (3 ese.Liverpool) 50 y., during which the dialect has much changed.

*22. W6. *Worsthorn* (2 e.Burnley) wn. by TH. 350.

*23. W7. *Wyersdale* (6 sse.Lancaster) dt. and wn. by TH. 358, 359.

## 20. Le.=Leicester, 19 places in D 29.

29. A. *Ansty* (3 nw.Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. B1. *Barlestone* (10 w-by-n. Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. B2. *Barwell* (:barel) (2 ne. Hinckley) wds. by Rev. R. Titley, rect.

*29. B3. *Belgrave* (1 n.Leicester) nwl. and dt. by Miss Charlotte Ellis, who has lived near Leicester all her life, 472, 489.

*29. B4. *Birstall* (3 n.Leicester) wds. from Miss Allen, 489.

29. B5. *Blaby* (5 s-by-w.Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. C. *Cottesbach* (:kɔ·tesbatɹ) (10 se.Hinckley) wl. by Rev. J. S. Watson, rect. 489.

*29. E. *Enderby* (4 sw.Leicester) variants by Miss E. Hirst, of Whitelands, from the Waltham cs. 464, and wn by TH.

*29. G. *Glenfield* (3 wnw.Leicester) wn. by TH. 489.

29. H. *Harby* (14 ne. Loughborough) wds. by Rev. M. O. Norman, rect.

29. I. *Illston-on-the-Hill* (8 ese. Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. L1. *Leicester* (1) cs. in gl. with aq. by the late Mr. Geo. Findley, not used, see 464; (2) wn. by TH. from Mr. Findley, 489; (3) letter from Mr. W. Napier Reeve, F.S.A., 35 y., saying he could not see in my wl. any word "of which the pron. in Leicester is different from rec. pron., I am," he added, "an Essex man. I have been in this town 35 years. I have been often struck with the few provincialisms among the people of this county compared with those of Essex"; (4) for town and neighbourhood a few notes from J. H. Chamberlain, Small Heath, Birmingham, having been 20 years there and 40 in Leicester.

*29. L2. *Loughborough* wn. in 1878–9 by TH. 489.

*29. M1. *Market Harborough* (14 se.Leicester) wn. by TH. 489.

29. M2. *Mount Sorrel* (6 n.Leicester) wn. by. TH.

29. N. *Normanton* (3 sse.Ashby-de-la-Zouche) from Miss Green of the rectory.

*29. S. *Syston* (5 nne.Leicester) full wl. pal. by AJE. from Miss M. A. Adcock, teacher at Whitelands, 489.

29. T. *Thurcaston* (4 nnw.Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. W. *Waltham* (16 ene.Loughborough, in the horn of Le.) cs. pal. by AJE. from Miss H. Bell, of Whitelands, see also E above, 464.

## 21. Li.=Lincolnshire, 55 places in D 18 and 20.

20. A1. *Aisthorpe* (6 nnw.Lincoln), aq. by Rev. T. W. Bury, rect.

20. A2. *Alford* (10 se.Louth), note by Mrs. Williams, see s2 below.

20. A3. *Axholme, Isle of* (4 to 18 n.Gainsborough) lw. io. by Mr. Standring, of Working Men's College.

20. B1. *Barnoldby-le-Beck* (:bɑanʊbi) omitting *le Beck* (4 sw.Great Grimsby), full wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Morgan G. Watkins, M.A.

*20. B2. *Barrowby* (2 w.Grantham) wn. by TH. from a native then living at Newark, Nt. 299.

20. B3. *Beckingham* (11 nnw.Grantham) aq. from the (anonymous) vicar.

*20. B4. *Billingborough* (13 e.Grantham, and 6 m. round), full wl. corrected vv. by AJE. from Mr. T. Blasson, surgeon, b. 1833, native and constant resident, 299.

20. B5. *Blyton* (3 nne.Gainsborough), aq. from Rev. J. S. Cockshall, vic.

20. B6. *Bracebridge* (2 s.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. C. C. Ellison, vic.

*20. B7. *Brigg* or *Glanford Brigg* (17 w.Great Grimsby) (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. E. Peacock, F.S.A., Bottesford Manor, author of the *Manley and Corringham Glossary*, b. 1833, with a dt. pal. by AJE. from the wl. 312, 313; (2) wn. by TH., see Spilsby.

20. B8. *Brocklesby* (8 wnw.Great Grimsby), note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. C1. *Caistor* (11 wsw.Gt. Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. C2. *Coningsby* (:kuɪ·nin·sbi) (10 wnw.Boston) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Canon Wright, rect.

20. C3. *Crowle* (14 n-by-w.Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. F. W. White.

*20. E. *Epworth* (8 nnw. Gainsborough) cs. pal. by AJE., described, and why rejected, on p. 312, see w2.

20. F1. *Faldingworth* (10 ne.Lincoln) aq. by Rev. W. S. Mackean, pro. rect.

20. F2. *Fillingham* (9 se.Gainsborough) note from Rev. J. Jenkins, rect.

*20. F3. *Friskney* (3 sw-by-s.Wainfleet) nwl. with rules and ex. io. by Rev. H. J. Cheales, vic. 298.

20. F4. *Fulstow* (7 n.Louth) lw. by Rev. Alex. Johnson, vic.

20. G1. *Gainsborough*, aq. by Rev. W. J. Williams, vic.

20. G2. *Glanford Brigg*, see Brigg.

20. G3. *Grantham* (:gra'ntham) cs. io. by Mr. Cockman, national schoolmaster, read to AJE. by Miss Cockman, of Whitelands, but as both were Londoners and she was uncertain on some points I was obliged to pass it by.

20. G4. *Great Coates* (2 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. G5. *Great Grimsby* note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. H1. *Halton Holegate* (6 nw. Wainfleet) dt. and many specimens and notes pal. in April, 1881, from dict. of Mrs. Douglas Arden, 306 to 309.

20. H2. *Haxey* (6 nnw.Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. J. Johnston, vic.

20. H3. *Healing* (3 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. H4. *Horbling* (13 e.Grantham) wl. by Mr. H. Smith, representing "the parts of Kesteven" in sw.Li. 299.

20. H5. *Horncastle* (17 e.Lincoln) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. K1. *Keelby* (6 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. K2. *Killingholme* (8nw.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. K3. *Kingerby* (15 e.Gainsborough) phr. from Rev. W. A. Cottee, vic.

20. L1. *Laceby* (3 sw.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see Scartho.

*20. L2. *Lincoln*, see Spilsby for wn. by TH. 309.

*20. L3. *Louth* (1) Tennyson's Northern Farmer New Style rendered in gl. by Mr. T. Wemyss Bogg, surgeon, then of that place, see Somerby below, and p. 297; (2) wn. by TH., see Spilsby, 309; (3) wl. by Mr. W. R. Emeris; (4) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. N1. *North Hykeham* (:áikem) (4 ssw.Lincoln) wl. by Rev. F. T. Cusins (:kiúzinz), 9 y.

20. N2. *North Kelsey* (14 wsw. Great Grimsby) note from Rev. W. J. Chambers, vic.

20. S1. *Saxby* (10 nne.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. C. W. Markham, rect.

20. S2. *Scartho* (2 s.Great Grimsby) wl. and dt. io. by Mrs. Williams, of the rectory. In relation to the s. *hoose* line 5, Mrs. Williams informed me that (uus) was said at Killingholme, Ulceby, Thornton, but (a'us) at Brocklesby, Keelby, Great Coates, Stallingborough, Healing, Louth, Alford, Spilsby, Horncastle, Caistor, Great Grimsby, Laceby, Scartho, Waltham, which see in this list, thus completing line 5.

*20. S3. *Scotter* (8 ne.Gainsborough) wl. corrected vv. by AJE., written by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, native and resident till 15, Principal of Whitelands Training College, to whom I am indebted for the great assistance rendered by its teachers and students, 313.

20. S4. *Scunthorpe* (15 nne.Gainsborough, in parish of Frodingham) full wl. by Mr. Bernard Dawson, C.E. Mr. Peacock (see Brigg), who lives 3 s.Frodingham, says it is full of miners, and that he should not trust any one's pron. unless he knew his birth. Hence I have thought Mr. Peacock's wl. p. 313, safer.

20. S5. *Skellingthorpe* (4 w.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. E. P. Armstrong, vic.

*20. S6. *Sleaford* (16 w.Boston) wn. by TH. 309.

20. S7. *Snitterby* (11 ene.Gainsborough) note from Rev. R. E. Warner, rect.

*20. S8. *Somerby* (22 e-by-n.Lincoln) representing the dialect from Horncastle (17 e.Lincoln) to Spilsby (27 e. Lincoln), here I received great assistance on 23 March, 1881, from Lord (then Mr.) Tennyson, detailed 302 to 306, who introduced me to Mrs. Douglas Arden, see H1.

*20. S9. *Spilsby* (8 ne.Wainfleet) (1) wn. by TH. from Rev. W. Jackson, 309; (2) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. S10. *Springthorpe* (4 e.Gainsborough) note from Rev. E. L. Blenkinsopp, rect.

20. S11. *Stallingborough* (4 nw. Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*18. S12. *Stamford* wn. by TH. from a man of 60, and again from a Rutland man who may not be trustworthy, 254.

20. T1. *Thoresway* (10 sw.Great

Grimsby) aq. from Rev. G. Maule, rect.

20. T2. *Thornton* (12 nw.Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. U1. *Ulceby* (10 nw. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. U2. *Usselby* (18 e-by-n.Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. A. Bower, vic.

20. W1. *Waltham* (4 s-by-w.Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. W2. *Winterton* (22 wnw. Great Grimsby) cs. pal. 1874 from dict. of Rev. J. J. Fowler, of Hatfield Hall, Durham, curate of Winterton in 1870; and this version was also read to me by a maid servant from Epworth, which see, 312.

## 22. Mi.=Middlesex, 7 places in D 17.

*17. A. *Ashford* (7 sw.Brentford) note by Rev. F. B. Dickinson, 235.

*17. B. *Bromley* (5 e.Charing Cross, London), representing e.London, wl. by JGG. 233.

*17. E. *Enfield* (5 e.Barnet), (1) note by Mr. Joseph Whitaker, F.S.A., White Lodge, 15y., (2) note by Mr. J. H. Meyers, editor of *Enfield Observer*, (3) wn. io. from the chief mason, by LLB., 235.

*17. H1. *Hanwell* (2 nnw.Brentford) note from Miss E. Coleridge, of the rectory, 235.

*17. H2. *Harmondsworth* (7 w. Brentford) lw. from Mr. Lake, schoolmaster.

*17. L. *London* wn. in various parts of the metropolitan area at very various times, by TH. 231.

*17. S. *South Myms* (3 nnw.Barnet) notes from Rev. P. F. Hamond, vic. 236.

*17. W. *Willesden* (5 nne.Brentford) letter from Rev. J. Crane Wharton, vic. to LLB., and note from LLB. in Meyer's *Enfield Observer*, 28 Sep. 1875, p. 235.

## 23. Mo.=Monmouthshire, 3 places in D 13.

13. C1. *Caerleon* or *Llangattock* (2 ne.Newport) aq. by Rev. H. Powell Edwards, vic.

*13. C2. *Chepstow* lw. io. with long note, through Dr. J. Yeats, 179.

*13. L. *Llanover* (12 w-by-s. Monmouth) cs. read to me by Lady Llanover in the presence of LLB., and variants suggested by LLB. from his own observations and communications by Mr. Meredith, 179.

13. P. *Pontypool* (8 nnw.Newport) aq. by Rev. J. C. Llewellin, vic.

## 24. Nf.=Norfolk, 51 places in D 19.

*County*, see *Norwich*.

*19. A. *Ashill* (:ashul) (12 n.Thetford) notes by TH. 262.

19. B1. *Binham* (4 se.Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. B2. *Brancaster* (7 w.Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

*19. B3. *Burnham* (:baanim) *Westgate* (4 sw.Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Mr. C. H. Everard, Eton Coll., 28 y., p. 264.

*19. B4. *Buxton* (9 n.Norwich) wn. by TH., who here had the misfortune to lose his note book containing the details of the pron. of numerous places visited in 1883, p. 278.

19. C. *Congham* (:kəqgum) (6 ene. King's Lynn) nwl. by Rev. Canon Kersley, LL.D., rect.

19. D1. *Diss* (15 e-by-s.Thetford) wn. by TH. in 1881, with example, 278, from a farm-labourer, native.

19. D2. *Ditchingham* (12 sse. Norwich) wl. and phr. from Rev. W. Skudamore, rect., assisted by Rev. H. Frere, native of s.Nf.

*19. D3. *Downham Market* (10 s. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. E. *East Dereham* (15 w-by-n. Norwich) (1) cs. io. with aq. by Mr. G. A. Carthew, of Millfield in 1873; (2) wn. by TH. 273.

19. F. *Fakenham* (8 s.Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. G1. *Gaywood* (2 e.King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

*19. G2. *Great Dunham* (14 ese. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. G3. *Great Yarmouth* (:jaamuth) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. J. J. Raven,

D.D., then of the school house, with notes made vv. from him by AJE. in 1879, this represents s.Nf. and nw.Sf. gen. 278.

19. H1. *Hardingham* (13 w-by-s. Norwich) wn. by TH.

*19. H2. *Heacham* (:itɹʊm) (12 nne. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. H3. *Hempton* (9 s.Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. H4. *Hemsby* (6 n.Great Yarmouth) wl. io. by Rev. H. W. Harden, vic.

*19. H5. *Holme-next-Sea* (13 w. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. H6. *Hunstanton St. Edmunds*, close to Old Hunstanton (12 nne.King's Lynn), wn. by TH. 262.

19. I. *Ingham* (14 se.Cromer) wl. by Rev. G. Sharley.

*19. K1. *Kimberley* (10 wsw.Norwich) cs. pal. in 1873 from dict. of G. Ashby, native, but absent 33 years, and then gardener to LLB. 273.

*19. K2. *King's Lynn*, wn. by TH. 262.

*19. K3. *Kirby Bedon* (3 se.Norwich) lw. pal. in 1868 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cecilia M. Day, of the Vicarage, his first attempt at writing dialect from dict. with additions from her sister, Mrs. Luscombe, and Mr. Keith, 275; cs. io. with aq. by the same.

*19. M1. *Marham* (8 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. from J. W. Little, gardener, 45, then at Wisbech, Cb. 262.

*19. M2. *Mattishall* (:mæts'l) (11 wnw. Norwich) cs. pal. by AJE. from Miss Buckle, of Whitelands, 273.

*19. M3. *Middleton* (3 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 261, 262.

*19. N1. *Narborough* (9 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262, and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a labourer, aged 70, p. 263.

19. N2. *North Elmham* (13 sse. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

*19. N3. *North Tuddenham* (11 nw. Norwich) wn. by TH. 279.

*19. N4. *North Walsham* (:wʌlsʊm) (13 nne.Norwich) wl. and dt. io. by Mr. Baker, J.P. 272.

*19. N5. *Norwich* (1) wn. by TH. from a native living in Db., also 279; (2) street cries pal. by AJE. in 1867, p. 277; (3) wl. io. by Rev. G. P. Buck; (4) various ex. pal. from dict. by AJE. from Dr. Lomb, 276, Mrs. Luscombe, 277, Anonymous passenger, 277, and from letter of Rev. T. Burningham, 277.

*19. O1. *Old Hunstanton* (13 nne. Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. O2. *Ovington* (:əviqtʊn) (12 nne. Thetford) wl. io. representing 3 n. and 3 ne. of Watton (11 ne.Thetford) by Rev. C. J. Evans, rect. 12 y., native of Norwich.

19. R. *Ringstead* (13 w-by-s.Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Mr. Everard Kitton.

*19. S1. *Snettisham* (:snɛtsʊm) (10 nne.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. S2. *Stanhoe* (:staˈnʊ) (8 sw. Wells-next-Sea) full wl. pal. in 1877 by AJE., dt. pal. by AJE. 1879, both from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native, 50 y., in 1877, but then rect. of Farnham (10 wsw.Guildford, Sr.), with many notes and illustrations given me in two long visits, with an examination of Forby, 264 to 272; (2) wn. by TH. 272.

19. S3. *Stoke Ferry* (13 sse.King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

19. S4. *Stow* (9 ssw.King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

*19. S5. *Swaffham* (13 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. T1. *Terrington St. Clements* (4 w.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. T2. *Thetford* wn. by TH. 279.

19. T3. *Tivetshall* (:titsʊl) (17 ene. Thetford) name noted by TH.

19. T4. *Tuttington* (12 n.Norwich) wl. io. by Rev. J. Gostle.

19. W1. *Walsingham* (:wʌˈlziqgjam) (3 s.Wells-next-Sea) name noted by TH.

*19. W2. *Warham* (2 se.Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Rev. C. T. Digby, 264.

19. W3. *Watton* (11 nne.Thetford) wn. by TH.

19. W4. *Wells-next-Sea*, wn. by TH.

*19. W5. *Wiggenhall St. German's* (4 ssw.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. W6. *Witton* (9 se.Cromer) notes by Rev. F. Procter, vic.

*19. W7. *Wolferton* (6 nne.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. W8. *Wymondham* (:windʊm) (9 sw.Norwich) wn. by TH. 278.

## 25. Np.=Northamptonshire, 52 places in D 6, 16, 18.

*18. A1. *Ailesworth* (5 w.Peterborough) in Castor parish, wn. by TH. from a labourer b. 1808, p. 254.

*6. A2. *Ashby St. Legers* (3 n. Daventry) wn. by TH. from a native shepherd b. 1845, and another b. 1805, p. 120.

*6. B1. *Badby* (2¼ ssw.Daventry) wn. by TH. from persons b. 1807, and about 1831, p. 120.

16. B2. *Blisworth* (4 ssw.Northampton) note by TH.

*16. B3. *Brixworth* (6 n.Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. B4. *Byfield* (8 nne.Banbury) (1) from Rev. F. H. Curgenven, rect. 4 or 5 y.; (2) wn. by TH. especially from a native farm waggoner, b. 1803, p. 120.

*18. C1. *Castor* (4½ w.Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.

*16. C2. *Clay Coton* (6 w.Naseby) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. D1. *Daventry* (12 w-by-n. Northampton) wn. by TH. 120.

16. D2. *Denton* (6 ese.Northampton) wn. by TH.

16. D3. *Duston* (2 w.Northampton) from Rev. Peake Banton.

*16. E1. *East Haddon* (7 nw.Northampton) cs. wds. and phr. pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of G. S. Hadley, railway porter, 213 to 216.

*18. E2. *Eye* (3 ne.Peterborough) wn. by TH. from a carpenter, b. 1822, and a widow, a cottager, b. 1829, p. 254.

6. F. *Farthinghoe* (:fàrdhinjoo) (5 e-by-s.Banbury) wn. by TH.

*16. G. *Great Houghton* (:ɑ'ut''n) (3 ese.Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

16. H1. *Hackleten* (5 se.Northampton) wn. by TH.

*16. H2. *Hannington* (5 nw.Wellingborough) wl. dt. io. with lw. and aq. by Miss Downes, of the rectory, 216.

*16. H3. *Hardingstone* (2 sse.Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

16. H4. *Hargrave* (9 ene.Wellingborough) dt. and notes from Rev. R. S. Baker, rect.

*16. H5. *Harrington* (:arintvn) (5 w.Kettering) wl. and dt. io. by Hon. and Rev. H. F. Tollemache, rect., and Miss Tollemache, 217.

*6. H6. *Helmdon* (9 e-by-n.Banbury) wn. by TH., who says the dialect is similar to that of Towcester (which see), 120.

16. I1. *Irchester*, formerly (:aa·tjistv), now (:aa·tjistv) (2 se.Wellingborough) wn. by TH.

*16. I2. *Islip* (:A''islip) (8 e.Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

6. L1. *Long Buckley* (5 ne.Daventry) wn. by TH.

*16. L2. *Lower Benefield* (:bEnifild) (14 nnw.Wellingborough) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. E. M. Moore, rect., and Mr. C. H. Wykes, schoolmaster, and the dt. afterwards pal. by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Wykes and various wn. from the same, 218, 219.

*16. L3. *Lowick* (7 ene.Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. N1. *Nether Heyford* (6 w-by-s. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. N2. *Northampton* (1) wn. by TH., and (2) notes from Miss Eva Chapman, of Whitelands, who knew the town speech only, 219.

*16. O. *Oundle* (12 ne.Kettering) (1) notes from Mr. J. Cunnington, Tansor Lodge, and Mr. H. St. John Reade, school house, (2) wn. by TH. 219.

*18. P1. *Peakirk* (5 n.Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.

*18. P2. *Peterborough* notes of town pron. from Miss E. Furness, of Whitelands, and wn. by TH. 254.

*18. R. *Rockingham* (8 n.Kettering) wn. by TH. from a native, b. 1814, and others, 254.

*16. S1. *Sibbertoft* (3 n-by-w. Naseby) wn. by TH. 219.

6. S2. *Silverstone* (12 ssw.Northampton) wn. by TH.

6. S3. *Slapton* (11 sw.Northampton) dt. io. by Rev. Philip Lockton, rect.

*16. S4. *Stanion* (6 nne.Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. S5. *Sudborough* (7 ene.Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. S6. *Syersham* (11 e.Banbury) wn. by TH. 120.

18. T1. *Thornhaugh* (8 w-by-n.Peterborough) dt. io. from Rev. J. Jenkyns, rect.

*16. T2. *Thrapston* (8 e.Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. T3. *Towcester* (8 ssw.Northampton) wn. by TH. 120.

18. U. *Ufford* (7 nw.Peterborough) note by Rev. T. Paley, rect.

*18. W1. *Wakerley* (14 w. Peterborough) wn. by TH. from a farm labourer, b. 1806, p. 254.

*6. W2. *Watford* (5 nne.Daventry) wn.by TH. 120.

*6. w3. *Weedon* (4 se.Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.

*16. w4. *Welford* (12 nne.Daventry) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. w5. *Wellingborough* wn. by TH. 219.

*18. w6. *Werrington* (3 nnw.Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.

16. w7. *West Haddon* (7 ne. Daventry) from Rev. G. L. W. Fauquier, vic.

6. w8. *Wood Burcote* (10 ssw.Northampton) wn. by TH.

*6. w9. *Woodford* (7 ssw.Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.

*16. y. *Yelvertoft* (:ɪɑ·lɐtʊt) (8 nne. Daventry) wn. by TH. in 1886 from a farm waggoner, b. 1812, p. 219.

## 26. Nb.=Northumberland, 25 places in D 32.

32. A1. *Acklington* (:*ee*·klintʊn) (7 sse.Alnwick) notes from Mr. Middleton H. David, Hauxley Cottage.

*32. A2. *Alnwick* (1) dt. io. from Rev. James Blythe; (2) dt. io. from Mr. R. Middlemas, solr., 654, 656, 668; (3) Alnwick vowels, by Mr. G. Thompson, 668.

32. A3. *Ancroft* (a¹nkra¹ft) (4 s. Berwick-upon-Tweed) wl. io. and aq. from Rev. J. Henderson, 30 y.

*32. B1. *Backworth* (5 ne.Newcastle) wl. by Mr. G. B. Foster, see Pitmen's speech, 674.

*32. B2. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, cs. pal. by AJE., from Mr. G. M. Gunn, 645, 652.

*32. B3. *Birtley* (9 nnw.Hexham, spelled Birkley in the parish registers) wl. io. with notes by Rev. G. Rome Hall, 674.

32. D. *Doddington* (13 s.Berwick-upon-Tweed) wl. and aq. from Mr. J. F. Rea, 17 y.

*32. E. *Embleton* (6 ne.Alnwick) (1) dt. io. for the agricultural population by Rev. M. Creighton, vic.; (2) dt. io. for the fishing population up to Bamborough (14 n.Alnwick) by Rev. C. E. Green), both on 655, 656, 668.

*32. F. *Falstone* (19 nw.Hexham), note in 1878 by JGG. 644.

*32. H1. *Haltwhistle* (14 w.Hexham) dt. io. with aq. by Rev. W. Howchin, 654, 656, 664, No. 9.

*32. H2. *Harbottle* (17 wsw.Alnwick) dt. io. and notes by Dr. F. T. Richardson, 654, 656, 664, No. 16.

*32. H3. *Hexham* dt. pal. in 1879 by AJE. from Messrs. J. Wright and Dobson, 654, 656, 663, Nos. 7 and 8.

*32. K. *Knaresdale* (17 sw.Hexham) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Jacob Bell, 563, 602, No. 22.

32. M. *Morpeth* wn. by AJE.

*32. N1. *Newcastle-on-Tyne* cs. pal. 1879 by AJE. from writing of Mr. W. H. Dawson, and reading of Mr. T. Mitcheson, and Mr. T. Barkas, and conversations with J. Bryson and R. Young, miners, and Mrs. Ferschl, 645, 650, and dt. pal. 1879 by AJE. from Mr. W. Lyall, 654, 656, No. 12.

*32. N2. *North Shields* dt. pal. 1879, by AJE. from Mr. J. S. Edington, Symes Walk, 654, 656, No. 13.

*32. R. *Rothbury* (11 sw.Alnwick) (1) cs. io. with aq. from Rev. Dr. Ainger, rect., written in 1873 from old men of 86 and 72, but it could not be properly interpreted even vv.; (2) dt. io. by Mr. C. H. Cadogan, Brenchburn Priory, Morpeth; (3) wn. February, 1879, by AJE. from J. Ramsey, procured by Dr. Ainger, 678; (4) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. A. Scott, 654, No. 14.

*32. S1. *Snitter* (12 wsw.Alnwick) pal. by AJE. from Mr. T. Allen, of Whittingham, 654, No. 15, serving also for w3.

*32. S2. *Stamfordham* (:sta¹nɔrtʊn) (12 nw.Newcastle) dt. io. by Rev. J. F. Bigge, vic. 654, No. 10.

*32. T. *Tyne to Wansbeck Rivers*, that is, the coal-fields, for the Pitmen's speech by Rev. Hugh Taylor, of Humshaugh (:hʊmz·ha¹f), 40 y., revised by Rev. J. Taylor and Mr. W. B. Forster, see B1, p. 674.

*32. W1. *Warkworth* (6 se.Alnwick) dt. and wl. both pal. by AJE. from Mr. T. D. Ridley, 654, No. 17; *Ned White, a yarn*, pal. by AJE. from the same, 666; cwl. 678.

*32. W2. *Whalton* (5 sw.Morpeth) dt. io. by Rev. J. Walker, rect., from notes by Mr. R. Bewick, 654, No. 11.

*32. W3. *Whittingham* (7 w.Alnwick) (1) note by Rev. R. W. Goodenough, vic.; (2) dt. io. by Mr. W. Dixon, 655, No. 19, see also S1.

32. W4. *Woodhorn* (6 ene.Morpeth) notes by Rev. E. N. Mangin, vic.

*32. W5. *Wooler* (1) dt. io. by Mr. M. T. Culley, 655, No. 22; (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. T. Kirkup, 655, No. 22, and 669, No. 22.

## 27. Nt.=Nottinghamshire, 25 places, all in D 27.

27. B1. *Beckingham* (2 wnw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. D. Hooke, vic.

*27. B2. *Bingham* (7 e.Nottingham) (1) lw. by Mrs. Miles of the Rectory; (2) part of a cs. pal. in 1873 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Francis Miles, son of the rect. 449; (3) part of a cs. pal. in 1879 by TH. from a native, 449; (4) wn. by TH. 450.

27. B3. *Blyth* (6 nne.Worksop) aq. from Rev. Ch. Gray, vic.

*27. B4. *Bulwell* (4 nnw.Nottingham) dt. pal. from a retired labourer by TH. 448.

*27. E1. *East Retford* (7 ene.Worksop) (1) dt. pal. by TH. from the lock-keeper at the Chesterfield Canal, 76, who had been there 44 years, and his father 56, p. 449; (2) wn. by TH.; (3) a note from Rev. A. J. Ebsworth, vic.

27. E2. *Eastwood* (8 nw.Nottingham) wn. by TH.

27. F. *Finningley* (7 ese.Doncaster, Yo.) wl. and aq. from Rev. G. H. Woodhouse, rect.

27. G. *Gringley* (5 wnw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. G. H. Scott, vic.

27. K. *Kirkby-in-Ashfield* (4 sw. Mansfield) wn. by TH.

27. L. *Laxton* (10 nnw.Newark) wl. by Rev. H. A. Martin, 19 y.

*27. M1. *Mansfield* dt. and wn. pal. 1879 by TH. 448.

*27. M2. *Mansfield Woodhouse* (2 n. Mansfield) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 448.

27. M3. *Mattersey* (9 ne.Worksop) wds. by Rev. J. M. Lewes.

27. M4. *Misson* (9 nw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. I. N. Baldwin, vic.

27. M5. *Misterton* (5 nnw.Gainsborough, L.) aq. from Rev. G. Swift, vic.

*27. N1. *Newark* dt. pal. by TH. from a butcher, native of Caunton (5 nw.Newark), 449, and wn. by TH.

27. N2. *North Carlton* (4 n.Worksop) aq. from Rev. J. Foxley, rect.

27. N3. *North Wheatley* (12 nne. Worksop) from Rev. T. C. B. Chamberlain, vic.

*27. N4. *Nottingham* dt. pal. by TH. from a native of Widmerspool (7 sse.Nottingham), and wn. by TH. 450.

27. R1. *Ratcliffe* (4 e.Nottingham) full wl. io. by Rev. J. Cullen, vic. 4 y.

27. R2. *Rempstone* (9 s.Nottingham) wl. by Rev. G. Pope.

*27. S1. *Southwell* (5 w.Newark) wn. by TH. 450.

27. S2. *Sutton* (7 ne.Worksop) aq. from Rev. J. Farmer, vic.

27. W1. *Walesby* (8 se.Worksop) lw. by Rev. R. Pocklington, vic.

*27. W2. *Worksop* dt. pal. 1879 by TH. from the porter at the canal wharf, 56, a native of Blyth, see B3, which he left at 9, and wn. from the same, 449.

## 28. Ox.=Oxfordshire, 22 places in D 5, 6, and 7.

5. A. *Alvescot* (:ælshʊt) (6 sw. Witney) wl. by Rev. F. C. Marshall, rect. 2 y., assisted by an unnamed lady who had been there all her life.

*6. B1. *Banbury* (1) cs. by Mr. T. Beesley, 116; (2) lw. by his uncle, 118; (3) wn. by TH. 118; (4) dt. io. by Mrs. P. Bradshaw, jun., Wykham Mills. All (1, 2, 4) refer to about 6 m. round Banbury, encroaching on Ox., Bu., Wa., which belong to D 7.

*7. B2. *Blackthorn* (11 ne.Oxford) wd. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. Angelina Parker, 122, 127.

5. C1. *Charlbury* (:tʃAAlber*i*) (12 nw.Oxford) from Rev. C. F. West, vic.

5. C2. *Chastleton* (14 sw.Banbury dt. io. from Miss Whitmore Jones, Chastleton House.

*5. D. *Ducklington* (:dʌk'lt'n) (1 S. Witney) wl. and dt. both io. from Rev. W. D. Macray, rect. pal. vv. by TH., who noted other words from J. Brain, then 81, since deceased, 93.

7. E. *Ensham* or *Eynsham* (:*ee*nsʊm) (5 nw.Oxford) specimens from dict. in glossic from Rev. W. W. Skeat, sent me in MS. but afterwards printed in Mrs. Parker's Oxford Glossary, and wn. by TH.

*7. F1. *Freeland* (4 ene.Witney) wn. by TH. 127.

*7. F2. *Fringford* (:friqkfɛrd) (15 nne.Oxford) wl. and dt. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Coker, 123.

*7. G. *Greys* (2 nw.Henley-on-Thames) wl. and dt. both io. by Rev.

N. Pinder, rect. 17 y., representing 10 m. round, 122.

*7. H1. *Handborough* (7 nw.Oxford) cs. and dt. glossic with many letters and explanations by Mrs. Angelina Parker, author of the Oxford Glossary, with wn. by TH. from Mrs. Parker, 123–128.

*7. H2. *Henley-on-Thames* (22 se. Oxford) from vicar, 235, where it is wrongly attributed to *Bu.*

*7. H3. *Holton* (5 e.Oxford) lw. glossic by Mrs. A. Parker, 127.

*7. I. *Islip* (5 n-by-e.Oxford) dt. io. by Mr. J. W. F. Walker, obtained by Mrs. Parker and wn. by TH. 127.

*5. L1. *Leafield* (4 nw.Witney) wn. from old natives by TH. 93.

5. L2. *Lew* (3 sw.Witney) wds. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. A. Parker.

5. M. *Milton* (8 nw.Witney) wn. from a working man by TH.

7. O. *Oxford City*, dt. io. by Mr. W. H. Allnutt, procured by Mrs. A. Parker, with notes by TH.

*7. S1. *Sonning* (4 ssw.Henley-on-Thames) dt. io. by Miss Slade, schoolmistress, obtained by Mrs. A. Parker, 122.

7. S2. *Stonesfield* (5 nne.Witney) note by TH.

7. T. *Tiddington* (8 e.Oxford) note by TH.

*5. W. *Witney*, dt. by Mrs. A. Parker and TH. with wn. from natives by TH. 92, 93.

## 29. Ru. = Rutland, 5 places in D 18.

*18. C. *Cottesmore* (4 nne.Oakham) wl. and dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native, to whom I was introduced by Miss Kemm (see Oakham), 255, 256.

18. E. *Empingham* (6 e.Oakham) from Rev. Lovick Cooper, rect.

*18. O. *Oakham* (:uu·kəm) town, full wl. io. partly pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Kemm, native, a teacher at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, 256.

*18. S. *Stretton* (7 ne.Oakham) wl. and dt. both io. from Rev. Edward Bradley ("Cuthbert Bede") rect. 256.

18. U. *Uppingham* dt. and notes from Mr. H. Chandler, West Bank.

18. W. *Whitwell* (4 e.Oakham) lw. io. from Rev. J. Breechen, rect.

## 30. Sh. = Shropshire, 39 places in D 13, 14, 25, 28, 29.

14. B1. *Baschurch* (7 nw.Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

29. B2. *Bolas Magna* (6 n.Wellington) wn. by TH.

14. B3. *Bridgenorth*, notes by TH.

*14. C1. *Church Pulverbach* (7 sw. Shrewsbury) (1) cs. in gl. by Miss G. Jackson, author of the *Shropshire Wordbook*; (2) specimen pal. by AJE. from her dict.; (3) lw. with pron. pal. from her dict.; (4) wds. taken from TH.'s account of the pron. prefixed to her Wordbook, and revised by her, with examples, 183 to 187.

14. C2. *Clee Hills* (7 ne.Ludlow) wn. by TH. with note on the verbal plural in *-en*.

13. C3. *Clun* (22 ssw.Shrewsbury) notes by TH.

*29. C4. *Coalbrookdale* (4 s.Wellington) dt. by Rev. F. W. Ragg, native, 472.

14. C5. *Corve Dale*, from Wenlock Edge to Ludlow, wn. by TH.

14. C6. *Craven Arms* (7 nw.Ludlow) wn. by TH.

29. C7. *Crudgington* (4 n-by-w. Wellington) wn. TH.

*29. E1. *Edgmond* (6 ne.Wellington, 1½ w.Newport) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, and wn. 471, 476, 478.

*28. E2. *Ellesmere* (7 ne.Oswestry) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from a native b. 1809, p. 452, 455.

14. F. *Ford* (5 w.Shrewsbury) nwl. from Miss Hawkins, Dinthill.

28. H1. *Hadnall* (4 n-by-e.Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

*29. H2. *Hodnet* (:odnit) (10 nnw. Wellington) wn. by TH. 478.

*28. H3. *Hordley* (13 nnw.Shrewsbury) wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Moore, rect. 455.

*29. I. *Ironbridge*, wn. by TH. 483.

14. L1. *Llanymynech* (15 wnw.S.) aq. on CB. by Rev. N. E. Price, rect.

14. L2. *Longville* (11 w.Bridgenorth) wn. by TH.

*28. L3. *Loppington* (:ləpitən) (10 n. Shrewsbury) wl. by Rev. J. W. Davis, M.A., 25 y. p. 455.

*13. L4. *Ludlow* wn. by. TH. 180.

*29. M1. *Madeley* (5 sse. Wellington) wn. by TH. 483.

*29. M2. *Market Drayton* (:drit'n) (17 ne. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 476, 478.

14. M3. *Much Wenlock* (10 se. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. in 1880.

*29. N1. *Newport* (8 ne. Wellington) (1) full wl. io. by Mrs. Burne, Loynton Hall, Edgmond, whose daughter assisted Miss Jackson in her Sh. Wordbook, and (2) wn. by TH. 478.

25. N2. *Norton-in-Hales* (20 ne. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

14. O. *Oswestry* (:hɔdɪestri) according to Rev. W. Walsham How, of Whittington, Sh.; wn. by TH.

25. P1. *Pipegate* (6 ne. Market Drayton, see M2, just on ne. horn of Sh.) wn. by TH.

28. P2. *Prees* (13 n-by-e. Shrewsbury) wl. by Ven. Archdeacon Allen, vic., 14 y.

*29. S1. *Shifnal* (7 ese. Wellington) wn. by TH. 483.

14. S2. *Shrewsbury* wn. by TH.

*28 U. *Upton Magna* (4 e. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 455.

*29. W1. *Wellington* (:wel·itʊn) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from a working man, 472, and wn. 483.

*28. W2. *Welsh Frankton* (3 sw. Ellesmere) wn. by TH. 455.

*28. W3. *Wem* (10 n-by-e. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 455.

28. W4. *Whitchurch* (18 nne. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

14. W5. *Whittington* (2 ne. Oswestry) full wl. by Rev. W. Walsham How, 26 y.

*28. W6. *Whixall* (13 n. Shrewsbury) dt. io. with explanations from Rev. J. Evans, vic., a very old resident, but a Welshman, not a native, 452.

*28. Y. *Yorton* (7 n. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 455.

## 31. Sm. = Somersetshire, 26 places in D 4 and 10.

*3. A. *Axe-Yarty* district by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, s. Sm. 87–89.

4. B1. *Bath*, cs. gl. by Mr. C. Galbraith, written on the spot by a long resident, but when I, who had resided in Bath two years, attempted to pal. it, I was so often brought to a standstill, that I was only able to use it as a lw.

10. B2. *Bishop's Hull* (1 w-by-s. Taunton) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. Wadham Williams, author of a glossary, but as he was a native of e. Sm. I have preferred Mr. Elworthy's version, see Wellington.

3. B3. *Burtle Turf Moor* (8 ne. Bridgewater to centre of Burtle Heath on the river Brue) wds. and phr. by Miss Westmacott, sent through Mr. F. H. Dickinson, of King's Weston, Somerton (4 ene. Langport).

*4. C1. *Castle Cary* (:kɛri) (10 se. Wells) wl. io. by Mr. Ross, resident above 80 y. 89.

4. C2. *Chard* (12 sse. Taunton) wl. by the late Rev. Henry Thompson, vic.

4. C3. *Chedzoy* (:tɪɛdɪi) (2 e. Bridgewater) from Mr. G. Winter, resident 50 y.

*4. C4. *Combe Down* (:kuum) (2 s. Bath) wl. by Mr. C. Daubeny, The Brow, 89.

4. C5. *Compton Dando* (6 w. Bath) note by Rev. C. M. Christie, 4 months' resident.

4. C6. *Crewkerne* (11 s-by-e. Langport) dt. io. with notes by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman (d. 1880), author of "Rustic Sketches."

4. C7. *Croscombe* (3 e. Wells) wl. io. by Mr. James Rossiter.

4. E. *East Harptree* (12 sw. Bath), from Rev. C. H. Nutt, 25 y.

4. H. *High Ham* (3 n. Langport) from Rev. C. D. Crossman, 2½ y.

*4. L. *Langport* (:laˈmpɛrt) words collected in 1877 from a native servant by Mrs. Dawes, then of Newton House, Surbiton, 89.

*4. M1. *Merriot* (9 s-by-e. Langport) cs. and wl. by Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, 87, 88.

10. M2. *Milverton* (6 w. Taunton) cs. io. by Mr. H. Randolph, surgeon, resident 42 y., procured for me by Dr. Prior (see Corsham, Wl.). I have found it quite impossible to determine the pron. from this writing.

*4. M3. *Montacute* (:mɑnikíu) (8 sse. Langport) pal. in 1880 by AJE. from Messrs. G. Mitchell and S. Price, 84–86.

4. N1. *Nailsea* (:nɑ'izi) (16 w-by-n. Bath) from Rev. J. Johnson, rect. 3½ y.

4. N2. *North Wootton* (2 se. Wells) from Rev. Owen B. Tyler, vic. 30 y.

4. S1. *Sutton Mallet* (4 e. Bridgewater) wds. by Rev. A. Yarranton, representing 7 e. Bridgewater, obtained by Miss Westmacott, and sent through

Mr. F. H. Dickinson, see Burtle Turf Moor.

4. s2. *Swanswick* (:swanzwik), the spelling Swainswick is a literary revival (2 ne.Bath), note by Rev. John Earle, rect. 20 y.

10. T. *Taunton* cs. io. by Mr. Cecil Smith. I have found it impossible to determine the pron. from the spelling.

*4. w1. *Wedmore* (7 wnw.Wells) phr. procured from a friend by Mr. C. A. Homfray, Manor House, 89.

*10. w2. *Wellington* (6 wsw.Taunton) (1) pal. by AJE. in 1874, 1875, and 1885, from dict. of F. T. Elworthy, cs. 148; (2) specimens 151 to 153, cwl. 153; (3) from Mr. E.'s West Somerset Grammar, version of Ruth, chap. i. 698, No. 5.

*West Somerset*, see *Wellington*.

4. w3. *Wincanton* (15 se.Wells) pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Roberts, native, who had known the dialect 30 y., but was then living at Newbiggin, Cu. On account of Mr. R.'s long residence in the North, this carefully pal. wl. was found untrustworthy, and could not be used.

*4. w4. *Worle* (2 ne.Weston-super-Mare) nwl. with long explanatory letter from Rev. W. F. Rose, vic., referring to the whole of nw.Sm. 90.

## 32. St.=Staffordshire, 51 places in D 25, 26, 29.

*26. A1. *Alstonefield* (:A¹rsfild) (9 e.Leek) including Narrowdale (2 n. Alstonefield) wn. by TH. 441, 444.

25. A2. *Alton* (:ôut'n) (10 sse.Leek) wn. by TH.

25. A3. *Audley* (:E'idli) (6 nw. Stoke-upon-Trent) wl. io. and aq. from Mr. G. Till, 11 y., but notwithstanding explanations I was too uncertain of the meaning of his symbols to use it.

*29. B1. *Barton-under-Needwood* (5 sw.Burton-on-Trent) lw. by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood, of Hollyhurst, 482, and pron. of a carol, 477.

25. B2. *Betley* (6 wnw.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wl. and dt. io. from Miss E. Tollet, from observation made, 1820–50.

25. B3. *Biddulph* (:bid'l) (9 n.Stoke) wds. from Rev. F. Elmes.

25. B4. *Blythe Marsh* (7 se.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

29. B5. *Bradley* (4 ssw.Stafford) wl. and phrases io. by Rev. R. L. Lowe, vic.

*25. B6. *Burslem* (3 n.Stoke) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of one native, and corrections by another, and wn. 414, 422.

*29. B7. *Burton-on-Trent* dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 471, and wn. and exs. 477, cwl. 482.

*29. C1. *Cannock Chase* (e. of Cannock Town c2, and w. of Lichfield) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 463, and wn. 480.

*29. C2. *Cannock Town* (9 sse.Stafford) wn. on a market day by TH. 480.

25. C3. *Cheadle* (:tʃiid'l) (9 ese. Stoke) wl. by Rev. R. Watt, rect., and wn. by TH.

*29. C4. *Codsall* (5 nw. Wolverhampton) just on b. of Sh., wl. by Mr. E. Viles, of Codsall Wood, 484, and dt. pal. by TH. from a man of 69.

*29. D1. *Darlaston* (3 wsw.Walsall) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 472, and also the anecdote of the Wake Beef pal. by TH. 478, and wn. 461, 484.

25. D 2. *Denston* (12 sse.Leek) wn. by TH.

*29. E1. *Eccleshall* (7 nw.Stafford) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. 471, 476, 478.

29. E2. *Enville* (10 ssw.Wolverhampton) wl. by Mr. E. Bennett, of the Schoolhouse, which is close by the b. of Sh. Wa. and St.

*26. F1. *Flash* (7 nne.Leek) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438, additional ex. 441, and wn. 444.

*25. F2. *Froghall* (9 e.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422.

*29. H1. *Hanbury* (6 nw.Burton-on-Trent) wn. and part of a dt. pal. by TH. 482.

*29. H2. *Haughton* (4 sw.Stafford) wn. by TH. in 1882 from Powell, b. 1798, and his wife, the latter a native, and says there is no difference between the speech of Bradley and that of Haughton, 477, 480.

*29. H3. *Hopwas* (:op·wz) (2 wnw. Tamworth) wn. by TH. 482.

*25. L1. *Leek*, dt. and wn. by TH. 411, 422.

*25. L2. *Leek Frith* (4 n.Leek) wn. by TH. 422.

29. L3. *Leigh* (11 se.Stoke) wn. by TH.

*29. L4. *Lichfield*, wn. and dt. by TH. from a native, 472, 482.

*25. L5. *Longport* (2 n.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH. 422.

25. L6. *Longton* (3 se.Stoke) wn. by TH.

25. M. *Madeley* (4 wsw.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

29. N. *Newborough* (7 w-by-n. Burton-on-Trent) nwl. by Rev. J. P. Wright, vic. 8 months.

25. O. *Oakamoor* (12 e.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

*26. R. *Rocester* (15 ese.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422, 444.

25. S1. *Shelton* (1 n.Stoke) full wl. by Dr. J. B. Davis, F.R.S., F.S.A., materially assisted by Mr. Levi Stanway, Registry St., Stoke, and wn. by TH.

29. S2. *Stafford*, wn. by TH.

25. S3. *Stoke-upon-Trent* and neighbouring villages, wn. by TH.

26. S4. *Stoke Gutter Farm*, about 5 ne.Leek, on the way from Leek to Flash and past the Roaches, wn. by TH. shewing the division between D 25 and D 26.

29. S5. *Stone* (:stuun) (7 s.Stoke) wn. by TH.

29. S6. *Stretton* (8 ssw.Stafford) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. J. W. Napier, vic.

*29. T1. *Tamworth*, wn. by TH. 482.

*25. T2. *Tunstall* (4 nnw.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422.

*29. T3. *Tutbury* (4 nw.Burton-on-Trent) wn. by TH. 482.

29. U1. *Upper* (or *Over*) *Arley* (13 sw.Dudley, Wo.) note by Rev. C. J. Wilding, vic., who said there was only one St. man resident there.

29. U2. *Uttoxeter* (12 ne.Stafford) wn. by TH.

*29. W1. *Walsall* wn. by TH. 461, 478, 484.

*29. W2. *Wednesbury* (3 sw.Walsall) wn. by TH. 461, 484.

*29. W3. *West Bromwich* (5 ssw. Walsall) wn. by TH. 461, 484.

*29. W4. *Willenhall* (3 e.Wolverhampton) wn. by TH. 461, 484.

25. W5. *Wolstanton* (:unsitʊn) (1 nne.Newcastle-under-Lyne) nwl. by Mr. W. Field, Brighton Road School, Croydon.

*29. W6. *Wolverhampton*, wn. by TH. 461, 484.

*29. W7. *Wootton* (1½ ssw.Eccleshall) wn. by TH. 478.

*29. Y. *Yoxall* (6 nne.Lichfield) wn. by TH. from a native, 482.

## 33. Sf. = Suffolk, 12 places in D 19.

19. B1. *Boyton* (13 e-by-n.Ipswich) note from Rev. G. C. Hoste, rect.

19. B2. *Bradwell* (:bræd'l) (7 nnw. Lowestoft) note by Rev. J. Walker, rect., "13 years resident, but does not profess acquaintance with the dialect."

*19. F. *Framlingham* (13 nne. Ipswich) cs. pal. in 1880 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough, 279.

*19. G1. *Great Bealings* (4 ne. Ipswich) wn. by TH. 281.

19. G2. *Great Finborough* (:finbrʊ) (10 se.Bury St. Edmunds) full wl. io. by Rev. W. V. Kitching, 16 y.

19. H. *Hemingstone* (6 n.Ipswich) lw. by Rev. T. Brown, rect. 54 y., who says: "what between railroads and education the Sf. dialect is fast dying out."

*19. O. *Orford* (:AAfʊd) (4 sw. Aldborough) including Sudbourne (1 n. Orford) and neighbourhood, dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. C. Davis, 285.

*19. P. *Pakenham* (5 ene.Bury St. Edmunds), pal. in 1873 and 1886 by AJE. from dict. of Rev. C. W. Jones, vic. native, 287.

*19. S1. *Southwold* (11 ssw.Lowestoft), full wl. from dict. of Miss C. M. Mallett, teacher at Whitelands, native, 281.

19. S2. *Stowmarket* (13 ese.Bury St. Edmunds) lw. partly in gl. by Mr. E. S. Bewley, 15 y.

19. U. *Ufford* (10 ne.Ipswich) wl. io. by Mr. F. C. Brooke, 60 y.

19. Y. *Yaxley* (20 ene.Bury St. Edmunds) notes in 1873 from Rev. H. Sewell, vic.

## 34. Sr. = Surrey, 13 places in D 5, 8.

*5. C1. *Charlwood*, called (:tʃɔlʊd) by old people, (6 ssw.Reigate) wl. and ex. io. by Rev. T. Burningham, then rect., more than 50 y., 109.

*8. C2. *Chertsey* (18 w.Croydon) from Rev. R. Marshall Martin, 3 y., 130.

*8 C3. *Chobham* (8 nnw.Guildford) note by Rev. J. J. Jewan, vic., more than 50 y., 130.

*8. C4. *Croydon* wl. by Mr. W. Taylor Malleson, Duppas Hill, 11 y., 130.

5. E1. *Elstead* (:ælsted) (7 sw.

Guildford) from Rev. I. R. Charlesworth, rect.

5. E2. *Ewhurst* (8 se. Guildford) notes by Rev. J. Mount Barlow, rect.

5. G1. *Godalming* (4 sw. Guildford) note from Mr. J. W. Sharpe, Charterhouse.

5. G2. *Godstone* (9 sse. Croydon) wl. by Rev. G. T. Hoare.

5. H. *Haslemere* (12 sw. Guildford) note by Mr. T. J. Ellis.

*8. L. *Leatherhead* (7 nw. Reigate) note in a letter from Mr. Alfred W. T. Martel to LLB. 130.

*5. O. *Ockley* (8 sw. Reigate) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Jane Sayers, of Whitelands, and of Miss M. A. Firth, 109 (where the name is misprinted 'Forth'), and lw. and notes from Rev. T. P. du Sautoy, Oxford, rect., 12 y.

*5. S. *Stoke* (1 n. Guildford) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Jane Slyfield, of Whitelands, 109.

*5. W. *Weald of Surrey* s. of Reigate; the Weald extends into Kent and Sussex, nwl. and dt. io. by Dr. Clair Jas. Grece, Redhill, Reigate, 109.

## 35. Ss. = Sussex, 19 places in D 5, 8.

9. A. *Ashburnham* (:eshbɒrɒm) (10 nne. Eastbourne) note from Rev. J. R. Munn, vic. 50 y.

9. B1. *Battle* (6 nnw. Hastings), wn. by TH.

5. B2. *Bolney* (:boonī) (12 n-by-w. Brighton) lw. and notes by Mr. Alfred Huth.

9. B3. *Brighton*, wn. by TH.

5. C1. *Compton* (8 nw. Chichester) note from Rev. Harry Peckham, 25 y.

*8. C2. *Cuckfield* (9 se. Horsham) (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss A. Sayers, of Whitelands, 134; (2) wd. by Archd. Fearon, native.

5. E1. *Eartham* (:ɜrthɒm) (5 ne. Chichester) note by Rev. E. Kelly, vic.

*9. E2. *Eastbourne*, wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Francis, of Whitelands, 134.

9. E3. *Etchingham* (18 ne. Eastbourne) note by Rev. W. H. Eley, rect.

5. K. *Kirdford* (:kaafù'd), a nearly extinct pron. (10 w-by-s. Horsham), wl. by Miss Cole, of the rectory.

9. L1. *Leasam* or *Leesham* (8 ne. Hastings) wl. from Miss Bessie Curteis.

9. L2. *Lewes*, name noted by TH.

*9. M. *Markly* (8 wnw. Battle) dt. with aq. and notes by Miss Anne M. Darby, 133.

9. P. *Pasingworth* (:pæs'nweth), wrongly spelled on p. 131, l. 4, but rightly l. 14 (14 nnw. Eastbourne and 4 e. Uckfield), notes from Mr. Louis Huth, Pasingworth Hawkhurst.

*9. S. *Selmeston* (8 nw. Eastbourne) dt. io. by Rev. W. D. Parish, author of the Sussex Glossary, 133.

5. T. *Twineham* (10 nnw. Brighton) from Rev. W. Molyneux, rect.

9. W1. *Weald of Sussex* (n. Brighton) lw. from Mr. Somers Clarke, jun., Belgrave Mansions, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W., 30 y.

5. W2. *West Wittering* (6 sw. Chichester) from Rev. W. D. Underwood, vic.

*5. W3. *Wisborough Green* (8 wsw. Horsham) lw. from Rev. W. A. Bartlett, vic. 109.

## 36. Wa. = Warwickshire, 23 places in D 6, 29.

*29. A1. *Allesley Gate* (4 w. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*29. A2. *Atherstone* (12 n. Coventry) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. R. S. Knight, 14 y., 464, and wn. by TH. 487.

6. B1. *Bearley* (4 nnw. Stratford-on-Avon) wn. by TH. shewing southern speech.

*29. B2. *Bedworth* (5 nne. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*29. B3. *Birmingham*, often (:brom·ɒdjɒm, bru̯- bra-) full wl. by Mr. Samuel Timmins, 488.

*29. B4. *Brandon* (5 ese. Coventry) wn. by TH. from a native then at Leamington, 487.

*29. B5. *Bulkington* (6 ne. Coventry) wn. by TH. in 1880 from a native and his mother, in whose lifetime the pron. had changed, 487.

*6. B6. *Butler's Marston* (:maas'n) and 6 miles round (10 s-by-e. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. E. Miller, 115.

*6. C1. *Claverdon* (5 w. Warwick) wn. and dt. by TH. from a native, 114.

*29. C2. *Coventry* refined town speech, wn. by TH. 487.

*29. C3. *Curdworth* (:kərdɒth) (7 ne. Birmingham) wl. and dt. io. by

Mr. J. Montague Dormer, Dunton Hall, Minworth (:minuth), 28 y. 488.

*29. E. *Elmdon* (7 ese.Birmingham) wl. by Mr. F. J. Mylins, of the rectory, 488.

*6. K1. *Kineton* (:kjintun) by working men, (:kaint'n) by the middle class (9 s-by-e.Warwick) wn. by TH. from a native, 115.

6. K2. *Knowle* (10 nw.Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. J. Howe, vic. 40 y.

*29. L. *Leamington* (2 e.Warwick) wn. by TH. from a native, 488.

*29. N. *Nuneaton* (9 nne.Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*6. P1. *Pillerton Priors* (7½ se. Stratford-on-Avon), now united with Pillerton Hersee to form one parish, wn. by TH. from a native labourer, b. 1819, 115.

*29. P2. *Polesworth* (14 n-by-w. Coventry) wn. by TH. in 1879 from elderly resident natives and habitual dialect speakers, 487.

29. S1. *Saltley* (2 ene.Birmingham), a mere suburb, wn. by TH. from people in the street.

29. S2. *Sherborne* (3 ssw.Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. W. Grice, shewing practically rec. pron.

*6. S3. *Stratford-on-Avon* (1) cs in so. by Mr. G. H. Tomline, schoolmaster, made for LLB. who passed it on to AJE., who did not succeed in palaeotyping it; (2) wn. by TH. in 1880, 115.

*6. T. *Tysoe* (11 se.Stratford-on-Avon) (1) wl. by Mrs. Francis, of the vicarage, completed from dict. by TH.; (2) wn. by TH. in 1886 principally from a man b. 1802, and his wife b. 1809, p. 115.

*29. W. *Warwick* wn. by TH., the general effect on the ear being quite Midland, 488.

## 37. We.=Westmoreland, 10 places, all in D 31.

31. A. *Appleby* cs. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Holme, native of Orton (9 ssw Appleby), several years in Mr. Richardson's school at Appleby, representing m.We. This careful work, over which Mr. Holme and I spent much time in 1873, has been entirely superseded by JGG.'s work.

*31. C1. *Casterton* (10 se.Kendal, and 2 ne.Kirkby Lonsdale) cs. pal. 1875 by JGG. from a native, 558, 563, 597*d'*, No. 6.

*31. C2. *Crosby Ravensworth* (6 sw. Appleby) pal. 1875 by JGG. from dictation of Mr. J. Dover, 560, 563, 599*d*, No. 13, 633.

*31. K1. *Kendal* (1) cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Joseph Brown, 559, 563, No. 9; (2) wl. in glossic by Mr. J. Brown himself.

*31. K2. *Kirkby Stephen* (9 sse. Appleby) pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Joseph Steel, 560, 563, 599, 633, No. 12.

*31. L. *Long Sleddale* (6 n.Kendal) cs. pal. 1875 by JGG. from dict. of Rev. T. Clarke, 559, 563.

*31. M. *Milburn* (5 nnw.Appleby) cs. and wl. pal. by JGG. while residing there two years with the assistance of natives, 561, 563, 599, 633.

*31. O. *Orton* (11 ne.Kendal) (1) cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of J. Dover, 560, 563; (2) wl. io. by Rev. C. Holme, superseded like A. by the work of JGG.

31. S. *Shap* (9 wsw.Appleby) note by JGG. that Mr. Hindson, of Kirkby Lonsdale, b. 1800, remembered hearing (kh, kwh) in use near this place in 1818.

*31. T. *Temple Sowerby* (6 nnw. Appleby) cs. pal. by JGG., and finally revised 1877 from dict. of Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath, 561, 563, 599, 633.

## 38. Wl.=Wiltshire, 18 places, all in D 4.

4. A. *Aldbourne* (:aabern) (8 se. Swindon) wl. io. from Mr. T. H. Chandler, jun., who spent the greater part of his youth there.

4. C1. *Calne* (6 n.Devizes) (1) nwl. Rev. G. H. Wayte, Bonehill, Tamworth, 30 y.; (2) nwl. Rev. W. Wayte, 30 y., his brother.

*4. C2. *Chippenham* (8 nnw.Devizes) from JGG., *Hornet and Beetle*, 51, cwl. 54.

*4. C3. *Christian Malford* (10 nnw. Devizes) pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. Arthur Law, cs. 44; phrases, 48; cwl. 49.

4. C4. *Corsham* (7 n.Trowbridge) from Dr. R. C. A. Prior, Halse House, Taunton, cs. pal. from dict. by

AJE. Dr. Prior introduced AJE. to Rev. A. Law, whose cs., p. 44, superseded this one.

4. c5. *Corsley* (8 ssw.Trowbridge) from Mrs. G. M. E. Campbell, Corsley House, 50 y., wl. io. and notes.

4. D. *Damerham* (:dæm·ərəm) (9 s. Wilton) wl. io. by Rev. W. Owen, vic., assisted by his schoolmaster, a native.

4. E. *East Knoyle* (13 w.Wilton) wl. from Rev. R. N. Milford, rect., 12 y.

4. K. *Kemble* (4 sw.Cirencester, Gl.) wn. by TH.

4. M. *Maddington* (:mæd'nton maarut'n) (7 n.Wilton) wl. io. from Rev. Canon Bennett, vic. of Shrewton (1 n.Maddington).

4. O. *Orcheston* (:ɔs'n) *St. George* (10 sse.Devizes) wl. io. from Rev. Gorges Paulin Lowther, rect., from 70 y. to 80 y., then 85.

4. P. *Purton* (5 nw.Swindon) (1) wl. io. for 4 m. round by Major Purton, Purton House; (2) wn. by TH.

4. s1. *Salisbury* (3 w-by-s.Wilton) *to Warminster* (16 nw.Wilton) (1) wl. io. 1877 by Mr. T. H. Chandler, Rowde; (2) dt. 1879 written from his dict. by his son.

4. s2. *Seend* (4 w.Devizes) wl. io. by Rev. A. B. Thynne, vic.

4. s3. *Sopworth* (:zæp·ərth) (18 n. Trowbridge) wl. io. for 4 m. west and 10 m. east of Swindon, by Rev. Joseph Buckley, rect.

*4. T. *Tilshead* (8 sse.Devizes) from Miss L. H. Johnson, *Hocktying* and dt. 58, cwl. 59.

4. W. *Wilton* wl. and dt. by Mr. Edward Slow, coachbuilder, and constant resident.

4. Y. *Yatesbury* (:jætsbəri) (7 nne. Devizes) wl. io. from Rev. A. C. Smith, rect., 50 y.

## 39. Wo. = Worcestershire, 25 places in D 6, 13, 29.

*6. A. *Abberley* (8 ssw.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 113.

*6. B1. *Bengeworth* (a suburb of Evesham on the opposite side of the Avon) wn. by TH. 113.

*6. B2. *Bewdley* (:biə'udli) 3 sw.Kidderminster) wn. in 1880-1-2 by TH. especially from a nonagenarian, about 94, full of vivacity, reading and sewing without spectacles, when young a maker and seller of ling brooms, 113.

6. B3. *Birt's Morton* (6 s.Great Malvern) wn. from a native by TH.

*29. C. *Cradley* (:kreedli) (9 ne. Kidderminster) wn. from native hop-pickers by TH. 485.

*6. D1. *Droitwich* (6 ne-by-n. Worcester) wn. by TH. 113.

*29. D2. *Dudley* (on an island of Wo. locally in St.) cs. by Mr. R. Woof, procured by LLB. 463, 464.

6. D3. *Dunley* (5 ssw.Kidderminster, between Abberley and Stourport) wn. by TH.

13. E1. *Eastham* (10 sw.Kidderminster) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. H. Browne, rect., see Tenbury.

*6. E2. *Eldersfield* (9 s. Great Malvern) wn. in 1880 by TH. from a native b. 1801, left at 13 and resided since in m.Wo. 113.

6. E3. *Evesham*, dt. and wn. by TH. from a market gardener.

*6. G1. *Great Malvern*, wn. by TH. 113.

*6. G2. *Great Witley* (9 sw. Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 113.

*29. H1. *Hagley* (6 ene.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 485.

*6. H2. *Hanbury* (6 wsw.Redditch) dt. and wn. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Turner, of Whitelands, native, 112, 113.

6. H3. *Hartlebury* (3 sse.Kidderminster) dt. with aq. from the Misses Haviland, of the rectory, and wn. by TH.

6. K. *Kidderminster*, wn. by TH. from natives.

*6. M. *Malvern Wells and Link*, wn. by TH. see Gt. Malvern, 113.

*6. S1. *Saleway* (8 sw.Redditch) wn. by TH. in 1880 from a native, 113.

*29. S2. *Selly Oak* (14 ene.Kidderminster) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Sadler, of Whitelands, a native, and wn. by TH. in the neighbourhood, 485.

*29. S3. *Stourbridge* (6 ne.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. who found the speech quite Mid. 485.

6. S4. *Stourport* (4 ssw.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. who said the speech had "the southern ring."

13. T. *Tenbury* (:tembəri) (16 wsw. Kidderminster) dt. io. by Miss Sweet (now Mrs. Chamberlain), author of "A Glossary of West Worcestershire Words with Glossic Notes by TH.,"

and wn. by TH. in 1880 from Miss Sweet and others. [This was accidentally omitted in giving the account of D 13.]

6. U. *Upton Snodbury* (6 e. Worcester) note per Rev. J. Wright, vic.

*6. W. *Worcester* (1) dt. pal. by TH. 112; (2) wn. by TH. 113.

## 40. Yo. = Yorkshire, 93 places in D 24, 30, 31.

24. A. *Armitage Bridge* (:éeɯtidɩ) (2 s. Huddersfield) nwl. by Mr. Thomas Brooke, 45 y.

24. B1. *Barnborough* (6 w. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Wilmot W. Ware, rect.

*24. B2. *Barnsley* dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from dict of a native, 403.

24. B3. *Birkenshaw* (7 sw. Leeds) wn. by TH.

*31. B4. *Black Burton* or *Burton-in-Lonsdale*, Yo. (32 nw. Keighley) on b. of La., on the Greta, Seward's Dialogue translated by Mr. J. Powley, and pal. by JGG. 608 to 616, also cwl. 619.

*24. B5. *Bradford* (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, notes 390; (2) words from Preston's Poems, 391; (3) wn. by TH.

24. B6. *Brotherton* (3 nne. Pontefract) pc. from Rev. G. Haslam, vic.

*30. B7. *Burton Constable* (7 ssw. Hornsea) wn. by TH. incidentally mentioned on the middle of p. 501.

*Burton-in-Lonsdale*, see *Black Burton*.

*24. C1. *Calverley* (6 wnw. Leeds) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from a native, 390.

24. C2. *Campsall* (6 nnw. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Edwin Castle, vic.

*31. C3. *Cautley*, a hamlet in the township of Sedberg (41 nw. Keighley), on b. of We., (1) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG., used as variants to the cs. for Sedberg, notes No. 8, p. 559, 598; (2) portion of a wl. pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Law, then 60, a regular old dalesman, in whose house JGG. lived some weeks, left incomplete.

*31. C4. *Chapel-le-dale* (29 nw. Keighley) wl. pal. by JGG. 619.

31. C5. *Clapham* (16 n. Clitheroe, La.), extracts from a cs. pal. 1887 by TH. from W. Metcalfe, native.

*Dacre*, see *Lower Nidderdale*, p. 500.

*30. D1. *Danby-in-Cleveland* (15 se. Middlesborough) wl. and dt. both io. by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary, dt. 519, 521, cwl 527.

*31. D2. *Dent* town (27 n-by-w. Clitheroe, La., 12 ese. Kendal, We.) cs. and wl. pal. 1876 by JGG. from a native, cs. 558, 563, 598, cwl. 630.

*24. D3. *Dewsbury* (6 w. Wakefield) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. with notes, 367, 404; (2) cs. io. by Mr. M. Ridgway, 37 y., sent to LLB., who communicated it to AJE., with CCR.'s notes on his orthography.

*24. D4. *Doncaster*, wl. pal. by AJE. 1877 and 1882 from Dr. John Sykes, who kindly came to town twice for the purpose, 406.

30. D5. *Drax* (5 nw. Goole) 2 pc. from Rev. S. H. Hooper, vic.

30. E1. *East Haddlesey* (11 wnw. Goole) pc. and letter from Rev. J. N. Worfold, rect.

*24. E2. *East Hardwick* (2 s. Pontefract) pc. from Rev. G. Eel, vic.; alluded to, 405*d*.

*30. E3. *East Holderness*, se. Yo. dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Stead, 522.

*24. E4. *Elland* (3 sse. Halifax) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from a native, 384.

*31. G1. *Giggleswick* (½ w. Settle, 19 n. Burnley, La.) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from dict. of a native, 548.

*24. G2. *Golcar* (2 w. Huddersfield), see 377*d*.

*30. G3. *Goole* and *Marshland* dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Thompson, 522.

30. H1. *Hackness* (5 w. Scarborough) wl. io. from Rev. Thomas Cheese.

*24. H2. *Halifax* (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367; notes 384; (2) Parable of the Prodigal Son translated by CCR. in Part. IV. pp. 1400 to 1405; (3) wn. by TH.; (4) cwl. from J. Crabtree, 383.

30. H3. *Hatfield* (6½ ne. Doncaster) pc. and letter from Rev. G. Haydon, vic.

*Hawes*, see *Upper Wensleydale*, U6, below.

24. H4. *Haworth* (3 sw. Keighley) wn. by TH.

*30. H5. *Holderness* district, forming se. Yo. from Hull to Spurnhead, and n. to Bridlington: (1) cs. pal. by AJE. from Rev. Henry Ward, 501, 502, 518, who also gave me a version of *Launce and Speed*, not used. The assistance of Rev. H. Ward was obtained by the late Rev. J. R. Green, the historian;

(2) dt. for East Holderness, see above E3; (3) cwl. made from wl. furnished by Messrs. R. Stead, F. Ross, and T. Holderness, the three authors of the Holderness Glossary, 532; (4) TH.'s visits to examine (thr- dhr-) and absence of article, 501.

*24. H6. *Holmfirth* (6 s.Huddersfield) nwl. by Mr. A. Beardsell, 40 y., 380.

*30. H7. *Hornsea*, TH.'s examination of (thr- dhr-), 501*b*, *c*.

*31. H8. *Horton-in-Ribblesdale* (19 n-by-e.Clitheroe, La., 21 ene.Lancaster, between Ingleborough and Penyghent Hills) wl. pal. by JGG. from a native, 619.

*31. H9. *Howgill* (8 ene.Kendal, We.) wl. pal. 1876 by JGG. from Mr. Best, a native, who called on AJE. also, 630.

*24. H10. *Huddersfield* (:*u*dɐzfild, :*u*dhɐzfil) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, 378; (2) wl. by Messrs. Dowse & Tomlinson, and Miss Mercy Hibbard, 380.

*30. H11. *Hull* (1) wn. by TH. 501*b*, *c*; (2) wl. io. by Rev. Canon Simmons, Dalton Holme (:dʌʌt'n :oom, :*u*l).

*31. H12. *Hurst* (8 w.Richmond) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 548.

31. I. *Ilkley* (5 nne.Keighley) wl. pal. by JGG. from dictation of Mrs. Best, not used.

*24. K. *Keighley* (:kiikjhl*i*, :kiithl*i*) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR 367; notes 386; (2) fragments of a cs. pal. in 1887 from a native by TH. 385; (3) wl. pal. by JGG. from Mrs. Foster, 387; (4) wl. io. by Mr. Septimus Brigg, for town of Keighley and up the valley of the Aire as far as Bradley (6 nnw. Keighley), misprinted Bradford, 387.

*31. L1. *Laithkirk* (20 nw.Richmond) cs. and wl. io. by Rev. W. Robinson Bell, vic., interpreted by a cwl. by JGG. pal. from dict., this applies to the nw. horn of Yo. 624.

*24. L2. *Leeds* (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. with notes, 367; notes, 396; (2) refined town form, 396; (3) full wl. written in glossic, 397.

*30. L3. *Leven* (6 wsw.Hornsea) wn. by TH. described p. 501 *b*, *c*.

*30. L4. *Lofthouses*, see *Lower Nidderdale*, 500.

*30. L5. *Lower Nidderdale*, containing Lofthouses (16 nw.Harrogate), Ramsgill (14 nw.H.), Pateley Bridge (11 nw.H.), Greenhow Hill (10 nw.H.), Dacre (8 nw.H.), cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516.

*24. M1. *Manningham*, suburb of Bradford, wn. by TH. shewing use of (*u*ₒ) 365, which Dr. Wright thinks to be a mistake, 389.

*30. M2. *Market Weighton* (:wiit'n) (9 w.Beverley) (1) cs. io. by Mr. J. Kirkpatrick, who also gave specimens; (2) another cs. by Mr. H. Dove; (3) glossic transcription by CCR.; (4) cs. and wl. pal. 1877 by AJE. from reading of Rev. J. Jackson Wray, cs. 501, 502, 517; spec. 497, 498; cwl. 529.

*24. M3. *Marsden* (7 sw.Huddersfield) (1) nwl. by the curate (unnamed), assisted by Mr. R. Bamford, School Terrace; (2) printed specimen sent by Mr. Adshead, then of Pendleton, La.; (3) dt. and wn. by TH. 379, 380.

*Marshland*, see *Goole* at G3.

*31. M4. *Middlesmoor* (14 w-by-n. Ripon) cs. written in gl. by CCR., a portion given under Upper Nidderdale, 544.

*30. M5. *Mid Yorkshire*, district defined, 499, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 502, 513 (repeated 557, 563), and full wl. also written in gl. by CCR. 523.

*30. M6. *Moors, The*, meaning Whitby, Malton, Pickering (7 n-by-e. Malton), or the east part of North Riding, dt. io. by Rev. J. Thornton, vic. of Aston Abbot, Aylesbury, 519.

*Muker*, see *Upper Swaledale*, U5, below.

*30. N1. *New Malton* cs. written in gl. by CCR. considered a subdistrict of his Mid Yo., see above M5, 499 last line, 500, 502, 516.

*North Craven*, see above, *Burton-in-Lonsdale*, B4; *Chapel-le-dale*, C4; *Horton-in-Ribblesdale*, H8.

*30. N2. *North East Coast*, district defined, p. 500, No. 8, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 502, 517.

*30. N3. *North Mid Yorkshire*, district defined, 499, No. 3, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 502, notes 515; this is for the ordinary rural speech; CCR. gave also a cs. in refined rural form.

31. N4. *North of Richmond*, refined phase, cs. written in gl. by CCR., apparently as a reminiscence of the pron. of an individual mentioned in CCR.'s Leeds Glossary, p. xiii; being a refined form, it is omitted here, as was the refined form in N3 above. The peasant speech of which this was a refinement was probably the same as that of Laithkirk above, L1. It is

made remarkable by the frequent use of (ə) as (əət nət tə bi rəq əv sə'ikən ə pəənt əz dhis) ought not to be wrong of=on such a point as this, (ləə·in s,t,rit,t ət wəəl liqth ətəp· ə)t' grəə'ʊnd tloos biv)t' uus dəər iv iz gəə'ʊd səəndə kəət dəə'ʊn ət kəənər ə ɹən ləən) lying stretched at whole length atop of the ground close by the house door in his good Sunday coat at corner of yon lane.

*24. O. *Osset* (4 w.Wakefield) wn. by TH 365.

*Pateley Bridge*, see *Lower Nidderdale*.

30. P. *Pocklington* (12 e-by-s.York) (1) wl. io. by Miss Lucy Singleton, Great Givendale House; (2) full wl. io. by Dr. T. Wilson, more than 60 y.

*Ramsgill*, see *Lower Nidderdale*, L5 above.

*31. R1. *Richmond* wl. io. by Mr. George Bell, noticed p. 544*a*.

30. R2. *Ripon to Thirsk* (taking parts of CCR.'s Mid and North Mid Yo., above M5 and N3), wl. io. by Mrs. Lloyd, Hazelcroft, Ripley (7 s. Ripon).

24. R3. *Ripponden* (5 sw.Halifax) wn. by TH. from two shepherds.

24. R4. *Rossington* (4 se.Doncaster) pc. from Rev. J. W. Scarlett, rect.

*24. R5. *Rotherham*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, 404.

24. R6. *Roundhay* (3 ne.Leeds) nwl. by Mr. F. M. Lupton, 27 y. from birth.

*24. S1. *Saddleworth* wl. io. by Mr. G. H. Adshead, 380.

*31. S2. *Sedberg* (31 w.Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict. 559, 563, 598.

30. S3. *Selby* (10 nw.Goole) pc. from Rev. F. W. Harper, vic.

*24. S4. *Sheffield* (1) cs. so. by Prof. Parkes, procured through JAHM. and friends, 367, 405; (2) notes on vowels, 405.

30. S5. *Skeffling* (4 se.Patrington, near Spurn Head) wl. io. from Rev. H. Maister, vic., all his life.

*30. S6. *Skelton-in-Cleveland* (16 wnw. Whitby) dt. io. with long notes by Mr. I. Wilkinson, read to me by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, of Stanghow (3 sse.Skelton), 519, 521.

*31. S7. *Skipton* (8 nw.Keighley) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts, 544; (2) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. 548.

*24. S8. *Slaithwaite* (4 sw.Huddersfield), see 377, var. i.

*30. S9. *Snaith* (6 w-by-s.Goole) (1) wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Norman, 533; (2) pc. from Rev. C. E. Stores, vic.

*30. S10. *South Ainsty*, defined 499 No. 2, cs. written in gl. by Mr. R. Stead and pal. by AJE. 499, 502, 514 No. 2.

*30. S11. *South Cleveland* district defined 500, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516 No. 7, the n.Cleveland has been spoiled dialectally by the iron works.

24. S12. *South Owram* (1½ se.Halifax) wn. by TH. has only (*u*) as noted, 365.

*30. S13. *Sutton* (3 nne.Hull) dt. io. by Mr. E. French, then of the lead works, 167 Church St., Hull, see Ch. F. 522.

*30. S14. *Swine* (5 nne.Hull) wn. by TH. from a native of Hull, who had resided 20 or 30 years at Swine, alluded to, 501 *b*, *c*.

24. T1. *Thornton* (5 n.Halifax) wn. by TH.

24. T2. *Tickhill* (7 s.Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Charles Bury, vic.

*31. U1. *Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*24. U2. *Upper Cumberworth* (6 sse.Huddersfield) dt. and wn. pal. 1881 by TH. from dict. 380.

*31. U3. *Upper Mining Dales*, i.e. Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*31. U4. *Upper Nidderdale*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*31. U5. *Upper Swaledale* or *Muker* (16 w-by-s.Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from many natives 557 (where it is called *Upper Swaledale*), 563, 595 (where it is called *Muker*), extracts 544, and cwl. also by JGG. 619; JGG. likewise gave a translation of *Launce and Speed*, which was transcribed into his own gl. by CCR. and re-rendered by JGG. 1878, but as the example is a bad one it is not given.

*31. U6. *Upper Wensleydale* or *Hawes* (20 wsw.Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from a native, 557, 563, 596, all No. 3 under *Hawes*.

30. W1. *Waghen* or *Wawne* (4 se. Beverley) wl. io. by Rev. G. Wilkinson, 35 y.

*24. W2. *Wakefield* wn. by TH. incorporated with a cwl. deduced from Mr. W. S. Banks's printed *List of Words*, 401.

*30. W3. *Washburn River* region, lying between the Wharfe and the

Nidd, remarkable for use of (th) for def. art., cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516, all No. 6.

*30. w4. *Whitby* (1) dt. and wl. both io. by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, druggist, author of the *Whitby Glossary*, dt. 519, 521, cwl. 527; (2) dt. io. for this included in the Moors, by Rev. J. Thornton, 519, 521*d*.

*24. w5. *Windhill* (3 n.Bradford) dt. pal. by AJE. from Dr. J. Wright, native, 389.

*York Ainsty*, see *South Ainsty* above s10.

30. y. *York City* refined speech, used by tradespeople and best class of inhabitants of rural market towns; cs. gl. by CCR. and Mr. Stead, but omitted as not being genuine dialect, see remarks on Leeds refined form, 396.

### 41. Ma. = Isle of Man, 3 places, all in D 23, Var. ii.

*23. k1. *Kirk Christ Lezayre* (2 w. Ramsey) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, and wn. 361, 363.

*23. k2. *Kirk Christ Rushen* (4 w. Castletown) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 361, 363.

23. k3. *Kirk Patrick* (2 s.Peel) wn. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. E. Corphey, b. 1855, native, wife of informant for Kirk Christ Lezayre.

*23. p. *Peel* dt. and wn. in 1881 by TH. from natives, 361, 363.

## Wales.

36 places in D 2, 3, 13, 14, 28, or in no district.

Observe "aqCB." means "Answers to Questions respecting the Celtic Border." 0 means, not considered in this book, because the peasants do not habitually converse in English.

### 43. Br. = Breconshire.

4 places in D 13.

13. b1. *Brecon*, aqCB. from Rev. D. Griffith, vic.

*13. b2. *Breconshire*, eastern or English-speaking part, with w.He. wl. by Mr. R. Stead, see Folkestone, Ke. 178.

13. b3. *Builth* (13 n.Brecon) aqCB. from Rev. A. J. Coore, vic.

13. c. *Crickhowel* (12 ese.Brecon) aqCB. from Rev. B. Somerset, rect.

### 45. Cm. = Carmarthen.

1 place in no district.

0. c. *Carmarthen* cs. and wl. of Welsh-English of 1830 by the late Mr. W. Spurrell, author of a Welsh-English Grammar and Dictionary.

### 47. Dn. = Denbighshire.

4 places, 3 in D 28, 1 in no district.

28. c. *Chirk* (9 ssw.Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. T. H. Simpson, vic.

*28. h. *Holt* (5 ne.Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. H. Wray, vic., note from Mr. E. French (see Sutton, Yo.), and wn. by TH. 458.

0. r. *Ruabon* (5 sw.Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. M. Edwards, vic.

*28. w. *Wrexham* aqCB. by Rev. D. Howell, vic., and wn. by TH. 458.

### 48. Fl. = Flint.

8 places, 5 in D 28, 3 in no district.

*28. b1. *Bettisfield* (6 sw.Bangor, detached) wn. by TH. from a native, 456.

*28. b2. *Bretton* (3 sw.Chester, main) wn. by TH. 458.

0. f. *Flint*, aqCB. from Rev. E. Jenkins, vic.

*28. h1. *Hanmer* (5 wsw.Bangor, detached) wn. 456, and dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 452, and dt. io. by Mr. T. Bateman, of Arowry, a hamlet in Hanmer, and letter from Rev. M. H. Lee.

*28. h2. *Hawarden* (6 ese.Flint, main), aqCB. from Rev. S. Gladstone, rect., dt. io. from Mr. Spencer, schoolmaster, and wn. by TH. 458.

28. h3. *Hope* (5 se.Mold, main) aqCB. by Rev. J. Rowlands, vic.

0. m. *Mold* (6 s.Flint) aqCB. by Rev. Rowland Ellis, vic.

0. n. *Northop* (3 s.Flint, main) aqCB. by Rev. T. Williams, vic.

### 49. Gm. = Glamorganshire.

3 places, 1 in D 3, 2 in no district.

*3. g. *Gowerland*, dt. io. and note from Rev. J. D. Davies, 13*b*, 35.

0. l. *Llantrissant* (10 nw.Cardiff) aqCB. from Rev. J. Powell Jones, vic.

0. m. *Merthyr Tydvil*, aqCB. from Rev. John Griffith, rect.

51. Mg. = Montgomeryshire.

9 places, all in D 14.

14. b1. *Berriew* (3 nw. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. Joseph Baines, vic.

14. b2. *Buttington* (2 ne. Welshpool) aqCB. from Rev. J. Lewis, vic., and note from Rev. D. Phillips Lewis.

14. f. *Forden* (3 n. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. J. E. Vise, vic.

14. g. *Guilsfield* (2 n. Welshpool) aqCB. and note from Rev. D. Phillips Lewis, vic.

14. k. *Kerry* (2 ese. Newtown) aqCB. from Rev. W. Morgan, vic.

14. l. *Llandrinio* (8 nne. Welshpool) aqCB. from Rev. E. B. Smith, rect.

*14. m. *Montgomery*, aqCB. and letter containing much information on the CB. from Rev. F. W. Parker, rect. 14*b*, 183*c*.

14. s. *Snead* (5 se. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. G. O. Pardoe, rect.

14. w. *Welshpool*, aqCB. from Rev. J. S. Hill, vic.

52. Pm. = Pembrokeshire.

4 places all in D 2.

*2. r. *Rhôs and Daugleddy Hundreds*, the two sw. peninsulas of Pm. (1) Rev. J. Tombs, rect. of Burton (3 n. Pembroke) sent me a dt. 32, printed lecture and notes; (2) Mr. F. T. Elworthy sent notes, 34; (3) notes from Mr. E. L. Jones, master of Brooklands School, Sale, Manchester, native of Tenby, 34; (4) dt. from dict. by Mr. W. Spurrell, 32, with specimens of Narberth Speech, 34; (5) notes from Ven. Archdeacon Edmondes, of Warren, 34.

53. Rd. = Radnorshire.

3 places in D 13.

*13. b. *Boughrood* (18 sw. Presteign, at the extreme s. of the county) aqCB. from Ven. H. de Winton, Arch. of Brecon and vic. 179.

13. l. *Llanddewi Ystradenny* (11 wsw. Knighton) aqCB. from Rev. L. A. Smith, vic.

13. n. *New Radnor* (7 sw. Presteign) aqCB. from Rev. J. Gillam, rect.

## Scotland.

39 places in D 33 to D 42.

54. Ab. = Aberdeenshire.

3 places in D 39.

*39. a. *Ab.* generally (1) numerals from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 726; (2) sentences from the same, 777.

*39. b. *Buchan* district, (1) Ruth, chap. i. pal. by Dr. JAHM. from dict. 698, No. 3; (2) nwl. by Dr. Findlater, 779; (3) words selected from J. Alexander's *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk*, 779.

*39. c. *Cromár* district, MS. phonetic account by the late Mr. Samuel Innes, died about 1866, given me by Mr. T. H. Ridge in 1872, partly read to me in 1883 by Jane Morrison, native of Tarland, in Cromár, servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, and fresh from Tarland, who knew Mr. Innes by name; (1) his account of the pron. 766 to 768; (2) his examples, *The Meeting*, 769; *Yule-tide*, 770; *The Fight*, 773; Notes, 775.

56. Ay. = Ayrshire.

6 places in D 35 and 36.

*35. a. *Ayr*, Ruth, chap. i. pal. by Dr. Murray in his DSS. p. 240, with cwl. from it, 698 No. 2, 742.

*36. c. *Coylton* (6 ese. Ayr) (1) cwl. io. representing the district of Kyle, 742; (2) dt. io. with notes pal. by AJE. 731, both by Rev. Neil Livingstone, Free Church, Manse. This might be put to k2.

*35. k1. *Kilmarnock*, phonetic transcription of Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* by Messrs. Thomas Lang (then of Kilmarnoch), Carstairs Douglas, R. Giffen, and others, pal. with notes by AJE. 731–741. This might be put to k2.

*35 and 36. k2. *Kyle*, (1) W. Simson's words (printed) 742; (2) a word from Miss C. G. Hamilton.

*36. n. *New Cumnock* (15 ese. Ayr.), Burns's song of *Duncan Gray*, written 1847 by me in my extended phonotypic alphabet of that year, from the dict. of John Lowe, and pal. from the original, 748.

*35. o. *Ochiltree* (:oo·kh'ltri) (11 e. Ayr) nwl. by Mr. D. Patrick, 1877, then in Edinburgh, but knowing the dialect "all his life," 28 y., 742.

57. Ba. = Banffshire.

1 place in D 39.

*39. k. *Keith*, by Rev. Walter Gregor, native, see 683, No. 6, (1) cs. written io. and pal. by Dr. Murray, 684, 695; (2) cwl. pal. from Mr. Gregor's dictation by AJE. 779 to 785; (3) notes and phrases dictated at the same time as (2), 777 to 779.

58. Bw. = Berwickshire.

1 place in D 34.

*34. c. *Chirnside* (9 wnw. Berwick-upon-Tweed) by Rev. George Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce (15 w. Wigton, dt. and nwl. in io. pal. by AJE. from indications, both 726.

60. Cs. = Caithness.

1 place in D 40.

*40. w. *Wick* (1) cs. pal. 1874 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. A. Meiklejohn and Revs. J. Sinclair and R. Macbeth, 683, No. 7, 684, 696; (2) wd. from Miss C. G. Hamilton.

64. Df. = Dumfriesshire.

1 place in D 36.

*36. t. *Tynron* (14 nw. Dumfries) notes and lw. in 1868 by Mr. James Shaw, 749.

65. Ed. = Edinburghshire or Mid Lothian.

1 place in D 34.

*34. e. *Edinburgh* (1) cs. pal. by JAHM. from dict. of Mrs. Ch. Murray, native, 683, No. 3, 684, 695, 726*d*; (2) Lothian sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 724; (3) numerals from the same, 726; (4) Central Scottish from Dr. Murray's DSS., pp. 144 to 149, may belong to D 34, 35, 36, or any part of Mid Lowland, as the words are not distinguished, 727.

67. Fi. = Fifeshire.

2 places in D 34 and D 37.

*34. f. *Fifeshire* generally, (1) sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 725; (2) numerals from the same, 726.

*37. n. *Newburgh-on-Tay* (8 wnw. Cupar) dt. io. with notes by Rev. Dr. Alex. Laing, 752.

68. Fo. = Forfarshire.

3 places in D 38.

*38. a. *Arbroath* cs. written in io. by Mr. W. J. Anderson, pal. by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, 683, No. 5, 684, 695.

*38. b. *Brechin* nwl. by Mr. J. Guthrie, Royal Bank of Scotland, 25 y., 760.

*38. d. *Dundee* (1) dt. pal. 1881 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Begge, then of Whitelands, 758, with notes and phrases from the same, 759; (2) notes by Mr. G. Clarke of the West End Academy, 760.

69. Hd. = Haddingtonshire or East Lothian.

1 place in D 34.

*34. l. *Linton* (5 ne. Haddington) cs. io. by Mr. J. Teenan, really gen. D 34, almost identical with 684, No. 3, Edinburgh.

71. Kc. = Kincardineshire.

1 place in D 38.

*38. g. *Glenfarquhar* (11 w-by-s. Stonehaven) from Mr. J. Ross, M.A., Rector of the High School, Arbroath, Fo., native, (1) notes, 756; (2) dt. so. 758; (3) nwl. with aq. and long explanations, 760.

73. Kb. = Kirkcudbrightshire (:kirkuu·bri).

1 place in D 36.

*36. k. *Kirkpatrick-Durham* (:kilpee·trik) (5 n. Castle Douglas) nwl. by Rev. W. A. Stark, 6 y., 749.

74. Lk. = Lanarkshire.

1 place in D 35.

*35. g. *Glasgow and Clydesdale* generally, (1) Clydesdale sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 730, 742; (2) wl. io. by Mr. John Alexander, then of Glasgow (:gleskʊ), 50 y., 742.

77*a*. Or. = Orkney.

forming one county with Shetland, here separated as 77*b*, and placed after Se. = Selkirk, because they have been placed in separate districts; 1 place in D 41.

*41. s. *Sanda*, northern isles, the residence of Mr. W. Traill Dennison, who in 1880 published his *Orcadian Sketch Book*, out of which has been

taken *Paety Toral's Travellye*, with the pron. corrected by himself vv. in Aug. 1884, p. 791 to 802, and he also wrote and dictated to me vv. his translation of *John Gilpin* into older Orkney speech, June, 1888, p. 802 to 811.

78. Pb. = Peebleshire.

1 place in D 34.

*34. p. *Peebles* co. generally, numerals from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 726.

79. Pr. = Perthshire.

1 place in D 37.

*37. p. *Perth*, or neighbourhood, (1) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Misses Miles, Pollar and Kidd of Whitelands in 1881; (2) words from *Enga* pron. by the same, both 753.

80. Rf. = Renfrewshire.

1 place in D 35.

*35. l. *Lochwinnoch* (:lokh·eniakh) (12 sw.Renfrew, misprinted 6 sw. on p. 747) words and phrases contrasted with Ochiltree, Ay. by Mr. David Patrick, 747.

82. Rx. = Roxburghshire.

5 places in D 33.

*33. h. *Hawick* (1) pron. abstracted from Dr. Murray's DSS. 710 to 713; (2) cs. written in pal. by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, native, 682 No. 2, 684, 694; (3) Ruth, Chap. i. pal. by Dr. JAHM. from his DSS. p. 241, Teviotdale 698, No. 1; (4) Teviotdale sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 714; (5) numerals from the same, 726; (6) Scotch Hundredth Psalm, from Dr. JAHM.'s DSS. 715; (7) South Lowland cwl. from DSS. increased by communications from Dr. JAHM. 716 to 721; as all of these are based on Dr. Murray's authority, they are all classed under his native place.

*33. l. *Liddesdale Head*, near Thorlishop (12 s-by-e.Hawick), cwl. pal. by JGG. from Mr. Jackson, 75y., 721.

33. r. *Roxburgh Town* (17 nnw. Hawick) cwl. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. D. Ross, then of Milburn, but 25y. from birth; not intended for publication and not printed.

33. t. *Teviotdale Head* (8 se.Hawick) cwl. pal. by JGG. from Mr. Linton, Lewisburn, Plashetts (24 nw.Hexham, Nb.), 20y., not intended for publication and not printed.

33. y. *Yetholm* (:jaath'm) (8 se. Kelso, 1 m. from the Nb. b. on the road to Wooler, a great gypsy settlement) from dict. of Mr. T. Kirkup, M.A., native of Wooler, 15y., for 4 of which he was a pupil teacher in Yetholm, (1) a wl. partly corrected in pal. by AJE. from his dictation; (2) dt. pal. by the same from the same; neither used, see p. 655 *d*.

83. Se. = Selkirkshire.

*33. *Selkirk* (:sælkrik, :sælkrit) wl. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. J. Mitchell, of Howgill Castle, Milburn, We., native, but 25y. absent from Scotland; not printed.

77*b*. Sd. = Shetland.

4 places in D 42; this forms one county with 77*a* Orkney, which see after 74 Lk.

*42. d. *Dunrossness*, southernmost point of mainland Sd. (1) cs. written in io. by Mr. David Cogle, fisherman, native of Cuningsborough, and pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Miss A. B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, 683 No. 8, 684, 696; (2) in print "Shetland Fireside Tales by G.S.E." (Mr. G. Stewart, of Edinburgh, native of Dunrossness), given me by Mr. Cogle, 818.

42. l. *Lerwick*, (1) Parable of the Prodigal Son in Sd. speech, written in io. by Mr. Arthur Laurenson, of Lerwick, and pal. by me from dict. of Miss Anna B. Malcolmson, 816; (2) nwl. by Mr. A. L. of which the principal words were pal. by me from the dict. of Miss A. B. M. 818.

42. s. *Shetland* generally, (1) MS. Glossary of words collected by Mr. A. Grant, and sent to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who lent it to me; (2) "A Shetland Letter" communicated to me in MS. by Prince LLB., and translated by Mr. A. Laurenson, but as it has not been read to me, I have not used it; part of it is printed in the 'Zetland Directory and Guide,' 1860.

*42. u. *Unst* (1) MS. Glossary of words collected by Dr. L. Edmondstone with the pronunciation of several marked by Walker's symbols, belonging to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who lent it to me; (2) in print 'The Parable of the Sower,' Matth. xiii. 3–9, translated in 1858 by Dr. LE. for Prince

LLB., and communicated by him with Annotations to the Philological Society of London, 20 June, 1878, p. 817.

86. Wg. = Wigtownshire.

2 places in D 36.

*36. g. *Glenluce* (glenlyy$_1$s) (15 w. Wigton) nwl. by Rev. George Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce, who went over every word with his deacon, James McCulloch, 68, native, whose father kept up the dialect well, 749.

*36. s. *Stranraer* (25 w-by-n. Wigton) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Messrs. W. Boyd, M. Armstrong, and R. Caddow, 683, No. 4, 684, 695, 749.

## Ireland.

117. Wx. = Wexford. co.

1 place in D 1.

*1. f. *Forth and Bargy* baronies, letter from E. Hore, and from printed matter by Rev. William Barnes, pp. 25–30.

## VII. ALPHABETICAL INFORMANTS LIST AND INDEX OF ALL THE NAMES MENTIONED IN THIS TREATISE.

This consists of two distinct parts given for convenience in one alphabetical arrangement. The first is a reverse index to the Alphabetical County List VI., enabling the reader to refer back from the informant's name to his contribution. The name in roman letters is followed by the usual two-letter abbreviation of the name of the county in italics with *M, W, S, I* prefixed if it belongs to the Isle of Man, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland. This refers at once to the Alphabetical Counties List, VI., which is arranged first in countries, and then in counties. Then follows the initial, numbered if necessary, which refers to that given under the name of the county in VI., and immediately points out the place, whence the information was derived, and whence all the necessary particulars can be found. When more than one county is referred to, a — is interposed.

The second part contains those names which are not introduced in VI. because they could not be conveniently referred to a specified place in a county. These for distinction are printed in italics with generally an indication of the matter for which any name is cited, and the page where it will be found. When the name also belongs to the first part, only the indication is printed in italics.

The names of all persons or books mentioned in my treatise from which I have directly derived information are thus given—errors excepted. The names of those from whom my informants derived their knowledge, though occasionally given in the text, are generally not inserted in this list, although there are a few exceptions, as no rule could be conveniently observed in inserting or omitting them.

The names of some of the books used are also given, and it may be assumed that I have consulted every important book on dialects that has appeared (p. *5b*), although not specially named. These I did not consider it necessary to specify. See the Bibliography published by the English Dialect Society and its own publications. The peculiar character of this treatise consists in unprinted and hitherto uncollected sources of information on which it is founded, and it is to those from whom I procured it that this Alphabetical List mainly relates.


A

Adcock, Miss M. A. *Le.* *s.
Adshead, G. H. *Yo.* m3. s1.
*Agricola's wall*, 22.
Ainger, Rev. Dr. *Nb.* r.
*Aiton, W. General View of Agriculture in the Co. of Ayr*, 729*a*.
*Akerman's 'Hornet and Beetle,'* pal. 51 to 54.
Alexander, J. *SLk.* g.—*and see Gibb, SAb.* s.
*Alfred King*, 2.
Allen, Ven. Archd. *Sh.* p2.
*Allen, Grant, 'Are we Englishmen?'* 9 note.
Allen, Miss. *Le.* *b4.
Allen, T. *Nb.* *s1.
Allen, Rev. T. T. *Du.* d.
Allnutt, W. H. *Ox.* o.
Auchmaty, Rev. A. C. *He.* l5.
Anderson, W. J. *SFo.* a.

Anonymous, vic. *Co.* L1. — vic. *Du.* A2. — rector. **Es.* R. — vic. *He.* A. — vic. *Li.* B3. — servant. *Li.* *E. — passenger. *Nf.* *N5. — vic. *Ox.* H2. — curate. *Yo.* M3.
Austey, Mary. *Dv.* *I1.
Arden, Mrs. Douglas. *Li.* H1. S8.
*Arnold, M.*, his pron. of 'fate,' 33*b*.
Armstrong, Rev. E. P. *Li.* S5.
Armstrong, M. *SWg.* S.
Ashby, G. *Nf.* K1.
Atkinson, Mrs. *Cu.* C1.—*We.* T.—*her assistance for Edenside names*, 555*d*, 603*c*.
Atkins, A. H. *Bu.* C2.
Atkinson, W. *Cu.* P.—*his assistance for Edenside names*, 603*c*.
Atkinson, Rev. J. *La.* D.
Atkinson, Rev. J. C. *Yo.* D1.

B

Bainbridge, J. *Cu.* E.—*his assistance for Edenside Names*, 603*c*.
Baines, Rev. J. *WMg.* B1.
*Baird, H.* = *Nathan Hogg*, 156*d*, 158*c*, 159*d*.
Baker, R. S. *Nf.* N4.
Baker, Rev. R. S. *Np.* H4.
Ballard, H. *He.* *M.
Baldwin, Rev. I. N. *Nt.* M4.
Bamford, R. m*Yo.* M3.
Banks, Mrs. L. *La.* M1.
Banks, W. S. *Yo.* *W2.
Banting, W. B. *Be.* *H1.
Banton, Rev. P. *Np.* D3.
Barclay, Rev. D. *Ht.* S4.
Barkas, T. P. *Nb.* *N1.
Barlow, Rev. J. M. *Sr.* E2.
Barnard, Mrs. J. *Ht.* S3.
Barnes, Rev. W. *Do.* *W3.—*IWx.* F. *printed* 25, 26, 30—*on f, v, and s, z in S.* 38 to 41.
Bartlett, Rev. W. A. *Ss.* W3.
*Batchelor*, T. *Bd.* *B. *and his 'Orthoepical Analysis,'* 204–209 (*all in print*).
Bateman, T. *WFl.* H1.
*Baumann, H. his Londonisms*, 230.
Beardsell, A. *Yo.* *H6.
Beeby, Miss. *Bu.* *W1.
Beesley, T. jun. *Ox.* *B1.
Beesley, sen. *Ox.* *B1.
Begge, Miss. *SFo.* D.
*Beke, Dr.* on '*v, w*,' 132.
Bell, A. M. *SAb.* A.—*SEd.* E.—*SFi.* F.—*SLk.* G.—*SPb.* P.—*SRx.* H.—*his 'Visible Speech' sentences*, 714, 724, 725, 730, 777, *and Numerals*, 726.—*revises Buchan version of Ruth*, 698*b*.
Bell, G. *Yo.* *R1.
Bell, Miss H. *Le.* W.
Bell, Rev. H. *Cu.* R.
Bell, Jacob, *Nb.* K.
Bell, Miss M. A. *La.* *C8.
Bell, Rev. W. R. *Yo.* *L1.
Bellows, J. *Gl.* B1.—*La.* P3.
Bennett, Rev. Canon, *Wl.* M.
Bennett, E. *St.* E2.
Benton, Mr. Ph. *Es.* *S1.
Berin, Rev. H. *Ke.* F1.
Berkeley, Rev. S. H. *Dv.* M2.
Bewick, R. *Nb.* *W2.
Best, — *Yo.* H9.
Best, Mrs. *Yo.* I.
Bewly, E. S. *Ha.* A.—*Sf.* S2.
Bigge, Rev. J. F. *Nb.* *S2.
Bingham, Rev. Canon, *Do.* B1.
Birch, Rev. G. *Bu.* E.
*Birket, W. his help for Edenside names*, 603*d*.
Blasson, T. *Li.* *B4.
Blenkinsopp, Rev. E. L. *Li.* S10.
Blythe, Rev. J. *Nb.* A2.
Bogg, T. W. *Li.* *L3.
Bolingbroke, Mrs. F. H. *Bd.* M.
Bonaparte, Prince L.-L., *his help*, 5.—*Gl.* *ā* = (ii), 64.—*on Nb. burr*, 643*a*, 644*a*.—*Be.* *H1. *Bu.* C2, C3, L.—*Es.* *S1.—*Gl.* B1.—*Ha.* *C1.—*He.* *D2 *E H *L4 M R W2.—*Ht.* B1 B3 G2 H4 K L1 L2 *R T W2.—*La.* P3.—*Mi.* *E W.—*Mo.* *L.—*Nf.* K1.—*Sr.* L.—*Wa.* S3. —*Wo.* *D2.—*Yo.* D3. —*SSd.* S U.
Bower, Rev. A. *Li.* U2.
Bowness, R. *La.* C8.
Boyd, W. *SWg.* S.
Bradley, Rev. E. *Ru.* S.
Bradshaw, Mrs. jun. *Ox.* B1.
Brain, J. *Ox.* *D.
*Brandreth, E. L. obtains Jane Morrison's help*, 764*c*.
Brigg, S. *Yo.* K.
Breechen, Rev. J. *Ru.* W.
Brewer, W. *Be.* *C.
Brickwell, Rev. E. *Bd.* H2.
Broadley, Rev. Canon, *Do.* B3.
Brockie, W. *Du.* S8.
Brooke, F. C. *Sf.* U.
Brooke, T. *Yo.* A.
Brooks, Rev. T. W. D. *Bd.* F.
Broughton, Rev. R. *Ha.* S1.
Brown, Rev. A. H. *Es.* B4.
Brown, J. *Bd.* A.
Brown, Jo. *We.* K1.
Brown, Rev. T. *Sf.* H.
Brown, W. H. *Ht.* R.
Browne, Rev. H. *Wo.* E1.
Brune, Mrs. Prideaux. *Co.* P1.
'*Brut y Tywysogion*,' *on the Flemings in Pm.* 24.
Buck, Rev. G. P. *Nf.* N5.
Buckle, Miss. *Nf.* *M2.
Buckley, Rev. Jo. *Wl.* S3.
Buller, Rev. R. *Co.* L3.
Bulman, Rev. G. P. *Du.* S5.
Burgiss, G., with T. and J. *He.* *L4.
Burne, Mrs. *Sh.* N1.
Burnell, Dr. A. C. *Ha.* W1.
Burningham, Rev. T. *Nf.* N5. — *Sr.* C1. — *Ha. example about* 1828, p. 96*d*.—*on Sr. and Ss.*, 108*c*.
*Burns, R., Tam o' Shanter, pal.* 732. — *Duncan Gray, pal.* 748.
Burton, Sir F., *on 'de = the' in Ke.* 132.
Bury, Rev. T. W. *Li.* A1.
Bury, Rev. Ch. *Yo.* *T2.

Butler, Betty, *La.* C1.
Butler, T. *La.* D.
*Butler, Tobias, recites Forth speech*, 28.
Buttenshaw, Mrs. *Bd.* E.

C

Caddow, R. *SWg.* S.
Cadogan, C. H. *Nb.* R.
Calland, Miss. *Ke.* S4.
Cameron, Rev. A. A. *Be.* *H3.
Campbell, Mrs. G. M. E. *Wl.* C5.
Campbell, Rev. W. *Be.* K.
Campbell, Rev. W. A. *Hu.* H3.
*Campbell, Ld. his 'Life of Judge Hale,'* 64.
*Carr, W., on the Nb. burr, father of Mrs. Ferschl*, 651*a*.
Carrol, Rev. T. *Hu.* H2.
Carthew, G. A. *Nf.* *E.
Cartlege, Rev. C. A. *Du.* *B2.
Casartelli, Rev. J. C. *La.* M1.
Castle, Rev. E. *Yo.* C2.
Cattell, T. E. *Ru.* C.
Chamberlain, J. H. *Le.* L1.
Chamberlain, Rev. J. S. F. *Ht.* G3.
Chamberlain, Mrs. (formerly Miss Sweet) *Wo.* T.
Chamberlain, Rev. T. B. *Nt.* N3.
Chambers, Rev. W. I. *Li.* N2.
Chandler, H. *Ru.* U.
Chandler, T. H., jun. *Wl.* A.
Chandler, T. H., sen. *Wl.* S1.
Chapman, Miss E. *Np.* N2.
Charlesworth, Rev. J. R. *Sr.* E1.
*Chaucer, his 'Strothir,'* 547.
Cheales, Rev. H. J. *Li.* *F3.
Cheese, Rev. F. *Yo.* H1.
Christie, Rev. C. M. *Sm.* C5.
Clarke, A. Y. O. *Do.* *C.
Clarke, G. *SFo.* D.
Clarke, S. *Ss.* W1.
Clarke, Rev. T. *We.* L.
*Clarke, Mrs., her* (E'ipren) *as compared with her grandmother's* (évprvn), *genesis of Eastern* (E'i), 196*d*.
Clay, Rev. E. K. *Bu.* G.
Clay-Ker-Seymour, Mrs. *Do.* *C *H.
Clayton, Rev. C. *Du.* S7.
Cleverley, W. *Be.* S1.
Close, Rev. R. W. *Hu.* P.
Clough, J. C. *Ch.* A1.
Cockman, Mr. and Miss. *Li.* G3.
Cockshall, Rev. J. S. *Li.* B5.
Cogle, D. *SSd.* D.
Coker, Rev. C. *Ox.* *F2.
Cole, Miss. *Ss.* K.
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Moore and Moore, Messrs. *Ha.* R.
Morgan, Rev. H. *Gl.* c4.
Morgan, Rev. W. *WMg.* K.
Morrison, Jane. *SAb.* C.
*Mouatt, P., on the Nb. burr*, 642*d*.
*Mulgrave, Ld., in Forth and Bargy*, 25*c*.
Munn, Rev. J. R. *Ss.* A.
*Murray, Dr. J. A. H., helps with my* cs. 1*d*.—*draws Celtic border in Scotland*, 8*c*, 14.—*names of his helpers for CB.*, 14*c*.—*partly anticipates Line* 7, p. 20.—*his b. of England and Scotland not Line* 10, p. 21.—*on the Nb. burr*, 643.—*his DSS.* 681.—*his Scotch Hundredth Psalm, pal.* 715.—*Cu.* c1.—*Yo.* s4.—*SAb.* B.—*SAy.* A.—*SEd.* E.—*SFo.* A.—*SRx.* H.
Murray, Mrs. Ch. *S.Ed.* E.
Mylins, F. J. *Wa.* *E.

N

Napier, Rev. J. W. *St.* s6.
Nicholson, Rev. H. J. *Hu.* G4.
Norman, Rev. M. O. *Le.* H.
Norwood, Rev. J. W. *Yo.* s9.
Noye, W. *Co.* *P2.
Nutt, Rev. C. H. *Sm.* E.

O

Ormsley, Rev. E. R. *Du.* H1.
Owen, Rev. T. *Es.* B1.
Owen, Rev. W. *Wl.* D.

P

Paige, —. *Do.* s3.
Paige, J. *Dv.* H.
Paley, Rev. F. *Np.* U.
Pardoe, Rev. G. O. *WMg.* S.
Parish, Rev. W. D. *Ss.* S.
*Parisian uvular r*, 642*b*.
Parker, Mrs. A. *Be.* C s1 s2.—*Db.* H3.—*Ox.* B2 E H1 H3 I L2 O W.
Parker, Rev. F. W. *WMg.* *M.
Parker, G. *Bu.* M1.
Parkes, Prof. *Yo.* s4.
Patrick, D. *SAy.* O.—*SRf.* L.
Paul, C. Kegan. *Do.* s2.
Payne, —. *Cu.* c1.
Peacock, E. *Li.* *B7 s4.
*Peacock, R. B., Song of Solomon, Chap.* ii. *in Lonsdale s. of the Sands*, 550*d*.
Pearce, Rev. T. *Do.* E2.
Pearson, —. *La.* U.
Pearson, Rev. H. H. *Db.* N.
Peck, Rev. E. A. *Hu.* H4.
Peckham, Rev. H. *Ss.* c1.
Peckham, Miss. *Ke.* s2.
Peniston, Miss A. B. *Co.* s1.
Perkins, J. *Cb.* *c2.
Pertwee, Rev. A. *Es.* *B5.
Philip, Rev. H. B. *Es.* *G7.
*Philip and Son's maps*, 7.
*Picton, Sir J. A., on Forth and Bargy*, 27.—*La.* w5.
Pinder, Rev. N. *Ox.* *G.
Piper, Miss A. M. F. *He.* *E.
*Pitmen's pit talk*, 650*c'*.
Pocklington, Rev. R. *Nt.* w1.
Pollar, Miss. *SPr.* P.
*Poole, J.*, 25, 29.
Pope, Rev. G. *Nt.* R2.
Postlethwaite, W. *Cu.* K.
Pott, Ven. Arch. *Be.* E.
*'Potter,' a misprint for 'Trotter' on p.* 66, *lines* 1 *and* 2.
Potts, Rev. C. Y. *He.* *L1.—*Du.* *s6.
Potts, Taylor. *Du.* *s8.
Powell, —. *St.* H2.
Powley, Miss Mary. *Cu.* L1.—*her assistance for Edenside names*, 603.
Powley, J. *Yo.* B4.
Pratten, Rev. W. S. *Cu.* H.

Preston, R., *his Bradford poems*, 391*d*.—*his remarks on dialectal orthography*, 388*d*.
Price, S. *Ke.* c2.—*Sm.* *M3.
Price, Rev. N. E. *Sh.* L1.
Prior, Dr. R. C. A. *Sm.* M2.—*Wl.* c4.
Procter, Rev. F. *Nf.* W6.
*Proctor on the Nb. burr*, 643*a*.
Pryor, M. R. *Ht.* W4.
Pulman, G. P. R. *Dv.* A.—*Sm.* A c6 *M1.
Purley, Rev. E. C. *Hu.* G2.
Purton, Major. *Wl.* P.
Pyke, T. *Du.* *S6.

R

Ragg, Rev. F. W. *Bu.* M2.—*Ke.* W.—*Sh.* c4.
Randolph, H. *Sm.* M2.
Raven, Rev. Dr. J. J. *Nf.* *G3.
Rawlings, W. J. *Co.* *M1 P2.—*his b. of w. Co.* 156*b*.
Rea, J. F. *Nb.* D.
Reade, H. St. John. *Np.* O.
Reeve, W. N. *Le.* L1.
*Richardson, Dr. F.* 22.—*Nb.* *H2.
Richings, Rev. A. C. *Ht.* B3.
Ridge, Anne. *Dv.* *c1.
Ridge, T. H. *SAb.* c.
Ridgway, M. *Yo.* D3.
Ridley, Rev. W. H. *Bu.* H1.
Ridley, T. D. *Nb.* *W1.
Roberts, Rev. A. C. *Ht.* W4.
Roberts, *Sm.* W3.
Robinson, C. Clough, *a chief helper*, 4*b*, —*on* (th) *for 'the,'* 19.—*on* (*u*) *in sYo.* 365*b*.—*on Yo. dialectal orthography*, 403.—*Yo.* *B5 *D3 *H2 H10 *K *L2 *L5 M2 *M4 *M5 *N1 *N2 *N3 N4 *R5 *S7 *S11 *U1 *U3 *U4 U5 *W3 Y.
Robinson, Rev. C. J. *He.* W2.
Robinson, F. K. *Yo.* *W4.
*Robinson, J., his assistance for Edenside names*, 603*c*.
Robson. *Du.* *c1.
*Robson, J. Ph. on the Nb. burr*, 642*a*.
Robson, E. C. *Du.* S8.
Rock, W. F. *Dv.* B1.
Roderick, J. W. *Ht.* F *W1.
Rogers, Rev. S. *Co.* G.
Rogers, T. *Co.* *S2.
Rogers, W. H. H. *Dv.* c2.
Rolf, Rev. C. T. *Ke.* *S1.
*Roscoe, Mrs., for Manx*, 361*b*.
Rose, Rev. W. F. *Sm.* *W4.
Ross, —. *Sm.* *c1.
Ross, D. *SRx.* R.
Ross, F. *Yo.* *H5.
Ross, J. *SKe.* G.
Rossiter, J. *Sm.* c7.
Rothwell, Ch. *La.* *B3.
Rowlands, Rev. J. *WFl.* H3.
Royds, Rev. C. T. *La.* H3.
Rumny, Rev. J. W. *Ke.* R2.
Rundell, J. B. *Co.* *M2.—*Dv.* B2, D.
Rust, Rev. J. C. *Cb.* S3.
*Russell, very Rev. C. W., on Flemings in Pm.* 24.

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Sadler, Miss. *Wo.* *S2.
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Sale, Rev. T. T. *Ht.* A1.
Sayers, Miss A. *Ss.* *c2.
Sayers, Miss J. *Sr.* O.
Scarlett, Rev. W. *Yo.* R4.
Scoones, Rev. W. D. *Bu.* L.
Scott, A. *Nb.* *R.
Scott, Rev. G. H. *Nt.* G.
Scott, Rev. W. A. *Du.* S3.
Seaman, Rev. C. E. *Ha.* N1.
*Seward, Wm., his dialogue for Burton-in-Lonsdale, Yo., pal. by JGG.* 608.
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*Septimius Severus's wall*, 22.
Sharley, Rev. G. *Nf.* I.
Sharpe, J. W. *Sr.* G1.
Shaw, James. *SDf.* T.
Shelly, J. *Dv.* *P2.—*La.* c7.
Shröer, Prof. *Ha.* *A.
Simmons, Rev. Canon. *Yo.* H11.
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Simson, W., *pron. of Kyle, Ay.* 729, 742.—*SAy.* K2.
Sinclair, Rev. J. *SCs.* W.
Singleton, Miss L. *Yo.* P.
Skeat, Rev. W. W. *Cb.* c2 P.—*Es.* T.—*Ht.* S3.—*Ox.* E.
Skudamore, Rev. W. *Nf.* D2.
Slade, Miss. *Ox.* *S1.
Slatter, Rev. J. *Be.* S3.
Slow, E. *Wl.* W.
Slyfield, Miss J. *Sr.* S.
*Smart on London errors of speech*, 227.
Smith, Rev. A. C. *Wl.* Y.
Smith, Cecil. *Sm.* T.
Smith, C. R. *Ha.* W2.
Smith, Rev. E. B. *WMg.* L.
Smith, H. *Li.* H4.
Smith, Rev. J. *Do.* B2.
Smith, Rev. L. A. *WRd.* L.
Smith, Rev. S. A. *Cb.* c3.
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Stanway, L. *St.* S1.
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Stead, R. *Ke.* F2.—*Yo.* *E3 *H5 *S10 Y.—*WBr.* *B2.—*on* (*u*) *in Yo.* 365.

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*Stewart, G., 'Shetland Fireside Tales,'* 814.
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*Stockdale, J., Song of Solomon chap. ii. in Lonsdale n. of the Sands,* 550.
Stone, W. G. *Do.* W1.
Stores, Rev. C. E. *Yo.* S9.
Streatfield, —. *Ke.* *M1.
Stuttard, H. *La.* *C7.
*Sweet, Dr. H.* 2.—*his 'Romic,'* 99*b*.
Sweet, Miss (now Mrs. Chamberlain). *Wo.* T.
Swift, Rev. G. *Nt.* M5.
*Swinburne, A., on the Nb. burr,* 642*c*.
Sykes, Dr. J. *Yo.* *D4.

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Tarver, Rev. J. *Bu.* *T.
Taunton, Rev. T. B. *Dv.* N2.
Taylor, Rev. Hugh. *Nb.* *T.
Taylor, J. *Dv.* W2.
Taylor, Rev. R. *Du.* M2.
Taylor, Tom. *Du.* S8.
Teenan, J. *SHd.* B.
Tenney. *Dv.* *D.
Tennyson, Lord. *Li.* S8.
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Thompson, Rev. Dr. W. H. *Yo.* G3.
Thornton, Rev. J. *Yo.* M6.
Thorold, Mrs. W. *Dv.* W1.
Thynne, Rev. A. B. *Wl.* S2.
Till, G. *St.* A3.
Timmins, S. *Wa.* B3.
Titley, Rev. R. *Le.* B2.
Titmouse, J. *Ha.* S1.
Tollemache, Hon. and Rev. H. F. and Miss. *Np.* H5.
Tollet, Miss E. *St.* B2.
Tombs, Rev. J. *WPm.* R.
Tomline G. H. *Wa.* S3.
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Viles, E. *St.* *C4.
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W

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Walker, Rev. J. *Sf.* B2.
Walker, J. W. F. *Ox.* I.
Walker, Miss. *Cb.* *W4.
Walker, Rev. Percy C. *Cu.* B2.
Wallis, Rev. W. M. *Be.* B.
*Walsh.* 25*d*.
Ward, Rev. H. *Yo.* *H5.
Ware, Rev. W. W. *Yo.* H1.
Warleigh, Rev. H. S. *Gl.* A1.
Warner, Rev. R. E. *Li.* S7.
Watkins, Rev. M. G. *Li.* B1.
Watson, Rev. J. S. *Le.* C.
Watt, Rev. R. *St.* C3.
Wayte, Rev. G. H. *Wl.* C1.
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Westmacott, Miss. *Sm.* B3 S1.
Wharton, Rev. J. C. *Mi.* W.
Whateley, Rev. J. *Es.* E.
Wheck, Miss S. *Bd.* *R.
*Whitelands Training College, great assistance from the Principal, Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe,* 4 *Teachers, Misses Adcock, Kemm, Mallett and Martin,* and 28 *Students, Misses Beeby, Begge, H. Bell, Buckle, Calland, Chapman, Cockman, Cox, Croucher, Firth, Foxlee, Francis, Furness, Harris, Hill, Hirst, Kidd, Lowman, Miles, Peckham, Pollar, Sadler, A. Sayers, J. Sayers, Slyfield, Turner, Wheck, and Wing, see these names.*
Whitaker, Jo. *Mi.* E.
White, Rev. F. W. *Li.* C3.
White, Rev. G. H. *Dv.* S1.
*White, Ned, a yarn,* 666.
Wigram, Rev. W. *Ht.* F.
Wilcocks, Rev. H. S. *Dv.* S2.
Wilding, Rev. J. *St.* U1.
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Williams, Rev. T. *WFl.* N.
Williams, Mrs. *Li.* A2 B8 C1 G4 G5 H3 H5 K1 K2 L1 L3 S2 S9 S11 T2 U1 W1.
Williams, Rev. Wadham. *Sm.* B2.
Williams, Rev. W. J. *Li.* G1.
Wilkinson, Rev. G. *Yo.* W1.
Wilkinson, I. *Yo.* S6.
Wilshere, C. W. *Ht.* H7 W3.
Wilson, Rev. G. *SBw.* C.—*SWg.* G.
Wilson, T. *Ht.* *H2.
Wilson, T. D. *Yo.* P.
Wilson, Rev. W. *Du.* R.
Wing, Miss. *Es.* *M.
Winter, G. *Sm.* C3.
Wiseman, J. F. T. *Es.* *P1.

Wolf, Lady. *Ha.* *C1.
Wood, Mrs. Willoughby, *St.* *B1.
Woodfall, G. *Es.* G3.
Woodhouse, Rev. G. H. *Nt.* F.
Woodhouse, R. *He.* *D2.
Woof, R. *Wo.* *D2.
Worfold, Rev. J. N. *Yo.* E1.
Wray, Rev. H. *WDn.* *H.
Wray, Rev. J. Jackson. *Yo.* M2.
Wright, Rev. Canon. *Li.* C2.
Wright, J. *Nb.* *H3.
Wright, Rev. J. *Wo.* U.
Wright, Dr. J. *Yo.* M1 *W5.—*on* (*u*) *in South Yo.* 365*c*.
Wright, Rev. J. P. *St.* N.
Wyatt, J. *Bd.* *B—*Bu.* B1.
Wyer, N. W. *Do.* *W2. —*Dv.* E.—*Es.* I.
Wykes, C. H. *Np.* L2.
Wyld, J. *Du.* *B1.

Y

Yarranton, Rev. A. *Sm.* S1.
Yeats, Dr. J. *Mo.* *C2.

## VIII. TABLE OF DIALECTAL PALAEOTYPE.

The palaeotype laid down in Part I. pp. 1 to 12, even when extended as in Part IV. pp. xii to xiv, proved insufficient for the differentiation of the minute shades of sound heard in dialectal speech. Hence it became necessary to construct an entirely new table.

All sounds are represented by "old letters," whence the name palaeotype παλαιοὶ τύποι, but in order to obtain signs enough these ancient types embrace 1) direct small or "lower case" roman as (e), 2) the same "turned" as (ə), 3) the direct italic and small capital (*e* E), and 4) their inversions (*ə* Ǝ), and sometimes even black letter as (𝔢 𝔞) A few "digraphs" are also admitted, especially with (h), as (th sh), a hyphen preceding the (h) when it is not initial, but has to have its usual sense. 'Modifiers' are extensively employed as in ($e^1$, $e_1$, $u^4$, $u^5$, A, kj, tj tʃ), etc. These alter the value of the preceding letter in a definite direction, and are explained hereafter separately, and also in conjunction with the modified letters. All these letters, digraphs, and modified forms are then arranged in alphabetical order by the ordinary large capital letters which are not otherwise phonetically employed. The letter A, for example, refers to all modifications of the type a and its diphthongal combinations as (a, $a^1$, $a_1$, $a_{,}$, $a_R$—ah, aA, a'i, a'u, a'y,—*a*, *a*h,—A, $A^1$,—ʊ, ʊúu).

No attempt is here made to give any phonetic theory, for which see much of Part IV., and also my article on SPEECH SOUNDS in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1888, vol. 22, pp. 381–390, which uses palaeotype, and my *Speech in Song* (Novello), or *Pronunciation for Singers* (Curwen), both of which use glossic. But as a matter of convenience I prefix the table of Mr. Melville Bell's vowel system reduced to pal. and numbered.

MR. MELVILLE BELL'S *Visible Speech* Vowel Table.

*n* narrow, *w* wide, *nr* narrow round, *wr* wide round.

| TONGUE HEIGHT. | TONGUE BACK. | | | | MIXED. | | | | TONGUE FRONT. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | *w* | *nr* | *wr* | *n* | *w* | *nr* | *wr* | *n* | *w* | *nr* | *wr* |
| HIGH ..... | 1 *œ* | 2 ʊ | 3 u | 4 *u* | 13 Y | 14 *y* | 15 U | 16 *u*h | 25 i | 26 *i* | 27 I | 28 y |
| MID ..... | 5 ɤ | 6 a | 7 *o* | 8 o | 17 ə | 18 ah | 19 *o*h | 20 oh | 29 *e* | 30 e | 31 *ə* | 32 œ |
| LOW ..... | 9 Œ | 10 *a* | 11 A | 12 ɔ | 21 əh | 22 ɔɔ | 23 *a*h | 24 ɔh | 33 E | 34 æ | 35 *ə*h | 36 æh |

These will be spoken of as Bell's No. 1, 2, 3, etc., though the numbers are mine, and merely annexed for convenience of reference, and to shew in the briefest manner the position of the tongue and lips assigned by Mr. Bell.

*Quantity.*—(1) *Vowels.* Six grades of length are recognised. Very short as (ă ə̯), ordinarily short as (a ə), medial length, lying between short and long, as (à ə'), long as (aa əə), drawled as (aà əə'), extremely long as (aaa əəə). Ordinarily only two lengths are written, short and long, as (a aa). To indicate a succession of two shorts of the same kind introduce the break as (a)a). TH. has always recognised the medial length as (à), and in all his numerous contributions to this book medial vowels abound, greatly to the exclusion of long (p. 316). Hence to him, and those who agree with him, the long vowel (aa) represents a much longer sound than it does to me. In s.Lowland the vowels are generally medial, and when lengthened are very long, thus *thief thieves* are (thìf thiivz), which might be written (thiif thiiivz), but for convenience are usually written (thif, thiivz). Similarly in Italian and Spanish, the vowels are ordinarily of medial length, and may be emphatically shortened or lengthened according to the feeling of the moment, without disturbing signification.

(2) *Consonants.*—Some consonants, as (s, f, z, v), can be continued indefinitely, and in point of fact are generally lengthened in the pause. As a rule this is not noticed in writing. But TH. constantly marks it, see p. 316, and all the examples in D 21, D 26, (pp. 317–329, 426–447). See also Dr. Sweet's observations, IV. 1145. In this case, if the final consonant is voiced, as (hiz), the buzz is often not continued very long, but is followed by an indefinitely long hiss, thus (hizs') as (hiz') would be uncomfortable to the speaker. If the final consonant be a mute, it cannot be lengthened, but is only suspended, that is, the organs of speech are retained in their positions, and a silence ensues until the position is ordinarily released on flatus, or another vowel, thus (stɔp') properly means a silence after (p), but would ordinarily imply the release on flatus as (stɔp'p'). Sometimes, however, even when final the mute is neither suspended nor audibly released, and would then be marked thus (stɔp:). Between two vowels the mute is thus usually split up, thus *stopping* is pron. as (stɔpiq), with no pause between the end of the first or beginning of the second syllable, really (stɔp:piq), or a suspension may be inserted as (stɔp'piq), which is not usual in English except in compound words as hoppole (hɔp'pool), but not (hɔp'p'pool). When a different consonant follows, only the first glide on to the (p) is heard, as *upshot* (əp:shɔt). In all these cases, except in special phonetic discussions, I avoid the use of the mark of suspension. But the suspended (t') for *the* is always marked, p. 317*b*.

In the following list only the short vowels and the short consonants are given as headings, but examples to both short and long vowels are often annexed.

*Diphthongs.*—Two or more different vowels written in juxtaposition are to be pronounced in separate syllables, as (*kee*ɔs) chaos, but they are usually separated in some way, as (kee)ɔs, kee·ɔs). When however they glide on to one another, one of them bears an acute accent, as (ái), and the two form a 'diphthong,' and similarly three vowels form a triphthong, as (*e*áu). The combination in each case consists of a single syllable. The vowel bearing the acute accent has then the principal stress. Occasionally each element may have equal stress, and then two acute accents are used, as (íá), distinct from (íja, ía, iá), but even in this case there is felt to be only one syllable. When the vowel with the stress is long, the acute is placed on the first of the two representative letters, as (áa*i*), and when it is medial, the medial grave accent fuses with the diphthongal acute accent into a circumflex, thus (á'*i*) becomes (â*i*), which type will be constantly found in TH.'s contributions below. As English printers have usually only (á é í ó ú *á é í ó ú*) with acute accents, the acute accent for other vowels is placed after the vowel, as (ə'*i*, əə'*i*), and the grave is printed after it separately, as (A'*i*, A''*i*). It is sometimes convenient to indicate the class of a diphthong without completely analysing it. Thus we may not know whether (ɑ'*i*, ái, *ái*) were the diphthong really uttered, but may be sure that it was something like one of them, then (a'i) is used, the acute accent being separated, and the second element indefinite. Similarly (a'u, o'i, i'u, a'y, a'ʋ, e'ʋ, i'u, i'ʋ, o'ʋ, u'ʋ) are employed for unanalysed diphthongs, the (') being separate from (a, e, i, o, u); but this meaning of the separate acute accent is confined to the case when it follows (a, e, i, o, u). Hence (ái, a'i) must be strictly distinguished, the first diphthong being thoroughly analysed and definite, the second entirely unanalysed

and indefinite, but forming a class; (ə'i) however is also an analysed form, the accent being separate through a typographical necessity. As a rule only unanalysed diphthongs are given in the following list, though the principal analysed forms will be found in their proper places.

The length of the first element of a diphthong is generally very material. It is usually short, as (âi), but occasionally lengthened, as (âi, áai), generally with an appreciable difference in pron. or meaning. But the length of the second element does not alter the character of the diphthong, any more than the length of the final consonant alters the value of the syllable. TH., however, generally marked the quantity of the second element as medial when he observed it to be lengthened, as (âì). I have usually not retained this lengthening, considering it quite inessential, and arbitrary, being in fact constantly admissible in the pause, without any intention to alter the sound, see p. 316.

Elocutionary alterations and intonation are mostly left unmarked, but an inverted period before a word indicates *emphasis* corresponding to the usual *italics*; thus, he told *me, he* told me, became (hi *tool*d ·mii, ·hii *tool*d mi). In monosyllables emphasis generally conditions some alteration of sound.

*** The long phonetic discussion on received pron. in Part IV. pp. 1090 to 1167 will be regularly cited, and pp. 1265 to 1357 should also be consulted.

When the numbers of pages referred to are above 1000 they are in this volume,—unless the number of the part is specially added. The italic letters *a, b, c, d* annexed here and elsewhere indicate that the passage referred to is in the first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the page; and if the page is in double columns, unaccented letters refer to the first, and accented to the second column. The reader will find it convenient to mark the quarters of pages on a separate piece of paper cut the length of the printed matter, excluding the head-line, and after folding in half, and then again in half, and lettering it, apply it to the book; it will be found to save much time in finding a passage in pages so crowded with matter as those of this book.

The mode I have adopted, and found to work well in writing is as follows: The small roman letters are written as usual. The small italic letters are once underlined as usual. The small capitals, instead of being doubly underlined as usual, are written as ordinary letters with an acute accent below, as ʒ=ʒ, except when they have tails, and then a stroke is written above as j̄ ȳ=J Y. Black letters are doubly dotted below. The turned letters are thus represented

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Turned | a | c | e | E | ɛ | f | J | r | l | L | M | V | œ |
| Printed | ɐ | ɔ | ə | ɜ | ɜ | ʒ | ʃ | ɾ | ɹ | ɪ | ɪ | ʌ | ɷ |
| Written | ɐ | ɔ | ə | ʒ | ʒ | ʃ | r̄ | r̄ | l | L | M | η | ɷ |

A. (a a¹ a₁ a₍ a₍ a_R—ah aA a'i a'u a'y—*a ah*—A A¹—B vúu).

(a) Bell's No. 6 short (a) in German m*a*nn, and perhaps in English ch*a*ff, l*a*ss, *a*sk, b*a*th, d*a*nce, 1148; medial (à) common in Midland th*a*t; long (aa) in *ah*, f*a*ther, mamm*a*, p*a*rt (the *r* not sounded), 539*c*.

(a¹) a higher form of (a) approaching (æ). This is generally used in place of (ah) as more suggestive, but it has not the certain position of the latter, 695*a*.

(a₁) between (a, *a*), used especially by JGG., see 539*c*, generally confused with (a), but JGG. considers that it differs in quality from the short of *a* in f*a*ther.

(₍a) or (a) with an advanced tongue, 1147*c*', between (a, æ), and not materially different in effect from (ah, a¹), 601*b*.

(a₍) semi-nasal form of (a), mild nasality, often heard in American long ī, as *I find* (á₍i fá₍ind).

(a_R) the simultaneous pron. of (a) and (R), 42*b*.

(ah) Bell's No. 18, not materially different in sound from (a¹, ₍a), used principally for an affected thinness, 1148*c*. Sweet makes it the sound in *e*ye, bett*er*, but the last is not usual in educated speech.

(aA) a conventional form for French ch*an*t, but (a) is altered in quality by the altered position of the uvula in nasalisation, see (A) p. 86* below, and 1123*d*'.

(a'i) unanalysed diphthong used where the first element has not been determined; when analysed it may take

the forms in (ái, ái, á¹i, ᴇ'i, æ'i, ɵ'i, a'i, ɑ'i, ái), and the first element is sometimes lengthened, 1100, col. 2. It may even be nasalised as (á,i). Five forms are heard in D 38, 757*c*, *d*, see also D 25, var. iv. p. 410.

(a'u) unanalysed diphthong, used where the second element approaches (u) and the first element has not been determined; it may take the forms in (áu, áu, á¹u, ᴇ'u, æ'u, ɵ'u, a'u, ɑ'u, óu, áu, ʌ'u, ɔ'u), 1153, col. 2.

(a'y) unanalysed diphthong where the second element approaches (y) or French *u*. The first elementmay vary, as in (a'i, a'u). We find (áy), 53*b'*.

(*a*) Bell's No. 10 between (a, ʌ), 1116*c*, 1152*d'*.

(*a*h) Bell's No. 23, is to him the Irish sir, and first element of the Irish *I*, and the oral element of French *en*; Sweet gives no example.

(ʌ) Bell's No. 11, *a*ll, b*a*wl, an (a) approaching to (o), 1116 col. 1, 1122 col. 1, and 539*d*.

(ʌ¹) or (ʌ) with a ráised tongue, not unlike (o), 353*a*, *b*.

(ᵊ) Bell's No. 2, as *a* in p*a*rent*a*l, Chin*a*, the commonest form of unaccented indistinct vowel, frequently serving as the second element of a diphthong, 1122*b'*, 540*d*. Bell's examples are dung*eo*n, mot*io*n, cons*cio*us, aband*o*n, cupb*oa*rd, av*oi*rdupoise, hon*ou*r, bell*ow*s, sb. Sweet gives no example, but uses Bell's No. 17, my (ə), in this sense finally.

(ᵊúu) a form of (uu) heard perhaps in the north, 636*d*, No. 640.

## Æ. (æ æh).

(æ) Bell's No. 34, the rec. English short vowel in b*a*t, which approaches closely to (ᴇ); and is generally replaced by (a¹, a, *a*) in dialects; long in the local pron. of Bath (:bææth).

(æh) Bell's No. 36, which he hears in the first element of Cockney *ou*t and L. *I'*ll; and Sweet in open German Götter. I can give no example.

## B. (b b, bh).

(b) *b*ee *b*ay *b*ow, gle*eb*, *b*a*b*e ba*b*y, a voiced (p), 1113.

(b,) a kind of defective (m) said to exist in We. 1113*d*, 560, No. 13.

(bh) German *w*, Hungarian *v*, modern Greek β, (v) uttered without touching the upper teeth with the lower lip, 1101 to 1103.

## C. (ɔ, ɔh, ɔ'i).

(ɔ) Bell's No. 12, common English short *o* in a closed syllable, h*o*p h*o*b h*o*t h*o*d h*o*ck h*o*g, unused in most of Europe, where it is replaced by (o); very like (ʌ), which is also peculiarly English, but verging towards (*o*), 1116, 540*c*. The symbol (ɔ) is used because the small cap. (o), which would naturally have been used, is too like the lower case (o).

(ɔh) Bell's No. 24, which Bell conceives as Cockney *a*sk and Irish n*o*t. Sweet gives no example. AJE. does not know the sound.

(ɔ'i) educated form of b*oy* *toy* j*oy*, occasionally (ʌ'i, ʌʌ'i), 1117*b*.

## D. (d ,d d,—dɟ dh dh, d*w*—ᴅ ᴅɟ ᴅh).

(d) in *do* ro*d* plo*dd*ing plea*d*ing, the tip of the tongue at a sensible distance behind the gums, English 'coronal' (d), voiced form of (t), 1095, 1113.

(,d) French and general continental *d* with the tip of the tongue advanced to the gums, alveolar *d*, 1095, heard in some English dialects, but almost only before (r, r°), which then become (,r, ,r°), 542*b*.

(d,) retracted (d), the tip of the tongue brought as far back as possible without reversion, so that its *edge* (not underside) touches the palate, and the tongue forms a spoon-shaped hollow at the back part, a mild form of reversion, 41*d*.

(dɟ) contraction for (,d,zh, d,zh) or (djzhj), heard in *judge*, 1154*b'*, 542, usually analysed as (dzh), as it was in the three first Parts of E.E.P.

(dh) the tongue brought fully against the teeth in English, the *th* in *th*ey brea*the*, ty*th*ing, 1098*a*, 1122*a'*.

(dh,) the (dh) with the tongue somewhat retracted, Spanish *d* in Ma*d*ri*d*.

(d*w*) labialised (d), an attempt to utter (d) and (w) simultaneously, 1115, col. 2, frequent English *dw*ell, generally confused with (dw).

(ᴅ) reverted (d), that is, (d) spoken with the *under*side of the tongue against the palate, 1095, 1096, 42, see (d,).

(ᴅɟ) = (ᴅzh) or reverted (dɟ), 41.

(Dh) the under part of the tip of the tongue brought against the teeth, theoretically assumed to exist in D 4, see 41.

E. (e e¹ e₁ e°—éʊ éeʊ éii éi eʌ éuu éu—e e¹ e₁—eeᴱ éei ee'j é¹a₁ é¹i¹—E E₁—Eᵉ E'u—ə ə¹ əh—ə ə¹ ə₁ əh—ɜ ɜ¹ ɜ_R—ɜ'i ɜ'o ɜ'u).

(e) Bell's No. 30, as I hear it from educated southern Englishmen in b*e*t, b*e*d, p*e*n, 1106, col. 1, 539*d*, generally replaced by (E) provincially. Bell considers that it is used only in unaccented syllables, and that (E) is the sound in accented syllables. Sweet agrees with me. The long form (ee) as in f*ai*r, c*a*re, p*ea*r, but only before *r* in received English, sounding (féeʊ, kéeʊ, péeʊ).

(e¹) the tongue of (e) being raised, hence approaching closely to (*e*), 1107, col. 2

(e₁) the tongue of (e) being lowered, approaching closely to (E), hardly distinguishable from (E¹), 1107, col. 2.

(e°) an indistinct form of (e) approaching (ʊ), but reminding the hearer of (e), 721*b*, *c*.

(éʊ) common provincial fracture, differing only in length from the next.

(éeʊ) real sound of *air* without the trill, (éʊ) is also common provincially, see (e).

(éii) the (e) very short and the (ii) long, 538*c*, 595*b'*, considered by the natives as (ii) parallel to (*i*₁i).

(é*i*) common diphthongising form of (e).

(eʌ) French v*i*n, see (ʌ), p. 86*.

(éuu) the (e) very short and the (uu) long, 538, l. 3 from bottom, a substitute for (uu), see also 556*c*, parallel to (éii).

(é*u*) a mincing form of (a'u) common in D 9, p. 137*d*, and London.

(*e*) Bell's No. 29, when lengthened, is the sound in n*a*me without any vanish, Fr. f*ée* long, *été* short, 1107. Murray considers it opener than Fr. f*ée*, 710, No. 4. The long sound must be distinguished from (*ee*'j) with the vanish.

(*e*¹) the tongue of (*e*) raised, and hence approaching closely to (*i*), 1107, 683*b*, 756*c*, and scarcely distinguishable from (*i*₁), 595*b*.

(*e*₁) the tongue of (*e*) lowered, approaching closely to (e), 1107, 683*b*, 697*c*.

(*ee*ᴱ) a low form of (*ee*) or (*ee*) tending towards (E), usually written (*ee*₁), 682, last line.

(*éei*) more distinctly ending with (*i*) than London (*ee*'j), 1108*d*, 1109.

(*ee*'j) the London (educated) long (*ee*) with the 'vanish,' the diphthong ending in an indefinite approach to (*i*), which is not of constant value, 1111, col. 1.

(*e*'¹a₁) this diphthong is here usually written (*i*₁a₁), 542*a*.

(*é*¹i¹) a diphthong scarcely distinguishable from (*i*₁i), which is here generally written, 541*c*.

(E) Bell's No. 33, the Fr. b*ê*te short, Italian open *e*, common short English *e* in closed accented syllables in provincial, and as some hold in rec. sp., see (e) above, and 1106*c*.

(E₁), a still deeper form than (E), but not yet quite (æ), 1108*c*, 711, No. 6.

(Eᵉ) a variation of (E) in the direction of (*e*) for which (*e*₁), or lowered (*e*), is used, 683*b*, No. 3, 1.

(E'*u*) a very common form of (a'u) heard in D 10 and D 19, pp. 146*a*, 277*b*, 278*c*, 279*d*, 287*d*.

(ə) Bell's No. 17, the fine *u* of an educated Londoner in closed accented syllables as c*u*t *u*p, replaced provincially by (ɜ), 1094, col. 2. Bell conceives it to be French qu*e*, which I take as (*ə*). Sweet has German Gab*e*, which I conceive as (ʊ). Murray cannot distinguish open unstressed (e, ə), 683*a*. I do not really distinguish unstressed (ʊ, ə).

(ə¹) an (ə) raised towards (i), 146*b*.

(əh) Bell's No. 21, he puts down as "provincial s*ir*," and Sweet simply as s*ir*; I do not know it as different from (ɜ).

(*ə*) Bell's No. 31, Fr. *eu* in p*eu* as distinct from *eu* in p*eu*ple, which is (œ); it does not seem to occur precisely in English, but only in some variant written (*ə*₁), 146*c*, 541*a*. Bell conceives (*ə*) as Fr. *u*ne, which I take as (y) and Sweet as (ɪ).

(*ə*¹) a higher form of (*ə*), 711, No. 12, 721*b*, *c*.

(*ə*₁) a deeper variant of (*ə*), but not quite (œ), 146*c*, 541 under (*əə*), 595*a'*.

(əh) Bell's No. 35, which he gives to French b*eu*rre (but this seems rather (œ) to me), and Sweet to Swedish för.

(ɐ) Bell's No. 5, the ordinary deep provincial form of the natural vowel in accented close syllables, as *cut*, b*u*d, 1094, col. 2, but Bell and Sweet consider it to be the received form, which I take as (ə).

(ɐ¹) a higher form of (ɐ), supposed to be the Scotch, 711, No. 8.

(ɐʀ) the simultaneous pron. of (ɐ) and (ʀ), 42.

(ɐ'*i*) a very common provincial form of the diphthong (a'*i*).

(ɐ'*o*) a diphthong beginning with open lips for (ɐ), closing gradually to the position for (*o*), 73*b*. par. 9.

(ɐ'*u*) one of the commonest provincial forms of (a'u), not very distinguishable from (ó*u*).

## F. (f fh ɟ).

(f) a hiss with the lower lip against the upper teeth, sometimes replaced by (ph), in which the teeth are not touched, 1099*b*.

(fh) lips and teeth as for (f), back of tongue as for (u), Bell's theoretical form of NL. *f* used for *wh*, 758*a*.

(ɟ) a modifier used in (tɟ dɟ) = (t,sh, d,zh), to indicate an approach to (tj dj), and also somewhat laxly in (kɟ gɟ) to represent the Sanscrit explodent form of (tɟ dɟ), supposed to occur in English, 1119*c*, *d*.

## G. (g gɟ—gh gj gjh grh—g*w* g*w*h ɢ).

(g) as in *gag*, *gig*, fa*gg*ing, 1113, 1154*a*.

(gɟ) the sonant form of (dɟ) existing in Sanscrit, and by Godwin recognised in English, 1119, col. 1.

(gh) guttural buzz, the back of the tongue coming close to the soft palate, as in German Ta*g*e; not English.

(gj) an attempt to pronounce (g) and (i) simultaneously, palatalised (g), at one time very common in received sp., now almost disused, except in the word *girl* (gjəəl).

(gjh) palatal buzz, German kön*ig*e, distinct from (gh), often confused with (ɟ), but not an English sound, and not even used in L. where (kjh) is common.

(grh), the uvula is flapped during the pron. of (gh), Ar. غ, often heard in Holland, but repudiated by better speakers, very like the Nb. burr, see (*r*).

(g*w*) an attempt to pron. (g) and (u) simultaneously, labialised (g) heard in *gu*ano, 1115, col. 1.

(g*w*h) labialised guttural buzz, tongue for (gh) and lips for (u), German Bu*g*e, not an English sound, though (k*w*h) occurs in L.

(ɢ) retracted (g), that is with the contact between the back of the tongue and soft palate as near the throat as possible; as JGG. considers that (ᴋ), the mute form of (ɢ), is used in D 4, p. 52. v. 23, 24, 25, and p. 57, No. 773, he should have admitted (ɢ) in p. 51, v. 4 (bæ'ɢᴇɴᴇᴛ) bayonet; but the use of (ᴋ, ɢ) in English seems very questionable; (ᴋ) is common in Arabic ك, but (ɢ) is unknown.

## H. (h 'h ʿh ʜ ʜh ʜ|h).

(h), (1) when not initial and not preceded by a hyphen or turned period, as in (th*i*n, dh*ɐ*, shi*i*, vi*z*h*ɐ*n) etc., *th*in, *th*e, *sh*e, vision, is a modifier, so that it must be considered as forming part of the same letter as the preceding sign; (2) when initial or preceded by a hyphen or turned period, as (hii, pɔt·ha'us, mis-hæ·p) *h*e, pot*h*ouse, mis*h*ap, it is a new letter representing the unanalysed aspirate of which (ʜ ʜh ʜ|h) are analysed forms, 1130*b'*.

('h) voice, is contracted to (') when sufficiently unambiguous, and then represents any obscure, indefinite, and short voice sound, 1128*c'*.

(ʿh) flatus, audible but unvoiced breath, 1128*b'*, contracted to (ʿ) when following another letter, as (tɔpʿ) top.

(ʜ) jerked utterance of following vowel or flatus, 1130*b'*; before a vowel the singer's aspirate, or entirely voiced Indian aspirate, 1134, 1138*d*.

(ʜh) contraction for (ʜʿh) or jerked flatus, not necessarily prominent, the usual theoretical aspirate, 542*b*, *c*.

(ʜ|h) a smartly jerked emission of flatus or strong aspirate, 1130*c'*.

## I. (i ĭ i'a—*i i*, *i*¹ *i'*—*i*̆*i* *i*̆y₁—*i*₁ *i*₁' —*i*₁á₁ *i*₁e° *i*₁i—*i*₁₁—ɪ).

(i) Bell's No. 25, the long (ii) common on the continent, and is supposed to occur in *eat*, *tea*, m*ee*ting, but here is frequently simply (*ii*); the

short (i) in closed accented syllables is not recognised as English, and is replaced by (i); even in open short syllables (i) is rare, 1098*d'*, 540. It occurs however in L. 710*c*.

(ĭ) very short sound of (i), the vocal form of (ɹ), 53*b'*, par. 3, diphthongising with the following vowel, regular Welsh form.

(i'a) unanalysed form of a common dialectal diphthong, varying as (*i*₁â₁, *ia*, *iɐ*, *iiɐ*), the last being the rec. sound of *ear* when the *r* is, as usual, not trilled, 1099*c*.

(*i*) Bell's No. 26, in: *it*, *bib*, *pin*, *silly*, the regular sound of English short *i*, 540, but TH. uses (*i*,) when it occurs in open unaccented syllables, considering the tongue to be somewhat retracted, 316*c*; Bell makes no such distinction; Sweet considers pit*y* to have (*i*₁).

(*i*,) a sign used by TH. explained 316*c* not distinguished by me from unstressed open (*i*), which see.

(*i*¹) a high form of (*i*), which I cannot distinguish from (i).

(*i'*) SL. close form of (*iɐ*), 710, No. 3.

(*ii*) inchoant diphthong, (i) commenced too deep as (*i*) and gradually raised to (i) during speech, 293; this is the Midland form and seems to be what Sweet writes *ij*, which he analyses as (*ii*¹) for received English.

(*i*y₁) a diphthong arising from beginning (y₁) with the mouth too open, heard in D 19, p. 261*a*.

(*i*₁) a lowered form of (*i*) lying between (*i*, *e*), which Sweet hears in pit*y* and is common dialectally.

(*i*₁') L. close (*iɐ*) as written on 682*d*, No. 3, usually written (*i'*).

(*i*,â₁) a peculiar northern fracture, in which both elements are distinct, 542*a*.

(*i*₁e°) JGG.'s form of (*i'*), 721*b*, *c*.

(*i*₁i) here the first element is deeper than (*i*) and approaches (*e*), so that JGG. often wrote (*e*¹*i*¹), which see, 541*c*; it differs from (*ii*) in being nearer (*éi*).

(*i*₁₁) doubly lowered (*i*), representing the sounds generally written *i* in Ab. which sound to me among (*i*, *e*, ə, ɜ, ɐ), fully discussed in 767, see also 695*d* and 756*d*.

(ɪ) Bell's No. 27, which he assigns to German *über* and Sweet to French l*u*ne, both of which I take to be (y).

## J. (j 'j—ɹ ɹh—ɾ).

(j) a modifier, indicating that the preceding consonant is palatalised, or that an attempt is made to pronounce (i) simultaneously with it, as in (kj, gj, lj, nj), 1115. Sweet calls this palatalisation "front modification," because he terms (i) a "front vowel."

('j) indefinite palatalised voice, heard in the 'vanish' of (*ee'*j) for long *a* in the pause, 1111, Sweet writes *ei* and analyses (*éi*₁).

(ɹ) the true consonantal sound in *ye* *y*ield *y*et *y*acht, German *j*, the true consonantal form of (ĭ), 1149*d*, 542*c*.

(ɹh) the palatal hiss of (ɹ) heard, at least occ., in *h*ew *h*ue *H*ughes *h*uge *H*ume, but often replaced by simple (ɹ), not unlike (gjh, kjh), 1149, col. 2.

(ɾ) the Midland gentle *r* described in 293*d* and 294, not materially different from (r₀, r°) and other imperfect, because unflapped or untrilled, forms of (r), see under R.

## K. (k kɹ kh kj kjh k*w* k*w*h ʁ).

(k) common guttural mute in *cake*, sa*ck*, pi*ck*ing; there is a habit sometimes of jerking out the following vowel as (kʜəm) come, heard in Ireland and Germany, 1140*d*, and some insist on slight flatus intervening as (kɸəm), which regularly occurs in the pause as (sækɸ) = (sæk') sack, neither practice is generally heard from educated speakers.

(kɹ) explodent form of (tɹ) as conceived by Mr. Godwin and found in India, 1119*c*.

(kh) the German *ch* in a*ch*, still heard in Lowland Scotch and occ. in Northern English.

(kj) palatalised (k), or an attempt to pronounce (k) and (i) simultaneously, 1115.

(kjh) palatalised hiss, an attempt to pronounce (kh) and (i) simultaneously; German *ich*, re*ch*t, heard in Lowland, 542*c*, 711*d*, not to be confounded with (ɹh) or with (sh, shj).

(k*w*) labialised (k) or an attempt to pronounce (k) and (u) simultaneously, usual *qu* in *qu*ality, *qu*antity, *qu*alise, *qu*estion, 1103, col. 2, 1115.

(k*w*h) an attempt to pronounce (kh) and (u) simultaneously, final in German

au*ch*, bu*ch*, and initial in Lowland Scotch, written as initial *quh*, 1115*b'*, 711*d*.

(ʞ) retracted (k), see (ɢ), p. 81*.

## L. (l 'l ˌl—lh, lhh, lj—*l* *l*h—ɭ—ʟ—ɾ).

(l) common English *l*ow, *l*ie, ow*l*, ais*le*, dwe*ll*ing, 1146*c*, 542*c*, the tip of the tongue resting on the hard palate some way from the gums, coronal (l), and the sides of the tongue slightly flapping.

('l) syllabic (l), the voice being sustained during position, this notation is adopted as clearer than Bell's (ll) or my equivalent (l'). Compare (lit'l, litll, litl').

(ˌl) alveolar (l), the tip of the tongue resting on the gums, common continental *l*, 542*c*.

(lh) flated (l), that is, with flatus substituted for voice, generated in some dialects, and supposed by Bell to occur regularly before (p t k), as (helhp) or (hellhp, mellht, milhk) help, melt, milk, 542*d*.

(lhh) unilateral (lh), the breath being ejected from the right side of the tongue only, as in Welsh *llall*.

(lj) palatalised *l*, an attempt to pronounce (l) and (i) at the same time. Italian *gl* may be generated in English million as (mil-lj-ɹɐn), 1115.

(*l*) the Polish gutturalised barred *l*.

(*l*h) the flated (*l*).

(l) the gradual glottid, the edges of the glottis being open when beginning to speak and gradually closing, 1129*c'*.

(ʟ) reverted *l*, the under part of the tongue being turned to the palate generated by action of preceding (ʀ), 42*d*, and sometimes used independently, 143*c*.

(ɾ) glottal *r* peculiar to Danish, but held to have been heard in the Cockney speech by Donders, 1099*c'*.

## M. (m 'm mh ɯ).

(m) an orinasal resonance of voice while the mouth is in the position for (p), 1148, col. 2; the tongue should obstruct the cavity of the mouth as little as possible, or (n, q) may be generated, for which the opening of the lips is not necessary.

('m) syllabic (m) in schis*m* chas*m* (siz'm kæz'm); this symbol preferred as more distinct than Bell's (mm) or my (m'), 1148*d'* and 1108*d*.

(mh) flatus passed through the nose while the mouth is in the position for (p), thought by Bell to occur before mutes, but not heard by me, 1141*a*, 1148*c'*.

(ʍ) turned small capital M, a lip trill with compressed lips, a defective utterance of (r) usually taken for (w), 665, line 1, formerly written (ɯ) or turned m.

## N. (n 'n ˌn—nh nj—ɴ).

(n) orinasal resonance of voice while the mouth is in the position for (t), as in *n*o, ow*n*, ma*nn*er, 1095, the mouth is generally open, but it is not necessary that it should be so, see (m).

('n) syllabic (n) so written in preference to Bell's (nn) and my (n') for lengthened (n), in op*en*, sunk*en* (*oo*p'n, səqk'n), 1108*d*.

(ˌn) the alveolar continental *n* with the tip of the tongue quite on the gums, 1095*c'*.

(nh) flatus through the nose and in the mouth in the position for (t); this was once used initially for *kn*- throughout England, and is still so used occ. in Cu. 542*d*.

(nj) palatalised (n), an attempt to pronounce (n) and (i) at the same time, Italian and French *gn*, Spanish ñ, Portuguese *nh*; may be generated in English (ən-nj-ɹɐn) onion, 1151, col. 2, see (qj).

(ɴ) reverted (n), the mouth being in the position for (r) during the orinasal resonance, generated by a preceding (ʀ) in D 4 and D 11, see 42.

## O. (o $o_u$—oh óou oʌ *ow*—*o* $o_u$ $o^1$—*o*h *oo'w*).

(o) Bell's No. 8 Italian open (o), different from, but often confused with (ɔ), and common in our dialects, 540*c*.

($o_u$) may indicate an endeavour to pronounce (o) with the lip aperture of a (u), see 1116*b'*, and may occur in dialects; it might also be written (o*w*) on Sweet's principle of 'over-rounding.'

(oh) Bell's No. 20, conceived by Sweet as French h*o*mme, which I hear as (o), conceived by Bell as American

stone, which I hear as (*o*), and Lowland note, which I also hear as (*o*). Bell considers it to be unaccented *o* in history, victory, which seems to me pedantic.

(óoʊ) a compound dialectal fracture, the rec. pron. of *oar*, with vocalised *r*, now usually called (ʌʌ'ʊ), and formerly quite (*óoʊ*), 1099*a'*.

(oʌ) conventional sign for Fr. *on*, see (ʌ).

(*ow*) see ($o_u$) above, and (*w*), p. 86*.

(*o*) Bell's No. 7, as long in *owe*, *no*, *go* without the 'vanish,' see (*oo'w*), it is not found short in accented closed syllables in English, it resembles the Italian close *o*, and may certainly be used for it, 1152, 540.

($o_u$) the tongue as for (*o*) with the lip rounding as for u, 682*d*, No. 2, generally written ($u_1$).

($o^1$) an (*o*) with a raised tongue and rather more closed lips, and hence closely resembling (*u*), so that ($u_1$) is generally written in diphthongs, 541*d*, 683*b*, No. 3, 1.

(*o*h) Bell's No. 19, conceived by him as Fr. homme, see (oh) and when nasalised as (*o*hʌ), French *on*. Sweet gives no example.

(*oo'w*) or (*oo*) with the vanish, that is, with a tendency as it is lengthened towards (u, *u*), 1152, col. 1, conceived as (*óou*) and often written (*óu*) which to me altogether perverts the sound. Sweet writes *ou* and analyses (óo*w*) = (ó$o_u$).

## Œ. (œ $œ_1$—œʌ—*œ* *œ*'u—ɔ̃ œ̃—ɔ̃).

(œ) Bell's No. 32, intermediate to (o, e), Fr. *eu* in *veuf* *peuple*, German short *ö* in böcke, distinct from (*ə*) or *eu* in *peu*, and German long *ö* in *Goethe*; thought to occur in English, 541*b*, but this is doubtful.

($œ_1$) a variant of (œ) greatly resembling ($u_o$), and similarly used as a transition from (*u*) to (ɑ) in Nb. 638*c*, see also 721*c*.

(œʌ) the Fr. orinasal *un*, but the analysis cannot be properly made on account of the modification of the oral cavity by releasing the uvula; to an Englishman it sounds rather as (ɜʌ), that is, (ɑ) with Fr. nasality.

(*œ*) Bell's No. 1, the sound heard on opening the mouth wide while pronouncing (u), 292*c*.

(*œ*'u) results from commencing (u) with too wide an opening of the lips, see 292*c*. TH. writes ($u_o$u) for this sound.

(ɔ̃) Bell's No. 22, in *first* *erst* *third*, when *r* is entirely lost, not materially different from (ɜɜ), but with a somewhat more provincial effect, 1156, most noticeable in diphthongs. (ɔ̃'*i*, ɔ̃'*u*) the forms of (a'i, a'u) in D 4, p. 65*a*, (ɔ̃'$y_1$) the form of (a'u) in D 11, p. 156*d*, 158*c*.

(Œ) Bell's No. 9, which he hears in L. *up*, and Sweet in Cockney *park*; I once imagined it was the D 4 sound in *first*, which I afterwards wrote (f'$ʀ_o$st) and now write (fɜʀst), 42*c*. I do not know the sound. I take the L. *up* to be (ɜp), see the words on 718 under U:.

(ɔ̃) a form of (ɑ) with the sound of (ʌʌ) running through it, continually spelled *aw* by dialect writers, 43*c*, under O'.

## P. (p—ph).

(p) as in *pope*, *stopping*; it may be initially (pʜ, pʃ, pʃh) and finally in the pause (p') with, or (p:) without, a recoil, see 1111, col. 2.

(ph) the flated form of (bh), the breath as it is usually emitted for cooling hot liquids, used for (f) in Hungarian, and possibly = mod. Gr. *φ*.

## Q. (q—qʃ qj).

(q) nasal resonance of voice in the position of the tongue for (k) which excludes oral resonance, 1123*c*; the lips are usually open, but this is not necessary, as oral resonance is entirely prevented.

(qʃ) the probable Sanscrit form which is confused generally with (nj), 1124*d*, corresponding to (kʃ, qʃ).

(qj) palatalised (q) is by some conceived as the proper French pron. of *gn*, which I take to be (nj) as it certainly is in Italian.

## R. (r ˌr ˌr r, $r^o$ ˌ$r^o$ $r_o$ ˌ$r_o$—rh ˌrh rhˌ—*r* $r_o$—*rw*—ʀ $ʀ_o$ ˌ$ʀ_o$—ʀh—ɾ—ɹ).

(r) a sharp beat produced by allowing emitted voice to flap the tip of the tongue, and this is the true 'trill' as heard in Italy, in Scotland, in Wales, and in Sh.; the strength and length of the beat vary much, but when there is no beat, there is

some substitute, as (r₀), now common. Enumerated kinds, 294. Simple (r) is constantly written for any kind, and the particular kind is often specified in a note, but is not always known; but real (r) is the exception in English.

(.r) strongly flapped L.-Scotch (r).

(ˌr) the tip of the tongue advanced quite to the gums, during the flap, used after (ˌt) in dialects.

(rˌ) with retracted instead of reverted tip of the tongue, which approaches the hard palate; the tongue however retains the spoon-shaped hollowness of (ʀ) towards the throat, 41*d*; (ʀ) has usually been printed instead of (rˌ).

(r°) the Northern buzzed *r*, described 542, last line but one.

(ˌr°) the same as (r°), but with the tip of the tongue advanced towards the gums, used after (ˌt) in Northern dialects.

(r₀) the buzzed *r* of the East of England, the tip of the tongue almost in the (d) position, but not touching the palate, a mere imperfect (d); a degradation of (ʀ, ʀ₀), at times very difficult to distinguish from (ʁ), 1098*b*, 189*c*, 222*a*.

(ˌr₀) advanced alveolar (r₀) used after (ˌt) in dialects.

(rh) flated (r), flatus instead of voice being used to produce the trill; it probably does not occur in English.

(ˌrh) flated (ˌr).

(rhˌ) flated (rˌ) a milder form of (ʀh), which is usually written, 42.

(*r*) uvular *r*, the beat or interruption of sound being produced by the flapping of the uvula, which is brought to lie over the top surface of the tongue; it is possible to make this trill very hard, and even metallic as in Paris, 642*b*; its usual effect is like (gh).

(*r*₀) the uvular rise, a stiffened uvula which does not flap as in (*r*), 642*c*.

(*rw*) the (*r*) labialised, by bringing the lips nearly into the position for (*o*), the full Nb. *burr*, of which there may be several kinds, 641*d*.

(ʀ) reverted (r), the under surface of the tip of the tongue turned to the hard palate, and the flap indistinct and less sharp than for (r); some deny that it is ever trilled, 23*b*, 41, apparently combined with vowels (ɑ, a, ʌ), etc. 42*b*.

(ʀ₀) untrilled (ʀ), this form is chiefly recognised by natives who consider that (ʀ) is never trilled, because the effect of the trill is so different from that in (r), 23*b*, 53*a*.

('ʀ₀) the syllabic (ʀ₀) for which (ɚʀ) is usually written, 42.

(ʀh) flated (ʀ), the common initial *r* in D 4, p. 42*a*.

(ꞅ) Irish *r* written (ˌˌr) on 1232*c*.

(ɹ) permissive (*r*), that is, where *r* is written, either (ʁ) or (ʁr) may be pron., but the first is more usual, 1099*c*, 1153*a*, 189*c*.

## S. (s ˌs sh shj ˌsh srh *s*h).

(s) common *s* in *s*ee, *c*ease, missing, 1104*c*′, a pure hiss, with no voice.

(ˌs) the tongue for (s) is advanced close to the gum in making the hiss in cat*s*, 1105*a*, line 3; LLB. hears this, and not (ˌtˌs) in the Italian *z*.

(sh) 'concave swish,' hiss with the tongue retracted and hollowed, in *sh*e, lea*sh*, wi*sh*ing, 1117 to 1121.

(shj) 'convex swish,' the upper surface of the tongue is convex to the palate; this seems to be the High German *s* in *st*, *sp* initial, where 'concave' (sh) with a hollow upper surface of the tongue is not admissible; (tj) may be taken as (tjshj) as well as (ˌtˌsh).

(ˌsh) an advanced (sh), which may be heard in ca*tch* (kæˌtˌsh), written (kætj), where LLB. hears only (ˌsh), 1117 to 1121.

(srh) voiceless Polish *rz*, tongue in the position for (sh) and the tip slightly trilled, 295*a*, line 4.

(*s*h) 'reverted swish,' made with reverted tongue, that is, (sh) as affected by a preceding (ʀ), 41*c*.

## T. (t t' ˌt tˌ—tj th th, tj *tw*—T —Tj Th).

(t) as in *t*aug*h*t, *tat*ting, with the tendency in some speakers to (tH, tI, tIh) when initial, 1095, and (t') final in the pause, 1111, col. 2.

(t') suspended (t) used for the definite article in the North, 18*b*, 20*b*, especially considered, 317*b*.

(ˌt) alveolar *t*, with the tip of the tongue against the gums, used before *r*, then pron. (ˌr), in many English dialects, 542*b*, see (ˌd).

(tˌ) retracted (t), see (dˌ), 41*d*.

(tj) as in *ch*eese, ca*tch*, ha*tch*ing, a contraction for (ˌtˌsh, tˌsh) or (tjshj), see (dj), 1154*b*′, 542*b*.

(th) dental hiss, as in *th*in bre*ath* pi*th* no*th*ing, the tongue fully against (not between) the teeth, 1097*d*'.

(th,) alveolar hiss, the tongue on the gum, Spanish *z*, scarcely distinguishable from (th).

(tj) palatalised (t), an attempt to utter (t, i) at the same time, 1115.

(t*w*) labialised (t) as in *tw*ine, an attempt to utter (t, u) at the same time, 1115.

(ʈ) reverted *t*, with the under surface of the tongue against the palate, 42*c*.

(ʈʃ) reverted (tʃ) formed of (ʈsh), 41*d*.

(ʈh) an attempt to say (th) with the under surface of the tongue against the teeth, 41*c*.

## U. (u ŭ—*u u' u*¹—*u*₀ ,*u*₀ ,*ú*₀u—*u*h *ú*u—*u*₁ *u*₁' *ú*₁*á*₁ *úu*₁ə *ú*₁u—ʊ).

(u) Bell's No. 3; when long as (uu) in t*oo* f*oo*d p*oo*l; it does not occur short in an accented closed syllable in English, but often occurs short in an open unaccented syllable as infl*u*ence t*o*-day t*o*-night, 1097*d*, 540*d*; found medial in L. (bùk) book, see (*ú*u).

(ŭ) very short diphthongising initial (u) used where (w) is now employed, 1103, 543*b* under (w).

(*u*) Bell's No. 4, the common short *oo* in an accented syllable, f*u*ll g*oo*d, distinctly different from (u), 1114*c*', where read (*u*₁) for (*u*₀).

(*u*') the form in which (*u*₁') is usually written, 711, No. 10.

(*u*¹) a higher form of (*u*) almost (u), 53, par. 8, 554*c*.

(*u*₀) peculiar Midland transition sound from (ə) to (u), described, 291*c*, and compare, 292*a*, 365, 554.

(,*u*₀) the sound of (*u*₀) with the tongue more advanced.

(,*ú*₀u) TH.'s sign for my (*æ*'u), 292*c*, used on 327, under O'.

(*u*h) Bell's No. 16, which he assigns to unaccented -*u*re and American d*o*, but Sweet to val*u*e.

(*ú*u) Midland inchoant diphthong commencing with (*u*) and passing on to (u), probably Sweet's *uw*, which he analyses as (*úuw*), that is (*u*) passing into an 'overrounded' (*u*), see (*ú*₁u).

(*u*₁) a low form of (*u*), scarcely distinct from (*o*¹) the high form of (*o*), which see, 291*c*, 389*b*, 540*d*. For a long time I confounded this with (*u*₀) under one sign and hence some errors in Part IV., thus (*u*₀) on p. 1107*d*', 1114*c*', should be (*u*₁).

(*u*₁') a peculiar fracture heard in D 33, so written on 682*d*, but written (*u*') on 711, No. 10.

(*ú*,*á*₁) a Northern fracture similar to (*í*,*á*₁), 542*a*.

(*úu*₁ə) JGG.'s form of (*u*'), 721*c*.

(*ú*₁u) Northern inchoant diphthong commencing with (*u*₁), almost (*o*¹), and ending with (u), 494*c*, 541*d*, 595*b*.

(ʊ) Bell's No. 15, Bell and Sweet both consider it to be Swedish *u*; it may be conceived as (y) with more flavour of (u) in it.

## V. (v ʌ).

(v) the voiced form of (f), a buzz, with the lower lip firmly placed against the teeth, the despair of Germans who use (bh), 1101, col. 2.

(ʌ) written like Greek *η*, the sign of French nasality; the four French nasals in *an vin un on* are conventionally represented by (aʌ eʌ œʌ oʌ), but the relaxation of the uvula necessary for nasalisation prevents any exact reference of oral to orinasal vowels, 1123, col. 2.

## W. (w wh wr° *w* '*w* *w*j).

(w) a peculiarly English buzzed consonant with nearly closed lips, which are compressed in the middle but inflated on each side by the emitted voice, the back of the tongue raised as for (u); the side inflations distinguish (w) from (bh), and the buzz from (ŭ), 1091 to 1094; used for (v) in some dialects, 132*b*, 143*a*.

(wh) flated (w), that is, with unvoiced breath through the same position, which makes next to no hiss, only a blow, see the long discussion, 1125 to 1145, 543*c*.

(wr°) initial *wr* still heard among old people in the North, 543*c*, the oldest form was perhaps (r*w*) or labialised (r).

(*w*) mark of labialisation, that is, of closing the lips more or less during the sound, or holding the position of the previous letter, as in (k*w*, g*w*, t*w*, d*w*), that is, an attempt to pronounce (w) at the same time with (k g, t d) respectively; it may also be used with vowels to indicate greater labialisation, or more than the normal closure of the lips, thus (*ow*) = (*o*ʊ), which see.

('w) the indefinite voice sound ('h) labialised, which therefore approaches to (u) and forms the 'vanish' of (oo), see (oo'w), and 1152, col. 1.

(wj) palatalised labialisation, or an attempt to pronounce (u, i) or (y) with the preceding letter, as (nwji) or (nyí), French *nuit*, 1115*a'*.

## Y. (y $y_1$—*y* $y_1$—ʏ).

(y) Bell's No. 28, the sound of French *u*, German *ü*, which are perhaps not quite the same, lying intermediate between (i) and (u). The presumed transitional sound from (u) to (y) is (ɑ'u). Perhaps pure (y) does not occur in our dialects.

($y_1$) a modification of Fr. *u* in a direction not precisely ascertained, admitted in D 10, p. 146, D 11, p. 156*d*, and D 19, p. 261*a*.

(*y*) Bell's No. 14, said by Melville Bell to be heard in the last syllable of house*s* and -shi*re*, a peculiar sound used in 540*b*, and stated to lie between (*i*, *ʊ*), compare ($i_{11}$); it is commonly transcribed ($i_1$) by me, see 756*d* and 767*c*.

(*y*$_1$) a variant of (*y*), the value not precisely ascertained, 560*a*.

(ʏ) Bell's No. 13, Russian ы (jeryʏ) according to Bell, and Welsh *u* according to Sweet.

## Z. (z ˌz—zh ˌzh zhj zrh—zh).

(z) the buzz of (s) produced by laying on the voice in the (s) position, as in *z*any hi*s* whizzing; often preceded when initial by an (s) in German as (szii) sie, and followed by an (s) in the pause in English as (hizs) hi*s*, 1122*c'* 1104*d*.

(ˌz) the voiced form of (ˌs), which see, according to LLB. the voiced Italian *z* generally taken as (ˌdˌz).

(zh) the buzz of *sh*, initial in Fr. *je* (zhə), in English occurs only between two vowels as in division, measure, and where it has been recently developed except in S. dialects, 40*d*, 1118.

(ˌzh) advanced (zh), this may be the second element of (dɟ) usually assumed to be (dzh), 1154*b'*.

(zhj) voiced (shj), convex tongued (zh), this also may be the second element of (dɟ).

(zrh) voiced Polish *rz*, the tongue as for (zh) and the tip trilled, 295*a*.

(zh) reverted (zh) with the under surface of the tip of the tongue against the palate, occurs in (dɟ= dzh), 41*c*.

## Numerals ($^1$ $_1$ $_{11}$ ɡ $^4$ $^5$ ⅃).

($^1$) with a higher tongue, or appreciated as a higher sound, 1107.

($_1$) with a lower tongue, or appreciated as a deeper sound, 1107, often used as a mere diacritic.

($_{11}$) doubly lowered, see ($i_{11}$) p. 82*.

(ɡ) is used for the Arabic ع or bleat which it greatly resembles in shape; it is produced in the glottis, and may be considered as an exaggerated catch or (;).

($^4$) rounding by palatal arches, as in a parrot's (p'*u*'s) puss, 1114*d'*.

($^5$) with pursed and protruded lips, 158*c*, 322*d*.

(⅃) unilateral palatal click used to start a horse with in England, usually spelled *cl'ck*; there are several other clicks represented by turned numerals, or by aid of ‡ below, 725, No. 17.

## Points (, ; ˑ : . ˑ ' ˑ—.. ˑˑ .ˑ ˑ. ..ˑ ˑ.. ˑ.ˑ .ˑ. ˑ.ˑ ˑ.).

(') preceding a vowel, the clear glottid, 1129*d'*.

(;) the check glottid or Arabic hamza, regularly used when a word begins with a vowel in German, not usual in English, 1130, 725*d*, 730*d*, used instead of musical accent in Danish.

(ˑ) indicates the absence of glide or recoil after a mute, see p. 77* on length of consonants.

(:) after a vowel or syllable, denotes secondary stress; before a word indicates that it would begin with a capital letter in received spelling.

(.) period, before any letter, indicates that it receives a peculiarly vigorous utterance; it is only used in phonetic discussions as (.r) Lowland *r*.

(ˑ) after a vowel or syllable, denotes primary stress, and before a word emphasis, as (tʊ prizeˑnt ʊ preˑz'nt) or (tʊ prizenˑt ʊ prezˑ'nt) to present a present.

(') after or before another consonant, =('h), that is, voice in its simplest form independent of the position of the organs; in former Parts much used where (ʊ) is now written by preference, see ('l, 'm, 'n).

(ˑ) after another consonant =('h),

flatus in its simplest form, recoil after mutes, as (hop'), not usually written but left to be inferred.

(‿) slight nasality, not so marked as in French, often found with (a) as (a‿).

*Marks of intonation rarely used.*

(..) low level tone, Chinese low (pнiq).
(··) high level tone, Ch. high (pнiq).
(.·) rising tone, Ch. high (shaq).
(·.) falling tone, Ch. high (kнœœ, kнiu, kнi).
(..·) rising from low level tone, Ch. low (shaq).
(·..) falling to low level tone, Ch. low (kнœœ).
(·.·) fall and rise, used in Norwegian and Swedish.
(.·.) rise and fall, Ch. (fu-kjen shaq).
(:·) stop voice suddenly at high pitch, Ch. high (shu:·, zhi:·, njip:·).
(:.) stop voice suddenly at low pitch, Ch. low (shu:. zhi:. njip:.). See end of last entry.

As a rule intonation is not marked, but it may be roughly indicated by the above signs, which may immediately follow the vowel, or be printed in a line over the words. Or the ordinary level of speech being represented by 5, and four degrees of lower pitch by 1 2 3 4, and four degrees of higher pitch by 6 7 8 9, without the assumption of any definite intervals, a line of figures over the words would give a tolerable notion of intonation. But there are obvious difficulties, first in hearing the intonation naturally from native dialect speakers, and next in appreciating it when heard, and hence it is not attempted in this treatise. See Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, p. 82, and his *Principles of Elocution*, 5th ed. (Werner, New York). For the attempts of Steele and Merkel, see my paper on *Accent and Emphasis*, in the Trans. of the Philological Society for 1873–4, pp. 129–135.

## Accents (' " ‚ ' ‚ ‚‚ ‚‚‚).

(') marking the short glide and the stress syllable in ordinary diphthongs, p. 77*.

(") marking the slur or long glide of the Italian diphthongs as (i"o, miɛ"i) written with ‿, an inconvenient sign, on 1131*b*.

(‚) after a letter only, mark of retraction of the tongue from the lips towards the throat, see (r‚, th‚).

(') over or after a vowel marks medial length as (à, ə'), after a continuous consonant marks lengthening as (s'), after an explodent marks suspension of the organs of speech for a sensible time, as (t') for the definite article, 317*b*; see also p. 77*.

(‚) before a letter only, mark of advanced tongue, see (‚t, ‚r), the tongue in this case coming close to the gums, 1120, col. 2.

(‚‚) before a letter only, very advanced tongue quite up to the teeth, 1120, col. 2.

(‚‚‚) tip of tongue between teeth, but not protruded, written (†) on 1120*b*.

## Signs ( ) ) ⌊ ‡ + ¡ ¿).

()) 'divider' marks the end of a word and the beginning of the next, when the two words run on together as one; it is a guide to the eye in reading.

(ʃ) 'break,' shewing that there is no glide between the letters between which it occurs, 1131, see both ) ʃ used on 149, line 1.

(⌊) preceding a letter indicates that that letter is very faintly uttered, see Part II. p. 419 note.

(‡) following a consonant, as (t‡) = English *tut*, or (‡h) independently, 1128*b'*, indicates a click made by smacking the interior parts of the mouth in the air already there without either inspiration or expiration.

(+) glide of any sort, > from a wide to a narrow, < from a narrow to a wide, opening of the mouth, 1130*d'*.

(¡) with inspired breath, 1128*a'*, ('¡) inspired flatus, and (¡f, ¡r₀hf) inspired flatus through the lip position for (f) varied in the second case by raising the tongue for (r₀), the lazy negative of Dundee school-boys, 760*c*.

(¿) trilled, when transcribing Bell's orthography, who writes the equivalent of (r₀¿) for (r).

END OF PRELIMINARY MATTER.

L. of C.

THE EXISTING

# PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this treatise is to determine with considerable accuracy the different forms *now*, or *within the last hundred years*, assumed by the descendants of the same original word in passing through the mouths of uneducated people, speaking an inherited language, in all parts of Great Britain where English is the ordinary medium of communication between peasant and peasant. This limitation excludes those parts of Wales and Scotland where Celtic is habitually spoken by the natives. Ireland has also been excluded, except in the south-east of Co. Wexford—an old English colony—because it has otherwise a comparatively recently imported speech. The exact limits are marked on the Map by the CB or Celtic border, and traced in words below. Of course the oldest form of English existent within these limits was itself imported from North Germany, modified by Old Norse and subsequently Old Norman, which was a form of Old French modified by Old Norse. And equally of course the immigrants aboriginally spoke differently, so that there was not really one original form for any word within the whole limits thus described.

To solve this problem perfectly every word used by native peasants in every part of the country should have its pron.[1] observed and written phonetically. But this was obviously impossible. Hence a selection of typical words had to be made. Before investigating it was naturally impossible to make a proper selection, but without some sort of selection no investigation could have been commenced. At first I tried any collections of words I could obtain. Then finding how vague, defective and redundant these were, with the help of Dr. J. A. H. Murray, author of DSS. and editor of the new English Dictionary, I constructed in 1873 a *Comparative Specimen* (referred to as cs. and given in the Preliminary Matter No. III.), containing at least many typical words and constructions, run into sentences. This then I endeavoured to get "translated" into the idiom and pronunciation of the place.

[1] See list of abbreviations in frequent use, pp. 4* and 6*.

Constantly complaints came to me from correspondents in different parts of the country that "our people don't speak so." Of course they did not. That was inevitable, and indeed intentional. But the intention was also to have the idiom corrected, at the same time that the pron. was assigned, and this was seldom attempted. Notice of my attempt was given in the *Athenæum* and *Academy*, and numerous ladies and gentlemen who were familiar with dialectal speech gave me their assistance. But there was great difficulty in expressing their meaning through lack of phonetic knowledge. Fortunately many were able to give *vivâ voce* readings, and most kindly laboured hard to make me understand the sounds, while I wrote them in palaeotype. Their names and work are recorded in the Alphabetical County List in the Preliminary Matter No. VI. In other cases I endeavoured by written questions to obtain a clue to the sounds. But this was heavy and laborious, and the result was not satisfactory on the whole, although the versions of my es. thus obtained were the nucleus of my work.

Finding that the words I wanted particularly were often ingeniously avoided in the translations given, and that the idiom presented great difficulties, in Sep. 1877 I got out *Word Lists* (referred to as wl.), following the order and etymology in Dr. Sweet's *History of British Sounds.* This step indicated a further advance in the conception of the problem. The Wessex, or literary Saxon form of King Alfred's time, was now, where possible, adopted as the language of comparison, even for those Midland and Northern regions, where different forms of Low German were originally spoken. In some instances of course this comparison could not be made, and the word had to be referred to a Norse or French form, or classed as of unknown origin. We had now a standard of comparison. The problem then assumed this form, *given the Wessex vowels* (or consonants, but the vowels were most important) *of certain words, to find their dialectal equivalents in different parts of the country,* and this is the form under which its solution is attempted in this treatise. The order and classification used by Dr. Sweet, proving inconvenient for rapid reference, I subsequently modified this list, and it finally assumed the form of the Classified Word List (referred to as cwl. as distinct from the preceding wl.) given in the Preliminary Matter No. V.

With this wl. I gave a list of the principal sounds to be observed, with their glossic representation and a number attached. I regret to say that these proved useless and confusing. I could seldom rely upon the figures given. Some unfortunate misprints, arising from extending the list of sounds, increased the perplexity of many correspondents, and the result was that where I was unable to obtain vivâ voce or palaeotypic information, I had the same difficulty as before in interpreting the informants' orthography (here referred to as io.), and occasionally the still greater difficulty arising from the wrong use of numbers. Still I managed to obtain a very considerable amount of local information from all parts of the country by means of these wl., over which many of my

informants gave themselves an immense amount of trouble, for which I cannot be sufficiently grateful. About 1700 of these lists were sent out, chiefly to the clergy in those parts of the country from which information was most needed, and of these about 500 were returned with some though often very little information.

In 1879 I tried the use of a much shorter specimen called the Dialect Test (referred to henceforth as dt.), containing only 76 independent words, which exemplified all the principal classes, or rather would have done so if my informants had not constantly avoided or changed some of the important words. This dt. with the words numbered and the original notes designed to draw my informants' attention to the points of the investigation and to record the pron. to a considerable extent without having to acquire the use of a systematic orthography, is given in the Preliminary Matter No. IV., and has been of much service.

These three modes of obtaining information were necessarily addressed to educated people who did not speak dialect naturally, and hence had only more or less observed what was said, and imitated it as well as they could. They all spoke "received speech" (abbreviated to rs.) in "received pronunciation" (abbreviated to rp.), and endeavoured more or less successfully to impart their impressions of dialectal pron. (abbreviated to dp.) by means of "received orthography" (abbreviated to ro.). Here were many possible sources of error. 1) The sounds may have been wrongly appreciated. 2) The sounds may have been wrongly imitated. 3) The rp. adopted by my informants may have been different from my own, for there is no such thing as a uniform educated pron. of English, and rp. or rs. is a variable quantity differing from individual to individual, although all its varieties are "received," understood and mainly unnoticed. 4) There are many dialectal sounds which are not recognised at all in rs. and which hence required more than ro. to represent, so that my informants frequently used combinations of letters which are not in ro., and these they generally did not attempt to explain or frankly declared to be inexplicable. 5) There was my own conjectural interpretation of my informants' orthography, which was at first very venturesome and unsatisfactory to myself. The hours, days, and sometimes months and years which I have spent over endeavouring to avoid these sources of error would be in themselves sufficient to account for the delay in completing this treatise.

But why not go to the peasantry at once? Why not learn from word of mouth, so that the errors would be limited to the writer's own appreciation? Where possible, this mode of obtaining information has been followed. But I have myself been able to do so in very few cases. There are many difficulties in the way. First the peasantry throughout the country have usually two different pron., one which they use to one another, and this is that which is required; the other which they use to the educated, and this which is their own conception of rp., though often remarkably different from it, is absolutely worthless for the present purpose.

If I, having no kind of dialectal speech, were to go among the peasantry, they would of course use their "refined" speech to me. I have therefore not attempted it. But I have occasionally been able successfully to obtain information from domestic servants, from railway porters, and principally, through the kind cooperation of the Principal, from the students at Whitelands Training College in Chelsea. These last were young women generally about twenty years old, fresh from the country, who, though they now spoke rs. very well, had been from earliest childhood accustomed to the speech of their own districts, or had learned that of other districts by long teaching of natural dialect speakers in national schools. To the interest taken by the Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, the Principal, in my work, the help from the teachers themselves, and the willing assistance of the students, I am indebted for information which has cleared up many difficulties and helped me to fill up many gaps.

But my chief aid in this way has come from three important sources. 1) Mr. C. Clough Robinson (henceforth referred to as CCR.), author of a Leeds Glossary, and subsequently of the Mid Yorkshire Glossary (the latter published by the English Dialect Society), a natural dialect speaker, acquired my glossic in personal interviews with me, and was of the utmost assistance in phonetically rendering the pron. of South and Mid Yo.

2) Mr. J. G. Goodchild (henceforth referred to as JGG.) a Londoner, who had been many years employed on the Government Geological Survey, and had thus been constantly in the society of dialect speakers, having acquired a knowledge of my palaeotype (verified by many personal interviews between us), was able to furnish me with wonderful phonographs, so to speak, of the pron. in Cu. We. and nw. Yo., which he had again and again verified by the speakers themselves.

3) Mr. Thomas Hallam (henceforth referred to as TH.), a native of n. Db., a natural dialect speaker, for many years a book-keeper in the Canal Department of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Offices at Manchester, having acquired the use of my palaeotype in great perfection, as verified by many personal interviews between us, has rendered me the most important services in the Midland Counties, La. Ch. Db. St. in especial, and in various other counties of England, as will be seen in the lists Nos. VI. and VII. given in the Preliminary Matter. His position in connection with the Railway Offices gave him facilities for travelling over these regions, and as he has been helping me for fully twenty years, there has been time for collecting and imparting great stores of information. His method of proceeding was this. On arriving at a station he would inquire where he could find old and if possible illiterate peasants, whom he would "interview," gaining their confidence, and then noting their peculiarities of pron. in his note books (now more than lxx. in number, a goodly Septuagint), using palaeotype, which he wrote most accurately. In the same books he entered all passing pron. which he heard, forming the "words noted" (abbreviated to wn.), which are so frequently referred to hereafter,

reduced to the form of my cwl. Also, making acquaintance with native dialect speakers, he obtained numerous cs. and dt., most of which are given below, and thus enabled me to illustrate dialectal pron. in a most unexpectedly accurate manner over about 22 counties; for the exact enumeration see the Alphabetical County List, and Informants' List in the Preliminary Matter, Nos. VI. and VII.

A large number of the names there recorded recall to me long correspondence or lengthy personal interviews, and I beg to return to all my informants grateful thanks for their help, which has made my work possible.

Finally I wish to record my obligations to H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (henceforth referred to as LLB.), who, though he was able only on one occasion to take down a portion of a cs. in pal. himself, yet procured me many versions of the cs. from others, and a large amount of incidental dialectal information. To him I owe especially my first conceptions of a classification of the English Dialects, and he has been throughout a warm sympathiser and a ready helper. Possessing a large collection of English dialect books, consisting of various specimens, besides those versions of the Song of Solomon made for himself, and all the best glossaries, with many of his own notes in travelling, he allowed me to examine them all, and abstract what was needed, so that I was made thoroughly acquainted with all that had been done before, and saw how necessary it was to treat of the pron. separately.

To clothe all these sources of information in a proper garment, which would admit of accurate comparison, a sufficiently copious phonetic alphabet was necessary. The palaeotype used in Parts I. to IV. of EEP. was of course adopted. But the direct investigation of living speech has rendered numerous additions or modifications necessary. Hence I have considered it advisable to prefix to this treatise a new table of Dialectal Palaeotype (in the Preliminary Matter No. VIII.), containing all the signs employed in this treatise in an order which can be readily referred to, so that no reader can have any difficulty in ascertaining the value of any symbol he meets with. Great peculiarities will generally be specially explained where they occur, and in the Table of Dialectal Palaeotype (which for that purpose has been printed last) references will be given to these explanations. The use of pal. of course requires much careful study to understand it thoroughly and read it easily, but I must assume that this work will be used by readers who are prepared to study. There is no help for it. If the sounds were merely uttered to them without being fixed by signs, they would forget or confuse them immediately. I do not add a general treatise on phonetics. Much can be gathered from the discussions in Part IV. of EEP., and a condensed account of the theory of phonetics, with a long list of my palaeotype symbols, drawn up by myself, will be found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 22, or part 86, pp. 381–390, published 1887.

There is so much difficulty in limiting the conception of a

dialect, so as to distinguish it from a language, that I have thought it best not to attempt distributing the English language into precisely defined dialects, but to take the range of country where English is acknowledged to be spoken by peasants to one another in some one or other of its forms, and then to divide it into districts where the form of speech can be tolerably well defined. Hence the first thing is to lay down the limits assumed for English as against Celtic. This is a division of entirely unrelated languages, differing in sound, vocabulary, grammar and history. But this is the only case in which all these four points will have to be considered. This is a treatise on the existing phonology of the English dialects, meaning simply peasant speech. Hence, when the area of English is once determined, the geographical divisions must depend mainly, if not always, entirely on pron., with the least possible admixture of considerations founded on vocabulary and grammar (indicated in the note appended to the cwl. in Preliminary Matter No. V. p. 25*), and none at all on history.

The first broad points in the phonology of English which struck me were the treatment of Wessex U and U′ (capital letters will always be used, as in the headings of the cwl. in the Preliminary Matter No. V.), of the letter R, and of the definite article. To my surprise I found that the lines separating these different treatments could be traced completely across the country from sea to sea, and hence I obtained Ten Transverse Lines, which form the first broad phonetic distribution of English speech. I had hoped indeed that they would form the basis of the ultimate districts. But I gradually found that this was not the case, so far as the treatment of U, U′ was concerned, for reasons which will be best explained hereafter; but in other respects the transverse lines do really limit divisions and districts.

Then by tabulating and comparing, especially by means of the cwl, I obtained Six Divisions, with sufficiently distinct differences and characters, to which I give the geographical names of Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern, and Lowland, the last being almost entirely in Scotland. The characters by which these are distinguished will be given in detail hereafter.

Then commenced the more difficult task of separating these Divisions into such Districts as had a considerable claim to be considered uniform in the pron. they used, and were sufficiently distinct from their neighbours. The difficulty was to make these districts wide enough, by resolutely refusing to be led away by small differences. Properly speaking there is no uniformity. Not only will a practised ear tell the village in a district from which a speaker hails, but a more accurate examination will shew that families in the same village do not speak exactly alike, nay, that the individual members of the same family will have generally some differentiating peculiarity. My information, however, seldom went into such fine details, although that obtained from Messrs. Goodchild and Hallam often reaches the stage of individualism. My first attempts almost always erred in making the districts too

small, but finally I left very few small districts, because, among other reasons, of the difficulty in determining their boundaries with the information at my command, and contented myself with mostly large districts, in which I recognised VARIETIES only roughly located, and not always accurately or completely characterised.

The result of this has been to divide the whole country into 42 numbered districts, of which 21 contain 89 varieties. In eight of these varieties I have even distinguished 19 subvarieties. Thus stated, the distribution appears rather complex, but the complexity will disappear on examination. The whole of these 10 Transverse Lines, 6 Divisions, and 42 districts, with the Celtic Border, are clearly shewn in the little maps of England and Scotland, drawn from my instructions by Messrs. George Philip and Son, and given with this treatise, and the Key to these maps in the Preliminary Matter No. II. indicates the position of the varieties and subvarieties. In the subsequent pages each District and Variety will be considered in the order of their numbers, and their numbers will be placed at the head of the pages. Hence the reader, after having consulted the map which gives him the number of the district, and the key which shews the number of the Variety, can immediately turn to the page containing the information.

In the course of tracing the boundaries, or of giving the information, I shall have frequently to refer to places whose names are not on the maps here given, and indeed are often difficult to find on any but the large maps of the Ordnance Survey. But it is necessary that the reader should have a good conception of their situation on the little maps which have the districts marked on them. This is effected thus. Take the village of Harrold referred to as "Harrold, Bd. (8 nw.Bedford)," that is, Harrold (not on the map) is in Bedfordshire, 8 miles to the north-west of the town of Bedford (which is on the map). Any series of county maps will then enable the reader either to find the name or the exact locality. I have found G. Philip and Son's penny county maps of England and Scotland very useful, but they are not on a uniform scale. W. H. Smith and Co.'s maps (on the uniform scale of 4 miles to the inch) will enable the reader to follow all the boundaries of districts here given. Stanford's Railway map of three miles to the inch, and the Ordnance maps, may be further referred to if necessary, but Philip's and Smith's are the most convenient, as I have found by extensive use.

This geographical distribution, which was not possible until information had been obtained from all parts of the country, and the limitation of the investigation to phonology now existing either in absolute use of living people or in their memories, form the two distinctive characters of this treatise. It was necessary for this purpose to localise information, and hence to reject almost all printed books, which generally refer to very vaguely defined or, more accurately speaking, undefined areas. This localisation, except when I could secure the assistance of my three chief informants, was very difficult to procure. No doubt many local

readers will object to some of my lines of demarcation, or to the sounds themselves attributed to certain classes of words. This is really inevitable. I have not swept the country, and most of my brooms so far as I went were not of perfect construction. I can only say that I have done my best, and at my advanced age, after twenty years' work on the subject, the main point was to secure what had been gained, and leave corrections to future workers.

The present plan of this enlarged treatise, as distinguished from that in Chap. XI. § 2, No. 3, which has been cancelled, is as follows.

At the commencement is placed a quantity of Preliminary Matter, paged with a star, as 1*, 2*, etc., to which the reader will have constantly to refer.

The contents already sufficiently indicated consist chiefly of the means for procuring information, the geographical representation of the dialectal districts by maps, with their key, the lists of my informants, and the table of Dialectal Palaeotype.

In the work itself, after this Introduction, I proceed direct to the Celtic Border, which I give in two forms: first, as the late Mr. Green conceived it to be in A.D. 580, after the Low Germans had been in England about 130 years, with his supposed distribution of the different tribes; second, as results from inquiries made by myself in Wales, and Dr. J. A. H. Murray in Scotland. Ireland I consider for present purposes as entirely Celtic, with the exception of the little peninsula containing the baronies of Forth and Bargy in Co. Wexford. This Celtic Border, which is boldly drawn on the maps, will be immediately very carefully described in words, so that it can be readily followed on any maps of Great Britain. It limits to the west and north the country considered in these pages.

After this follows an account of the Ten Transverse Lines, with a verbal description of the route taken by each, shewing the belts of different pronunciation into which they divide the country.

Then I consider the S. div., giving its boundaries and general character, followed by the districts or D. 1 to 12 which it contains.

Each district is treated thus.

It is first numbered and then named. The exact Boundary, as well as it can be ascertained, is next given, followed by the Area it occupies, expressed in terms of counties or parts of counties. Then come the Authorities or list of places from which information has been received, with a rough indication of its nature. These names refer to the Alphabetical County Lists in the Preliminary Matter No. VI., which contain detailed information. Then is given the general character of the whole district and an account of each variety. Finally come the Illustrations, consisting generally of cs., dt. and cwl., but occasionally others, where fortune favoured me. The main scientific interest, however, centres in the cs., dt. and cwl., because the different pron. of the same words are thus so easily compared. Occasionally I give many cs. or dt. belonging to one district, and even to different districts, in an interlinear form, which furnishes a remarkably easy method of comparison.

The other divisions and districts are treated in the same way precisely.

Although this has a very complete and systematic appearance, I do not disguise from myself the real incompleteness of the whole exposition and the great desirability of using it merely as a nucleus round which the results of other investigations may be grouped.

Finally there will be a Section on RESULTS, shewing how modern dialectal phonology is related to the ancient Wessex form in particular. This section especially shews the bearing of the present investigation on my complete work. It will necessarily involve the philological question of the alteration of pronunciation in the descent of various languages from one source, for the divisions of English pronunciation are in fact only the illustrations on a small scale which can be observed in actual process of growth, of the changes which in a large scale have been going on within different families of languages throughout the world.

## THE CELTIC BORDER.

This is considered under two aspects, ancient and modern. The Ancient is that which divided the immigrant Low Germans from the resident Celts after the first period of conquest had subsided and settlement proper began. The Modern is that now existent.

*Ancient.*—About A.D. 408 the last Roman forces were withdrawn from Great Britain, and probably in the same year the Low German invaders, who will here be collectively termed Saxons, though they consisted of many different tribes, began to appear. They are however generally credited with having first landed in A.D. 449. These different tribes were constantly fighting with the Celts, but after the battle of *Deorham* (a village near Bath, Sm., overlooking the valley of the R. Severn, A.D. 577), when half the country had been conquered, there was more settlement than conquest, and the different invading tribes rather contended with each other for supremacy, than fought against the "Brut" or Celts. At this time Mr. J. R. Green (*Making of England*, p. 203) apportions the country roughly between Saxons and Celts as follows, by a line running nearly n. to s. from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel. The details of this line are mainly conjectural, and in default of precise information, Mr. Green follows co. b. in a great measure. But as the division corresponds to an existing contrast of dialects—on the e. side older Saxon with subsequent Danish influence, on the w. side later Saxon with Celtic influence—it is convenient to describe it, in such a way that it can easily be followed on the maps. This opportunity is also used for localising the various invading tribes to the e. according to Mr. Green,[1] and of giving two groupings of a much later date.

[1] Mr. Green considers that the British were entirely exterminated or driven to the w., so that the population to the e. was purely Saxon. Mr. Grant Allen, in an article headed "Are we Englishmen?" (*Fortnightly Review*, 1880, vol. 28, new series, pp. 472-487), says (p. 485), "A small body of Teutonic

This ancient Celtic border which, to prevent confusion, is not laid down in the maps, begins on the Firth of Forth on the w. b. of Ed., and passes w. of Pb. and Rx. to w. of Nb. and Du. Along s. of Du. Mr. Green places the s. b. of the *Berenicians* that extended on the e. side n. to the Firth of Forth. On the w. side were Strathclyde in Scotland and the Cumbrians in England.

The old Celtic border then continues first w. of n.Yo., and then through Yo. to the e. of the great forest of Elmete, which extended down to Sherwood in Nt. and Db. It then turns w. and n., and afterwards s. again, in order to run on the n. and w. side of Db., and then to the w. of St., till it had to go suddenly e. in order to skirt the great forest of Arden in Wa.[1] Having done so, it resumes its n. to s. direction, passing through Wo. until it strikes the R.

immigrants descended some time about v th century and onward, to the Eastern shore of South Britain. They occupied the whole coast from the Forth to the Isle of Wight, and spread over the country westward, as far as the central dividing ridge. Though not quite free from admixture with the aborigines, even in this limited tract, they still remained relatively pure in their strongholds, and they afterwards received a fresh Teutonic reinforcement by the Danish invasion. Westward of the central line they conquered and assimilated the aborigines upon whom they imposed their language and laws, but whom they did not exterminate. In the extreme west and in Ireland, the Celts long retained their language and nationality undisturbed. During the middle ages the English people formed by far the most powerful body in the island, and even now they have imposed upon all of it their name and language. But since the rise of the industrial system the Celts have peacefully recovered the numerical superiority. They have crowded into the towns and seaports, so that at the present day only the rural districts of Eastern England can claim to be thoroughly Teutonic. The urban population consists for the most part of a mixed race. Moreover, since intermarriage is now so very frequent, it seems probable that almost all English families, except those of the stationary agricultural class in the East, have some small proportion of Celtic blood. In the upper classes, where numerous intermarriages are universal, this proportion is doubtless everywhere very great. Out of Britain the Celts have it all their own way." And again (p. 487): "We may sum up the result here indicated, in a single sentence: though the British nation of the present day is wholly Teutonic *in form*, it is largely and even preponderantly Celtic *in matter*." It seemed proper to give these results; but they do not affect this investigation. On the e. people do not speak a language shewing Celtic influence in either grammar or pron. On the w. pron., but not grammar, betrays Celtic influence. This is not an ethnologic treatise. Difference or similarity of language are no guarantees of difference or similarity of race.

[1] *Rosalind.* Well, this is the forest of Arden. *Touchstone.* Ay, now am I in Arden; the more fool I: when I was at home I was in a better place; but travellers must be content.—*As you like it*, Act 2, Sc. 4, speeches 6 and 7. Lord Byron, speaking of the soldiers at Waterloo, says: "And Ardennes waves above them her green leaves, Dewy with nature's tear drops, as they pass," *Childe Harold*, Canto iii. st. 27, and the commentator in Moore's ed. 1833, vol. 8, p. 144, says: "The wood of Soignies is supposed to be a remnant of the forest of Ardennes, famous in Boiardo's Orlando, and immortal in Shakspere's *As you like it*." Probably many schoolboys have thought the same, as I did fifty years ago also. But Arden, joined as a parish with Temple Grafton, is only 5 w. Stratford-on-Avon, Wa., and Henley-in-Arden only 7 nnw. Stratford, and I certainly agree with Sharpe's Gazetteer that this Arden "probably is the true original of Shakspere's Forest of Arden." It was a forest he was thoroughly well acquainted with, and geography was a trifle to him. Besides, where did "the Duke" of *As you like it* abide?

Severn near Gloucester. It reappears on s. of Gl. opposite the end of the Forest of Dean, and going e. to avoid the great Forest of Selwood, passed on southwards through w. Wl. and e. Do. to the sea near Portland.

The Saxon settlements on the e. of this b. were according to Mr. Green as follows:

*Berenicians* in s Scotland, Nb. and Du. with capital Bamborough (12 ne. Wooler), Nb.

*Deirians* in Yo. with capital York. The large marsh at the junction of the Ouse with the Humber, and the great forest of Elmete to the w., were uninhabited.

*Lindiswaran* in Li., except the great marshes near the Wash. The n. of Li. is still known as "the parts of Lindsey."

*Snotingas*, a tribe of Angles settled on the edge of Sherwood, Nt., and extended to the valley of the R. Soar (say to Loughborough, Le.)

*Peesættan* or Peak-settlers, a tribe of West Angles, inhabited Db. and were separated both from Yo. and Nt. by Sherwood and Elmete forests.

*West Angles*, excepting those last mentioned, settled in St.

*Gyrwas*, or marsh-dwellers, settled w. of the Wash.

*South Angles* were in s. Np.

*East Angles* were in Nf. and Sf.

*Middle Angles* were in Le.

*Hwiccas*, a West Saxon tribe, settled in Gl. along the R. Severn.

*Wilsætan*, also a West Saxon tribe, were in Wl.

*Gewissas*, another West Saxon tribe, settled in the Isle of Wi. and Ha.

*Middle Saxons* occupied Mi.

*East Saxons* were in Es. and Ht.

*South Saxons* in Ss.

*Jutes*, who are recognised by Mr. Green, although their existence is doubtful, are placed in Ke. The Weald of Ke. and Ss. co. was occupied by the great forest of Andreda, which separated the Kentmen from the South Saxons.

At a later period the Berenicians and Deirians were united as Northymbrians, and one of their kings, Ethelfrith, wrested Ch. and s. La. from the Celts, by the victory of Chester A.D. 613. For lack of information Mr. Green leaves these countries under Northymbria, for 62 years (from 613 to 675), till the revolt of Wulfhere king of the Mercians (that is, dwellers on the Marc, or border, of Wales answering to our Midlanders) brought them under Midland influence, which their language still shews most strongly, having nothing Northymbrian in it.

In Mr. Green's posthumous work, *The Conquest of England*, 1883, p. 112, there is a rough sketch, entirely unrevised, of the state of England at the treaty of Wedmore (7 w. Wells, Sm.) between King Alfred and Guthrum the Dane, after the battle of Edington (7 sw. Wells) in 878. The Danes then withdrew from Sm. and the sketch-map gives the following divisions:

1. *Bernicia* extends on the e. from the Forth to s. of Du.
2. *Danish Northumbria* covers Lonsdale s. of the Sands m. La. and all Yo.
3. *Danish Mercia* takes in Db. Nt. Li. Ru. Np. forming the districts of the Five Boroughs, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Stamford in s.w. Li. and Nottingham.
4. *Kingdom of Guthrum* comprises Nf., Sf, Es., Mi., Ht., Bu., Bd., Cb., Hu., in fact all my E. div.
5. *English Mercia* takes all the co. w. of the Danish Mercia and e. of Wales, as far s. as the Avon and Thames, and hence includes Gl.
6. *Kingdom of Kent* occupies all my D 9 = ES.
7. *Wessex* occupies all my D 4 and 5, with the exception of Gl.
8. *West Welsh* is my D 10 and 11.

The second, third, and fourth of these divisions constitute the Danelaw or portion of England then ruled by the Danes.

Finally Mr. Green left another unfinished sketch of a map of the

"great ealdormanries" or lord-lieutenancies (*Conquest of England*, p. 316) which were created from 955 to 988. This map, then, forms a later grouping which must necessarily have had an effect on the dialects and which is therefore reproduced.

1. *Northumbrian Ealdorm* comprising the former Bernicia and Danish Northumbria.
2. *Cumbria* containing Cu.
3. *West-Moringa Land* containing We.
4. *The Ealdormanry of Mercia* from the Ribble La. e. of the Severn through Ch., St., Sh., Wa., Wo., He., and Gl. to the Thames.
5. *The Five Boroughs* (as above explained) replace Danish Mercia.
6. *The Ealdormanry of East Anglia* comprises Nf., Sf., Cb., Hu., Bd., Ht.
7. *The Ealdormanry of Essex* comprises Es , Mi., Ox.
8. *The Ealdormanry of the Eastern Provinces* comprises Ke., Sr., Ss.
9. *The Ealdormanry of the Central Provinces* contains Wl., Ha., and Isle of Wi.
10. *The Ealdormanry of the Western Provinces* contains Sm., Dv., Co.
11. *The Ealdormanry of Mercia* contains s.La., Ch., St., Sh., Wa., Wo., He., and Gl.

These original settlements of the tribes and the various settlements that followed, to which have to be added those resulting from the Danish and Norman conquests, sufficiently account for the existence of great diversities of local speech, and at the same time point to the gradual formation of the divisions S, W, E, M, N here adopted from an actual examination of existing local habits of speech. But it is no part of the work of this book to check the above statements in any way. Whatever their errors may be, they were made conscientiously to illustrate the best general conception that Mr. Green could form, with the aid of the imperfect materials he possessed.

*Modern.*—The modern Celtic Border in Great Britain, drawn on the map and marked CB., divides those who speak English from those who speak Celtic. But it has here been extended to Ireland so as to include the old colony of Forth and Bargy, which, like sw. Pm. and Gowerland in Wales, was an English settlement from which the Celts were excluded.

The modern CB. therefore begins in Co. Wx., Ireland, and then on the map passes by sea to Pm., Wales, and then by sea to Gm., Wales, then again by sea to Mo., whence through Wales to Fl. Afterwards it passes by sea w. of Ma., but east of the Isle of Arran, to Bute in Scotland, which country it traverses in a ne. direction to Cr., whence it passes again by sea to ne. of Cs., and by sea to the w. of the Or. and Sd. This gives the general run of the line which will now be particularised. The Welsh line was determined by AJE., the Scotch by JAHM.

An English-speaking place is one in which the uneducated, or only elementarily educated people speak with each other habitually in English. The line through Wales, with the exception of the outlying districts in Pm. and Gm., about which there is no trouble, was drawn from the answers of clergymen of the parishes along or near the supposed route in answer to the following questions:

"1. Is Welsh or English generally spoken by the peasantry about [the place addressed] to one another? 2. If Welsh, where is the nearest English-speaking

place to the east? 3. If English, does it resemble in pronunciation the English of [the neighbouring English co.]? Or is it simply book-English?" To which for s.Wales I added, "4. If mixed, how often have you Welsh services or sermons?"

The complete answers which I received are given in my paper "On the Delimitation of the English and Welsh Languages," originally published in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. v. pp. 173–208, and reprinted in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1882–3–4, Part II. App. II. The names of the clergymen who so kindly assisted me will be found in the Alphabetic County List under the Welsh counties considered. Other particulars will be given when treating of D 13 and 14. Here I simply give the line as accurately as I was able to draw it, beginning with the detached districts, including the Irish portion.

*Ireland.*—The line which separated English from Irish in the XII th and subsequent centuries, till, in the XVIII th, it was merged into the Cromwellian English spoken in the surrounding district where Irish had became disused, begins on the s. coast of Wx., Ireland, at the head of Bannow Bay (13 sw.Wexford), and passes nearly in a straight line to Wexford, following the borders of the baronies (or co. divisions, corresponding to English hundreds) of Bargy in the w. and Forth in the e. This line cuts off a peninsula at the se. angle of Ireland. It then passes by sea across St. George's Channel.

2. *South Wales, Pm.*—The CB. cuts off the two sw. peninsulas of Pm., containing the hundreds of Rhôs and Daugleddy (rhoos, dâygledh·y), Pm. I take the line assigned by my informant, Rev. J. Tombs, rector of Burton (3 n.Pembroke), as the probable boundary of the original or very early Saxon colony. It begins at Newgate Bridge (6 ese. St. Davids), the ne. corner of St. Bride's Bay, and proceeds in ne. direction to Ambleston (7 nne.Haverford West, and 1½ ne.Trefgarn), and then turns se. to pass by Lawhaden and Narberth (9 e.Haverford West) going in nearly a straight line just e. of Ludchurch (10 ese.Haverford West), to fall into Carmarthen Bay near Amroth (am·roth), 5 ne.Tenby, at the se. extremity of the co. Mr. Tombs says that he thinks no line can now be drawn between Anglicised Welsh and the border of the early colonists, though it was perhaps possible 100 years ago. It will be observed that this line cuts off two peninsulas separated by Milford Haven and the R. Cleddau (kledh·ây). The CB. then proceeds by sea to

3. *The Peninsula of Gowerland*, in sw.Gm. My informant, Rev. J. D. Davies, of Llanmadoc Rectory (14 w.Swansea), says that the following 17 parishes have spoken English for centuries (I merely give the distances from Swansea, direction from w. to sw.): 1, Cheriton 13; 2, Llanmadoc 14; 3, Llangenydd 15; 4, Rhos-sili 16½; 5, Llandewi 14; 6, Knelston 13; 7, Reynoldston 12; 8, Port Eynon 13; 9, Penrice 11; 10, Oxwich 11; 11, Nicholaston 10; 12, Penmaen 9; 13, Lower Llanrhidiau 11 (Upper Llanrhidiau 8 does not speak English); 14, Ilston 7; 15, Penard 7; 16, Bishopston 6; and 17, Oystermouth 4. These parishes all lie on the peninsula and their inland boundary is therefore part of the modern CB. It starts from the mouth of a streamlet which runs into the Burry River estuary in Carmarthen Bay, 2 s.Penclawdd (penkláu·dh) railway-station, which is 8 wnw.Swansea. The boundary runs up this streamlet over Welsh Moor and Pengwern Moor nearly in a straight ese. direction to Myer's Green, 1 s. Mumbles Station (3 sw.Swansea) on Swansea Bay. The CB. again passes by sea through the Bristol Channel to the estuary of the Usk, Mo.

4. Here the Welsh and English part of the CB. begins.

*Mo.* Start from the confluence of the Ebbw (ɛb·u) and Usk, about 2 s.Newport on the Bristol Channel. Keep on the e. bank of the Ebbw, w. of Newport, e. of Risca (6 nw.Newport), and w. of Pontypool, (10 sw.Tredegar), to the junction of the greater and lesser Ebbw, or Ebbwy-fawr, and Ebbwy-fach (ɛb·uy vâur,

eb·uɪ vakh), and take the e. bank of the lesser Ebbw, leaving Mo. near Brynmawr (branmâur) Br., meaning a 'big hill.'

*Br.* Proceed nearly n. to just w. of Llangattock and Crickhowell = Welsh Crughywel (krɪg·ha'u·el). Then go e. of Tretower, on the high ground to the e. of the River Bryn, turning slightly to nw. up to Talgarth (12 sw. Builth), and then probably still on the high ground on the w. of the Wye pass e. of Gwendwr (gwɛndu·r) and Llangynog (lhhanga nog), but w. of Builth (bɪ·alhht) to the Wye about 3 ne. of Builth.

*Rd.* Cross the Wye and proceed nearly directly n. through Rd., which is almost entirely English, just e. of the railway, leaving Rhayader-Gwy and St. Harmon's (both about 18 w. Knighton) on the w.

*Mg.* Continue to go nearly n., leaving Llanidloes (lhhanid·lóes) (11 sw. Newtown), on w., but Mochtre and Penstrowel (3 and 5 w. and sw. Newtown) on e. Then go slightly ne. by Manafon (8 nw. Montgomery), and Castell Caer Einion (4 wsw. Welshpool), w. of Guilsfield, 2 n. Welshpool, and e. of Llansantffraid (lhhansantfrái·d) (8 n. Welshpool), but w. of Llandysilio (lhhandəsi·lio) (7 n. Welshpool), turning n. to enter Sh.

*Sh.* The line seems to pass directly n. to Llanymynech (lhhanəmənɛkh) (5 s. Oswestry), and thence to Oswestry, and on to just w. of Chirk (5 n. Oswestry).

*Dn.* The line then makes a gentle sweep to the e. and passes e. of Ruabon (rhíuab·on) to Wrexham, through which it passes and deflects to the ne., but turns more n. as it enters Fl.

*Fl.* The line passes nearly n. through Fl., leaving Hope (8 se. Flint), on the e., and both Mold (6 s. Flint), and Northop (3 s. Flint), on the w., reaching the R. Dee, at 2 se. Flint, halfway between Flint and Connah's Quay.

The line again passes through the sea w. of I. of Man and e. of the I. of Arran to Bt., and the Gaelic and English b. commences.

*Scotland.*—The line now traverses Scotland, dividing the existing Gaelic speakers and existing Lowland speakers, that is, speakers of English in Scotland. This was determined by Dr. Murray for his work on "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland" (pp. 231–6), with the assistance of the gentlemen named below.[1] This line gives "the outside limits of the Gaelic, that is, every district is included in which Gaelic is still spoken by any natives, regardless of the fact that English may be spoken by the majority of the people." The following account of this Scotch portion of the CB. was revised by Dr. Murray. The line is traced from s. to n.

*Bt.* After passing through the sea from Fl., w. of I. of Man, and e. of Arran and Cantire, the CB. commences on land in Bt. and traverses the middle of the I. of Bt. and the adjacent channel.

[1] Rev. Wm. Ross, of Chapelhill Manse, Rothesay, Bt., but a native of Cs., for Cs., and co. n. of Moray Firth and islands and coast of the Clyde.

Rev. Colin Mackenzie, of Ardclach (8 se. Nairn, Na.), and Rev. John Whyte, Moyness (12 se. Inverness, In.), for Na. and El.

Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo (:pítslii·go), 5 wsw. Fraserburgh, Ab., and James Skinner, Esq., factor to the Duke of Richmond, for El. and Ba.

Rev. Robt. Neil, of Glengairn, 11 ne. Braemar, Ab. (through Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Crathie, 9 ene. Braemar, Ab.), for Ab.

Rev. Neil McBride, of Glenisla, 17 nw. Forfar, Fo., for nw. Fo. and adjacent parts of Ab. and Pr.

Rev. Samuel Cameron, of Logierait (6 n. Dunkeld), Pr., Rev. Dr. Macdonald, of Comrie (20 w Perth), Rev. Hugh McDiarmid, of Callander, Pr., for the adjoining part of Pr.

Rev. W. Mackintosh, of Buchanan (23 wsw. Stirling, for w. Sg.).

Rev. Duncan Campbell, of Luss (12 nnw. Dumbarton, Dm.), on w. coast of Loch Lomond, for the dist. between Loch Lomond and Loch Long.

*Ar.* The CB. then continues in a ne. direction by the se. coast of Ar., just w. of Dunoon (9 sse Inverary), skirting the Firth of Clyde to Loch Long, through the middle of which it passes.

*Dm.* The CB. turns e. and enters Dm. just n. of Gorton (17 nw.Dumbarton), and passes e. through Glen Douglas to the w. shore of Loch Lomond at a point 9 nnw.Dumbarton, where it crosses Loch Lomond.

*Sg.* The CB. enters Sg. just n. of the Rowardennan Inn (19 n.Dumbarton and 22 w.Stirling), and crosses Sg. in an ene. direction.

*Pr.* The CB. passes se. of the Trossachs to Aberfoyl (7 sw.Callander), and thence to Callander, whence it passes through Glen Artney to Comrie (14 ne. Callander), and crossing Glen Almond, goes just s. of Amulrie (9 nne.Crieff), after which it follows Strath Braan through Birnam Wood to Dunkeld. The line then passes in a nne. direction over Mt. Blair, where the b. of Ab. intersects the b. of Fo.

*Ab.* Entering Ab. by Mt. Blair the CB. goes in a n. direction to meet the Dee about 4 e.Braemar, and follows the Dee to 2 e.Crathie and Balmoral, and then suddenly turns nnw. to go to Strathdon, also called Invernochtie (7 n.Crathie), when it turns a little nw.

*Ba.* The CB. enters Ba. about 6 ne.Tomantoul and skirts the R. Livet on the w. to b. of El.

*El.* The CB. crosses the Spey nearly at right angles (2 s.Inveraven), Ba., which is 12 nne.Tomantoul, and passes through El. in a wnw. direction crossing the Knock of Brae Moray (15 sw.Rothes, El.), and proceeding nw. to Na.

*Na.* The CB., continuing its nw. dir., crosses the Findhorn R. at right angles, and goes on to Ardclach (8 sse.Nairn), and reaches the Moray Firth about 3 w.Nairn.

*Cr.* The CB. crossing the Moray Firth cuts off the extreme ne. of Cr. containing the town of Cromarty, and then the line again takes the sea past the e. coast of Ross and Sutherland and part of Cs.

*Cs.* The CB. reappears on land at Clyth Ness, Cs., 10 ssw.Wick. It proceeds in an undulating line to the n. of Harpsdale (15 wnw.Wick), and through Hallkirk (16 nw.Wick) to the River Forss, which it follows to the sea 5 w.Thurso.

The line then takes to the sea again, leaving the Or. and Sl. groups to the e., and after passing them, ceases to exist.

## THE TEN TRANSVERSE LINES.

These are marked by broken lines on the map, except when they coincide with any border marked by a continuous line on the map, and then the broken parts are drawn through this line and at right angles to it in order to shew the coincidence of the two lines. Most of the Transverse Lines during part or all of their course so coincide with other boundaries. They are numbered on the map by numbers in ( ), corresponding to those used in this description.

LINE 1.—The n. *sum* line or northern limit of the pron. of the word *some,* Ws. sum, as (səm) or (sʌm) in s. England. The pron. (sʌm) reappears n. of line 8.

Proceed from n., follow the CB. to Chirk on b. of *Sh.*, which enter between Ellesmere *sŏŏm*, that is, which says (sum) (7 ne.Oswestry), and Oswestry *sum*, that is, which says (səm) or (sʌm). Thence it passes se. running w. of Hordley *sŏŏm* (6 ene. Oswestry) and e. of Whittington *sum* (2 ne. Oswestry), s. of Wem *sŏŏm* (13 e.Oswestry) and Yorton *sŏŏm* (2 sw.Wem) and just w. of Hadnall *sŏŏm* (4 nne.Shrewsbury), going s. between Shrewsbury *sum* and Upton Magna *sŏŏm* (4 e.Shrewsbury) to the Severn at Atcham. Then it follows the Severn to the b. of the co.

*Wo.* On entering Wo. pass just e. of Bewdley (3 wsw.Kidderminster), *mixed sŏŏm* and *sum* but chiefly *sŏŏm*, and Dunley (5 ssw.Kidderminster) *mixed*, and proceed in a se. direction to

*Wa.* Stratford-on-Avon. Continuing se. to pass just n. of Kineton (8 ese.Stratford) *mixed*, much, *sŏŏm*, through Fenny Compton (probably) to the b. of the co.

*Np.* Enter Np. just n. of Byfield (16 wsw.Northampton) *mixed*, and turn n. to coincide with Line 3 for a little way passing e. of Weedon (8 w.Northampton) *sŏŏm*, and e. of Daventry *sŏŏm* and going through Long Buckley to Watford (18 w.Wellingborough) *sŏŏm* to w. of East Haddon (14 w.Wellingborough) *sum*. Then quitting Line 3, turn ene. passing by Brixworth (6 n.Northampton) and Hannington (5 nw.Wellingborough) both *mixed*, when turn ne. and go between Islip (8 e.Kettering) *mixed* and Thrapston (9 e.Kettering) *mixed* to the b. of the co. about 2 s.Hemington (11 sw.Peterborough) probably *sum*.

*Hu.* Enter Hu. just n. of Great Gidding (10 nw.Huntingdon) *sum* and go just s.of Sawtry (9 nnw.Huntingdon) *sŏŏm*. Then, crossing the Great Northern Railway, probably turn ne., passing just n. of Ramsey (9 nne. Huntingdon) and enter

*Cb.* Pass just n. of Chatteris (10 nw. Ely) *mixed* and turning ne. go e. of March and w. of Wisbech *mixed* to the edge of the co., and then proceed by nw. b. of Nf. to the sea.

For the line as far as Sawtry I am almost entirely indebted to TH., who with great pains took a phonetic survey of this part of the country. The rest of the route to March and Wisbech and nw.Nf. I owe to other informants, checked, however, by TH., as shewn in the next Line 2.

The use of (ə, ʌ) for U is of course a modernism and an encroachment, hence we may expect to find that it is not a sufficient mark of a difference of district, because all other characters may remain and the modern (ʌ) may have only partially prevailed. Also intermediate forms may prevail arising from the encroachment being still incomplete. It will be found that both anticipations are fulfilled.

LINE 2.—The s. *sŏŏm* line or southern limit of the pronunciation of the word *some* as *sŏŏm* (*sum*) in England; for the n. limit see Line 9.

*Sh.* As far as the se. b. of Sh. lines 1 and 2 coincide.

*Wo.* Directly that the n. *sum* line enters Wo. there is a mixed district s. of it, where *sŏŏm* is more or less frequently heard, and the intermediate *som* (som) is also found. It occupies the whole of s.Wo., Gl, and even n.Wl. Proceed direct s. from Bewdley, w. of Stourport, to the Malvern Hills, and continue by Redhill or Redmarley d'Abitot to the s. b. of Wo.

*Gl.* Enter about 8 wsw. Tewkesbury, pass more or less to the w. in order to leave Newent (8 nw.Gloucester) to the e., and go s. to Dursley (14 ssw.Gloucester).

*Wl.* Take a sweep s. of Tetbury (16 s.-by-e.Gloucester) and proceed e. and ne., going s. of Malmesbury (14 w.Swindon) and Purton (4 nw. Swindon).

*Ox.* Thence go ne. through a corner of Be. to Witney (10 wnw.Oxford) and Bicester (11 nne. Oxford).

*Bu.* Thence pass through Buckingham and w. of Stony Stratford (7 ne. Buckingham) to b. of Np.

*Np.* Going mostly just w. of the border, sweep just s. of Thrapston, and join the n. *sum* line again at the b. of Hu.

*Hu.* and *Cb.* Through Hu. to past Sawtry (9 nnw.Huntingdon) the s. *sŏŏm* coincides again with the n. *sum* line, and both pass between Great Gidding (10 nw.Huntingdon) *sum* and Sawtry *sŏŏm*. But then the s. *sŏŏm* line runs eastwards, s. of Ramsey (9 nne.Huntingdon).

*Cb.* It enters s. of Chatteris (9 nw. Ely) and runs ne. to b of co.

*Nf.* The line enters Nf. just s. of the new Bedford Rivers, at the s. of the Bedford Level, about 24 s.King's Lynn, and pursues rather a winding course through w. Nf., s. of Downham (10 s.King's Lynn) and Swaffham (13 se.King's Lynn), and e. of East Dereham (23 ese King's Lynn), where it turns n. for about 6 m., and then, after running s. of Fakenham (8 s.Wells-on-Sea), turns nw., and falls into the sea between Hunstanton (13 nne.King's Lynn) and Brancaster.

For this line I am wholly indebted to the "phonetic survey" of the adjacent parts made by TH., who has visited expressly numerous villages along the route here laid down (30 places in Norfolk only), and has himself heard the not unfrequent use of *sŏŏm* and similar words between the n. *sum* and s. *sŏŏm* lines, and, especially in Nf., has observed the use of the intermediate *som*. It would be probably quite impossible to determine the line more accurately.

Here we have examples of the incomplete assertion of (ə, ɜ). It will be observed that Line 2 runs in general much further south than line 1. It is only to the n. of line 1 that the old state of things remains, and to the s. of line 2 that the new state has fully asserted itself. The intermediate country between Lines 1 and 2 is *mixed*, with one or the other form of U fully asserted, or *transitional*, a new form, as (som), which indicates the influence of (ə, ɜ) upon (*u*) being heard. What it is particularly necessary to guard against is the supposition that (ə, ɜ) is the "correct" form because "received"; it is only a modern form. Even in rp. the (ə) has not fully asserted itself, *full* (f*u*l) is itself an example; and we find in the (*u*) regions an apparently perverse habit to say (fɜl). The pron. of *full*, and of similar words, is merely a mark of the conflict, which has been left standing.

LINE 3.—The Reverted *ur* (R) line or n. limit of the pron. of *r* as (R) or (r,) in England. Sporadically and through natural defects of pron., reverted *ur* (R) may be heard still more northerly, and even to the w. in D 13. But it ceases to be the regular pron. at this limit, and even in D 9 the *ur* ($R_o$) frequently sinks into the common received vocal *er* ($r_o$); while in D 6, 7, the tongue is often merely retracted (r,) or even Midland (ɾ), instead of reverted (R). It is probable that originally the line really commenced at the mouth of Bannow Bay in Ireland, proceeding along CB. to Wexford, and then to Pm. and Gm. But in none of these places can reverted *ur* (R) now be traced with certainty. Hence the line must be taken to begin in England. The map however by the serrated line shews that the reverted *ur* line is supposed to have begun in Wexford.

*Gl.* Start in England from the mouth of the Wye on the Severn R. and proceed n. by the w. b. of Gl. till you meet the b. of He. just e. of Monmouth.

*He.* Then run in a nne. direction so as to leave Ross, Ledbury (13 e.Hereford), and Much Cowarne (8 ne.Hereford), on the e. At Much Cowarne turn more to ne., leaving on the w. Stoke Lacy (9 ne.Hereford), Pencombe (10 nne.Heref.) and Bromyard (13 ne.Heref.), which are in D 13, and then turning still more to the e. pass near Whitbourne (7 w.-by-n.Worcester) to the b. of the co.

*Wo.* Afterwards proceed more n. to Bewdley, then turn e. and pass n. of Kidderminster and s. of Stourbridge, Hagley, Cradley and Selly Oak (3 s.Birmingham), and probably n. of King's Norton to the border of

*Wa.* Where turn se. and pass n. of Packwood, going e. of Henley-in-Arden and Claverdon, but s. of Warwick and s. of Southam to the b. of

*Np.* opposite Braunston (13 wnw.Northampton), and pursue that b. to the n. as far as Watling St. by Crick. Then go se. joining the n. *sum* line 1 between Watford and East Haddon, but leaving it at the angle se. of Weedon and passing

just s. of Blisworth to the b. of the co. by Hartwell. Pursue this b. to the s. and w. till just e. of Brackley (17 sw.Northampton) it reaches the b. of

*Ox.* The line is now so ill known or indistinct that I have been obliged to assume the b. of Ox. as its limit to the Thames at Henley, whence it follows the w. and s. banks of the Thames to the sea. Of course through the metropolitan area this line is a mere fiction and shews only what it once *may* have been. In the part adjoining the Thames the reverted *ur* (R) sinks to the vocal *r* ($r_o$).

The great difficulty of obtaining information renders much of the course of this line rather doubtful. Through Wa. and Np. it has been taken as coinciding with the b. of D 6, which at any rate cannot be far wrong.

LINE 4.—The s. *teeth* line, or s. limit of the use for the definite article of a suspended (t'), commonly written *t'* in dialect books, or of the hiss (th) as heard at the end of *teeth*. It is possible that cases of *tee* (t') occur sporadically just s. of this line by assimilation, as they more frequently occur between lines 4 and 5, but in D 24=e.NM. *tee* (t') is the rule. The word *teeth* is chosen because it contains both (t) and (th).

*Ch.* Line 4 begins on the Dee, about 2 sw.Chester, and passes just within the s. b. of Ch., e. of Farndon (7 s.Chester) and w. of Malpas (12 ese.Chester), reaching the co. b. at Wirswall (2 n.Whitchurch, Sh.); it pursues the b. for a few miles, but at Burley Dam, 1 s.Combermere Abbey, it passes e. round to the n. of Audlem, then goes s., traversing the ne. horn of

*Sh.* just w. of Norton in Hales, and turning se. at 12 ene. Stone, enters

*St.*, through which it passes to the e. to Stone, and then sweeps round to Rocester (14 ene.Stoke), on the w. b. of Db., along which it runs to the se.

*Db.* Just s. of Repton (8 sse.Derby) the line cuts across the tail of Db., which projects between St. and Le., and then runs again along the s. b. of Db. to Nt.

*Nt.* and *Yo.* The line seems to pursue the w., s., and then the e. b. of Nt. to its n. extremity, after which it pursues the b. of Yo. and Li to the Humber, and then runs along the s. b. of Yo. to the sea. In Nt. (dhu) is the rule, yet not only do (t', th) occur, though not frequently, but there is a frequent assimilation, probably of (th) to (s) before (s). See D 27.

LINE 5.—The n. *theeth* (dhiith) line, or n. limit of the use of *the* (dhu, dhi) and the hiss (th) in conjunction with suspended *te* (t') as the def. article, till *the* returns to the north of line 7.

*Ma.* The line begins at n. of the Isle of Man and proceeds by sea to

*La.* which it enters at Cockerham 6 s.Lancaster, and passes in an ese. dir. just n. of Over Wyersdale (6 se.Lancaster) and then follows the b. of La. to about 9 nne.Burnley.

*Yo.* It then enters Yo. and runs e. apparently to about Burley (8 n.Bradford), where it joins the s. *hoose* line 6 (to be described presently), and follows that line to the w. b. of Li. Then it runs along the w. b. of Li. to the Humber, following line 4 already described.

The whole line from the b. of La. and across to Burley is necessarily very uncertain. But it seems to pass between Skipton on the n. and Keighley on the s., a distance of 8 m., which this line bisects, and hence it is probably not far wrong.

This line is here assumed to be the n. limit proper of the use of

the hiss (th) for the definite article. But n. of this line CCR. says that in former years he has traced this form (th) through the whole of Craven in rare occasional use, which has not influenced any printed account of the dialect. He has also heard of the (th) as being in use east of Skipton, Yo., straggling nearly to Harrogate, although s. of this line it is quite unknown, and he thinks that it exists also a little w. of Ripon. This (th) is by far the most heard about Washbourn River (D 30, 10 cs., No. 6, intro.) between Skipton and Harrogate. In all these places except the last, the usage is so slight that it has not crept into print, but in the last it has been printed in a newspaper contribution by Mr. Granige, of Harrogate, a local historian.

LINE 6.—The s. *hoose* line, or s. limit of the pron. of the word house as *hoose* (huus), which is also the n. limit of the pron. of *house* as any variety of (ha'us), of which those in the M. div. are numerous and singular.

*Ma.* The line begins on the west at sea at the n. of I. of Man, in which the English uses *house.*

*Cu.* On the mainland, the line begins at the mouth of the Esk R. by Ravenglass (17 sse.Whitehaven), and proceeds s. of that river on the watershed up to the Wry Nose Fell, on the b. of Cu. and We. So close is the division here, that, as I am informed, at Gosforth (5 nnw. Ravenglass) they say *coo* (kuu) and at Bootle (5 sse. Ravenglass) they say *cow* (kóu). But the real Gosforth pron., as we find mostly to the n. of it, may be ($\acute{u}_1$u).

*La.* The line then follows the Brathay R. on the n. b. of La. to the head of Windermere, and descends down its w. shore to Newby Bridge (7 ne.Ulverston), at its extreme s. It then sweeps round, in a way which has not been accurately, traced, but is certainly some distance n. of Cartmell (5 e. Ulverston) *house* and crosses the Winster R., which forms the e. b. of La., probably opposite Witherslack (7 ssw.Kendal).

*We.* The line probably passes just s. of Witherslack, n. of Milnthorpe (6 s.Kendal) *hoose*, and n. of Kirkby Lonsdale (10 se.Kendal) *house*, going in a ne. direction and crossing the Lune R. about Middleton (8 ese.Kendal).

*Yo.* The line enters Yo. just s. of Sedberg (8 e.Kendal) *hoose*, and n. of Dent, (13 ese.Kendal and 4 sse.Sedberg) *house*, which is a very close and sharp div. The line then runs through Garsdale along the Clough R. to the w. b. of the North Riding of Yo., which it probably pursues to the Wharfe R. The line probably pursues the Wharfe R. to Burley (7 ne.Keighley), and then passes just s. of that river, s. of Otley (9 nw.Leeds) *hoose*, and n. of Leeds and Harewood (6 n.Leeds) *house* (háus), and then bending se., passes e. of Aberford (9 ene. Leeds) *house* (haas), and passes w. of Selby *hoose*. Then taking a more s. direction it passes w. of Snaith (6 s.Selby) *hoose*. After this it seems to go nearly s., and passes e of Doncaster and Rossington (5 se. Doncaster), both *house*, and turning at once to the e. passes probably along the b. of Nt. to the b. of Li. at the s. of the I. of Axholme in the nw. of Li. between the Old Don and the Trent Rivers, in which both *hoose* and *house* (huus hóus) are heard.

*Li.* The line probably enters Li. about 3 n.Gainsborough, where the b. of Li. turns suddenly to the s. The passage from about Selby, Yo., up to this point has been difficult to trace, but the information is very precise through Li. The line going e. passes n. of Blyton (4 ne.Gainsborough) *house*, and s. of Scotter (7 ne.Gainsborough) *hoose*, and then passes s of Redbourne (11 ne.Gainsborough) *hoose*, and n. of Waddingham (11 ene.Gainsborough) *house*, the last two being adjoining parishes. Then it turns suddenly ne. and passes to the n of North Kelsey (15 ene.Gainsborough) *house*, and to the s. of Howsham (16 ne.Gainsborough) *hoose*, the last two being also adjoining parishes. Moreover, the North

Kelsey folk look down on the Howsham folk for saying a *coo* (kuu) for a *cow* (kóu), and probably conversely. After this the line proceeds in a ne. direction s. of Ulceby (10 nw.Great Grimsby), and s. of Killingholme (9 nw.Great Grimsby), both *hoose*; but n. of Brocklesby (8 wnw.Great Grimsby) and of Stallingborough, (5 wnw. Great Grimsby), both *house*, to the sea, 6 nw. Great Grimsby.

I am indebted for the Li. information to a large number of persons, especially clergymen, whose livings were in the neighbourhood. It is remarkable how little aware those who live only a very few miles off this line are of this great difference of pronunciation. Most Li. people hardly believe that in any part of Li. *hoose* is now said, while Mr. Peacock of Brigg, author of the Manley and Corringham Glossary, did not seem to know that any other pron. but *hoose* was current in Li. And in the neighbourhood of the n. of Nt. I have several times been altogether perplexed by being told that *hoose* was said, when subsequent visits to the place by TH. shewed that this was not the case.

Of course (huus) is the older form, and all the forms of (ha'us) are very modern. Hence the treatment of U' is not sufficient to mark dialects. The transitional form between (uu, a'u) is ($\acute{u}_1$u), which will be discussed in D 31.

LINE 7.—The n. *tee* line, or northern limit of the use of suspended (t') or *t'*, which may be conveniently called *tee*, for the def. art.

*Cu.* The line commences on the w. in Morecambe Bay, Solway Frith, at 13 w.Carlisle, passes just s. of Kirk Bampton (7 w.Carlisle), then turns in a s. dir. as far as about 2 s. of Sebergham (9 ssw.Carlisle), after which it turns ne. and passes e. of Southwaite (7 sse Carlisle) and Coathill (5 sw.Carlisle) to just s. of Fort, where it reaches the Eden R. by Hornsby, up which it proceeds in a se. direction to Kirk Oswald, 14 se.Carlisle, and immediately turns nne., forming an acute angle with its former course, passes over Croglin Fell, when it again bends through sw.Nb., and passing s. of Alston (20 ese.Carlisle), it re-enters Cu., where, after going s. for a little way, it turns e. at Rother Fell (4 s.Alston) to the b. of Nb.

*Du.* The line enters Du by the heights on the n. side of Weardale, and passing n. of Stanhope (18 wsw.Durham) and Walsingham (over Skaylock Hill), runs probably to the se. yet n. of Witton le Wear and Bishop Auckland to Merrington (6 s.Durham), and then sweeps to the e. and afterwards ne. past Bishop Middleham (7 sse.Durham) and Trimdon (8 se.Durham), but n. of Sedgefield (10 sse.Durham), passing along the Skern R. to the railway, when it turns suddenly n. and passes w. of Hart and Easington (9 nnw. Hartlepool), and w. of Seaham (5 sse.Sunderland), to fall into the sea about Ryhope (3 sse.Sunderland).

For the commencement of this line through Cu. to Sebergham I am indebted to the Rev. T. Ellwood, for the part from Sebergham to s. of Alston I am indebted to the observations made by JGG., and for the part which passes through Du. to the answers kindly given by many clergymen along the route, and a visit made by myself to one of them at Bishop Middleham. Dr. Murray had first drawn attention to the importance of this line as the separation of the Danified from the non-Danified N. (DSS. p. 86 note); but he commenced it at Allonby, avoiding the sinuosities by Kirk Oswald, and lost it at Stanhope (18 w-by-s.Durham). It was to try and recover the lost line that I sent out a series of questions to the clergymen of the neighbourhood. But it should be observed that the custom of speech is very mixed at Wigton and Silloth (10 sw. and 18 wsw. Carlisle, Cu.) and that neighbourhood, although prevailingly (t'). So it is also about Dalston and Wreay (:rîu) s. of Carlisle, but

there (dhʊ) prevails. But from Fort and Kirk Oswald onwards the line is sharper.

LINE 8.—The s. *sum* line in n. England or the s. limit of the pron. of *some* as any variety of (səm, sʌm), on travelling from Scotland into England.

*Cu.* The line begins on the w. by the Solway Firth, probably at the mouth of the Esk (6 nw.Carlisle), and proceeds in a ne. direction over Beacon Hill (14 ne.Carlisle) and s. of Bewcastle (16 nne.Carlisle) to the w. b. of Nb.

*Nb.* The line then turns suddenly s. and passes w. of Haltwhistle (14 w.Hexham), and e. of Knaresdale, Nb. (17 sw.Hexham).

*Cu.* The line re-enters Cu. just w. of Alstone (20 ese. Carlisle), and then striking the n. *tee* line 7, coincides with it throughout the rest of Cu. and throughout Du.

For the Cu. part of this line I am indebted to JGG., the remainder results from many communications, together with some personal observations.

LINE 9.—The n. *sŏŏm* line, or the n. limit of the pron. of *some* as any variety of (sum) or even mixed with varieties of (səm) on proceeding from the M. co. to Scotland.

*Cu.* Through Cu. this line coincides with Line 8.

*Nb.* But on reaching Nb. it sweeps in a direction at first e. and at last n. round the base of the slopes of the Cheviot Hills, passing 4 w. of Bellingham (:bel·indjʊm) (13 nnw. Hexham), 4 w. of Otterbarn on the Rede R. (18 nnw. Hexham), and 2 w. of Harbottle (which is 17 wsw.Alnwick), and goes n. to the Cheviot Hill itself (8 sw. Wooler) on the w. b. of Nb., at the source of the rivers Coquet and Till. Then it proceeds in a ne. direction 2 s. of Wooler to fall into the sea about Bamborough (12 n.Alnwick), the ancient Bebbanburg, the former capital of the Saxon Kingdom of Bernicia.

LINE 10.—The L. line is the limit between L. Scotch and N. English speech, and is not precisely coincident with the political boundary of England and Scotland.

*Cu.* Through Cu. the line coincides with the two previous lines 8 and 9.

*Nb.* As far as the Cheviot Hill the line coincides with line 9. But after quitting the Cheviot it proceeds in a nw. direction along the w. border of Nb. to the Tweed, down which it runs in a ne. dir. till it reaches Wateadder Water, the w. b. of the Liberties of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and 2 n Berwick.

*Bw.* Locally in the Scotch co. of Bw., but politically an independent territory, Berwick-on-Tweed and its Liberties, extending 2 to 4 miles into Bw., are linguistically part of England, and the L. line passes round the w. and n. of them to the sea about Marshal Meadows, 3 nnw.Berwick-upon-Tweed.

It will be observed that this line of the separation of L. and N. En. does not coincide with the line given by Dr. Murray (D. of S. S. p. 25 note, and map). His L. line proceeds n. from Gretna, Df., to the w. of Langholme, Df., crossing the Esk R. to meet the Scotch range of the Cheviots, along which it continues to the ene. into Rx. as far as Peel Fell, Nb., and then runs in an ese. direction to the Rede R., just west of Otterburn (18 nnw.Hexham), where it intersects my line 10, which it then pursues for the rest of the way. This throws a portion of Df. and Rx. known as Canobie and Liddesdale linguistically into England. He says that the dialect spoken in this region "is still quite distinct from that of the rest of

Df. and Rx., and is rather that of Cu. than L. Scotch." This will be considered hereafter. At any rate it does not agree with the information I have received from other quarters. Taking the Nb. slopes of the Cheviots, which would thus be included in England, I am told that it is chiefly traversed by Scotch, that is L., shepherds. Indeed, JGG.—who was for a long time quartered in this very region, with a companion, both on Geological Survey duty, and for lack of houses had to sleep in a caravan, where his rest was often disturbed at night by the cattle creeping under and using the floor as a back scraper—says that it was difficult to meet any but a Scotchman there. The whole parish of Falstone, on the North Tyne (20 nw.Hexham), which lies in the middle of this district, with its 57,000 acres of moorland, had in 1841 only 560 inhabitants spread all over it. And Plashetts, 4 miles further to the nw., on the North Tyne, together with Felstone, mustered only 222 inhabitants in that year. Dr. Frank Richardson, a physician, living in 1879 at Harbottle (17 wsw.Alnwick), at the foot of the Cheviots (certainly of that part which Dr. Murray also admits to be L.), writes: "I think you will not be wrong in considering that the Scotch occupy the entire hill country in these parts. The Cheviots are entirely inhabited by Scotch families, who rarely descend into the low countries." The Cu. portion which I include in L. has many more inhabitants than the Nb. portion. Bewcastle, 6 nne.Carlisle, may have 2000, and Longtown, 8 n.Carlisle, may have 1200 inhabitants. But, as we shall see, their speech has all the characters of L., and does not even resemble that of Carlisle, much less any district s. of the n. *tee* line 7.

THE ROMAN WALL.—In connection with these lines 8, 9, 10, the position of Hadrian's or the Picts' Wall is noteworthy as pointing to a separation of races before the advent of the Saxons. This wall was built by Agricola A.D. 79 to 85, and repaired by Hadrian A.D. 121, and Septimius Severus A.D. 208. The following are the places through which it runs from w. to e., with their distances and directions from C.=Carlisle, H.=Hexham, and N.=Newcastle.

*Cu.* It commences w. at Bowness, 12 wnw.C., and goes through Drumburgh, 9 wnw. C., and Beaumont, 4 nw.C. It then turns se. by Grinsdale, 2 nw.C., bending on the s. of the Eden R., sweeping just n. of C. and going in a ne. direction by Stanwix (1 n.C.), crossing the Esk, to Wallby (4 ne.C.), Wallhead (5 nne.C.), Old Wall (6 ne.C.), Newtown (8 ne.C.), Walton (9 ne.C.), Banks (11½ ne.C.), and Upper Denton (14 ne.C.), when it enters Nb.

*Nb.* It enters near Thirlwall (17 w.Hexham), passes by Wall Town (15 w.H.), Burnhead (12½ w.H.), where it turns slightly ne., by Carrow (7 nw.H.), whence it passes near Carrowbrough and deflects slightly to se., crossing the North Tyne at Citurnum, between Walwick (5 nnw H.) and Brunton (4 n-by-w.H.), and goes by Halton Shields (5 ene.H.) and Harlowhill (8 ene.H.), after which it runs nearly ese. towards Newcastle, by Heddon on the Wall (7 wnw.N.) into N. itself, through which it passes and runs to Wallsend, 4 ene.N., where, as the name implies, it terminates.

The course through Cu. is only slightly to the s. of lines 8, 9, 10. But in Nb. it does not correspond to any dialectal division.

# I.

# SOUTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

*Boundaries.*

*Ireland.* The n. b. commences at sea in Bannow Bay, and coincides with the Celtic Border, p. 13, and thence to the sea by Wexford, and then by the sea to Wales.

*Wales.* The n. b. coincides with the CB. through Pm., and Gm., and thence passing by sea again enters England.

*England.* The line passes by the reverted *ur* line 3, from the Bristol Channel across England to the south bank of the Thames, and n. of Ke. and Sheppy to the sea.

*Area.* All of England and its islands s. of this boundary, except the Channel Islands, where Norman French is still spoken.

*Character.* The one ancient character which runs more or less persistently through the modern S. div. is the reverted (ʀ) or retracted ($r_{,}$), the parent of the point-rise or untrilled ($r_{o}$) or vocal (ʊ), which still permeates received speech. In north Germany it is replaced by the laryngal (ʇ) and the uvular (*r*). But I believe that the reverted (ʀ) is the true ancient form. The peculiar hollowness and roughness of effect, which once heard is easily recognised, is due to the hollow formed by turning the tip of the tongue up and back so as to point down the throat, and oppose the under (instead of the upper) surface of the tip to the hard palate. This (ʀ) may or may not be trilled. The trilled form has not been generally recognised, but is quite possible. But the untrilled form ($ʀ_{o}$), for which here for convenience (ʀ) alone will be generally written, is most characteristic, and seems to blend in a singular manner with the preceding vowel, altering its quality and rendering it difficult to be recognised, almost to the same extent as in nasalisation. The long rough untrilled voice form here written (ɜʀ) for greater intelligibility is probably nothing but the prolonged voiced consonant itself ($'ʀ_{o}'$). Naturally when (t, d, l, n) follow (ʀ), they are also reverted, as (ɜʀt ɜʀd, ɜʀnd, gɜʀl) hurt, heard, earned, girl, for the alteration of the position of the tongue would otherwise be extremely inconvenient. I feel that reverted (ʈ, ɖ, ʀ, ɭ, ɳ) are the regular old Ws. forms whence have descended our peculiar English "coronal" (t, d, r, l, n) as distinguished from the continental "dental" or rather "alveolar" (t̪, d̪, r̪, l̪, n̪). The Indians always represent our sounds by their "cerebrals" (*suprà* Part IV. p. 1096, col. 1). It is evident that the English sounds are merely imperfect utterances of the reverted. This reversion of (ʀ) prevails still over the whole S. div. but the older main characters, as shewn in D. 4, all of which were probably characteristic of the whole division, fade out gradually to the e. of D. 4, and become complicated with other characters to the w. The reader is referred then to D. 4 for an account of the full characteristics of S. div.

# D 1, 2, 3 = CS. or Celtic Southern,

That is, the Southern forms of English on Celtic territory, constituting a group by themselves. They occupy the portions of Ireland and Wales to the s. of the CB.

During the XIIth century parties of Englishmen migrated evidently from Ws. regions, but under Norman guidance, and took possession of three peninsulas previously occupied by Celts, 1) the extreme se. of Wx. in Ireland, 2) the extreme sw. of Pm., 3) Gowerland in Gm. Tradition says that, at least in Pm., they were accompanied or reinforced by Flemings who had been driven out of the Low Countries by floods.[1] The people of Wx. believe that of the little band of 140 knights and 300 infantry, who came there with Strongbow in 1164, the infantry were recruited from the Flemings in Pm. and Gm.[2] But in the XII th century the distinction between Flemish and Ws. must have been slight, and the Ws. element must have predominated, for Higden in the XIV th century finds the people speaking "good enough Saxon." At the present day Wx. presents no peculiarity, although a century ago, it was truly S. English. But Pm. and Gm. still possess remnants of the old forms. It is notorious that emigrants preserve the traditions of the old speech longer than the old country. In this case each settlement was surrounded by speakers of an unintelligible language. Hence the settlers scattered over a small extent of country were necessarily in constant communication, undiverted by other habits of speech. Consequently they preserved the old language with only natural changes. I regard these districts then as presenting remnants of a very old dialectal form, and hence place them first. But, as will be presently seen, they are now so worn away that their relation to S. cannot be properly felt unless D 4 be studied first.

[1] 1. William of Malmesbury, 1095–1143, "Gesta regum anglorum," ed. T. Duffus Hardy, Hist. Soc. ed. 1840. Lib. iv. § 311, p. 493, A.D. 1091, "Flandritis in patria illorum [i.e. of the Welsh] collocatis." Lib. v. § 401, p. 628, "Flandrenses omnes Angliæ accolas eo traduxit."

2. Ranulph Higden (d. 1367), "De rebus Britannicis et Hibernicis, ed. Th. Gale, Oxford, 1691, p. 210, l. "Flandrenses . . . ad occidentalem Walliæ partem apud Hauerford sunt translati —— Flandrenses, . . dimissa jam barbaria, Saxonice satis proloquuntur," or as Trevisa translates, "speketh Saxonlych ynow."

For the three next citations I am indebted to Herbert Jenner, Esq., F.S.A., of the British Museum.

3. Geraldus Cambrensis, b. 1147, in Pm., 'Itinerarium Cambriæ,' lib. i. ch. xi. de Haverfordia et Ros: "gens hæc originem a Flandria ducens."

4. 'Brut y Tywysogion' (under year 1105, translation sent by Mr. Jenner), "that nation seized the whole cantred [? *cantref* = hundred] of Rhos . . . and was derived from Fflandrys."

5. 'Annales Cambriæ' [under date 1107, Florence of Worcester makes it 1111], "Flandrenses ad Ros venerunt."

[2] The Very Rev. C. W. Russell, D.D., paper read at the Dublin meeting of the British Association, 1857. Dr. R. does not give his authorities.

## D 1 = w.CS = western Celtic Southern.

*Boundary.* The CB. in Ireland and the sea on the se.Wx.

*Area.* The baronies of Bargy on the w. and Forth on the e. in the se. corner of Wx., Ireland.

*Sources of Information.* All that is known of the dial. as it once existed is contained in "A Glossary with some Pieces of Verse of the Old Dialect of the English Colony in the baronies of Forth and Bargy, County of Wexford, Ireland, formerly collected by *Jacob Poole,* of Growtown, Taghmon [9 w.Wexford in the adjoining barony], County of Wexford, and now edited, with some Introductory Observations, Additions from various sources, and Notes by *William Barnes, B.D.*, author of a Grammar of the Dorsetshire Dialect," London, J. Russell Smith, 1867, pp. 139. With which compare the older paper of *Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A.*, "Baronies of Forth and Bargey, County of Wexford, Ireland: an Inquiry into the Origin and Philological Relations of the Antique Dialect formerly spoken in this district; read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 1866." This gives much additional information, but the subject is not looked at phonetically. Though the dialect is ancient, we meet with it in a modern form, affected by Celtic influences. The orthography is modern, and the words were written from dictation evidently by persons unaccustomed to a systematic representation of sound, and like all such, not thinking it necessary, or not being able to explain the orthography they used. Hence many inconsistencies and probably double uses. Dr. Vallancey published his paper, reprinted by Mr. Barnes, in Mem. Irish Acad. 27 Dec, 1788. Mr. Poole, whose glossary is the foundation of Mr. Barnes's book, collected his words in 1823–4. Mr. Edmund Hore, author of the Forth and Bargy address to Lord Mulgrave in 1860, was of this century, and kindly wrote a letter to a friend of his for me on 5th Oct., 1873, shewing by numerous examples that the old pron. had died out. "The Barony Forth dialect," says he, "was dying fast at the close of last century. It was in extremis by 1825, and in the present year, 1873, I am confident that there are not half a dozen young persons of and under 25 years, who understand a sentence of it. I have scarcely met one who did not laugh, and admit his ignorance of it. I was born in 1801, and my schoolmates never used a word of it between each other, except when in want of one to convey their meaning. They learned it, however, as children do, from their seniors, spoke it, with a mixture, to them, and hence it became more weakly by degrees, and would have expired in a shorter time, only that it was the language of the *illiterate* alone." I felt therefore that it was useless searching further among the people. I was unable to hear Mr. Hore read, and he was apparently unable to make his pronunciation clear by writing, saying to his correspondent Mr. Walsh, "I have not sufficient confidence in myself to finish the task" of writing the pron. of a lw. which I had sent him, "and therefore leave you to do the Glossic." This was

tantalising, for he adds: "A stranger, or more correctly a person who *has not* heard the dialect from the lips of an old Forthian, has only such knowledge of its pronunciation as Moderns have of the ancient pronunciation of the Dead Languages. A stranger reading it after the manner of English is as near the true sounds as he would be in reading French with the English sounds. The letter *A* had *invariably* the sound of *A* in the English word *father*." To this he added in the preface to the Address (Barnes, p. 113), "Double *ee* sounds like *e* in m*e*; and in most words of two syllables the long accent is placed on the last," and also directed the reader to speak slowly.

Under these circumstances we have to divine the pron. from the habits of different persons in writing dialects, of which I have had a great and unsatisfactory experience, and I have by no means felt certainty in phonetically rendering the isolated words and short extracts which follow. Thus *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* are assumed as (a, e, i, o, u), not distinguishing (e, E) or (*o*, o, ɔ). But this is uncertain, as persons constantly write *u* for (*u*, ə), as we do in *dull*, *bull*, without any indication of the change. In Pm., however, it seems certain that (u) is still occasionally heard. For digraphs I take *ee*, *oo*, *aw* = (ii, uu, AA). I am not so sure of *au*; it may have been used of (áʊ) or (éʊ). As for *ie*, it seems to have been sometimes (ái) and sometimes (ii). But *aa*, *oa*, *ea* are the greatest stumbling-blocks. Most dialect writers use them for (éeʊ, óoʊ, íiʊ) or some such forms. Here, however, I have generally taken (aa, oo, ee) as the sounds, not distinguishing (oo, *oo*) or (ee, *ee*) even when long, as all is utterly conjectural. There may have been two diphthongs (ɔ'i, a'i), but they are hopelessly confused by the writer, yet *ay*, *ai*, *aay*, *aai*, were almost certainly (ái, áaī), but for safety I use unanalysed (a'i). As to *ow*, I use unanalysed (a'u) as a general expression, though I think (əə'u, ə'u, ɜ'u) at least likely. But *ou* often quite puzzles me. It may be (óʊ, ə, u, *u*, áu). For the consonants I assume *r* to be (R), because the dialect is Southern, and *dr* is used for *thr*, but it may have become fully (r) under Celtic influence, centuries ago. The *th*, *dh* seem to be occasionally (th, dh), but also (tH[, dH[) or (th, ð̄h), and *dh* final was perhaps (dtH[). *Lh*, *rh* were possibly (lH, RH), but may have been (lh, Rh), as these sounds seem still to occur in S. The postaspirates are probably all Celtic in origin, being frequent all over Ireland. The *f* when replacing (wh) may have been a strong (wh) misheard, but as (f) occurs in Aberdeenshire, probably under Celtic influence, it must be accepted; *fh* may be simply an exaggerated or postaspirated *f*. The *gh* I attribute to the scribal habits of the writer. I cannot think (kh) occurred even 100 years ago. Mr. Barnes unfortunately frequently "regulated" the spelling of his authorities—Vallancey's certainly, for I have compared the original, and Poole's probably—so that we have not by any means the words as those who heard them tried to represent them, which greatly increases my difficulty, as I have to conjecture what is meant by Mr. Barnes's conjecture as to the meaning of the original spelling. But assuming these values of the letters, we find on going through Mr. Poole's Vocabulary as printed and enlarged by Mr. Barnes, as decidedly characteristic: initial *dr* for *thr* implying (DR) or reverted (R); initial *z*, *v*, *zh*, for *s*, *f*, *sh*, and *ich* (itɨ) for the pronoun *I*; (a'i) in *tail*, *main*, *brain*, *rain*, *twain*, *eight*, *they*, (ii) for long I', Y', which is very old. All these (except the last) also characterise D 4, so that the S. character of D 1 is established. The particulars are put in the form of a cwl. below, p. 30.

*Illustrations.*

1. Extract from Vallancey's *A Yola Zong* (1) (ə JOO·lə zoq)

Fade teil thee (2)—fartoo zo hachee (3)?
Well, gosp, c'hull be zeid (4); mot thee fartoo, an fade (5)
Ha deight ouz var gabble (6), tell ee zin go t' glade (7)?
Ch'am a stouk, an a donel; (8) wou'll leigh out ee dey (9)
Th' valler w' speen here (10), th' lass ee chourch-hey (11).

*Conjectural pronunciation.*

fadt áid dhi—fartuu· zo atʒii· ?
wel, gosp, tʒɐl bi záid ; mot dhi far·tu ? ɐn fadt ?
ha diit *uz* var gab'l, tel i *zin goo* tɐ gladt.
tʒam ə stóɐk ɐn ɐ duu·nel ; wóɐl lii ɐut i dái ;
dhɐ val·ɐr wɐ spiin hiir, dh' las i tʒərtʒ hái.

*Translation and Commentary.*—(1). *An old song.* Old, commonly loses its d, and becomes (*ool*). Then a fractural (ʒ) is prefixed, forming (*ʒool*), which form occurs in the *Bride's Portion* (Barnes, p. 102, l. 2). The additional *a* making (*ʒoo·lɐ*), is perhaps solely due to the following *z*, before which the *l* was lengthened by the speaker, and then the (ɐ) was inserted by the literariser.

(2). *What ails thee?* I consider the original *fade teil*, to be an error for *fadt eil*, the reporter, Dr. Vallancey, 1788, having been misled by the running on of a *t* after *fad* to the following vowel. The *fad* for *what*, may be also a mistake of the transcriber. Although (f) for (wh) occurs in Aberdeenshire, it is very likely that Dr. Vallancey may have misheard (wh) as (f). The rest of the stanza contains many un-English words, and is omitted with the exception of the last words.

(3). *Whereto* (*i.e.* wherefore) *so agee?* The *fartoo* is evidently *where-to* on the analogy of *fadt* for *what*. *Agee* out of sorts, "ill-tempered." Sir JAP. suggests Old French hachée, which Roquefort translates "peine, fatigue, pénitence," supposing that Old French formed part of the language of the original settlers, adducing *core* heart fr. cœur, *benisons* blessings, *meinies* wives and families fr. mesnie, *poustee* power fr. poste [? postéis "un grand seigneur, un homme puissant"], *mire* wonder fr. mirer, *avanet* arrived fr. avenir [?]. Whence *hachee* really comes is unknown, and I am far from suggesting that it is the same word as *agee*, which translates it so well.

(4). *Well, gossip, it shall be said.* I take *ei* here to represent (a'i).

(5). *But thy wherefore and what. Mot* is translated by *but* in Dr. V.'s glossary, but he translates this passage as "you ask what ails me and for what."

(6). *Have dight* (or prepared) *us for gabble.* I doubt whether *gh* was a guttural in Dr. V.'s time. The pronunciation of *ouz* (as Dr. V. writes, Mr. Barnes has *ouse*) is conjectural. Observe *for* with southern *v-* in *var*.

(7). *til the sun go to valley.* The *zin* is thorough Devonshire. *Glade* is translated *valley* by Mr. Hore in the address to Lord Mulgrave, Icel. *glaðr*, bright shining. You see the sun set through an opening only.

(8). *I am a stock and a fool. Cham* = *ich-am*, is a regular old Southern form. *Stouk* I suppose to have been meant for *sto-uck*, that is (stóɐk), a stock or blockhead, and *donel* is unknown. Sir JAP. suggests Irish *dona*, a poor unfortunate fellow. Dr. V. translates *dunce*, and Sir JAP. a *simpleton*.

(9). *Will lie* (i.e. *idle*) *out the day.* The pronunciation of *wou'll* is quite doubtful. I take it for *wol*, that is, *will*. Sir JAP. considers it *w'oul* we will. *Leigh* is translated "idle" by Dr. V. Mr. B. compares "to lake" or play, ags. lácan, but this would hardly give anything written *leigh*. Dr. V. translates "idle." Poole's glossary has *leeigh* to laugh, with which it may be related. The use of *ee* for "the" is regular. *Dey* gives the Southern pronunciation (da'i).

(10). *The longer we spend here. Valler* may have been an error for *vuller* = fuller. Dr. V. translates "more, longer in time." Sir JAP. suggests *value*. *Speen* for "spend" is like *een* for "end."

(11). *The less in church-hay. Hay* an inclosure, with regular pronunciation. Sir JAP. says, "The meaning of this is, I suppose, that the churchyard on Sundays and holidays being the great mart for gossip, the time in telling the story now would be so much saved at the Sunday meeting."

The rest of the text is so difficult, and evidently corrupt, that it is passed over.

2. Casteale Cudde's Lamentation for loss o' his Cuck at vas ee-took be a vox.

kastee·l (1) kudz (2) lamentee·shən fɒʀ los o hiz kuk, ʊt wɛz i-tuk bi ʊ voks (3).

Recited by Tobias Butler, 1823.

(Barnes, pp. 102 to 106.)

*Original.*

1.

Ye nyporès aul, come hark to mee,
Faade ee-happen'd me lautest Gooude Vreedie,
Mee cuck was liveen michty well,
Dhicka die fan ich want to a mile.

Ho ro! mee cuck is ee-go (*bis*),
Neen chickès hav hea ee-left vatherless,
To fho shall ich maake mee redress?

2.

As ich waant draugh Bloomere's Knough,
Ich zide [a] vethers o' mee cuck,
Aar was nodhing ee-left mot a heade,
Which maate mee hearth as coale as leed.

3.

'Cham afear'd ich mosth cress a Shanaan,
And lea a pariesh o Kilmannan,
Mee piggès, mee geearthès, nor nodhing threeve,
Lickweese mee been deeth in aar heeve.

4.

Zimaan Haay is a wicked man,
Hea pryet ich mought na ha chicke or hen,
Ar aany noor dhing at woode comfoort mee,
Fan ich aam in this miseree.

5.

Mizluck mye lhygt on Tam Busheare,
Hea zed mee cuck vlew in a aare.

*Pronunciation.*

1.

ɟi na'ipoʀis (4) áavl (5), kuum haaʀk tʊ mii,
fàdt i-hap'nd mi laa·test gúuʊd vʀiidii·, (6)
mi kuk wɛz livii·n miiti wɛl,
dhik·ʊ (7) da'i fan itɟ want tu ʊ mɛl (8).

hoo ʀoo! mi kuk iz i-goo! (*be's*)
niin tɟikiz həv hee (1) i-lɛft vaadheʀles (7),
tu foo (9) shʊl itɟ màk mi ʀiɒʀes·? (10)

2.

az itɟ wànt ɒʀa'u (11) :bluumee·ʀes knuk,
itɟ zid (12) [i] vedh·ərz (7) ʊ mi kuk;
àʀ (13) wɛz nədh·iq (7) i-lef mot ʊ hiid (1),
whitɟ màt mi haʀtɟ (14) ʊz kool əz liid (15).

3.

tɟam əfii'ʀd itɟ mostɟ kʀes ʊ :shanan· (16),
ʊn lee ʊ paʀi·sh ʊ :kilmanan· (17)
mi pig·is, mi gíiʊʀthɟis, nɒʀ nədh·iq (7) ɒhʀiiv (18),
likwii·z mi biin diith in e'ʀ hiiv (19).

4.

:ziman· :ha'i iz ʊ wik·ed man,
hee pʀa'i·et itɟ móʊt nʊ ha tɟik ɒʀ hɛn (20),
ʊʀ ani nuuʀ (20) dhiq (7) ʊt wud komfuu·ʀt mii,
fan (21) itɟ am in dhis mizeʀii·.

5.

mizluk· ma'i lháit (22) on :tom :bushee·ʀ,
hee za'id mi kuk vliú in ʊ éeʊʀ (23).

| 6. | 6. |
|---|---|
| Lhaung life to Misteare Reedforth an his vamilee, | lHAAq liif tu :mistee·R :REedfORth ʊn iz vamilii· (24), |
| Lhaung mye thye live in prosperitee; | lHAAq ma'i dha'i liiv in prospeRitii·; |
| He zide hea'de help me udh o' hoan | hee záid hee-d help mi udH) ʊ) hoon (25) |
| To hint dhicke cursed vox vrom Bloomere's lhoan. | tu hint dhik kORsed voks vROm :bluumee·RIS lHoon (26). |

*Notes.*

1. *Casteale*, Castle. The pronunciation (kastee·l) is doubtful. It is impossible to say that Mr. Poole would have written consistently, or what phonetic analogies would strike an Irishman 60 years ago. The *ea* is now, and was then, generally (*ee*) or (ee) in Ireland. Mr. P., like other dialect writers, often uses it I think for (iiʊ), but probably he used it in both senses, for few dialect writers are consistent. This is stated to be a nickname.

2. Patrick Codd is given as the man's real name.

3. 'Cock that was i-taken by a fox.'

4. 'Neighbours,' the (p) occurs in other districts.

5. As 'aul' could hardly have been used for the ordinary pronunciation of 'all,' I have assumed it to be *a-ul*, which agrees with Southern usage.

6. 'what happened [to] me last Friday.' The rhyme requires (dii), but (da'i) would have been expected; see cwl. p. 30, No. 161.

7. *th*, *dh* in F. and B. writing generally mean (tH[, dH) or postaspirated *t*, *d*. But here and there (dh) is a dialectal change from (th). I think *dh* means to imply (dh), or at least its Celtic substitute (ð̄h).

8. Written *mile*, where the last letter seems to have been misread for *l*, as many writers make *ll* resemble *le*. In Poole's glossary *mele*, *mell* occur for *flour*, and Mr. Barnes inserted *mile* from this passage.

9. That is (whoo) for *whom*.

10. "Make my redress," instead of "apply for" or "go for." Tobias Butler, who recited this in 1823, may have been in error. The verse is throughout so faulty that this was probably often the case.

11. Interpreting *au* as (a'u), but this is quite uncertain, *drough* may have been written, and meant merely for (DRUU), as I have had sent to me many times by informants.

12. *zide* would be 'said,' as given in the glossary, hence this must be an error for *zede*=*see'd*, that is, saw.

13. For (dhe'R), a regular Forth form.

14. Here I suppose the *-th* indicated only a strong final flatus, which is written as ([).

15. 'There was nothing i-left but the head, which made my heart as cold as lead.' In *cold* the *d* is omitted as in *yola* old. In this example *the* instead of (i) often becomes (ʊ).

16. 'I am afraid I must cross the Shannon.' I feel doubtful about the pron. of (kres) and (Shanan·).

17. 'And leave the parish of Kilmannan.' Kilmannan is a parish in Bargy (6 sw. Wexford).

18. 'My pigs, my goats, nor nothing thrive.' The insertion of *r* in *geearthès* for 'goats' may be right, for such insertions occur in w.Sm. But on the other hand it may be entirely due to the transcriber. In *threeve*, *th* must be an error for *d* or *dh*, as the *thr-* regularly becomes (DR-) or (DHR-).

19. 'Likewise my bees die in their hive.' Observe (lɨkwii·z, hiiv), (biin) as a plural in *n* and (diith) as the Ws. verbal plural in -eth.

20. 'He prayed I might not have chick or hen or any other thing.' Observe (PRâi'et) ending in *t*. Compare *maate* for *made* in stanza 2. Observe (nûuER) for *another* (sometimes spelled *anoor*, and then *another* for *other*.

21. *Fan* of course represents (whan when).

22. I have taken *lh* to be a postaspirated *l* rather than the voiceless (lh).

23. 'He said my cock flew in the air.' Here *zed* is apparently an error for *zide*,

just as *zide* was miswritten before for *zede*, see note 12. The last two lines of this stanza are missing in Barnes, p. 102.

24. The (v-) in this Latin word is doubtful, see introduction to D 4.

25. 'Out of hand.' Here several things are uncertain, the pronunciation of *u* in (udh), the effect of (dh) which can only be shewn on the following vowel, and the sound of *hoan*, which I assume here to be (hoon) and not (hóen), just as in *lhaung* I took *au* to = (aa).

26. "To hunt this cursed fox from Bloomer's land."

## 3. Forth and Bargy cwl.

Collected from the glossary and specimens in Mr. Barnes's book. The spelling there used is placed first in Italics, and then the conjectured pron. in pal. Observations are included in [ ]. The numbers refer to the cwl. on p. 15*.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 *taake* tàk. 5 *maake* màk. 6 *maate* màdt. 14 *dra* draa. 18 *caake* kàk. 19 *taale* tàl. 21 *naame* nàm naam. — *gaam gaume* gàm [game]. — *glade* glàd [glade, valley]. [In all these words I feel that *aa*, *au* may have meant (áæ, éæ).] A: 40 *khime* khɪa'im. 43 *hoan* hoon. 44 *loan* loon. 53 *coan* koon. 57 *ess* es. A: *or* O: 58 *vram* vram. 61 *amang* vma·q. A'- 67 *goan* góen [going]. 72 *fho* fhɪoo. 73 *zo zoo sae* zoo zuu see [the last form is anomalous]. 82 *oances* óe·nes. 86 *oates* óets. 94 *croowe* kruu [?]. 95 *drowe draugh* droo. A': — *laady* laadi [lady]. 108 *doaugh dhoaugh dough* doo. 115 *hime hyme* ha'im. 117 *oan* oon. 118 *bane* baan. 124 *sthoan* sthɪoon.

Æ- — *aake* aak [ache]. 138 *vather* vaadhver. 141 *niel* na'i'l. 141 *tyel* ta'i'l. 144 *agyne* vga'in. 146 *mhyne* mha'in [main, very]. 147 *bryne* bra'in [the *y* spelling in these last four words seems to indicate (a'i) with certainty]. 152 *waudher* vàdhver. Æ: 155 *detch* detɹ. — *bhlock* bɪlok [black]. 156 *glaud* glàd. 161 *die dey daaily* da'i da'ili. 165 *zide*, za'id. — *smaal* smaal [small]. 179 *faade* fàdt. Æ'- — *leache* leetɹ [physician from Stanyhurst 1577, misprinted *leech* in glossary]. 187 *laave lea* léev lee. 194 *aany* àni. — *erroane* eroo·n [errand]. 200 *whet* wheet. Æ': 211 *gray grey* gra'i. — *meale* meel [a meal]. 217 *earch* eertɹ [ever-each, every]. 218 *zheep* zhiip. 223 *aar thaare* aar dhaar. 224 *far* far.

E- 231 *ee* i [and] *a v* [compare omitted consonant in *the* D 40]. 238 *hey hye* ha'i. 241 *rhyne* rha'in. 242 *twine twy* twa'in twái. 245 *mele mell* meel [meal, flour]. — *brimel* brimel [bramble]. 251 *maate* méet. — *vether* vedhver [feather]. E: 260 *laaye* lái. 262 *wye wyse* wa'i wa'iz. 263 *awye* vwa'i. 266 *waal* wàl. — *dell* del [delve]. 279 *waant* wéent [?]. — *speen* spiin [spend]. — *zeen* ziin [to *send*]. — *een* iin [an *end*]. E'- 296 *beleave* bɪlee·v. 301 *heereen heireen* hiirii·n ha'irii·n [hearing, the second form is still heard in D 4, but is dying out]. E': 305 *heegh* hii.

EA: 324 *ayght* a'it. — *ayghteen* a'itii·n. 326 *yole yola* jool joo·le. 328 *cole khoal* khɪool. 330 *houle* ha'ul [?]. 346 *yeat* jeet jiet [?]. EA'- 347 *haade* hàd. 348 *een* iin [eyes]. EA': 350 *deed* diid. 351 *leed* liid. 352 *reed* riid. 353 *breed* briid. 358 *neeghe* nii. 359 *nyporès* na'iporis. — *reem rhyme* riim rha'im [cream]. — *ayenst* vjenst. — *lhowse lhause lowse* loos la'us [? loose]. — *eeth eefe* iith iif [easy].

EI- 373 *thye* dha'i. 374 *naay* na'i. EI: 379 *haail* ha'il. 380 *aam* éem [(am, vm) ?].

EO: 388 *mulke* mɔlk [or ? (m'lk) see D 10]. — *barrm* barm [barm = yeast]. — *hearth* heerthɪ [heart]. 406 *eart eard* eert eerd. EO'- 409 *been* biin [bees]. — *fleen* fliin [flies, Mr. Barnes says 'fleas,' but that is impossible]. 411 *dhree* dhrii. 412 *shoo* shuu. EO': 436 *drue* dhruu [? (thrau)]. EY- 438 *dee* dii. EY: 439 *thrist* thrist.

I- 443 *vreedie* vriidii· [see p. 29, note 6]. I: 452 *ich itɹ* [and in composition *cha cham chas chood choote chull* = I have, am, was, would, wot, will]. 455 *lee* lii [hence to idle, and then spelled *leigh*]. — *michty* mii·ti. — *deight*

diit. 458 *neeght nieght* niit na'it. 460 *waaight* wâit. 470 *aam* e'm [see 380]. 475 *weend wyeene* wiind wa'in [? Vallancey gives *weend* only]. 480 *dhing* dhiq [(dhiq)?]. — *zhip* zhip [ship]. — *dhurth* dhərtɩ [dirt]. I'- 492 *zeide* zeed [taking *ei* as a mistake for *ee*]. 493 *dhreeve* dhriiv. 494 *deem* diim. — *peepeare* piipee·r [piper]. 496 *eeren* iiren. I': 502 *veeve* viiv. — *hye* ha'i [hay, and also 238]. 510 *my* ma'i. — *leen* liin [line]. 515 *veezer* viizvr [? (wii·zvr), otherwise this is the only case where w=v].

O- 518 *buthee bodhee bothige* butɩiii· bodhii·. O: 531 *doughtere* da'utee·r. — *cawl* kaal [? (kool) a *colt*]. 552 *coorn* kuurn. 553 *hoorn* huurn. O'- 555 *shoon* shuun *pl.* 564 *zoon* zuun. 565 *nize niz* nâiz niz. 566 *anoor* anuur [another]. O': 571 *gooude goouness* gúuvd gúuvnes. 572 *blooed* blúuvd. 579 *eenew* iniu·. 597 *zoot* zuut.

U- 599 *aboo* vbuu. 603 *coome* kuum. 605 *zin* zin [common in D 11]. 606 *dher* dhər. U: 609 *valler* [? misprint for *vuller*] valer, ? vuler. 612 *zim* zim. 616 *greoune* grea'un. 629 *zin* zin. U'- 640 *keow* kea'u. 648 *oor* uur. 650 *about abut* vbea'ut [?].

U': 658 *deown* dea'un. 662 *ouse ouz* uz? 663 *heouse* hea'us. 667 *outh udh* útɩ vdh, *udho* vdhɩv [out of]. 671 *meouth* mea'uth.

Y- — *heeve* hiiv [hive]. — *ree* rii [rye]. 679 *chourch* tɩərtɩ [? tɩurtɩ]. Y: 684 *burge* bordɩ. — *hele* hel [? a *hill*]. 690 *keene* kiin. 701 *vurst* vorst. Y'- — *keen* kiin [kine, from Ws. cy' plural of 240]. 705 *skee* skii. — *theene tine* thɩiin [tine]. Y': — *breede* briid [bride].

II. English.

A. — *kaayle* ka'il [kail]. E. — *lear* leer [empty]. — *skeine skyne* skâin [skein]. O. — *poul* pa'ul [poll of the head]. — *mot* mot [but]. U. — *unket* ʌ·qket [unkid].

III. Romance.

A·· 810 *faace fauce* fàs. 812 *laace* làs. 813 *bawcoon* bàkuu·n. — *pyle* pa'il [... *paele*, a pail]. — *plaague* plàg [*plague*]. 820 *gaaye* gâi. 827 *aager* évgvr. — *gryne* gra'in [grain]. 835 *raaison* ra'izoo·n.

E·· 885 *veree* verii·. — *feyer* fa'ir [a *fair*]. 890 *beasthès* beesthɩis. I·· and Y·· — *pee* pii [a mag-*pie*]. 900 *pry* pra'i. — *gimlie* dɩmli [chimney].

O·· — *faaighe fythe* fa'i fa'ith. — *geint* dɩa'int [joint]. 925 *vice* vâis. 937 *cuck* kuk. 947 *bile* ba'il. 956 *kiver* kivvr. U·· 960 *kie* ka'i. — *waaite* wa'it [*wait*]

## D 2 = m.CS. = mid Celtic Southern.

*Boundary.* The CB. in Pm. and the coast sw. of it.

*Area.* The two peninsulas to the sw. of Pm., formerly known as "Little England beyond Wales."

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List under Pm., Rhôs and Daugleddy, information from Rev. J. Tombs, Mr. Elworthy, Mr. E. L. Jones, Mr. W. Spurrell, and Archdeacon Edmondes.

*Character.* The S. reverted (r) according to Mr. Elworthy, who says the dial. is "most like a book version of w.Sm.," see D 10, and thinks he heard some ($y_1$), though Rev. J. Tombs says there is nothing like it there. Mr. Tombs also thinks the *r* is "not materially different from the Welsh *r*," fully trilled (r), and that Pm. speech is very different from a Sm. or n.Dv. But initial *dr*- accepted by Mr. Tombs in *th*ree, *th*rough, *th*row, *th*reaten, implies (dr-). The (a'*i*) for ÆG, EG, initial (z-) for (s-), though only preserved among old speakers, and of (éi) perhaps (o'i) for I', the use of (iin) for *him*, and of (dhiiz) as one of the forms of *this*, the (v-) before the past participle, are all of them S. forms. The

only words I have heard are 3 or 4 pron. by Mr. Elworthy. Hence I give the original spelling in the following cwl. The indications respecting the value of short U have been most diverse. It will be seen by the dt. furnished by Mr. Spurrell, from dictation of a Castle Martin man, that short U is invariably (*u*) or (u). Mr. E. L. Jones says it is "never" like the La. ($u_1$), but "always" as *u* in rec. b*u*ck (ə, ɜ). As *Zoonday* occurs in a subsequent specimen, I endeavoured to clear up the matter, without much success. Mr. Tombs gave (ə, ɜ) in l*o*ve, c*o*me, s*u*mmer, s*o*n, b*u*tter, *u*gly, s*o*me, dr*u*nk, *u*nder, t*o*ngue, h*u*nger, S*u*nday, n*u*n, s*u*n, but allowed (*u*, u) in f*u*ll, c*u*p, d*u*st. Archdeacon Edmondes, of Warren, close to Castle Martin, says that a girl in his service speaks of "carr'ing things *oop*, taking in *looneh*," but her parents come from Narberth. Under these circumstances it seems that (*u*) still exists, but is not general. It is of course a mark of antiquity, and for this reason I assume it in the older form of D 1. There is no trace of it in D 3. For D 4 see the s. *sŏŏm* line 2, p. 16. Mr. Tombs or else Arch. Edmondes admits *v* for *f* in *f*air, *f*arm, *f*ast, *f*eed, *f*iddle, *f*our, *f*ox, *f*lail, *f*rom, *f*urrow; (væqk) for spark is known to Mr. Thomas; and they admit *z* for *s* in *s*ay, *s*elf, *s*even, *s*ick, *s*ix, *s*oon, *s*on, *S*unday, and lastly that the *f* and *s* remain in *f*ace, *f*ail, *f*all v., *f*alse, *f*ar, *f*at, *f*ault, *f*riend, not very regularly; and in *s*ad, *s*and, *s*aw, *s*ong, *s*o, *s*uch, *s*weet, *s*wallow, *s*wine, still less regularly. As to *ow*, Mr. Tombs does not admit (éu), but Archd. Edmondes hears *caoo* (k*éu*, kɛ'*u*, kæ'*u* ?)

## 1. Two Interlinear Pembrokeshire dt.

T. written in io. by Rev. J. Tombs, Rector of Burton, Pm., and pal. conjecturally by AJE.
S. written in a phonetic alphabet by Mr. Spurrell from the dict. of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, Castlemartin, Pm.

(1) T. zoo é*i* zá*i*, ba'uJiiz, Jɐ zii nia'*u* ɐz é*i* bi Réi*t* ɐba'ut -dat
S. z*oo* é*i* zá*a*i, bə'*i*z, Jæ zii néu æz é*i*)m 'réit æba'ut dhæt

T. l*i*d'l máid kɜm*i*n vrom dhɐ [skuul]
S. l*i*d'l [liid'l] máaid k*u*m*i*n [g*u*m*i*n] vrəm dhæ skuul [skuuld]

T. a'ut dheer.
S. éut dheer.

(2) T. shii)z a)gwá*i*n dia'*u*n dhɐ rhóoud dheer, Dria'*u* dhɐ R*i*d
S. shii)z æ gwá*a*i*n* dé*u*n dhæ r*óo*æd dheer, dhru dhæ r*i*d

T. gee't pɐn dhɐ l*i*ft han zéid ɐ dhɐ wá*i*z.
S. gaat pən dhæ l*i*ft hænd [hæn ?] zéid *o* dhæ wá*a*i.

(3) T. shuur ɐnóu dhɐ tjé*i*l hɐv ɐ-gon strá*i*t [ɜp tɐ] dhɐ
S. shuur enéu dhæ tjéil[-d] hæv æ gən strá*a*i*t* *u*p tæ dhæ

T. duur ɐ dhɐ raaq [ha'*u*s]
S. duur əv dhæ rəq héus

(4) T. weer (waar) shi ul lé*i*kl*i* fé*i*n [dhat] Dræqk*i*n diif (d*i*f)
S. weer shii ul léikl*i* féin dhæt dr*u*qk'n d*i*f

T. sr*i*v'lt felɐ b*i* dhɐ néɐm ɐ :tomɐs.
S. skr*u*qk felæ béi dhæ néæm *o* :təmæs.

(5) T. [wi AAl] nAAz iin [vERi] wEl.
S. wii óæl nAAz iin veri wel.

(6) T. [woont] dhv AAl [tɟap suun] larn vR not tv duu)t vgen,
S. wunt dhi áaul tɟæp suun laarn ər nɔt tæ duu)t æge·n,

T. puuvR dhiq!
S. puur dhiq!

(7) T. [luk!] been't [it] tríu?
S. luuk beent it tríu?

*Notes* to T. version. Words in [ ] were not filled in by Mr. T. and are supposed to be in (dialectal) rs. Mr. T.'s spelling may be seen in the cwl.

1. *So say.* The initial (z) is heard only from old people.—*I be* is more heard in the n. and *I am* in the s. of the district.—*right.* The pron. (éi) is adopted from Mr. Jones, who says it is most like the Cockney *a* in *fate*, which sounded to the Tenby schoolchildren in Mr. Matthew Arnold's pron. like their own pr. of *fight*.—*boys now about.* I have interpreted Mr. T.'s *ou, ow, eow* as (a'u, ia'u) using the unanalysed form. The triphthong (ia'u) possibly occurred in D 1. We find (eâu) in M. But Mr. Spurrell's version points to its meaning (éu).—*from.* I adopt (R) everywhere on Mr. Elworthy's authority. Initial it is probably aspirated as in Mr. T.'s *rho-ad.* His *dr* for *thr* implies (DR), and perhaps *tr* would be (TR). But I leave (r) in Mr. Spurrell's phonetic writing.—*that* (dat) is very peculiar. Its appearance and present gradual disappearance may be compared with D 9. That *the* should not be similarly affected is singular.—*little,* (lid'l) is found elsewhere.—*maid, going* (âi) in (mâid, gwâin) is regular S.—*from* (vROm) is regular S., but the other forms *from, throm,* which Mr. T. has heard, seem to be foreignisms.

4. *where.* I considered Mr. T.'s written *wh* to be an accident for *w*. He says, however, that *h* is "very well and correctly used generally speaking; it is occasionally but rarely omitted where it should be heard; but still seldomer inserted where it should not be; these are, I think, faults of recent growth."

4. *shrivelled.* (shr-) seems to be a difficulty. In this word (sr-) is used, in others (shv-r-), see—*shrub* before 543, and *shrimp* 756 in cwl. *infrà* p. 35.

5. *we all know him* (wi AAl nAAz iin). "*We* is sometimes heard as the objective case, and *us* as the nominative, but rarely; and this usage has grown up within the last twenty-five years [dated Mar. '79] by the advent of English navvies into the district to form the railways; many such have married and settled here, and the natives have partly followed their usage sometimes." The usage is common in Do. The form (nAAz) for the pl. is common S. (iin), which Mr. T. writes *ihn* as in German, is the regular S. *en* (vn), from Ws. *hine,* the true acc., for which the dative *him* has been substituted in rs.

6. *thing* (dhiq) is old.

7. *is not. I be* is heard more in the n., *I am* in the s. of the district.

2. *Example* given at the Swansea meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, 1861:

"I'ze a gwaaing to zell zum vish to buy zum vlesh vor that blezzed day zoonday."

This Mr. T. thinks "unmistakably Flemish." It is "unmistakably" S. But *I'ze,* as thus written for *I is,* is the N. form, and is of course an error. There is a possibility that it stands for *ees be* (iis bi). In a cutting from a Carmarthen newspaper I find *I's* regularly used for *I,* as "I's so [=*saw,* the distinction (AA, *oo*)

is heard with difficulty], I's tell, I's cud, I's hasn't, I's goin, I's did, I's isn't, I's does, I's has, I's propos, I's thinks, I's has, I's was," where *I's* is simply an old S. (iis) = I, and only in "I's goin" is the verb omitted. A man who left Narberth about 1864 told Mr. Spurrell he had heard (éiz thiqks) for *I think*. This is very doubtful. I cannot get any other confirmation of the use of such a form. Mr. E. Lloyd Jones, a Tenby man, never heard it. And *oo* in *zoonday* is also N. Perhaps, using (*u*) as in the dt. from Mr. Spurrell, we may read (iiz bi u)gwáin tu zel *zum* vish tu bœ'*i* *zum* vlesh ver dhat blezed dâi *zunda'i*).

## Pm. Classified Word List.

Compiled from words furnished me from different quarters, distinguished by initials.

Ed. From Archdeacon Edmondes of Warren (4 sw.Pembroke), in answer to questions.

El. From Mr. Elworthy after a visit to Tenby, communicated vv.

Ev. From Miss Evans's "Molly and Richard" in Chambers's Journal, quoted as Pm. in Rev. J. Tombs's lecture. Her spelling is put first in Italics and the pal. follows.

J. From Mr. E. Lloyd Jones, native of Tenby.

N. Words from Narberth furnished by Mr. Spurrell of Carmarthen.

T. From Rev. J. Tombs, rector of Burton (3 n.Pembroke). His own spelling is put first in Italics and the pal. follows.

Th. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas of Castlemartin (5 wsw.Pembroke), obtained vv. by Mr. Spurrell and written in his phonetic alphabet here transliterated.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 21 T. *naame* néevm, Th. néæm. A: 43 T. *han'* han. A: *or* O: 58 T. *vrom rom throm* from rom throm [but the speaker had Welsh blood]. 64 T. *raung* raaq Th. rɔq. A'- 67 T. *agwaayin'* vgwâin. 73 T. *zo zoo* [(z) used only by older people]. 92 T. *we knaows* wi naaz [see 98]. 98 Ev. *knawed* naad [? nood]. A': 104 T. *rho-ad* rhóoud [Mr. T. does not acknowledge (r)], Th. róœd. 123 Ev. *nawthin* naathin.

Æ- 138 Ev. *feyther* feedhur, T. veedhur. — Ev. *spaid* spâid [spade]. 141 Ed. nâil. 142 Ed. snâil. 143 Ed. tâil. T. *aghen* vgen·. 146 Ed. máin. 147 Ed. bráin. 148 Ed. váir. 152 Th. wee·ter. Æ: 160 Ed. dâi. 161 Ev. *to daay*. 162 Ed. tu dâi. 164 Ed. mâi. 166 Ed. máid, T. *maayd* máid N. máid. 177 T. *dat* dat [Mr. T. says, "*d* for *th* was a characteristic mark in 1860, fast disappearing"]. Æ'- — El. jeth [heath, as well as 405 hearth] jefel [Heathfield]. Æ': 224 T. *whair wharr* weer war.

E- 231 *tha* dhu. E: 261 *zay* zâi. Th. zâai [used only by older people], Ev. *saay* sâi. 262 *waey* wâi. 265 *strayet* strâit. E'- 297 T. *fellah flah* fel·u fla [?]. EA: 326 T. *awle* ool, âaul. 332 Ev. *tould* tóoeld? 335 Th. óœl. 346 T. *ga-at* géeut. EA'- — El. jefer [heifer]. EA': 352 T. *rid* rid. 355 T. *deef diff* diif dif. — Ev. *yasy* jee·zi [easy]. EO: 392 [not used]. 394 [not used]. 402 T. *larne* larn [teach]. 405 El. jeth [also used for *heath*, see under Æ'-]. EO': 427 *bain't* beent [*be not*, for *is not*]. 428 T. *zee* zii [z used only by old people]. 436 *trew* tríu [rhymes to *new*].

I- 447 *hur ur* hur ur. — *yis* jis [yes]. I: 452 J. Th. éi. 459 J. Th. *rite* réit. 469 *ool* ul. 470 T. *ihn* in iin [?]. 477 T. *fine'* fa'in. 480 T. *thing* dhiq ["flat *th* as in *then* among old people"] 484 El. dhíiuz [a distinct form of this]. I'- 492 T. *zide* zéid [*z* used only by old people].

O- — N shuv'l [shovel]. O: — T. *shurrub* shurab [shrub]. 543 T. *'pan* pen. O'- 560 Th. skuul skuuld. O': 578 Ev. *pleugh* pliu. 579 unaf unóu [sing. and pl.]

U- 603 T. *cummin'* kəm·in, kumin. 606 T. *doore* duur. U: 613 Th. druqk'n. — skruqk [skrunk]. 632 Th. *up*. 633 Ed. kup. 634 T. *dreow* drióu, Ev. *throu* thra'u, ? dra'u; Th. dhru. U'- 643 T. *neow* nia'u, Th. néu. U': 658 T. *deown* dia'un, Th. déun. 663 Th. héus. 667 T. *out* a'ut?

Y- 682 *liddle* lid'l. Y': 709 Th. və'ir.

II. ENGLISH.

E. 749 T. *lift* lift.
I. *and* Y. 756. T. *shur-rimp* shʊri·mp. 760 *srivolet* sriv'lt [often heard by Mr. Tombs, not known by Mr. Thomas].
O. 791 T. *bouiese* bóiz ba'uʒiiz [?].

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 866 T. *poour* púʊʊʀ.
E·· — T. Ed. *craiotur* kʀAAtʊʀ [creature].
O·· — Ev. *jouin* dja'uʒin [join].

## D 3 = e.CS. = eastern Celtic Southern.

*Boundary.* The Gm. CB. and the Bristol Channel.

*Area.* The 17 En. speaking parishes of the peninsula of Gowerland, Gm., enumerated under Gm. CB. p. 13*c*.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List, *Gm.* Gowerland.

*Characters.* Reverted (ʀ) inferred from (dʀáu) through, (z) initial in place of (*s*), ('n) for *him* are all distinctly S. The dialect seems to have been greatly worn, as my informant, the Rev. J. D. Davies, alters the spelling of but few words in the dt. and says that the others are in rs. No specimen has been printed. Not having been able to find or obtain any complete specimen of the dialect, and Mr. Davies's dt. being very defective, I merely add the words in the cwl. form.

### GOWERLAND CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

Containing the words supplied to me by Rev. J. D. Davies, giving his spelling first, followed by the conjectural pron. in pal.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A'- 67 *gwain* gween [going]. 73 *zo* zoo.
Æ- 144 *agen* ʊgɛ·n.
E: 261 *zay* zâi [possibly (*zee*)]. E'- 297 *fellah* fɛlʊ. EA: 326 *auld* aald. EA': 355 *defe* diif. EO: 392 [not used]. 394 [not used] EO': 427 *bean't* béʊnt [is not]. 428 *ze* zii.
I- 447 *er* ʊʀ. I: 470 *n* 'n [after verbs]. I'- 492 *zide* zéid [?].
U- 606 *dæur* dɜʀ [probably, Mr. Davies says, like the French *sœur* (sœœr)]. U: 634 *drough* (dʀa'u ?) [may be (dʀuu)].
Y- 682 *lil* lil.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· — *gracieuse* grashəəz.
E·· — *précieuse* preshiəəz.

In the Philological Transactions for 1848–50, vol. 4, p. 222, is a list of 68 Gower words, given by Rev. J. Collins, with no explanations of spelling. Of these the following are common words. I do not trust myself to give the pronunciation.

*Brandis* (brandrith), iron stand for pot or kettle. *Cammet* (cammed), crooked. *Eddish*, wheat stubble. *Hay*, an inclosure attached to a dwelling. *Main*, strong, fine (but here said of growing crops). *Nommet*, noon-meat, luncheon. *Plym*, plump, full. *Peert*, lively, brisk. *Quapp*, to throb. *Rathe*, early. *Reremouse*, bat. *Snead*, handle of scythe. *Songulls* (songles), gleanings.

The following are Southern or Western:

*Caffle*, entangled, Sm. *Cloam*, earthenware, Co. *Clit*, stiff, sticky. *Dreshel*, (drashel), a flail. *Evil*, a three-pronged fork. *Fleet*, exposed in situation, Sm. *Flott* (float), aftergrass, Dv. *Foust*, tumbled. *Frithing*, wattled fence, *to frith* a fence, Dv. *Nesseltrip*, small pig in a litter. *Ovice* (ovis), eaves of house, Dv. *Planche*, boarded floor, Do. *Purty*, to turn sulky. *Quat*, to press down or flatten, Do. *Show-y*, to clear (of weather), the verbal termination -y common. *Soul*, cheese, butter, etc., as eaten with bread. *Slade*, a valley, ground sloping to the sea. *Sul* (zul), a plough. *Suant*, regular, working smoothly, Dv. *Toit*, small straw seat, Dv., frisky, Co. *Want*, a mole [the animal]. *Wimble*, (wine), winnow.

Of the other words I am not so sure.

*Angletouch*, warm. *Bumbagas*, bittern. *Charnel*, place in roof for hanging bacon. *Deal*, litter of pigs. *Dotted* (? doted), giddy, of a sheep. *Dome*, damp. *Firmy*, to clean out (*-y* is S.). *Flaairing*, an eruption like erysipelas. *Fraith*, freespoken, talkative. *Flathing*, a dish made of curds, eggs, and milk. *Gloy*, refuse straw after the "reed" has been taken out. *Gloice*, sharp pang of pain. *Heavgar*, heavier (so also *near-ger*, *far-ger*). *Homrach*, harness collar made of straw. *Kittybags*, gaiters. *Lipe*, matted basket of a peculiar shape. *Letts*, a lout. *Noppet*, *Nipperty*, lively, convalescent. *Ryle*, angle in the sea. *Riff*, a scythe sharpener. *Seggy*, to lease (the *-y* is S.). *Semmatt*, a sieve made of skin for winnowing. *Shoat*, a small wheaten loaf. *Stiprog*, a mode of fastening a sheep's foreleg to its head by a band of straw or withy. *Susan*, a brown earthen pitcher. *Sump*, any bulk that is carried, Sf. *Slade*, ground sloping to the sea. *Tite* (toit), to tumble over, N. *Vair*, a weasel or stoat. *Wing*, a willow. *Weest*, lonely, desolate. *Wash-dish*, the titmouse.

Hence, although vocabulary is a very uncertain test, the dialect has a clearly S. character, agreeing with the small evidences furnished by pron.

## D 4 and 5 together form the MS. = Mid Southern Group.

This was the principal seat of the Wessex tribe, and the strongly-marked peculiarities tend to shew that the people have preserved much, although they have altered much of the original pron., more marked on the w. side than on the e. Although no strict line can be drawn separating the two, yet the peculiarities die out so rapidly to the e. that I have thought it best to divide the group into two districts, by a rather arbitrary, nearly direct n. to s. line, which is the best I can draw. D 4 on the w. must be regarded as the typical form of S. speech. It is not quite uniform, but nearly so.

*Boundaries.* The n. and s. b. of D 4 and D 5, the w. b. of D 4 and the e. b. of D 5.

*Area.* All Wl., Do., and most of Gl., with n. and e.Sm.; most of Be., all Ha. and Wi., s.Sr. and w.Ss.; with narrow slips of e.He. and w.Ox., and the extreme se. corner of Dv.

*Character.* Phonetically, reverted (R) or retracted (r,), and (DR-) for *thr-*; (z, v) initial for (s, f) in Ws. words, but not in Romance words; the use of (*ái*) for ÆG and EG; the broad (ɔ'*i*, ɔ'*u*) for I', U'. Grammatically, *I be* for *I am; a* becoming (ʊ) before past participle. All these are subject to slight variations.

# D 4 = w.MS. = western Mid Southern.

*Boundaries.* *Do.* Begin on the English Channel just w. of Axmouth (20 e-by-s. Exeter), on the Axe R. Proceed in a n. direction e. of Colyton (20 e-by-n. Exeter), through Yarcombe (22 ne. Exeter).

*Sm.* Enter Sm. a little w. of Buckland St. Mary (8 s. Taunton), and e. of Otterford (7 s. Taunton), and keeping e. of Wellington (6 sw. Taunton), and w. of Thurlbeer (3 se. Taunton), proceed nearly to Taunton, then n. to just e. of Kingston (4 nnw. Taunton), when it deflects to nw. and follows the Quantock Hills to the Bristol Channel at East Quantock Head.

*Bristol Channel.* Proceed along the coast of Sm. and Gl. to just opposite the mouth of the river Wye.

*Gl.* Cross the Bristol Channel and follow the reverted *ur* line 3 to just opposite Monmouth.

*He.* Continue along the reverted *ur* line 3 in a nne. direction, w. of Ross, Stoke Edith (6 e-by-n. Hereford), and Much Cowarn (9 ne. Hereford), but e. of Bromyard (10 ese. Leominster), and then passing w. of Whitbourn (14 e. Leominster), enter

*Wo.* Continue in nearly a straight line to Bewdley (3 se. Kidderminster), where quit line 3 and return suddenly s. along the Malvern Hills in a nearly direct line to the s. b. of Wo. by Staunton (7 wsw. Tewkesbury), then turning e. pass s. of Eldersfield (6 wsw. Tewkesbury), into

*Gl.* Go through Tewkesbury and proceed direct e. to Moreton-on-Marsh (19 e. Tewkesbury), and continuing e. to the w. b. of Ox. Then turn s. along the w. b. first of Ox. and then of Be. as far as Hungerford (24 w-by-s. Reading), and then continue in a n. to s. line through

*Ha.* Passing just w. of Andover to Nursling, just at the n. point of Southampton Water, and then to the sea near Lymington (10 e. Christchurch), and turn w. along the coast to the starting-point by Axmouth. About Lymington and Christchurch there is no dialect. The line is intended to avoid the whole of Wi., which is all in D 5, but accidentally it appears on the map as if a small portion of Wi. belonged to D 4. The whole line from the w. b. of Ox. is very uncertain for want of sufficient information, but it cannot be far wrong either way.

*Area.* All Wl. and Do., n. and c.Sm., most of Gl., the extreme se. of Dv., and small parts of w.Be., and w.Ha.

*Authorities.* See the Alphabetical County List, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ per JGG., ‖ in so., ° in io.

*Dv.* °Axminster.

*Do.* °Bingham's Melcombe (or Melcombe Bingham), °Blackmore Vale, *Blandford, °Bradpole, °Bridport, °East Lulworth, °East Morden, *Hanford, °Sherborne, °Starminster-Marshall, °Swanage, °Walditch, ‖ Whitchurch Canonicorum, ‖ Winterbourne Came.

*Gl.* *Aylburton, °Berkeley, †Birdlip, †Bishop's Cleve, °Bisley, †Bristol, †Brockworth, †Cheltenham, *†Cirencester, *Coleford (= Forest of Dean), °Compton Abdale, †Fairford, †Gloucester Town, *Gloucester Vale, †Highnam, †Hucclecote, °King's Wood, †Maisey Hampton, †Tetbury, †Whitcomb.

*Ha.* °Broughton, °Christchurch, °Iford, °Nursling, *Ringwood.

*He.* ‖ Eggleton, *Ledbury, ‖ †Much Cowarn, °†Ross, †Stoke Edith, °Upton Bishop.

*Sm.* ‖ Bath, °Burtle Turf Moor, °Castle Cary, °Chard, °Chedzoy, °Combe Down, °Compton Dando, ‖ Crewkerne, °Croscombe, °East Harptree, °High Ham, °Langport, *Merriott, *Montacute, °Nailsea, °North Wootton, °Sutton Mallet, °Swanswick, °Wedmore, ‡ Wincanton, °Worle.

*Wl.* °Aldbourne, °Calne, ‡ Chippenham, *Christian Malford, *Corsham, °Corsley, °Damerham, °East Knoyle, †Kemble, °Maddington, °Orcheston St. George, °†Purton, °Salisbury to Warminster, °Seend, °Sopworth, *Tilshead, °Wilton, °Yatesbury.

It will be necessarily impossible to give all the information received from so many places. My best help has come from Christian Malford, Chippenham, and Tilshead, and as n.Wl. seems the most typical form of D 4 = w.MS., I shall examine this part of the district at great length. The use of these numerous sources of information is necessarily to shew the continued prevalence or the change of any form of speech. Indeed without this large body of evidence, it would have been totally impossible to map out the district even roughly with any degree of accuracy. Hence my investigation is greatly indebted to those who have furnished some clue to the prevalent speech sounds, even when it manifestly became impossible to give their communications at length.

*Character.*

*Consonants* (f v, s z). The conspicuous feature of D 4, which most strikes the visitor from any other part of England, is the use of (v, z) initial in place of (f, s). But undoubtedly for Ws. words (v, z) were the original forms, just as to this day (z) initial is the received form in Dutch where z is written, and High German where ʃ is written in German. In both, however, the pron. when no vowel or voiced consonant precedes is (sz-), thus High German *sie sehen* is (szi *zee*·ɐn) they see. The (f, s) are later developments, and seem to have been introduced by the Normans, for as a general rule, to which even at this late period there are very few exceptions, and those chiefly in words familiar to particular districts, "Ws. words have (v, z), and Romance have (f, s)." This custom once prevailed over the whole s. of England from Ke. to Dv. It has altogether disappeared in Ke. and Ss., and has almost disappeared in Ha. and Be. But it is rarely lost in D 4, and in D 10, 12. In order to test the prevalence of the rule just given, I examined all the words in question in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite*, which is in Kentish of the XIVth century, and the words in Mr. Elworthy's lists attached to his *Dialect of West Somersetshire*, and then I sent lists of most of them to Rev. W. Barnes for Do., and Rev. A. Law for Wl., requesting them to mark the words for (f v, s z, sh zh, th dh), etc. The result is given in the following table, where the words in usual spelling are arranged in alphabetical order under appropriate headings, and against each word is written the sound of the letter used, *f*, *v*, *s*, *z*, etc., or *vf*, *zs*, when sometimes one letter and sometimes the other is heard, adding M for Dan Michel for Ke. in XIVth century, D for Do., W for Wl., and S. for w.Sm., in the order from e. to w. An * points out Fr. or Romance words.

F INITIAL.

*fable *f* DS
*face *f* DS, *v* W
*facia *f* S
*fact *f* DWS
*factory *f* DS
*fade *f* S
fag *v* S
*fail *f* MDWS
fain adj. *f* S
*faint *f* S
fair adj. *f* DWS, *v* M
*fair s. *f* DS
*faith *f* S
fall vb. *v* MDWS
fall sb. *f* D
fallow *v* DWS
*false *f* DS, *v* M, *vf* W
*fame *f* DS
*family *f* DS
*famish *f* D
fan *v* MS
far *v* MDWS
fare *f* DWS, *v* M
*farm *f* DS
*farmer *f* DS, *v* W
*farrier *f* DS
farrow *v* WDS
farther *v* S
farthing *v* MDWS
*fashion *f* S
fast vb. adj. *v* M
fast adj. adv. *v* S
fast sb. *f* S
fat (vat) sb. *v* M
fat adj. *f* DW, *v* M, *vf* S
*fate *f* DWS
father *f* D, *v* MW, *vf* S
fathom *v* S
*faucet *f* S
*fault *f* DS, *v* W

*favour *f* MS
*fawn sb. *f* S
*fawning *v* S
fear *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
fearless *v* S
*feast *f* MDS, *vf* W
feather *v* MS
*feature *f* S
*february *f* S
fed *v* M
fee *f* S
*feeble *f* MDWS
feed *v* M
feel *v* MS
feet *v* MS
*feign vb. *f* S
fell *f* M
fell sb. *v* M
fell (in sewing) *v* S
felloe *v* DS
fellow *f* DS, *v* MW
*felon *f* MS
felt *v* DW, *vf* S
*female *f* S
fennel *v* S
*fence *f* S
*ferment *f* S
fern *v* S
*ferret *f* DS, *v* W
ferry *f* DS
ferule *v* S
*fervent *f* M
fester *f* D, *v* M, *vf* S
fetch *v* DWS
fetters *v* M
fetlock *v* S
*fever *f* MDS, *vf* W
few *v* MDWS
fiddle *v* MDW, *vf* S
fidget *f* S
field *v* MDWS
fieldfare *v* S
fiend *v* M
fifth *v* M
fife *f* S
*fig *f* DW, *vf* S
fight *v* MW, *f* D, *vf* S
*figure *f* MS
*filbert *v* S
fill *v* MDWS
film *v* S
*philosophy *f* M
*filter *f* S
filth *f* DS, *v* M, *vf* W
fin *v* S
goldfinch *v* S
find *v* MDWS
*fine *f* DS, *v* W.
*finger *v* MDWS
*finish *f* DS
fir *v* S
fire *v* MDWS
firkin, *v* S
firm *f* S
first *v* MDW, *vf* S
fish *v* MDW, *vf* S
fist *v* DWS
fit *f* S
fitch (polecat) *f* S
five *v* MDWS
*fix *f* S
flag *v* S
flagon, *v* S
*flail *v* DWS
*flame *f* S
flange *v* S
flank *v* S
flannel *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
flare *v* S
flask *f* S
flat *f* S
flatter *v f* M
flaw *v* S
flax *v* S
flayed *v* M
flea *v* S
*fleam *f* S
fled *v* M
fledged *v* S
fleece *v* DWS
*phlegmatic *f* M
flesh *v* MDWS
flew *v* S
*flinch *f* M
fling *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
flint *v* MS
*flippant (elastic) *f* S
flitch *v* S
flock *v* DWS
*flog *v* S
flood *v* MS
floor *v* DWS
*flour *f* MDS
flow *v* S
*flower *f* MDW
*flue *f* S
*fluent (said of quickly running water only) *f* S
flush *v* S
flute *f* S
flutter *v* S
fly vb., sb. *v* MDWS
foal *v* DWS
foam *v* S
foe *v* M
fog *v* S
fold *v* DWS
folk *v* MS
follow *v* M
*folly *f* M
*fool *f* M
*foolish *f* M
foot *v* MDWS
for *v* MDWS
*forage *f* S
forbear *v* MS
forbid *v* MS
force *f* DS, *vf* W
ford v DS, *vf* W
fore *v* S
forehead *v* S
*foreign *f* DS, *v* W
*forest *f* DS, *v* W
forgive *v* MS
*forge *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
fork *v* DWS
forlorn *v* M
*form *f* M
*form (bench) *f* S
forsake *v* MS
forsooth *v* M
forswear *v* M
forth *v* M
forth *v* DWS
fortnight *v* S
*fortunate *v* S
fortune *f* S
forty *v* MDW, *vf* S
forward *v* WS
foul *f* D, *v* M
found *v* MDWS
*foundation *f* S
*fountain *f* S
four *v* MDWS
fourfoot *v* S
fourth *v* M
fowl *v* MDWS
fox *v* MW, *f* D, *vf* S
*fracas *f* S
*fraction *f* S
*a-fraid *vf* S
*frail *f* S
frame *f* S
*fray *f* S
freak *f* S
free *v* MDWS
freedom *v* M
freehold *v* S
freeze *v* S
*frequent *f* S
fresh *f* D, *v* WS
fret *f* W, *vf* S
Friday *v* DWS
*fried *f* S
friend *v* MDWS
fright *v* S
*frill *f* S
*fringe *vf* S
fro' *v* S
*frock *v* S
frog *f* D, *v* WS
frolick *v* S
from *v* MDWS

*front *f* S
frost *v* MDWS
froth *v* DWS
*fruit *f* MS
*fryings *f* M
*fry *f* D, *vf* S
full *v* MDWS
*fuller sb. *f* S, *v* M
fumble *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
*funeral *f* D
*furbish *v* S
*furl *v* S
furlong *v* S
furlough *v* S
*furnace *f* MS
furrow *v* DWS
further *v* S
furze *v* DWS
*fusty *f* DS, *v* W
*physic *f* M
*physician *f* M

## F FINAL.

(*o* means not pronounced.)

*bailiff *o* S
calf *f* DW, *v* S
half *f* DW, *v* S
*handkerchief *o* S
herself *o* S
himself *o* S
leaf *f* DW, *v* S
life *f* DW, *v* S
loaf *f* DW, *v* S
*plaintiff *o* S
roof *f* DW, *v* S
sheaf *f* DW, *v* S
turf (*tarv*) S
wife *f* DW, *v* S

## GH FINAL.

cough *f* S
dough (occ.) *f* S
enough *o* S
plough *o* S
slough *o f* S
though *f* S
through *o* S
tough *f* S
trough *o* S

## S INITIAL.

(*s*=*z*, S, before *k l m n o w* except as below.)

*sabbath *s* D
sack *z* DWS
*sacrament *s* D
sad *z* MWS, *s* D
saddle *z* DWS
*safe *s* M, *z* W
*sage *s* D *z* WS
said *z* MDWS
sail *z* M
sailor *s* D, *z* WS
*saint *zs* M
sale *z* DWS
sallow *z* S
salt *z* MDWS
sand *z* DWS
sap-*z* MS
sat *z* S
Saturday *z* MDWS
*save *s* M
I saw *z* DS
a saw *z* S
say *z* MDW
scrape *s* D
sea *s* D, *z* M
sedge *z* DWS
see *z* MDWS
seed sb. *z* MS
seek *z* M
seem *s* D, *z* WS
*segment *z* S
self *z* MDWS
sell *z* MDWS
send *z* M
*sentence *s* M
*sergeant *s* M
*sermon *s* M
*servant *s* D
*serve *s* MW
*sessions *s* D
set *z* MDWS
settle *z* S
seven *z* MDWS
sew vb. *z* DWS
sick *z* MDWS
side *z* MDWS
sieve *z* DWS
sift *z* DWS
sigh *s* D, *z* WS
sight *z* M
silver *z* MDWS
*simple *s* M
sin *z* M
since *s* D, *z* WS
sinew *z* S
sing *z* MDWS
*single *s* MD, *z* WS
sink *z* DWS
sip *s* D, *z* WS
*sir *s* D, *z* S
sister *s* D, *z* MWS
sit *z* S
*site *z* S
six *z* MDWS
*sire *s* DWS
sketch *s* D, *z* S [(zkitj) almost two syllables]
skill *s* D
slack *s* M
slay s M
sleep *s* M
sly *s* M
small *s* M
smell *s* M
smith *s* M
snail *s* M
snow *s* M
so *z* MW
sob *z* M
*sober *s* M
soft *z* M
sold *z* M
some *z* DMW
son *s* D
song *z* M
soon *z* MW
sooth *z* M
sorrow *z* M
*sort *s* S
sought *z* M
soul *z* M
sour *z* M
south *z* M
*sovereign *s* W
sow vb. *z* M
sparrow *s* M
spring *s* D
string *s* D
*subtle *s* M
such *z* MW
suck *z* M
*suffer *s* MD
*sugar *sh* S
sul (plough) *z* M
*sum *s* MD
summer *z* MW
sun *z* MD
Sunday *z* M
*sup *s* M
*supper *z* W
*sure *zh* W, *sh* S
*sustain *s* M
swallow *z* M
swear *z* M
sweat *z* MW
sweep *z* M
sweet *z* M
swift *z* M
swine *z* M
sword *z* M

## SH INITIAL.

share (part) *sh* DW
share (of a plough) *zh sh* S
shave *sh* DW, *zh sh* S
she *zh* W

sheaf *sh* D, *zh* W, *zh sh* S
shear *sh* D, *zh* W, *zh sh* S
shepherd *zh* W
shoot *sh* W
should *zh* W
shred *sh* D, *zh* WS
shrew *zh* S
shriek *sh* D, *zh* S
shrimp *sh* D, *zh* S
shrink *sh* D, *zh* S
shrivel *sh* D, *zh* S
shroud *sh* D, *zh* W
shrove *sh* D, *zh* W
shrub *sh* D, *zh* WS
shrug *z* S

TH INITIAL.

thatch *v* S
thick *th* S as distinguished from (dhik) this
thief *th* S
thin *th* S
thing *dh* W
thirsty *dh* W
thistle *d* S
though (dhâu) *dh* W, (thAAf) *th* S
thr- *dr* WS, not M who has *þr*.
th- *dh* S except in the above cases

TH FINAL.

sheath *f* S
moth *f* S
cloth *f* S
tooth *f* S

V INITIAL.

*value *f* S (fali) [common]
*variety *v* M
*veal *dh* S (dhE'el) [sometimes]
*venial *v* M
*venom *v* M
*very *dh* S
*vestments *v* M
*vetches *dh* S (dhatjes)
*vice *v* M
*victuals *f* S (fET'lz) [common]
*vile *v* M
*village *f* S (fu·lidj) [common]
*villain *v* M
*vouch *dh* S (common)

V FINAL.

(*o* means omitted.)

above *o* S (ebuu·)
cleave (klEf) *f* S
curve *b* S
give *o* S
have *o* S
heave *f* S
leave *f* S
lieve *f o* S
*serve (earn wages) *o* S
themselves *o* S
valve (valb) *b* S
-ive *o* S [ = (i, if) never (iv) common in: expensive abusive native laxative active destructive deceptive

(R). The most important character of the S. dial., the reverted or retracted (R, r,), is, as has been mentioned, not confined to this district, but spreads more or less strongly over the whole S. div. Its nature was explained suprà, p. 23, together with the way in which it affects a subsequent *t, d, r, l, n,* which were probably originally reverted. But I think, although I have not been able to verify the conjecture, except by private trial, that it also affects (sh, zh; th, dh), converting them into (sh, zh; TH, DH). In this case (sh, zh) would be spoken with the tongue quite turned back, a true "cerebral" (sh, zh), and in (TH, DH) the under part of the tongue tip would be brought against the teeth. The (sh, zh) would occur in the diphthongs (TJ, DJ), or (TSh, DZh), in place of the ordinary (tJ, dJ). These forms would probably arise from the convenience of the tongue remaining in its reverted condition. The most doubtful are (TH, DH), because we do not find *thr-* initial, that is, (DHR-), but the easier *dr-* (DR-). The (TJ, DJ) are however almost necessary in such combinations as *hurchard* (HERTJERD) for Richard and orchard, and *burdge* (BERDJh), bridge. And in the same way it would be easier to say (ERTH, WERDHi) earth, worthy, than (ERth, WERDHi), the last word usually omits the (R). In process of time, however, especially as the dialect advances eastwards, the actual reversion ceases, and the effect is pretty well produced by retracting the tongue, and arching its back so as to allow a hollow to exist behind the raised tip and the raised back of the tongue. Towards the w. and n. of the district there seems to my ear to be no such retractive tendency. JGG., however, regards retraction as the typical formation. In the E. div. we shall find (truu, TRED) through, thread, which probably point to an original but

now lost (TRhuu, TRhED). This retraction accompanied with hollowing is further refined by omitting the hollowing, so that we have merely a raised tip of the tongue, producing the coronal English (t d r l n), etc., which are so distinct from the continental (t̩ d̩ r̩ l̩ n̩) that they must evidently have had a different genesis. We shall meet with (t̩) before (r̩) in the M. and N. div. Now the English coronal form was the only one acknowledged by Mr. Gupta (Part IV. 1096b′, 1137c′) for Indian pronunciation of the Sanscrit cerebrals, so that the same refining system has gone on in both countries, but in our own dialects we have all the stages (R r̩ r, T t̩ t) now coexistent. This (R) is constantly flated when initial, and often transposed with an (h) prefixed, as (hƎRd, hƎRN), red, run, from (RhED, RhƎN).

Another very important character of this (R) is its amalgamation with a preceding vowel. In fact, it seems to give a new series of vowels (ƎR aR AR), etc., and even (iiR eeR uuR). With regard to the first, it was a great difficulty with me how I was to represent such words as h*er*, b*ur*n, and for some time I thought that they had merely vocal ('R$_o$), thus (h'R$_o$ b'R$_o$n), but I latterly came to the conclusion that there was a preceding vowel followed by an amalgamation of the vowel with Ə+ƎR (R). What that vowel really was, however, I found so difficult to determine, that I finally adopted different hypotheses as I heard different speakers. I have used (ƎR, ƏR, ʊR), and JGG. writes (ʊR, ʊʊR). But latterly I have fallen back on (ƎR) accented, and (ʊR) unaccented, whether rightly or not I cannot quite make out. With this explanation, however, this sign will suffice, and it must be left to actual audition during a long period and with many speakers, for good phonetists to determine the best representative of the actual sound. I have not met with any instance in D 4 and 5 of the introduction of an (R) after a vowel which was not justified by the orthography, but in D 10 and 11 there seem to be some cases, there to be noted.

With regard to the complete series of sounds (T D N R L), etc., it was only on the close of a second revision of his wl. taken from his stepmother, that JGG. (although he had been familiar with Wl. dialect from childhood) recognised that they invariably took the place in her pronunciation of the usual (t d n r l), etc., just as these in English and in the pron. of continental languages by Englishmen invariably replace the continental (t̩ d̩ n̩ r̩ l̩), etc. For myself I had not observed it, although it seems to me most probable. In JGG.'s Chippenham wl. and spec. therefore the complete substitution is made, but as in those specimens which I took down from native speakers, I only detected (R), and the other letters when juxtaposed, and therefore as it seemed to me assimilated, I have thought it best to retain what I wrote from their dict., although I have now, in the course of many years, come to the conclusion that my former appreciation was probably erroneous and ought to be amended in this direction throughout. And the same is probably the case for my (sh zh tʃ dʒ), which in the S. div. should prob. be (ʃh ʒh Tʃ DʒJ). The final (D) is frequently lost

after (L, N). The ending of the present participle, modern *-ing*, was ancient *-ande*, hence the (-ʊN, *-iN*) now heard, really arises from the omission of (D) after (N), and not from the use of (N) for (q).

(h). In D 4 and 5, as well as in almost all our dialects, (h) is naturally omitted, but with no hiatus to indicate the speaker's knowledge that it is absent. My authorities differ very much as to its presence. It seems decidedly used when (hɪR-) is employed for (RH-).

The other consonants have no peculiarity. There is for example no use of (b D g) for (p T k), parallel to (v z) for (f s).

*Vowels.* The following gives the principal characters of the vowels, for details see the various cwl. that follow.

A- is often represented by (ie), reduced to (íə íʊ *ii'*), and finally to (*ii*[1] ii), as in name (NíEm NíəM NíEm NiI[1]m NIIm), or else (*é*[1]ə *éʊ ee*) as (NE[1]ʊm NéʊM NeEm). The former prevails over the m. and n. part of the district, (ii) being especially prevalent in towns, *e.g.* in Gloucester, and (éʊ) in rural districts.

A: varies from (æ) to (a[1], ah), but hardly reaches (a).

A' is normally (úa), whence (úʊ, úə), but it varies.

ÆG and EG are normally (âi) not (ɐ'i *ai*), but this falls locally into (æ'i ɐ'i EE), and sometimes into simple (*ee*), and similarly for Fr. *ai*. This (âi) sound is a very strong mark of the w. forms of S., but it is not peculiar to D 4.

I', in contrast to this clear (âi), has (ɐ'i, ɑ'i) or (*ai*), which strangers hear as (ɔ'i) and write *oy*.

O I generally hear as (o), but JGG. only hears it as (ɔ). The latter sound, being the modern received form, is always given me by people of education. But it is, I think, a modernism or misappreciation.

O' is properly (uu), but occasionally (ɐ) and rarely (ɐɔ), a sound of (ɐ) with (AA) running through it which I have heard only from Mr. Law in the words EY: 439 TRɐDS, O' 567 tɐDhʊR, 587 ʊdɐD·n, U 604 zɐDmʊR, 627 zɐDndi, Y 673 mɐDtɟ, U 804 DRɐDqk'n, O·· 950 zɐDpp'R, and in no other words. JGG. has, however, quite recently observed what I suppose is the same sound.

U is regularly (ɐ), but there is a trace of M. (*u*) as far s. as Purton (4 nw. Swindon, Wl.), see s. *sööm* line 2, p. 16.

U' is regularly (ɐ'u, ɑ'u) not (âu, *au*).

In *grammatical construction*, that which strikes a stranger most is *I be* for *I am*, the prefix (ʊ) before the past participle, as (ɐ'i)ʊ adɐ·n) I)have a-done; and the periphrastic form *I do go* for the simple *I go*, together with the curious use of the nominative for the objective case, and sometimes the converse. Remarkable survivals are first (ʊn) for *hine*, the true acc. of *he*, for which the dative *him* is substituted in rec. sp. This (ʊn) is very widely spread in the S. div., and is also used where *it* is said in received speech, on account of the general use of *he* applied to inanimate objects; and secondly, in a small district of Sm. hereafter described as the *Land of Utch*, the forms (ɐtɟ, ɛtɟii·) for the personal pronoun I, which in old writers is the usual mark of our S. dialects. But these are forms which cannot be more than alluded to. For vocabulary, see the printed Glossaries, which, however, must generally be used with great caution.

*Varieties.* Over such an extensive tract of country there must necessarily be many slight varieties, some of which are mentioned in the preceding table of vowels. But I have not been able to mark out any sharply-defined varieties or subdistricts. I find it,

however, necessary to draw attention to six different varieties or forms, which, on account of the importance of this district, I proceed to illustrate at considerable length.

V i. The Middle or Wl., typical or standard form of D 4, of which three phases are given, Christian Malford, Chippenham, and Tilshead, all from vv. information.
V ii. The Northern or Gl. form.
V iii. The North-Western or e. He. form.
V iv. The South-Eastern or Do. form.
V v. The land of Utch, or region of the continued old use of (ɛtɟ, ɑtɟii·) for the first personal pronoun.
V vi. The South-Western or Sm. form.

## Var. i. The Middle or Typical Form in Wl.

### Phase I. *Christian Malford* (11 nnw.Devizes), Wl.

Rev. Arthur Law, son of the Rector, whose curate he became (he is now rector of Dauntsey, 4 nne. Christian Malford), was born there and lived in constant communication with the peasantry, entering heartily into their mode of speech, which he acquired with remarkable accuracy and fluency. He wrote a version of my cs. in io. and kindly came to London on two occasions (in 1874 and 1878) on purpose to work it over with me vv. As this was the foundation of my knowledge of D 4, I add the whole cs. as he rewrote it, with additions, to give it more of the character of a Wl. peasant's speech. And as it departs so much from the original in the Preliminary Matter, No. III. p. 7*, I add a slavishly literal interlinear translation. Some separate sentences written from his dict. are annexed with notes and a cwl.

0. wɑ'*i* :dɟon æ'ɐvz noʀ)ɐ dɑ'*u*t.
why John has ne'er)a doubt. [The peasant would probably say,]

z)dhii want d)náu wɑ'*i* :dɟon bii zi zaaʀt'ɴ bɑ'*u*t dhɑk)ɐʀ
dost)thou want to)know why John be so certain about thick)e'er

dhɛq, wɑ'*i* dhɛn ɑ'*i*)l tɛl)i.
thing, why then I'll tell)ye.

1. wɑl, wot b*i* læf*i*n [lɛɛf*i*n] ɐt ·ɑ'*i* vɐʀ, dhɐ gɑʀt *zi*l*i*z? aa!
well, what be (you) laughing at I for, the great sillies? ah

ɐ)mɐd) læ'af b*ú*ɐdh on)i, *i*f)i mɑ'*i*n t*u*, ɐt)wat ɑ'*i* dɐ)tɛl)*i*.
ye)mote=may) laugh both of)ye, if)ye mind to, at)what I do)tell)ye.

·ɑ'*i* d*ú*)ɐnt kíiɐr! t)í)ɐnt no odz tɐ ·ɑ'*i*, nɐ naa·bɐd*i* *i*ɐls
I do)n't care! it)is)nt no odds to I, nor nobody else

ɐz)ɐ)náuz on.
as)I)knows of.

2. t)wú)ɐnt k*i*l)ɐ tɟæp bin [keez] ɐ)dɐ) læ'ɐf æt)ɐn, ɑ'i)
it)will)not kill)a chap being [because] ye)do) laugh at)him, I)

dɐ)lot)'n)! t)í)ɐnt lɑ'ikli.
do)allot)him, it)is)not likely.

3. wat ɜ'*i* b*i* g*w*óin tə)TEl)i, ə(WEV·ƏR, bi TRUU)əz EVƏR ɜ'*i*
what I be going to)tell)ye, however, be true)as ever I

WƏR báaƏRND. dhƏR [dh*i*'R] nɜ'*u*! zə dJEZ bɜ'*i*d k*w*ɜ'*i*·ət,
were born. there now! so just bide quiet,

ən LEt ·ɜ'*i* spéeək.
and let I speak.

4. WEl, ɜ'*i* hɜ'*i*ƏRD)əm záì, ə)WEVƏR, ən zɜm)ə dhá*i* VƏR*i*
wel, I heard) them say, however, and some)of they very

vaak t*u*, əz)zid)*i*t vrəm)dhə vəs dhƏRZEL·VZ, ái)hái·!
folk too, as)see'd)it from)the first theirselves, igh-high!

·dhæt)i)d*i*d TRU nɜf—
that)I)did true enough—

5. dhət)dhə)JEqg*i*st zən *i*ZE·lf, ə)gɜrt b*w*ói ə)nɜ'*i*n, náu*d*)*i*z
that)the)youngest son his-self, a)great boy of)nine, knowed)his

VEEdhƏRZ vŭóis əz)zuund)əz EVƏR i)hɜ'*i*ƏRD)ən, dhá*u*
father's voice as)soon)as ever he)heard)him(=it), though

[dhɜ'*u*] t)WƏR zə) kom·*i*kəl) lɜ'*i*k. laa blES)i, t)WƏR)z
it)were so) comical like. Lord bless)ye, it)were)as

sk*wee*ki ən bææ'əli əz) E·v'R)kəd)b*i*, bət ·ii náu*d*)'n,
squeak-y and bawl-y as) ever)could)be, but he knowed)him(=it),

ən ii)'l speek dhə TRUuth aaR)ə dée*i* (dá*i*), ɜ'*i*)l waaRN)*i*n
and he)'ll speak the truth e'er)a day, I'll) warrant)him

[waaRND)ən].
[warrant)him].

6. ən dh)ɜ'*u*l)d)*u*mən ƏRZE·lf, 'l)tEl Eni on)i, əz)STRÆ'*i*t
and the)old)woman herself will)tell any of)ye, as)straight

VORƏd əz Eni dhEq, ɜ'*i*)l waaRND)ər, *i*f)'l æks)ər.
forward as any thing, I)'ll warrant)her, if[you]'ll ask)her

7. lí*u*stwɜ'*i*z ƏR tEld ·ɜ'i WEn ɜ'i ækst)ƏR tuu)ƏR)DRii tɜ'*i*mz
leastways her telled I when I asked)her two)or)three times

aa·VƏR, ƏR)dí*u*d·, ən ·zhii)d náu, if æR)ən u'l, E'*i* də)lot)
over, her)did, and ·she)would know, if e'er)one will, I do)allot)

ər, wat də)dhEqk)on)t, ái?
her, what do[you]think)of)it, eh?

8. WEl, əz)ɜ'*i*)WƏR)ə)záì·in [zæ'*i*·in], ƏR)D)tEl)i WƏR)ƏR
well, as)I)were)a)saying, her)would)tell)ye where)her

Vɜ'*u*n dh*i*k)ƏR DRƏDqk'n bí*u*s ez)ƏR di)kææ'əl ƏR)EZbən.
found this)ere drunken beast as)her do)call her)husband.

9. dæld)*i*f)ʊʀ d*i*d)'nt tɛl ɜ'*i* ʊz ʊʀ)ziid)ʊn ʊʀzɛ·lf. "·dhʊʀ)
dashed)if)her did)not tell I as her)see'd)him herself. "·there)

i)wɜʀ," ʊʀ)zɛd, "lɛd dɜ'*u*n i)wʊʀ wii)*i*z bɛs klaaz on,
he)were," her)said, "laid down he)were with)his best clothes on,

ʊz t*i*ps*i* ʊz ɛvʊʀ)ʊ kʊd)bii, ʊ)k*u*d)'nt wæg *i*zɛ·lf noo ɜ'*u*.
as tipsy as ever)he could)be, he)could)not wag his-self no how.

ʊ)wʊʀ)klas ɜp ʊg*i*·n dhʊ dúʊʀ)ʊ)dhʊ ɜ'*u*s ʊt)dhi)kaʀnʊʀ
he)were)close up against the door)of)the house at)the)corner

ʊ)dhi lé'ʊn.
of)the lane.

10. ʊ)wʊʀ)ʊ)bææ·l*i*n ʊn)ʊ)sk*w*ææ·l*i*n, blɛs)i, vʊʀ)æl)dhi
he)were)a)bawling and)a)squalling, bless)ye for)all)the

wɜʀl lɜ'*i*k)ʊ z*i*k tʃɜ'il ʊʀ)ʊ)kæt ʊ)miáʊʊt*i*n." ʊn)ʊʀ)
world like)a sick child or)a)cat a)mewing." and)her)

ækst tuu)ʊʀ)dʀii on)ʊm, ʊʀ zɛd, ʊz)wɜʀd)ʊnt vɜʀ*i* vɜʀ
asked two)or)three of)them, her said, as)were)not very far

aaf, ʊn "dhee ɛlpt ɜ'*i* v*a*t)ʊn *ú*ʊm," ʊʀ)zɛd, "ʊn dhá*i* bʀaat)
off, and "they helped I fetch)him home," her)said, "and they brought)

ʊn æl ʊdhʊʀt)ʊsk*wi*·nt vaʀmʊʀ :pɜ'*i*ks v*i*'l," ʊʀ zɛd, "wʊʀ
him all athwart)asquint farmer Pike's field," her said, "where

ɜ'*i* dʊ)bɜ'*i*d, ʊn dhɜʀ dhʊ)l*i*ʊf)ʊn."
I do)bide, and there they)left)him."

11. æn dhæt [dhɛk] wɜʀ, d)nɛɛ'ʊ? ʊz zhii)ʊn)aʀ dæt·ʊʀ lɛɛ
and that [thic] were, do[you]know? as she)and)her daughter[in]law

kɜmd *i*n ʀuu dhi bæk jiáʀd, wɜʀ)ʊʀ b*i*n ʊ)æq*i*n ɜ'*u*t
come'd in through the back yard, where)her [had] been a)hanging out

dhi klaaz tʊ ʀɜ'*i*.
the clothes to dry.

12. ʊn)ʊʀ)wanted tʊ b*w*ɜ'*i*l dhi k*i*t'l vʊʀ tee. "*i*t g*i*d ɜ'*i* æl)
and)her)wanted to boil the kettle for tea. "it give'd I all)

ʊv)ʊ tɜʀn," ʊʀ zɛd, "ʊn m*i*ʊd ɜ'*i* z*w*ɛt ʊm*ú*ʊ·s æl aavʊʀ.
of)a turn," her said, "and made I sweat almost all over."

:b*i*l :dʒ*ú*ʊnz dhʊʀ, ʊ)ʊd)ʊ dʒ*uu*·b*i*ləs dhaat on)*i*n, vʊʀ)ʊ
Bill Jones there, he)had)a dubious thought of)him, for)he

tɛld ɜ'*i* ez)i)zid)ʊn ʊbɜ'*u*t vɜ'*u*'ʀ ʊklo·k *i*n dh)æt·ʊrn*ú*ʊn,
telled I as)he)see'd)him about four o'clock in the)afternoon,

ʊn)i)wʊʀ máin vɔʀ·adɪ́sh dhɛn. ʊ(d waakt pʊʀtɪ nɑ'ɪ zɛb'm
and)he)were main forwardish then. he)d walked pretty nigh seven

mɑ'ɪ'l ʊlo·q dhe ʀhaad, ʊn)i)wɜʀ)ʊz dɑ'ʊsti)ʊz ɛvʊʀ ɛni
mile along the road, and)he)were)as dusty)as ever any

dhɛq. ɑ'ɪ nɛvʊʀ zid noo zɪtʒ dhɛq ʊvúʊ·ʀ." laa blɛs)i!
thing. I never see'd no such thing afore." Lord bless)ye

t)w'ʀ)ʊ wɪ́ɪʊk ʊgúʊ· kɜm nɛks dhɜʀzdɪ, ʊn)ʊ)·vɑ'ɪn zɜmʊʀ
it)were)a week ago come next Thursday, and)a)fine summer

ætʊʀnúʊn tuu, t)wʊʀ.
afternoon too, it)were.

13. an)tɛl)i wat! ɑ'i nɛvʊʀ hɑ'ɪʊʀd noo múʊʀ)ʊ)dhɪ́ʊs)ɪ́ʊʀ
and)tell)ye what! I never heard no more)of)this)here

dʒob tɪ'l tʊ déei. ʊn)ʊ)dú)ʊnt kɪ́ʊʀ wɜʀ)ʊ duu ʊʀ naa,
job till to-day and)I)do)n't care whether)I do or no,

aa·)lɑk)ɪ!
ah)look)ye.

14. ʊn)dhʊʀ)ɑ'ɪ bi gwóɪn úʊm tʊ hee)ʊ bɪt ʊ zɜp·p'ʀ, zʊ)gùd
and)there)I bi going home to have)a bit of supper, so)good

nɑ'ɪt, ʊn)du)ʊn)i bii zʊ kwɪk tʊ læ'ʊf)ʊt)ʊ tʒæp ʊgɪ́ʊn·
night, and)do)not)ye be so quick to laugh)at)a chap again,

wɛn)ʊ)dʊ tɛl)i)ʊ ɛnɪ dhɛq.
when)he)do tell)ye)of any thing.

15. ʊn)dhæt)s æl ɑ'ɪ got tʊ)zái tʊ)t. gùd bɑ'ɪ.
and)that)is all I [have] got to)say to)it, good b'ye.

*Notes.* The figures refer to the paragraphs of the above cs.

*** Perhaps thoughout (t d tʒ dʒ n l) thould have been (ʀ d ʀʒ, dʒ, n l).

2. Being (bɪn) for *because* is used by older people.

4 and 13. *Heard*, this is the form used by older people, see D 1, cwl. 301, (ii'ʀ̥d) is the result of education. The (h) is heard only when the word is emphatic, and is gentle even then.

5. *Bawly*, cats are said to (bææ 'ʊl) in n.Wl.

6. in (ɑ'ʊl)d)ʊm·ʊn) *old woman* the d separates from the (l) and is made part of the next word; (d) is dropped in (ʊʀ bi vʊʀɪ, ɑ'ʊl) *she be very old.*

7. *She.* Observe emphatic (·zhii); compare (·zhii ævz)'n) ·she has)him with (ʊʀ)z)·got)'n) she's ·got him. — *Know.* This has its regular form, but the final (ʊ) is dropped in ('ɑ'ɪ du'n naa, ·ɑ'ɪ naa nɑ'ʊt ʊbɑ'ʊ·t)ɪt) I don't know, I know nought about it, and even the (a) is changed in par. 11 (d)nɛɛ?) *do(you)know.*

10. *Athwart*, by itself, means across a field at right angles to its sides, (ʊdhʊʀt ʊskwint) athwart asquint, is diagonally, from one corner straight to the next but one.

Phrases and sentences originally heard from peasants, and dictated by Rev. A. Law.

1. (mɜ'*i* hɛd b*i*ʊt lɜ'*i*k· drɛ'*i*sh'lz ʊ)g*w*ɑ́*i*n), my head beat like flails a-going.
2. (d*u*)'nt)i shuut tɜ'*u*ʊrdz dhʊ hɜ'*u*z'n), don't ye shoot towards the houses.
3. (tʊ hee)ʊ b*i*t on)t), to have a bit of)it.
4. (i)w'r ʊ)tɹæmp*i*n ʊt ·ɜ'i), he was chaffing at me.
5. (i d*i*d drɜ'*u* *i*z hɛd bæk ʊn k*u*k'ld), he did throw his head back and gargled.
6. (blɛs)*i*m! *i*t)s ʊ hard mæt'r tʊ kɜm ɜpzɜ'*i*dz w*i*)ʊn), bless him! it's a hard matter to come upsides [right way up] with him.
7. (i)z nee·tli kɜ'*u*l), he's naturally cold.
8. (ʊ peen ɜ'i hæd ʊdhɜ·r·t dhʊ s*i*nʊz), a pain I had across the sinews.
9. (ɜ'i)l tɛl)i ɜ'*u* ʊ wʊz saard), I'll tell)ye how I was served.
10. (i)z got tʊ vodʊr dhʊ b*i*ʊs), he has to fodder the beasts [horned cattle].
11. (dhʊr)z)ʊ pæs'l)ʊ l*i*t'l odz*i*z), there's a parcel of little odds and ends.
12. (·zhii hævz ʊ vʊr*i* gù*d*)ʊn), she has a very good one.
13. (g*o* so·l*i*d, ɜ'*i*l mí*u*k in)k*w*ɜ'*i*ree·sh'n), go quickly, I'll make inquiries.
14. (i)z vʊr*i* bæd nɜ'i·tʊmz), he's very bad night-times.
15. (dhæt)s thʊ mɜ'*i*n on)ʊm), that's the mind [intention, bent of mind] of them.
16. (ɜ'*i* dhaat ɜ'*i*)shʊd)ʊ dɜ'*i*d *i*n)dhʊ nɜ'*i*t), I thought I should have died in the night.
17. (hɜ'*u*ld)ʊn tɜ'it), hold him tight.
18. (wɜn)ʊn) ʊnɜ·dh'r$_{o}$, tuu)ʊn)ʊ t)ɜdhʊr), one and another, two and a t'other.
19. (d*u*ʊn)ɔs? wat)ʊd? ɜ'i, jɛn)*i*t?) don't us = we? what should? aye, is·)n't it?
20. (ɜ'i bi zartin zhɜʊʊr; t'l)ɜ'*i*)v ʊdɔ·n), I am certain sure; till I've done.
21. (nʊ m*u*ʊr nʊr dh*i*ʊs), no more than this.
22. (t)*i*ʊ)nt nʊ odz tʊ jiɜ'*u*), it is not no odds to you, it is no business of yours.
23. (bə'*i* dhʊ zim on)t), by the seem [appearance] of it.
24. (dhæk)s ɜ'*u* ɜ'*i* spɛl fɜ'*i*v), that's how I spell five.

## Christian Malford cwl.

Containing the words from the preceding examples and some others given me by Mr. Law. Probably all the (t d tj dj sh n l r) should be (T D TJ DJ sh N L R) See suprà p. 23.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 1 zʊ. 5 míʊk. 6 míʊd. 8 tʊ hee [to have]. 17 lee [the older sound was (laa), and Mr. Law himself, who used to be called (laa), is now called (lee)]. 21 nʊm. — fə'ir [fare]. 34 le'ʊst. A: — sæd'l [saddle]. 39 kamd [come'd]. — zæn [sand]. 49 aqin [hanging]. 54 want. 56 wéish. — kæt [cat].

A: *or* O: 58 vrem [weak form]. 60 ʊlo·q [along]. 64 roq [generally, occ. (raq)]. A'- 67 gʊóin [going]. 69 naa noo no. 72 húʊr [when standing alone, otherwise (uu)]. 73 zi zʊ [weak forms]. 74 tuu. 77 laa [for Lord! is an exclamation]. 79 a'un. 81 líʊn. 84 múʊr. 87 klaaz. 89 búʊdh. 92 náu, [but (d)nee) do you know?]. 94 kra'u. A': 102 æks ækst. 104 hhaad. 107 líʊf. — zhroov [shrove]. 111 aat. 113 húʊl [*h* half sounded]. 115 ʊem. 120 ʊgúʊ.

Æ- 138 veedhʊ. 144 ʊgíʊn. 146 máin. 148 fáir [see 709 and 887]. 150 líʊst wa'iz [least wise]. 153 zæt'ndi. — wʊr [whether]. — pʊnti [pretty, tolerably]. Æ: 154 bæk. — ʊd [had, weak form]. — zæd [sad]. 158 ætʊr. 159 hævz. 161 déei [seldom (dái)]. 162 tʊdéei [to-day]. 165 zed. 166. máid [a little girl, see 758]. 169 we'n ["not quite a dissyllable" and] wen. 173 war [were, was]. 174 a'ishʊn trii ["always with (ʊn)"]. 177 dhæt [also (dhæk)]. 179 wot wat.

Æ'- 187 líʊf [left, did leave]. — zili [silly]. 194 eni. 196 waard)'nt [were not]. 198 let. Æ': 205 dred. 208 evʊr, ær)ʊn [e'er a one], aar)ʊ [e'er a]. 209 ne'vʊr nor [never a]. 213 a'idhʊr. 214 na'idhʊr. 220 zhʊperd. 221 vi'r. 223 dhʊr, dhi'r. 224 war. 225 vlesh. 226 ʊmúʊ·s [almost]. 227 we'ʊt ["not quite a dissyllable"]. 228 zʊet. 230 væt.

E- 231 dhi dhʊ dh-. 233 spéeʊk. 236 véevʊr. 239 záilʊr [sailor]. 244 wal. — tʊld [tell'd]. — zhíʊr [shear]. 251 meet. 252 kit'l. E: — vat vetj [fetch]. 256 stretj. 258 zedj. 260 led [laid]. 261 zái zái·in zæ'i·in [sayin] 263 ʊwái·. 265 stræ'it. — víʊl [field]. 269 zelf izæ·lf ʊrze·lf dhʊrze·lvz [self himself herself themselves]. 271 tel. 272 ʊlmʊn trii ["always with (ʊn)"]. — íʊls [else]. — elpt [helped]. — zil [sell]. 278 wentj [a marriageable girl, see 758]. 281 leqth. — vresh [fresh]. 284 dresh [see after 735]. — ʊdhæ·rt [ʊthwart, across from side to side, (ʊdhæ·rt, ʊskwint) athwart asquint, diagonally from one corner to the next but one]. — ve'stʊr [fester]. — bes [best]. E'- 289 i [weak]. 290 ii, ʊ, ' [(ʊ)ad, 'd) he had, weak form]. 297 velʊr. 298 víʊld [felt]. 302 míʊt. E': 307 na'i. 312 íʊr. 313 hark. 314 ha'ird [older people]. — bles [bless]. — ta'it [tight]. 316 neks.

EA- — shiiv [shave]. — vælʊ volʊ [fallow]. 320 kíiʊr. EA: 322 læʊf læfin leefin [laughing]. 325 waakt [walked]. 326 a'ul-d. 328 ka'ul. 329 vóoʊl. 330 tʊ ha'uld [(ʊ hoolt) subs.] 333 kæ'ʊf. 334 hæ'ʊf. 335 æl. 336 væ'ʊl. 338 kææ'ʊl. — zæ't [salt]. — shíʊr [share]. 340 jiárd. — vorʊ [farrow]. EA'- — zhred [shread]. 347 hed. 348 a'i-z. 349 via'u. EA': 354 zhíʊf. 356 líʊf. 357 dháʊ dha'u. 359 na'ibʊr. — ʊgíʊn [against]. 364 tjæp. 366 gart. 367 dret.

EI- 372 ái. 373 dhái dhee. EI: 378 wéeʊk. EO- 383 zeb'm. 387 nia'uz [news]. EO: 390 zhʊd. — zilv'r. — varmʊr [farmer]. 402 larn. 403 vʊr. 407 vardin. — zistʊr [sister]. 408 náʊd [made weak from (náʊ) know]. EO'- — vrii [free]. 411 drii. 412 zhii. 414 vla'i. — shuut [shoot]. 420 va'uʊr. 421 váʊrti. EO': 422 zik. 426 va'it. 427 bin [being = because]. 428 zid [see'd]. 430 vren. 434 bínt. 435 ja'u [not used]. 436 truu. — dra'u [threw]. 437 truuth. EY- 438 da'i. EY: 439 trds.

I- 440 wíiʊk. 441 zi'v. 443 vra'idee. 446 na'in. — in, ʊn [him, old

acc. form]. — *sinv* [sinew]. 447 vr. — *évz* [yes]. 448 dhívz. — bit [a bit]. 449 got [p.p. of get]. — *vid*'l [fiddle]. 451 *záu*. I: 452 ɜ'*i*. 453 k*wi*k. 465 lɜ'*in* [lying]. — *zift* [sift]. 458 nɜ'*it*. 463 *til*. 465 *zit*ɟ *sit*ɟ. 466 tɟɜ'*il*. 469 *u*'l [will, for (wol)]. 477 vɜ'*in*. 480 dhɛq. — zɛq [sing]. 481 vɛqgvr. — zɛqk [sink]. 483 *iz*. 484 dh*ívs* dh*is*. — *vish* [fish]. — zɛns [since]. — *ziks* [six]. I'- — bɜ'*id* [bide]. 491 zɜ'i. 492 zɜ'*id*. — *gid* [give'd=gave]. 494 tɜ'*im*. 495 wɜ'*in*. I': 500 lɜ'*ik*. 502 vɜ'*iv*. 503 *lâif*. 505 *wâif* [generally my (misvs) or (ɜul)d)*u*mvn)]. 506 *u*mvn. 508 mɜ'*i*'l. 509 wɜ'*i*'*l*.

O- 519 aavvr. 521 vɜ'*uvl*. — vvúvr [afore]. — vorvd [forward] vorvdish [getting forward, tipsy]. — baarnd [born]. 524 warl. — droot [throat]. — vrath [froth]. — vlok [flock]. — odz [odds]. O: 525 aaf [off]. — vrog [frog]. — zhrab [shrub]. 528 dhaat. 529 braat. 531 dætvr. 535 vaak. 538 *úvd*. 541 t)wu'nt [it won't]. 543 on. 544 dhɛn. 546 vɛr va'r. — vark [fork]. 548 vard. 550 ward. — vràs [frost]. — varth [forth]. — voks [fox]. O'- 556 d' tv. 557 tuu. 558 aa·)lɜk)i [ah! look ye! exclamation]. 564 zuund. 567 tɔdhvr. — tɜ'*u*rnz [towards]. O': 571 g*ùd*. — rɜf [roof]. 579 nɜf. 586 ɜ'*i* dv, ɜ'*i* du)'nt. 587 ɛdɔ·n. 588 ætern*úv*n. 590 vl*ú*'r. 592 zward. 595 vat.

U- — *ud* [wood, not (h*ud*)]. 601 vɜ'*uvl*. 603 kam. 604 zɔmvr. 605 zan. 606 dúvr. U: 609 val. 612 zam. 616 grɜ'*un*. 619 vɜ'*und*. 627 zɔnd*i*. 631 dhɜrzd*i*. — varv [furrow]. 634 druu. — dhvrst*i* [thirsty]. 639 dɜ'*ust*i [dusty]. U'- 641 ɜ'u, ɜ'*u*svmdev'r, ɜ*ú*svmevvr, *y*we·vvr. 643 nɜ'u. 650 bɜ'ut vbɜ'*ut*. 651 w*i*-ɜ*ut*. 652 kvd [weak form]. 653 bat. U': 654 zhrɜ'*ud*. 658 dɜ'*un*. 663 ɜ'*us*, hɜ'us [pl. (hɜ'uzvn)]. 666 ɜz*b*vn. 667 ɜ'*ut*.

Y- 673 mɔtɟ [greatly resembled (mɔtɟ)]. 674 did *dívd* [the latter emphatic]. 675 drɜ'*i*. 681 *biznis* [seldom used]. Y: — vil [to fill]. 691 mɜ'*in*. 692 joggist. — vaz [furze]. 701 vas. 702 w*i*, wii. Y'- 706 wɜ'*i*. Y': — *vilt* [filth]. 709 vɜ'*i*r. — vl*ívs* [fleece]. — *vist* [fist].

II. English.

A. — wæg [to wag]. 725 *zívl*. 726 taak. — vlæn'l [flannel]. 732 æp'm. — drɜ'*i*sh'l [thresher, flail]. — bææ'*e*li [bawly, a crying child is (bææ·lin)].

E. — *zim* [seem]. 751 *pívrt*. 752 frɛ'vt. — mi*áu*tin [mewing].

I *and* Y. — :bil [Bill]. — kil [kill]. — vskw*in*t [crosswise, diagonally]. — vlɛq [fling]. — *tipsi* [tipsy]. — zap [sip]. 758 g'r$_{\circ}$rl [a long untrilled (r$_{\circ}$) followed by a trilled (r) and reverted (l) much used for a servant. See 166 and 278].

O. — vklo·k [o'clock]. — djob [job]. 765 :djon. 767 nɜ'*iz*. — :dj*ú*vnz [Jones]. 776 g*ùd* bɜ'*i*. 781 bodhvr [usual word (kæd'l)]. — lot [allot]. 791 b*wó*i.

U. 797 sk*wee*ki [squalling]. 798 k*w*ar [modern (k*u*ívr)]. — vamb'l [fumble]. 804 drɔqk'n.

III. Romance.

A·· — zæk [sack]. 810 *vívs*. 815 fæks. — vl*ái*'l [flail]. — zeedɟ [sage]. — fail [fail]. 835 reez'n. — waarnd [warrant]. 857 *kívs*. — mætvr [matter]. 862 *zívf*. — fææt [fate]. 864 k*eez*. 865 vææt. — væ'els [false].

E·· 867 tee. — peen [pain]. 885 vɛr*i*. — fee'r [a fair, market, see 148]. — vorivr [farrier]. 888 zaartin. — saar [serve]. 890 *bívs* [pl. (*bívstiz*) occ. *bívs*]. 891 v*i*'st. 893 vlɜ'*uvr*. — plæ·tiks [apoplexy]. — vɛg [fig]. 901 vɜ'*in*. — zɛqg'l [single]. — zâiz [size].

O·· 918 fóvb'l. 920 p*wóint*. 925 v*wóis*. — kom*ik*'l [comical]. — v*úvs*. [force]. 938 karner. — vɜ'*rin* [foreign]. — vorvst [forest]. — vâvrdɟ v*ú*vrdɟ [forge]. 939 klas, klast [occ.]. 940 *kúvt*. 941 vúuvl. 947 b*wɜ'il*. 950 zɔpper. — tarn [turn]. 955 dɜ'*ut*.

U·· — dj*uu*·b*i*les [dubious]. 963 k*wɜ'i*·vt. 969 zhɜ'uer. — varvt. 970 djez. — vasti [fusty].

## Phase II. *Chippenham*, 9 nnw. Devizes.

As JGG.'s stepmother (now an elderly lady, who had brought him up) was a native of Chippenham, and though long resident in London, kept up her knowledge of the dialect (which she did not use in speech) by visits, and by seeing many Wl. people, I requested JGG. to ask her to repeat one of those stories with which she used to amuse the children, while he noted it down in pal. As she was good enough to consent, the attempt was repeated on many occasions during the last few years, and the following fable by Akerman is the result, after many corrections. The difficulties in palaeotyping any individual's speech are very great; and of course such minute accuracy as JGG. attempted is liable to the perpetuation of individualisms. Still it is very instructive to compare the result with the specimen by Mr. Law, just given, as the two places are only four miles apart and both must represent a Wl. pron. I must draw attention to the constant reversion or retraction as JGG. considers it of the (T D N L R sh) series and of (K) and the conversion of (tJ, dj) into (TJ, DJ). I am anxious to express my obligations to Mrs. Goodchild for submitting to such a fatiguing trial and for venturing to dictate a complete wl. The original spelling from the preface to Halliwell's Dictionary is added interlinearly.

dhə aaR$_{\circ}$NƏT ən dhə b*ii*ˈDƏL`. 0
The Hornet and the Bittle.

dhə aaR$_{\circ}$NƏT zàT *i*N)ə ƏLə TRii,—
a harnet zet in)a hollar tree,—

ʊ PRƏPʊR$_{\circ}$ sp*á*yTfʊL T*ó*oˈƏD WƏR$_{\circ}$ ii;
a proper spiteful twoad was he; 2

ən)ə MERʊL*i*$_{1}$ ZƏq ŭ*á*yL ii D*i*D ZET
and)a merrily zung while *he* did set

*i*Z STEˈq ʊZ *s*haaR$_{\circ}$p ʊZ)ʊ bæ'gʊNET:
his stinge as shearp as)a bagganet. 4

"*oo* uu zə v*á*yn ʊn bƏˈ*u*L`D ƏZ *á*y!
oh! who so vine and bowld as I!

"*á*y b*é*ənt ʊf*ii*·ƏR$_{\circ}$D·ə ŭƏps, naR$_{\circ}$ VL*á*y!"
I years not bee, nor wapse, nor vly 6

ʊ b*i*DƏL` ƏP dhƏk TRii D*i*D KL*i*m,
a bittle up thuck tree did clim,

ʊN SKaaR$_{\circ}$NVƏL*i* D*i*D L*u*ˈK ƏT ii;
and scarnvully did look at him. 8

ZƏD ii, "ZƏR$_{\circ}$ aaR$_{\circ}$NƏT, uu g*i*D dhii
zays he, "Zur harnet, who giv thee

ʊ R*á*yT Tʊ ZƏT *i*n dh*i*k dhʊR$_{\circ}$ TRii?
a right to zet in thuck there tree? 10

vaR$_{\circ}$ ææL dhii zeqz zə NiishƏN v*á*yN,
vor ael you zengs zo nation vine,

*á*y TƏL dhii T)*i*Z ə Ə'*u*S ʊ m*á*yN."
I tell 'e 'tis a house o' mine." 12

dhʊ aaR$_{\circ}$nəts KƏNshƏNS viiL'D)ʊ TŭiNDzh
the harnet's conscience velt a twinge,

bƏT GRaa·iN bƏ'ʊL'D ŭi iz LƏq stƏ'q
but grawin' bowld wi his long stinge, 14

ZƏ'D ii: "pəze·she)NZ dhə bƏ'ST Laa'
zays he; "possession's the best lāāw;

zoo ĭʊʊR$_{\circ}$ dhii shæT)'NT pƏT ə KLEE;
zo here th' sha'sn't put a clāāw! 16

bi aaf ƏN'Li$_{1}$əv dhə TRii tə áy!
be off, and leave the tree to me!

dhə mƏKSƏN)Z gʊ'D ʊnƏf vʊR$_{\circ}$ dhii!"
the mixen's good enough for thee!" 18

DJis dhen, ʊ ĭƏ'ʊK'L', pææsin báy,
just then, a yuckel, passin' by,

wƏz ækST bi dhƏ'm dhə KEEZ TƏ TRáy;
was axed by them the cause to try; 20

"EE! EE! áy zii Ə'ʊ T)iz!" ZƏ'D ii,
"ha! ha! I see how 'tis!" zays he,

"dhi)ƏL' mii'k ʊ viiməs mƏNsh vʊR$_{\circ}$ áy!"
"they'll make a vamous nunch vor me!" 22

iz biL wƏz shaaR$_{\circ}$p, iz STƏMiK LíiʊR$_{\circ}$,
his bill was shearp, his stomach lear [empty],

zoo ƏP ʊ SNæPT dhʊ KæDLiN pʊʊR$_{\circ}$!
zo up a snapped the caddlin pair. 24

## Moral.

ææL' JUU ƏZ bii tə Laa iNKLáyN'D,
ael you as be to lāāw inclined,

dh'iəs LiT'L' STdRi bʊʊR$_{\circ}$ in máyN';
this leetle stwory bear in mind; 26

vàR$_{\circ}$ íf TƏ Laa' JUU æ'imz Tʊ gó'ə
vor if to lāāw you aims to gwo,

JUU)L váyN'D dhæ'i)L' æælŭəz zaaR$_{\circ}$)ii zoo;
you'll vind they'll allus zar'e zo; 28

JUU)L' miiT dhʊ vii'T ʊ dhiiz íiʊR$_{\circ}$ TUU,
you'll meet the vate o these here two,

dhə)L' tii'K dhi KóoƏT ʊN KaaR$_{\circ}$KƏS TUU.
they'll take your cwoat and carcass too! 30

*Notes* to the above.

0. The references are to the number of the line. In this transcript an endeavour has been made to follow JGG.'s notation of the last of his many transcripts. In the following cwl. as there explained, some compromises have been made. The letters (T D L N R *sh*) have been used for typographical convenience in place of (t, d, l, n, r, sh,), which would represent JGG.'s opinion of their formation as retracted rather than reverted, but we are quite at one respecting the sound. Also throughout this example I have used ($R_o$) in place of (R) to show absence of trill. I am, however, by no means clear that there is no trill, though the effect of the reverted trill ($R_i$) is quite different from that of the tip trill ($r_i$), on account of the dullness and indistinctness of the beats. In the cwl., and also in recording the pron. of other districts, I have used (R) exclusively for this *r*, whether reverted or retracted, whether trilled or untrilled, because the sound itself is certain, and these four differences are theoretical. In my own pron. I feel that (R) is both reverted and trilled, as the form (R) properly implies.

0. *hornet* (aa$R_o$NƏT), which I should prefer writing (ARNUT). The (aa) says JGG. "is not quite pure (aa), there is more or less ($a^1$) character about it, it is certainly modified before ($R_o$) by an upturned tongue. The ($R_o$) is an *r* with the tongue turned tip upwards, to the highest part of the palate, so as to present a teaspoonbowl-like form towards the larynx and is not trilled wherever I have heard it." JGG. has been constantly in the habit of speaking to Wl. people. The reverted or retracted character of (T D N L) as well as (R) on all occasions has been introduced here as well as in the cwl. as explained to me by him verbally. The aspirate (h) says JGG. "seems to be rather permissive than obligatory, except of course where the word is emphatic, but I have never noticed any of the Wl. people inserting an aspirate in its wrong place, as Londoners do; and I have been familiar with Wl. talk for the last 25 years."

*and the* (ən dhə), "(ə, *v*) in unaccented syllables may be simply (ə) throughout. By (ə) I mean my own pron. of the vowels in the words, *some one's husband son or brother comes running in at once.*"—JGG.

*beetle* (bii$^1$DƏL$^1$): this is a common London mispronunciation, if (d, l) be substituted for (D, L). In Mrs. G.'s first and second dictation, and as JGG. remembered her repeating these lines when he was a child, she said (biT'L$^1$), and all my other Wl. authorities give (*bit*'l) both for the mallet and the insect.

2. *spiteful*. The long *ī* was originally written (*ai*) in the cwl., and sounded to me rather (ɑ'*i*) or (ɔ'*i*). But JGG. says the first element is "Scotch or German long (*aa*) gliding into a rounded (*i*) almost (y), lips as for (*o*)," that is, properly ($ay_o$); (*ay*) is here retained, because in JGG.'s very last hearing of the dictation, this still seemed to him the nearest sound, and he has also in correcting the proof introduced it into the cwl. See D 5, Andover.

3. *while*. JGG. did not find a fully consonantal (w) or (J), but felt that they were really vowels, as in Welsh, and hence they are here written (ŭ, ĭ).

6. Mrs. G. had (*ay* bə́ənt vf*ii*$ER_oD$ ə bii n$ER_o$ *ii*əps, n$ER_o$ vl*ay*), as Mr. Akerman's "I vears not bee" was not dialectal. But on the line thus becoming two syllables too long, the words *bee nor* have been omitted.

8. *look*. The pron. (L*u*$^1$K) was obtained specially. "This (*u*$^1$) is neither (u) nor (*u*), but an intermediate vowel," it bears the same relation to (*u*) as (*i*$^1$) to (*i*), see (*gu*$^1$D) l. 18. These differences are hard to catch in isolation, but make themselves generally felt in conversation. In the proof JGG. introduced (K) generally.

11. *all* (ææL, EEL$^1$). JGG. says, "I cannot quite make out what this vowel is; it is not quite the same as the Cu. and We. sound, but seems more like (ææ). I think it quite likely that I should *write* it (ææ) at one time, and (EE) at another. But I think the last is the nearest equivalent I know, unless we use ($EE^{æ}$), which would express my idea of it." This would be (EE) inclining to (ææ), and might be written ($EE_1$).

14. *bold*. In this word (bɑ$^1$*u*LD) we meet (ɑ$^1$) a higher form of (ɑ). JGG. considers it the same sound as the s. Scotch (ɑ) as pron. by Dr. Murray. It is a shade of sound which I cannot distinguish. See D 5, Andover.

*sting*, will not rhyme with *twindge* as Mr. Akerman implies by the spelling

*stinge.* Mr. A. rhymes lines 7 and 8 *him clim*, but Mrs. G. restoring the dialect has (ii, KLim); l. 15 and 16, Mr. A. has *lāāw*, *klāāw*, and Mrs. G. (LAA[1] KLEE). The older sounds I heard from Mr. Law were (laa, klaa), the modern (LEE KLEE). Lines 17 and 18 Mr. A. has *me*, *thee*, Mrs. G. says dialectally (*áy*, dhii), and similarly lines 21 and 22. Lines 23 and 24 Mr. A. has *lear*, *pair*, which Mrs. G. reads (LIIUR$_{\circ}$, PUUR$_{\circ}$). Lines 25 and 26 Mr. A. has *inclined*, *mind*, Mrs. G. leaves out the last (D). Lines 27 and 28, Mr. A. has *gwo*, *zo*, Mrs. G. reads (gó[1]ə, *zoo*). This shews how dangerous it is to write dialect in rhyme. Mr. Akerman's stories have usually been considered first-rate dialect. I found dialectal construction frequently so violated in them that whole passages might be read off perfectly in rs., and I could not use them at all, for present purposes, especially as shades of sound were not distinguished.

16. *here* (ĭUUR$_{\circ}$); for the (ĭ) in place of (J) see note l. 3 *while*. For (UU) JGG. says, "as in the '*ea*rly bird deserves the *ea*rly worm,' but the tongue is raised more, I should say it is more *arched*." As I write the vowel in the above words in rs. (ɔ), generally avoiding (U), except in weak syllables, this might be (ɔ[1]), but from the description it is possibly a new vowel. — *shalt not*, probably, though the form (*sh*æT'nt) is very singular, but Akerman's *sha'sn't* is quite unintelligible.

19. *yuckel*, a Wl. name for a woodpecker. Mrs. G. seems to have confused it with *yokel* a bumpkin.

22. *munch*, with retracted or reverted (N) and the corresponding (*sh*), not (MENTJ). The word *nunch* = lunch, or noon-food, seems to have been confused with the more familiar *munch*, which, however, is properly a verb.— *lear* is used for empty, hungry, in many dialects.

28. *serve you so*, the *v* is regularly omitted. The word (SAR) is also commonly used for to *earn*.

## CHIPPENHAM CWL.

From a complete wl., with the words from the *Hornet*, marked H, in the spelling there used, the whole taken down with scrupulous accuracy by JGG. from his stepmother's pronunciation, a work of great labour extending over many days or rather years, for the list was entirely gone over and retranscribed many times, and finally all doubtful points were re-examined. On the treatment of (T D N L R) see note to title of *Hornet and Beetle*. Here and elsewhere in future (R) and not (R$_{\circ}$) is written for typographical reasons. See also the same note for (aa) or (aa[1]) and likewise for the use of (ə). Also for writing the diphthongal long *i* as (*áy*), see note to l. 2 in the *Hornet*. The vowel (ii) varied in speech as (*ii*[1]) which is used in the *Hornet*, but I have here used (ii) only for convenience. Also (*i*$_1$, *e*[1]) occur, but are nearly identical, and were used by JGG. according as the sound seemed to incline to (*i*) or (*e*). The series (i *i*[1] *i* *i*$_1$ *e*[1] *e*) is practically continuous from (i) to (*e*). On (U, ɔ, ɔ[1]) see note to l. 16 of *Hornet and Beetle*, and on (ŭ, ĭ) note to l. 3.

### I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 *zoo*. 3 biiK [the rural form for all these (ii) is (*é*[1]ə') nearly (*íə*)]. 4 TIIK, H T*ii*[1]K. 5 miiK, H m*ii*[1]K. 6 miiD. 7 ziiK. 9 b*iyiiv*. 10 aa[1]. 12 ZEE zaa. 14 DREE. 17 LAA, H LAA[1]. 18 KIIK K*íə*K [see 3]. 19 T*íə*'L' [even accent, almost dissyllabic]. 20 LIIM L*é*'ə'm [see 3]. 21 NIIM N*íə*'m. 22 TIIM. 23 SIIM. 24 SHIIM SH*é*[1]ə'm. — MEENDZH. 27 N*ee*$_1$V. 28 UU[1]R. 29 [(bii) been used]. 30 K*i*$_1$UR. 31 LIIT. 32 BIIDH. 33 [(*zu*NU) sooner, used]. 34 LÆÆST. 35 AA. 36 DH*aa* [(m*i*$_1$L'T) melt, generally used]. 37 KLAA and H.

A: 39 KAM. 40 KŬəm [not quite (kwəm)]. 41 THEQK [(DHEQK) means *think*]. 42 UN. 43 ÆN'D. 44 LÆN'D. 45 ŭANT. 46 KÆNDƏL'. 47 [(STR*ee*$_1$) stray, used]. 48 zəq'. 50 TƏQz*i*$_1$Z. 51 MÆN. 53 KÆN. 54 ŭƏNT. 55 ǽ*i*[1]SH*i*$_1$Z. 56 ŭƏSH. 57 EES.

A: *or* O: 58 VRƏM. 59 LÆM. 60 LƏQ and H. 61 ƏMAQ'. 62 STRƏQ'. 64 RƏQ. 65 zəq'. 66 DHƏQ'. A'- 67 *ái* g*ú*ə, H g*o*[1]ə. 69 N*oo*. 70 T*u*'ə. 72 UU. 73 *zoo* and H. 74 TUU and H. 75 STR*a*[1]K. 76 T*ú*ƏD, H T*óo*[1]ƏD. 77 LAA[1]RD.

78 ɑ'*u*N'. 79 [same as 78]. 80 *a*L*i*$_1$Dii. 81 LIIN'. 82 ŭɜNS. 83 m*ú*ən'. 84 m*ú*ʊ'R. 85 z*ú*ʊ'R. 86 *ŭ*ɜTS. 87 KL*aa*Z. 88 TU KL*aa*dh. 89 b*ú*ədh. 90 bL*aa*. 91 m*aa*. 92 N*aa*. 93 SN*aa*. 94 KR*aa*. 95 DR*aa*. 96 z*aa*. 97 sɑ'*u*L. 98 ii N*aa*D, *ay* did N*aa*, Nɑ'*u*N. 99 DR*aa*N. 100 z*aa*N.

A': 101 *aa*K, *ee*KaaˈRN TRii. 102 æKS. 103 æKst and H. 104 R*aa*D. 105 R*aa*D. 106 bRaaD [not (*aa*)]. 107 L*oo*V. 108 D*aa*. 109 L*aa*. 110 NæT. 113 ŭɜL [L is very vocal]. 114 mɑ'*u*L. 115 ŭɜm. 116 uu. 118 bo'ən. 119 TƏ *gú*ə. 121 g*aa*N. 122 N*oo*N. 123 NƏdh*i*q. 124 ST*ú*ə'N. 125 *a*NL*i*$_1$. 126 [(R*aa*)ʊ'R) rower, used]. 127 *ú*əs. 128 dh*í*əz. 129 *gú*əST. 130 b*ú*ə'T. 131 g*ú*ə'T. 132 ɔT. 133 R*aa*T. 134 *ú*əth. 135 KL*aa*th.

Æ- 138 fiidhʊ'R FEEdhʊ'R. 139 DR*ee*. 140 EE'əL æ'*i*əL'. 141 NEE'əL. 142 SNEE'əL. 143 TEE'əL. 144 əg*e*'ən. 146 mæ'*i*N. 147 bRæ'*i*N. 148 fæ'*i*ʊ'R. 149 bL*ii*'Z. 150 LƏST. 152 ŭaaTʊ'R. 153 zæDʊ'RD*i*$_1$.

Æ: 154 bæk. 155 dhæTsh. 156 GLæD. 157 RiiV'n. 158 *ee*TʊR. 160 ʊ eg. 161 Dii. 162 TU Dii. 163 [(L*ee*D) laid used]. 164 m*ée*. 165 zeD. 166 mæ'iD [almost (má'iD) with (i) not (*i*). 168 tælə. 169 ŭen. — H ŭəps [wasp]. 170 aa'RV*i*$_1$ST. 171 baaRL*i*$_1$. 172 GREES. 173 ŭ*aa*z, ii ŭʊʊR. 174 æ'*i*sh. 175 VEEST. 176 æT. 177 dhæT. 178 NæT. 179 W*a*T. 180 bee'th. 181 pee'th.

Æ'- 182 z*ii*'. 183 [(TU LaaˈRN) used]. 184 tʊ L*é*'əD. 185 R*ii*'D. 186 bR*i*$_1$Dth. 187 L*i*'əV, H L*i*$_1$əV. 188 NEE. 189 WEE. 190 KEE. 191 íəL'. 192 m*i*ən. 193 KL*é*'ən. 194 æN*i*$_1$. 195 mæN*i*$_1$. 196 ŭʊʊR. 197 Tshiiz. 198 TU LET. 199 [(TU bee) = baa, used]. 200 wiit. 201 iidhʊN. 202 iiT.

Æ': 203 [(TEEk) = talk, used]. 205 DRED. 206 ii R*ii*'D. 207 NƏDƏL'. 208 eVʊR. 209 NeVʊR. 210 KLEE. 211 GREE. 212 ŭEE. 213 [(aaRN) = e'er a one, used]. 215 [(ii TiiTshT) = he teached, used]. 216 DiiʊL. 217 *ío*'Tsh ON ʊm, ʊʊR ʊ ŭən. 218 ʊ *sh*ip. 219 SLiip. 220 *sh*epʊRD. 221 viiʊR. 222 ʊʊR. 223 dhʊʊR. 224 WʊʊR. 225 VLEsh. 226 m*ó*'əST. 227 ŭeT. 228 zŭet. 229 bREEth. 230 fæ'T.

E- 231 [(dh*i*K, dhɜK) used]. 232 bRiiK. 233 spiiK. 234 N*í*ʊD. 235 ŭ*í*ʊV, ŭiiv. 236 viiʊR. 237 Tsh*í*ʊL-bLæ'*i*N. 238 EEDzh. 239 ZEE'əL. 240 LEED. 241 Ræ'*i*N. 243 PLEE. 244 ŭ*é*ʊL. 245 m*i*$_1$ʊL. 246 kúiiN. 247 ŭ*í*ʊN. 248 mʊʊR. — H bʊʊR$_o$ [to bear]. 249 ŭʊʊR. 250 zŭʊʊR. 251 miiT. 252 K*i*$_1$TƏL'. 253 NETƏL'. 254 LEDhʊR.

E: 256 [(tʊ DREE ɑ'*u*T) = to draw out, used]. 257 EDzh. 259 ŭ*i*Dzh. 260 Lææ. 261 ZEE. 262 ŭEE. 263 ʊ)ŭEE, e)ŭEE. 265 STRæ'*i*T. 266 ŭEL'. — v*i*'əL'$_\lfloor$D [field]. 267 [(TƏ g*i* *i*N) used]. 268 ɑ'*u*L'D*i*s. 269 ZELf. 270, i. b*i*'LƏs*i*$_1$Z, ii. bEL*e*. 271 TEL'. 272 ELm. 273 meN [not (mEN)]. 274 b*i*$_1$Nsh. 275 STEQK. 276 dhEQK. 277 DR*i*$_1$Nsh. 278 ŭENsh. 279 ŭE'NT. 280 Leb'm'. 281 lEqth LEnth. 282 STREqth. 283 mƏR*i*$_1$, H mERʊL*i*$_1$ [merrily]. 284 DR$_o$Esh. 285 KRiisez. 286 arə. 287 b*i*$_1$zəm. 288 LET. — H zeT [set]. — H bE'ST [best].

E'- 289 ii [heard as (*ii*')]. 290 ii [heard as (*ii*')] and H. 291 dhii. 292 [(*áy*) used]. 293 ŭii. 294 viiD. 295 bR*i*$_1$D. 296 b*i*$_1$L*i*$_1$·əV. 298 ví'əL'. 299 GR*ii*'N. 300 K*i*$_1$əp K*i*p. 301 *í*ʊʊR. 302 miiT and H. 303 zŭiiT. 304 [(mahLƏT) used].

E': 305 *áy*. 306 *áy*th. 307 [(KL*aa*s) used]. 309 spiid [(RiiT) = rate more usual]. 310 íəL'. 311 TeN'. 312 *í*ʊʊR, H ĭʊʊR$_o$ *í*ʊʊR$_o$. 313 aark'n. 314 i. íʊʊRD. 315 viiT. 316 Neks.

EA- 317 [(TU SK*i*N) used]. 318 LEEfT. 319 GEEp. 320 K*í*ʊʊR.

EA: 321 ziiD. 322. LEEf. 323 ii vɑ'*u*T. 324 æ'*i*'T. 326 ɑ'*u*L'. 327 bɑ'*u*L'$_\lfloor$D, H bɑ'*u*L'D. 328 Kɑ'*u*L'$_\lfloor$D. 329 vɑ'*u*L'$_\lfloor$D. 330 ɑ'*u*L'$_\lfloor$D. 331 zɑ'*u*L'$_\lfloor$D. 332 tɑ'*u*L'$_\lfloor$D. 333 KEEV. 334 EEf. 335 EEL', H ææL. 336 VEEL'. 337 ŭ*aa*hL'. 338 KææL'. — æælŭəz [always]. 339 [(*áy* b*ii*') used]. 340 ĭaa'RD. 341 m*a*Rə. 342 aa'Rm. 343 ŭaa'Rm. — H *s*haar$_o$p [sharp]. 345 DʊʊR. 346 g*é*əT giiT.

EA'- 347 eD. 348 *áy*. 349 vĭ$_1$*a*.

EA': 350 DEED. 351 L*i*$_1$D. 352 R*i*$_1$D. 353 bREED. 354 *z*h*í*əv. 355 Dif. 356 L*i*əv. 357 dh*aa* dhoo. 359 NiibʊR. 360 T*í*əm. 361 b*i*'əm. 362 ZLEE. 363 Tsh*í*əp. 364 Tshæp. 365 N*í*ʊʊR. 366 GʊʊRT. 367 DRET. 368 Dèth. 369 SL*aa*. 370 REE. 371 STREE.

EI- 372 EE. 373 dhEE. 374 [(*noo*) used]. 375 TƏ R*á*yz. 376 bæ'*i*T.
EI: 377 STiik. 378 ŭiik. 380 dhEE ɯm. 382 dhæ'*i*ER.
EO- 383 zeb'm. 384 eb'n. 385 [(bil*aa*·) = below, used]. 386 ĭæ'*u*. 387 NĭUU.
EO: 388 mĭəL'K. 389 ĭaak. 390 *shuD shƏD*. 391 [(*á*y bii) used]. 393 bi*j*æ·N'D. 394 ĭæN'DER. 395 ĭƏq'. 396 ŭUERK. 397 *z*ÚERD. 398 STƏARV. 399 BR*á*yT. 400 ERNis. 402 laarn. 403 VUER. 404 STƏAR. 405 ERTh-ST*ú*ən, EEf-, eef-ST*ú*ən [always with *stone*]. 406 ERth. 407 vaarD'N. 408 [(ii NƏAD) used].
EO'- 409 bii. 410 [(*shii*) used]. 411 DRii. — H TRii [tree]. 412 *shii*. 413 Di$_1$VƏL'. 414 VL*á*y, H vl*á*y. 415 L*á*y. 416 DÍUER. 417 Tshaa. 418 BRUU. 419 ìUER. 420 VƏ'UER. 421 faarTi.
EO': 422 zik. 423 dh*á*y-b*ó*ən. 424 RƏf. 425 L*á*yT. 426 V*á*yT. 427 TE bii. 428 TE zii and H. 430 VREND. 431 bĭUER. 432 VƏ'*u*ERTh. 433 BREST. 434 i b'ƏT. 435 ĭ*ú*u. 436 TRUU. 437 TRUUth.
EY- 438 d*á*y. EY: 439 TRƏDS.
I- 440 ŭik. 441 *ziv*'. 442 *áy·vi*. 443 VR*á*y·Di$_1$. 444 ST*á*yƏL'. 446 N*á*iN. — H biL [bird's bill]. 447 EER. 448 dh*í*əz. 449 GET. 450 Tshuuzdi$_1$. 451 *zaa* [confused with 76 to sow].
I: 452 *áy* H *áy*. 453 K*ŭ*ik [(VEEST) fast, used]. 454 ŭ*i*Tsh. 455 LÆÆ [confused with to lay]. 456 əf. 457 m*á*yT. 458 n*á*yT. 459 R*á*yT H R*á*yT. 460 ŭæ'*i*'T. 462 z*á*yT. 463 TƏL'. 464 ŭÍTsh. 465 ZƏTsh. 466 Tsh*á*yƏL$_\lfloor$D. 467 ŭ*á*yƏL$_\lfloor$D. 468 Tsh*i*L'DERN. 470 [(ii) he used]. — H klim [climb]. 471 *t*imBER. 472 shRe'qk. 473 bL*á*yN'. 474 R*á*yN'. 475 ŭ*á*yN'. 476 b*á*yN'. 477 V*á*yN'$_\lfloor$D and H. 478 GR*á*yN'$_\lfloor$D. 479 ŭƏ'yN'$_\lfloor$D. 480 dhƏq'. — H ZƏq [sung]. — H STe'q [sting]. 481 VEqGER. 482 *iz*. 483 *iz*. 484 dh*i*s, dh*í*əz. 485 dh*i*sƏL'. 486 ìƏST. 487 *i*STERDi$_1$. 488 *i*T. 489 *i*T [only (T) as an enclitic]. — H zeT zaT [sit, sat].
I- 490 b*á*y. 491 z*á*y. 492 z*á*yD. 493 DR*á*yV. 494 T*á*ym. 495 ŭ*á*yN'. 496 *á*yERN'. 498 R*á*yT. 499 biT'L' [originally, then as in] H bii'DƏL'.
I': 500 L*á*yk. 501 ŭ*á*yD. 502 V*á*yV. 503 L*á*yf [but (L*á*yV) alive]. 504 N*á*yf. 505 ŭ*á*yf. 506 *u*mƏN. 507 ŭ*i*mEN. 508 m*á*yƏL'. 509 ŭ*á*yƏL' H ŭ*á*yL'. 510 m*á*yn' H m*á*yN. 511 ŭ*á*yN'. 512 sp*á*yER. 513 ŭ*á*yER. 514 *á*ys. 515 ŭ*á*yz [wiscacre (ŭ*á*yziikER)]. 516 ŭizDƏm. 517 ĭuu.
O- 518 B*a*Di$_1$. 519 *a*VER. 520 b*aa*. 521 VƏ'*u*L'. 522 *aa*p'm. 523 *aa*p. 524 ŭEERDƏL'.
O: 525 *aa*f and H [for *off*]. 526 k*aa*f. 526 b*aa*T. 528 dh*aa*T. 529 BR*aa*T. 531 DEETER. 532 k*aa*l. 533 DƏL' [a variant of (ə) in direction of (o, ə) or (*a*), ? my (ɐ)]. 534 *aa*L'. 535 V*aa*K. 536 GƏ'*u*L'D. 537 mƏ'*u*L'. 538 *u*D. — H ƏLE [hollow]. 539 fƏ'*u*L'. 540 ƏL'i$_1$. 541 ŭONT. 542 bƏ'*u*L'T. 543 ƏN. 544 dhEN. 545 *a*p, ɔp. 546 VAER. 547 b*ú*ERD. 549 *ú*ERD. 550 ŭEERD. 551 staarm. 552 kaarn. — H SKƏAR$_o$NVEL*i* [scornfully]. 553 aarn. 554 kREES.
O'- 555 shuu. 556 TE. 557 TUU and H. 558 L*u*'K and H. 559 madhER. 560 SK*ú*uƏL'. 561 BL*uu*m. 562 m*ù*N'. 563 mƏNDi$_1$. 564 zu$_1$'n. 565 N*aa*z. — GRƏA'*i*N [growing]. 567 TƏDhER. 568 BRƏDhER.
O': 569 bù$_1$K· 570 TÙ$_1$K. 571 gù$_1$D H g*ù*'D [(u$_1$, *u*') are practically identical]. 572 BLƏD. 573 VLƏD. 574 [(ə æTsh) a hatch, used]. 575 ST*ù*D. 576 ŭ*æ*NZDi$_1$. 577 bƏ'*u*. 578 PLƏ'*u*. 579 $_\lfloor$ƏNEF [($_\lfloor$ƏF) hardly audible] H ɯƏf. 580 TƏf. 583 T*ú*ƏL'. 584 ST*ú*ƏL'. 586 D*uu*'. 587 DƏN. 588 NUU$_1$N. 589 spuu$_1$N. 590 VL*ó*ER. 592 zŭER. 593 MƏST. 594 bu$_1$T. 595 vù$_1$T. 596 [(maa'R) used]. 597 zù$_1$T.
U- 599 b*oo*V. 600 LƏV. 601 VƏ'*u*L. 602 zƏ'u. 603 kƏm. 604 zƏMER. 605 ZƏN. 606 D*ú*ER. 607 BƏTER.
U: 608 ƏgL'i$_1$. 609 VƏL. 610 ŭ*ú*ƏL' [there seems to be a distinct separation of (ŭ*ú*)]. 611 b*u*LƏK. 612 zƏm. 613 DRƏqk. 614 Ə'*u*N'. 615 pƏ'*u*N'. 616 GRƏ'*u*N'. 617 zƏ'UN$_\lfloor$D. 618 ŭ*u*N'. 619 VƏ'*u*N'. 620 GRƏ'*u*N'. 621 ŭƏ'*u*N'. 622 ƏNDER. 623 VE'*u*N'$_\lfloor$D. 624 GRƏ*u*N'. 625 TƏq'. 626 ƏqGER. 627 ZƏNDi$_1$. 628 NƏN'. 629 ZƏN'. 630 ŭƏN'. 631 dh*o*zdi$_1$ dhEERZDi$_1$. 632 ƏP and H. 633 KƏP. 634 DR*oo*. 635 ŭƏth. 636 VEERDER. 637 TƏSK. 639 DƏ'*u*ST.
U'- 640 KƏ'*u*. 641 Ə'*u*. 642 dhƏ'*u*. 643 NƏ'*u*. 645 D*oo*V. 646 bƏ'*u*.

647 ɜ'*u*ɪL'. 648 ɜ'*u*ʊR. 649 dhɜ'*u*z'n'. 650 bɜ'*u*T. 651 ŭidhɜ'*u*T. 652 kɜ̀D. 653 bɜT.

U': 654 zhrɜ'*u*D. 656 rɜ́'m. 657 brɜ'*u*N'. 658 dɜ'*u*N'. 659 tɜ'*u*N'. 660 bɜ'*u*ʊR [arbour]. 661 shɜ'*u*ʊR. 662 ɜs. 663 ɜ'*u*s and H. 664 lɜ'*u*s. 665 mɜ'*u*s. 666 ɒzbən. 667 ɜ'*u*T. 668 prɜ'*u*D. 671 mɜ'*u*th. 672 zɜ'*u*th.

Y- 673 mɒDTsh. 674 DiD. 675 DRɜ́y. 676 Lɜ́y. 677 DRɜ́y. 679 TshʊʊRTsh. 680 bizi$_1$. 681 bizi$_1$nes. 682 LiTEL', H LiT'L'.

Y: 684 bRiDzh. 685 RiDzh. 686 bɜ́y. 687 VLɜ́yT. 688 ZɜTsh. 689 bɜ́EL'D. 690 kɜ́yN. 691 mɜ́yN[D H mɜ́yN. 692 ĭEqis. 693 zi$_1$n. 696 bʊʊRth. 697 beRi$_1$. 698 mʊʊRth. 699 RɜyT. — H aaR$_o$nət [hornet]. 700 ŭas. 701 vasT. 702 ŭi. 703 piT. 704 viksh'N.

Y- 705 SKɜ́y. 706 ŭɜ́y. 707 dhʊʊRTiiN. 708 Tu ɜ́yʊR.

Y': 709 vaiʊR. 711 Lɜ́ys. 712 mɜ́ys.

## II. English.

A. 713 bæD. 714 LæD. 715 pæD. 716 ɜDL'D EG. — H kæDLin [caddling, quarrelling]. 718 TRiiD. 722 DRæ'iN. 723 dæ'iRi. 724 bææL'D. 725 ríiəL'. 726 Tææk. 727 Dzhæm. 728 shæm. 729 friim. — H SNæpT [snapped]. 732 æp'N'. 734 Daa'RN. 735 smæ'ish. 736 LEES. 737 miiT. 738 PRiiT. 740 ŭiv' ŭiiv'. 741 miiz. 742 liizi$_1$.

E. 743 SKRiim. — H LiiʊR$_o$ [lear=empty]. 744 miizEL'z. 745 Tshíət. 746 bRiidh. 748 FLEDzhD. 749 LeFT, TƏ LíƏ'v. 750 bæg. 751 pɜ́ʊRT. — H æ'im [to aim]. 752 VRET.

I. *and* Y. 753 TiKEL'. 754 peg. 755 viLbʊRT. 756 zhRi$_1$mp. — TŭiNDzh [twinge]. 757 tɜ́yni$_1$. 758 gæL'. 759 vit. 760 shivəL'. — H MEKSƏN [mixen, dungheap].

O. 761 Lɜ́əD. 762 *a*·kəm. 763 [(Raav) rove, used]. 765 :DzhɜN. 767 NE'iz. 768 Kaak. 770 :TƏMʊS. 771 VƏN'D. 772 bƏNvɜ́yʊR. 773 DƏNKi$_1$. 774 poNi$_1$. 775 bù'bi$_1$. 776 gu'D bŭɜ́y. 777 shap. 778 ʊvɜ́l·ʊRD. 779 [(líəvinz) leavings, used]. 781 bɒdhʊR. 783 pɜ'*u*L'TRi$_1$. 784 bɜ'*u*NS. 786 Dɜ'*u*s. 787 zɜ'*u*z. 790 gɜ'*u*n. 791 bŭɜ́y.

U. 792 skŭ*abu*L'. — H ĭɜ'*u*K'L [yuckel, woodpecker]. 793 ɜg. 794 Dzhɜg. 795 shrɜg. 796 bL'ù'. 797 [(SKŬAL'in) used]. 798 KŬʊʊR. 799 SKEL'. 801 RɜM. 802 RɜM. 803 Dzhamp. — MƏNsh [munch]. 804 DRƏDq'K [as (-qk) often occurs]. 805 kRƏdz [ƏN ŬEE]. 806 VƏS. 807 pù$_1$s. 808 pƏT, H pɜT.

## III. Romance.

A·· 809 iibəL'. 810 fiis. 811 pliis. 812 Liis. 813 biik'N. 814 miis'N. 816 fiiD. 817 RƏDish. 818 iiDzh. 819 RiiDzh. 820 GEE. 821 Dilee. 822 mee mææ. 824 Tshæ'iʊR. 825 ŭEEf. 826 iigəL. 829 gæ'iN. 830 TRæ'iN. — H bəgƏNET [bayonet]. 832 mæ·ʊR. 833 pʊʊR and H. 834 shæ'iz, shi'l'z. 835 RiiZ'n'. 836 ziiz'n'. 838 TRiiT. — mi'ɜL [male]. 840 TshæmbʊR. — H viimƏs [famous]. 841 TshEEns. 842 plæ'qk. 843 bReensh. 844 TRENsh. 845 æqshƏNT. 846 TshEENʊR. 847 DƏNDzhʊr. 848 Tshæ'iNDzh. 849 STRƏNDzh. 850 DEENS. 851 ENT. 852 EE·pʊRN. — H KaaR$_o$kƏs [carcass]. 853 baaRGiN. 854 bɜRəL'. 855 KɜRƏT. 856 pʊʊRT. 857 KiiS. 858 bRiis. 859 Tshiis. — H pæ̀sin [passing]. — H vii'T [fate]. 860 piiST. 861 TiiST. — H NiishƏN [damnation]. 862 siif. 863 Tshæ'f. 864 biKEEZ. — H KEEZ [cause]. 865 vaaT. 866 pɜ́ʊR.

E·· 867 Tii. 868 DzhEE. 869 vi'ləL'. 870 biúTi$_1$. 871 *a*grii. 872 Tshíəf. 874 RÆ'iN. 875 fæ'iNT. 876 DÆ'iNTi$_1$. 877 ʊʊR. 878 SÆLƏRi$_1$. 879 fi·meeL'. 880 egzæmp'l'. — H KƏNshƏns [conscience]. 881 ZƏNS. 882 [(LƏVƏLɜ́yDƏL') used]. 883 DÆNDiLɜ́iƏN. 884 *a*PRENTis. 885 VURi$_1$. 886 VRɜ́yʊR. 887 KLƏRDzhʊmæn. 888 zaaRT'N'. — H pƏze·shƏN [possession]. — H zaaR$_o$ [sieve]. 890 bíəST. 891 fíəST. 892 NEVi. 893 FLɜ'ʊʊR. 894 diziiv. 895 RiziiV.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 diLɜ́yT. 898 Nɜ́ys. 899 Niis. 900 PREE. 901 vɜ́yN, H vɜ́yN. — iNKLɜ́yND [inclined]. 902 mɜ́yN. 903 DɜyN'. 904 vayLƏT. 905 RɜyƏT. 906 vɜ́ypʊR. 908 ƏDvɜ́yz. 909 bRiiz. — H spɜ́yTFƏL [spiteful]. 910 Dzhæ'is. 911 ziSTʊRN. 912 nɜ́ys.

O·· 913 KAATsh. 914 BROOTsh. 915 STAf. 916 áyNin. 917 RAag. 918 viibəL'. 919 æ'iNTMUNT. 920 páynt. 921 UKăæ'iNT. — H STáRi [story]. 922 bu₁shəL'. 923 máyst. 924 Tsháys. 925 váys. 926 spăáy·EL'. —STAMik [stomach]. 927 TRAQK. 928 NAUNS. 929 KUKimUR. 930 LáiN. 933 fRANT. 935 KANTRe. 936 fA'uNT. — H PROPUR [proper]. 938 kaARNUR. 939 KLAAas. 940 KóOT H KóOOT. 941 vá¹L'. 942 bu₁TshUR. 943 TATsh. 944 ULA'u¹. 945 vA'ú¹. 947 bŭáyəL'. 948 bæ'L'. 950 SAPUR. 951 KAPəL'. 952 KóORS. 953 KAZ'N'. 954 kúshe¹N. 955 DA'uT. 956 KAVUR. 958 fREE. 959 KUNVEE. 961 GRú¹əL'. 963 KăáyəT. 964 shóOT. 965 æ'iəL'. 966 fRú¹T. 967 shú¹T. 968 æ'iSTUR. 969 shA'uUR. 970 DZhAS H DZhi₁S. 971 VLú₁T.

## Phase III. *Tilshead*, 8 sse. Devizes, in the centre of Wl.

Theodulf's hide, Tydulviside, Tidulside, Tyleside, Tilshead, called (:tA·lsUd), as I was informed by the then Vicar's daughter, Miss Louisa H. Johnson, who was born and had resided there above forty years. She kindly wrote a wl. and dt. and on 6 Oct. 1879 called on me to work them over *vivâ voce*. She also gave me the example of *Hocktying* or *Hocktide*. The custom about 1850 was that on the second Tuesday after Easter, the young men tied the ancles of any young women they could catch about; and on the following Wednesday the girls returned the compliment. The following was the explanation given by old people, which I wrote from Miss J.'s dict. Probably every (t d n l r) should be (T D L N R), but I leave the transcription as I wrote it.

1. The Peasants' account of the origin of *hock-tying* or *hoctide* in the village of Tilshead.

wANS dhUR WUR URD fook əz ud kip on U kAmin ii'R, UN U robin
once there were red folk as would keep on a-coming here, and a-robbing

dh):iqlish fook, UN Ut last dhái AP UN æt)Um, UN tA'id)Um AP
the English folk, and at last they up and at them, and tied them up

tU púUstiz UN kAt dhUR DROTS.
to posts and cut their throats.

2. Tilshead dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Johnson.

(1.) zoo A'i dU ZEE, míUts, dhii dU zii nA'u, dhUt A'i bi rA'it UbA'ut dhik liit'L máid kAmin vrom dhU skúURL JONDUR.

(2.) shii)z UgwáIn dA'un dhU róOUd dhee'R, DRUU dh' URD gíUt on dhU lift hænd zA'id U)dhU wái.

(3.) shuuR UnAf dhU tJE'ild hæv UWE·nt STRáit AP tU dhU dúUR U)dhU roq hA'us.

(4.) weeR shí)Ul mE)bi vA'ind dhik DRAqk'n dif shriv'ld fELU U)dhə níUm UV :toomUS.

(5.) wi)d ææl naa)n VERi WEL.

(6.) wA)nt dh)aald tJæp zuun LARN shi not tU duu)t UGEN, puuR dhEq !

(7.) loks, [i)laa·k)i] bíiU)nt Ut TRUU ?

## 3. Tilshead cwl.

Pal. in 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Miss Johnson.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 bíuk. 4 tíuk. 5 míuk. 6 míud. 7 síuk. 12 zee. 13 naa. 14 draa. 17 laa. 18 kíuk. 20 líum. 21 níum. 22 tíum. 23 síum. 24 shíum. 36 dhaa. 37 tlææ. A: 40 kúuəm. 41 dheqk. 45 want. 55 èshez. 56 waa'sh. A: *or* O: 58 vrom. 61 emæq. A'- 67 guu. 76 túuud. 81 líun. 83 múuun. 84 múuur$_{o}$. 85 súuur$_{o}$. 86 wats. 87 klaaz. 89 búuedh. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 95 droo. A': 104 núued. 115 húuum. 118 búuun. 122 nóoun. 124 stúuun. 125 oni. 127 húuurs. 128 [(dhəm) used]. 129 gúuust. 131 gúuut.

Æ- 139 drái. 140 háil. 141 náil. 142 snáil. 143 táil. 144 egen. 145. sláin. 146 máin. 147 bráin. 148 fáir. — emet [emmet more used than ant]. Æ: 155 dhætj. 158 æt'r$_{o}$. 160 æg. 163 lái. 164 [(*mid*) pl. (*mid'n*) used.] 165 zed. 166 máid. 174. áish. 175 væst. Æ'- 183 *teetj*. 189 wái. 190 kee [in East Lavington (4 s.Devizes) (kói), possibly (*kái*)]. 192 míun. 193 klíun. 197 tjiiz. 202 het. Æ': 205 dred. 207 nid'l. 213 iidhur. 218 ship. 225 flèsh. 226 múuust.

E- 236 feever. 237 tjilblain. 241 ráin. 242 twáin. 243 plái. 252 *kit'l*. 253 net'l. E: 261 zee. 262 wái. 265 stráit. 270 beləsiz. 284 dráish. — bæst [to burst]. 286 haru. 287 *bizem*. E'- 294 viid. 298 víi'ld [(væ'ldid), felt, as that something is hot]. E': 306 hæ'it. 307 næ'i. 314 hii'rd, jii'rd. 315 viit. EA: 321 [(zid) see'd, used]. 322 lææf. 323 fáut. 324 áit. 326 aald. 327 búuld. 328 kúuld. 329 vúuld. 330 húuld. 331 súuld. 332 túuld. 333 kææf. 334 hææf. 335 ææl. 336 vææl. 342 jaarm. 346 gíut. EA'- 349 viú. EA': 352 urd. 355 dif. 359 náibur. 362 slái. 370 rææ. 371 strææ. EI- 373 dhái. 376 báit. EI: 379 háil. 381 swáin. 382 dháir. EO: — vaarmer. 403 ver. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 drii. 413 divul. 420 váuer. 421 váurti. EO': 423 dhæ'i. 426 vait. 430 virnd.

I- 447 hurn [hers, in Urchfont (4 se.Devizes) (shiiz'n) is used]. 448 dhii'z. I: 460 wáit. 466 tjæild. 468 tjildurn. 481 viqgur. 484 dhii'z. 485 dh*is*'l. 486 [(baarm) used]. I'- 499 *bit*'l [see p. 53, col. 2]. I': 506 *umun*. 507 *wimun*.

O- 522 oop'm. 523 hoop. 524 ward'l. O: — troo [trough]. 528 dhaat. 531 dææt'r$_{o}$. 532 kaal. 536 gúuld. 537 [(durt) dirt, used]. 539 bool. 545 hop. — vark [fork, "the mouth must be elongated as for a grin"]. 547 búurd. 548 vúurd. 549 húurd. 552 karn. 553 harn. 554 kraas. O'- 565 núuez. 566 adhur. O': 577 bæ'u. 578 plæ'u. 579 *uno'f* [(*unæ'u*) not heard]. 580 tæ'u. 582 kúuel. 583 túuel. 584 stúuel. 589 spúuun. 590 flúuer. 592 súuer. 597 *zut*.

U- 601 vo'uel. 602 zæ'u. 606 duu'r. U: 609 *vul*, vúuel. 610 uu'l. U: 618 uund. 619 væ'und. 634 dræ'u. 635 wath. 636 verder. U'- 641 hæ'u [approaching to (hóu)]. 642 [(dhii) used]. U': 663 hæ'us [pl. (hæ'uz'n)]. 665 mæ'us.

Y- 682 liit'l. Y: — wast [worst]. 701 vast. Y- 707 dh'rtiin. 709 væ'ir.

### II. English.

A. 722 dráin. 723 deeni. 742 *livzi*.

E. 743 skr*eem*. 744 m*eez*'lz. 745 tjiit. 748 [(flash) used]. 750 bæg.

I. *and* Y. 754 peg. 756 shr*ai*mp [=lollipop]. 758 gar'l [rather a foreign word, used for a sweetheart].

O. 761 lúued. 767 næ'iz. 769 [(want) used]. 773 doq*ki*. 774 puun*i*. 778 vúurd. 781 bodhur. 783 pæ'ultri. 790 gæ'und. — dræ'und [pp. (dræ'und*id*), drown, drowned].

U. 795 shrag. 801 ram. 802 ram. 805 kardz. — kar'lz [curls]. 806 fas. 808 pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 809 jæb'L. 810 fíes. 811 pl*eez* [pl. (pleez'n)]. 812 líes. 813 bívk'n. 817 REdish. 822. mâi. 824 tjáiuR. 827 [(fES) fierce, used]. 829 gáin. 830 TRáin. 836 *seez*'n. 840 tjamb'R$_o$. 841 tjæns. 843 bræntj. 845 ænshunt. 847 dændjur. 848 tjændj. 849 STRændjuR. 850 dæns. 851 ænt. 852 JæpuRN. 855 kaaRət. 856 pEERt. 860 *pees*t. 861 *tees*t. 862 sívf. 864 koz. 865 fvææt. 866 puuR.

E·· 867 t*ee*. 869 víiuL. 874 RáiN. 875 fâint. 876 dáint*i*. 877 áiR. 878 sæluR*i*. 879 f*eemeel*. 887 [(pææs'n) parson used]. — fâiur [market]. 890 [pl. (bíiustiz)]. 891 víust. 892 nEV*i*. 893 vlə'uER. 894 d*isee*·v. 895 R*isee*·v.

I·· *and* Y·· 900 pRâi. — fES [fierce; see No. 827]. 901 va'in. 904 va'ilit. 910 dj*ist* [pl. dj*istiz*].

O·· 914 bRuutj. 916 ə'intmunt. 919 ə'intmunt. 920 pə'int. 921 æk*w*âint. 922 b*u*shel. 923 mə'ist. 924 tjə'is. 926 spáuiL. 929 kə'ukumb'R. 930 lə'in. 936 vònt. 938 kaRnER. 939 [(kRoft) croft, used for a close]. 940 kuu't. 941 fúuuL. 942 b*u*tjER. 943 tətj. 947 bə'iL. 948 bə'uL. 950 sapER. 951 kap'L. 954 k*u*shun. 955 də'ut. 956 k*i*vER.

U·· 961 grúuel. 964 zuuit. 965 ə'il. 968 ə'ist'R. 969 shuu'R. 970 dj*ist*.

## VAR. ii. THE NORTHERN OR GL. FORM.

### THREE INTERLINEAR CS. marked V, T, D.

V marks the cs. for *Vale and Town of Gloucester*. It was first written in his own orthography by John Jones, Esq., who had known the dialect for 50 years, and was afterwards corrected in pal. from his dict. by AJE. He gave U = (ə) uniformly, but TH. in travelling over the district found the M. (*u*, *u*$_o$) with sometimes (o) and of course (ə, ə), not only in Tewkesbury, Ashchurch (8 n.Cheltenham), and Buckland (12 ene.Tewkesbury), which I place in D 6 = w.BS, but also frequently in Gloucester, Cheltenham, Bishop's Cleve (3 n.Cheltenham), Brockworth and Birdlip (6 se.-by-s.Gloucester), and even in Cirencester, Fairford (8 e.Cirencester) and Tetbury, so that it would appear that the whole of east Gloucester were in the mixed region. Indeed TH. heard (*u*$_o$) as far s. as Purton Wl. (10 sse.Cirencester). It is evident that a mixture of (ə, ə, o, *u*, *u*$_o$) for U does not interfere with the dialect, which is strongly marked. The oldest form necessarily had some variety of (u), and hence (*u*, *u*$_o$) must in this region rather be considered as survivals, than as M. encroachments, see *suprà* p. 17. Of course (ə, ə) are recent developments, that is, begun and developed within 500 years. For (*u*$_o$) see the introduction to the Midland division.

T marks the *Tetbury* cs. It was written in io. by Miss Frampton, daughter of the then vicar, and was pal. by AJE. from answers to a very long series of questions which she kindly answered. There is, however, always room for some doubt where there has not been personal audition. As regards U, Miss Frampton, like Mr. Jones, apparently used (ə, ə), but TH. was informed in September 1885 by two stonecutters from Tetbury that (*u*$_o$) generally and a few (o) were the sounds there used. The (o) is one of the transitional forms, see Line 2, p. 17.

D marks the *Forest of Dean* or *Coleford* cs. It was written from the dictation of Raymond D. Trotter, Esq., native of Newnham (10 sw.Gloucester), who kindly spent many hours with me over it in 1873 in company with his sister, who gave phrases from Aylburton on the s. of the Forest. Mr. Trotter visited me again about it in 1878. This, and Mr. Law's from Christian Malford are the two best vv. examples of D 4 which I have personally heard.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0. V | *Vale of Gloucester.* | wə'i :djən ə gət nuu' | də'uts. |
| T | *Tetbury.* | wə'*i* :djən ə)nə | də'uts. |
| D | *Forest of Dean.* | wə'i :dj*a*k doo)'nt | də''ut. |

1. V wɛl, náibʊʀ, juu ʊn ii mʊ buu'th laf ʊt dhis
T wɜl, náibʊʀ, dhii ʊn ii mái boo'th læf ʊt dhis ii'ʀ
D ɑ'i záí náibʊʀ, juu ʊn im máí bu'th ɔn)i gʀin ʊz mɜtʃ ʊz

V niúuz ʊ mɑɔ'in. huu kii'ʀz? dhat's nɑɔ'idhʊʀ jɜʀ nʊʀ
T niúuz ʊ mŭɑɔ'in uu dʊ kii'ʀ? dhæt bee)nt jii'ʀ nʊʀ
D dhii)st lɑɔ'ik ʊt dhis)ji'ʀ· ʊz ɑɔ'i)v bin ʊ tɛlʊn ɔn)jʊ, uu dʊst

V dhɑɔʀ.
T dhɜ`ʀ.
D dhiqk ʊd ki'ʀ v'ʀ dhat? t)ii)'nt noo ɔdz!

2. V vĭáu vook dʊ dɑɔ'i, bikɔz dhʊ bi laft)ʊt,
T dhɔʀ bi pʀeshɔs viú ez dɑɔ'iz kɔz ʊz ɑɔ'u dhʊ bi lææft)ʊt,
D dhʊʀ bii'nt mɔni ʊz dʊ dɑɔ'i v'ʀ dháí bii·ʊn máid gi'm ɔn

V wii dʊ náu, duu)'nt)ɔs? wɔt zhud mak [mii'k] ʊm? t)ii)'nt
T wii dʊ náu, dwɜ)nt)ɔs? wɔt shud miik ʊm? t)ee)nt
D bɑɔ'i dhʊ lɑɔ'iks ʊ dhii, wii dʊ nóou dhát, doo)'nt ɔs? wat

V vɛʀi lɑɔ'iklí bii it?
T lɑɔ'iklí?
D zhud mee'k)ʊn, mʊn? t)ii)'nt ʀee·zʊnʊb'l næ''u, iz it?

3. V ɑɔ'uwɜ·vʊʀ, dhee bi dhʊ vakts ʊv dhʊ kii's, zoo dʒist
T uusʊ)ɛ·vʊʀ, dhiiz bi dhʊ vækts zʊ
D sʊ juu dʒest oold jiúu'ʀ$_{o}$ dʒaa, ʊn hɑɔ'isht ʊ bit wi)ɑɔ'ut ʊ

V hɑɔ'u'ld jʊʀ náiz, mʊ vʀend, ʊn bi kwɑɔ'i·ʊt tʊl ɑɔ'i)v
T ɑɔ'uld jʊʀ dʒaa, ʊn kip kwɑɔ'i·ʊt til ɑɔ'i)v
D mislɛs·tʊn ʊ mii, til ɑɔ'i)v tɛld)jʊ. nɑɔ'u ju aaʀk'n ʊ bit

V ʊ)dɜn. aaʀk)i.
T dɜn.
D ʊn bɑɔ'id kwɑɔ'i·ʊt, til ɑɔ'i ʊ dɜn.

4. V ɑɔ'i be zaʀtin zhuu'ʀ, ʊz ɑɔ'i ii'ʀd ʊm záí—zɜm ʊ
T ɑɔ'i)m zaʀtin ɑɔ'i jii'ʀd ʊm záí—zɜm ʊ
D ɑɔ'i bi zaaʀt'n zhuu'ʀ, ʊz ɑɔ'i)v jii'ʀd ʊm záí—zɜm ʊ

V dhɛm vook ʊz wɛnt dʀɑɔ'u dhʊ wɜl (wi'l) dhiq vʀʊm dhʊ
T dhee vaak ʊz wɛnt dʀuu dhʊ wul dhɛq vʀʊm dhʊ
D dháí dhʊʀ vook ʊz wɛnt dʀɑɔ'u dhʊ oo'l ɔn't dhʊʀzɛ·lvz

V vɜst dhʊʀzɛ·lvz, ·dhat ɑɔ'i did zhuu'r ʊnɜf!
T vɜst dhʊʀzɛ·lz,—·dhæt ʊ did zhuu'ʀ -nɑɔ'u!
D vʀʊm dhʊ vɜst,—·dhát)s vʊʀ zhuu'ʀ ʊz ɑɔ'i did!

5. V ʊz dhʊ jɛqgist zɜn izzɛ·lf, ʊ gɑɔʀt bŭɔ'i ʊ nɑɔ'in, náud
T dhʊ jɛqgʊst zɜn ʊzzɛ·lf, ʊ gɑɔʀt bŭɑɔ'i ʊ nɑɔ'in, nood
D ʊz dhʊ jɛqgest zɜn izzɛ·lf, ʊ gud nɜ`bʊv ʊ bŭói ʊ nɑɔ'in, nóoud

V *iz* vaadhʊrz váis ʊt wɜms, dháu t)wɜz
T *iz* vææ̈dhʊrz váis, dhoo t)wœʊr
D *iz* v*ii*'dhʊrz tɜq ʊz zuun az ʊ oop'nd *iz* mœ'*u*th dhoo t)wʊz

V sʊ k*w*œʊr ʊn sk*wee*k*i*n, ʊn œ'*i*)d trɜst ·ii tʊ sp*ee*k dhʊ
T zʊ k*w*ii'r ʊn sk*w*ii·ki lœ'ik, ʊn ·ii-d tɛl dhʊ
D zɜtɟ ʊ k*w*ceʊr sk*w*eekʊn vœ'*is*, ʊn œ'*i*)d b*a*k ·ii tʊ speek dhʊ

V trʊuth ɔn*i* d*ee*, a'*i*, ·dhat *i* *u*d, awɜ·vʊr.
T trʊuth ·dhæt ʊ *u*d.
D trʊ'th ɔn*i* d*ái*, *ái* ·dhàt œ*i* ùd!

6. V ʊn dhʊ œ'*u*ld *u*mʊn ʊrze·lf ʊl tɛl ɛn*i* ɔn)i ʊz *iz* a lafi*i*n nœ'*u*,
T ʊn dhʊ œ'*u*ld *u*mʊn ʊrze·l *u*l tɛl ɛn*i* ɔv)i dhæt læf nœ'*u*,
D ʊn dh)*aa*'ld *u*mʊn ʊrze·lf ʊd tɛl œʊr)ʊ wɜn ɔn)i ʊz *iz* a giúulʊn

V ʊdhœ'*u*t mɜtɟ bɔdhʊr, tuu, *i*f jʊ)l
T ʊn tɛl)i slæp aaf w*i*dhœ'*u*t muu'r ʊduu·, *i*f)i *u*l
D ʊn tɛl)i rœ'*i*t aaf, tuu, w*i*)œ'ut mɛtɟ *u*n·dʊrmʊnt, if dhii)lt

V *oo*nl*i* ɛks ʊr, wɜ)nt ʊ nœ'*i*dhʊr?
T oon*i* æks shi—oo'! wɜnt sh*i*?
D oon*i* ɛks)ʊr, *ái* ·dhàt ʊr ùd.

7. V l*ee*st wá*i*z [ɛn*i*)œ'*u*] ʊr táu*u*ld *i*t ta œ'*i* wɛn œ'*i* ɛkst ʊr,
T l*ii*'st wá*i*z ʊr tɛlt ·œ'*i* wɛn œ'*i* ækst sh*i*,
D lii'st wá*i*z ʊr tɛld *i*t ·œ'*i* wɛn œ'*i* ɛkst ʊr,

V tuu ʊr drii tœ'imz *oo*vʊr, ʊ d*i*d, ʊn ʊr aat)'nt tʊ bi
T duu ʊr drii tœ'imz ʊr d*i*d, ·œʊr d*i*d)'nt aat)ʊ bi
D duu ʊr drii tœ'imz ʊr moo'r, *ái* dh*à*t ʊr d*i*d, ʊn·œʊr aat)'nt tʊ bi

V rɔq ɔn zɜtɟ ʊ pŭœ'*i*nt ʊz dh*i*s—waat dʊ juu dh*i*qk [dhɛqk]?
T raq ɔn ·s*i*tɟ lœ'*i*k, wɔt d)jʊ dhɛqk nœ'*u*?
D noo w*ái*z œ'*u*t ɔn zɜtɟ a pœ'*i*nt ʊz dh*i*k, w*a*t)st ·dhii dh*i*qk?

8. V wɜl, ʊz œ'*i* wʊz ʊ)z*ái*·in œʊr)ʊ tɛl)i œ'*u* wœʊr ʊn wɛn œʊr
T wɜl, ʊz œ'*i* wʊr ʊ)z*ái*·in, shii)d tɛl)i œ'*u* wɜn ʊn wœʊr ʊr
D ʊz œ'*i* wʊz ʊ)z*ái*·ʊn ·ɜʊr)*u*d tɛl)i œ'*u* wɜʊr ʊn wɜn ʊr

V vœ'*u*nd dhʊ drɜqk'n b*ee*st ʊz œʊr dʊ kaal œʊr ɜzbʊn.
T fœ'*u*nd dhʊ drɜqk'n b*i*ʊst shii dʊ kææl ʊr ɜzbʊn.
D vœ'*u*nd dhʊ drɜqk'n b*i*'st ʊz 'r$_{o}$ kaa'ld ʊr mee'stʊr.

9. V œʊr zwœʊrd [zoo'r] ʊz œ'u ʊz ʊr z*i*d ʊn w*i* ʊr á*u*n œ'*i*z,
T shi swaar shi ziid *i*m w*i*dh ʊr œ'*u*n œ'*i*z,
D ʊr zwoor ʊz ʊr z*i*d ʊn w*i* ʊr oo'n œ'*i*z,

V ʊ)lœ'*i*·*i*n zdrɛtɟt ʊt val lɛnth ɔn dhʊ grœ'*u*nd, *i*n *iz* g*u*d
T ʊ)lœ'*i*·*i*n œ'ut ææl ʊlɔq *i*n *iz* b*ii*'st
D lœ'*i*·ʊn aal ʊt *iz* lɛqkth ʊlɜq dhʊ grœ'*u*nd, w*i* *iz* best

V zəndi k*w*ət kl*oo*z tʊ dhʊ doo'R ʊ dhʊ ɑ'*u*s dɑ'*u*n ʊt dhʊ
T zəndi koo't ʊnɑ'*i*· dhʊ d*uu*'R ʊ dhʊ ɑ'*u*s dɑ'*u*n nɑ'*i* dhʊ
D zəndi-g*wá*in kwət ən, dʒest bɑ'*i* dhʊ duu'R ʊ dhʊ ɑ'*u*s,

V kaRnʊR ʊ JANDʊR$_{o}$ l*ee*n.
T kaaRnʊR [kɔ'*i*n] ʊ JɔN liin.
D dɑ'*u*n dhɑ'R bɑ'*i* dhʊ kɔRnʊl ʊ JɔNDʊRz lee'n.

10. V ʊ wʊz ʊ)wɑ'*i*n*i*n ʊwA'*i*, ʊr zez, vʊR AAl dhʊ wɑRLD lɑ'*i*k
T ii wʊR ʊ)wɑ'*i*n*i*n ʊw*ái*, i wɑR, fʊR æl dhʊ wɑRLD lɑ'*i*k
D ʊ wʊz ʊ)ɑ'*u*lʊn ʊw*ái* dhɑR, vʊR AAl dhʊ wɑRLD lɑ'*i*k

V ʊ z*i*k tʒɑ'*i*ld, ʊR ʊ l*i*t'l gjɑRL (wENtʒ) in ʊ vRET.
T ʊ z*i*k tʒɑ'*i*ld ʊR ʊ l*i*t'l ma*i*d æl ʊv ʊ vRET.
D ʊ dɔg kɔtʒt in ʊ tr*à*p, ʊR ʊ z*i*k tʒɑ'*i*ld *i*n ʊ vRET.

11. V ʊn dhat ap'nd ʊz ·ɑR ʊn ʊR daatʊR in laa, kəm
T ʊn dh*i*s JʊR æp'nd ʊz ·ɑR ʊn shiiz daatʊR-laa, kEm
D ʊn dh*a*t wɑR dʒest ʊz ·ɑR ʊn ʊR dAATʊR-LAA, kəm

V DRɑ'u dhʊ bak JARD vRʊm aq*i*n ɑ'*u*t dhʊ wEt kl*oo*z tʊ
T DRuu dhʊ bæk JAARD vRʊm ʊ æq*i*n ɑ'*u*t dhʊ wEt kloo'z tʊ
D DRɑ'*u* dhʊ JíARD vRʊm ʊ *a*qʊn ɑ'*u*t dhʊ wEt kloo'z tʊ

V DRɑ'*i*, ən ʊ wɔsh*i*n d*ee*.
T DRɑ'*i*, ən ʊ wæsh*i*n dii.
D DRɑ'*i*, ən ʊ washʊn [wEshʊn] d*ái*.

12. V wɑ'*i*l dhʊ kEtʊl wʊz ʊ b*ói*l*i*n vʊR t*ee*, wən vɑ'in bRɑ'*i*t
T ʊgEn dhʊ k*i*t'l bɑ'*i*ld vʊR tee, wən fɑ'in aatʊR$_{o}$nuun
D wEn dhʊ k*i*t'l wʊz ʊ bɑ'*i*lʊn vʊR tee, wən v*ái*R*i*sh bRɑ'*i*t

V zəmʊR aatʊRnuun *oo*nli ʊ w*i*k ʊguu·ʊ kəm nEkst dhɑRzdi.
T ʊ zəmʊR ʊ w*i*k ʊgən kəm dhɑRzdi.
D zəmʊR aatʊRnuun, ʊ w*i*k kəm nEkst dhɑRzdi.

13. V ʊn dʊ JU n*áu*? ɑ'*i*nevʊR JII'RD n*oo*o muu'R nɑR dh*i*s ʊ dhat
T ʊn ʊ tEl)i wɔt, ʊ n*i*vʊR JII'RD tEl nʊ m*uu*'R ən)t
D ʊn dʊst nóou, ɑ'*i* nEvʊR lɑRND noo muu'R nʊR dh*i*s ʊ dh*a*t

V dhɑR b*i*znes əp tʊ tʊd*ee*, ʊz zhuu'R)z mɑ'*i* n*i*'mz [n*ee*m)z]
T əp tʊ nɑ'*u*, ʊz DRuu ʊz mɑ'*i* niim)z
D dhʊR dʒɔb ʊz zh*uu*'R ʊz mɑ'*i* n*ái*m)z

V :dʒən :zhEpʊRD, ʊn ɑ'*i* dʊə)nt want tu nɑ'*i*dhʊR, dhɑR nɑ'u
T :dʒən :zhEpʊRT, ʊn ɑ'*i* də)nʊ wænt tʊ nɑ'*i*dhʊR, zoo dhɑR!
D :dʒən :zhEpʊRD, ʊn ɑ'*i* doo)'nt w*a*nt tʊ nóou niidhʊR.

14. V ʊn z*oo* ɑ'*i* bi ʊ)gw*á*in wəm tʊ zəpʊR, g*u*d
T z*oo* ɑ'*i*)m ʊ)gw*á*in wəm tʊ zəpʊR, g*u*d
D ʊn zoo ɑ'*i* bi ʊ)gw*á*in JəˈM tʊ a)mi ʊ b*i*t ʊ zəm*i*t tʊ JəT,

V nœ'*it*, ʊn d*w*ɜɪ)nt bi zʊ k*wi*k tʊ kʀá*u* *oo*vʊʀ ʊ bɔdi ʊg*i*'n,
T nœ'*it*, ʊn d*w*ɜnt)*i* bii zʊ k*wi*k tʊ kʀá*u* *oo*'ʀ ʊ bɔdi ʊg*in*,
D nœ'*it*)t)ɹʊ, ʊn doo'nt bii zoo zhaʀp oovʊʀ ʊ tʃap,

V wɛn ʊ)z ʊ)tʌʌk*in* ʊ dh*is* dhat ʊʀ t)ɜdhʊʀ
T wɛn i dʊ tææk ʊ dh*i*k ʊ dhæk.
D wɜn ʊ tʌʌks ʊ dh*is* ʊr dh*à*t.

15. V *it*)s ʊ w*ee*k vuul ʊz pr*ee*ts ʊdhœ'*ut*
T ʊn dhɛn wɛl tʊ it.
D ʊ m*an* ɹɜ)nt noo bɛtʊʀ nʊʀ ʊ vuul ʊz dʊ tʌʌk w*i*)œ'*ut*

V r*eez*ʊn . ʊn dhat)s mœ'i last wœʀd. g*u*dbŭœ*i*.
T g*u*d bŭœ'*i*)tʊ)i.
D noo zɛns, ʊ dh*à*t)s mœ'*i* l*aa*st wɔʀd. zoo g*u*d bœ'i t)ɹʊ.

## *Notes to V*, Vale and Town of Gloucester.

Mr. Jones considers his cs. to be a fair specimen of the dial. spoken about Gloucester in the *Vale*. In the *town* the use of *z*- for *s*- is not so frequent, and (th) generally remains as in rs. But in the town the sound of (ii) continually replaces that of (*ee*) even among educated people. Mr. Bellows quotes from Lord Campbell's Life of Judge Hale, p. 230, to the effect that the judge's name was in Gloucester called *eel* (iil), and that Mr. Bloxham, Clerk of the Peace, born near Alderly (7 se.Berkeley), near the Judge's native place, in summoning the Jury in Court, called out (:diiv*i*d :iil, ʊv dhe siim pliis, biikʊʀ), for David Hale, of the same place, baker, and Mr. Bellows recollects a farmer telling him that he heard Mr. Bloxham say: "Answer to your (niim) name, and (siiv) save your fine." In a paper called a specimen of the Vulgar Speech of the Town of Gloucester, reprinted by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte from the Transactions of the Cotswold Field Naturalists' Club for the year 1851, many such words occur. But they are by no means confined to the neighbourhood of Gloucester town. They will be found in Miss Frampton's Tetbury Specimen, and she gave me other instances. The following list contains all those in the above paper (unmarked), and those given by Mr. Jones (marked J), and Miss Frampton (marked F). The words are arranged in the usual classes and in ordinary spelling, the letter pronounced (ii) being italicised.

A- b*a*ker, dr*a*ke, t*a*ke, F t*a*ken, m*a*ke, m*a*de, cr*a*dle, F t*a*le, l*a*me, J F n*a*me [and (náim) F], J s*a*me, g*a*me, F m*a*ne [are, fare, as in rec. sp. ware (wɔʀ)], b*a*the, r*a*ther.
A'- l*a*ne.
AE- bl*a*ze, h*a*zle.
AE: w*a*ken, d*a*y, F tod*a*y [exceptional and not constant].
AE'- F stairs.
EA- sh*a*ke, sh*a*pe.
A. tr*a*desmen, F tr*a*de, J*a*mes, pr*a*tes, pot*a*toes [(tiitʊʀz)], w*a*ve, qu*a*vering, g*a*ze.
A.. t*a*ble, f*a*ce and F, pref*a*ce, pl*a*ce, b*a*con, p*a*ring, c*a*se, pl*a*te, sep*a*rate, observ*a*tion, narr*a*tion, st*a*te, p*a*ste.

As regards the series A-, A., A.. this reduction to (ii) is merely a variety of (iiʊ, iʊ, *i*') common in other parts of D 4, itself a reduction of (ía), which came naturally from (a-), but (éʊ, ee) are also found more in Do. and Sm. The intermediate form is ($é^1$ɔ), which is given by JGG. as the rural form about Chippenham Wl., where (ii, $ii^1$) are the town forms.

## *Notes to D*, Forest of Dean.

0. *why, doubts.* I have throughout represented the first element of the diphthongs (a'i, a'u) by (æ) in this district. I am not quite satisfied. It may be (ɐ). I long hesitated between (əh, œ) and simple (ɐ), which in Do. I adopted; all my hesitation arose from study of sounds heard from Mr. Potter, Mr. Law and Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour. The first element is often medial or long, but as I did not mark it at the time I leave the vowel short.

1. *say*, distinctly (zái), varying in direction of (zA'i), not approaching (zee). — *neighbour*, the (A'i) effect was very strong in this word. — *thou dost*, the (st) is a contraction hereabouts. — *this here*, the (J) is prefixed to (i'R) in this phrase only. — *it is not*, (t)ii)'nt) *'tain't*, is very common in this district, varies as (tJENt), (it bii'nt) also used.

2. *their being made game of*, (dhái) for *they* not a common pron. in other districts but not unknown, *they* again is for *their*; (máid) *made* is similar to (náim) *name*, par. 13, but (mi'd) is also used like the following (gi'm) *game*. — *reasonable*, the use of (R) initially was thoroughly settled with Mr. Trotter, who repudiated (r). — *is it*, (bii-ɐt) is not used.

3. *molesting of me*, or (MEDlɐn wi mii) meddling with me.

4. *heard*, (Jii'RD), the effect of (R) on following or preceding (t, d, l, n) converting them into (T, D, L, N) was carefully ascertained. — *through* (DRæ'u), the (R) before a vowel being distinctly trilled, see par. 2, *reasonable*, (thR-) could not be pronounced, and hence (TR-) or (DR-) became necessary. — *first* (VæST), the (R) is quite lost in this word, and in (bæst, WæS, wæst) burst, worse, worst; can this arise from the retention of (s) instead of retracting or reverting it? Thus (VæRST, VæRS,T) would be quite possible, and this (s, s,) would be distinct from (s), either would lead to (sh) as in Sanscrit. But if this ever existed, it has disappeared.

5. *a good knob of a boy.* — *fathers*, the first syllable varies as (vi', ve', vie'). — *I would back ·he*, the use of *·he* is conditioned by emphasis, otherwise (æ'i)d bak)ɐn) with the S. *kine*.

6. *woman*, emph. (HhumɐN). — *e'er a one*, any one. — *guling*, the glossaries give this as a He. word for *sneering*. — *wonderment, if thou wilt only ask her*.

7. *leastways*, the use of (ái) in place of (æ'i) shows that the speaker considered the termination to be *ways* and not *wise*. — *she told*, when (ɐR) is used for *her*=*she*, the (R) is distinct, when for *her* (as usually written) = *he*, the (R) is lost, (ɐ tɐld, ɐR tɐld) he told, she told, are thus kept distinct without emphasis. *two or three times or more*, in Aylburton (4 sse.Coleford, Gl.) they use (ɐne·nt) anent in place of 'or more,' meaning 'nearly, close upon,' but see *anent* in Murray's Dictionary.—*what dost*, see (dhii)st) 'thou dost,' par. 1.

8. *drunken* scarcely used, (fæd'ld) 'fuddled' sometimes heard, but if a man is not very drunk they say, (im ɐ bin ɐ *a*vɐn ɐ DRáp) 'he's been having a drop,' and if he's very drunk indeed, (im ɐ got)ɐt ɔn)ɐn tɐ Ræ'its) 'he has got it on him to-rights,' but 'drunk' itself is almost a tabooed word.—*beast*, also (beest).

9. *lying*, they lie, and hens lay, (dhái dɐ læ'i, ɐn ENZ dɐ lái) bring out the two diphthongs very clearly.—*coat*, (kwat ɔn) 'coat on,' since the word runs on to (ɔn) but in the pause it is (kwo't) in *that's my coat* (dhât)s mæ'i kwo't).—*yonders*, the phrase is used, but the grammar is not clear.

10. *howling*, in the Forest of Dean, little babies even *howl*, and never *whine*, (but win·ikɐn) is heard at Aylburton.

11. *clothes*, Mr. Trotter thought he used (kloo'z), but on hearing the difference, acknowledged (tloo'z).

13. *name*, see *made*, par 2.

14. *and so I be a-going home to have)me a bit of somewhat to eat.* The (a)mi) was nearly (æ)mi).

Phrases from Forest of Dean from dict. of Mr. Potter and Aylburton from dict. of Miss Potter.

1. (ʊz aaʀd ʊz ʜhœ'*i*·ʊʀn), as hard as iron [the first aspirate omitted as usual, the second introduced for emphasis].
2. (ʊ b*i*t ʊv ʊ m*á*i*d*), a bit of a maid [one growing up to womanhood, a (gɜʀl is a maidservant of about fifteen, a (wɛnsh) is a grown woman in a good sense].
3. (gɜʀ)ʊw*á*i w*i*-jʊ), get away with you, said to a dog [this conversion of (t) into (r) is very common with *get* before a vowel in numerous districts].
4. (ɜ)z b*i*n ʊn jɛt mi ɔn dhʊ jɜd), Forest; (iiz b*i*n ʊ)jat·*i*n mi ɔn dhʊ jɜd), Aylburton; he's been and hit [been a-hitting] me on the head.
5. (œ'*u* guu, n*i*p·ʊʀ), how go (how are you), little fellow.
6. (uu·z'n œ*u*·z'n bii·)ʊm), whose houses be them = are they. Compare Sh.
7. (bɜʀd-dɜb·*i*n), bird-dubbing, walking down in two companies on each side of a hedge and pelting at the birds, which fear to leave the hedge on either side.
8. (*i*m)z ʊ prɔpʊʀ rɔq·k)'n), he's a proper rank-one (?), he's a regular deep one.
9. (œ'*i*)m gw*á*i*n* tʊ aa)mi ʊ)rœ'*i*d), I'm going to have me a ride [=to get a lift in a waggon].
10. (*u*)t, l*u*k)*i*), wilt thou, look-you.
11. (·uu b*i*st ·dhii ʊ dhœ'u·ɔn), whom art thou a-thou-ing [in a quarrel, Forest]. (œ'i beent ə gw*á*i*n* tʊ bii dhiid bɔ'*i* dhœ'u) I am)not a going to be thee'd by thou [Aylburton].
12. (ʊ pool·tɔn ban·ʊts), a-pelting walnuts.
13. (ʊ woo)'nt aan·k'n ɜn·tə mii), he won't hearken to me, won't do what I tell him.
14. (k*i*p dhɜm v*i*ts st*i*l), keep those feet still [that is, don't stamp, said at a public reading].
15. (ʜɛft)'n), heave him or it, (ʜɛft) weight or heavy load, both Forest and Aylburton.

## Gloucester cwl.

V Vale of Gloucester as in cs.
T Tetbury as in cs. with some extras.
C Cirencester from wl. given me vv. by Miss Martin of Whitelands.
D Forest of Dean as in cs.
A Aylburton as in specimens.
W Whitcomb (5 ese.Gloucester), wn. by TH.

Unmarked words belong to the four first-named places and also possibly to A.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 C t*í*uk. 5 C m*í*uk. 17 V laa, TD lɑɑ. 18 k*i*uk. 12 V n*í*um neem, T niim, D n*á*im, C n*í*um. 22 C t*í*um. 24 C sh*í*um. 28 C hɔʀ. 34 V last, D l*aa*st, T læst. A: 39 VTD [(kɜm) come, used]. 45 C ants. 46 [(l*ó*it) light, always used]. 54 V want, T wænt, D w*a*nt. 56 V wɔsh wash,

T wæsh, C [(bak'n) a small wash]. A: *or* O: 58 VT vrem. 60 vla·q. 64 V roq, T raq. A'- 67 VTD vgwáin [a-going], D ə'u guu [how do go=do]. 73 VT *zoo*, D zoo. 75 TD duu, V tuu. 76 C túud. 79 V áun, T ə'*un*, D ooun. 81 V *leen*, D léeun, T liin. 82 wans. 84 VTD múuur. 86 C úuts. 87 V *klooz*, TD klóouz. 89 V búuuth, D *búuth*, T bóouth. 92 VT náu, D nóou. 94 VT kráu. 97 sə'*ul*. A': 102 VD aks, T æks. 104 W *rood*. 113 V wal *wívl*, T *wul*, D ·oovl. 115 VTC wam, D jam. 118 C búun. 120 V vguu·u, T vgon. 122 V núuu. 124 stúuun. 125 *oonli*. 129 C gúuust. 130 C búut.

Æ- 138 V vaadhur, T vææ—, D *vi'*—, *ve'*—, *víe'*—, C fæædhur. 143 *táil*. 144 V vgíun, T vgin. 150 V *leest*, T *liust*, D liist. 152 C waatur. Æ: 161 V *dee*, T dii, D *dii*. 162 V tudee, T tu dii. 163 *lói*. 166 T *máid*, D *máid*. 168 C tæælur. 169 VTD wan. 170 C æævst. 172 C graæs. 174 C *eesh*. 177 V dhat, D dhàt, [T (dhak) used). 179 V waat, T wot, D *wat*. 181 C pææth. Æ'- 182 C see. 183 C *teetj*. 190 kee. 193 *kleen*. 194 VT eni, VD oni. 197 tjiz. 199 C *bleet*. 200 *weet*. 201 C *eedh'n*. Æ': — *sidz* [seeds]. 207 *nid'l*. 210 *klói*. 214 VTD nə'*idhur*. 215 C taat. 218 C *ship*. 220 VD zhephurd, T —t. 223 DC dhəər dhur. 224 VTD wəər. 227 VTD wet.

E- 233 V *speek*, D speek. — jet [eat]. 252 V ketl, TDC *kit'l*. E: 256 V zdretjt, T stretjt. 261 VT *zái*, D *zái*. 262 VTD *wái*. 265 W *stráit*. 276 VD *dhiqk*, VT dheqk. 278 wensh [always used for girl in a good sense]. 281 V lenth, DT leqkth. 284 dresh. 287 C *biz'm* [common word for all kinds of brooms]. — T *bii'st*, D best [best]. E': 313 DT aark'n. 314 V *ii'rd*, TD *jii'rd*. 315 D *vits*, C *fit*.

EA- 320 VTD *kíiur*. EA: 322 V laf, T læf. 323 fə'*ut*. 326 VT ə'*uld*, D *áauld*, W *óuld* *áuld*. 330 V hə'*uld*, ə'*uld*. 332 V *táuld*, T telt, D teld. 333 C kææf. 335 T ææl, DV aal. 338 V kaal, T kææl, D kaa'l. — aard [hard]. 343 C waarm. 346 D *gíut*, W gjet. EA'- 347 D jed, C jad. 348 VTD ə'*iz*, C *ói*. 349 V *viáu*. EA': 354 C *sheef*. 365 C *díuf*. 356 C *leef*. 357 *dháu* dhoo. 359 T *náibur*, D *náibur*. 361 *been*. 366 VT gərt. 370 C raa. 371 C straa.

EI: 377 C *stíuk*. 378 T *week*. EO- 386 C jə'*u*. EO: 390 V *zhud*, T *shud*. 394 V jander, D jonderz. 398 [C (klæm) used]. 399 VD brə'*it*. 402 D lərn, T laarn. EO'- 411 VTDC drii. 412 [(ər) her, used in nom., (shii) in acc.] 420 C və'ur. 421 C farti. 421 vo'rth. EO': 422 W *zik*. 425 C *lóit*. 435 [C (dhii) always used, even to superiors, perhaps from large quaker community]. 437 VT truuth, D *tráuth*. EY- 438 VTD də'*i*. EY: 439 V treest.

I- 440 C *week*. 441 *ziv*. 446 C *nóin*. 447 V ər [T (shiiz) she's, used]. I: 452 VTD ə'*i*, C *ói* [evidently an error of my informant]. 455 VTD lə'*i*, C *lói*. 459 C *róit* [? ra'it]. 465 setj. 467 VTDC tjə'*ild*, W tja'*il*. 480 V dhiq, T dheq. 484 VD *dhis* [T (*dhik*) used]. 487 *jisterdi*. — jat [hit]. I'- 495 VT wə'*in* [D (ə'*ul*) howl, used]. 496 hhə'*irn*. I': 506 VTDC *umun*. 510 V mə'*in*, T mŭə'*in* [and generally (ə'*i*)].

O- 519 T æver. 524 VTD wərld. O: 531 daater. 538 VTD *ud*. 546 v'r. — [C (praq) prong used for *fork*]. 547 buu'rd. 550 T wərd. 551 C starm. 552 C karn. O'- 559 C madher. 564 zuun. O': 571 V *gud*. 577 C *boo*. 578 C *ploo*. 579 VT vnaf. 586 V *dæant*, T da)nu, D doo'nt [don't]. 587 VTD dan. 592 V zwərd zoo'r [both used], T swaar, D zwoor. 595 C fat.

U- 601 *fool*. 602 zə'*u*. 603 W ukam*in*. 604 VTD zamur. 605 VTD zan. 606 TD *dúuur*, V doo'r, W dûur. U: 608 C [(ərneri) ordinary, used]. 610 C *ud*. 612 VTD zam. 615 C *poond*. 616 VDT grə'*und*. 619 VD və'*u*'nd, T fə'*und*. 627 VTD zandi. 631 dhərzdi. 632 VT ap. 633 C *kup*. 634 VD drə'u, T druu, W thruu. U'- 643 D nə''u, W nau. U': 658 VTD də'*un*, C *doon*. 659 C *toon*. 663 VTD ə'*us* [pl. (ə'*uz*'n) C]. 665 C *moos*. 666 VT azbun [(mee'stur) used D].

Y- 673 T matj. 675 VTD drə'*i*. 676 C lói. 682 VT *lit'l*. Y: 690 C kóind. 691 C *móind*. 701 VTD vast. Y- 705 C skói. 706 VTD wə'*i*. Y': 709 C fóir. 712 C miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 VD tʌʌk, T tææk. 732 V ap'n, T æp'n. 738 T pʀiit.
E. 748 C flɛsht. 749 W lift. 752 VTD vʀɛt.
I. *and* Y. 754 C pæg [heard from the old man who called bacon (báik'n)]. 758 V gjœʀl, W gjɜʀl.
O. 761 [(bœʀd'n) always used C]. 765 :dɹɔn. 767 T nâiz. 781 T bɔdhɛʀ. 791 V bŭɔ'i, T bŭɔ'i, D bŭói. Ú. 804 V dʀɜqk'n.
U. 804 V dʀɜpk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 813 C báik'n [heard from an old man]. 814 meesnaʀ. — C [(bɜkit) bucket always used for *pail*]. 824 tɹii'ʀ. 835 ʀeez'n. 857 T kiis. 862 T siif. 864 kɔz.
E·· 867 VC *tee*, TD tee. 878 sɔlʀi. 887 [(pææs'n) parson, used C]. 888 VTD zaʀtin. 890 VC *beest*, T bíiʀst, D bi'st. 892 C nɛvi.
I·· *and* Y·· 901 V vɔ'in, T fɔ'in. 904 vóilet.
O·· 916 C áinɛnz. 920 VT pŭœ'int, D pœ'int. 925 VT váis. 929 koo·kɛmbʀ. 938 VT kaʀnʀ, D kɔʀnɛl. 939 V *klooz* [T (ɛnæ'i) anigh, used]. 940 VD kwat, T koo't. 941 VDT vuul. 947 V bóil, TD bæ'il. 950 VT zɜpaʀ. 955 VTD dɔ'uts.
U·· 964 C súʀt. 969 VTD zhúʀʀ.

## VAR. iii. THE NORTH-WESTERN OR EAST HE. FORM.

As we shall see, all He. is affected by the MS. dial., but the little slip which runs up from Gl. into He. is so strongly MS. that, although there seems to be a little falling off as we go on, I have found it necessary to place it in D 4. The w. b. of this slip is the w. b. of the S div. The e. b. is formed by the barrier of the Malvern Hills. The first considerable place we meet is Ross on the Wye. About this dialect a correspondent signing himself W. H. Green, who said he was a native of Ross, but whom we have been unable to identify, sent a letter in his own spelling to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, from which, in conjunction with notes from Upton Bishop, and a very few words given to TH. by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, Hereford, the following inferences are drawn:

### *Ross Pronunciation.*

(z) is used for (s) in *so see, some, said say, sow* (pig).
(v) is used for (f) in *from find folk friend farmer for forty forget offended* (?).
(iʀ) is used in *late, plagued, place master, translate quakers*, implying the regular MS. change in A- words, but (ææ) is found in *clavey* a local word = mantlepiece.
(âi) is used in *say way straight neighbour*.
(ʌ'o) apparently is used in *know* and (ŭʌ'i) in *boy*.
(ɜ) is heard in *put*.
(dhik, dhak) are used.
(bist) thou art, (ɜʀ im) she, he; (dhii) thou, (ut, ust) wilt, would'st, I *be*, they *been't*, I *did* want.

All these are strong marks of D 4.

Going further n., TH. got from Stoke Edith, (grâin fâiʀ dâi lâi·i,n) grain, fair, day, day, laying and "I told *she*." But in this latitude at Ledbury, and further n. at Much Cowarne and Eggleton, there are very distinct marks of the same dialect in the following examples.

## Three Interlinear He. cs.

### from Ledbury, Much Cowarne, and Eggleton.

L marks the cs. specimen for Ledbury (12 e. Hereford) written by Rev. C. Y. Potts, and the late Mr. Gregg, solicitor, both of Ledbury, and pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Gregg.

C marks the specimen for Much Cowarne (9 ne. Hereford) written in phonotypy (see Part IV. 1183 *c*) by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, of Broad Street, Hereford, from the dict. of Mr. Herbert Ballard, Leighton Court, Bromyard, and pal. by AJE. As the diphthongs were unanalyzed in phonotypy, I have adopted the forms (ə'*i*, ə'*u*) heard by TH. when visiting Much Cowarne in 1881. Possibly Mr. Gregg's, which I heard as (œ'*i*, œ'*u*), were meant for the same.

E marks the Eggleton (8 ne. Hereford), practically the same as the Much Cowarne, written by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper, of Blackway, Eggleton, for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte (who passed it over to AJE.), with an ingenious and exhaustive rhyming key to the pron., supplemented by long notes from Miss Mary E. Piper and her brother, who considered that the true He. speech began about Stoke Lacy, Pencombe, and Bromyard (9 ne. 10 nne. 13 ne. Hereford), slightly to the w. of Much Cowarne and Eggleton. From the key and the notes and TH.'s Much Cowarne words, the cs. has been pal. by AJE. The difference between Ledbury and Eggleton these informants considered to consist chiefly in the greater "gutturality" of Much Cowarne, adding that *horse* is (aʀs) at Ledbury, but (ɔs) in Cowarne.

The substantial phonetic agreement of all three renderings obtained from such widely different sources (notwithstanding some evident dialectal slips which are inevitable when writers have not themselves spoken the dialect naturally in their youth) shows that the correct pron. must have been fairly reached.

Miss Piper added some further specimens which are given below with a translation interlined.

0. L *Ledbury.* wœ'*i* :dʒʌʌn ʊz n*oo* dœ'*u*ts
C *Much Cowarne.* wə'*i* :dʒa'k a'nt n*oo* də'*u*ts
E *Eggleton.* wə'*i* :dʒʌʌn ɔ)nʊ gɔt n*oo* m*i*sg*i*v*i*nz

1. L wəl, n*ái*bʊʀ, ʒuu ʊn *im* m*ái* boo'th la'f ʊt dh*is* *ii*ʀ nĭuuz
C wel, n*ái*bʊʀ, ʒuu ʊn *im* m*ái* b*oo*th on)ʒʊ laaf ʊt dh*is* *ii*ʀ nĭuuz
E w*ee*l, n*ái*bʊʀ, bwəth ɔn dhʊ v*oo*k m*ái* ləf ʊt dh*ík* nĭuuz

L ʊ mœ'*i*n. uu kjɛʀz ? dha't)s nœ'*i*dhʊʀ *ii*'ʀ nʊʀ dhɛʀ.
C ʊz ə'*i*·dʊ tɛl ʒʊ. huu dʊ keeʀ ? dhɔt)s niidhʊʀ ʒɛʀ nʊʀ dheeʀ
E ʊz ə'*i* ʊ gɔt. uu kéeʊʀz ? dhɔt ʒɔnt ʒíiʊʀ nʊʀ dhíiʊʀ

2. L viʌ'*u* mɛn dœ'*i* kʌʌz dhɛ)ʀ la'ft ʊt,
C fjə'*u* f*w*aks dʊ də'*i* kɔs dh*ee* dʊ gɛt la'ft ʊt,
E dhíiʊʀ ʒɔnt bɔt vĭə'*u* menkjɔ'*i*nd ʊz dɔ'*i*z kɔz dh*ái* bi ləft ʊt,

L wi nʌ'*u*z, doo'nt əs ? wʌʌt sh'd meck ʊm ? tĭɛnt vɛʀ*i*
C wii dʊ n*áu* dɛn ʊs? wɔt sh*u*d míak ʊm ? it ʒɛnt vɛʀ*i*
E wii nʌ'*u*z, dwənt)əs ? wɔt sh*u*d míʊk ʊm ? *it* bʒɔnt vɛʀ*i*

L lœ'*i*kl*i*, *iz* *it* ?
C lə'*i*kli, bii *it* ?
E lə'*i*kli, bii *it* ?

3. L AASƱME·VƱR dhiiz bii dhi faks ƱƱ)dhƱ kees, *zoo* dʒƱST A'*u*d JƱR
C ·liist)áiz dhiiz)JƱR bƱnt n*oo* lə'*i*z, *zoo* JUU dʒƱST ə'*u*ld JƱR
E ə'*u*sƱME·VƱR *i*t WƱZ atƱR dh*i*k wá*i*, *soo* dʒƱST ə'*u*d dhƱ

L ná*i*z, ƱN bi kwɔ'*i*ƱT t*i*l ɔ'*i* ƱƱ dƱn. l*u*k *ii*'R nɔ'*u*!
C RƱ'*u*, ə'*u*ld bwA'i, ƱN JUU ə'*i*sht t*i*l ə'*i* ƱƱ dƱn. aaRk)*i*!
E ná*i*z, mƱn, ƱN hƱ'*i*sht t*i*l ə'*i* bi dƱn. AARk'n!

4. L ɔ'*i* bi zƱRt*i*n ɔ'*i* ii'Rd ƱM zá*i*—zƱm ƱƱ dhƱM v*oo*ks ƱZ
C ə'*i* bi shUUR ə'*i* JƱRd ƱN sá*i*—sƱm o dhƱM tʒaps az
E ə'*i* bi shúUƱR ƱZ ə'*i* híiƱRD ƱM zá*i*—zƱm ƱƱ dhá*i* v*oo*k ƱZ

L WƱNt DRɔ'*u* dhƱ wƱl dh*i*q VRƱm dhƱ vƱRst dhƱRZƱ·lvz—dha't
C ná*u*d AAl ƱbƱ'*u*t *i*t VRƱm dhƱ vƱst, d*i*d ə'*i* shUURlƱ'*i*·.
E WƱNt DRƱ'*u* dhƱ WƱl dh*i*q VRƱm dhƱ vƱst dhíƱRZƱ·lvz—dhƱt

L ɔ'*i* d*i*d zƱef ƱnƱf.
C
E ə'*i* d*i*d s*ee*'f ƱnƱf.

5. L dhƱt dhƱ JƱqest zƱn *i*zzƱ·lf, Ʊ greet bwA'*i* Ʊ nɔ'*i*n, nA'*u*d
C ez dhƱ l*i*tlest bwA'*i* *i*zsƱ·l, Ʊ JƱq)ƱN Ʊ nɔ'*i*n JƱR ə'*u*ld, ná*u*d
E dhƱt dhƱ JƱqest bwA'*i* *i*zzƱ·lf, Ʊ gR*ée*ƱT bwA'*i* Ʊ nƱ'*i*n, nA'*u*d

L *i*z vee·dhƱRZ vá*i*s ƱT WƱNst, dh*oo* *i*t WƱZ *zoo* k*wii*ƱR ƱN
C *i*z fïadhƱRZ vA'*i*s ƱT WƱNst, Al rƱm*i* ƱN
E h*i*mz v*ee*dhƱRZ vá*i*s ƱT WƱNst dh*oo* Ʊ WƱZ *soo* k*wée*ƱR ƱN

L sk*w*iiki, ƱN ɔ'*i*)d TRƱST ·*i*m tƱ spiik dhƱ TRUUth ƱNi
C sk*w*iik*i*fə'*i*d, ƱN *i*m *u*d)nƱ tƱl n*oo* lə'*i*z ta noobƱdi,
E sk*w*íƱk*i*n, ƱN ə'i *u*d TRƱST ·*i*m tƱ spiiƱk dhƱ TR*u*th an*i*

L dá*i*, á*i*, *i*)·*u*d.
C n*oo* Ʊ *u*d)'nt.
E dái, á*i*, ə'*i* ·*u*d.

6. L ƱN dhƱ AAd *u*mƱn ƱRZƱ·lf ul tƱl ƱN*i* ƱN JU ƱZ la'fs nɔ'*u*,
C ƱN dhƱ ə'*u*ld *u*mƱn ƱRSƱ·l *u*l tƱl ƱNi ƱN JU tʒaps ez iz [wƱt)s]
E dhƱ ə'*u*ld *u*mƱn ƱRZƱ·lf *u*l tƱL ƱN*i* on dhƱ ƱZ lƱfs nƱ'*u*,

L ƱN tƱl JU STRá*i*t ƱF, tuu, Ʊdhɔ'*u*·t mƱtʒ bƱdhƱR, *i*V JU)l
C ƱgR*i*·n*i*n, widhƱ'*u*t n*oo* fƱS NAR bƱdhƱR, *i*f JUU
E ƱN tƱl dhƱ STRá*i*t ƱF, tuu, *u*dhƱ'*u*·t mƱtʒ b*oo*thƱR, *i*f dhii)dst

L *oo*n*i* a'sk ƱR WƱNt ƱR?
C ooni aksƱZ ƱR, á*i*, ƱR *u*l
E ƱnL*i* a'ks ƱR WƱNt ƱR, má*i* bi?

7. L liistwá*i*z Ʊ toold *i*t ·mii WƱN ɔ'*i* a'kst ƱR, tuu ƱR DRii
C liist)á*i*z ƱR d*i*d tƱl)mi WƱN ə'*i* akst ƱR tuu AR dhRii
E lƱstwá*i*z ƱR tƱld *i*t mƱƱ WƱN ə'*i* akst ƱR, tuu AR DRii

L tœ'*i*mz oovɐr, ɐr d*i*d, ɐn ·ɜr aat)'nt tɐ b*i* raaq on dha't
C tə'*i*mz ə'*u*vɐr, ɐn ·ɜr dɐ náu ɐz wɛl ɐz m*oo*st,
E tə'*i*mz ɔvɐr, d*i*d ɐr, ɐn ·ɜr ad)'nt aat tɐ bi rɜq in dh*i*k

L pœ'*i*nt, waat d)ji dh*i*qk?
C wɔt d)jɐ th*i*qk?
E jiiɐr kíiɐs, wɔt dəst dhii dh*i*qk?

8. L wɛl, ɐz œ'*i* wɐz ɐzái·*i*n, ·shii)d tɛl)j*i*, œ'*u* wɜr ɐn wɛn
C wɛl, ɐz ə'*i* wɐz ɐzái·*i*n, ɜr *u*d tɛl)jɐ, ə'*u*
E w*éé*l, ɐz ə'*i* wɐz ɐzái·*i*n, ɜr *u*d tɛl)dhɐ, ə'*u* wíiɐr ɐn wɛn

L ɐr fɜnd dhɐ drɜqk'n bii'st ɐr kaalz ɐr ɜzbɐn.
C ɐr fə'*u*nd dhɐ drɜqkɐn bíast ɐz ɐr dɐ kaal ɜzban.
E ɐr vɜnd dhɐ drɜqkɐn bjɜst ɐr kaalz ɐr mɔn.

9. L ɐr zoor ɐz ar zi*n* *i*m ɜdh ar ɜ'*o*n œ'*i*z ɐlœ'*i*·*i*n
C ɐr d*i*d sweer ɐz ɐr d*i*d sii *i*m w*i*d ɐr ə'*u*n ə'*i*z, ɐlə'*i*·in
E ɐr s*óo*ɐr ɐz ɐr sii *i*m *u*th ɐr ə'*u*n ə'*i*z ɐlái·

L zdretʒt a't vɜl lɜnth ɔn dhɐ gra'ond *i*n *i*z zɜnd*e*
C ɐt f*u*l lɜnth ɔn dhɐ grə'*u*nd *i*n *i*z sɜnd*i*
E stratʒt ə'*u*t ɐt vɜl lɜnth ɔn dhɐ jaarth *i*n dhɔt dhíiɐr g*u*d

L k*w*oo't, klaas b*i* dhɐ œ'*u*s doo'r dœ'*u*n ɐt dhɐ kaarn'l
C g*oo*·*i*n k*oo*t, kl*oo*s ɐge·n dhɐ d*oo*r ɔv iz ə'*u*s ɐz dɐ stand
E zɜnd*i* kúuɐt ɐ *i*z'n, klɔs ɐge'n dhɐ dúuɐr ɐ dhɐ ə'*u*s, də'*u*n

L ɐ dha't lee'n.
C ɐt dhɐ kɔrnɐl ɔv dhat dheer l*ee*n.
E ɐt dhɐ kaarn*i*l ɐ jandɐr lá*i*n.

10. L ɐ wɐz ɐwœ'*i*n*i*n ɐwá*i*, zez-ɜr, vɐr aal dhɐ wɜrld lœ'*i*k ɐ
C *i*m wɐr ɐwə'*i*n*i*n ɐwái·, ɜr dɐ sá*i*, var aal dhɐ wɜrld lə'*i*k ɐ
E ɐ wɐz ɐjə'*u*·l*i*n ɐwái·, sez ɜr, far aal dhɐ úuɐrld lə'*i*k ɐ

L z*i*k jɜq)ɐn ar ɐ l*i*t'l wɛnsh in ɐ vrɛt.
C jɜq)ɐn az *i*z bad, ar ɐ lit'l wɛntʒ ɐ ə'*u*l*i*n.
E s*i*k jɜq)ɐn ar ɐ l*i*t'l wɛntʒ ɐz wɐz frɛtʒet.

11. L ɐn dha't a'p'nd ɐz ·ɜr ɐn)ɐr daatɐr laa kɜm
C ɐn dhat dheer d*i*d ap'n ɐz ɜr ɐn)ɐr daatɐr*i*nlaa d*i*d kɜm
E ɐn dhɔt wɐz djɜst ɐz ɜr ɐn)ɐr daatɐr laa kɜm

L drœ'*u* dhɐ ba'k jard vrɐm a'q·*i*n œ'*u*t dhɐ wɛt kl*oo*z
C drə'u dhɐ gjard*i*q aatɐr aq·*i*n ə'*u*t dhɐ klwaz
E drə'*u* dhɐ bɔk jaard wíiɐr ɜd b*i*n ɐ a·q*i*n ə'*u*t dhɐ wææt kl*oo*z

L tɐ drœ'*i* ɔn ɐ wɛsh*i*n dá*i*,
C ɔn dhɐ lə'*i*nz ɔn ɐ wɔsh*i*n dá*i*,
E tɐ drə'*i* ɔn ɐ wɛsh*i*n dá*i*.

12. L wæ'*i*l dhʊ kɛt'l wʊz ʊbæ*i*·l*i*n vʊʀ tii wɜn væ'*i*n bʀæ'*i*t
C wɛn dhʊ kɛt'l wʊz ʊbə'*i*lin fʊʀ tii, wɜn fə'*i*n
E dhʊ wə'*i*ld dhʊ k*i*t'l wʊz ʊbə'*i*l*i*n fʊʀ tii, wɜn fə'*i*n bʀə'*i*t

L zɜmʊʀ aatʊʀnuun *oon*i ʊ w*i*k ʊguu· kɜm nɛkst thɜzd*e*.
C zɜmʊʀz aatʊʀnuun ɔ'*un*l*i* ʊ w*i*k ʊgə'*u*· kɜm nɛkst thɜɜzd*i*.
E zɜmʊʀ atʊʀnuun ɜnl*i* ʊ w*i*k ʊguu· kɜm nɛt dhɜɜzd*i*.

13. L ʊn d)ji nɑ'*u*! æ'*i* nɛvʊʀ lɜʀnd n*oo* moo'ʀ nʊʀ dh*i*s
C ʊn duu jʊ nɑ́*u*? ə'*i* nɛvʊʀ iiʀd n*oo* m*oo*ʀ
E ʊn dɜst dhʊ nɑ'*ù*, ʊz ə'*i* nɛvʊʀ lɜʀnd an*i* múuʊʀ nʊʀ dh*i*k

L ʊ dhɑ't b*i*zn*i*s ɜp tʊ dh*i*s dɑ́*i*, ʊz zhuu'ʀ ʊz mɑ́*i*
C ɔn)t ɜp tʊ dh*i*s iiʀ dɑ́*i*, ʊz shuuʀ ʊz mə'*i*
E ʊ dhɔt dhíiʊʀ b*i*z·n*i*s *ti*l tʊdɑ́*i*, ʊz shúuʊʀ ʊz mə'*i*

L nee'm)z :dʒɑɑn :shɛpʊʀd, ʊn æ'*i* doo)'nt wɔnt tu næ'*i*dhʊʀ,
C n*ee*m)z :dʒak :shepʊt ʊn ə'*i* dɜ)na wɔnt tu niidhʊʀ,
E níiʊm bi :dʒɑɑn :shepʊʀt, ʊn ə'*i* dɜ)nʊ wɔnt tʊ nɛdhʊʀ,

L dhɜʀ næ'u!
C zʊ ·dhɛt bi dhʊ ɛnd ɔn)t.
E dhíiʊʀ nə'*ù*.

14. L ʊn z*oo* æ'*i*)ʀ ʊgwee'n wɜm tʊ sɜpʊʀ g*u*d næ'*i*t, ʊn
C ʊn z*oo* ə'*i* bi ʊg*wi*n wɜm tʊ av zɜm zɜp·ʊʀ g*u*d nə'*i*t, ʊn
E ʊn s*oo* ə'*i* bi g*wá*i·n wɜm tʊ zɜpʊʀ g*u*d nə'*i*t ʊn

L doo'nt bi *zo* vaast tʊ kʀɑ'*u* oovʊʀ ʊ bɔd*i*ʒ agjɜ·n, wɜn
C dɜ)nʊ bi zʊ ɜnkɔ·mʊn k*wi*k tʊ kɔk ə'*u*vʊʀ ʊ felʊʀ ʊge·n, wɛn
E dɜ)nʊ dhʊ bi· s*o* k*wi*k tʊ kʀɑ'*u* ɔvʊʀ ʊ bɔd*i* ʊgɔ·n, wɛn

L ʊ tɑɑks ʊ dh*i*s dhɑ't ʊ tɜdhʊʀ.
C *i*m dʊ tɑɑk ɔv dh*i*s jʊʀ ʌʀ dhat dheeʀ.
E ʊ tɑɑks ʊ dh*i*k dhɔt ʌʀ tɜdhʊʀ.

15. L *i*t)s ʊ puu'ʀ ʌ'*u*f ʊz pree'ts ʊdhæ'*u*·t ʀiiz'n. ʊn dhɑ't)s
C *i*m bii [*iz*] ʊ haas ʊz bii hɑɑl*i*s ʊ dʒabʊʀ*i*n ʀɛb*i*sh. dhɔt)s dhʊ
E *i*t)s ʊ dɑɑndʊʀ*i*q ə'*u*f ʊz préeʊts *u*dhə'*u*'t zɛns. ʊn dhɔt

L mæ'i laast wɜʀd, g*u*d bæ'i.
C best nĭuuz ə'*i* ʊ gɔt fʊʀ ja, ə'*u*ld bwɑ'*i*! nə'*u* ə'i mʊn t*ee*k mɜ'*i*
E bii mə'*i* lɑɑst úuʊʀd, g*u*d bá*i*.

L
C dan*i*ʊk, ʌʀ ə'*i* sha)nt av n*oo* sɜpʊʀ—*u*k *i*t!
E

*Notes to L*, the Ledbury cs.

1. *neighbour*, not used in this way in the dialect.

4. *through*. Mr. G. said that isolatedly (dhræ'u) is used, but here he said (dræ'*u*) not reverting (d r), a mere accident, few gentlemen learn to revert

(R) before a vowel. As to the *th*, Mr. Gregg gave, through (dhrœ'u), throw (thrA'u), thistle (diz'l), thin (dhin), thief (thif), thick = that (dhik), which indicated an inconsistent usage.—*safe* (zeef) meaning sure, but a (zee'f) for meat; the word ought to begin with (s) theoretically.

5. *aye I would, I* becomes (*i*) under such circumstances, the pron. varying with the construction.

6. *won't her, her* is used for *she*, and the (R) is felt distinctly, as (want v) would = *won't he*.

9. *own* (ɑ'on) has a glide from the open to the rounded lips, (ɑ) to (*o*). —*ground*, at first I wrote (A'A$_o$) considering the glide to be merely in the rounding, as in the last case, but subsequently (A'o) seemed to express it better, the position of the tongue being also changed. Similarly *growth* was called (gRA'oth), nearly (gRA'uth).—*that lane*, (JON) is found in the dialect and might have been used here.

12. *afternoon*, Mr. Potts says *evening* would be used, Mr. Gregg just the reverse.

13. *shepherd* as a name has (sh), as an occupation (zh).

14. *I are*, this is rare, *I be* is common, *he are*, *he be* are never used, Mr. G. said that "*be* is invariably used by uneducated people with each of the personal pronouns both in the sing. and pl.," this is probably too wide an assertion. In this case (ɑ'i bii ɑgwee'n) would be more usual, the (v-) is prefixed only to the present, not to the past participle. *Thou* is not found, but *thee bist*, *thee wust* are constantly used.

## *Notes to C*, or the Much Cowarne cs.

15. *He is an ass as be always jabbering rubbish. That's the best news I have got for you, old boy. Now I must take my danniok or I shan't have no supper. Hook it!* The word *danniok* was not explained, it may mean *gaiters* for which *dannack* is used in Nf.

Mr. Hallam obtained in 1881 from Mrs. Sarah Griffiths in almshouses at Hereford, b. 1816 at Much Cowarne, where she lived till 7 and afterwards from 10 to 20, the following words, which are very fair D 4.

A- 21 nêem. A: or O: 64 ròq'. A'- 67 ə'i bi gwàin wòm [I am going home]. A': 106 bRAAD. Æ- 138 feedhER. Æ: 161 də"i, mid'l dêi. Æ'- 200 wit'. Æ'- 218 ship', 223 dhêER, 224 wîER. E- 233 spiik. E: 261 sâ¹i, 262 wâi, — fild [field], 279 WENT. E'- 290 i, 299 gRiin, 314 ERD. EA: 322 lɔf', 324 â'it', 326 âudd. EA'- 347 JA'd. EA': 350 dĭə'd [approaching (dĭad)]. EI- 373 dhá¹i. EO': — ɑ'i sid im [I saw him]. I: 452 ə'i, 458 nə'it', 469 ə'i ù)na [I won't]. I'- 494 tə"ìm. O: 531 dAATER, 538 ùd, — krɔp [crop], 552 kA'RN. O'- 555 shuu, 559 mɑdhER, 562 muun. O': 587 dɔ'n. U- 603 ɐkɑ·min [a coming], 605 sə'n, 606 dôER, 653 bɑt'. U': 663 ɑ'ns'. U. — mɔd' [mud]. A·· — plâ¹inish [plainish], 841 tJA'ns, 851 nêɐnt [aunt], — gjàRd'n. E·· 892 nEvĭu. I·· 899 nìs'. O·· — bif' [beef], — nɔqk'l [uncle]. TH. considers that unaccented (*i*) should be written (*i*,) here and elsewhere.

## *Notes to E*, or the Eggleton cs.

Miss Piper seemed to have no rule for (s, z; f, v) initial and said they were used "indiscriminately." She wrote with (s) *s*ick, *s*wore, *s*ee [=*s*aw], *s*wite [blow], *s*pittal [=*s*pade], *s*will, *s*o, *s*ure, *s*afe, and with (z), *s*ay, *s*ome, *S*unday, *s*umer, *s*ense; and sometimes with (s) and sometimes with (z) *s*eed and *z*eed, to *s*ow and to *z*ough, *c*ider and *z*ider, *s*ummut and *z*ummat. Again she wrote with (f) *f*rom, *f*ar, *f*rechet-like, *f*or, *f*ine, *f*urther, *f*ot [=fetched], and with *v* *f*ew, *f*ather, *v*oice, *f*ound, *f*ull, *f*allow, *f*ield, *v*etches, *f*ill, *f*eet, *v*ictual, *f*our. Miss Mary Piper found these usages correct. If they were, they shewed that at this distance from the centre the instincts of the dialect were no longer felt.

In the same way in construction Miss Piper used *hims* for *his*, which seems a late development, and Miss Mary Piper said was rare. Again *him* had nearly superseded *un* for the acc. *hine*. Although in the examples, *I*, *he* are never used for the acc. emphatic, Miss Piper considered it common. Miss M. Piper, also said that *think*, *thing* had (dh) and sure, sheep had (zh).

Miss Piper's extra specimens for Eggleton, with her translation interlined.

1. m*ee*stʊʀ, bii ə'*i* ʊ gwá*i*·*i*n tʊ ɔrʊ dhʊ píiʊs ʊnɜnt
master, am I a going to harrow the piece (of land) opposite to

dha vɔlʊ v*i*ld?
the fallow field?

2. ə'*i* kɔ)nʊ tíiʊk dhɜm dhíiʊʀ ɔsez dʀɔ'*u* dhat dhíiʊʀ ɟat.
I cannot take those horses through that gate.

3. dhíiʊʀ bjɜnt z*i*d-vatɟez ʊnɜf [ʊnə'*u*·] tʊ zA'*u* dhʊ v*i*ld ʊnɜnt
there are-not seed vetches enough to sow the field opposite

dhʊ plɔk ʊn *i*f ʊʀ wʊz AAl dʀosht ʊz bii in dhʊ
the plock (small field) and if they were all threshed that are in the

bAʀn, ·lAʀd! ə'*i* dɜ)na dh*i*qk ʊz dhá*i*)d v*i*l ʊ w*i*skʊt vɜl
barn, Lord! I do)not think that they-would fill a basket full

ʊnɛf [ʊnə'*u*·] tʊ ɟɜp *i*m ɜp fɜʀdʊʀ nʊʀ dhʊ bʀ*i*m.
enough to heap it up further than the brim.

4. ʊz á*i* wʊz ʊgwá*i*·*i*n dɔ'*u*n dhʊ láin, ə'*i* sii dhʊ bwá*i* at dhʊ
as I was a going down the lane, I saw the boy at the

gafʊʀz ɔp'lz *u*th dhʊ bʀɔd-ɜk, ʊn, bə'*i* gɔm! á*i* d*i*d
gaffer's [master's] apples with the broad-hook, and, by gom! I did

g*i*v h*i*m ʊ swɔ'*i*t *u*th dhʊ sp*i*tʊl ʀə'*i*t ɔn *i*z· ɟɜd.
give him a blow with the spade right on his head.

5. dhíiʊʀ *i*m wɜz ʊlái· ʊmɔq dhʊ dad-dɜk ʊn mɜlɔk dɟɜst ʊz if
there he was a-lying among the dead-wood and dirt just as if

ʊ wʊz dɟɜd.
he were dead.

6. ʊ wʊz bàd, n*oo* víiʊʀ, ʊ wɔʀ)nt ɟab'l tʊ ɟɜt, ʊn ə'*i* tɛld ʊn ʊz
he was bad, no fear, he was)not able to eat, and I told him that

*i*f *i*m *u*d gu ʊn sw*i*l *i*mz víiʊs *i*n dhʊ bʀɜk ʊz ʊ k*u*d go
if he would go and swill his face in the brook that he could go

atʊʀ dhʊ stíiʊʀz ʊn fɔdʊʀ ʊm.
after the steers and feed them.

7. s*oo* ʊ gɔt ɔn *i*mz tuu v*i*t ʊn ə'*i* pɜt *i*m *i*n dhʊ kíiʊʀt, ʊn
so he got on his two feet and I put him in the cart, and

gɛn *i*m ʊ kɛk tʊ st*i*k *i*n dhʊ sɔ'*i*dʊʀ [zɔ'*i*dʊʀ] kɛg, s*oo* ʊz ʊ
gave him ʊ keck to stick in the cider keg, so that he

kud gɛt zɛmʊt tʊ drɪqk atʊr ɪz vɪtʊl.
could get something to drink after his food [victual].

8. me'ɪ umʊn ɪɪʊrd ʊbə'u·t ɪt, dhʊ wə'ɪld ʊr wʊz sə'ɪ·ɪn dhʊ mɪlk,
my wife heard about it, the while she was straining the milk,

ʊn, bə'ɪ gɔsh! shi dɪd gu ɔn; ʊr)z aalɪz frɛtʒʊtlə'ɪk.
and, by gosh! she did scold; she)s always cross.

9. ə'ɪ mɛt drɪi umʊnvook ʊnɛnt dhɛm dhɪɪʊr ə'uz'n ʊ juurn;
I met three women [woman folk] opposite those [there] houses of yours;

dhái wʊz ʊ-magɪn ʊn ʊmɪɪʊkɪn múurʊr náɪz nʊr və'ʊr ʊndʊrt
they were a chattering and making more noise than four hundred

mɔnkə'ɪnd ud.
men [man's kind] would.

10. :tʒɔrlz wʊz ʊlɜ·q, ʊn ʊr aal tɜrnd ɪntu dhɔt dhɪɪʊr və'ʊld
Charles was along, and they all turned into that [there] fold-yard

ʊ ɪz'n, ʊn drɜv dhʊ shɪp ɪntu dhʊ buzɪ ʊth ə'ʊʊrn.
of his, and drove the sheep into the shed with ours.

## Var. iv. The South-Eastern or Do. Form.

Proceeding s.wards from Wl. we come to Do. The dialect is essentially the same, but at the e. end the (v, z) are less used for (f, s), a matter of education. The (ái) varies much as (ee'ɪ) and occasionally even (ii). The A- is rather (éʊ, ee') than (íʊ, i') and falls into (*ee*) rather than (ii). The first example, a dt., was kindly given me vv. by Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour, to whom the dialect was very familiar, and represents the pronunciation of her own district, Hanford (4. nw.Blandford). The same lady had also assisted Rev. E. A. Dayman of Shillingstone (5 nw.Blandford) to fill up a wl., which she subsequently went over with me vv., see p. 80.

A cs. was obtained from Mr. Clarke, native of Cranborne (12 ene.Blandford), and was pal. by me from dict. of Major-General Michel, being subsequently corrected in a few points by correspondence with Mr. Clarke, who was Master of the Schools at Ringwood, Ha. (19 wsw.Winchester), the dialect of which place he found to be the same as his own. This was confirmed by a few words I obtained vv. from a carter, native of the place, and from a wl. furnished by Mr. W. W. Farr from the comparatively dialectless district about Christchurch (20 sw.Southampton), and other indications, so that this strip of Ha. is reckoned dialectally as e. Do.

Finally the late Rev. W. Barnes, Winterborne Came, well known through his Do. poems, took great pains with a cs., which he wrote in a systematic orthography (see p. 80), and kindly explained by correspondence where any difficulty occurred. He also filled up a

wl. for me, which is given on p. 80, embracing also the most important words in the Cranborne, Hanford, Shillingstone, and East Lulworth (12 se.Dorchester). The Cranborne and Winterborne Came cs. are given interlinearly for more easy comparison.

## Hanford, Do.

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour.

1. *zoo* œ'*i* dʊ zee'*i*, m*i* lædz, juu dʊ zii nɜ'*ou* dhæt œ'*i* bi rhœ'*it* bɜ'*out* dh*i*k dheer l*i*t'l m*á*id kom·ʊn frʊm dhʊ skuu'l ɜp jon·dʊr.
2. shii bi g*o*'n dɜ'*oun* dhʊ rhood druu dhʊ rhed g*í*ʊt ɔn dhʊ lh*i*ft hænd zœ'*i*d ʊv dhʊ w*á*i.
3. shuu'r ʊnɜf· dhʊ tjœ'*i*ld hʊv ʊ)g*o*'n strh*á*it ɜp tu dhʊ d*ó*ʊr ʊv dhʊ rhaq hɜ'*ous*.
4. weer shi m*i*d tjaans tʊ vœ'*i*nd dh*i*k dheer drhɜqk·ʊn dɛf shrhæmd wɜld tjæp bœ'*i* n*é*e'm ʊv :rh*i*tjʊd.
5. wii dʊ aal n*óo*u ʊn tɜrb'l wɛl.
6. *u*nt dhʊ wɜld tjæp suun lɜrn shi nɔt tʊ duu ʊt ʊg*i*'n·, puu'r sz*óo*ul!
7. l*u*k)i dheer! *i*d)'nd-*i*t trhuu?

*Notes to Hanford dt.*

1. *Say*, not (zái). The words in ÆG wl. 139 to 148, 160 to 166, EG 237 to 243, 257 to 264, EI 372 to 382, and EY 438, 439, are very variously treated in this form of the dialect; see these numbers in the following cwl. But in thus pronouncing disconnected words some errors may have crept in. *Mates* not used; (m*y* zən) is a common address even to an old man. *Now*, the diphthong sounded between (ɜ'*u*) and (*óu*) and I think the effect was produced by commencing the first element without rounding, producing (ɜ'*o*) and then running on to (*u*), giving (ɜ'*ou*), at least I thus imitated it to Mrs. CKS.'s satisfaction.

2. *Road*, the (r), not (r), at the beginning of a syllable, was aspirated; when I used (rh) it was recognised as incorrect. *Left*, the voiceless (lh) was distinct and insisted on.

3. *Going*, the sound was rather uncertain; I wrote both (g*o*'n) and (gA'n).

3. *Strait* and 4. *Drunken*, the aspiration of (r) was apparently shewn by jerking out the following vowel, otherwise Mrs. CKS. seemed to say (trhɜqkʊn).

4. *Shrammed*, properly starved with cold.

5. *Know*, the (*oo*) was long and distinct and almost (oo), the (*u*) was a full (*u*); the effect (*óou*) was therefore different from the usually (*óo'w*) where (*u*) is not completely reached. *Terribly*, i.e. *very*; common in all Southern dialects.

11. *Soul*, the word begins with (s) on to which the voice is gradually led.

## Two Interlinear East Dorset cs. (see p. 75).

0. C *Cranborne.* wɜ'*i* :djɔɔn gɔt n*oo* dɜ'uts.
   W *Winterborne Came.* whœ'*i* :djɔn hʊ nuu dɜ'*u*ts.

1. C wɛl, neebʊr, juu ʊn ii m*i*d búuʊth laa'f ʊt dh*i*ʊz niúuz
   W wɛl, náibʊr, juu ʊn hii m*i*d búʊth la'f ʊt whɔt œ'*i*

C ʊ mɐ'in. uu dʊ kíʊʀ? dha't)s náidhʊr i'ʀ nʊ
W dʊ tɛl)i. ʊn whɔt if ɟa' duu? dha't)s nɔ̃'idhʊʀ híʊʀ nʊʀ

C dheʀ.
W dhíʊʀ.

2. C viúu mɛn dʊ dɐ'i, bikɔ·s dhe bi laa'ft ʊt, wii dʊ noo,
W viúu vook dʊ dɔ̃'i ʊ bi·ʊn laa'ft a't, wi dʊ noo,

C do)'nt ɔs? wɔt shiúʊld míʊk)ʊm? t)id)'n vɛri lɐ'ikli,
W doo)'nt wi? whɔt shʊd míek)ʊm? t)id)'n vɛri lɔ̃'ikli,

C iz it?
W iz it?

3. C uuzui·vʊʀ dhíʊz bi dhʊ fa'ks ʊ)dhʊ)ki's. zuu dɟist
W ɔ̃'usʊmɛ·vʊʀ t)iz dɟist ʊz ɔ̃'i shʊl tɛl)i. zuu dɟist

C whoold dhɐ'i tɐq, míʊt, ʊn bi kwɐ'i·ʊt til ɐ'i)v ʊ)dɐn.
W hoold ɟʊʀ ná'iz, gud ma'n, ʊn be kŭɐ'i·ʊt til ɔ̃'i)v ʊ)dɐn.

C nhaa'ʀk)i!
W ha'ʀk)i!

4. C ɐ'i bi sɐʀt'n ɔ̃'i ɟíʊʀd)ʊm zái, zɐm ʊ dhee vooks dhʊt
W ɔ̃'i)m sa'ʀtʊn ɔ̃'i híʊʀd)ʊn zii, zɐm ʊ dhɛm vook dhʊt

C wɛnt dʀuu dhʊ wul dhiq vʀɔm dhʊ vɐst dhʊʀzɛ·lvz, dha't
W zid dhʊ húʊl ɐ)t vʀʊm dhʊ vɐst tʊ laa'st. dha't

C ɐ'i did, síʊf ʊnɐ·f.
W ɔ̃'i did, sícf ʊnɐf.

5. C dhʊt dhʊ ɟɐqʊst zɐn izzɛ·lf, ʊ gɐʀt bŭói ʊ nɐ'in, nood hiz
W dhʊt dhʊ ɟɐqgʊst zɐn hizzɛ·lf, ʊ gɔ̃ʀt bŭɔ̃'i ʊ nɔ̃'in, nood hiz

C fɛɛdhʊʀz vóis ʊt uuns, dhoo it wɐʀ za kwɛʊʀ ʊn skwíʊkin,
W faa'dhʊʀz vá'is ʊt uuns, dhoo t)wɔ̃ʀ zʊ kŭéʊʀ ʊn skŭiiki,

C ʊn ɐ'i)d tʀɐst)'n tʊ spíck dhʊ tʀuuth ɛni dái. áai,
W ʊn ɔ̃'i)d tíʊk hiz wɔ̃ʀd ini dii. ·dha't

C ɐ'i ud!
W ɔ̃'i ud!

6. C ʊn dhʊ woold umʊn hʊʀzɛ·lf il tɛl ɛni)ʊv)i dhʊt dʊ laa'f
W ʊn dhʊ ŭoold umʊn hʊʀzɛ·lf ul tɛl ini)ʊ)i dhʊ síem, dhoo·

C nɐ'u, ʊn tɛl)i stʀee'it ɔɔf, tuu, wi)ɐ'u·t
W ɟuu dʊ laa'f nɔ̃'u, ʊn tɛl)i ɔ̃'utʀɔ̃'i·t, tuu, va'st

C mɐtɟ bodhʊʀ if ɟuu)l ooni a'ks hʊʀ, oo wo)'nt ʊʀ?
W ʊnɐ·f. if ĭuu)l oonli a'ks ʊʀ, aa', ɔ̃'i ·bliiv shi ·ul?

7. C li'stWEE'iz shi túəld *it* mii, WEN ɜ'i a'kst)ER, tuu ER DRii
W ət líəst shi túəld ·mii, whEN ɜ'i a'kst)ER, tuu ER DRii

C tɜ'*i*mz *oo*VER, shi d*i*d, ən ·shii d*i*d)'n AA'ət tə bi raq ɔn
W tæ'imz AAVER, shi d*i*d, ən ·shii AAt)n tə bi mɜtɟ æ'ut

C s*i*tɟ ə pŭó*i*nt əz dh*i*s, wɔt)əz ·dhii dh*i*qk?
W əpən s*i*tɟ ə pŭæ'int əz ·dha't, whɔt də ·ɟuu dh*i*qk?

8. C WEl əz ɜ'i WəZ ə)zá'*i*·*i*n shii)d tEl)i, ɜ'u WɜR ən
W WEl əz æ'i WER ə)z*ii*·ən, shii)d tEl)i hæ'u ən wh*ee*ER, ən

C WEN shi vɜ'und dhə DRɜqk'n bíəs shi də kaal hER
W wh*i*n shi væ'un dhə DRɜqk'q bíəst əz shi də kaa'l hER

C ɜzbən.
W hɜzbən.

9. C shi z*oo*'R shi zid)'n w*i* ER *oo*n ɜ'iz ə)lEE·*i*n STRETɟt
W shi zúER dhət shi zid)'n w*i* ER *oo*n æ'iz ə)læ'i·ən ə)STRa'tɟt

C ət v*u*l lEqkth ɔn dhə gRɜ'un, *i*n h*i*z b*i*əs zɜnd*i*
W æ'ut ət vul la'qth əpən dhə gRæ'un, *i*n h*i*z bEst zɜndi

C kúənt, klúəs, bii dhə dúER ə)dhə ɜ'us, dɜ'un ət dhə KAENER
W kúənt, klúəs bii dhə dúER ə)dhə hæ'us, dæ'un ət dhə kaENER

C ə)dhə líən JONDER.
W ə)JONDER líən.

10. C hii WER wɜ'in*i*n əWEE'i, ZES shii, VER AAl dhə WɜRL
W dhíER hi WER, shi ZED, ə wh*i*mpərən, VER AAl dhə WæRL

C lɜ'ik ə z*i*k tɟɜ'ild ER)ə, lit'l mEE'id ə)VRET'n.
W læ'ik ən á'ilən tɟæ'il, ER)ə fRETvul l*i*t'l máid.

11. C aal ·dha't WER when shii ən hER daatər-*i*n-laa
W ən dha't ha'p'md əz shii ən hER dAATER-*i*n-LAA WER

C kɜm DRuu dhə ba'k JáERD vrɔm aqən ɜ'ut dhə WET
W ə)kamən DRuu dhə ba'k ɟa'RD vRəm ha'qən æ'ut ə dhə WET

C klóəz tə DRɜ'i. ɔn ə WEEshən dEEí.
W kl*oo*z tə DRæ'i əpən dhER wɔshən d*ii*.

12. C wɜ'*i*l dhə k*i*d'l WER bɔ'il*i*n fER t*ii*i uun bRɜ'it
W whæ'il dhə k*i*t'l WER ə)bŭæ'ilən vER t*ii*i uun fæ'in bRæ'it

C zɜmER aatERnuun, *oo*ni ə wiik əg*uu* kɜm nEks dhɜRzdi.
W zɜmER a'ftERnuun, *oo*nli ə wik əguu kɜm nEks dhɜRzd*i*.

13. C ən dɜst dhi n*oo*? ɜ'i nevER la'RNT ENi moo'r dhən dh*i*s ə
W ən d)i n*oo*? dha't)s aa'l)z *i*VER æ'i híERD ə

C dha¹t dʒəb ɜp tʊ tʊdee¹i ʊz shúuʊr)z ma¹i níʊm *iz*
W dha¹t dʒəb vrʊm vɜst tʊ laa¹st, ʊz truu)z mɔ'i níem *iz*

C :dʒən :sh*i*pʊrd, ʊn ɜ'i do')nt wɜnt tʊ
W :dʒən :shepʊrd, ʊn ɔ'i d*oo*)nt wɔnt tʊ híʊr *i*ni múʊr *o*)t

C nɜdhʊr. dheer nɜu.
W nɜdhʊr. dhíer nɔ'u.

14. C ʊn zuu ɜ'i bi ʊ)g*w*ɜ¹*i*ʊn wúʊm [húʊm] tʊ zɜpar. g*u*d
W ʊn zuu ɔ'i)m ʊ)guu·ʊn húʊm tʊ sɜpʊr. gud

C nɜ'it ʊn d*o*')nt)i bi zuu k*wi*k tʊ kroo *oo*vʊr ʊ bɔdi ʊgíʊn
W nɔ'it ʊn d*oo*)nt)i bi sʊ redi tʊ kroo aavʊr ʊ bɔdi ʊgíʊn

C wʊn hii dʊ taa¹k ʊ dh*i*s, dha¹t or t)ɜdhʊr·
W *i*f hii dʊ sp*ii*k ʊ wɔrd ʊ dh*i*s, dha¹t ʊr t)ɜdhʊr.

15. C t)*iz* ʊ w*ee*k fúuʊl dhʊt tʒa¹ts ʊdhɜ'ut ree*z*'n.
W t)iz ʊ n*i*ni dhʊt dʊ taak ʊdhɔ'ut *i*ni grɔ'unz var)t.

C ʊn dha¹t)s mɜ'i læɜst wɜrd. g*u*d bŭɜ'i.
W ʊ dha¹t)s aal ɔ'i ha¹v tʊ z*ii*. g*u*d bŭɔ'i.

## *Notes to W*, or Winterborne Came.

1. *at what I do tel ye*, or, (ɔ'i)m ʊ)guu·ʊn tʊ tɛl)i) ; *h* aspirated in *what*. This variant occurs in another copy which Mr. Barnes sent to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte. These variants will be marked LLB. in future.

2. *very* (*oo*vʊr) LLB.

3. *'t is just as I shall tel ye*, (dhíz *iz* dʒ*i*st hɔ'u t)wɔʊr) LLB. *good man*, (mɔ'i gud saal) LLB. *hark ye*, (hark'n tʊ whɔt ɔ'i dʊ z*ii*) hearken to what I do say, LLB.

4. *certain*, or (shuu·ʊr). *say*, Mr. Barnes says Do.(z*ii*), not (zái). Gen. Michel gave (zee'i) which Mr. Clarke corrected to (zái). *safe* (sívf) LLB.

5. *great*, or rather (ha¹rd). *father's*, or (f*ee*dhʊrz). *squeaky*, or (skŭiik'n-lɔ'ik). *I would take his word for it*, (ɔ'i)d trɜst hii vʊr sp*ii*kʊn dhʊ truuth) I would trust *he* for speaking the truth, LLB.

6. *laugh*, (gl*i*in zuu) sneer so, LLB. Mr. B. says he did not catch the meaning of the original. *fast enough*, (widhɔ'*u*·t *i*ni sh*i*li sha¹li) without any shilly shally. Gen. Michel said that *bother* was used in the country. *Ah, I believe she will*, (·dha¹t shi wal) that she will, LLB.

7. *at least* (inihɔ'u·) LLB. *told me*, "(túʊld) is nearer than túald," says Mr. B. (túʊld *it* ɔ'ut tʊ ·ɔ'i) told it out to me, LLB. *She oughtn't to be much out*. (kaa¹)nt bi mɜtʒ ɔ'ut) can't be much out, LLB., or (veri rɔq) very wrong, not (rhɔq), which is the rung of a ladder. *upon such a point as that*, (in sitʒ a dhiq ʊz dh*i*s), LLB. *What do you think?* (d)ʒʊ dhiqk shi ka¹n?) LLB.

8. *as* (dhʊt), LLB.

9. *swore*, (vɔ'ud) vowed, LLB. *stretched out* (strá¹it ɔ'*u*t) straight out, LLB. *close by the door*, (rɔ'it ɜp agíʊn dhe dúʊr) right up against the door, LLB. *Of yonder lane* (ʊ)dhʊ líʊn ɔ'ut jɔndʊr) LLB.

10. *world*, (wɔrel), LLB. *ailing*, (zik) LLB. *fretful* (fretvul) with (f) not (v), or (ʊ lit'l má¹id ʊ)fret'n) a little maid a-fretting.

11. *daughter*, or (deetʊr). *were a-coming*, (kɜm) LLB.

12. *that's all that ever I heard of that job from first to last*. (ɔ'i nevʊr húʊrd *i*ni múʊr ʊ dhíʊz dʒəb, dhʊn whɔt ɔ'i)v ʊtúʊld) I never heard any more of this job than what I've a-told you, LLB. *true as* (shuu'r ʊz), LLB. *I don't want to hear any more of it neither, there*

*now*, (æ'i *doo*)nt wɔnt tɐ híɐʀ *i*ni múɐʀ nɐdhɐʀ, zuu dhíɐʀ næ'u) I don't want to hear any more neither, so there now.

14. *if he do speak*, (whin hi dɐ taa¹k) when he do talk, LLB.

15. *ninny*, soft poll, LLB. *that do talk without any grounds for it*, or (dɐ lɐt hiz tɐq ʀhan ɐvoo'ʀ hiz ŭit) do let his tongue run afore his wit.

## East Dorset cwl. combined from several sources.

C Mr. Clarke's Cranbourne (12 ene.Blandford), pal. by AJE. from dict. of Major-Gen. Michel.
H Hanford, from Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour, from dict., rather refined.
L East Lulworth, (12 se.Dorchester) from Rev. Walter Kendall.
W Winterborne Came (2 sse.Dorchester) from Rev. W. Barnes, his wl., cs. and phonetic part of his Grammar, translating his systematic orthography of figures thus:

| long | short | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. sh*ee*p | pit*y* (ii i). | 5. It. *a* long | It. *a* short (aa¹ a¹). |
| 2. Dorset *e* ship (*ii i*), this (*ii*) has hardly been given me by any others. | | 6. *awe* | dɔt (AA, ɔ). |
| 3. m*a*te | bet (*ee* E). | 7. r*o*pe | l*u*ll (*oo*, ɜ). |
| 4. Fr. l*e* long | Fr. l*e* short (æ ɐ). | 8. r*oo*d | It. *u* short (uu *u*). |

Diphthongs 4. 1. (æ'*i*), 5. 1. (â*i*), 6. 1. (ɔ'*i*), 4. 8. (a'u), 1. 4. (*íɐ*, íɐ). I never had the advantage of hearing Mr. Barnes read.

Note.—The pron. is said to be smooth, clear, and up and down in pitch.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

When C is placed only after sounds, Mr. Barnes agrees with Mr. Clarke. When C is placed before sounds, it gives Mr. Clarke's pr. only.

A- 3 WL bíek, H béeɐk. 4 L tíek, H téeɐk. 5 W míek, C míɐk, H méeɐk. 6 W míed, H méeɐd. 7 H séeɐk. 10 L aa. 16 H daa¹n. 17 W lAA, CL laa. 18 W kíek. 19 WL tíɐl, H táil. 20 L líem, H lee'm. 21 níem, C níɐm, H néeɐm. 22 H téeɐm. 23 H séeɐm. 24 H shéeɐm. 25 W máin. 34 W lest, la¹st, laa¹st, C lææst, H læ'est. 36 H th*oo*. 37 L ˡklaa, H tlaa.

A: — W ka¹g [keg]. — W ʀha¹m [a ram]. 39 C kɐm. 41 W tha¹qk. 43 H hænd. 45 L wa¹nt. 48 W za¹q. 50 W tɔqz. 52 W wɔn. 54 W wɔnt, C wAnt. 55 H *ees*. 56 W wɔsh, C WEEsh, H wooshi. 57 W a¹s, H ææs.

A: *or* O: 58 W vRɐm, C vRɔm, H frɐm. 64 C raq, H ʀhaq, ʀhɔq.

A'- 67 W ɐ)guu·ɐn, C ɐ)g*u*æ'*i*n [going]. 69 L nuu. 70 L tuu. 72 LC uu. 73 zuu H and C, H z*oo*. 74 tuu. 76 W túed, H tóɐd. 77 HL lARD. 79 *oo*n C. 81 W líɐn, C li'n, H láin. 82 uuns. 84 W múɐʀ, C móoɐʀ, H móɐʀ. 85 W zúɐʀ. 86 W úɐts, L w*oo*ts, H wɔts, wúɐts, wɐts [different appreciations]. 87 W kl*oo*z, C kl*óo*vz. 89 W búɐth, C búɐth. 92 W n*oo* and C, H n*óo*n [with (*oo*) and (*u*) distinct, not a vanish]. 94 kr*oo* C. 97 H sz*óo*nd [the word begins with (s) on to which the voice is led].

A': 101 W ŭ*oo*k, úek, L w*oo*k, H óɐk. 102 W a¹ks, H aa¹sk. 104 W R*oo*d, H ʀhood [(rh) was recognised as wrong]. 106 bR*oo*d. 108 W d*oo*. 109 W l*oo*. 110 H nɔt. 111 W AAt, C AA't, H aat. 113 W húɐl, C w*u*l. 115 W húɐm, C wu'm, hu'm. 117 WC uun [Mr. B. also writes *woone*]. 118 W búan and L, H bo'n. 119 H g*o*'n, gA'n. 120 W ɐguu, C ɐg*uu*. 122 nuu, C n*oo* [no], núen [none]. 124 L stúɐn, H stó'n. 125 W *oo*nli, C *oo*ni. 126 W *oo*r. 127 W h*óo*vs. 128 H [(dhik, dh*ee*) used]. 129 H gòst. — W lúɐth [loth]. — W ʀh*oo* [a row or rank]. 137 WC nɐdhɐʀ.

Æ- 138 W faa¹dhɐʀ, f*ee*dhɐʀ, LC fEEdhɐʀ. 139 W drá¹*i*, H DREE'*i*. 140 WL há¹*i*ɐL, H háil. 141 W ná¹*i*ɐL, H náil. 142 W snâ¹*i*ɐL. 143 W tá¹*i*ɐL, H táil. 144 WH ɐgíɐn, C ɐg*i*'n. 145 slâ¹*i*n and H. 146 má¹*i*n and H. 147 bná¹*i*n and H. 148 fEER. 149 H bláiz. 150 W líɐst, L and C líɐst. — W siit [a seat].

Æ: 154 WC ba'k. 158 W *ee*fTER. 160 W a'g, H æg. 161 W d*ii*, C dái, CH DEE'*i*, L dá*i*, d*ee*. 163 W l*ii*, H lá*i*. 164 HC [(mid) more used], H má*i*. 165 WH ZED. 166 WL má'*i*d, C MEE'id, H má*i*d. 169 W whin WHEN, HC WEN, H whan. — W whiq [a wing]. — ha'ps [hasp]. — wa'ps [wasp]. 171 W beerlœ'*i*. 175 W va'st. — W líut [late]. 177 H dhæt [(dhik) also used, Mr. Barnes says, for shaped objects]. 179 W whot, C wot. 180 H béeuth.

Æ'- 182 W s*ii*, L s*ee*. 183 L t*ee*tɟ. 185 W R*ii*d, H RHiid. 191 W h*ii*l, H híiul. 192 L m*ee*n, H míiun. 193 W klíun, L kl*ee*n. — líun. 194 W *ii*ni, C ENi. 195 W m*ii*ni. 199 W bl*ii*t. 200 W wh*ii*t, L w*ee*t. 201 W h*ii*dh'n, L *ee*dh'n. 202 L het, H HET.

Æ': 203 L sp*ee*tɟ, H spíiutɟ. — W míud [mead]. 205 W DR*ii*d. 206 H RHED. 208 W *iv*UR. 209 C NEVER. 210 W kl*ii*, H klá*i*. 211 W gR*ii*. 212 W wh*ii*. 213 WH á'idhUR. 214 W nœ'idhUR, C náidhUR. 215 H taat. 216 H díiul. 217 W *ii*tɟ, L *ee*tɟ. — W gl*ii*m [gleam]. 220 W SHEPURD, C shipURD. 221 H fee'R. 223 W dhíUR, C dhER, H dhee'r. 224 W wh*ee*UR, C WAR, H wee'r. 225 L vlesh. — W STR*ii*t [street]. 227 WC WET.

E- 232 H BR*è*k. — W BR*ii*tɟ [breach]. 233 sp*ii*k, C spick, H sp*è*k. 236 H fiiVER. 237 W blá'in. 239 W sá'iUL, H sá*i*l. 240 W lá'in. 241 W RHá'in, L ráin, H RHéein. 243 WL plá'*i*, H plá*i*. — W st*ii*l [to steal]. 245 W m*ii*l. 247 W w*ii*n. 248 W míUR, H m*ee*'R. 249 H w*ee*'R. 250 H sw*ee*UR. 251 W m*ii*t, H míut. — W *ii*t [to eat]. 252 W kit'l kit'l, C kid'l, H kit'l.

E: — W h*ii*v [heave]. 256 W STRá'tɟt, C STRETɟt [stretched]. 260 H lá*i*. 261 W z*ii*, C zá*i* ZEE'i. — W trá*i* [a tray]. — W la'g [leg]. 262 W wá'*i*, C WEEi, H wá*i* WEE'*i*. 263 CW SWEE'i. 264 W á'il. 265 W STRÂ'it, C STREE'it, H STRHáit [(RH) after (ST) replacing (RH)]. 266 H WEL. 269 W dhURZE·lvz [dhemselves]. 270 H i. BELəs, ii. bæli. 271 W tel. 272 W ELUm. — W helum [the helm]. 273 W min. 275 H stinsh. 276 W dhiqk. 277 H DRinsh. 281 W la'qth, C leqkth, H læqkth. 282 H STRæqkth. 284 LH DRash. — W bast [to burst]. — W zet [to set], W set [a set]. — W best, bíUs [best].

E'- 293 W wii. 294 H spiid. 296 W bliiv, H biliiv. 298 W fii'L. 300 HL kip. 302 H míiut. 303 H swíiut. E': — BRiitɟ [breech]. 305 H hœ'*i*. 307 H nœ'*i*. 308 H niit. 309 HW spiid. 310 H hii'L. 311 W ten. 312 W híUR, C íUR, H hiiUR. 314 W híURD, C JíURD, H HERD. 315 H fíiut. 316 W neks.

EA- 317 W flá'*i*, H flái. — íul [ale]. 320 C kíUR.

EA: 322 W l*eef*, la'f, C laa'f. 324 W á'*i*t, H áit. 325 H waak. 326 ŭ*oo*ld, LC w*oo*ld, H wald. 327 W bŭ*oo*ld. 328 W kŭ*oo*ld, H k*oo*ld. 329 W vŭ*oo*ld, vúueld. 330 W h*oo*ld, C wh*oo*ld. 332 CW túuld. 333 L KEEf, H kaaf. 334 W h*eef*, L HEEf, H haaf. 335 WC AAl, H aal. 336 W VAAl [the fall of the year is (fAAl)], H faal. 337 H waal. 338 W kaa'l, C kaal. 340 W ia'RD, C ja'RD. 342 W íURM, H JœRM. 343 LH WAARM. — víURN [fern]. — íURN [earn]. 346 W g*ii*ut, LH gíiut gee't.

EA'- 347 W h*ii*d HED. 348 W œ'iz, C a'iz. — W bíut [to beat]. 349 WC víuu. EA': 351 W l*ii*d. 352 W R*ii*d, H RHED. 353 W BRED. 355 W d*ii*f, L diif, H dE'f. 357 W dh*oo*. 359 W náiBUR, LC NEEBUR. — W s*ii*m [a seam]. — W STR*ii*m [stream]. 361 WL bíun. 364 H tjæp. 365 W níUR. — W n*ii*t [neat, cattle]. 366 W gœRT, HC gART. 370 H RAA'. 371 W STR*ee*, H STRAA'.

EI- 372 W á'*i*, C áai, H EE'*i*. 373 L dhá*i*, H dhEE'*i*. 374 ná'*i*, H NEE'*i*. 375 RH*ee*z. 376 bá'*i*t, H báit. EI: 377 H stee'k. 378 W w*ii*k, C w*ee*k, H wh*ee*k. 379 W há'il. 381 W swâ'in, H sw*ee*n.

EO- 383 W ZEV'n ZEB'n. EO: 388 H m'Lk [as nearly as I could appreciate, same as D 10]. 390 C shiúuld. 394 WCH JONDUR. 402 W líURN, C la'RN, H lARN. 405 W haarth.

EO'- 409 H bii. 411 WH DRii. 412 WH shii [emphatic]. 413 W d*iv*'l. 416 H diiUR. 420 W vœ'uUR, H f*oo*'R. 421 H farti. EO': 424 H RHaf. — W w*ii*l [a wheel]. 427 H bi. 428 WH zii. 430 W fr*i*nd, H friind. 431 H bíiUR. 433 W br*i*st. 436 W TRUU, H TRHUU.

EY- 438 W dœ'i, C da'i, H dái. EY: 439 TRast.

I- 440 W wik, C wiik. 444 W stœ'*i*UL, H stœ'il. 446 W nœ'in and H, C na'in. — W un [him, acc.]. 448 H [(dhiuzíUR, dhiiz'm) used].

I: 452 W and H æ'i, C a'i. 455 H læ'*i*. 458 W næ'it, C na'it. 459 H rhæ'*it*. 460 wá'*i*t, H wæ'*it*. 465 L sit*j*. 466 tjæ'il, C tja'ild, H tjæ'*i*LD. 467 H wæ'*i*VLD. 468 H tj*i*ldURN. 469 ul [in the Vale of Blackmore (*wul* wal, wyl)]. — WL RH*i*m [a rim]. 471 H *ti*mbUR. 474 H RHæ'*i*nd. 475 H whund. 477 H væ'*i*nd, H væ'*i*nd. 480 C dhiq. — W RHiq [a ring]. 481 H viqgRR. 484 C dhíiVz, H [(dhis-iR) used]. — W kriips [crisp]. — W ziks [six].

I'- 490 H bæ'*i*. 491 H sæ'*i*. 492 H zæ'id. 493 L DReev, H DRHæ'iv. 494 WH tæ'im, C ta'im. 496 H æ'*i*VRN. 497 W VRHæ'iz. 499 L bit'l.

I': 500 W læ'ikl*i*, C la'ikl*i*. 501 H wæ'id. 502 WL væ'iv, H fæ'*i*v. 503 H læ'if. 504 H næ'if. 505 H wæ'if. 506 WL umUn, H *u*mUn. 507 H wimin-vòk. — W hái. 508 H mæ'il. 509 WH whæ'il, C wa'il. 510 C ma'in. 511 H wæ'in. 512 H spæ'*i*VR. 513 H wæ'*i*VR. 515 H wæ'iz.

O- 519 W AAVUR, C *oo*VUR. 520 H ba'*ou* [see 643]. — W b*oo*RD [bored]. 524 W wœRL, C waRL, H waRLD, [(waRD'L) not known]. — W DR*oo*t [throat]. O: — W gœspUl [gospel]. 525 C œf. 526 H kaaf. 531 W dAATUR, HC daatUR. 534 W h*oo*l. 535 W v*oo*k. 536 WH g*u*LD. 537 W mú*oo*ld. — W h*oo*m [a holm island]. — W holUR [hollow]. 541 C wo)'nt, H *u*nt. 546 WC vUR. — ORtjUd [orchard]. 547 bŭ*oo*RD, H bóURD. 548 H fóURD. 550 CH waRD. 551 WH staarm. 552 WH kaarn. 553 WH haarn. 554 H kra'ls.

O'- 558 H l*u*k, l*ú*$_1$vk. 559 WH m*ú*$_1$vdhUR. 560 W skuu'l. 561 [L (bluuth) used], H bl*ú*$_1$vm. 562 H m*ú*$_1$vn. 564 H suun. 567 W t)adhUR C.

O': 569 W b*u*k, H b*ú*$_1$vk. 570 W t*u*k, H t*ú*$_1$vk. 571 W g*u*d. 572 W blad. 575 H st*ú*$_1$vd. 576 W whunzdi. 579 WH unaf. 586 WH duu [(d*oo*)'nt, C do)'nt) don't]. 587 W *v*)dan. 588 WC nuun, H n*ú*$_1$vn. 589 H sp*ú*$_1$vn. 590 H fl*ú*$_1$vR. 591 H m*ú*$_1$vR. 592 W zúUR, C z*oo*'r. 594 H b*ú*$_1$vt. 595 H f*ú*$_1$vt. 596 W RhUUt.

U- 601 W væ'ul. 603 W *v*)kamen [a-coming], H komen. 604 W zamUR. 605 W zan. 606 CW dúUR, H dóouR. U: 609 C v*u*l, fuul. 610 H uul. 612 W zam. 614 H RHæ'*u*nd. 616 W gRæ'un, C gRa'un. 619 W væ'un, C va'und. — W RHoq [rung of a ladder]. 625 C taq. 627 WC zandi. 629 W san, H zan. 630 W won, H whon. — W hantsmen. 631 WC dhaRzdi. 632 H ap. 633 H kap. — W vœRz [firs]. 634 WHC DRUU. 639 WL da'ust.

U'- 641 hæ'*u*, C a'u, [and] æ'useme·vUR, C uuzu)*i*·vUR [howsoever]. 642 [not used generally, except to children or when wrangling]. 643 næ'*u*, C na'*u*, H na'*ou* [the diphthong seemed to be made into a triphthong by beginning with the mouth open and the tongue in the position for (*o*) and closing up to (*u*), this is what (a'*ou*) implies; and so in all other cases; this triphthong was heard only from Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour]. 646 H ba'*ou*. 647 H aóul. 648 H [(a'*ou*RN) used]. 650 H ba'*out*. U': 655 W fæ'ul, H fa'*oul* [see 643]. 656 RHuum and H. 658 W dæ'un, C da'un, H da'*oun* [see 643]. 663 W hæ'us, C a'us, H ha'*ous* [see 643]. 665 H ma'*ous*. 666 W hazbUn, C azbUn. 667 W æ'ut. 671 H ma'*ou*th. 672 H sa'*ou*th.

Y- 673 W matj. 674 W did. 675 W DRæ'i, H DRHæ'*i*, C DRa'i. 676 H læ'*i*. 679 W tjEtj, H tjatj. 680 H bazi. 682 WH lit'l, C lit'l. Y: 684 H bRH*i*$_1$dj. 685 W RadJ, H RH*i*$_1$dj. 686 H bæ'*i*. 687 H flæ'it. 688 W sitj. 693 H sen. 696 WH baRth. 698 WH mERth. 699 W RHæ'it. 700 uus, H was. — vaz vaz'n [furze]. 701 WL vast. 704 W viks'n [female fox]. Y - 705 WH skæ'i. 706 WH whæ'*i*, C wa'i. 707 W thartiin. 708 H hæ'*i*'R. Y': 709 H fæ'*i*'R. 711 WH læ'is. 712 H mæ'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 H læd. 718 W tRied. — W bá'ivl [bail or backet]. — RÁ'il [a rail]. — DRÁ'ivl [the drail or iron for hitching on the horses to a plough]. — :ká'in [Cain]. 725 zívl. 726 taak, C taak. — H shRham. 732 W ha'p'md. — W haaRL, haaRD'l, ha'RUl [to hurl, entangle]. — W kla'ps [clast]. 737 C míut, H [not used, replaced by (mi zan) even when addressing an old man]. — W dj*ee* [jaw].

E. — W kr*ii*k [to creak]. — W t*ii*l [a teal]. 744 H mæz'lz. 745 W tj*ee*t. — W p*ii*t [peat]. 746 W bRiidh. 747 H in*dee*·vUR. 748 flidjd.

— W AAVUR whelum [overwhelm]. 749 H lhift. 750 WL ba'g, H bæg. — WL pa'g [peg]. 752 fretvul [fretful], C u)vret'n [a fretting].

I. *and* Y. — W :rhitjud [Richard]. — W smœ'ivl [a smile]. 758 H garl. — W tŭœrd'l, tŭirul [twirl].

O. 761 L lúud, H lóud. 765 W :djon, C :djoon. 767 WL ná'is, H nœ'iz. 776 W gud bŭœ'i, C gud bŭa'i. 778 W avúurd. 781 C bodhur. 791 W bŭœ'i, C bŭói, H bói.

U. 797 W skŭiiki, C skwi'kin. 798 W kŭéeur, C kwe'r. 799 L [(pool) used]. 801 and 802 rham. 804 draqk'q, C draqk'n, H drhaqkun. — W kœrl, kœrd'l, karul [curl]. — W pœrl, pœrd'l, parul [purl]. 808 H pat.

III. Romance.

A·· 810 W fies, H faa'ıs. 811 W plies, H plaa'ıs [pl. (plaa'ıs'n) not heard]. 814 W mies'n. — W bá'ivl [bail in law]. — W má'ivl, [a mail or bag]. — W pá'il [pail]. — W vlá'il [flail]. 819 H rhaa'ıdj. 820 W gá'i. 821 W dilái. 822 W mái. 823 W bái. — W pá'i [pay]. 824 W tjee'r. 826 W iig'l. 827 W iigur. — W trá'il [to trail]. — W rhiim. 829 gá'in. 830 H tráin. — W â'ivr [air]. 832 W máijur. 833 H péeur. 835 W riiz'n, H rheez'n. 836 W siiz'n, H siiz'n. 837 W liish. 838 W triit. — W píul [pale]. 841 H tjaas. 847 H deendjur. 849 H streendjur. — W kíun [cane]. 850 L deens, H daans. 851 H aant. — píupur [paper]. — W djá'ivl [gaol]. 852 H eepurn. — W gíurd'n [garden]. — W tjíurm [charm]. — W kínrd [card]. 857 L kíus, H kaa'ıs. 858 H braa'ıs. 859 H tjaa'ıs. 862 W sícf, C si'f. 864 C bikos. 865 H faa'lt. 866 H púuur. — W stá'i [stay].

E·· 867 WC tii. 868 WH djá'i. 869 W viil, H víiul. — W siil [to seal]. 874 W rhá'in, H rheen. — W pá'int [paint]. 875 H fáint. — W piil [peal of bells]. 881 sans. 885 W vari. 886 H frœ'i'r. 887 H klandji. — H tanb'l [terrible, extremely]. — vas [verse]. 888 W sa'rtun, C sart'n. 889 siis. 890 W bíust, C bi's [H pl. bíu·stusiz]. 891 H fi'st. 894 WH disiiv. 895 WH risiiv. 896 biivur.

I·· *and* Y·· 899 W niis. 900 H puái. — W nini [ninny]. 904 HW vœ'ilut. 905 rhœ'i·ut. — W œ'il [isle]. 909 W briiz. 910 H djœ'ist. 912 H rhœ'is.

O·· 917 H rhoog. 920 W pŭœ'int, C pŭóint. 922 H bashul. 924 W tjá'ıs, H tjœ'is. 925 W vá'ıs, H vœ'is. 926 W spŭœ'il, H spáil. 929 W kœ'ukumur. 930 H la'in. — W fŭoos [force]. 938 WCH karnur. 939 W klúus, C klu's. 940 W kúut, weestkut [waistcoat], C kuu't, H kújut. 941 C fuu'l. 942 W batjur. 947 bŭœ'il, C bœ'il, H báil. — W tŭœ'il [to toil]. 950 W zapur C. 955 W da'uts C. — W kraust [crust]. — W ra'ut [rut, route]. 957 H emplái. 959 W kenvá'i.

U·· 961 H gruul. — W wá'it [wait]. 963 H kwœ'i·ut. 965 H áil. 968 W œ'istur. 969 HC shuu'r. 970 djist.

## Western Do.

A few words from Whitchurch Canonicorum, noted by N. W. Wyer, Esq., originally written in Glossic. With the exception of (kuut) cut, the words are unimportant, but they serve to continue the Dorset dialect up to the Axe-Yarty form, p. 87.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 5 makin [making]. 14 draad [drawed=drew]. 17 láu. A'- 67 góou. A': 110 nat. 122 noon. 124 stóoun.

Æ- 142 snáil, sneel, sneel. — pruti [pretty]. Æ: 166 máaid. — hapsiz [hasps]. 173 waazs. Æ': 209 narewan [never a one]. 214 nedhur.

E- 243 plái. 251 meet. E: 269 mize·l. EA: 324 a'it. 326 woold, wol, wool. 338 kaal. 346 gjet, gjeet, gjeet. EA'- 347 hid. EA': 359 neebur, néibur. 363 shiip [cheap]. 371 straa. EO: — shart [short]. EO'- 411 drii.

I- — in [hine, him acc. also for hit (ái kun put in iin) I can put it in]. — bíiut [bit]. I: 467 wiild. — iin [in]. — viniid [mouldy]. I'- 490 báimbái [by and bye]. 494 táiumz. — shiin [shine]. — sɜ'ivz [scythes]. I': 502 vɜ'iv. — haa, hái, hee, haagh, hâai [hay].
O- — smóouk [smoke]. 519 ovur, avur. O: tæp [top]. 551 staarm. — marnin [morning].
U- 606 dor'. U: — wunurful [wonderful]. 631 vurzdee. 632 œp ɜp. 634 druu.
Y: — hiil [hill]. — thíiun [thin].

II. English.

I. *and* Y. 758 gurl.
O. — stakiq [stocking]. — kark [cork].
U. — kuut [cut].

III. Romance.

A·· — æktɜ'i·v. — fláil [flail]. — plaag [plague]. 820 gee [bright]. 822 máiu. — páai [pay]. 845 anshint.
E·· 885 vari. — terub'l [terrible]. — saarvin [serving].
I·· *and* Y·· 900 tu práiji.
O·· — moov [move].

## Var. v. The Land of Utch for I, Sm.

The Elizabethan English writers, when they want to indicate a S. peasant, continually use *ich*, *cham* = ich am, *chill* = ich will, *chud* = ich would (see suprà, Part I. p. 293 *b*, *c*). It is also found in D 1, p. 30*d*. For the existence of this form of the personal pronoun I, search was made in Sm., and at last it was found as (ɜtɹ ətɹii·) in a very small district, which I have therefore called 'the Land of Utch.' Through Prince L.-L. Bonaparte and the late Mr. Pulman, I found that *utch* was certainly used in Montacute (:mɜ·nikiú), (4 w-by-n. Yeovil, Sm.), and I was fortunate enough to be directed to Mr. George Mitchell, then a vestryman of Kensington, marble and stone mason, of 166, Brompton Road, S.W., with "manufactories in Belgium, France, Italy, and Walton Street, Brompton, estab. 1851," but a native of Montacute, and unable to read or write till he was 23 years old, together with Mr. Stephen Price, son of a dissenting minister and schoolmaster at Yeovil, Sm., where he was born, but who had lived at Montacute from 10 years old, and had acted formerly as Mr. Mitchell's secretary. On 17 Aug. 1880, both of them came to my house and gave me the following information. The Land of Utch occupied the angular space between the two railways which have their vertex at Yeovil, Sm., on the b. of Do. The following villages were named as using *utch*, proceeding from Yeovil to the w., all distances measured from Yeovil Station. East Coker 2 ssw., East Chinnock 3 sw., Mid and West Chinnock 5 wsw., Merriott 7 wsw., Chisselborough 5 w-by-s., Montacute 4 w-by-n., Martock 6 nw., Norton 5 w., South Petherton 7 w-by-n., and possibly Kingsbury 8 nw. In the same region (ɜs) is also employed, which Mr. Price thought to be a corruption of (ɜtɹ); (iis) was not known except as meaning *yes*.

There was no knowledge of *ice* (ɜ'*i*s ?) mentioned by Jennings in his Glossary as "common." The *ice* in Shakspere's King Lear 4, 6, 240 *ice try*, one of Edgar's Kentish speeches, is probably *I shall*, for which it is not an uncommon abbreviation.

Mr. Price gave me the following joke on (ɜtɟ) which passes current in the district. In the Montacute dt. however neither he nor Mr. Mitchell used (ɜtɟ) at all. Another version of this joke was given by Miss Ham, a native of Sm., in a letter (dated Clifton, 30 Jan. 1825) addressed to Jennings, who prints it in his glossary; this I interline in her orthography.

bREd)n tɟiiz, ɜtɟ)ʊv)ʊ)a·d
bread and cheese, 'c' have a had

'n)wot ʊtɟ)a·d, ɜtɟ)ʊv)ʊ)eet
that 'c' had, 'c' have a eat

'n muuR ʊtɟ)*u*·d, *if* ɜtɟ) ʊd)ʊ)ʊ·d
more 'ch wou'd, 'c' had it

Mr. Price's version seems more trustworthy and is certainly more intelligible. Observe the S. past part. (ʊ)a·d, ʊ)eet)=a-had, a-eaten. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte heard (ɜtɟii·) from a man of 94 at Cannington (3 nw.Bridgewater, Sm.).

## Montacute, Sm., dt.

Pal. by AJE. from dict. of Messrs. Mitchell and Price.

1. zuu ɜ'*i* dʊ)zee, mɜn, dhii də)zii nɜ'*u* dhʊt ɜ'*i* bi Rɜ'*it* ʊbɜ'*ut* dh*i*k l*i*d'l mEE'*i*d ʊko·m*i*n vRɔm dh*i*k)dheeR skuul.

2. ɜR)z ʊ)gwEE'*i*n dɜ'*un* dhʊ RhOOd dheeR DRuu dhʊ RhɜD gJEt ɔn dhʊ lEf an zɜ'*i*d ʊ dhʊ wá*i*.

3. shuu'R ʊnɜ·f dhʊ tɟiil hav ʊgɔ·n STREE'*i*t ɜp tʊ dhʊ d*oo*ʊR ʊ dhʊ RɔQ hɜ'*u*s,

4. wæR ɜR)l ma)bi vɜ'*i*nd dh*i*k DRɜqk*i*n dEf skRamd tuu'd b*i*)dhʊ nEEm ʊ :tɔmɔs.

5. ɜs dʊ aal n*oo*)n vERi wEl.

6. uu)nt dhʊ w*oo*ld tɟap zuun t*ee*tɟ shii nɔt tʊ duu it ʊgii'n, puu'R dh*i*q !

7. lɔk)i ! *i*d)'n *i*t TRuu ?

*Notes.*

1. *I* (ɜ'*i*) analysis adopted with hesitation. I seemed often to hear (ɔ'*i*) and it may have been (ɔ'*i*).—*say* (zái) also used.—*mates* (mEE'its) according to Price, scarcely used, (sooz) hardly known, (tɟaps) common.—*now*, Price said (nɪɜ'*u*, dɪɜ'*un*), but Mitchell would not hear of it; the diphthong was often (ɔ'*u*) to my hearing, and may have been (ɔ'*u*).—*right*, a strong tendency to (RH) initial in all cases of *r*.—*that*, Barnes's distinctions of (dhívz, dh*i*k). =*received* this, that, "personal," that is, for things having a definite shape, and (dh*i*s, dhat) "impersonal," for other things (Dorset Grammar, p.21), was recognised, although never thought of before.—*maid*, (mEE'id, mææ'id) both said at times, but (má'id) was not admitted; no distinction in meaning

recognised between *maid* and *girl* (gɜrl), which was (wɛntɟ), not an insulting term.—*come* ultimately sounded (kom), but I thought (kɜm) was meant. —*thick there*, (jɛnd'r, jænd'r) also used, but more Do.

2. *her's*, always (ɜr) before (z), but (shii bi) used.—*road*, the (rh) distinct, but a difference of opinion about (oo, óov, úuv), (rhúuvd) seems to me most correct, and Price said it would be used by the old people.—*there*, to say (dhɜr) would be "bad."—*red*, (hɜrd) not admitted.—*gate*, (gjɛt) distinct, (gíivt, gíɛt) not admitted.—*left*, (lif) also used. —*left hand* (lɛft hand) also said, the vowel (a) throughout varied as (ah, a`), but did not reach (æ); it was generally my (a).

3. *child*, (tɟiil) always used by old people, (tɟa'ild) "not so natural."—*gone*, (vgwon) also used.—*straight*, (strɜæ'it strɜ́it) also used.—*door*, (dúuvr) not used in Montacute.—*wrong* (rɜq) has been used.

4. *maybe*, *chance* is not used.—*drunken*, there was a difference of opinion, as to ('n, *in*, 'q) in the last syllable.—*deaf*, (dif) not used, M. preferred (v ard v íivrin túuvd) a hard of hearing toad, but P. said (v fɛlur vz iz ard v íivrin) a fellow as is hard of hearing, would be more regular.—*name*, (neem) for (neem) was emphatic, (nivm) was not admitted.—*Thomas* = (:tomvs) at Montacute, but (:tɜmos) at Bradford (3 wsw.Taunton, Sm.) in D 10.

6. *won't*, (want) also used.—*old chap* (wo*o*ld vɛlur) also used, with (v) after (d) but (fɛlur) with (f) is the common form.—*teach*, this word is used, and not (larn) as I expected; in Sunday schools (*teet*ɟer) is always used.

Notes on other words, dictated by the same: (s)n*oo*, s)íiar) doest thou know? doest thou hear? Alphabet, (ææ bii sii dii éei ɛf dɟii ætɟ djaa kææ ɜl em en *oo* pii kiú aar es tii jiú vii dɜb'l-ju eks wa'i zad æ·mpas·sii). Names of places: Montacute (:mɜnikiú), Tintinhull (6 se.Langport, Sm.) (:ti·qo).

## Montacute, Sm., cwl.

From dict. of Mr. George Mitchell, native, and Mr. Stephen Price, as above.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 8 hav. 21 neem [not (nívm)]. A: 43 an. 51 mɜn. A: *or* O: 58 vrom. 64 roq. A'- 73 zuu. 76 tuu'd. 84 muur. 94 n*oo*. A': 104 rhood, rhóovd, rhúuvd [(rhuu'd) from older people]. 110 nɔt. 119 vgwee'in vgwon vgɔ·n, [a-going, gone].

Æ- 144 vgii'n. Æ: 166 mee'id mææ'id [not (mâid)]. 177 dhvt [weak form]. 179 wɔt. Æ'- 183 *teet*ɟ. 197 tɟiiz. Æ': 223 dheer. 224 wær.

E- 231 dhv [weak form]. — v)eet [have eaten]. E: 261 zee, zái. 262 wái. 265 stree'it. 266 wel.

EA: 326 w*oo*ld. 335 aal. 346 gjet. EA': 352 rhed. 353 bred. 355 dɛf [not (dif), but (ard v ii'rin) hard of hearing is used]. 364 tɟap.

EO'- 412 shii. EO': 427 bi. 428 zii. 436 truu.

I- — vn 'n [him, acc. form]. 447 ɜr [her, for she]. I: 452 a'i ɔ'i, atɟ, ɔtɟii·. 459 ra'it rha'it. 467 tɟiil. 477 va'ind. 480 dhiq. 482 id)'n [is'nt]. 484 (dhívz) [this, for a shaped object]. I'- 490 bi [weak]. 492 za'id.

O: 525 v [weak form]. 538 *u*d. 541 uu)nt want. 543 ɔn. O'- 556 tv [weak form]. 558 lɔks)i [lookest thee?]. 560 skuul. 564 zuun. O': 579 vnaf. 586 duu.

U- 603 vko·min [a-coming]. 606 d*oo*vr. U: 632 ap. 634 druu. U'- 642 [(dhii) used]. 643 na'*u* nɔ'*u* nɔ'*u*, nĭa'u. 650 vba'*u*t. U': 658 da'*u*n, día'*u*n [see 643]. 662 as. 663 ha'*u*s.

Y- 682 lid'l.

### II. English.

E. 749 lif lɛf lɛft. I. *and* Y. — dhik (that, for a shaped object). O. 770 tomɔs [(:tɜmɔs) at Bradford in D 10]. U. 804 draqkin, —k'n.

### III. Romance.

A·· 866 puur. E·· 885 veri. U·· 969 shuu'r.

## Var. vi. The South Western or Sm. Form.

The late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman made a certain small portion of Sm., Dv., and Do., his own dialect ground. He called it the Axe-Yarty district in his "Rustic Sketches" (3rd ed. 1871) and his "Book of the Axe," because it is watered by the rivers Axe and Yarty, the latter flowing from n. to s. and joining the former about Axminster, Dv.

It forms a little subdistrict, which is not very clearly defined, except on the w. Beginning at the mouth of the Axe, it follows the w. b. of D 4 through Dv. to Buckland St. Mary, Sm. (7 sse.Taunton), and then turns e. to the n. of Yeovil, passing which it turns suddenly s. between Yeovil and Sherborne (5 e.Yeovil), in Do. and passes sw. between Mosterton (8 n-by-e.Bridport) and Beaminster (5 n.Bridport) to the sea just s. of Charnmouth (6 w.Bridport). This district was constantly perambulated by Mr. Pulman, who lived at Crewkerne, Sm., for fishing and archaeological purposes, and thus he learned to give great weight to a few peculiarities which do not seem to have the importance he attributed to them. Thus he distinguishes the district from the rest of Do. by its not having (uun, læg leeg, uup) one, leg, up, which he spells *oone*, *lag* or *laig*, and *oop*, of which Barnes gives (laᵢg, uun), but (uup) has not been found in any part of Do., the nearest approach to it being Mr. Wyer's (kuut) cut (p. 84, l. 13). Mr. P. seems, from his communications to me, to have heard the word specially from an ostler at Henstridge, Sm. (11 ene.Yeovil); and this may have been in saying (kùp) come up to horses, as I heard a farm labourer say in Bu. In going through the list of "chief peculiarities" of the district in *Rustic Sketches*, p. xxxiii, I find they represent general Sm. and have been localised in this district apparently because Mr. P. was familiar with it and wished to confine his information to the places to which he knew it applied. As I give specimens of this general dialect, I omit Mr. P.'s list of peculiarities.

Mr. Pulman was kind enough to give me a cs. and dt. for the Axe-Yarty district and cs. professedly for Merriott in the Land of Utch, Var. v., which was only 3 m. from his residence at Crewkerne (19 sse.Bridgwater). This Merriott cs. was full of *utch*, whereas the dt. given me from Montacute (p. 85) had none. All three were written in the orthography adopted in his *Rustic Sketches*, and unfortunately Mr. Pulman died (3rd Feb. 1880) before I was able to go over these versions with him. In this case I think it better to omit all three than merely to give my own conjectures. But Mr. P. had previously written me a wl. for Merriott which I had the advantage of correcting from his dict. (Nov. 1877), and this follows. Singularly enough it contains no (ətɟ) at all. Moreover Mr. P. said that in Merriott the final (R) became a mere vowel, while at Crewkerne it was distinct. In dictating, however, he pron. a genuine (R), as I also heard from Montacute. He also said that the intonation at Merriott was almost unintelligible beyond the parish itself. There was nothing of this in his dictation. Hence I attribute his wl. to the whole of his district, and thence practically to the whole of Sm., from which he gave no lines of demarcation.

## Axe-Yarty cwl.

Representing e.Sm. generally, pal. by AJE. from dict. of G. P. R. Pulman, author of *Rustic Sketches*.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 beek. 4 tek. 5 mek. 6 meed. 8 hev. 12 zaa[1]. 13 naa[1]. 14 draa[1]. 17 laa[1]. 18 kek. 20 li,em. 21 ni,em. 22 ti,em. 23 si,em. 24 shem. 33 [(zunder) sooner, used]. 34 las. 37 klaa[1]. A: 39 [(kam) bsed]. 40 kwam. 41 (tha[1]qk). 43 an. 46 ka[1]n'l. 48 [(ziqd) used]. 54 wont. 55 *ee*shez [Crewkerne (ashez)]. 56 weesh. 57 a[1]s. A: *or* O: 63 droq. 65 zoq. 66 dhoq.

A'- 67 guu. 70 tuu. 72 uu. 73 zoo. 74 tuu. 75 streek. 76 too'd. 77 lard. 80 ɔ·ledee. 81 li,en. 84 muur. 86 wats. 87 tlooz. 89 buu'th. 91 m*oo*. 95 dr*oo*. 96 z*oo*. A': 101 wak. 102 aks. 107 l*oo*v. 111 aaft. 113 wud. 115 wam. 118 bóoen. 122 nóoen. 123 naart. 124 stóoen. 125 òni. 126 war. 127 húuers. 130 bóout. 134 wath. 135 klaa[1]th.

Æ- 138 và[1]dher [sometimes with f]. 140 há[1]il. 141 ná[1]il. 142 sná il. 143 tá'il. 144 ugen. 146 máa[1]ind. 148 fa[1]er. 150 l*ee*st. 152 waader. 153 za[1]tendi. — parti [pretty]. Æ: 155 dha[1]tj. — stidi [steady]. 158 a[1]·der. 160 *ig*. 161 dee. 163 lái. 164 [(mid) used]. 165 zed. 166 máa[1]id. 168 tá[1]lar. 169 wen. 170 harvís. 172 gra[1]s. 173 wiz, woz [strong]. 181 pa[1]th. Æ'- 182 see. 183 teetj. 185 reed. 187 lef. 189 wái. 192 m*ee*n. 193 kl*ee*n. 194 eni. 195 mi·ni. 196 weer. 199 bleek. 200 w*ee*t. 202 jet. Æ': — míud [mead, meadòw]. 205 dred. 207 niild. 213 edher. 215 [(teetjt) used]. — jel [eel]. 217 *ee*tj. 218 sh*i*p. 219 sl*ee*p. 221 fiier. 223 dh*ee*r. 224 weer. 226 maast. 228 zwet. 230 fa[1]t.

E- 233 sp*ee*k. 239 sá[1]il. 241 rá[1]in. 243 plói. 250 zweer. 252 kid'l. 253 nit'l. E: 260 zá[1]i [rhymes 262]. 262 wá[1]i. 265 strææ'it. 270 belis [bellows]. 273 m*ee*n. 280 leb'n. 281 liqkth. 282 striqkth. — grin [grin]. 283 mari. 284 dra[1]sh. 285 kriis. E'- 296 bliiv. 300 kip. 301 har. 303 swit [not (*i*)]. E': 306 ha'ith. 311 t*ee*n. 312 har. 314 jard. 315 vit [not (*i*)]. 316 neks.

EA- 319 gææp. EA: 321 [(zìd) used]. 322 laf. 324 *ee*t. 325 wææk. 326 wal. 328 káuuld. 300 h*oo*l. 331 zw*oo*ld. 332 twald. 333 kææv. 335 æel [sometimes]. 336 v*oo*l. 337 wol. 343 wæærm. 346 get.

EA'- 347 h*ee*d. 349 viú. EA': 351 lid. 352 ird. 355 dif. 358 na'ist. 361 b*ee*n. 366 gart. 367 dret. 370 raa[1]. 371 straa[1].

EI- 372 ee[1]i. 373 ee. 375 ráiz. 376 bóit. EI: 377 st*ee*k. 378 w*ee*k.

EO- 383 zeb'n. EO: 388 m'lk. 390 shuud. 393 bije·nd. 402 larn. 403 var. 406 *e*'th [rhymes 696 and 698]. 407 vard'n. 498 [(n*oo*d) used].

EO'- 411 drii. 413 div'l. 414 vla'*i*. 417 tjaa. 420 va'*ur*. 421 vart*i*. EO': 425 láit [instead of (la'it) this exceptional pronunciation prevails for 3 or 4 miles from Crewkerne (19 ssc.Bridgewater). It is properly Do.] 428 zei. 430 farnd. 433 brist. 434 bii't.

EY- 438 da'*i*. EY: 439 tarst.

I- 440 wik. 441 zii,v. 442 ii,vi. 443 vra'idi. 449 g*i*t. 451 z*oo*. I: 452 a'*i*. 460 wáit. 465 zitj. 466 tjii,ld. 467 wii,ld. 474 ra'in. 477 va'in. 478 gra'in. 481 viggur. — harn [run]. 484 dhi·z. — harsh [a rush]. 485 dh*i*s'l. 487 yesd*ee*. 488 *it*.

I'- [is generally (a'*i*)]. 496 a'ir. 499 bir'l. I': is generally (a'*i*). 502 va'iv. 504 na'iv. 505 wa'iv. 506 amen. 507 wimin. — láin [line, Crewkerne exceptional pr., otherwise (la'in)]. 513 wa'ir.

O- 521 v*oo*l. 522 *oo*p. 524 ward'l. O: 531 dææter. 538 uud. — artjit [orchard]. 547 buurd. 549 ward. 551 starm. 552 karn. 553 harn. O'- 559 maadher. 564 zuun. 565 naaz. O': 592 [zweerd) used]. 593 mas.

U- 601 va'ul. 602 za'u. 605 sin. U: 609 vuu'l. 610 uu'l. 611 balik. 612 zam. 615 pa'un. 619 va'un. 620 gra'un. 621 [(winded) used]. 629 sin [see 605]. 630 [(wind) used]. 631 dhazdi. 634 druu. 636 varder.

U'- 640 ka'u. 646 ba'u·i. 652 kuud. U': 670 buu.

Y- 674 did dɛd. 675 dɹɑ'u. 682 lid'l. Y: 684 bɑɹdʒ. 685 ɑɹdʒ. 690 kɑ'in. 691 mɑ'in. 696 bɛ'th [I think I heard (bɛ[ɹth)]. 698 mɛ'th [rhymes 696]. 700 wɑs. 701 fɑst. — dɑɹsh [a thrush]. Y- 707 dhɑɹtiin. Y': 709 vɑ'iɹ [but see 772].

II. English.

A. 725 zææl. E. 744 meez'lz. 745 tjeet. 747 indiveɹ. 751 piveɹt.
I. *and* Y. — :ɑɹtjit [Richard]. 755 vilbəd.
O. 761 lu'd. 772 bɑnfɑ'iɹ [but see 709]. 773 dɑqki. 778 vvuuɹd. 779 ɑɹts. 790 gɑ'und. 791 bwói.
U. — kɑɹd'lz [curls]. 808 pɑt.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 jæb'l. 818 ædʒ. 822 mææ'i. 824 tjɑɹ. 827 eegeɹ. 828 *ee*gi. 835 ɹeez'n. 836 seez'n. 838 tɹeet. 840 tjimuɹ. 842 pla'ntʒ [a flooring, not a single plank]. 845 a'nshunt. 847 da'ndjuɹ. 848 tja'ndʒ. 849 stɹa'ndjuɹ. 852 æp'ɹn. 853 bɑɹgin. 855 kɑɹt. — skɛs [scarce]. 856 peeɹt. 862 sæef. 864 kɑɑz. 865 fɑɑt.
E·· 867 tee. 868 djææ'i. 869 veel. 874 ráain. 878 sælvɹi. 879 feemeel. 883 dændila'i·ɹnt. 888 sɑɹt'n. 890 beest bívst [s. and pl. alike]. 891 feest. 892 nɛvi. 894 dɹseev. 895 ɹɛseev.
I·· *and* Y·· — 904 la'i·ant [lion]. 910 dja'ist.
O·· 916 ɑ'injuɹn. 920 pwóint. 923* mwóisti. 926 spwóil. 929 kja'ukɛmuɹ. 938 kɑɹnɛɹ. 940 kwuu't. 942 buutjuɹ. 943 titʒ. 946 mwóil. 947 bwóil. 950 sɑpɛɹ. 952 kuus [coarse]. 954 kəshin.
U·· 967 suut. 969 siúɛɹ. 970 djist.

For the remainder of e.Sm. (excluding D 10), JGG. made a complete wl., from the dict. of a native of Wincanton (13 ne.Yeovil), who, however, had resided long in Cu. After many trials and much correspondence, I relectantly found his memory of the dialect not sufficiently accurate to be accepted in its details. The other contributions I have received were in io., but they are quite sufficient to shew that at Langport, Castle Carey (16 ene.Langport) and Wedmore (7 w-by-n.Wells), the pronunciation differs insensibly from the Axe-Yarty; while at Combe Down (2 s.Bath) it seems indistinguishable from Wl. The following examples from Wedmore shew the nature of the dialect in the m. of e.Sm.

## Wedmore, Sm. (18 ssw.Bristol).

Specimens sent by Mr. C. A. Homfray, Manor House, and pal. rather conjecturally by AJE.

1. (míustɛɹ, ɑ'*i* bívnt ɛ-gwái·n dɹuu dhɛ mɑk.) master, I be-not a-going through the muck.
2. (tɑ'in dhɛ dúɛɹ, ut ?) shut the door, wilt ?
3. (duus)ɛn dhi nɑɑ dh*i*k dhɑɹ hɔs ?) dost-not thou know that there horse ?
4. (cas)ɛn hɑ'*i*ɹ ?) canst-not hear.
5. (dhɛ lɑm)z ɛ-vɑ'*i*ɹ.) the chimney's on fire [I only knew *lum* as a N. or L. word].
6. (dhɛ gæækom*i* túɛd ɛv ɛ hɔs ɛ gæl*i*d ɑ'*i*, :g*u*d)naa.) this frolicsome toad of a horse has frightened me, God-knows. [I do not know the word 'gaacomey' so spelled, see No. 18.]

7. (gii ·ɑ'*i* dhʊ slɑ'*i*s.) give me the fire-pan [or fire-shovel].
8. (dhʊ bæk*i* kr*i*tɟ ʊz on dhʊ klæv*i*-tæk.) the tobacco jar is on the mantel-piece. [The last word is given as *clavel-tack* in Wright.]
9. (hæst dhi l*u*kt *i*n dhʊ krɔk tʊ zii *i*f dhʊ t*ee*ti*z* bi dɑn ?) hast thou looked in the pot to see if the potatoes be done ?
10. (v*ee*dhʊʀ jíʊ)nt kɑm whóʊm *i*t.) father is)not come home yet. [I doubt (wh)].
11. (bɑ'*i* ʊnɔ·n.) by and bye.
12. (dhii)z nɑɑ dhæt s)lɑ'*i*k.) thou) dost know that, (it) is like [probably].
13. (t)wɑʀ dh*i* z*i*stʊʀ, t)wɑʀd)ʊn :zæl.) it)were thy sister, it)were) not Sall.
14. (ɑ'*i*)l zii *i*f shæd)ʊn duu ʊt; ut)ʊn ?) I'll see if (thou) shalt)not do it; wilt)not ?
15. (iiz, ɑ'*i* ul, mææ-bi.) yes, I will, may-be.
16. (wɑ'*i* duus)ʊn dɔf dh*i* klɑɑdz ʊn mɛnd dh*i*k l*i*rɔp ?) why dost)not doff (take off) thy clothes and mend this tear.
17. (lɑɑ ! wæt ʊ lɑmpʊʀ !) law ! what a stumble [or noise of falling, also (lɑmbʊʀ)].
18. (g*i*t ɑp, ji dʀæækom*i* ɑɑld gæækʊm.] get up you stupid old frolicker [to a horse, but the words 'dracomey, gacome' are unknown].
19. (duu)ʊnt i tææk ɔn *zoo*, *zoo*s.) don't ye take on [trouble yourselves] so, companions.

## Worle (:wɑʀ'l, :wɑʀd'l), 16 w.Bath, cwl.

Written by Rev. W. F. Rose, vicar in io. and subsequently pal. by AJE., serves to show how the dialect is preserved to the Bristol Channel.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3. bíʊk. 5 míʊk. 6 míʊd. 8 *ee*v. 14 dʀɑɑ. — stag [stack]. 21 níʊm. 22 tíʊm. 23 síʊm, *see*m. 24 shíʊm. 25 míʊn. 28 íiʊʀ. 32 bíʊdh. 33 ʀ*ee*dhʊʀ. A: 43 han. 44 lan. A'- 77 lɑʀd. 81 líʊn. 84 múʊʀ. 93 tʊ sn*oo*ji. 95 dʀ*oo*. A': 101 wok. 104 ʀóʊd. 128 dhóʊz. 130 boot.

Æ- — jɛk [ache]. — lædhʊʀ [ladder]. — blædhʊʀ [bladder]. 144 ʊgíʊn. 146 m*ee*n. 149 blíʊz. 150 líʊs. 152 wɑɑdʊʀ. — pɛʀt*i* [pretty]. Æ: 155 dhɛtɟ. 166 míʊd [probably confused with *made*]. 170 hærest. 172 gʀææs. 181 pææth. Æ'- — hɑʀdi [ready]. 187 lɛf. 192 míʊn. 193 klíʊn. 200 wíʊt. Æ': — bliit [bleak]. 207 mid'l. — jɛl [eel]. 218 sh*i*p. 224 wíʊʀ.

E- — liit [leak]. 248 míʊʀ. 252 k*i*t'l. E: 261 *zee*. 284 dʀæsh. E'- 298 viil. 301 hɑ'*i*ʀ. EA: 326 *oo*l. 327 b*oo*l. 333 k*ee*f. 334 h*ee*f. 335 ææl. 336 vææl. 342 jɑʀm. 343 wɑʀm. 346 géʊt. EA'- 347 hiid. EA': 355 diif. 363 tɟ*i*p. 366 gɑʀt. EI: 378 wíʊk. EO- 383 zɛv'n. 385 binɛ·th. EO: — smɛʀt [smart]. 407 vɑʀd'n. EO'- 411 dʀii. EO': 423 dhɑ'*i*. 428 zii.

I: 477 vɑ'*i*n. — bʊhɑ'i·n [behind]. 485 d*i*s'l. I'- — stʀ*i*k [strike]. I': 502 vɑ'iv.

O: 534 hɑɑl. 547 búʊʀd. 551 stɑʀm. 552 kɑʀn. 553 hɑʀn. 554 kʀɑɑs. O'- 564 zuunder [sooner]. O': 579 *i*nɑ'u·.

U- 605 zɔn. U: 610 *u*l. 612 zɑm. 629 zɑn. 631 dhɑzd*i*. 634 dʀuu. 635 wɑth.

Y- — piil [pillow]. 682 lid'l. Y: 685 rhadj. 686 bardj. 691 ma'in. 700 was. 701 fast.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 trívd. 741 mívz. E. — zim [seem]. O. — soog [soak]. — lart [a loft]. — poog [poke]. U. — kŭiid [cud, compare a *quid* of tobacco]. 805 kradz.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 811 plívs. — fækət [faggot]. 833 pívr. — mændr [manner]. 852 *jee*prn. — kar [carry]. — kŭar [quarry]. E·· 888 sart'n. — sar [serve]. 890 bívs. I·· *and* Y·· — harvr [river]. O·· 938 karnr. U·· — stad [study].

## D 5 = e.MS. = eastern Mid Southern.

*Boundaries.* Beginning at the w. b. of Ox. just opposite Moreton-on-Marsh (19 e.Tewkesbury) and go along the w. b. of Ox. and then of Be. as far as Hungerford (24 w.-by-s.Reading) and then continue in a n. to s. line through Ha. passing just w. of Andover, to Nursling at the n. point of Southampton Water and then to the sea by Lymington (10 e.Christchurch). Cross the Solent to the nw. corner of Wi. (and not just e. of it as appears on the map). Run along the coast of Wi. to the ne. corner of it. Then again cross the sea to Selsey Bill, s.Ss. and continue along the s. coast of Ss. to the mouth of the R. Adur. Then sweep ne. through m.Ss., e. of Bolney (8 se.Horsham) and w. of Cuckfield (9 ese.Horsham) through East Grinstead (15 ene.Horsham). Then pass through the extreme se. corner of Sr. and proceed in a ne. direction to Knockholt (14 s.Woolwich), which is a conjectural point from which no information has been obtained. Dialect speaking now ceases on approaching D 8 in the Metropolitan Area, but we may sweep sw. w. and nw. through n.Sr. keeping probably s. of Croydon and Leatherhead (12 ne.Guildford), n. of Stoke (1 n.Guildford), w. of Sandhurst (10 se.Reading) to Reading. Then proceed along the w. b. of Ox. to the projection of Be. into Ox., which cut off, passing s. of Cumnor (3 wsw.Oxford) and n. of Appleton (5 sw.Oxford). Then enter Ox. and pass w. of Ensham (4 nw.Oxford) and of Handborough (6 nw.Oxford) and then go nearly n. to the e. of Charlbury and Chipping Norton (12 nw. and 17 nnw.Oxford) to a point just e. of Moreton-on-Marsh, the starting-point, to which proceed.

Much of this line is very uncertain for at least a few miles on each side of it. The division between Be. and Ox. is altogether uncertain. The sweep through n.Sr. may be considered almost conjectural, so great was the difficulty of obtaining any satisfactory evidence of native dialect. The population is shifting and seldom native. But Stoke (1 n.Guildford) was well marked. The e. b. through Ke. presented insuperable difficulties, but the line between the mouth of the Adur and East Grinstead is tolerably clearly defined. If in the most uncertain parts the line be taken 5 to at most 10 miles wide, it may be accepted as a very fair boundary.

*Area.* Most of Ha. and all Wi., much of Be., s.Sr. and w.Ss., and a small portion of w.Ox.

*Authorities.* See the Alphabetical County List for the following places where prefixed marks show * vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

*Be.* °Bucklebury, °Cholsey, °Coleshill, °Denchworth, °East Hendred, ‖Hampstead Norris, °Kintbury, °Shefford, ‖Stanford in the Vale, ‖Steventon, °Streatley, °Wantage.

*Ha.* ‖°Andover, °Corhampton, °East Stratton, °West Stratton, *Winchester to Southampton.

*Ke.* No information.

*Ox.* °Alvescot, °Charlbury, °Chastleton, †Ducklington, †Leafield, †Lew, †Milton, 5 ‖†Witney.

*Sr.* °Charlwood, °Elstead, °Ewhurst, °Godalming, °Godstone, °Haslemere, °Leatherhead, *°Ockley, *Stoke, °Weald of Sr.
*Ss.* °Bolney, °Compton, °Ertham, °Kirdford, °Twineham, °West Wittering, °Wisborough Green.
*Wi.* °Northwood, °Shorwell, °whole Isle.

The district is not so well represented as the last. The greater number of notes are meagre and imperfect. There were only three vv., from Winchester Ha., Ockley and Stoke Sr., a pal. transcription of part of a cs. by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte from Hampstead Norris, Be., a pal. specimen and cwl. from Andover by Prof. Arnold Schröer, a few notes by TH. in Ox., and some in Glossic by Mrs. Parker in Be. and Ox. But these are sufficient to understand the notes of the other informants.

*Character.* The (ʀ) remains generally quite distinct, the (z, v) for (s, f) initial die out eastward, the (ái) for ÆG, EG is uncertain, *I be* remains, but the *a-* before the past participle becomes lost. It will be most convenient to consider four varieties or forms, V i. w.Ox., V ii. Be., V iii. Ha. and Wi., and V iv. s.Sr. and w.Ss. There is no special information from the very small portion of Ke. involved, the dial. of which, being so near to the metropolitan area, is probably very slightly marked indeed, but does not shew the characteristics of D 9. These different varieties cannot be distinctly defined by any clear characters, but still there is some amount of local distinction.

## Var. i. Ox. Form.

### Witney, dt.

Originally written in gl. by Mrs. Angelina Parker, then pal. by TH. from her dict. and finally corrected by TH. from information obtained by him at Witney Sept. 1884. As the pronunciation of this district is thought very strange at Oxford, great pains have been taken to represent it correctly. See the following cwl. embracing words from Witney, Ducklington, and Leafield, another primitive place, all of which were well examined by TH. This form of D 5 shews the transition from D 4 very clearly. The reverted (ʀ) was distinctly noticed by TH. after a vowel, but before a vowel he seems not to have felt its difference from common English (r, r₀), and he also did not notice its assimilating effect on adjacent (t d n l), which is inevitable when (ʀ) is used. But he noted how much more marked the reversion was in w. than in m. and s.Ox. I have therefore retained his notation. There is a great peculiarity in this district. As far s. as Witney there is a plentiful sprinkling of (u₀, o) in place of (ɜ), but at Ducklington (:dak'ìtʊn) only 1 s.Witney, this entirely ceases, (ɜ) alone being heard. In other respects the dialect at Ducklington is identical with that at Witney. This shews that the incursion of (u₀) into the n. part of S. should not be considered to affect the dialect district. (See also D 4, Var. ii., Gl. Form, p. 60. The symbol (u₀), a variety of (u), is especially considered in the introduction to the M. div.)

1. sò [sáu] ə'*i* sâ*i*, m*ee*ts, ɹʊ s*i*z naʼ*u* ʊz ə'*i* bi rɜ'*it* ʊbɜ'*ut* dhat dhɜʀ l*i*t'l gjɜʀl [gjal'] ʊkɜ·m*i*n fram dhʊ skuu'l ɹandʊʀ.

2. ɜʀ)z ʊgwà·*i*n [ʊgwè·*i*n] daʼ*u*n dhʊ r*oo*d [râ*u*d] dhʊʀ' [dhɜʀ'] thruu dhʊ rɛd gjɛt' [gjɛ't] ʊ)dhʊ [an)dhʊ] l*i*ft and sɜ'*i*d ʊ)dhʊ wâ*i*.

3. shûʊʀ ʊn*u*₀f dhʊ tɟɜ'*i*'l)z gɜɜn strái*t* *u*₀p tʊ)dhʊ dûʊʀ ʊ)dhʊ rəq' ɜ'*us*,

4. wʊʀ ɜʀ)l mwɜst lɜ'*i*kl*i* fɜ'*i*nd dhat dhʊr' dr*u*₀qk'n dɛf' sr*i*vʊld fɛlʊ ʊ)dhʊ n*ee*m ʊ :tɔmʊs.

5. wì ɜɜl n*oo*z [náuz] ì vɛr*i* [? var*i*] wɛ'l.

6. wɜnt dhʊ ó*u*ld [á*u*ld] tɟap' s*u*n làʀn ɜʀ nat tʊ d*u*)t ʊgjɛ'n, pûʊʀ th*i*q!

7. lɜk'! jɛnt *i*t truu?

## West Ox. cwl.

From the following sources:

B. wn. by TH. from Mr. James Brain, native of Ducklington, aged 81.
M. words given in io. by Rev. W. D. Macray, rector of Ducklington, also chiefly taken from Mr. Brain, and pal. rather conjecturally by AJE.
L. Leafield, wn. by TH. from natives of 87, 84, and 74 years old.
W. Witney, wn. by TH.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 12 M saa. 14 M draa. 21 BLW n*ee*m. 23 BL s*ee*m. 24 M shɛm, sh*ee*m. 33 L rɛɛdhʊʀ. 37 M thaa. A: 39 M [(kɜm) used]. A: *or* O: 58 B frʊm, W fram. 64 BL rəq', W rə'q. A'- 73 W sò sá*u*. 81 L l*ee*n [so all his life, 84 years old]. 84 L mûʊʀ. 85 M suʊʀ. 86 W wɜts. 89 M bóʊdh. 92 L nâhu. A': 104 B r*oo*d, W r*oo*d, râ*u*d. 115 BL *oo*m. 118 W bwɜn. 124 M stŏ'ʊn, stɜn. 130 M bŏ'ʊt.

Æ- 138 LW faadhʊʀ. Æ: 154 B bak'. 155 M thɛtɟ. 158 L aa·tʊrnuun. 161 B dâ*i*, LW d*ee*. 171 W bàrl*i*. — L kjáhʀt. Æ'- 192 L m*ee*n. 197 L tɟiiz. 200 LW w*ee*t. Æ': 223 L dhîʊʀ. 226 BW mwɜst, M móʊst.

E- 233 B sp*ee*k, dh*e* spèks [they speaks], W speek*i*n. 241 L r*ee*n, W râin. — B lîʊ·z*i*n [leasing = gleaning], L leez*i*n, lîʊz*i*n. 252 L kj*i*t'l. E: 261 BW sâ*i*, L sâ'l*i*, sâ*i* [new form (sêi)]. — L lɛg [leg]. 262 WL w*ái* wâ'l'*i*, B w*ái* wâi. 265 L strɛ'*i*t [old form (stráit)], W strâit. 266 Wwɛ'l. — W fî'ld [field]. 276 W th*i*q'. 278 L wɛntɟ [used when young, now (gjənl)]. E'- 299 L griin. E': 314 L îʊʀd. EA- 319 M gíʊp. EA: 324 L âitiin, W âit*i*. 326 BW ó*u*ld, W also â*u*ld. 328 M kó*u*ld. 329 M fó*u*ld. 335 W ɜɜl. 346 W gjɛt, L gjɛ't, M. gíʊt. EA': 350 L dɟɛ'd. 352 W rɛd. 355 W dɛf'. 359 nâi·bʊʀ. — B bjɛ'm [beam]. 361 W bjan. 363 L tɟap. 364 W tɟap. 371 B straa, L strɜɜ [old form (straa)]. EI- 373 L dhái, W dhâ'l*i*. EO- 383 W sɛv'm. EO: 394 W jandʊʀ. 395 W jəq. 396 B wɜʀk. 402 W làʀn. EO'- 420 W fôʊʀ. 421 W fà'lnt*i*. EO': 428 W s*i*. EY- 438 L də'*i*.

I- 440 B w*i*k. 446 nə'*i*n. — W p*ee*z [pease]. I: 452 W ə'*i*. 458 nə'*i*t. 459 BW rɜ'*i*t. 465 sittɟ. 466 B tɟɜ'ild. 468 B tɟildʊʀn. 477 W fɜ'*i*nd. 488 B j*i*t. I'- 492 W sɜ'*i*d. 494 L tə'*i*m. I': 500 B lɜ$^{a}$·kl*i*.

O- — L dràp [drop]. 524 B wʊʀld. O: 531 BL daa·tʊʀ, W dɜɜtʊʀ. 538 B *u*d. 543 BLW an'. — W kraps [crops]. 551 L stɜ'ʀm. — B às' [horse]. O'- 559 W mɜdhʊʀ. 560 W skuul. 562 B muun. 564 B sun. 568 W brɜdhʊʀ. O': 578 L plɜ'l'*u*. 579 W ʊn*u*₀f. 586 L dwant [don't].

U- — L ûd [wood]. 603 B kɜm, W ʊkɜ·m*i*n. 604 W s*u*₀mʊʀ. 605 B sɜ'n, L sù₀n, W sə'n. 606 BW dûʊʀ. U: 612 W s*u*₀m, som. 613 L dr*u*₀qk. 619 L f*u*₀n. 629 B sɜn' [compare 605], W s*u*₀n. 632 LW *u*₀p, əp. 633 k*u*₀p, kɜp. 634 W thruu. 636 L fɜrdʊr. U'- 643 WB nɜ'*u*. 650 L [between (ʊbə''*u*t) and (ʊbô*u*t)] W ʊbɜ'*u*t. U': 658 W dɜ'*u*n. 659 W tɜ'*u*n. 663 BW ɜ'*us*'. 667 L ə'*u*t.

Y- W l*i*t'l.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 W *meet*. E. 749 W lift. I. *and* Y. 758 W gjæʀl, gjal'. O. 761 M lóʊd. — L :lu$_{\circ}$nʊn [new form (:lu$_{\circ}$ndʊn)]. — W la'st. 791 L bwA''i, W bôi. U. — W tu$_{\circ}$b, tob [tub]. — W dak [a duck]. 794 W dju$_{\circ}$g, djog. 803 W dju$_{\circ}$mp, djomp. — W gən [a gun]. 804 W dru$_{\circ}$qk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 828 M *ee*gʊʀ. — L plâ'in [plain, unadorned]. — W pl*ee*z [please]. — W saasʊʀ. 862 BW *see*f. E·· 867 W t*ee*. 885 B var*i*, W var*i*, var*i*. 890 L bjɛst [now (bèst)]. 891 L fjɛst. O·· — W pomp, pu$_{\circ}$mp [pump]. — mu$_{\circ}$n*i* [money]. 935 L ku$_{\circ}$ntr*i*. 938 BL kA'ʀʊʀ. — W impàhsʊb'l [impossible]. 947 L bwói'l. — W kɔlʊʀ [colour]. U·· 970 W dju$_{\circ}$st.

*Examples.*—B (ə'i sì dhʊ)*óu*ld tjap' *i*·stʊrd*e*), I saw the old chap yesterday. L (ə'*i* bi ʊgwà·in *oo*m tʊ)E' m*i* su$_{\circ}$pʊʀ). W (am', am', bîutif*u*l am'! dhɛm ʊs)kànt iit *it* A't tʊ klam') [ham, ham, beautiful ham! them as can't eat it ought to clam (starve)].

## VAR. ii. THE BE. FORM.

Although I have been quite unable to obtain vv. communications from Be., and the information I have received leaves much to be desired, it is sufficient to shew the continuation of practically the same dial. as in w.Ox. throughout Be.

Beginning in the n. I have a dial. test obtained by Mrs. Parker for Steventon (5 ne Wantage), and I had others from Stanford in the Vale (5 nw.Wantage), which I could not sufficiently trust. The short list of words from Wantage, corroborated by those from Denchworth (3 n-by-w.Wantage), and Cholsey (11 e.Wantage), continues the information through the n. of Be. From Hampstead Norris (11 se.Wantage) I have a considerable portion of the cs. written from dict. by Prince L.-L Bonaparte, from which the general character of the dial. can be safely inferred. It will suffice to give the Steventon, Wantage and Hampstead Norris specimens.

### *a.* STEVENTON (5 ne.Wantage, Be.) dt.

Written in gl. by Mrs. Parker from the dict. of Mr. Leonard, both of Ox., and pal. by AJE. Mrs. Parker has not marked the reverted, or, as she considers it, retracted (ʀ), but I have supplied it to the same extent as before.

1. S*oo* ɐ'*i* sâ*i*, AAl)æn)i, Jʊ siz nɐ'*u* ɐ'*i* bi rɐ'*it* ʊbɐ'*ut* dhæt ʊʀ l*i*t'l gjæl ʊkə·m*i*n frəm dhʊ skuuld JændʊʀR.
2. shii)z ʊgwAA·*in* dɐ'*un* dhʊ rAAʊd dhɐʀ thruu dhʊ red g*i*ʊt a dhʊ l*i*ft and sɐ'*i*d ʊ dhʊ wAA'*i*.
3. shuuʀ ʊnəf dhʊ tjɐ'*i*ld ʊv gAAn strâit ɐp tʊ dhʊ duuʀ ʊ dhʊ rəq ɐ'*u*s.
4. wɐr shii)l tj*ee*nts tʊ fɐ'*i*nd dhæt ʊʀ drɐqk'n def, sr*i*v'ld felʊ ʊ dhʊ n*ee*m ʊ :tomɔs.
5. wii AAl nAA'*uz*)n vɛʀ*i* wɛl.
6. wɐnt dh)AA'*u*ld tjap s*u*n lɐʀn ʊʀ næt tʊ duu)t ʊgjɐ·n, puuʀ th*i*q.
7. lak! JɐnT *it* truu?

## *b.* Hampstead Norris, Be., part of cs.

Written by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte in his own letters from the dictation of W. B. Banting, Esq., hon. sec. of the Newbury District Field Club, by whom it was approved when read out; translated into pal. by A.J.E. Most probably I should have appreciated some sounds differently, as shewn by the notes, but I have thought it right to retain the Prince's own spelling, translated into pal. It shews a strong D 5 dialect.

0. wʊ*i* :dɟən æz nuu dá*u*ts.

1. wʊl, náa*i*·bɐɪ, ɟəə[1] ænd hii máa*i* bʊʊ'*u*'th laa'f æt dh*i*s nɟuuz ɔʌ mʊ'*i*n. hə[1] ki'ɹs ? dhæt *i*z nədh·ɪ ʜh*i*ɪ nʌʌɹ dhiɪ.

2. fɟuu men də'*i* kɔs dháa*i* b*i* laa'ft æt, wii nʊʊ'*u*, dʊ)nt wii ? waat shə[1]d meek əm ? t-ʊnt vee·ri lʊ'*i*kl*i*, *i*z ət ?

3. á*u*·sɔmde·vɔɹ dhi's aaɹ dhaaɹ væks ə dhaaɹ ki's, *zoo* dɟest ʜhʊ'uld ɟer nɔ'iz, frend, ænd bii kwʊ'*i*'t t*i*l ʊ'i *aa* dən. aaɹ·kn !

4. ʊ'*i* bii zeɹ·t*i*n ʊ'*i* hɔɪd əm záa*i*—zəm ɔv dhem vɔk ə[1] went thrə[1] dhaaɹ uu'l dh*i*q vrəm dhaaɹ vəst dhəɹsel·z,—dhæt d*i*d ʊ'*i* zi'f enəf.

5. dhæt dhaaɹ ɟəq·gest zən *i*ssel·f, æ g*i*ɪt bwʊ'*i* ɔ nʊ'*i*n, nʊʊ'*u*d *i*z fee·dhɔɪz vɔ'*i*s æt wʊns, dhʊʊ'*u* et wæz *zoo* kwəɪ ænd skwek·ən, ænd ʊ'*i* wɔd drɔst en tə[1] speek dhaaɹ druuth en·*i* dáa*i*, aa, ʊ'*i* wʊd.

6. æ'nd dhaaɹ ʊ'*u*l-d-um·æn ʜhəɪsel· wəl tel en*i* ɔ-n-*i* dhæt laa'f náu, ænd tel ii stráa*i*t ʊ'ə[1]f, tə[1], w*i*)áu*t*· mɔtɟ bɔdh·ʊɪ, *i*f ɟə[1]l ə[1]n·l*i* æks əɪ, ə[1] ! wænt shii ?

7. li'stwʊ'*i*z shii tʊ'uld ət mee, wen ʊ'*i* æksd əɪ, tə[1] ʌʌɹ drii tʊ'*i*mz *oo*·vəɪ, d*i*d shii, ænd shii d*i*d'nt ʌʌt tə[1] bii rɔq ən s*i*k aaɹ pɔ'*i*nt æz dh*i*s, waat də[1] ii dh*i*qk ?

8. wʊl æz ʊ'*i* wæz æ záa*i*'n, shii ɔd tel ii, ʊ'ə[1], wəɪ ænd wen shii vʊ'ə[1]nd dhaaɹ drəqk·n bi'st shii kʌʌlz əɪ ɔz·bæn.

### *Notes to Hampstead Norris.*

0. *why*, the usual MS. diphthong, differently appreciated as (a'*i* ɔ'*i* a'*i* *ái*$_1$). Mr. Banting wrote *whoy*, as usual.—*has*, this is the strong form.—*doubts*, analogy would have required (dʊ'*u*ts), see 8 (vʊ'end).

1. *neighbour*, the final (ɹ) or glottal *r*, which is sometimes written (ɹ) or (r$_o$), followed by permissive *r*, was evidently at that time the Prince's appreciation of (u), the only real *r* of this district. —*you*, the appreciation (ɟəə[1]) is very doubtful. Mr. B. wrote *yough*, perhaps (ɟʌ'*u*).—*both*, Mr. Banting writes *boweth* perhaps (bóʊdh) was intended. I do not attribute much importance to Mr. Banting's approval of the Prince's reading, for as Mr. Banting was not used to phonetic appreciation, and the Prince was a foreigner, Mr. Banting would be easily satisfied with a rough approximation to his own sounds.—*who*, the appreciation (hə[1]) is very doubtful, Mr. B. has *whoo*.—*neither*, here again (ə) is doubtful, Mr. B. has *nŭther*.

2. *should*, (ə[1]) doubtful.

3. *these*, the final (s) probably an error for (z). — *the*, this (dhaaɹ) is difficult to understand, Mr. B. writes *th'au thae vacks ov thau keas*, which is equally puzzling.—*noise*, Mr. B. *nais*.

4. *heard-who-through*, Mr. B. *hurd-oo-throo*, the (ə) is doubtful.

5. *trust*, *truth*, Mr. B. writes *dtrust*, *dtruth*, which were probably his errors, (trʌstɹuuth) might have been expected.

8. *how-found* by the appreciation (ʊ'ə[1]) the diphthong in these words is made to resemble the Dv. diphthong. Mr. B. writes simply *ow*. If the Prince heard him correctly, he must have had a very peculiar pron. of (uu, *oo*, a'u) not belonging to the district. The Prince was not able to finish writing the whole cs. from dictation.

### c. Wantage, Be., cwl.

Written by Mr. Davey io., rather conjecturally pal. by AJE. The reverted (ʀ) not before a vowel has been supplied, as it was certainly pronounced. I had also a considerable number of words from the Vicar of Denchworth (3 nnw. Wantage), which so far as they go confirm this list, and a dt. from the schoolmaster of Cholsey (12 e. Wantage), which has a suspicious number of initial (z) and other doubtful points, hence I can only use these as confirmations on the whole.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A'- 92 náu. A': 118 búʊn.
Æ- 148 fáir. Æ: 158 *ee*ftʊʀ aatʊʀ. — wɔps [wasp]. Æ': 208 œʀ ʊ- [e'er a, any]. 209 nœʀ ʊ- [ne'er a-]. 218 sh*ip*. 223 dhɜʀ.
E: 261 zái. 263 ʊwái·. 265 stráiʀ. — ʊthɜʀt [athwart]. E': 312 jɜʀ. EA: 324 áit h*á*it. EA': 366 gɜʀt grɔʀ. EO: — ʊm [them]. — shaʀt [short]. 407 faʀdh*i*q.
I'- — gii [give]. I': — hái [hay]. O: 538 *u*d. 552 kaʀn. — maʀnʊn [morning]. O': 586 duu)t [do it], dun)náu [don't know]. U: 612 zam)ʊt [somewhat, something].

II. English.

A. — ʀáilz [rails]. — maʀkʊt [market].

III. Romance.

A·· — pái [pay]. 890 bíʊst. — puʊʀtʊʀ [porter].

Sentences: (dóʊnt)i) don't you, (wæt)s wænt tʊ gʀɜ'ind ii fɔʀ?) what dost want to grind he (=it?) for? (jɜ)nt *it*, bɜ)nt *it*) is not it, be not it, (ʊnk*i*d) dreadful.

### Var. iii. Ha. and Wi. Forms.

The dialect at the north of Hampshire cannot differ much from that of Hampstead Norris, Be. The late Dr. Burnell, a native, writing from West Stratton (7 ne. Winchester), says that the *r* final is fully reverted, that (z) for *s* initial is very rare, (v) for *f* he had heard in 535 (v*oo*ks) folks; (h, wh) initial were used, 553 *morning*, 87 *clothes*, were (maʀn*i*n, klaaz), and 304 *beetle* a mallet, was (báit'l), which is singular, 394 *yonder* (jandʊʀ). In grammar *I be, he be, we am, they am*, are heard, not *I are. I lives* not *I do live, he live, we lives*. The dialect seemed already (1879) much altered, and so many inhabitants had been in service in London and elsewhere, or at sea and about, that Dr. B. doubted the value of what they told him. The man he had reckoned on as his principal authority was ill.

From East Stratton, which is close by, I got (gw*i*n, ʊnuu·, gíʊt) going, enough, gate; Dr. Burnell repudiated the last.

Towards the s. of Ha. the great towns of Winchester, Southampton, and Portsmouth have acted seriously on the dialect, which however crops up again in Wi.

The Rev. T. Burningham, when Rector of Charlwood, Sr. (6 ssw. Reigate), a Hampshire man, said that in his younger days (b. 1808) the labourer alway put *v* for *f*, and *z* for *s*; a *fallow* would be a *voller* (vɔlʊ?), and gives the following examples of Ha. at that time (I preserve the spelling), "I was a gwine (gwái*n*) hoh-um (hó*o*ʊm) to git my kāwfee, but set doun under the hullumun (hɑ·lʊmʊn=elm) tree to git out o' th' rah-in (rái*n*). Terrable watchet (tɜʀʊb'l watʃet) a gwine acrass that air veeyuld (víiʊld)."

Here *watchet* is *wetshod*, wet for the feet. He notes *waps wapsen*= wasp wasps, *een amoast*=even almost, *on-emp*=un-empty,=empty "on-emp that air payul," *leer*=hungry, empty,=German *leer*, but not derived from it, mid. Eng. lær. (See D 4, p. 52, *Hornet*, l. 23.)

### Southampton to Winchester.

This cs. was written from the dictation of Mr. Percival Leigh, 22 March, 1876, who was born in Scotland in 1813, but was taken to Hampshire when a month old and had been there constantly since, so that he had known the dialect all his life. Mr. Leigh did not use (R), but pronounced in the usual received manner, initial (r), final as (ʊ). I have used final (R), because from other sources I know that it prevails in Hampshire. Mr. Leigh was also strict in not leaving out (h), but admitted that it was sometimes put in. Altogether it seems that this version gives rather a refined form of speech, with occasional outbursts of real dialect. Towards Portsmouth Mr. Leigh considered the speech as finer still.

0. wæ'*i* :dʒɔn hæænt gɔt n*oo* dæ'*u*ts.

1. wɛl, náibʊʀ, hdii ʊn h*i*m med buu'th laa'f ɔt dh*i*s hii'r niúz *o* mæ'*i*n. huu kee'ʀz ? dhæt eent nɛdhɔʀ hii'ʀ nʊʀ dhee'ʀ.

2. fiú tʃæps dæ'*i*z kaaz dhee bi lææft æt, wii n*oo*z, duu'nt)ɔs ? wɔt sh*u*d mii'k ʊm ? ʊt beent vɛʀ*i* læ'*i*kl*i*, bii)ʊt ?

3. hæ'*u*sʊmdɛv·ʊʀ dhiiz hii'ʀ bii dhʊ ræ'*i*ts *o* dhʊ st*oo*'rii, *zoo* dʒɛst dhii h*oo*ld dh*i* næ'*i*z, vrend, ʊn bæ'*i*d kwæ'*i*·ʊt t*i*l æ'*i*)v ʊdɛn. dhii l*i*s·n tə mii.

4. æ'*i* bii saaʀt'n æ'*i* hii'ʀd ʊm zee zɛm *o* dhɛm fooks ʊz went druu dhʊ h*oo*l dh*i*q frʊm dhʊ vɛst dhʊʀzɛl·vz—dhæt d*i*d æ'*i* zeef ʊnɛf·—

5. dhʊt dhʊ jɛq·gɔst zɛn h*i*ssɛl·f, ʊ gɛʀt bŭɔ'i *o* næ'*i*n nood h*i*z vii'dhɔʀz væ'*i*s ʊt wɛns, thɔf twʊz *zoo* kwee'ʀ ʊn skweek·ʊn, ʊnd æ'*i* *u*d trɛst ·hii tʊ speek dhʊ tʀuuth ɛn·*i* dái, iis, ·dhæt æ'*i* ·*u*d.

6. ʊn dh)*oo*l)d)*u*m·en hʊʀzɛl f 'l)tɛl ɛn'*i* ɔn)i ʊz lææfs næ'*u*, ʊn tɛl)i strá*i*t ɔɔf, tuu, widhæ'*u*t mɔtʃ fas, *i*f juu)l wɛn·l*i* ææsk ʊʀ, *oo*, wɛnt shi ?

7. leestwá*i*z shi t*oo*ld ʊt ·mii, wɛn æ'*i* ææst ɔʀ, tuu ʊʀ drii tæ'*i*mz wɛɛvʊʀ, d*i*d)shi, ʊn ·shii d*i*dn't aat tʊ bi rɔq on s*i*tʃ ʊ pæ'*i*nt ʊz dh*i*s, wɔt dɔst ·dhii th*i*qk ?

8. wɛl ʊz æ'*i* wʊz ʊ zá*i*·ɔn ·shii *u*d tɛl)i, hæ'*u*, wee'ʀ ɔn wɛn shi væ'und dhi drɛqk·ʊn bii'st shi kaalz hʊʀ hɛz·bʊnd.

9. shi soor shi saa ʊn w*i* ʊʀ *oo*n æ'*i*z, ʊ-lá*i*·ɔn stʀɛtʃt ʊt f*u*l lɛqkth ɔn dhʊ græ'*u*nd, in *i*z g*u*d zɛn·d*i*, kwuu't kl*oo*s bi dhʊ duu'ʀ *o* dhʊ hæ'*u*s, dæ'*u*n ʊt dhʊ kæænʊʀ *o* dhʊ leen jæændɔʀ.

10. ʊʀ wʊz skw*i*n·*i*ʊn ʊwá*i*, sez shii, fʊʀ aal dhʊ wɛrd'l læ'*i*k ʊ z*i*k tʃæ'ild, ʊʀ ʊ l*i*t·l gɛʀl vɛʀt·ʊn.

11. ʊn dhæt hæp·'nd ʊz shii ʊn hʊʀ dææ·tɔʀ *i*n laa kɛm druu dhʊ bæk kuu'rt frʊm hæq·ʊn æ'*u*t dhʊ wet kl*oo*z tə dræ'*i* ɔn ʊ wɔsh·ʊn dá*i*.

12. wæ'*i*l dhə kit'l wɔz ʊbæ'*i*lʊn fʊʀ tee wɛn bʀæ'*i*t zɛm·ʊʀ æætʊʀnuun wɛn·l*i* ʊ w*ee*k ʊguu· kɛm nɛks dhɛʀz·d*i*.

13. ænd dɛst ·dhii noo ? æ'*i* nɛv·ɔʀ laaʀnt n*oo* muu'ʀ nʊʀ dh*i*s hii'ʀ ʊ ·dhæt b*i*z·nɔs ɛp tʊ tʊ-dá*i*, ʊz shuu'ʀ ʊz mæ'*i*i nii'mz :dʒɔn :shep·ʊʀd ɔn æ'*i* duu'nt waant tʊ, eedhʊʀ, *zoo* dhee'ʀ !

14. ʊn *zoo* æ'*i* bi gwæ'*i*·ɔn whoo'm tʊ zɛp·ʊʀ. g*u*d næ'*i*t, ʊn

duu'nt bii zo kw*i*ck tʊ kroo wɜɜvʊr ʊ tɟæp ʊg*i*n, wɛn ʊ tɑɑks *o* dh*i*s dhæt ʊr tadhʊr.

15. ʊt)s ə weck fuul ʊz sez muu'r nʊr i niid. ən dhæt-s mɔ'*i* last wɜrd. g*u*d bɔ'*i*.

*Notes.*

0. *hasn't got no doubts*, or simply *has no* (ʊ noo) or *has not got* (ʊ nɔt gɔt). The vowel (ɔ) was Mr. Leigh's ordinary (ɔ) and was not (o).

1. *neighbour*, Mr. L. gave both (nái-) and (nɔi-).—*thee-him*; *thee* is used for both nom. and acc.; *him* is nom. and (hii) emphatic, (ʊn) regular unemphatic S. acc.

2. *ain't* is most natural, but (beent) is also used.—*few* with (f) not (v).—*chaps*, Mr. L. varied, apparently unconsciously, from (æ) to ($a^1$) wherever the short sound occurs.—*what*, simple (w) no (wh).—*bain't* or (bii'nt). The use of *be* in the third singular here and elsewhere is doubtful.

3. *rights of the story*, for *facts of the case*, which is not a dialectal expression.—*thy* (dhɔ'*i*) emphatic, (dh*i*) unemphatic.—*friend*, the (v) is doubtful.—*adone*, the use of (ʊ) before the past participle is more frequent than not, among the regular old-fashioned people.

4. *say* sometimes (zái).—*through* as dictated, but this change of *thr-* to *dr-* implies that the real change is into (dr-) and this is doubtful in Ha.—*thing* (dh*i*q) is only occasionally used for (th*i*q)—*from* is more naturally pronounced with (f).

5. *voice* is not a regular term, perhaps (vâis) would be said.—*though* (thɔf) was so dictated, but the (th) is doubtful. The word was said to be not common but still used.—*he*, emphatic form of acc., (ʊn) unemphatic.—*any* (ɛn*i*), never (æn·*i*).—*day* (dâi) is heard, but not so often as (dee).—*yes* (iis) is the regular form, but (yəɛs) is also used.

6. *old woman*, the (d) of (*oo*l) is perceptibly made the beginning of the word (*u*m·ʊn), as common in S.—*on-ye*, *tell ye*, sometimes (jʊ) is used in place of (-i), but this must be a modernism.—*fuss* is the common word, not *bother*.—*only* (*oo*·ni) is also used, but (wʌn·li) is more frequent.

7 and 14. *over* (wɜɜvər).

8. *saying*, also pronounced (see·ən) or (seen).—*found* generally with (v), (f) sometimes among the younger.—*beast* or (beest), plural (bii'st*i*z).—*husband* or (əz·bʊnd, ʌzbʊn), not *man*.

9. *saw* or else (sææ, zææ, sid, sin, sii) might be used.—*a-laying*, a general error for *a-lying*, which would be (ə-lɔ'*i*·ən).

10. *world*, this pronunciation is not very common now.—*girl* or else (mâid).

11. *law* is generally (lææ), but in this connection may be (lɑɑ).

12. *week* uncertain, Mr. Leigh at first wrote *week* (wiik), I expected (w*i*k, wik), but both *wicu* and *wuce* are found in Ws.

13. *name's*, or (nææmz).—*shepherd*, (sh*i*p) is used for *sheep*.

14. *a-going* (gɔ'ivn) is probably an error for (ʊgwâi·an).—*this*, no (dh*i*k) is used in Hampshire, but (dh*i*k·ʊn) is said in the plural.

15. *says*, the word *prates* is not used, (reez'n) is said.

## Andover, Ha., specimen and cwl. s

Prof. Dr. M. M. Arnold Schröer, from Vienna, of the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden, Germany, who had studied phonetics under Dr. Sweet, and had had much experience in observing, analysing, and criticising differences of speech in various parts of Germany, and speaks English with an excellent pronunciation, having spent the summer of 1887 near Andover, Ha., exercised himself in writing Ha. speech from dictation. His two chief authorities were Mr. Benjamin Manning, of Appleshaw (4 wnw. Andover), between 40 and 50 years old, who had lived all his life in the county and been in constant communication with farm-labourers,

and Mr. Archard, a native of Ha., educated at Winchester, then national schoolmaster at Andover, and consequently in the constant habit of hearing dialect, to whom Prof. S. had been recommended by Canon Collier, the vicar, as the very man he wanted. Of these Prof. S. considered Mr. M. as his chief authority. The number of points, however, in which he differed from Mr. A. is considerable. Prof. Schröer selected as an example a letter originally published in *Punch* (vol. ix. p. 264, 1845) and reprinted in the Rev. Sir William H. Cope's *Ha. Glossary*, p. xii. This was read to him by both Messrs. M. and A., and their pronunciation most carefully analysed in Dr. Sweet's revised Romic spelling (*Sound Notation*, Trans. of the Philological Society, 1880–1, pp. 177–235), with which Prof. S. is perfectly familiar. These versions, transliterated into pal. from the references to Mr. Melville Bell's notation and other indications given in the paper cited, are here annexed, with a translation. In the cwl. Mr. M. has been generally followed, and some words in his own orthography have been added. In a few cases Mr. A.'s pron. is specially noted.

Prof. S. considers that the Ha. dialect

"is rapidly dying out, and has been so for the last two generations. Even the oldest farm-labourers are so much accustomed to educated (London) pronunciation, that this certainly influences their natural speech. I attended," he adds, "a harvest-home festival at Longstock House, Fullerton (4 s. Andover), and waited upon a poor blind old man of 80, who, owing to his blindness, could not always know that I was near him or within hearing. Still, though I spent almost the whole afternoon in his company, always listening and secretly taking notes, I did not find more than a very few peculiar pronunciations, except the general tendency of influencing vowels by the reverted *r*."

There are several points which will strike the reader in the following spec. Prof. Schröer having been, as already stated, a phonetic pupil of Dr. Sweet, his appreciation of sounds, as referred to Mr. Melville Bell's scheme, seems to differ in some respects from mine. He has been before all things anxious to make the most accurate transcription possible of the speech actually under consideration. Mr. M.'s own spelling in the cwl. will shew that the speaker evidently thought he was saying (ii, *ee*), while Prof. S. heard only (*yy*, ʀɛ). The (ɷ) which constantly occurs corresponds in unaccented syllables to my (ʊ), from which, and also from (əh), which sometimes occurs, the audible difference is small, though the difference of the position of tongue and lips, which determines the symbol, is often considerable. Probably most of the words written with (*yy'*ɷ), I should have heard with (*ɪʊ*, *ɪʊ*, *iiʊ*). Those written with (oh), considered as Fr. *o* in homme and answering to short *u*, I should probably have heard as (o), but both Mr. M.'s (oh) and Mr. A.'s (*u*) in (pohntɟ, p*u*ntɟ), punch, in place of (ʌ), are extremely strange to me. As regards I' words having (*áy*), I may refer to JGG.'s use of the same symbol at Chippenham (suprà p. 51), which I then thought very remarkable. The symbol (ɷ'əh), which is the pal. rendering of Dr. Sweet's sign for received London *ow*, is intended to imply that in Ha. Mr. M. used that sound, beginning with (ɷ) and ending with the rounded form of the same vowel, that is, not coming up to (*u*) or altering the position of the tongue at all, but merely partly closing the lips while saying (ɷ). I am accustomed to analyse my own utterance of this sound as (á¹*u*), and do not hear (ɷ) at all; in fact, when I first heard initial (ɷ) from Mr. Trotter (suprà p. 60*d*), it had an extremely strange provincial effect to my ears. This (ɷ'əh) is, however, not universal. In *count* both M. and A. give (k*úa*nt), which I might have heard as (k*ú*ʊnt), a very singular form. This (*úa*, *úua*) is the common form of what I, perhaps, should have written (*úʊ*, *ûʊ*, *úuʊ*), as (b*úua*k, st*úua*d) book, stood, which I should probably have heard and therefore written (b*ú*uk, st*ú*ʊd). Some other usages



L of C

also seem strange, as the diphthong in (nee'a¹z), noise, the advanced high (ɐ) in (vˌɐɐ¹'r), for, the accented use of (œ) in (pœgz, :y'œmzh'r, hœst, yœ'bl), pigs, Hampshire, hast, able, the use of (œ) in (zœns), sense, the double form of (ˌɐɐ'a¹l, ˌáa-a¹l), oil, where (ˌáa-a¹) seemed to be an advanced (aa) ending with a slight motion of the tongue into the position for (a¹); the hyphen merely separates symbols, so as to form a kind of (a'ï) diphthong.

These observations of Prof. Schröer are, I think, very valuable as shewing almost personal varieties of nw.Ha. pron. differing so widely as Mr. M.'s and Mr. A.'s, and analysed with the greatest minuteness and conscientiousness. I feel greatly indebted to him for his kindness in sending them, with long explanations, although it was extremely inconvenient for him to do so in time to appear in this place.

## Two Andover Pronunciations of Hampshire Farmer's Letter.

Written in Dr. Sweet's Romic by Prof. Arnold Schröer and translated into pal. by AJE. All the (t, d, l, n, r) both here and in the sentences and cwl. on p. 104 should be (T, D, L, N, R), and hence (tɟ, dɟ) should be (Tɟ, Dɟ, = Tsh, Dzh) as at Chippenham (p. 51), but as this was not known till the proof was corrected, I considered it safer to let them remain as they are with this intimation.

M. From the dictation of Mr. Manning.
A. From the dictation of Mr. Archard, when the same for any word as in M., only (,,) is written.
T. Literal translation, *not* the original in *Punch*.

1. M m*y*st'r :pohntɟ, z'r, *y*f jəh'r [jœ'əh] p*lyy'*œz, z'r, *áy* b*y*)œ
A ,, p*u*ntɟ, ,, *y*f j'r ,, ,, ,, ,,
T Mr. Punch, sir, if you please, sir, I be a

M :*y'*œmzh'r vˌɐɐ¹rməhr.
A ,, vˌɐɐ¹rm'r.
T Hampshire farmer.

2. M *áy* r*á*yts tœ jœ'əh kœz *áy* nœ'əhz jœ'əh *úa*nt m*á*ynd m*áy*
A ,, ,, t*u* j*úa* kˌɐ¹'*az* ,, n*úa*z j*u* wont ,, ,,
T I write to you because I know you won't mind my

M n*úa*t b*y'*œn œ zgəlœ'rd œn *u*'l a¹kské*i*z b*yy'*œd zbœlœn
A ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *óa*l [*u*'l] *y*kskj*uuz* ,, ,,
T not being a scholar[d] and will excuse bad spelling

M œn ee'l dhee'œt [dh*yy'*œt].
A ,, œ'*al* dh*yy'*œt.
T and all that.

3. M l*úa*kœn œ'əhvœ dhœ p*yy'*œpœ tœdh'r m*yy'*œrkœt d*áa*y
A l*u*kœn *úa*vœ ,, ,, t*úa*dhœ ,, d*yy'*œj
T Looking over the paper t'other market day

M œt :w*a*ntɟ*y*st'r *áy* z*yy*jd [z*y*d] œ k*úa*nt œ dhœ pr*á*yz
A ,, :w*y*ntɟ*y*stœ'r ,, *zyy* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
T at Winchester I see'd a count of the prize

M kyy'æt'l)zhJæ'əh úap yn :lunæn [:lohnæn].
A ,, zhúa ,, yn :lohnæn.
T cattle show up in London.

4. M áy WEE'æntyd tæ núua WEE'æt æ zæd æbúat æ pægz;
A ,, wúantyd ,, núa wúat æ zed æbúat æ pygz;
T I wanted to know what he said about the pigs;

M úaz dhæ WEE'æz æn WEE'R dhæ kúam vrəm.
A ,, ,, wúaz ,, wəh'r ,, kohm vrəm.
T whose they was and where they come from.

5. M áy væ'əhænd æz æ'əh dhEE'R wJæ1'Rnt æ zíqg'l pæg vRæm
A áy væ'əhnd ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, úag vRəm
T I found as how there were'nt a single pig [hog] from

M :y'æmzh'R [:Jæmzh'R] mæq dhæ læt.
A ,, æmæq ,, lúat.
T Hampshire among the lot.

6. M Jæ'əh núuaz dhEE'æt, áy)d'R zEE'a1, æz wæ'l æz áy
A Júa núaz dhyy'æt, ,, dyy'æ'R zyy'æJ, æz wel ,, ,,
T You knows that, I dare say, as well as I

M dúa, æn vəh'r láyk Jæ'əh bée y zdənáɪ'ysht yy'æt)æt
A ,, ,, væRRy ,, Júa byJ æzdənyzhd æt)yt
T do, and very like you be astonished at it

M [Jæt)æt] zohmæt. tæ'l áa1 æ'əh)æt)æz)z'R.
A zohm't. tel yJ æ'əh[ó u] tyz)z'R.
T somewhat. Tell you how it is, sir.

7. M wá1y væ'əhks æn :y'æmzh'r bREE'ædz [bRyy'ædz] pægz æz
A wy vúaks yn ,, bRyy'ædz pygz)æz)
T We folks in Hampshire breeds pigs as

M pægz æ'əht)æ bá1y, æn dúant gúa vætnæn æn æm úap
A pygz úat)æ by, ,, ,, ,, ,, ən ,, ,,
T pigs ought)to be, and don't go fattening on them up

M ty'l dhæ kyy'ænt WEE'æg.
A tyl ,, ,, wyy'æg.
T till they can't wag.

8. M wá1y zæz pæ'əh'RK æ'əht)tæ hEE'æv lyy'æn æz wæ'l æz
A wy sez púaRk úat tu ,, ,, ,, wel ,,
T We says pork ought to have lean as well as

M vyy'æt, æn wa1 láyks úaR byy'ækn stryy'ækyd. zyy'æm
A ,, ,, wy ,, ,, ,, stryy'æky. ,,
T fat, and we likes our bacon streaky. Same

M wy kyy'œtl.
A ,, ,,
T with cattle.

9. M w‸ɜɜ'r)z) dhœ zœns ‸ɜɜ'R REE'œzn œ stohfœn œn kR‸áœmn
A wá'R)z ,, ,, ,, R‸aa'zn a stof'n ,, kRœmn
T Where's the sense or reason of stuffing and cramming

M œ bulyk ty'l yy byy'œnt yœ'bl tœ zyy JœœhT? [out
A œ hœks ty'l œ ,, yy'œbl ,, ,, úat
T an ox [bullock] til he be not able to see out [out

M of his eyes, not used]
A a yz ayz?
T of his eyes]?

10. M WEE'œt JœZ dhœ Jœ'œhs œ EE'l dhEE'œt EE'œR vyy'œt
A wúat iz ,, JUUZ a œœ'l dhyy'œt yy'œR ,,
T What is the use of all that ere fat

M [VEE'œt] áy WEE'œnts tœ nœ'œh? úa JœZ dhœœh'r œz
A ,, wúants tu núa? ,, iz ,, ,,
T I wants to know? Who is there as

M Jœts)œt?
A yy'œts)yt?
T eats it?

11. M dhœ ‸ɜɜ'a'l kyy'œk, t'Rmœts, mœqg'lz[w'Rzlz) œn kyœbydʒ
A ,, ‸áa-a'l ,, ,, mœqg'lw'Rz'l œn kœbydʒ
T The oilcake, turnips, mangelwurzel, and cabbage

M œz)œz WEE'œstyd œn MEE'œkœn wyn bulyk œ [monster]
A œz)yz wyy'œstyd yn myy'œkœn wúan ,, ,, monst'r
T as is wasted in making one bullock a monster

M œhd gúa tœ KEE'œp dRá'y ‸a' vœ'œh'R váyn ky'œtl yn
A ud ,, tu ,, dry ,, vœ'R ,, hœks'n yn
T would go to keep three or four fine oxen [cattle] in

M gúad kondysh'n.
A ,, ,,
T good condition.

12. M uáy, z'R, dháa-a' med dʒyst)œz wœ'l vœt)œhp
A ,, ,, dh‸a-a' máyt dʒúast)œz wa'l vyy'œt ,,
T Why, sir, they might just)as well fat up

M zdœgz)œn yy'œh'RZ œn REE'œbohts, áy œn VEE'œz'nz œn
A ,, ,, EE'œRZ ,, Rœbohts, ,, ,, vœz'nz ,,
T stags and hares, and rabbits, aye and pheasants and

M pEE'œRdRa¹dʒyz v‸ƎƎ¹R dhœ mEE¹œtœR œ)dhEE'œt.
A pœœ'RdRydʒyz ,, ,, mœt'R ɔ dhyy'œt.
T partridges, for the matter of that.

13. M tœ'l aa¹ wEE'œt [tœz] :myy'œst'r :pohntʒ, yf zda¹d œ vlyqœn
A tœ'l yy úat, ,, pʊntʒ yf zded ɔ ,,
T Tell you what [it is], Master Punch, if stead of flinging

M œwáa-a¹ gúad pRavnd'R tœ t'Rn ‸ƎƎ¹Rnd yœœnœm'lz y'ntu
A œwáy ,, prɔvœnd'r tu ,, ,, œnœmœ'lz œntu
T away good provender to turn horned animals into

M :dœnœl :lœmb'Rts, dháa-a¹ wúaz tœ gyy bryy'œd œn maa¹'yt
A ,, :lœmb'Rts dh‸áy úaz tu byy'œstúa ,, ,, myy'œt
T Daniel Lamberts they was to give [bestow] bread and meat

M œn t'Rmohts tœ :krystœnz œn myy'œk zohm ɔn)œm
A ,, ,, ɔn :krystyœnz ,, ,, ,, ɔ)dhohm
T and turnips on Christians, and make some of them

M œ byt vœt'R dhæn dháa-a¹ bá¹y dháa)a¹d dúa múa
A œ lyt'l vyy'œt'R dh‸áaœn dh‸áy byy dh‸áyy)d dúua múua
T a little fatter than they be, they'd do more

M gúad œ práa¹yshœs záyt, œn áy)m bœ'ɔhn Jœ'¹ɔh bá¹y
A gúuad œ pREE'œshœs záyt, ,, ,, báund Júua byy
T good a precious sight, and I'm bound you be

M dhœ zyy'œm pynœn.
A ɔ dhœ ,, œbynJœn.
T of the same opinion.

14. M áy ba¹, z'R, Jœ'ɔh'R báa¹ydʒœnt z‸ƎƎ¹Rvnt :dʒúan :grœ'ɔhts.
A ,, byy, ,, Ju'r byydʒœnt ,, ,, :gráuts.
T I be, sir, your obedient servant, John Grouts.

*Notes to the above Letter.*

1. *knows*, M. writes (áy nœ'ɔhz) and says *not* (núaz) which is what A. gives; but M. says that 'to know' is (tœ núa).

3. *looking*, an octogenarian at Redenham (5 nw. Andover and 1 nw. Appleshaw) agreed with A. here.

5. *found* or (vœ'ɔhnd).—M. says "hog not used," that is in the sense of a male pig; but as a young and as yet unshorn sheep, the word is common in Ha., so that a *Hampshire Hog* means a country simpleton. There is a 'Hampshire-Hog Lane' at Hammersmith, London, W.

6. *very*, M. says the final *y* is frequently omitted.

9. *bullock*, M. says *ox* is not used in Ha., but A. gives it.

11. *oil* (œœ'ylj) in cwl.—*making* not (myy'œkœn) says M., as A. has, it is only the infinitive which is (myy'œk). M. says *monster* is not used, and Prof. S. put a ? against (mEE'œnst'R) as a possible pron.—*four* is (vœ'ɔh'R), but *fourteen* is (v‸ƎƎ''Rtin).—*cattle* was *oxen* in the original, but M. says the word is not used, though A. has it.

13. *tell you what*, according to M. should have had *'tis* appended.—*a bit*, M. says *not* a little, which A. uses.—*bestow* is not used says M., but it is given by A.—*you be* [*of*, to be omitted according to M.] *the same opinion.*

### Andover Colloquial Sentences.

Written by Prof. Schröer from dictation of Mr. B. Manning. See p. 100.

1. (dhœt háyv wœz múua dhœn heef brúuad), that hive was more than half brood.
2. (t)*yy*)œnt láyk dh*yy*'œt), it [=the thing said])is)not like that, [=is not so].
3. (*y yy*'œnt núua *gúuad*), it [referring to a rake] is-not no good.
4. (*yy*'*is* dh*yy* hœst, dh*yy*)st stóulst m*y* mee'œ), yes thou hast, thee hast stol'st my maw=heart. [The phrase is said to belong to a well-known anecdote, using *stol'st* for *stolen.*]
5. (*gy*m*y* dh*y*k zee'œ. *uy*'tɟn? dh*y*k)n), give me this saw. which one? this)one.
6. (dh*yy*'œ b*yy*'œst œ bee'œd bóoe), thou be'st a bad boy.
7. (dh*yy*'œdst [dh*yy*'œldst] nee'œ b*yy* n*úua* g*u*d)an), thee'dst [thee'ldst] never be no good one.
8. (t*y*z máyn bee'œd, z'r), it)is main [=very] bad, sir.
9. (*áy kyy*'œnt kœ'ɔhnt)œm dhee'œ ee'*a*'l œmœq), I can't count them there all among [mixed up together].
10. (*uáy* d*úua*nt ɟ*úua* g*úua* h*úua*m [w*úua*m]), why don't you go home?
11. (d*úua*nt mee'ahk s*y*tɟ)œ nee'a¹z), don't make such a noise.
12. (*áy* t*a*'l dh*y* *uát*)*yz*, m*a*n!), I tell you what [it] is, man!
13. (w̩ɐɐ¹'r b*yy*'œst [b*y*st] dh*yy* gw*áu*h₁n?), where be'st thee going? [In (gw*áu*h₁) "the first element low-back-wide, the second rather mid-mixed-wide, but certainly labialised by the (*a*). I [Schröer] make it (*u*h₁) lower, between (oh) and (*u*h), but more (y) than (oh)."]
14. (wee'œt b*y*st gw*áy*n v̩ɐɐ¹'r?), what be'st thou going for? [=why are you going?]
15. (*uát*)s dh*yy* wee'œnt?), what)is [it that] thee want?
16. (máyn sm*yy*tɟ*y*, máyn sm*yy*'nt), main (=very) dusty, main smart.
17. (*áy* w*y*nt. *áy* *úa*nt g*úa* *úa*m tœn*áy*t), I will)not. I won't go home to-night.
18. (l*úa*k*yy* *yy*'r; *y* t*úa*ld m*y* t*úa*dhœ dáa*y*), look ye here; he told me the other day.
19. (*y*f dh*yy* w*a*st gw*áu*h₁n tœ :ɔksf'rd, w*y*tɟ w̩*áy* w*u*dst g*úua*?), if thee wast going to Oxford, which way wouldst [thou] go?
20. (w*y*tɟ w̩*áy* *u*dst æv)*yt*; a'ɔt ɔ k*úa*'ld [kœ'ɔh*a*'ld]?), which way wouldst [thou] have it; hot or cold?
21. (m*yy*'œt dh*áy* mee'œt), meet thy mate.

### Andover cwl.

from the phonetic observations of Prof. Arnold Schröer, chiefly on Mr. Manning and Mr. Archard, who are sometimes distinguished as M and A. Mr. Manning also gave Prof. S. a list of many words in the cwl. in his own orthography, which I annex in Italics because it serves to shew his own appreciation of his own sounds. I preserve even Mr. M.'s division of a word into two. See p. 100.

#### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 1 *zúa*. 3 b*yy*'œk. 4 t*yy*'œk. 5 m*yy*'œk, mee'ahk. 6 m*yy*'œd. 8 ˌhee'œv. 9 b*y*ɟ*yy*'œv. 11 mee'œ. 12 zee'œ. 14 dree'œ, dr̩ɐɐ¹.

[(ʌʒ¹*aful*, EE'œf*ul*) awful]. 17 M lEE'œ, A lʌʒ¹. 18 k*yy*'œk. 19 t*yy*'œl, t*áy*'l. 20 l*yy*'œm [more decided dialect], lEE'œm [less broad]. 21 n*yy*'œm, nEE'œm. 24 zh*yy*'œm, sh*yy*'œm. 30 k*yy*'œ'R, k*yy*'R'. 33 R*yy*'œdhœ.

A: 39 k*yy*'œm, k*áy*m, *keeam* [not much used. M.]. 40 k*úua*m. 41 dhœqk. 43 ˌh*yy*'œnd. 44 l*yy*'œnd. 45 WEE'œnt. 46 k*yy*'œndl. 47 w*yy*'œnd'R. 48 z*yy*'œq, zohq. 49 *yy*'œq. 50 tœqz [doubtful whether ever (t*yy*'œqz)]. 51 m*a*n. 55 M EE'œsh*yz* [never (*yy*'œ-)], A *yy*'œsh*yz*. 56 WEE'œsh [very seldom (w*yy*'œsh)]. A: *or* O: 58 VRœm, VRohm. 60 lœq. 64 REE'œq.

A'- 67 g*úua*, g*u*. 69 n*úua*. 70 t*úua*, T*úua*, tJ*úua*? 72 *úua*, h*yy*'*u*, hJ*úua*. 73 *zúua*. 74 T*úua*, tJ*úua*. 76 *túua*d. 77 lʌʒ¹'Rd. 78 *úua*. 79 *úua*n. 80 ɔl'Rdœ'*i*, ɔl'Rdœ. 82 wons, w*úua*ns. 84 m*úua*. 85 *zúu*œ'R, zœ'ɔhœR. 86 *úua*ts, [usually (w*úa*ts)]. 87 klʌʒ¹*az*, klEE'œz. 89 b*úua*th, bEE'œth. 91mœ'ɔh. 92 n*úua*, nœ'ɔh. 96 *zúua* [but mostly (zœ'ɔh, zœ'ɔhd, zœ'ɔhJœn) sow, sowed, sowing]. 97 *zuu*'l. 98 M nœœ'*ad* [knowed], A n*úua*n [known]. 99 dRœ'ɔhd. 100 zœ'ɔhd [but the (z) is gradually giving way to (s)].

A': 101 ˌw*úua*k. 102 œks, *ax*. 103 œkst, EE'œkst, *éy*kst, *axt*. 104 R*úua*d. 106 bR*úua*d. 113 *úua*'l. 115 *úua*m. 117 *úua*n. 118 b*úua*n. 122 i. n*úua*n, ii. n*úua*. 124 st*úua*n. 127 ˌhAA'RZ. 133 R*úua*t.

Æ- 138 (v)f*yy*'œdh'R. 140 EE'œJl. 141 nEE'œJl. 142 snEE'œJl. 143 tEE'œJl. 144 œg*yy*'œn œgEE'œn. 146 m*áy*n [rarely (m*yy*'œn, mEE'*yn*)]. 147 bR*yy*'œn. 148 VEE'œ'r. 149 bl*yy*'œz. 152 *úa*tœ, wootœ ["with voiceless d, 'Stimmlose lenis,' the pron. (*úa*tœ) apparently dialect, (wootœ) influenced by educated pron., heard both from old country people." AS.] 153 zœt'Rd*áa*y.

Æ: 154 b*yy*'œk. 158 *ah ter*. 159 EE'œz, œz. 161 d*áa*y. 162 t*ú*d*áa*y. 163 l*áa*y. 164 m*áa*y. 165 zed. 166 mEE'œd. — w*a*ps [wasp]. Æ'- 184 lEE'œd, *lee ad*. 187 lEE'œv. 189 *woy*. 190 *káy*. 194 EE'œni [occ., but oftener (œn*y*)]. 195 mEE'œni, mœn*y*. 197 dJEE'œz. 198 lœt. 199 blEE'œt. 200 WEE'œt. 202 EE'œt.

Æ': 203 zbEE'œ¹tJ. 204 *y*ndEE'œ¹d [indeed]. 205 dhRæd. 208 M *ee*v'R, A œv'R. 209 M n*ee*v'R, A nœv'R. 210 kl*áa*y. 211 gR*áa*y. 212 w*áa*y. 213 *áy*dh'R, EE'ahdh'R. 214 n*áy*dh'R, nEE'ahdh'R. 215 t*úua*t. 216 dEE'œ¹l. 217 EE'œtJ. 218 M zh*yy*'œp, A zhEE'œp. 220 M zh*yy*'œb'Rd, A zhEE'œp'Rd, zhJœp'Rd ["the latter rather confirming the pronunciation of M."]. 223 dhəh'R, dhʌʒ¹''R. 224 uʌʒ¹''R, A *uə*əh''r. 226 m*úua*st. 227 wœt. 228 zwœt, zWEE'œt.

E- 231 dhœ. 232 bREE'œk. 233 sp*yy*'œk, A spEE'œk, [M makes (spEE'œk) he spoke]. 234 nEE'œd. 235 WEE'œv. 236 VEE'œv'R. 238 EE'œdJ. 239 z*áa*-a¹l. 241 rˌaa-a n. 243 plˌaa-a¹. 244 w*aa*'l. 246 M kWEE'œn, A kWˌaa-a¹n. 248 mEE'œ'R. 249 WEE'œ'R. 250 zWEE'œ'R. 251 M m*áa*¹*yt*, A m*yy*'œt. 252 k*y*tl.

E: 256 zdR*yy*'œtJ, stREE'œtJ. 257 EE'œdJ. 260 lˌ*áa*-a¹. 261 zˌ*áa*-a¹. 262 wˌ*áa*-a¹. 263 *a*wˌ*áa*-a¹, WAA'a¹. 265 zdREE'œt, zdRAA'a¹t. 266 w*aa*'l. 269 zˌaa'lf. 271 t*aa*'l, t*yy*'l. 272 *aa*'lm. 273 m*yy*'œn. 274 b*yy*'œntJ. 275 zd*yy*'œntJ, STEE'œntJ. 276 dh*y*qk. 279 WEE'œnt. 286 ˌa'Rəh'R. 288 lœt.

E'- 289 JEE'œ and J*yy*'œ. 290 ˌh*yy*. 291 dh*yy*. 292 mEE'œ [not much used. M]. 293 M w*áa*¹*y*, A WEE'œ, w*y*. 294 VEE'œd, *véad*. 296 b*y*lEE'œv. 297 vœl'R. 298 VEE'a¹lj. 299 gTEE'œn. 300 kEE'œp, k*éey*p. 301 ˌh*yy*''r. 302 M m*yy*'œt, A mEE'œt, m*éey*t. 303 zWEE'œt, zw*éey*t. E': 305 ˌh*áy*. 306 *hoight*. 307 n*áy*. 308 *naid*. 311 *tin*. 312 *hé ere*. 314 ˌh*yy*''Rd. — blœsn [blessing]. 315 *veáte*.

EA- 318 leeft. 320 k*yy*'œ'R. EA: 321 [(z*y*d) see'd, used]. 322 *lááfe*. 324 *áyty* [eighty]. 326 *úua*'ld, œ'ɔhld. 330 ˌh*úua*'ld, ˌhœ'ɔhld. 332 t*úua*'ld, tœ'ɔhld. 333 *ka'af*. 334 HEEF. 335 EE'*a*'l EE'l. 338 kEE'*a*'l. 339 [(b*yy*) used]. 340 J*yy*'œ'Rd, J*yy*'Rd [orchard is (EE'œ'RtJœd, -œt)]. 342 *yarm*. 343 *wayarm*. 344 tJ*yy*'ld. 346 *gee ate*. EA'- 347 *hé áde*. 348 *áy* [pl. (EE'a¹z)]. 349 fJœœ'ɔh. EA': *déeáde*. 351 *lid*. 352 REE'œd. 353 bR*yy*'œd. 355 d*y*f. 357 dhœ'ɔh. 359 n*áy*b'R. 360 *tee am*. 261 *bee an*. 363 tJ*yy*'œp, tJEE'œp, tJep. 366 gr*yy*'œt. 368 *d'ath*. 371 *strád*.

EI- 373 dh*áy* ["of course not genuine instead of (h*yy*) the old Southern form"]. EI: 380 dhœm, œm ["in (œm) perhaps the old genuine Southern form Anglo-Saxon *heom*, *him*"].

EO- 384 *heb n.* 386 *yow.* 387 nee'*u.* EO: 388 mu'lk. 390 shohd, shj*u*d. 392 jœn. 394 jœnd'r. 396 w*u*rk, [(w*u*rked) worked]. 399 brə́yt. 402 l,ɜɜl'rn. — sm*yy*'rt [to smart]. 406 ["never heard it used" M]. EO'- 409 *báy.* 412 sh*y*, h*y*. 419 jœ'əh'r. 420 vœ'əh'r. 421 v,ɜɜl'ty. EO': 422 *zy*k. 427 baal'*y* [been (ba'n)]. 428 zaal'*y*, *zy*. 430 *vreend.* 433 *bre'ast.* 435 jœ'əh. 436 drœ'əh, dr*uu*. EY- 438 dáy [and (dúua') ? died (dáyd, d*aa*l'*y*d)].

I- 440 M wáay*k*, A weee'œk. 446 *noine.* 449 g*y*t [forget (f'rg*y*t)]. I: 452 *áy.* 455 láy. 458 náyt, n*yy*'œt [the latter "most decided dialect"]. 459 rə́yt. 465 s*y*tɟ. 466 tɟ*yy*'ld, tɟ*yy*'ld. 469 [(*áy un*'l) I will]. 475 *woind.* 484 dh*y*k [(dh*y*k'n) this one]. 485 *thee'sels.* — sohns [since]. I'- 490 b*y*. 492 *záy*d. 494 *táy*m. 496 *áy*'rn. 498 rə́yt. I': 500 láyk. 506 ,w*u*man. 507 *wum'en.*

O- — smaa'ak, sm*úu*ak [smoke]. 519 œ'əhvœ. 521 *vow'el.* 522 *oop'un.* 524 *warld.* O: 527 *bowt.* 528 *thowt.* 529 *browt.* 531 deetœ. 532 *koo'al.* 534 *hoo'al.* 535 vœ'əhk. 536 *goo uld.* 541 w*y*nt, *ú*ant. 550 *wárd.* 552 k,ɜɜl'rn. 553 ,h,ɜɜl'rn. O'- 555 *zhoo.* 558 *lúa*k. 559 *moother.* 562 *moo'un.* — month [month]. 564 *zúu*an, *zu*n. 565 *nú*uaz. 566 ohdh'r ["but usually (tohdhœr, *tú*adhœr, tœ'əhdhœr); I heard an old farm-labourer, 80 years old, at Longstock (9 nw. Winchester), say (máy tohdh'rz) = my others." AS.] 568 braadh'r.

O': b*úu*ak. 570 t*úu*ak. 571 g*úu*ad. 572 bl*úu*ad. 574 br*úu*ad. 575 st*úu*ad. 576 w*úu*anzdœ, wohnzdœ. 578 plaa, plœ'əh. 579 M *i*nœ'əh, A nohf [which M doubts]. 580 tœ'əh. 583 t*úu*œɔl. 584 str*úu*œɔl ["that is inverted (t) almost like (tɟ); this sound is said to be frequent, though M does not admit it in (*tu*), two, where I heard it distinctly myself, though not always." AS.] 585 br*úu*am. 586 d*úu*a. 587 dohn. 593 *mist.* 595 *voo'ut.*

U- 599 *ah'boone.* 601 *vowul.* 602 *zow*, plu. *zows.* 603 kohm, *kooam.* 604 zohm'r. 605 zohn [see 629]. 606 *do'er.* — *uu*d [wood]. U: 609 v*u*'l. 612 zohm. 613 drohqk. 615 pœ'ohnd. 616 grœ'əhœnd. 623 vœ'əhœnd. 625 *too'ung.* 626 [not used, *I be'a móin hunger'd*, M]. 629 zohn [see 605]. 632 ohp. 634 M drœ'əh, A dr*uu*. 639 *dowst.*

U'- 640 *kow hu*, pl. *kow'hoo's.* 641 ,hœ'əh. 644 zohk, *zu*k. 645 d*úu*av. — dh*úu*am [thumb]. U': 658 dœ'əhn. 663 ,hœ'əhs.

Y- 673 mohtɟ. 675 dr*áy*. 680 b*y*z*y*. 682 *lee'dle.* Y: 684 *bree'adge.* 685 *ru'dge.* 688 zohtɟ. 692 johqgœst. 694 w*u*rk. 695 ,ɜɜl'rkn, ,h*yy*'rk. 700 *wos'er, wuss.* 701 v,ɜɜl'rst. 702 w*y*. Y- 706 *uáy*. Y': 709 *vy'er, voy'er.*

## II. English.

A. 713 beee'œd, b,ɜɜd. 714 leee'œd. 732 œ,pn. — œ,p*y* [happy]. 736 l,ɜɜs, leee'œs. 737 m*yy*'œt, meee'œt. E. 745 tɟee'a't. 749 M l*y*ft ["which I myself heard," AS.], A leee'œft. I. *and* Y. 758 gee'l. 759 v*y*t. 760 zhr*y*v'ld. O. 761 *loo'ud.* 765 :dɟ*úu*an. 766 [I believe this word *moidered* to be purely Irish, I never heard it in Ha., M.]. 767 nœœyz, nee'a'z. 769 *moo'el, waant.* 773 dœqk*y*. 774 p*úu*ani. 776 g*úu*ad b*áy*. 783 [*poultry* is not used or they would say *powel try*, M.]. 791 bœœ'y, b*ó*oe. U. 796 bl*oo*l'*u*. 801 r*u*m. 802 rohm. 804 dr*u*qkn [compare 613]. 808 poht.

## III. Romance.

A·· 810 *ve'ass.* 811 *ple'ass.* 813 b*yy*'œkn. 818 ee'œdɟ. 822 *maay, moy.* 826 ee'œg'l. 828 *eegyy.* — kœmpl,áynyn [complaining]. 833 p*yy*'œ'r. — pláa'l'yz ["(pl*yy*'œz) is probably not genuine dialect"]. 835 r,áa-a'zn. 836 *zyy*'œzn. — m*yy*'œst'r. 849 *chaimber.* 841 tɟ*yy*'œns. 847 *dainger, doinger.* 849 zdrœndɟ'r. 850 d*yy*'œns. 851 œœ,nt. 852 ee'œp'rn. 854 bœœ'r'l. 855 kœœ'rohts. 856 pee'œ'rt. 857 k*yy*'œs. 862 *zyy*'œf. 864 k,ɜɜl'œs, [shorter (kœs)]. 865 vœœ'lt. 866 pœ'r.

E·· 867 tee'a'. 869 vee'œɔl. 874 r*yy*'œn. 875 vee'œnt. 876 dee'œnty. 877 [not used, M.]. 885 vəəh'r, vœ'ri ["an old man of 80 in Redenham (5 nw.

Andover), apparently eager to avoid the dialectal change of (f) to (v), said (feRy),"
AS.]. 888 *sartun* [often it is *zartun zure*, M.]. 890 byy'əst. 893 vlœ'əh'r.
I·· *and* Y·· 897 dylóyt. 898 nóys. 900 prˌɜɜ'y. 901 vóyn. 903 *dóyn* [not vulgar]. 904 vóylœt. 912 róys. O·· 913 kúatɟ. 915 zdohf. 916 ɔnɜœn. 918 *fay'ble*. 920 pœ'ynt. 922 bohshl, bushl. 923 *maist*, *moin de'amp*. 924 *choy'iss*. 925 vˌɜɜ'ys, vœœ'ys. 926 zbˌɜɜ'ylj, zbœœ'yl. 929 kœ'əhkəmb'R. 930 lœœ'yn. 935 kohntri. 939 klúas. 940 kúat. 941 *voo'ul*. 942 bohtɟ'R. 943 *titch*. 950 zohp'R. 951 kohpl. 952 *koo'us*.
U·· 965 œœ'ysl. — pohnish [punish]. 969 zhu'R. 970 dɟúast.

## Isle of Wight.

The *Isle of Wight* may be regarded as part of Ha. dialectally as it is politically. Owing to its separation from the mainland, and the absence of commercial ports, it has not been so much exposed to the influence of great towns as the county generally. The MS. form of dial. is strongly marked. The reverted (R) is well recognised when final. My information, independent of books, is derived from Rev. C. E. Seaman, the vicar of Northwood (2 s.Cowes), for the n. of the island, and Mr. Titmouse, schoolmaster of Shorwell (5 sw.Newport), for the s. The latter says that initial (z) is not frequent, but occurs in (zamut) somewhat, and there is a tendency that way in many other words, and also that the tendency is generally to use initial (v) for *f*, as (vɜRləq, vəg) furlong, fog. Mr. T. says that *thr-* does take the sound of *dr-* in a very pronounced manner, and points to *dresher* for *thresher*, but Mr. Seaman does not admit this, but introduces an auxiliary vowel, as (th'ru) through. The transposition of (R) has not been noticed. *I be*, *we'm going*, *don't us*, *I've a walked*, *I do know*, are general. Mr. T. (a native of Hu.) had been previously a schoolmaster for six years in n.Sm., and the Wi. speech struck him as bearing a very strong general resemblance to n.Sm. speech. Having some difficulty in interpreting some of Mr. Seaman's spellings, I confine myself to giving those words which Mr. Titmouse has re-spelled.

## Shorwell (:shəR'l), 5 sw.Newport, Wi.

cwl. furnished by Mr. Titmouse, 14 years schoolmaster, pal. conjecturally by AJE. The diphthong (ɑ'i) may be (a'i), but is not (ái). The MS. character is very evident from this list.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 bívk. 4 tívk. 5 mívk. 7 sívk. 8 hee. 12 sAAl [part. (sAAliq) perhaps (I)]. 14 drAAl. 19 tívl. 20 lívm. 21 mívm. 24 shívm. 31 lívt. A: 41 thEqk. A'- 70 tuu. 74 $ty_1$ [written *tue*, and Mr. Seaman said that it approached Dv. ($y_1$), possibly (tœ'u)]. 86 whats. A': 102 aast [asked]. 108 *doo*. 115 whóvm. 118 bóvn. Æ- 138 *veedhvR*. Æ: 155 dha'tɟ. 158 aatvR. 166 mívd [the common word, but apparently confused with *made*]. 172 graas. 179 wot. 181 paath. Æ'- 182 see. 183 teetɟ. 190 kee. 196 weeR. Æ': 224 weeR.
E- 232 briik. 236 *feevR*. 252 *kit'l*. E: 265 *street*. 272 elvm. 284 dra'sh. EA: 323 fa'ut. 342 jívRm. 343 warm. EA'- 349 ["f more like v"]. EA': 359 *neebvR*. EO- 386 *joo*. EO: 393 bijɔ'nt. 399 brɑ'it. 407 faRd'n. EO'- 411 drii. 420 [f as v]. 421 vaRti. EO': 425 lɑ'it. 426 fɑ'it.

I- 449 gît. I: 458 nœ'it. 459 rœ'it. 462 sœ'it. 484 [(dhik) used]. 488 JET. I': 505 [*my wife* (mœ'i misis, mœ'i ool)d)umʊn)]. 506 umʊn.
O- 521 fûʊl. 524 WER'ld. O': 597 sat.
U- 606 DOOR [Mr. Seaman (DAAʊR)].
Y: 700 was. 701 fast.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 mîʊt. E. 750 ba'g. O. 767 nœ'iz. 772 bonʊfœ'iR. 773 daqki.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 810 fîʊs. 811 plîʊs. 824 tjîʊR. 851 naant. 852 *ee*pʊRn. 853 bangʊn. 854 baR'l. 866 pooR. E·· 890 bîʊst [pl. (bîʊst*iz*)]. 891 fîʊst. I·· *and* Y·· 899 *nees*. 904 vœ'ilʊt. 910 djœ'*ist*. O·· 923 mœ'ist. 926 spœ'il. 930 lœ'in. 942 batjʊR. 944 [I allows it will rain=I think, admit, etc.]. 947 bœ'il. U·· 965 œ'il. 968 œ'istʊR.

## VAR. iv. SR. AND SS. FORM.

The n. of Sr. will be treated under D 8. The s. of Sr. and w.Ss. vary but slightly from the Ha. var. iii. of D 5, but the dialect is manifestly dying out. The initial (z, v) have vanished. The (*ái*) for AEG, EG, scarcely appear, having become (ee', ee, *ee*), as frequently even in D 4. The A- fractures remain generally. The I' remains (ɐ'*i*) or nearly so, but as we go eastward becomes more confounded with (ʌ'*i*, ɔ'*i*). This last diphthong has been constantly given me from other districts, when subsequent vivâ voce information has shewn it to be (ɐ'*i*, *ái*) or even (*âi*). Here Rev. T. Burningham, then Rector of Charlwood (6 ssw.Reigate), wrote *aw-i*, and hence I give his words with (ʌ'*i*). In e.Ss. and in Ke. most informants give *oi*, but I have found (ɐ'*i*) in n.Ke. At the same time (ɐ'*i*) so often simulates (ɔ'*i*) that an unaccustomed ear would unhesitatingly give the latter. Mr. Burningham finds s Sr. and n.Ss. more mincing than the s.Ss. He says: "It is difficult to give a notion of the close, mincing, squeezed-in pronunciation of the s.Sr. and n.Ss.: '*haaow* much a *paaound* is that *raaound* of beef?' as also to give the *burr* of the *r's*." The *aa* is explained by *hay*, and the italicised words are closely (héu, péund, réund) common in London and n.Ke. "A Sr. man would say 'rebbit,' a s.Ss. man 'rahbut,' e.g. 'eve a'-got a rahbut in ees pawkut' (ii)v ʊgɔt ʊ rabʊt in iiz PAAKʊt). I speak of the pronunciation of 50 years ago. It still prevails among the old, but is polished off a good deal among the rising generation by 'education.'" My information from w.Ss. is very meagre, but there can be no doubt that it continues Ha. speech with a still further falling off of the dialect in the direction of Ke. The separation between e. and w.Ss. depends on the use of (d) for (dh) in certain words. This is unknown even at Bolney (12 nnw.Lewes) in w.Ss., but has been heard from old people at Cuckfield (3 ne.Bolney). The commencement of the line at the mouth of the Adur is due to the late Mark Antony Lower. In these districts *I be* remains, but

*I are* is found in Ke. The cwl. on which I rely are those obtained vivâ voce from students at Whitelands, and these I annex, including some other words.

## South Surrey and West Sussex cwl.

Pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Jane Sayers, native of Ockley (8 sw.Reigate), where she had lived all her life; Miss M. A. Forth, not a native, but who had been always resident at Ockley and had spoken Sr. talk when a child; and Miss Alice Slyfield, native of Reading, who had lived 7 years at Stoke (1 n.Guildford), all in Nov. 1877 students at Whitelands. The reverted (R) of Miss Sayers was perfect. The C, G, W were pal. by AJE. from indications.

C Charlwood (:tɟolɐd) (6 ssw.Reigate) from Rev. T. Burningham.
G words from Dr. Grece's dt. for Weald of Sr. Since Dr. G. marked numerous words in his wl. as having the vowels in rs., I have given some of them in ro. and in Italics.
O Ockley only } unmarked, both O and S.
S Stoke only }
W Wisborough, Ss. (8 sw.Horsham) from Rev. W. A. Bartlett.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 *bake* [no (*ee*'j) vanish]. 5 *make* [no (*ee*'j) vanish]. 12 saa [no euphonic (R)]. 13 C naa. 17 laa [no euphonic (R)] and C. 20 léeɐm. 21 nêeɐm and G. 23 séeɐm. 24 shéeɐm and C. 33 raadhɐr, O *ree*dhɐr. 36 C thaa. 37 klaa. A: 41 C thɐqk. 43 a¹n [h always omitted], W haand, G haand. 51 *man*. 64 waant.

A: *or* O: 58 *from*. 60 *long*. 61 O ɐmɔq. 64 *wrong*.

A'- 67 guu and C [(ɐg*wee*·n) a-going O, not S]. 69 n*oo*u. 70 t*óo*u. 73 s*óo*u. 74 *two*. 76 t*oo*'d. 77 C lɐrd. 79 *oo*'n. 85 C s*óo*ɐr. 86 wats and C. 87 tl*oo*z [(tl, dl) for initial *cl- gl-* general]. 92 n*óo*u. A': 101 *oo*'k. 104 r*óo*vd and G. 106 br*oo*'d, C brraad. 107 l*oo*'f. 108 d*óo*u, C d*oo*. 111 *ought*. 115 O *oo*'m and C, S *oo*m. 122 nan. 123 W naathɐn. 124 st*oo*'n and C, stan [as a weight]. 131 g*oo*vt.

Æ- 140 ee'l. 141 nee'l. 142 snee'l. 147 bree'n. 152 *water*. 153 sa¹dɐrdee. Æ: 155 thetɟ and W. 166 mee'd [(gæl) usual, quite London]. 170 arvist [no change of (v) into (w)]. 171 *barley*. 172 graas and C. 174 *ee*sh.

Æ'- 182 *sea*. 183 *teach*. 184 *lead*. 190 k*ee*. 193 *clean*. 194 eni. 197 *cheese*. 200 wiit. Æ': C *ee*dhɐr. 215 C taat. 218 ship and C. 219 C slip. 224 G wéeɐr. 226 C m*óo*vst. 227 S w*e*t.

E- 233 *speak*. 235 *weave*. 236 *fever*. 241 C ráin. 246 i. *queen*. 250 swíiɐr. 251 *meat*, W m*ee*t. 252 kid'l [common], C kit'l. 254 [C (lidɐr) old Sr.]. E: 261 *say*. 265 str*a*'it, G str*ee*t. 272 elɐm. 278 [a term of depreciation]. 280 leeb'n. 282 C strenth. 284 thresh and W.

E'- 296 C bl*i*v. 299 *green*. E': 310 C híiɐl. 312 C íiɐr. 314 C híiɐrd. 315 f*i*t. 316 nikst.

EA- 319 gee'p. 320 kéeɐr. EA: 322 C laaf. 323 fa'*ʊ*t and C and W. 324 [tendency to (âit)]. 326 O *oo*d. 330 *oo*d [same as 326]. 333 *calf*. 334 *half* [no h]. 340 jíiɐrd. 343 waarm, C waarm]. 346 gee't and G.

EA'- 347 ed. 348 âi. 349 *few* and C. EA': 355 *deaf*. 357 *though*. 358 S niist [nighest, heard in use]. 360 C tíiɐm. 361 C bíiɐn. 368 *death* and C. 371 *straw*, C straa.

EI- 373 *they* [no (d) for (dh) as in D 9]. EI: 377 *steak*, C stiik. 378 *weak*.

EO- 383 seb'n. 386 *joo*. 387 *new*. EO: 393 *beyond*, C biɟe·nd. 394 G jendɐr. 397 *soo*'rd, C súɐrd. 399 O brâit, S brâ¹it. 405 arth. 406 *earth*. EO'- 412 *she*. 413 *devil*. 414 *fly*. 417 tɟ*oo*. 420 f*óo*ɐr. EO': 423 *thigh*. 424 *roof*. 425 láit. 426 fâit. 433 C briist. 435 *you*. 436 S tríu, O troo, C tríu. 437 C tríuth.

EY- 438 dâi [once O said (déi)].
I- 440 O wik, S wiik. 442 C A'ivi. 444 stâil. 446 nâin. 448 *these*. 449 *git*. 450 *Tuesday*. I: 452 ái, á'i, C A'i [often]. 457 C mA'it. 458 O nâit, S ná'it. 459 O nâit, S ná it [and so for I']. 465 sitɟ. 467 tɟâi'ld and C. 469 tɟilʊr, -ʊrn. 472 sriqk. 475 *wind*. 484 *this*. 487 O ɟistʊrdee. 488 ɟit.
I'- 494 tâim [C (A'i) for I']. I': — dik [ditch]. 503 lâif. 505 wâif. 507 *umʊn*. 508 mâil. 509 wâil.
O- 521 *foal*, C fóovl. 522 *open*. 524 wʊrld. O: 526 kAAf. 527 *bought*. 528 *thought*. 529 *brought*. 530 *wrought*. 531 *daughter*, C daatʊr. 532 *coal*, C kóovl. 533 O dɛl. 536 *gold*. 546 C fúuvʊrd. 549 óurrd. 550 wʊrd and C. 551 C stʊrm. 552 *corn*, C kʊrn. 553 *horn*, C hʊrn.
O'- 555 *shoe*. 559 *mother*. 562 *moon*. 564 sʊn. 566 ɜdhʊr. O': 569 *book*. 570 *took*. 573 *flood*. 575 *stood*. 578 plɛ'u. 579 *enough* [never heard (ʊnɑ'u)]. 580 *tough*. 586 *do*. 587 *done*. 588 *noon*. 589 *spoon*. 592 soor. 594 [*shoes* always said even for boots]. 596 rut, rʊt. 597 sʊt.
U- 605 *son*. 606 dúʊʊr and G. 607 *butter*. U: 611 *bullock*. 613 *drunk*. 615 S tuu pʊn [two pounds]. 618 wʊn. 619 fʊn. 620 grʊn. 625 *tongue*. 629 *sun*. 631 thɜɜzdee. 632 *up*. 633 *cup*. 634 *through*. 636 fʊrdhʊr.
U'- 640 kɛ'u [all U' like this]. 641 C hɛ'u [and all U' like this]. 649 thɛ'uzʊnd. 653 *but*. U': 656 *rum*. 662 *us*. 663 ɛ'us, C héeus. 665 mɛ'us. 666 uzbʊn [O (gaqʊr) commonly used]. 671 mɛ'uth.
Y- 676 lái. Y: 689 *build*. 691 C mA'ind. 700 wʊs and C. 701 fʊst. Y': 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. English.

A. 722 drɛ́in. 737 WG méeut. E. 743 C skreem. I. *and* Y. 758 G gæl. O. 761 luu'd, C lóovd. 769 móoul. 790 gɛ'un, C gɛ'und. U. 808 pʊt.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 *able*. 810 fee's. 811 plee's. 813 *bacon*. 840 *chamber*. 843 brensh. 850 dens. 852 *apron*. 854 C bʊrl. 861 tee'st.
E·· 868 C dɟái. I·· *and* Y·· 899 *niece*. 906 C vA'ipʊr.
O·· 913 kúʊrtɟ. 916 iq'n. 919 ɜ'intmʊnt. 920 pɜ'int. 926 spɜ'il. 929 kɛ'ukʊmbʊr. 930 C lɛ'in. 934 C bɛ'unti. 938 C kʊrnʊr. 940 koo't and C. 947 bɜ'il. 948 bɜ'ul.
U·· 961 grʊul. 965 ɜ'il. 968 ɜ'istʊr. 969 C shíʊʊr. 971 flíut.

## D 6, 7, 8 = BS. or border of S. as against M. and E., forming the Border Southern Group.

*Boundary*. This cannot be determined with great accuracy, and will be given for each district separately.

*Area*. Extreme n.Gl., most of Wo., sw. Wa., most of Ox., extr. se.Be., n.Sr., and extr. nw.Ke. This was an area of continual conflict and mixture of the S., W., M., and E. populations.

*Character*. A mutilated S, which is strongest in the w. and gradually fades towards the e. and s., becoming finally scarcely perceptible in D 8.

## D 6 = n.BS. = northern Border Southern.

*Boundary.* Begin at Bewdley, Wo. (2 w-by-s.Kidderminster), and go along the reverted *ur* line 3 (see p. 17) through Wo., Wa., and Np. to the b. of Np., which pursue as far as its sw. angle (6 sw.Banbury), and then cut across the projection of Ox. and proceed w. to Moreton-in-Marsh, Gl. (17 ne.Cheltenham). Then continue direct w. to the s. of Tewkesbury, Gl., and of Eldersfield, Wo., and n. of Staunton along the n. b. of D 4. Here turn n. and pass over Red Hill and the Malvern Hills and their n. continuation to the starting-point, Bewdley. Although this b. is laid down with much minuteness, it is often uncertain, and must be considered to be at least six miles broad.

*Area.* The extreme n. of Gl., most of Wo. and s. of Wa., the extreme n. of Ox. and sw. of Np.

*Authorities.* See the following places in the Alphabetical County List, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

*Gl.* °†Ashchurch, †Buckland, †Ebrington, †Fairford, °Kemerton, *†Shenington (locally in Ox.), †Long Marston, †Tewkesbury.

*Np.* †Ashby St. Legers, †Badby, °†Byfield.

*Ox.* °†Banbury (part locally in Np.).

*Wa.* °Butler's Marston, †Claverdon, †Kineton, †Knowle, †Pillerton Priors, †‖Stratford-on-Avon, °†Tysoe.

*Wo.* †Abberley, †Bengeworth, †Bewdley, †Birt's Morton, †Droitwich, †Dunley, †Eldersfield, †Evesham, †Great Malvern, †Great Witley, *Hanbury, °Hartlebury, †Kidderminster, †Malvern Wells, †Saleway, †Stourport, °Upton Snodbury, †Worcester.

*Character.* This complicated district, containing the transition from S. to M., is naturally by no means well marked. Except at Eldersfield, the use of initial (z, v) for (s, f) seems lost; the (ʀ) is inclined to approach (r) when initial, at least all my informants so hear it, and Mr. Hallam generally writes (r) only, even when final; and finds only traces of (ʀ) in parts, which fail especially towards the e. *I be* remains, with *her* for *she*, and *I*, *she*, *we*, as emphatic forms of the object. It is convenient to distinguish four geographical varieties, though the differences between them are small. These are Var. i. s.Wo., Var. ii. s.Wa., Var. iii. Banbury, Var. iv. sw.Np. The general character of all is A- (éʊ) as (néʊm) name. A′=(*oo*, wɜ) as (r*oo*d, wɜm, stwɜn), road, home, stone. Æ:=(ái, éi, *ee*), as (dái, déi, d*ee*), day. EG-=(ái, éi, *ee*), as (râin, réin, r*ee*n), rain. EA′=(îʊ, êʊ, *éi*, *ee*), as (bîʊnz, béʊnz, gré*i*t, gr*ee*t), beans, great. O=(a) occ., as (drap, starm, kras), drop storm, cross. U=(ɜ, $u_o$), as (kɜm, s$u_o$m), come, some. U′=(ə′*u*, ɜ′*u*, á*u*), as (ə′*u*, nɜ′*u*, dá*u*n), how, now, down. The variations from these normal forms are so slight and probably individual that they cannot be formulated, but they must be collected from the following cwl. The whole district lies in the mixed *sum*, *sŏŏm* or *som* region, and *sŏŏm* prevails more and more as we approach the Midlands.

*Illustrations.* A cwl. derived from numerous places for each variety, dt. for Worcester, Hanbury, Claverdon, and Shenington; cs. for Banbury.

## Var. i. Wo. Form.

### Worcester.

dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mr. W. Brown, native, about 42, who had gone to Wolverhampton 9 years previously.

1. *ái* sê*i*, tjaps, jʊ)sì *ái*)m rə'*it*' ʊbə'*ut* dhat l*i*t'l wɛnsh kɜm*i*n frʊm dhʊ skuul.
2. ɜʀ)z gu·*i*n də'*u*n dhʊ r*oo*d dhɜʀ thruu dhʊ rɛd gjé*i*t ɔn dhʊ lɛft and sə'*i*d ʊ dhʊ r*oo*d.
3. luk dhɜʀ ! ɜʀ)z gʌ'n strɛ'*it* $u_{\circ}$p' tʊ dhʊ dóʊʀ ʊ)dhʊ roq ə'*u*s'.
4. wɜʀ ɜʀ)l vɛr*i* l*ái*kl*i* drɔp *o*lt [=*hold*] ʊ dhat ó*u*ld dr*u*$_{\circ}$qk'n dɛf' r*i*qk'ld :tɔm.
5. ju *aa*l n*oo*)*i*m vɛr*i* wɛ'l.
6. wɔ)nt dhʊ ó*l*d tjap sùn tɛl)ʊr nɔt tʊ)kɜm ʊgjɛ'n, púʊ th*i*q !
7. luk dhɜʀ ! *è*)nt *i*t truu ?

*Notes.*

Words omitted: *yonder* jɔndʊr, *girl* gərl, *so* soo, *now* nə'u, *way* wêi, *sure* *enough* shúʊr ʊn*u*$_{\circ}$f', *child* tjáild, *fellow* fɛlʊ, *name* nee*m*, *shrivelled up* sr*i*v'ld $u_{\circ}$p, [with (sr*i*mps, srə'ud] shrimps, shroud.

### Hanbury (6 wsw. Redditch).

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Turner, then a student at Whitelands Training College.

1. soo ə'*i* sá*i*, méʊts, jʊ sii nɜ'*u* dhʊt ə'*i* bi rə'*i*ʊt ʊbə'*u*t ·dhat l*i*t'l gjɜʀl ʊkɜm*i*n frɜm dhʊ skuul jɜndʊ.
2. ɜʀ)z ʊ gú*i*n də'*u*m dhʊ róʊʊd dhɜʀ thr*úu*ʊ dhʊ rɛd géeʊt on dhʊ lɛft a'nd sə'*i*d ʊv dhʊ wá*i*.
3. shúʊr ʊnɜ'*u* dhʊ tjə'*i*ld)z gɜn stráit ɜp tʊ dhʊ dúʊr ʊv dhʊ rɜq ə'*u*s,
4. wɜʀ ɜʀ)l lə'*i*kl*i* fə'*i*nd dhat t*i*ps*i* dɛf fɛlʊʀ ʊv dhʊ néʊm ʊ :tɔmʊs.
5. wi ɜɜl nooz)im vɛr*i* wɜlʊ.
6. wɜnt dhi ɜ'*u*ld tjɜ'p sɜn *teet*j ʊʀ nɔt tʊ d*uu* *i*t ʊgɛn, púʊʊʀ th*i*q !
7. l*u*kʊ ! béeʊnt *i*t trúʊʊ.

Principal variants in the dt. from Hartlebury (4 s-by-e. Kidderminster), sent by the Misses Haviland, daughters of the then Rector:

1. *so* su, *say* sɜz, *see* siiz, *girl* wɛntj, *school yonder* skúʊʊl jɔndʊr. 2. *there* dhéeʊr, *through* thru, *gate* gjɛt, *way* wéei. 3. *enough* ʊnɜf, *iz* bi, *straight* stréeit, *door* dóʊʊr, *wrong* raq. 4. *where* wéeʊr, *chance to* mɛbi ap'n, *Thomas* :tomʊs. 6. *old* óud, *soon* súʊʊn. *won't* òɔnt, *teach* laarn, *again* ʊɜmúʊr. 7. *is not*, bíʊnt, *true* truu.

## S. Worcestershire cwl.

Made up from the following sources:

A Abberley wn. by TH. (r-, -ʀ), doubtful if one (*u*₀), no (z-, v-, h-).
B Bewdley wn. by TH. mostly from Mrs. Ashcroft, a centenarian, one (z-), (*u*₀) frequent, occ. verbal pl. in *en* as (d*u*₀n-jʊ, wi t*u*₀k'n, wi)n) do you, we took, we have, with the He. form (ʊdh ʊdhə'ut) of 'with without.'
Bg Bengeworth, a suburb of Evesham, Wo., wn. by TH.
Bu Buckland, Gl. (11 ene. Tewkesbury), wn. by TH.
D Droitwich wn. by TH.
E Eldersfield, Wo. (9 s. Great Malvern), wn. by TH. from Mrs. Knowles, aged 79, native, (dhâ'*i* kiip'n) they keep, (kəm wi ə'*i* tʊ plâ*i*) come with I to play, many (z-).
Eb Ebrington, Gl. (18 ne. Cheltenham), wn. by TH.
G Great Witley, wn. by TH.
H Hanbury, vv. to AJE., the dt. is not included in this cwl.
M Gt. Malvern and Malvern Hills wn. by TH.
P from 'quaint words' by 'A PORSON,' that is *a parson*, in s. Wo. from Worcester on n. to Chacely on s. and Evesham on e. to Great Malvern on w., pal. as well as he could do it by AJE.
S Saleway (7 sw. Redditch) wn. by TH., no (z-, v-), but (r-, -ʀ), (ʊʀ)z, wi)z) her is, we has, (jənt) ain't.
W Worcester wn. by TH., no (z-, v-).

*** For brevity, when several places are grouped, the medial length of vowels has not been distinguished from the short.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 BSBu *teek*, H téʊk, E têʊk. 5 H méʊk *ái* [make hay]. 20 AE lêʊm, S lêʊm, BBu *leem*. 21 ABSWBu *neem*, W *néimd* [as well as (*neem*)], Eb nîam. 23 *seem*. — P ɔmʊʀ [hammer], A ɔmbʊʀ [compare inserted *b* in num*b*er, tim*b*er], S ɔmʊʀ. — P feeʀ [to fare, a fare]. 33 D raadhʊʀ. A: — P krɔb [a crab]. 51 P mʌn, BW mʌ'n. A: *or* O: 60 SD l*u*₀q. 64 D r*u*₀q.

A'- 67 AD gwàin, W gwêin. 77 P lʌʀd. 81 E *leen*. 92 AD nó*u*. A': 104 Bu *rood*. 115 PAWH wʌm, D wòm, Bu *oom*, W òm [also *home*, refined], — S ʊloon [alone]. 117 AEM wən, W wʌn. 118 P bwʌn. 120 D íʊrz ʊguu [years ago]. 122 Bu nə'n, H nʌn. 124 P stwʌn, AD *stoon*. 130 P bwʌt.

Æ- 138 A fíʊdhʊʀ, B fíʊdhʊʀ, S *feedhʊʀ*, D fíʊdhʊʀ. 141 B nâ'ilz. 147 H brâ*in*. — W stàʀz [stairs]. 152 S *weetʊʀ*, D wíʊtʊʀ. Æ: 161 PAD dâ*i*, S lâ'*i*, W dâ*i*, [in city] dêi, *dee*, Bu *dee*. — P ɔp'l [apple]. — P kʊʀt [cart].

Æ'- 182 W sii. 192 P *meen*. Æ': 210 P klâ*i* [clay]. 211 AS grâ*i*, B grêi. 213 H iidhʊʀ. 218 PD *ship*. 223 Bu dhéʊʀ, BDS dhîʊʀ, Bu dhʊʀ. 224 B wɛ'ʀ, S wîʊʀ, BuW wʌʀ.

E- 233 BW *speek*. 241 AB râ*in*. 243 ABESH plâ*i*. — P beeʀ [to bear]. 248 P meeʀ. 252 A kjɛt'l. E: 260 ABBu lâ*i*. 261 PABSD sâ*i*, Bu sâ'i, AE zêi, W sâ*i*. 262 B wâ*i*, W wêi, D wâi, [foundations] ʌʌl gjin wâ'*i* [all given way]. 263 ABESBu ʊwâ*i*, M ʊwêi. 265 W strâ*it*. E': 315 PH *fit*.

EA- 320 P keeʀ. EA: 324 BESHD âit [Mrs. A. said (*ái* sâi âit ʊr nə'in)]. 326 BS ô*ud*, EBu ó*uld*. 328 B kô*ud*. 333 kʌʌf. 335 Bu *aal*, ʌʌl. 346 W gjéit [in the city] gjèt [in the country]. EA'- 347 SD jʌd, BuW èd, jèd. EA': 350 B djɛ'd. 353 S brɛ'd. — A krâim [cream]. 360 S tiim. 361 P *beenz* [beans]. 366 A *greet*.

EI- 372 B *ái*. 373 ABS dhâ*i*, ED dhâ'i, D dhâ'*i*, D dhɛ'*i*, dhe. EI: 378 B *week*. EO- 383 E zɛv'n. EO: 393 BuD jʌndʊʀ. 395 S j*u*₀q. — P bɔʀm [barm]. EO'- 409 P *beez* [bees]. 411 AB thrii, E drii. — H trii [tree]. EO': 426 B fêit. 428 E zii, S sii. EY- 438 W d*ái*, D dɑ'*i*.

I- 446 E nə'in. — G *jis* [yes]. I: 452 A ə'*i*, D ɑ'*i*, W *ái*. 458 W náit'. 459 WD rə'it. 469 W w*u*₀nt [won't], Bu *ut* [wilt]. — spɛl [to spill]. — A rən [run], S r*u*₀n [H added "donkey boys say (r*u*₀n)"]. — P set [to sit]. — E ziks. I'- 490 G bə'*i*. 494 A tə'im. I': — BW tə'*idi* [tidy]. 502 E və'iv. 506 W umʊn, H ɑ'*ul*jd)ʌmʊn, [a woman, old woman]. 510 W m*ái*. — D lɑ'in [line].

O- — S sh*u*$_{o}$v'l. — D drap [drop]. O: 525, ii. *ȧf*. 531 D dʌʌtʊr. — D krap [crop]. 551 BuD stàrm. 552 Bu *kȧ*ʀ$_{o}$n. — BS ʌ's [horse]. — GS *mȧ*rnin [morning]. 554 M ʊkr*ȧ*s [across]. — P pwɔst [post]. O'- 555 W shœ'u. 559 GW mʌdhʊʀ. 564 D sun, H sʌn. 568 B br*u*$_{o}$dhʊʀ. O': 573 D fl*u*$_{o}$d. 575 H stʌd. 579 D ʊnʌf. 586 S d*u*$_{o}$s dhii [dost thou]. 587 AH dʌn, S d*u*$_{o}$n. 588 H nʌn. 589 H spʌn. 594 H [has no (buuts) only (shuuz)]. 595 PH fʌt. 596 H rʌt. 597 H sʌt.

U- 601 ASB fə'*u*l. 603 M ʊkamin [a-coming], H kʌm ʌp [come up]. — M th*u*$_{o}$ndʊr. 605 S s*ù*$_{o}$n, D sʌ'n, ABu sən, BD sòn, D [between] sòn, s*ù*$_{o}$n. 606 WD *dôʊʀ*, Eb. dûʊʀ. 607 B b*u*$_{o}$tʊr. U: 612 S s*u*$_{o}$m. 613 B dr*u*$_{o}$qk. — M *u*$_{o}$ndʊrd [hundred]. — Bu ʌqgr*i* [hungry]. 632 BW *u*$_{o}$p, M ʌp əp. U'- 643 G nə'*u*, D nʌ''*u*. 650 E ʊbə'*ut*. U': 656 G rùm. 658 ABESW də'*u*n, Bu dʌ'un. 663 SW ə'*u*s, D ʌ'*u*s, ʌ'*u*z'n [pl.]. 667 D ʌ'*ut*.

Y- D m*u*$_{o}$tj. 675 dʀʌ'*i*. 679 D tjʌʀtj. Ý: 691 ES mə'*i*nd. — P hʌʀnet [hornet].

II. English.

— P wɔgin [wagging]. O. 767 A náiz. 791 H b*w*ɔ'*i*. U. — B m*u*$_{o}$k [muck]. 803 M [between] dj*u*$_{o}$mp, djəmp. — M k*u*$_{o}$t. 808 Bu put, D p*u*t.

III. Romance.

A·· 811 D plêʊs. 820 P *gái*. — PD pâi [pay]. — G fâil [fail]. — Bu *táil*ʊʀ. 830 Bu tráin. 833 A pàʀ. — PS pl*eez* [please]. 847 D dáindjʊr. 851 W nànt.

E·· 867 P *tee*. — B pr*ee*tj [preach]. 878 P sælʊr*i*. — P pɔrs'n, B paasʊn.

I·· *and* Y·· 898 Bu nə'*is*. 900 P prái. — P sper*i*t [spirit]. 910 P djə'*i*st. — B bif [beef]. — P djə'*i*nt [joint]. 923 P mə'*i*st. — B n*u*$_{o}$qk'l. 930 P lə'*i*n. — P kʌrps [corps]. — EG *sȧ*rt [sort]. 940 P k*u*ʌt. 947 A bwóil.

U·· 970 M djəst, D [between] djəst, dj*u*$_{o}$st.

## Var. ii. s.Wa. Form.

### Claverdon, Wa. (5 e.Warwick) dt.

pal. by TH. from the dictation of S. Job, farm-labourer, b. 1824, native.

1. ə'*i* sɛ'i, ju tjaps, ju s*ii* ə'*i*)m rʌ'*it*' nʌ'*u* ʊbʌ'*ut* dhat l*it*'l wɛnsh kʌm*i*n frʊm s' skuul jɔndʊr.

2. ʌr)z ʊgu·*in* də'*u*n dhʊ r*oo*d [r*ôu*d] dhíʊr thruu dhʊ rɛd gj*éu*t ɔn dhʊ lɛft and sʌ'*id* [inclining to (s*ái*d)] ʊ dhʊ r*oo*d.

3. l*u*$_{o}$k ju! dhʊ tjʌ'*i*ld)z gʌ'n strɛ'*it*' *u*$_{o}$p' tʊ dhʊ roq ə'*u*s' [dûʊr].

4. wíʊr ʌr)l praps fə'*i*nd dhat dr*u*$_{o}$qk'n, dɛf, th*i*n ʊn ag*i*d [haggard] fɛlʊ [krɛ'*i*tʊr] ʊz dh*e* kʌʌl :tɔm.

5. wi ʌʌl n*oo* *i*m vɛr*i* wɛ'l.

6. w*u*$_{o}$nt dhʊ ó*u*ld tjap mɛ'*i*k ʊr n*oo* bɛtʊr nʊr gù dhíʊr ʊgjɛ'n, púʊr thiq'.

7. l*u*$_{o}$k jʊ! jɛnt *it* trœ'u.

*Note.*

This has a very neutral character. I find among the wn. from the same person (jɔndʊr) old, (jɔndʊr) new, etc., and as the latter appears in the dt., it is possible that Job was sometimes "speaking pretty." I find, also (n*éu*m, t*éu*b'l), name, table, old, and (nêim, têib'l) new. Compare following cwl. Job used (sr*i*mps, srə'ud) shrimps, shroud, (shr-) being a difficulty.

## South Warwickshire cwl.

B Butler's Marston (10 s.Warwick), pal. by AJE. from a nwl. sent by Rev. E. Miller, Vicar in 1877, helped out in parts by K. below. Mr. M. considers that the speech extends for 6 m. round. This would include Kineton. Stratford is only 7 or 8 m. off. As reverted (R) is heard both at Stratford and Banbury, I conclude it must exist here and have introduced it. As exceptional pron. only were marked, the other pron. in the original wl. must be taken as practically in rs. In this case ($u_o$) would occur only in the words so marked. *I be* is used.

K wn. at Kineton (9 s-by-e.Warwick) in 1880 by TH. from a native of 58, who had, however, resided many years at Warwick as keeper of the gate at the entrance to the common. Only principal words are given. TH. had not noted the reverted (R), but as it was strong in Stratford, I have introduced it. *I am* used. The pron. seems to have been tainted by Warwick. Also from Mrs. Pheasey, lived there 50 years from childhood.

P Pillerton Priors (8 se.Stratford) wn. by TH., in 1886 from a native b. 1819.

S wn. at Stratford-on-Avon in 1880 by TH. from an errand boy, native, and G. Phipps, a labourer, 20, native, only absent 1¾ years. But both had so marked a town pron. that I give very few words. The errand boy had not even reverted (R), but the labourer and the other people in the town had it strongly. The labourer used *we am*. The ($u_o$) was frequent.

T Tysoe (11 se.Stratford) wn. by TH. in 1886, from natives b. 1802 and 1809. *I be* used.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 BP bêʊk. 4 BP têʊk, K teek, S téik. 5 BP mêʊk, T mêʊk. 6 B méʊd. 7 B séʊk. 10 B haa. 12 B saa. 13 B naa. 14 B draa. 17 B laa. 18 T kíʊk. 19 B téʊl. 20 BKPT léʊm, S lêim. 21 BP néʊm, K neem, nêʊm níʊm. — K amʊR [hammer]. 23 BP séʊm. 24 B shéʊm, T shêʊm. 25 B méʊn. — spiiR [to spare]. 31 B léʊt. 35 T aal. 36 B thaa. A: 39 B kéʊm. 40 B kuum [? confused with *combe* a hill]. 43 B ànd. 44 B lànd. 51 B màn. 57 B aas.

A: *or* O: 59 B làm. 60 T lɔq, luq. 61 T ʊmuqkst. 64 P roq, T rɔq. A'- 67 B guu, K ʊgù·in. 75 B struuk. 76 BT túʊd. 77 B laRD. 81 B léʊn. 84 B múʊR. 85 B súʊR. 86 T úʊts. 90 T bloo. 92 S nóu. 93 P snoo. A': 101 B úʊk. 102 T ʊks. 104 T rood. 110 P nat. 111 B aat. 113 B húʊl, T wool. 115 B húʊm, K òm, T wòm. 117 S wA'n, T wən. 118 T bwən. 120 PT ʊguu. 121 P gA'n. 122 T nə'n. 123 B nu$_o$thiqk. 124 K stoon, PT stwən. 135 B klath.

Æ- 138 B féʊdhʊR [or (éʊ)], SK faadhʊR. 144 B ʊgin. — S pru$_o$ti [pretty].

Æ: 158 P àftʊr. 161 KP dee. 165 B sid. 169 wʊn. 172 B graas. 174 B âish [? (ʊ'ish)]. Æ'- 182 B séi. 183 B teetj. 185 BT reed. 187 P lîʊv. 192 PT mîʊn. 193 T kleen. 195 T mʊni. 196 B wee'R. 200 K wiit, TP weet. 202 B heet. Æ': 215 B taat (?). 216 B díel, T djʊ'l. 218 T ship'. 223 B dhîʊR, KPT dhîʊr. 224 B wíʊR. 226 B muust. 228 T swʊt.

E- 232 briik [but only very partially]. 233 BKPT speek. 237 feeʊR. 241 K rʊ"in, T râin. 243 KT plee. 251 BT meet. 252 B kit'l, T kjʊt'l. 253 B ʊt'l. E: 260 K lee. 261 KT see. 262 PT wee. 263 KT ʊwee. 268 K ʊldist. 270 B i. bʊləs. 272 B ʊlʊm. 279 T wʊnt. 286 B harʊ.

E'- 294 T fiid. 299 KT griin. 300 PT kiip. 301 B jíʊR, P íʊr. E': 307 T nái. 312 B íʊR. 314 K íʊrd, T ɜ|rd.

EA: 321 B saa. 322 T làf'. 324 T âᵊit, ʊ'it. 326 F òld. 345 T dɛ'r. 346 B gévt géʊt. EA'- 347 B íed, K èd. EA': 350 B died. 360 P tiim. 361 K beenz, P bîʊn. 363 T [between] tjap tjop, KP tjʊp. 370 B raa. EI: 378 week.

EO- 383 T. sʊv'm. 315 B bʊneeth. 386 BT joo. EO: 388 T milk. 393 B bija·nd. 394 SP jandʊR. 395 PT ju$_o$q. 397 B súʊRD. 402 BP làʊn, T la|ʊn, K lə'ʊn. EO'- 411 KT thrii, T thríi. — K trii. 420 B

foo)ʊʀ. 421 B fartí. EO': 423 T thɑ'ii. 425 B láit. 426 B fáit. 432 fóoʊrth. 433 T brɛst. 434 B beet. 438 K dâ$_1$i [marked as lying between (a', a)].

I- 443 S frə'idi. 446 T nə'in. I: 452 K ái, P ɑ'i, T ə'i. 458 B náit, K [the (a) marked as lying between (a, ə)], P nɑ'it', T [between] nə'it, nɑ'it. 469 B ul. 480 T thiq'. — KS ru$_o$n. I'- 490 B bái. 492 K sɑ'id. 494 K tâim, T tə'im. 496 K áiʊrn. 498 B ráit. I': 502 B fáiv. 503 T lə'if. 505 T wə'if. 506 KT umʊn. — T ee [hay].

O: 526 B kaaf. 527 B baat. 528 B thaat. 529 B braat. 531 B daatʊr, KP daatʊr. 547 B búʊrd. 551 B starm. 552 B karn. 553 B harn. — màrnin [morning]. 554 P ʊkràs. O'- 559 S modhʊr, K mɑdhʊr. 562 T muun. 564 KP sùn. 568 S bru$_o$dhʊr. O': 569 T bʊk. 579 B ʊnáu, T ʊnu$_o$f, [plural] ʊnɑ'u. 581 B saat. 586 P dáu. 587 KP dòn [marked as lying between (ò, ə'), another time merely (dɑ'n)], S dù$_o$n. 588 TKP nuun. 589 T spuun. 595 B fat. 597 B sat.

U- 601 K fə'ul. 603 B ku$_o$m, KP kəm, PS kam. 604 K su$_o$mʊr. — S thu$_o$ndʊr [thunder]. 605 K sòn [as in 587] sù$_o$n, TPS sù$_o$n. 606 B dóoʊr. U: 610 T ùl. 612 SP sù$_o$m. 632 BKT u$_o$p. 633 BK ku$_o$p. 635 wath. 636 B farduʀ. 639 T du$_o$st. U'- 640 T kjɑ'u, P kjɑ''u. 641 K ə'u áu, T ə'u hə'u. 648 KT ə'uʊr. 650 T ʊbə'ut (ɑ'u). U': 658 KT də'un. 659 TSP tə'un. 663 K ə'us, T [between] ə'us, ôus. 666 T u$_o$zbʊn.

Y- 677 T drɑ'i. 679 S tɹartɹ. Y: 689 B bild. 690 B káind. 691 BHK máind. 700 B was. 701 B fas. 705 B skái. 706 B wái. Y': 709 B fáiʀ, ST fɑ'iʊʀ. 711 B láis. 712 B máis.

II. English.

A- 718 B trévd. E. 743 B skríʊm. 744 B meez'lz. 751 B púʊrt. O. 761 B lúʊd. 767 B náis. 778 B ʊfúʊrd.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 B évb'l. 810 B févs. 811 B plévs. 813 B bévk'n, T bévk'n. 814 B mévs'n. 824 B tɹeer. 829 B gévn. 833 B peer. — K pliiz [please]. 835 BT reez'n. 836 BT seez'n. 837 B leesh. 852 B évpʊrn. 860 T péa'st. 861 T têʊst. 862 B sévf. 865 B faat.

E·· 867 BT tee. 869 B veel. 888 T sàrtin. 889 B sees. 890 B beest. 891 B feest. 894 B diseev. 895 B riseev. I·· *and* Y·· 898 B náis. 910 B dɹɑ'ist.

O·· 916 T ɑ'inʊn. 919 B ə'intmunt [the distinctions (ə'i ɑ'i ái) were not indicated with sufficient precision in 919, 920, 924, 925, 926, 947, but distinctions of a similar kind at least were intended, AJE.]. 920 pə'int. 924 B tɹɑ'is. 925 B váis. 926 B spə'il. 938 B karnʊr. 947 B bə'il. 948 B bə'ul. 952 B kúʊrs. U·· 965 B áil. 969 S shúʊr.

## Var. iii. Banbury Form.

cs. translated in 1875 by Thomas Beesley, Esq., J.P., F.C.S., native and resident, and pal. by AJE. from his indications and from TH.'s wn. The lw. which Mr. Beesley sent me was made 40 years previously by his uncle, and he had purposely abstained from consulting it, so that this is altogether an independent testimony. Mr. B. considers the dialect to extend for about 6 miles round Banbury, and names the following villages as using the same speech: in Ox., Copredy, Wardington, Adderbury, Bloxham, Swalcliff, Tadmarton, Sibford, Shutford, Horley, and Hornton; in Gl. (but locally in Ox.), Shenington; in Np., Middleton Cheney and King's Sutton. Mr. B. does not mark the reverted (ʀ), but from TH.'s observations I have introduced it. Mr. B.'s letters shew that he used (ɑ) for short U, but TH. heard nothing but (u$_o$) at Banbury.

0. wə'i :dɹən aa)nt noo də'uts.

1. wɛl, nɛbʊʀ, jau ʊn ii mʊ boo'th laaf ʊt dhis ii'ʀ nĭuuz ʊ mə'in, huu kii'ʀz ? dhat)s needhʊʀ ii'ʀ nʊʀ dhee'ʀ.

2. fíuu [fĭAA'u] *fook* də'*iz*, kɔz dhʊ bii laaft ʊt; hɜs n*ooz*, d*oo*'nt)ɜs? wat sh*ud* míʊk)am? tɜ'ɛnt vɛ*ri* lə'*ikli*, h*is*)*it*?

3. hə'usʊmɛ·vʊr dhiiz bii dhʊ faks ʊ dhʊ kíʊs, *soo* dʒɛst *oo*ld jʊr bɔdhʊr, frɛnd, ʊn kiip k*wə*'*i*ʊt t*i*l ə'*i* bi [ə'*i*)v] dɜn. hanki!

4. ə'*i* bi sartin shĭuu'r, ʊz ə'*i* ii'rd ʊn s*ee*—sɜm ʊ dh*ee* f*oo*ks ʊz wɛnt thruu dhi whɜl th*iq* bɜ'*i* dhʊrse·lvz—·dhat ə'*i* did shĭuu'r ʊnɜf.

5. dhʊt dhʊ jɜqest sɜn h*iz*self, ʊ grɛt bŭɜ'*i* ʊ nə'*in*, n*oo*d *iz* fíʊdhʊrz vóis ʊt wɜns, dh*oo* *it* wɜr *soo* kw*i*ʊr ʊn sk*wee*·k*in*-lə'*i*k, ʊn ə'*i*)d trɜst hii tʊ sp*ee*k dhʊ truuth han*i* [hɛn*i*, h*ee*n*i*] d*ee*, *ái*, ·dhat ə'*i* h*ud*.

6. ʊn dhʊ *oo*ld h*u*mʊn ʊrse·lf ʊl tɛl han*i* on)i ʊz laafs nə'*u*, ʊn tɛl)i str*ee*t ɔff, tuu, w*i*)ə'*ut* mɜtʒ, bɔdhʊr *if* jʊ on*i* haks)ʊr—wɜnt)shi [wɜnt)ʊr], dhat)s AAl.

7. l*ee*st wə'*iz* ʊr tɛld *it*, ·mii wɛn ə'*i* hakst ʊr, tuu ʊr thrii tɜ'*im*z *oo*vʊr shi d*i*d, ʊn ·ɜr had)nt AAt tʊ bi rɔq in s*i*tʒ ʊ pŭə'*int*ʊz dh*is*'n [dhat-eer], wɔt dʊ juu th*iq*k?

8. wɛl, ʊz ə'*i* wʊr ʊs*ee*·*in*—·ɜr)d tɛl)jʊ, hə'*u*, weer ʊn wen shi f*u*nd dhʊ drɜqk'n bívst shi kAAlz ʊr ɜzbʊnd [man].

9. shi swee'rd ʊr s*i*n *im* w*i* ʊr *oon* ə'*iz*, l*ee*·*in* stretʒt ʊt fɜl lɛqkth ɔn dhʊ grə'*u*nd *in* *iz* g*ud* sɜnd*e* kúuʊt, kl*oo*s bə'*i* dhʊ dúuʊr ʊ dhʊ hə'*u*s, də'*u*n ʊt dhʊ kAArnʊr ʊ dhat ee'r l*ee*n.

10. hii wer ʊ wə'*in*in ʊr sɛz, fʊr AAl dhʊ wɜrld lə'*i*k ʊ s*i*k tʒə'*i*ld ʊr ʊ l*it*'l gal [lii·t'l wɛntʒ] in ʊ frɛt [in ʊr tantrʊmz].

11. ʊn ·dhat ap'nd ʊz ·ɜr an ʊr daa'tʊr *in* laa, kɜm thruu dhʊ bak jɜrd fr*o*m aq*in* ə'*ut* dhʊ wɛt klóoʊz,

12. wə'*i*l dhʊ kɛt'l wʊz ʊ bŭə'*i*·l*in* fʊr t*ee*, wAn fə'*in* brə'*it* sɜmʊr aatʊrnuun, *oon*i ʊ w*i*k ʊguu·, kɜm nɛkst thɜzd*i*.

13. ʊn, djʊ n*oo*? ə'*i* nɛvʊr lɜrnt n*oo* m*oo*'r nʊr dh*is* ʊ dhat b*i*znes ɜp tʊ tʊd*ee*, ʊz shĭuu'r)z mə'*i* níʊm)z :dʒɔn :shɛpʊrd, ʊn ə'*i* duu)nt wɔnt tu n*ee*dhʊr, dhii'r nə'*u*!

14. ʊn s*oo* ə'*i* bi ʊguu·*in* [g*ween*in] whɜm tʊ sɜpʊr. g*ud* nə'*it*, ʊn duunt bi sʊ k*wi*k tʊ kr*oo* *oo*·vʊr ʊ bɔd*i* ʊgɛ·n, wɛn i tAAks ʊ dh*is* dhat ʊr t)ɜdhʊr.

15. *it*)s ʊ w*ee*k fuul ʊz pr*ee*ts [tAAks] w*i*)ə'u·t r*ee*z'n. ʊn dhat)s mə'*i* last wɜrd. g*ud* bɜ'*i*.

## Shenington dt.

6½ w. Banbury, politically in Gl., locally in Ox., pal. in 1881 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Harris, native, then a student at Whitelands Training College, who knew of Wykes, the policeman, that furnished the lw. to TH., mentioned on p. 118. Observe that here ($u_c$) was used for short U.

1. s*oo* ɜ'*i* sæ'*i*, b*u*$_o$t*i*z, jʊ se' nɜ'*u* dhʊt ɜ'*i* bi rɜ'*it*ʊ bɜ'*ut* dha't l*it*'l gɜrl ʊ-k*u*$_o$m*in* from dhʊ skuul Ja'ndʊr.

2. shii)z ʊ-g*u*·*in* dɜ'*un* dhʊ r*uu*'d dhɜr thruu dhʊ rɛd ge't on dhʊ lɛft a'nd sɜ'*id* ʊ dhʊ wæ'*i*.

3. shuur ʊnɜ'*u* dhʊ tʒɜ'*i*ld)z gon stræ'*it* *u*$_o$p tʊ dhʊ duu'r ʊ dhʊ roq ɜ'*u*s.

4. wi'ʀ shii)'l a'p'n tʊ fɪ'ind dha't dru₀qk'n dɛf fɛlʊʀ ʊ dha níʊm ʊ :tu₀məs.

5. wi ʌʌl noo )ʊn vɛri wɛl.

6. wu₀)nt dhʊ ool tʃa'p sun laarn ʊr na't tʊ duu)t ʊgɛn, puu'ʀ thiq !

7. luk ɹii'ʀ ! ec)nt it truu ?

*Notes.*

1. *so*, never (*zoo*), no *z* for *s* or *v* for *f*.—*mates* not used.—*I be* more frequent than *I am*.—*right*, not heard initial (rh, ʀh).—*girl* the regular word, though (wɛntʃ) is used. The (ʀ) usual. Wykes rejected *girl* and only admitted *wench*.

2. *she's agoing, her's* not used, it is quite foreign to the dial. *we, you, they be*, in general use.—Miss H. never heard *I are*.—*hand, h* always omitted, *w* used for *wh*.

3. *sure enow*, they never use (ʊnu₀f), does not know the distinction of meaning between *enough* and *enow*.

4. *shrivelled* not used, they say (shru₀bz), so that (shr-) is used.

5. *know him*, (ʊn) is used, especially among the elder people.

6. *old chap*, old without *d*, but in (ool)d)u₀mʊn) old woman, the *d* is disjoined from *l* and run on to the following vowel.

## Banbury wl.

From the following sources :

B Banbury vocabulary by the late Mr. Beesley, uncle of the Mr. Beesley who wrote the cs. on p. 116. It is not quite certain that all the words belong to Banbury. There were many repetitions in the list, and sometimes the repeated words were not spelled in the same way the second time they occurred as they had been the first time. Of course the pron. assigned is greatly conjectural. From HB (below) I adopt (ə'i, ə'u, u₀, ʀ). Words not inserted are (eent, ent, ɹent, bient, eerʊn), aint, baint, e'er a one, (hiz'n, haʀn, twaʀdʊnt), his, hers, *it were not*.

HB Some of the wn. in Banbury by TH. in 1881 from natives. Some of these seem to be rather refined.

S wn. by TH. in 1875 from Wykes, a London policeman, but native of Shenington, confirmed by Miss Harris, a native, in 1881, p. 117.

ES words from the dt. on p. 117, dict. to AJE. in 1881 by Miss Harris, native of Shenington. This village was admitted by Mr. T. Beesley, who wrote the cs. for Banbury given above, to be in the Banbury district. I do not give the words from the cs., considering his uncle's lw. sufficient.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- — S wéʊk [a wake or feast]. 21 HB nêim, ES níʊm. — B hɔmʊʀ [hammer]. — B pib'l [pebble]. A: — B rɔm [ram]. 43 B hanstəf [handstaff or handle of a flail, (swiq'l) the other end]. 45 B want. 51 S màn. 56 S wɔsh. A: *or* O: 64 HB rɔq, ES roq. A'- 67 B guu [(gweenin gween) going], HB gôu ʊgù·in, S gwɛ·in. 74 S tæ'u. 76 B túʊd. 79 HB ôum. 81 S léʊn. 84 HB mûʊʀ. 86 S úʊts. A': 101 S óʊk' [Miss Harris (óʊk)]. 102 B aks ɛks. 104 ES ruu'd. — B drɛv [a drove]. 110 B nat. 111 S àt'. 113 B whal. 115 B wham, S wɛ'm, ó'ʊm [Miss Harris did not know the last form]. — B wɔps [wasp]. 118 B bwan. 123 B nɛthiqk, HB nu₀thiqk. 124 B stwan, HB stóun, S stúʊn. — B lɔft [loath].

Æ- 138 B fiaadhʊʀ [spelled *feah'ther*], S fívdhʊʀ. — S ɹɛ'kʊʀ [acre]. — B ladhʊr [ladder]. — B bladhʊʀ [bladder]. 144 B ʊgɛ·n. 149 B blizi blə'iz [is (blizi), one of the S. infinitives in *-y*?]. 152 S wívtʊʀ. Æ: — B stidi [steady]. — B stɔm [stem of a tree]. 158 S a|ʀtʊʀ. 161 HB dêi. — B steel [handle]. — B haps [hasp]. 172 S graas. — S dlaas [glass]. — HBS kjà'rt. [cart]. — B rɔt [rat]. Æ'- 190 B kee. 200 B weet, HB wit. — B hɛth [heath]. Æ': 205 B thrid. — B sid [seed]. 218 BS ship. 223 ES dhʊʀ. 224 B wiiʀ [where], noo·ʊʀ [no-where]. — B strit [street].

E- 233 S ʊspɛ'ikin [a-speaking]. 243 HB plèi. 246 S kwiin. — B *eet* [eat]. 251 B *meet*, S míʊt, *meet* [Miss Harris says the last is more usual]. 253 B ɛt'l. E: — B fɔt fɔtʃ [fetch]. 261 HB séi, S see, ES sæ'i. 262 ES wæ'i. 263 HB ʊwêi. 265 ES stræ'it. — fìlɒ [field]. 272 S ɛlʊm [Wykes, (ɛlm) Miss Harris]. — B *hoop* *hoopt* [help, helped]. 278 S wɛntʃ. — B *ind*, ind [end]. — B *nist* [nest]. E'- — B iitʃ [to eke]. 299 HB griin. E': 306 B hɛkth [this form is not found in other words, compare *Havelock* knicth, suprà Part II. p. 477, see below p. 127, No. 306]. 312 ES ɹiir. 314 B hiirɒ, HB îɛrɒ.

EA: — B tʃaaf [chaff], tʃaa·fin [chaffing]. — B tʃaalz [jowls]. 323 B *fə'ut*. — B *tʃook* [chalk]. 326 ES *ool*. 334 haapni, haapɛth [halfpenny, -worth], S aap'ni. — B ʊmúʊ·st [almost]. — B aalɛs [always]. — S hà¹rd [hard]. 346 B jéeut, ES ge't. EA'- 347 B hadlʊnd [headland], jɛd, BH èd. EA': 350 B djɛdli [deadly, extremely]. 352 ES rɛd. 355 ES dɛf. — S bíʊm [beam]. — B krem [cream]. — B sem [seam]. 360 S tíʊm. 361 S bíʊn. 363 B tʃɛp tʃap. — B jap, japt [heap, heaped]. 364 ES tʃa¹p. — S íʊr [year]. — B *eest* [east]. 366 B grɛt. — B *eezi* [easy]. — B *dioo*, diaa¹u [dew]. 370 B raa.

EI- 373 HB dhéi. EO- 386 S *jóu*. EO: 394 S jandɛr. — B hɛrd [herd]. 397 B swɛrd. 402 BES larn. 404 B star ['with a rough burring sound']. 406 B jɛth. EO'- 411 HB thrii. 413 B div'l. EO': — B liv [lief]. 425 HB *láit*. 428 ES se¹. 436 ES truu. EY- 438 HB də'i.

I- 440 B wik. — B hiis [yes]. — B *sinu* [sinew]. 447 S ɛr. — B *peez*, S pɛ'iz [pease]. 450 B tʃuuzdi. I: 452 HB ə'i & a [unemphatic], ES ɜ'i. — B bɛrd, S bɛrd [bird], bi·diz [birdies]. 458 HB náit'. 459 HB rə'it, ES raí·t. 465 B *sitʃ*. — B *filʊr* [thiller or shaft horse]. 469 B *hul* [will, 'rhyming *wool*'] hʊt [wilt, 'rhyming with pʊt'], S u₀l. 470 ES ʊn [weak, old people = *hine*]. 477 ES fə'in. — HB rʊ₀n [run]. — B bɛshəp [bishop] — B spet [spit]. I'- 492 HB sə'id, ES sɜ'id. — gii *gin giz* [give, gave or given, gives], giftɛr [gift]. — B briif [rife, a remnant of (ii) in n (*rifr*), confused with *brief* and so preserved?] — HB thɛrti. I': 502 HB fə'iv. 506 B *umʊn*. — B hɛ·mʊkin, hɛ·rikʊrd [haymaking, hayrickyard]. 508 S mái'l.

O- — B shə'ul [shovel]. — B rat'n [rotten]. O: 529 S bràt'. 531 S daa|ntɛr. 538 B hʊd. 543 B an. 549 B wɛrd. — B hɔs [horse]. 554 B kras, S kraas. — B púʊstiz [posts]. — B *moots* [moths]. O'- 555 HB shœ'u. 557 S tœ'u. — B fɔdhʊr [fodder]. 559 S mɛdhʊr [not with (u₀)]. 560 ES skuul. — B *guumz gumz* [gums]. 564 S sun', ES sun. 566 HB u₀dhʊr. — B blə'uz [blows = blossoms]. O': 571 S gu₀d. — B hɛd [hood, peascods (bii dhʊ *peez* hɛded ?)]. — B rad [rod]. 579 HB ʊnu₀f, ES ʊna'u [not with *f*]. 587 HBS du₀n. 588 HB nœ'un, S nun. 595 B fɛt.

U- 599 HB ʊbu₀v. — B hʊd [wood]. — B drə'uth [drought]. 603 S kamin, ES ku₀min. 605 HBS sù₀n. 606 HB dóuɛr, ES duu'r. U: 612 HB su₀m. 619 B fand [?(fu₀nd)]. — B anfeer, ansantin [unfair, uncertain], anka·qg'ld inpo·sub'l [untangled, impossible]. 626 HB u₀qgri [hungry]. 631 S thazdʊ. 632 HBES u₀p. 634 ES thruu. 636 B fɛrdɛr. — B rə'usti [rusty]. U'- 640 B kjə'u, S kjɜ'u. 641 B hɛs'm)ɛvɛr hə'usum)ɛvɛr [however]. 643 ES na'u. 650 HB ʊbə'ut, ES ʊba'ut. U': 658 S da'un. 663 HBES ə'us', S auz'n [houses]. 666 S u₀zbʊn.

Y: 684 B bɛrdʃ. 685 B radʃ. 689 B bildin bwə'ildin. — B shilf [shelf]. — B faz [furze]. 701 B fast. Y- — B ʊdramd [a-dreamt]. 707 HB thɛrtii·n.

## II. English.

A. 727 B dʃɔm. — B tʃar [a chare]. 737 B míʊt. — B a·kɛrd hɔkɛrd, S ɔkɛrd [awkward]. E. — B zɔd [letter z]. 751 B piirt [as (ɛrlʊks múʊr piirtʊr nar ʊr did) she looks perter = in better health, nor = than she did]. I *and* Y. 758 ES gɛrl. O. 772 B boonfə'ir. — B sə'ʊnd [swoon]. — B mɔrt [mort = many]. 791 S bói. U. — B də'uk [to duck]. — B padin [pudding]. — B tʃuun [tune]. 804 ES dru₀qk'n.

805 B kɜrdz. — B shɛt shɛtɜrz [shut, shutters]. — ES b*u*₀*ti* [butty, companion].

III. Romance.

A·· —S tíɜbl [table]. 811 B pl*éɛ*ɜs, HB pl*éi*s. 813 S bíɜk'n. — B thr*eel* [flail]. 824 B tʃiir. — B pl*eez* [please]. — B *eezi*. — B mɜstɜr [mister]. — B k*oor* [quarry, (as got dhɜ st*w*anz from :hɔrntɜn k*oo*r) we got the stones from Hornton quarry]. — B marvilz [marbles]. — ES tlaas [class]. — B slat, S sl*íɜ*t [slate]. — B saas [sauce]. 865 B faat.

E·· 867 BS t*ee*, S t*ee*₁. — B fitʃ [vetch]]. 878 B salɜr*i*. — B fɛnɜm [venom]. — B tʃar*i* [cherry]. 888 B sartin. — B sarv [serve]. — B mizɜr. 892 B nɛv*i*.

I *and* Y·· — B wedth [width]. 901 S f*ái*n [Wykes, (fa'*in*) Miss Harris]. 910 B dʃə'is.

O·· 916 B ə'*in*jɜn ə'*in*ɜn. — B k*wə*'*in* [quoin=coin]. — B nə'*int* [anoint, thrash]. — B dʃə'*in* [join]. 929 B kjə'*u*kɜmbɜr. 930 B lə'*in*. — B kjə'*u*nt [to count]. — B kjə'*u*nt*i* [county]. — B :hɔr'is [Horace, 'with a rough burring sound']. — S túɜst [toast]. 940 HB k*óu*t. 947 B bə'*il* b*uə*'*il*, S b*ói*l. — B rə'*ut* [rut of a wheel]. 956 B k*i*vɜr. U·· — B dʃuut*i* [duty]. — B tr*i*vɜnt [truant]. — B tʃuulɜp [tulip]. — B pilpit [pulpit]. 970 B dʃest.

## Var. iv. sw.Northamptonshire cwl.

From the following sources :—

A Ashby St. Legers (3 n.Daventry).

Ba. Badby (2 ssw.Daventry) including Daventry and Woodford (6 ssw.D.). Ex. (shènt, ɜdhat'n, wət)s *i* sêi?) shan't, of that kind, what does he say? (*ái* d*u*₀n dhat k*wə*'*it* rəq) I [have] done that quite wrong, (just to *sè eem*ɛn ɛn náu *it*)s aa·mɛn) used to say a-men and now its ah-men.

By. Byfield (7 sw.D.). Ex. (*in* m*i* sɛv'mt*i* t*iu*) in my 72nd year, (a' bì)jɜ? bì)jɜ *in* pr*i*t*i* g*u*d ɛlth?) how are you? are you in pretty good health?

T. Towcester (11 sse.D.) including Helmedon (7 sw.T.), Syersham (6 ssw.T.). A man of 60 says when he was a boy, say 1830, A was called (*ee*).

W. Watford (4 nne.Da.) and Weedon (4 se.D.). A man of 60 who attended school at Whilton (3 sse.Watford) was taught to call A, E (aa, *ee*). One person examined at Watford had (r l) strong.

All from wn. by TH. from natives in 1881 and 1886. The variants were probably due to individual habits, and did not extend over districts.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 W béikt, A b*ee*k bɛ'*i*k [new], bakɜs [bakehouse old], By bíɜk. 4 A t*è*k, By t*é*ɜk. 5 A mèk, Ba m*é*ɜk. 6 By m*é*ɜd. 18 W kj*è*ik, By kj*è*k. 20 Ba l*é*ɜm. 21 T nêim [villages about Towcester say (n*é*ɜm)] ABa n*é*₁ɜm nêim [new]. 23 A sêim sê₁ɜm, By s*é*ɜm. 31 By lêɜt. A: 39 Ba ka'm. 56 A wash. A: *or* O: 60 A l*u*q. 64 TBaBy rəq, W r*u*₀q.

A'- 67 TWBy gu·in g*óu*·in, ABa gôu, By gwêin. 69 Ba nô*u*. 74 T tœ'u, W tíù. 76 ABaBy túɜd. 81 A lɛ''in lêɜn. 82 W w*u*₀ns. 84 W múɜ₁r. 86 A *ó*ɜts *ó*ɜts [new] By w*u*ts. 92 W nô*u*, A n*oo*. 95 By throo. A': 104 A r*oo*d rô*u*d [new] rûɜd, By r*oo*d. — W [between] lêidi lâ'idi [lady]. 115 AT ôɜm, TABaBy òm, Ba ô*u*m [new], By *oo*m. 117 T wə'n, A wòn. 120 By ɜguu. 121 T ga'n. 123 T [between] nothiqk n*u*₀thiqk, W n*u*₀thiqk. 124 A stòn', BaBy stúɜn, By st*w*ən. 125 W *ó*ɜnli.

Æ- 138 TWBaBy faadhɜr. — By ladhɜr [ladder]. 142 By sn*ee*l. — By s*ee*t [a seat]. 152 By waatɜr. Æ: 158 W a₁ɜrtɜ₁r, A artɜr, Ba àtɜr. 161 TW dêi, W dá'i, A dɛ'*i* dii [the last evidently an importation from Le.], Ba d*éi*, By d*ee*. 172 Ba gràs'. Æ'- 190 W kii. 197 ABa tʃiiz. 200 TW wiit [villagers], wéit, ABa wíɜt, By w*ee*t. Æ': 216 A dìl, By dɛ'l. 218 Ba ship. 223 A dhîɜr dhêɜr, Ba dhíɜr dhîɜ₁r, By dhíɜr. 224 By wíɜr.

E- 233 T sp*i*ik [villages about (sp*é*ik)], WABy sp*ee*k. 241 W râ'in, A rɛ'in, Ba

rèn, By *reen*. 243 W plɛ"*i* plêi. 250 W swɛɛ'·ɐr. 251 Ba méit. E: 260 W léiɐrz [layers]. 261 A sɛ"*i*, BaBy *see*. 262 TW wêi, W wá'*i*, A wɛ"*i*, Ba wè, By *wee*. 263 W ɐwêi, Ba aw*ee*. 278 W wɛntɟ [an offensive term]. 280 A lɛv'm. E'- 299 TBy gríin, W griin. 300 ABa kiip. 302 By míit. E': 305 By ə'*i*. 312 T íɐr, By îɐr. 314 W îɐrd, TW ɐrd, By îɐrd.

EA: 324 T á'*i*t, ABa ɛ'it. 326 T ôud óul, BaByW óuld. 334 W àf. 335 W aal. 346 Ba gjêɐt. EA'- 347 T ɛ'd, WBy èd. EA': 350 W dɛ'd. 353 By brɛ'd. 360 ABy tîɐm. 361 BaBy bíɐn, Ba béɐn. 363 ABa tɟɛp. 366 TA gréit, By *greet* grɛt. EI- 373 W dhéi dhè.

EO- 383 T sɛv'n, ABaBy sɛv'm. EO: 395 ByWA *ju*$_{\circ}$q. 396 Ba wɐrk. 402 W lɐrn, By làrn. EO'- 411 T thrii, Ba thr*ii*. — Ba tr*ii* [tree]. 420 T fóɐ, By fóɐr. EO': 425 A [between] láit lóit, By lə'it. 431 TBa bîɐr. 437 TBy trœ'uth. EY- 438 T də'*i*, A d*ai*, By dɑ'*i* də'*i*. EY: 439 W tr*u*$_{\circ}$s)mi [trust)me].

I- 440 W wíik. 444 A [between] stɑ'*i*l sto'*i*l. 446 T nɑ'*i*n n*ai*n. I: 452 TBa *ai*, By ə'*i*. 458 TBy nə'it, W n*ai*t, A [between], n*ai*t nóit, Ba [between] nə'it n*ai*t. 459 A [between] rɑ'*i*t róit, By rə'it. 466 By tɟə'*i*'ld. 469 Ba wil w*u*$_{\circ}$l [will]. — W r*u*$_{\circ}$n [run]. — W dɐrt. I'- — [long *ī* Ba (ɑ'i, *ai*), Daventry (ɑ'*i*)]. 492 A [between] sə'id sɑ'id, Ba s*ai*d. 494 TBy tə'im, A [between] tʌ'im t*ai*m, Ba [between] t*ai*m tə"im. I': 500 TBy lə'ik. 502 W [between] fəə'iv fôiv, By fə'iv. 503 T lə'if.

O: 527 Ba b*a*t. 529 ABaBy brʌ't, By br*ou*t. 531 ABaBy dʌʌtɐr. 532 W kô*u*l, A kəə'*u*l. 543 By a'n. — By A's [horse]. O'- 555 W shuu, By sh*u*. 558 By luk. 559 By mʌdhɐr. 560 A skuul. 562 A m*u*n, BaBy muun. 566 A *u*$_{\circ}$dhɐr. 567 By t*u*$_{\circ}$dhɐr. 568 ABaBy br*u*$_{\circ}$dhɐr. O': 569 BaBy buk. 571 A g*u*d. 586 T dœ'u, W dó*u*nt [don't]. 587 W dòn, Ba d*u*$_{\circ}$n. 588 A n*u*n, Ba nuun. 594 W bœ'ut [occ.].

U- 603 TBy kʌm. 604 A s*u*$_{\circ}$mɐr. 605 T sə'n [and between that and (sòn)] WABy s*u*$_{\circ}$n, Ba [between] sonz sʌnz. 606 T d*ou*ɐ[r dûɐ[r, ByW dûɐr. U: 612 WBy s*u*$_{\circ}$m. — T [between] tomb'l, tʌmb'l [tumble]. 615 W pə'*u*nd. 622 Ba *u*$_{\circ}$ndɐr. 629 By s*u*$_{\circ}$n. 632 By *u*$_{\circ}$p. 633 T kop', WA k*u*$_{\circ}$p, Ba kop k*u*$_{\circ}$p. 636 ABy fʌrdɐr. 639 A d*u*$_{\circ}$st. U'- 640 Ba kjə'*u*z. 641 A ə'*u*. 643 TByW nə"*u*. 648 T ə'*u*ɐ[r, W [between], ɛ'*u*ɐrn, ə'uɐrn. 650 TWBy ɐbə'*u*t. U': 658 TWBy də'*u*n, W dá'ɐn, A dâ'*u*n, Ba dâun. 659 Ba tə'*u*n. 661 A [between] shá'*u*ɐr shə'*u*ɐr. 663 TABy ə'*u*s, Ba á*u*zɐz ə'*u*ziz, By ə'*u*z'n. 666 Ba *u*$_{\circ}$zbɐn. 667 T ə'*u*t, A [between] ə'ut ɛ*u*'t. 668 By prə'ud. 671 W mɛɛ'*u*th.

Y- 677 By drɑ'*i*. 679 Ba tɟʌrtɟ. 682 T lit'l. Y- 707 T thʌr·tii·n. Y': 712 By mɑ'is.

II. English.

A. 726 ABa tʌʌk. I. *and* Y. 758 T gjal, gjɛ[rl [refined]. O. 761 By lûɐd. 767 T nóiz. 791 By bôi. U. 803 A dɟ*u*$_{\circ}$mp.

III. Romance.

A·· — W léibɐr [labour, (r) rather strong]. 811 A plêiziz plévz. 822 Ba m*ei*. — Ba pɛ"*i* p*ee*d. — W plêin [plain]. — A m*u*$_{\circ}$stɐr [master, Mr.]. 848 W tɟéindɟ. 849 T ɟu)m)ɐ stréindɟɐr [you are a stranger]. 851 TW ànt. — W pl*ee*t [plate]. E·· 867 W tii têi, A tii, By t*ee*. 885 By vɛri. — Ba paas'n [parson]. I·· *and* Y·· 898 W nʌ'is, By nə'is. 901 T f*ai*n fə'in. O·· — bif' [beef]. — T *u*$_{\circ}$qk'l [uncle]. 933 A fr*u*$_{\circ}$nt. 940 By kûɐt. 947 By bóil. U·· 963 By kwɑ'it. 970 A dɟ*u*$_{\circ}$s.

## D. 7 = m.BS. = mid Border Southern.

*Boundary*. Start from Little Rollwright, Ox. (19 nw.Oxford). Proceed to the e. to the sw. corner of Np. and continue by the b. of Np. to the b. of Ox., go se., s. and n. by the b. of Ox. round to Iffley (2 s.Ox.). Then pass through Be. to the w. by Kennington,

Wootton, and Appleton to the b. of Ox. Proceed n. by the b. of D 5 through Ox., e. of Witney, w. of Handborough, e. of Charlbury and Chipping Norton, to the starting-point.

At the s. part of the peninsula of Ox. the dialect, however, has become so worn out that no b. can be assigned with certainty, as the district abuts on the metropolitan area.

*Area.* Most of Ox., with a small portion of Be., included in a bay of Ox. This is entirely a region of transition from S. to E. The dial. forms are uncertain, and become practically lost at the s. part.

*Authorities.* See the Alphabetic County List under the following places, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

*Ox.* †Blackthorn, ‖†Ensham, †Freeland, °Fringford, °Greys, ‖†Handborough, ‖Holton, °†Islip, °†Oxford, °Sonning, †Stonesfield, †Tiddington.

*Character.* In contradistinction to D 6, D 7 is very homogeneous. Mrs. Parker (author of the Ox. Glossary and Supplement published by the English Dialect Society) divides D 7 into three principal parts. The first two might be called the Handborough (9 nnw. Oxford) and the Blackthorn (10 ne.Oxford) varieties, forming mid Ox., bounded on the n. by the n. b. of D 7, and on the s. approximatively by a line through Sandford (3 s-by-e.Oxford) and Thame (12 e.Oxford). With these two varieties she was personally well acquainted, being a native of Handborough. Mrs. Parker was kind enough to acquire the use of Glossic, in order to furnish me with information, and to allow TH. to "interview" her, by which means I was able to substantiate the accuracy of her phonetic spelling. TH. also visited Freeland (close to Handborough), and obtained supplementary illustration and confirmation. I give below the cs. and dt. and a number of sentences, evidently recollections of actual speeches heard by Mrs. Parker (sent me in MS., but subsequently printed in Glossic in the Supplement to Mrs. Parker's Ox. Glossary), several of which I add in pal. Mrs. P. considers that the chief differences between these varieties are that Handborough says (bjɛnt, g*wee*n, wɑts, bjɛnz, k*w*ɑt, d*w*ɛnt) ben't, going, oats, beans, coat, don't, and Blackthorn has (bîʊnt, gu·*i*n, ûʊts, bîʊnz, kûʊt, dûʊnt). Now these are only constantly interchangeable forms of the same original for each pair. Ws. áte, oats, becomes regularly (úáts), whence by putting the stress on the first element only (ûʊts), and by putting it on the second only (ŭats, ŭɑts, wɑts). And so for the other forms. Hence the difference is a trifling variety, often found, while there is a substantial identity in this respect, and a real identity in others. The third or s.Ox. variety embraces all the s. peninsula of Ox. between Be. and Bu., with which Mrs. P. was personally unacquainted, but she procured me a dt. from Miss Slade, a schoolmistress at Sonning (4 sw.Henley-on-Thames), and I obtained another from Rev. N. Pinder, rector of Greys (or Rotherfield Grays, 2 w.Henley-on-Thames), neither of which I can fully interpret, but they are sufficient to shew that the speech is a mere variety, differing from the other two mainly in indicating a still further degradation, but

still having an unmistakable S. character. Thus Miss Slade says that in 1880 there might be commonly heard (ʊrə'ut) without, (pûʊst pûʊst*iz*) post-s, (neer'n) ne'er a one, (aatʊrnuun) afternoon, (aasts) asks, (dhiiz iir$_o$, dhat eer$_o$) these here, that there, (hant) have not, (sh*i*p) sheep, (hɔs) horse, etc., of which the first three, at least, are distinctive S. forms, though the rest are familiar in the metropolitan area. And in Miss Slade's dt. she uses (mêʊts, skuuld, ɹendʊr, róʊd, gîʊt, strêʊt, mûʊst, nêʊm, wɑnt) mates, school, yonder, road, gate, straight, most, name, won't, which have the same character. Whether (ʀ) is used I could not determine, but probably it has faded to (r$_o$) or been entirely vocalised. The analysis of (a'i, a'u) could also not be determined. Mr. Pinder wrote *oy*, but as writers of dialect constantly use *oy* for (ái, *á*i, ɑ'*i*), I am very sceptical when I see it. Even in Aylesbury, Bu. (see E div. D 15), where Mr. Fowler said (*ái*), I heard it once only from labourers. The whole e. side of Ox. and w. side of Bu. seem inextricably mixed up, and I have marked the e. b. of Ox. as the b. of the district and group. simply from inability to determine where any change takes place. Mr. Fowler, of Aylesbury, considered the part of Ox. from Deddington (15 n.Oxford) to just e. of Charlton (7 nne.Oxford) to belong to Bu., but the pron. to change at Thame (12 e.Oxford), and the s. peninsula of Ox. to be quite different. It was only an impression, and he was unable to assign his reasons, but this would give Mrs. Parker's Blackthorn variety to Bu. and too much of a S. character to the s. peninsula. It is, however, provoking not to be able to draw a boundary with certainty between dialects so distinct in their development as the S. and E. But it certainly lies between a line on the w. connecting Blackthorn (10 ne.Oxford), Islip (4 n-by-e.Oxford), Holton (5 e.Oxford), and Henley-on-Thames, and a line on the e. connecting Buckingham, Aylesbury, and High Wycombe. From Aylesbury to Islip, the greatest width, is 18m. Rev. C. Coker, of Fringford (16 nne. Oxford), says that he does not consider the difference between Ox. and Bu. at that place sufficient to constitute a different dialect, and certainly the whole e. side of Ox. is much affected by Bu. There is no natural barrier between Ox. and Bu., and the Chiltern Hills pass through both.

*Illustrations.* A cs. and a dt., both from Mrs. Parker, a series of observed sentences written by the same, bringing out the southern character of the dialect very conspicuously, and finally a cwl. furnished by the same lady, with some words noted by TH.

### *a.* Handborough cs.

pal. by AJE. from Mrs. Parker's systematic spelling, assisted by notes, and TH.'s observations.

0. wə'*i* :dʒɔn aant gɔt n*oo* də'*u*ts.

1. wɛl, maa·stʊr, dhii ʊn ii med bwɑth ʊn i laaf ʊt dhis-jʊr niúuz ʊ mə'*i*n, uu kii'ʀz ? dha)s nə'*i*·dhʊr jʊr nʊr dhaar.

2. tɟɛnt mɛn·i mɛn ʊz də'iz kaaz· dhʊ bi laaft ʊt, ɜs nooz, dwɜnt)əs, mʊn? waat shuud meek)ʊm? tɟɛnt vaʀ lə'ik·li, iz it?

3. awɛv·ʊʀ dhis iz ə'u t)wɜz, soo dɟɛst oold dhii nə'iz, ut? maa·stəʀ, ʊn bi kwə'i·ʊt, til ə'i ʊ dɜn. lis·ʊn·

4. ə'i bii saar·tʊn shuu'ʀ ə'i ɟɜʀd)ʊm see—sɜm ʊ dhee fooks uz wɛnt thʀuu ɛv·ri məs·əl an)t fʀəm dhə fɜst dhʊʀsɛ·lvz—dhat)i)did, seef ʊuɜf·—

5. dhʊt dhʊ lit·ʊlɛst bwa'i izsɛ·lf, ʊ gʀɛt bwa'i ʊ nə'in, nood iz faa·dhʊʀz vwa'is dhʊʀɛk·li, dhoo t)wɜz sʊ kwii'ʀ ʊn skwiik·in, ʊn ə'i)d tʀɜst ·ii tʊ speek dhʊ tʀuuth [tʀuuf] ɛni dee, aa, ·dhat)i ·ud, mʊn.

6. ʊn dhʊ ool)d)um·ʊn ʊʀsɛ·lf ul tɛl ɛni)ʊn)i ʊz laafs nə'u, ʊn tɛl)i stʀeet aaf tuu, mʊn, ʊdhə'ut· mɜtɟ tə-duu, if ɟuu)l ɜnli aks)ʊʀ, dɟɛst wɜnt)ʊʀ?

7. ɛni)ə'u ʊʀ tɛld ·ə'i it wɛn ə'i akst)ʊʀ, oo·vʊʀ ʊn oo·və'ʀ ʊgɛn, ʊʀ ·did, ʊn ·ɜʀ did)'nt aat tu be ʀɔq ʊn sitɟ ʊ pwə'int ʊz dhis-ɟʊʀ, waat dɜst ·dhii thiqk?

8. wɛl, ʊz ə'i wʊz ʊ see·in, ·ɜʀ)d tɛl)dhʊ, waaʀ, wɛn, ʊn ə'u ʊʀ fə'und dhat dhaaʀ dʀɜqk·'n bĭɛst ʊz ʊʀ kalz əʀ ɜz·bʊn.

9. ʊʀ swaa'ʀd ʊʀ sin i wi ʊʀ oon ə'iz, lee·in spʀaald aal ʊlɔq·, in iz gud sɜn·di kwɜt, kloos bə'i dhʊ ə'us duu'ʀ, də'un ʊt dhʊ kaaʀ-nʊʀ ʊ dhat leen ɟan·dʊʀ.

10. ii wʊz ʊ win·ʊkin ʊwee· ʊʀ sɛz, mʊn, fʊʀ aal dhʊ wɜʀld lə'ik ə sik tɟə'ild [tɟə'i'ld], ʊʀ ʊ lit·l gjal an dhə gʀiz·'l.

11. ʊn ·dhat ap·'nd əz ·ɜʀ ʊn ʊʀ :tɔmz wə'if kɜm thruu dhə bak ɟaaʀd fʀəm aq·in ə'ut dhʊ wɛt klooz tʊ drə'i, an ʊ wɔsh'n dee,

12. wə'il dhʊ kjit'l wʊz ʊ bwə'ilin fʊʀ tee, wɜn fə'in sɜni sɜm·ʊʀ aaʀtəʀnun ɜnli ʊ wik ʊgoo kɜm nɜkst thɜʀzdi [thɜz·di].

13. an, dust noo? ə'i nɛv·ʊʀ ɟɜʀd nʊ muu'ʀ nʊʀ dhis ʊ dhat biz·nes ɜp tʊ tʊdee, mʊn, ʊz shuu'ʀ ʊz mə'i neemz :dɟən :shɛp·ʊʀd, ʊn ə'i dwɜnt waant tu niidhʊʀ, sʊ dhaaʀ!

14. ʊn nə'u ə'i bi ʊ gweein oom tʊ aa mə'i sɜp·ʊʀ. gud nə'it, ʊn dwɜnt bi in sitɟ ʊ gjal·ʊpin ɜʀi tʊ kɔk-kroo ooʊʀ ʊ bɔdi ʊgjɛ·n, mʊn, wɛn ʊ taaks ʊ dhis dhat ʊʀ t)ɜdh·ʊʀ.

15. t)iz ʊ week fuul ʊz preets ʊdhə'u·t ree·z'n. ən dha)s mə'i laast wɜʀd. gud dee.

*Notes.*

1. *master*, all the *r*'s not preceding a vowel are marked (ʀ), for, although in Mrs. Parker's own pron. to TH. they were nearly evanescent, their existence was clear close to Handborough. Before a vowel TH. observed no cases, nor did he observe any assimilating effect on *t*, *d*, *n*, *l*, producing (ᴛ, ᴅ, ɴ, ʟ). Like JGG. in D 4 at Chippenham, Mrs. Parker considered the (ʀ) to be rather retracted than reverted, and always untrilled, that is, ($r_{\circ}$).

## *b.* Handborough dt.

pal. by AJE. from Mrs. Parker's Glossic.

1. soo ə'i see, meets, ɟʊ siz nə'u ʊz ə'i bi rə'it ʊbə'ut· dhat dhaaʀ lit·l gjal əkɜm·in frəm dhʊ skúuəl ɟan·dəʀ.

2. ɜʀ-z ʊgwee·n də'un dhʊ rood dhaaʀ thruu dhʊ ʀɛd gɟɛt ʊ dhʊ lift aand sə'id ʊ dhʊ rood.

3. *see*f ʊnɜf dhʊ tʃə'*i*'ld)z gaan str*ee*t ɜp tʊ dhʊ dúuʊr ʊ dhʊ rɔq ə'*us*,

4. wɜr ɜr)l vaar lə'*i*k fə'*i*nd dhat dhii'r drɜqk'n dɛf sr*i*vʊld fɛl·ʊ ʊ dhʊ n*ee*m ʊ :tɔm·ɔs.

5. ɜs aal n*oo*z ·ii ve[ʟ*i* wɛl.

6. wɜnt dh)*oo*l tʃap s*u*n laarn ər nat tʊ d*u*)t ʊgjɛn·, puu'r th*i*q.

7. ɔalak! ɔɛnt *i*t truu?

*Notes.*

1. *mate* is often *boy* (bwa'*i*) in the singular, in calling out to several men they would say (ə'*i* see ɔiúu), and not the usual (ɔoo).—*as* and not *that* would be used here, compare the mummers rhyme, where (*i*t) means *yet*, and (ɔɛd) *head*—

(hii'r kɛmz ə'*i*, ʊz aant bin *i*t,
here come I that hasn't been yet,
wi mə'*i* grɛt ɔɛd ʊn lit·'l w*i*t.)
with my great head and my little wit.

—*be* becomes in the negative (bɔɛnt, bɛnt).—*that*, *th* is sometimes omitted from this word, as (at i *ul*) = that he will.—*little* (lii·t'l) = very small.—*girl*, "my wench" is a usual term of affection, "wench," by itself would be offensive.—*yonder*, *yon* is not used.

2. *her*, the (r) is always felt; (shii) is used only as an emphatic objective case.—*agoing*, (əgw*ee*n·*i*n) is also common, especially at Combe and Woodstock, in this district.—*there*, (dhaar, dhɜr, dhii'r) are all used, and similarly (waar, wɜr, wii'r), for where.—*the child's gone*, *'s* means *is*, *has* is not used in the dialect; they say, "*is* gone, *is* come, had went or a-went," this a-(ʊ) is used after *had*, but not after *have*.

3. *been and gone* is frequently used.

4. *shrivelled*, initial (shr-) unknown in this part of the country.—*fellow*, with a strong (r), as (fɛlʊr), is used a little further north and north-east.

5. *we* for *us*, and *us* for *we*, is the rule.—*he*, (ʊn) for *him* and *it* when unemphatic.—*learn*, but (*tee*·tʃʊr) with distinct (r).

6. *thing*, (sam·et, nath·'n, nath·*i*n, nath·*i*qk), etc., are all heard for *something* and *nothing*.

7. (lak, al·ak, dhal·ak, lak) as exclamations for *look there!* but look is otherwise (luk).—*is not*, (ɛnt) is more refined than (ɔɛnt).

## *c.* Handborough Phrases.

All these phrases and many others were printed in Glossic in the Supplement to Mrs. Parker's Ox. Glossary after having been supplied to me in MS.

1. (ə'*i* nɛvʊr wɛnt nuuʊr ʊnə'*i*st)ʊn), I never went no-where near him.
2. (twɜd ɜndʊr ʊ arʊ), toad under a harrow.
3. (dh*i*s biir)z dasht, ʊn ɜr aaləs duu dash *i*t), this beer's dashed [mixed with some of an inferior quality], and she always do dash it.
4. (duu)i kam *i*n, ʊn aa ʊ d*i*sh ʊ t*ee* wi ɜs), do ye come in, and have a dish of tea with us.
5. (aal ə'*i* waants *i*z faar duuz, ʊn faar duuz ə'*i*)l aa, fʊr aal ·dhii ʊr ɛnibodi ɛls), all I want is fair dealings, and fair dealings I'll have, for all thee or anybody else.
6. (:p*u*dni :*u*dʊrd ʊ b*i*n ʊn fɛl ʊpɔn :*tee*pɔt :adʊmz, ʊn i və'*uz* ʊn diklaarz i)l pɔl)ʊn), Puddingy Woodward has been and fallen upon Teapot Adams, and he vows and declares he'll pull him.
7. (*i*f dhii big*i*·nst ɛni ʊ dhə'*i* ɛgr*i*v*ee*t*i*n w*ee*z ɔɜr, ə'*i*)l kat dhʊ kl*ee*n ʊ tuu *i*n dhʊ m*i*d'l), if thou beginnest any of thy

aggravating ways here, I'll cut thee clean a-two in the middle.

8. (bitwiin JUU ʊn ə'*i* ʊn dhʊ gjet pwɜst), between you and I and the gate-post, i.e. between ourselves.

9. (ʊm SEZ ʊm bii), they say they are.

10. (bɜnt)'n ɜp ARTʊr ə'*i*, *ul*)i), push him up after I, will ye?

11. (nɜ dhEn, kjAA, wə)s bin ʊ duu*i*n an, nə'*u* ?), now then, caw [fool], what-hast been a doing of, now?

12. A. (dhii lEn ə'*i* dhə'*i* nə'if), thee lend I thy knife.
B. (dhii *ut*)'nt gi)n ə'i bak), thee wilt-not give-it I back.
A. (ə'*i*)l JET fə'iʊR ʊn flaaR ʊn AAl dhʊ wərld ʊt wɜn mə'uffʊl, *if* ə'*i* dwɜnt), I'll eat fire and flare and all the world at one mouthful, if I don't [a usual boyish asseveration].

13. (dhis grɜ'und)z *in* s*i*tɟ bad ART, tɟEnt n*oo* JUUS ta s*oo* w*ee*t nʊR wɜts, ə'*i* th*i*qks ə'*i* shʊl plant t*ee*tʊrz), this ground [field] is in such bad heart [condition], 'taint [it isn't] no use to sow wheat nor oats, I thinks I shall plant potatoes.

14. (*if* dhi gùst *in* *oo*l :dan'l :kjEz*i*z kl*oo*s, *i*z b*u*l ʊl ərntɟ dhʊ), if thee goest in old Daniel Kearsey's close [field], his bull will horn [toss] thee.

15. (dɜnt stan dhaaR ʊ lo·pʊt*i*n ʊbə'*u*t, sET ʊbə'ut duu*i*n sɜmʊt), don't stand there a-lounging about, set about doing something.

16. (mam ʊn dad), mother and father.

17. *maid-servant* (*if* ə'*i* bjEnt nɜth'n bɜt ʊ sarvʊnt, ə'*i* bjEnt p*w*ə'*i*z'n), if I ben't nothing but a servant, I ben't poison [=an object of disgust]. *boy* (dhat dhʊ b*i*st, p*w*ə'*i*z'n tuu), that thou be'st, poison too.

18. *question*, is she a respectable woman? that is, one above the position of a labourer; *answer* (n*oo*, SƏR, ɜR ENt ʊ r*i*spE·ktʊb'l *u*mʊn, nʊ múʊR nʊR ə'*i* bii, ɜR ɜzbʊn wɜrks ʊt dhʊ *see*m farm ʊz mə'*i*n duu), no, sir, she aint [iz'nt] a respectable woman, no more than I be, her husband works at the same farm as mine do [does].

19. (ə'*i* bi s*i*k ʊn *see*t*i*d w*i* dhʊ verI ·sə'*i*t ʊ wɜrk, ə'*i* aa)nt sET də'*u*n dh*i*s JʊR blES*i*d d*ee*, ʊn mə'*i* bak *ee*ks dɟEst f*i*t tʊ kɜm ʊ)tuu), I be sick and sated with the very sight of work, I have-not sat down this here blessed day, and my back aches just fit [ready] to come a-two.

20. (dh*i*s t*ee* lEvz s*i*tɟ ʊ naast*i* smak *in* dhi mə'*u*th, t)*i*z wɜsʊr nʊR siin*i*), this tea leaves such a nasty smack [taste] in the mouth, 'tis worser nor [worse than] senna.

21. (dh*i*s nA'*i*z *i*z ʊnɜ·f tʊ stɜn*i* ɜn*i*bəd*i*, ə'*i*)d ʊz l*i*v bi ʊt :bEdlʊm ʊz bii JʊR), this noise is enough to stun [s. inf. in *-y*, but used with an object, which is unusual] anybody, I'd as lief be at Bedlam as be here.

22. (mə'*i* *oo*l)d)*w*·mʊn)z ʊg*wee*n tə'*i*·*in* ɜp ·far)mʊ), my old woman 's a-going tying up ·for me [that is, making sheaves of corn into stacks, observe emphasis in *for*, if it had been 'for *me*,' he would have said (fʊR ·ə'*i*)].

23. (ɜ'*i* n*oo*z i WENT rə'*i*t, FUR ʊ SEZ tʊ ə'*i*, ʊ SEZ, "ɜ'*i* ʊ s*i*n ʊ *ee*ndʒ'l," ʊn ə'*i* SEZ, "aav)i faadhʊR?" ʊn ʊ SEZ, "iis," ʊn ə'*i* SEZ, "d*i*d ʊ sp*ee*k tu)i, faadhʊR?" ʊn ʊ SEZ, "iis, mə'*i* WENTʒ, ʊ d*i*d, ʊ SEZ, :dʒ*oo*, ə'*i* WAANTS)i"), I know he went right [that is, to heaven], for he says to me, he says, "I have seen an angel," and I says, "have ye, father?" and he says, "yes," and I says, "did he speak to ye, father?" and he says, "yes, my wench [term of endearment], he did, he says, Joe, I want ye."

24. (ə'*i* AALʊS th*i*qks ʊz rɜ*i*t *i*n b*u*ks ʊn pr*ee*tʒ*i*n, ʊn AAL s*i*tʒ th*i*qz ʊz dhEM bi mENT fʊR dh*ee* ʊz kjaant WɜRk), I always think as [that] writing books and preaching, and all such things as them [those], be meant for they as [those that] can't work [do manual labour].

25. (lEN)s aa)t), let-us have-it.

### *d.* Handborough cwl., Ox.

7 nnw. Oxford, with Freeland, a hamlet of Ensham just s. of Handborough, Islip and Blackthorn. Words generally from Mrs. Parker, but occasionally from TH.

B Blackthorn, wn. by TH. from Mrs. P.
F Freeland, near Handborough, wn. by TH. from Mrs. Waine, Mrs. P.'s mother.
G General in Ox., from Mrs. P.'s lists.
H Handborough, from Mrs. Parker's lists, but by no means exhaustive.
Ha Handborough as noted from Mrs. P.'s pron. by TH.; almost every such word is here noted.
Ho Holton, from Mrs. P.'s glossic.
I Islip, from Mrs. P.'s glossic.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 12 HHa saa. 13 HHa naa. 14 H draad [drawed = drawn, drew]. — gjɛm [game]. 24 HHa shɛm. — F p*i*b'l [pebble]. — H staaR [to stare]. 30 H kjɜR, kíʊR. 33 G rɛdhɛR. 36 H thaa. A: — rɔm [ram]. 43 Ho ɔnd. — Ha kja·s'nt [canst-not]. 54 Ha WAAnt, F WAnt. A: *or* O: 64 Ha rɔq. A'- 67 Ho ʊgù-*i*n, Ha ʊgwɛ́*i*n, ʊgwɛ̂*i*n, F ʊgwɛ̀-*i*n. 72 Ha uu. 76 H twad. 84 G múʊʊR. 85 G súʊʊR. 86 Ho ûʊts, HF wats, HaF wɔts. 89 H b*u*ath, bath. 92 Ha n*oo*. A': 113 H wɜl, ɜl, Ha *ul*'. 115 I ô*u*m, FHa *oo*m. 123 G nath'n. 124 F stwòn, Ho stan. 135 H klaath.

Æ- 138 HI faadhʊR. 148 Ha fà|R. — Ha stà|RZ [stairs]. Æ: 161 Ha I dɛ"*i* FHa d*ee*. 179 F wɔt. Æ'- — G r*ee*tʒ. 183 G t*ee*tʒ. 187 G l*ee*v. 190 Ho k*ee*. 192 HHa mjɛn. 200 Ha wɛ"*i*t, F w*ee*t. 202 Ho ʒ*ee*t. Æ': — Ha mjɜ'd [mead, G]. — F s*i*d [seed]. 214 naarn an ʊm [ne'er a one of them]. 223 Ha dhà|R, H dhaR, dhaR, dhíʊR, I dhíʊR. 224 H WAR, WAR, wíʊR, Ha wà|R.

E- 233 Ha sp*ee*k. — HaG tàR, tîʊRd, tàRd [to tear, teared, tore]. 248 Ha mà|R. — H ljɛz*i*n, Ha lɛz*i*n [leasing = gleaning]. 252 Ha kj*i*t'l. E: 261 Ha s*ee*, sê*i*. 262 Ha wɛ"*i*. 265 Ha str*ee*t. 278 F' wɛn|tsh [perhaps (wɛn|tsh)]. 280 G lɛb'n. E'- 299 Ha griin. E': 306 HaG ɛkth (see p. 119, No. 306). 312 F íʊR. 314 HaF jɜ|Rd. 315 HaF f*i*t'.

EA- — H shɛk, shak [shake, shook]. 319 Ha gjaap. 320 Ha kîʊr. EA: 321 F [(s*i*n) = seen, for have seen, used]. 322 Ha laaf. 323 HaG fə'*u*t. — tʒ*oo*k [chalk]. 333 G kjaaf. — Ha ôltʊR [halter]. — shaR [share]. 345 F dɛɛR. 346 I gjé*i*t, F gjɛt, Ho gîʊt, gj*éeu*t. EA'- 347 Ha jɛ'd.

EA': 350 H djɛd. 352 F rɛd'. 354 G shef. 356 H lɛf, lɛvz. — Ha bjɛm [beam]. — krɛm [cream]. 361 HHaF bjɛnz, Ho bîʊnz. 363 HaG tjɛp. — G *ee*st [east]. 366 Ha grɛt. — H jɛzi [easy]. 371 HHa straa.

EI: 378 HaFG w*ee*k. 382 Ha dhàrn [theirs, G].

EO- 383 G sɛb'n. 384 G ɛb'n. 386 Ha *joo*. EO: 394 HaF jandʊ|r. 397 H suurd. 402 Ha là|rn. 403 H fɜr. EO'- — G *flee* [a flea]. 419 Ha jûʊ|rn [yours]. EO': — Ha *ilt* [held]. 427 Ho bîʊnt [be-not]. 434 HHa bjɛt. 437 Ha trùf, trùth.

EY- 438 Ha də'*i*, da'*i* [marked as lying between them, the first is analogical].

I- 440 Ha wik'. 447 Ha ɜr, ɜ|rn [hers]. — FG p*ee*z [pease]. I: 452 Ho *di*, ə'*i*. — Ha lɛd [lid]. 466 Ha tjə'*i*'ld. 468 G tjildʊrn. 469 H *u*t [wilt], F want. 482 I ɛ)nt [is-not], H bjɛnt, Ha biɛ'nt [probably (bíɛnt) is near enough], Ha jɛnt, tjɛnt. 483 Ha *iz*'n [stated to be general]. 487 H *ist*ʊrd*i*. 488 H *it*. — *tit* [teat]. — sens [since]. I'- — H gii, *gin* [give, given, gave]. — HF *rip* [to reap].

O- — G rat'n [rotten]. O: 531 Ha daatʊ|r. 537 H mə'*ul*d*i* [mouldy]. 538 H *u*d. 543 HaF an. 546 H fɜr, far. 547 G buurd. 549 H úʊrd. 554 G kras. O'- — g*u*m [gum of tooth]. 564 Ha s*u*n'. 568 F bradhʊr. O': — Ha brək [brook]. 586 Ho dûʊnt [don't], Ha dwənt, F dwant [modern (dɛnt)], F d*u*$_o$s'nt, Ha d*u*st [dost]. 587 Ha də'n. 590 H flûər. 592 Ha swà|r. 595 Ha fut', F fət'. — *tu*th, *tith* [tooth, teeth].

U- — *u*d [wood]. 603 HaF kam. 606 FG dûʊr, Ha dûʊ|r. U: — *ul*f [wolf]. — G sha'*ul*dʊr [shoulder]. — ɜndʊrd [hundred]. 623 H fan. — *u*ndʊr [wonder]. 626 Ha ʊ)əqgri' [a hungry]. 632 I əp'. — H mûʊrn [mourn]. — H th*a*st*i*. U'- 643 HaF nə'*u*, F nê*u*. 648 Ha ə'uʊ|rn [ours]. U': 667 F ə'*u*t.

Y- 675 Ha ʊ)drə'*i* [a-dry, thirsty]. 676 B l*ig*, l*ig*stɛr [a lie, a liar]. Y: — sh*i*lf [shelf]. 694 F wark. 700 G was. Y- 706 Ha wə''*i*.

II. English.

A. — kraal [crawl]. — H ɔkʊrd, akw*i*d, Ha akʊrd [awkward, stubborn]. E. — Ha ɛft [to heft, weigh in the hand, from to heave]. I. *and* Y. 756 I sr*i*mps. 757 H tiin*i*. 758 Ha gjal [sometimes (gjərl), Oxford (gərl). O. 778 G ʊfuurd. 791 Ha bwaa'*i*, F b*iwâi*. U. I djəmp.

III. Romance.

A·· 810 I fiʊs. 814 Ha mèsʊntʊr. — G fr*ee*l [flail]. 824 Ha tjîʊr [G]. 835 Ha r*ee*z'n. — H mastʊr [master, Mr.]. — Ho gjalʊp [gallop]. — Ha pant'ni$^{i}$ [pantry]. — Ha A'rtj [arch]. — G kjaar [to carry]. — G kjaa·fɛntʊr [carpenter, Ha (kjaar-)]. 857 Ha kjɛs. — slat [roofing slate].

E·· 867 F t*ee*. — Ha dhʊrɛkl*i*. 872 H tjɛf. — sarv, sar [to serve]. — GHa m*i*zhʊr [measure]. 891 H bîɛst, B fîɛst. 896 HHo b*ee*vʊr.

O·· — Ha biif [beef]. 916 G ə'*i*nʊn. — pə'*i*z'n, p*iwə*'*i*z'n [poison]. 925 Ha vwA''is [mod. vA''*is*]. — G kûʊrd [cord]. — Ha pûʊrk [pork]. 940 Ho kûʊt, Ha kwot, F kwat. — fuurm [form]. 947 Ha bwə'*i*·l*i*n. 955 Ha də'*u*ts. — Ho mav [move]. 956 G k*i*vʊr.

U·· — tr*i*bʊnt [truant]. 969 shúʊr.

## D 8 = s.BS = southern Border Southern.

*Boundaries.* From Reading, Be., follow the n. b. of D 5 through Sr. to Knockholt, Ke., and continue ne. to Gravesend, Ke., then turn w. and follow the s. bank of the Thames back to Reading.

*Area.* Extreme se.Be.; ne.Sr., and extreme nw.Ke., embracing London s. of the Thames and the adjacent suburbs.

*Authorities.* See the Alphabetical County List under the following places, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ° in io.
*Be.* °Hurley, °Hurst, °*Wargrave, †Windsor.
*Sr.* °Chertsey, °Chobham, °Croydon, °Leatherhead.
*Ke.* No information from this very small portion of nw.Ke.

*Characters.* The composite nature of a very shifting population in this district renders the growth of any dialect proper impossible. Still in country places and even in the suburbs of London there is a slight tang of S. speech even if it is limited to using *I be.* At the extreme w. of the district adjoining Ox. the S. character is almost strong. Thus at Wargrave, Be. (5 ne.Reading), T. F. Maitland, Esq., gave me vv. the words:

A- 4 téuk. 21 néum. A': 104 róud. Æ- 142 snɛ'il. 143 tæ'il. Æ: 161 *dee.* E: 261 *see.* — fiild [field]. EA: 346 géut. EO: 394 *i*ndɛn [this is an E form, for (ɹandɛn)]. I: 466 tɹa'*i*ld. I' 492 sa'*i*d. Y- 682 liit'l. A. 737 méut. A: — kəmplæ'int. R is regularly (ɹ). H generally omitted, and also wrongly inserted. *Usages,* I be, her be, I am, I are, we knows-un.

From *Hurley* (9 ne Reading), and hence close to the former place, Mrs. Godfrey, marking the only 'peculiarities' (that is, differences from rs.) she could think of, in a dt. gave me:

A- 21 néum. EA. 346 gíut. EO: 394 ɛndɛn [the (ɹ) is assumed from the neighbouring Wargrave, and the (ɛ) confirms the former (*i*)]. O: 541 wɑnt. U- 603 ɛkamin. A. 737 méuts. I. 758 gæl. *Usages,* I be, housen, Michaelmast, feller.

From *Hurst* (4 e.Reading) the late Rev. R. A. Cameron wrote (1879) with a dt.:

"It is difficult to characterise the genuine dialect of the district. The population is very mixed and migratory. The chief characteristics as they struck me when coming 40 or 50 years ago from Suffolk were (besides the perverse confusions about the aspirates, particularly strong hereabouts), the addition of a short vowel sound to all long terminal syllables, as (méuts, mistéuk, kəmpléunt) [these words were interpreted from Wargrave with (éu), but the last may have been (æ'*i*). It was difficult to see whether Mr. Cameron wrote *äe* or *äi.* TH. heard (tréin, é$_i$it) train, eight, from unknown speakers at Windsor, but these were probably London importations]; the dropping of the initial *w* as (*u*l, *u*mun) wool, wonan, (u ə'*u*ld *u*mun) an old woman; a peculiar sound of the *l*, something like the French *l mouillée* as 'feulld, chiuld' for field, child, but this cannot well be expressed by any combination of letters phonetically." Perhaps he meant merely (ul) as (fíuld tɹa'*i*uld), but the sound may have been possibly been (uɹ). There is no sound of (l) in the modern French *l mouillée,* and hence I have given his own spelling. He wrote long ī as *oi*, which Wargrave shews to be (a'*i*). The following words are taken from the dt.:

A- 21 néum. A: 43 ænd. A: *or* O: 64 ræq [probably an error]. A': 104 róud. Æ- 144 ugi·n. E: 262 wói [written *wäi*, uncertain, might have been (wæ'*i*)]. 265 *stréit.* 266 wæl [doubtful]. EA: 326 a'*u*ld. 346 géut. I: 452 a'*i*. 459 ra'it. 466 tɹa'ild. 469 *u*l [possibly (ul)]. I'- 492 sa'id. O: 541 *oo*nt. O'- 560 skíul [?]. 564 *su*n. U- 603 ɛkamin. 606 dúun. Y- 682 lil ['sometimes,' very doubtful indeed whether used by natives, (la'il) is a N. form]. A. 737 méuts. I. 758 gaɹl [the (ɹ) is assumed from Wargrave, (méid) written *mäid* was said to be commoner]. The rest of the words in the dt. were said to be in rp. *Usages,* I says, I be, she's a goin, bain't, we knows-un, that'en.

The above shews S. in a still moderately active form in Be., but it dies out very rapidly towards Sr., and in Sr. itself the borough

of Southwark and the outlying suburbs seem to have pretty well destroyed all trace of dialect. The following is all the information I could find.

*Chobham* (8 n-b-w.Guildford). An incumbent of 50 years could only give E. 751 (píer$_{\circ}$t), the (r$_{\circ}$) assumed, and the plural *housen*. Neither form is distinctive.

*Chertsey* (11 nne.Guildford). The predecessor of the vicar, that gave me the information, had known the place 70 years, but knew "not one peculiarity in pronunciation."

*Leatherhead* (12 ene.Guildford). Mr. Martel, in writing to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, said: "It is hard to find distinct traces of provincialism of any sort, as the population is so continually changing," but he gave the *usages* I be, I knows, I saw-r-er, drawring, sometimes *in* for *ing* in the participle, I see (not *I seen*) for I saw, and I were, but in no other person. Of these, *I be* is distinctly S., draw-r-ing, etc., is E. Altogether mixed.

*Croydon*. Mr. W. Taylor Malleson, of Duppas Hill, tried hard to find provincialisms in the Board Schools, but was not very successful. These are the most he could discover, and I have not been able to interpret all satisfactory.

A′- 90 to 97, he writes with *a-ow*, which may bear different interpretations, as (éo, ɛ′u, ɑ′o), thus, 93 (snéo, snɛ′u, snɑ′o), and I incline to the second. EA- 319 *géeip*, 346 *géeit* [which are not S.]. E: 260 *tâi*, 261 *sâi* [which I think are not really S. forms, as they seem at first sight, but an exaggeration of the (*léei*, *séei*) that may be heard in ne. London], 285 kriis [a common Londonism]. E′: 306 hə′ith [this is not dialectal, it is a mistaken analogy, and is even heard from educated speakers]. EO′: 436 tríy, 437 tríyth [these seem mistakes for (tríu, tríuth), which are not uncommon; the diphthong is East Anglian]. I: 472 sɛriqk [this is an example of the non-pronunciation of (sh) before (r), and is not distinctive. It is also inconsistent with 654 *shreoud*]. U- 601 sæ′u, 602 fæ′ul [these were written *sä-ow*, *fä-owl*, and were said to resemble (æ-ɔ′u), an unknown combination, but as many dialect writers use *aow* to indicate what has been found to be (æ′u), I so interpret; the sound is, however, not S., but nearest (éu) of Ke., or the E. diphthong. In the same way the long *ī* is said to be (æ′i), a very common sound in London, but decidedly not S., unless occ. for the *ai*, *ay* words which are not contemplated. This (æ′i) is stated to be a favourite sound in Croydon, which is called (:kræ′id′n)]. Again, U′: 654 *shreoud*, 658 *deoun*, 668 *preoud*, look as if meant for (shrĭə′ud, diə′un, priəud), 'the *e* very slight,' which looks like a well-known M. triphthong. O. 769 məjil [this must be an accident, it is not known in any dialect].

The above only betray a very mixed set of speakers. But one observation is to a certain extent S., 608 ɑgli, 697 bɛri, 773 dəqki, 785 pooltri, 934 bə′unti, 935 kuntri, with a clear final (i) not (*i*) or (*i*$_1$). It is, however, not a certain criterion. *Usages*, 'I be agoing' is S., but 'I am,' I are,' also heard, are not so. V and W are said to be properly distinguished.

On the whole, therefore, it must be right to characterise D 8 as a S. dialect almost entirely obliterated by town influences. It forms the s. part of the metropolitan area, or that lying s. of the Thames.

## D 9 = ES. = East Southern.

*Boundaries*. The w. b. is the e. b. of D 5 and D 8 from the mouth of the Adur in Ss. to Gravesend in Ke. The other borders are the sea-coast round Ke. and e.Ss.

*Area*. Almost the whole of Ke., with e.Ss. It was the supposed seat of the Jutes, but the modern speech is a decaying S. form, with the exception of a peculiarity of entirely modern growth, subsequent to A.D. 1340.

*Authorities.* See the Alphabetical County List, under the following places, where * marks vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ systematic spelling, ° in io.

*Ss.* °Ashburnham, †Battle, †Brighton, °*Cuckfield, *Eastbourne, °Etchingham, ‖Leasam, †Lewes, °Marklye, °Possingworth, °Selmeston, °Weald of Sussex.

*Ke.* *Charing, *Chatham, °Denton, *Faversham, ‖Folkestone (fishermen), *Maidstone, °Margate, °Rolvenden, °Shadshurst, *St. Nicholas, *Sheerness, *Strood, °Stoke, °Stourmouth, °Wingham.

*Character.* The general character is that of w.Ss. and Ha., that is that of D 5, only still further decayed. Initial (z, v) seem never to be used for (s, f). The ÆG and EG words have passed pretty well into (ee, *ee*) and in some cases (ii). The (ʀ) remains; I have heard it myself from Cuckfield and Eastbourne in Ss., at Tunbridge Wells and Maidstone in Ke., and have had it indisputably recognised at Possingworth and Marklye (14 wnw. and 15 n.Eastbourne), and in several places in Ke. But it has a tendency to degenerate into the ordinary English vocal *r*, a mere vowel (ə, ɐ) or a buzz ($r_o$), the form that it retains in London. Rev. Mr. Parish (Sussex Glossary) does not notice or apparently acknowledge it at all, using *ar* simply as a symbol for (aa). But Miss Darby, of Marklye, graphically and accurately writes, "The roll of the R is most peculiar, and I never heard anything like it anywhere. It can only be sounded by beginning the sound with the tongue straight," that is, in its usual direct position for the preceding vowel, "and suddenly curling it round so that the underpart of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth," that is, for the consonant itself.

The peculiar character which separates D 9 sharply from the adjoining D 5 and D 8 is the pronunciation of the initial *th* as (d) in *th*is, *th*at, *th*e, *th*ere, *th*eir, *th*eirs, *th*em, *th*en, *th*ese, *th*ose, *th*ey. To these words would probably have been added *th*an, *th*ou, *th*ee, *th*y, *th*ine, *th*ough, *th*us, had they been used in the dialect, but they have not been heard; *than* is always replaced by *nor*, *thou* etc. by *you* etc., *though thus* do not seem to be required at all. Rev. Mr. Parish (Glossary, p. 8) says "the *th* is invariably *d*," this is not the case for the initial *th* of any other words, so far as I can learn. In the middle of words we have *d* in far*th*ing and fur*th*er, but that is common to other dialects. Miss Darby thought she knew it in o*th*er, ei*th*er, nei*th*er, but was not able to verify her supposition when she tried. In Faversham, Ke., however, Mr. H. K.-Hugessen gives (ʊnɜdʊʀ) another. Final *th* in with, smooth becomes *d* before a vowel, as (smuud *it*, w*id* *it*) smooth it, with it, but not regularly, compare (ʊdi·n, ʊdéu·t) within, without. Now here some might suppose we had the desired Jutish peculiarity, but alas! there is no trace of it in Dan Michel, who (see pp. 38–41) had plenty of initial (z, v), which have since his time entirely disappeared. In John Lewis's *History and Antiquities as well Ecclesiastical as Civil of the Isle of Tenet* [that is, Thanet, the ne. corner of Ke.], 2nd ed. 1736, he says (p. 35) that "the English spoken here is generally very good, only the natives in common with the other inhabitants of this part of Kent are used to pronounce the *th* as a *d*, the *o* as an *a*, as *an* for *on* [regular S.],

the *i* as *ee*, as *Deek* for *Dike* [rather (d*i*k) like (d*i*ɫ)], and to say *who* instead of *how* and *how* instead of *who* [the latter not met with]. As for example, *How is dat man dere?* for, *Who is that man there?*" Yet in Thanet at the present day, as among the fishermen at Folkestone, I have not been able to discover a single instance of this use of *d* for initial *th*. But Sir F. Burton (of the National Gallery) informed me in July, 1887, that his housekeeper from the Isle of Thanet has an old uncle about 80, who always says "dat man dere," and knows other old people who do so. Hence Lewis is confirmed, and the disappearance is only recent. In Thanet the watering-places of Margate and Ramsgate might be credited with the restitution of *th*, but this hardly applies to the fishermen of Folkestone.

Another peculiarity has also developed itself, but is disappearing under the influence of education. It is not, however, confined to e.Ss. and Ke., but extends along the e. of England from Ke. through Es. and Sf. to Nf. inclusive, which form what may be called *the Land of Wee*. This is the replacement of (v) by (w), but not conversely. Sam Weller, who spelled his name "with a *we*," and Cockneys are especially credited with the interchange. I have never yet heard (v) used for (w) in good faith, though I have much wanted to do so, but (w) for (v) I have known all my life in Ke. Rev. W. Parish acknowledges it in e.Ss., but Miss Darby does not. Now the late well-known traveller Dr. Beke declared that the Cockneys and the Trasteverini in Rome pronounced German w (bh) in place of both (v) and (w), and that the Cockneys, with whose habits he was well acquainted, did not know when they were saying one or other, because in fact they said something that was neither, but sounded like (w) when (v) was expected, and (v) when (w). Now I am perfectly familiar with (v bh w ŭ), the last being the unstressed vowel diphthongizing with a following vowel. I can readily and easily distinguish in my own and other person's speech *vie* French, *wie* German, *wee* English, *ui* in Italian G*ui*do, *oui* French = (vii, bhii, wii, ŭii, úi). Yet I do not hear Dr. Beke's (bh) from those who use (w) for (v). Mr. H. C. Coote also affirmed that he knew coachmen (*cocchieri*) in Rome to say (ŭEnt*o*) for *vento*. That is possible, but requires investigation. I think, however, that they could not say (wEnt*o*). The English (w) is a peculiar consonant which I do not find in the rest of Europe. The *v* and *w* habits of the fishermen of Folkestone will be especially referred to on p. 143.

Although the dialect is tolerably uniform over the whole district, it will be convenient to separately consider Var. i. e.Ss., Var. ii. n.Ke., Var. iii. e.Ke. including the Folkestone fishermen.

### Var. i. East Sussex Form.

Miss Darby, who lives in a very out-of-the-way place, Marklye, which used to be seven miles from a railway-station till 1880, says, "I feel quite sure in a few years all these old terms will be extinct. A railway has been opened for the last few months within four miles of us [at Heathfield], and already the change is

very great. We have two old men who have worked on the farm in our family for many years, one for forty years. He is of an old superior-family, but cannot read. He said yesterday [dated 15th Oct. 1885] that he was much put out at hearing people talk now, and he could not make out 'high words.' His wife, who is upwards of seventy and able to write, has much disgusted him by buying a dictionary to keep pace with the times. There are not a dozen people left in the parish who speak the real old dialect." Miss Darby's information is checked first by Rev. Mr. Parish, both of them having sent me versions of the dt., and secondly by the wl. vv. given me by two students at Whitelands, p. 134.

## Two Interlinear East Sussex dt.

M. by Miss Anna M. Darby, of Marklye (:mark̩lə'i·) (15 n.Eastbourne), pal. by AJE. from indications.

S. by Rev. W. D. Parish of Selmeston (:simsʊn) (6 esc.Lewes), pal. conjectually from io., for which no indications were furnished either in writing or in his glossary. Only those words which apparently differ from Miss Darby's are given.

1. M *Marklye.* soo ói see, méʊts, jʊ sii nɛ'u dʊt)ʊ bi rɔ'it ʊbɛ'ut
S *Selmeston.* míʊts, jíu ɔ'i)m [bi] bɛ'ut

M dæt-éʊr liit'l gæl ʊkɜ·min from dæt-éʊr skúʊl ɛ'ut jɔndʊr.
S dæt lid'l gɜrl dʊ skuul [omit] jɛndʊr.

2. M shii)z ʊgu·ʊn dɛ'un dæt-éʊr rúʊd déʊr thruu dʊ rɛd géʊt on
S shii)bi gwin dʊ róʊd

M t)ɜdhʊr sɔ'id ʊ)dʊ rúʊd.
S dʊ left haand wee.

3. M shúʊr ʊnɔ·f dʊ tʃɔ'ild bi gaan rɔ'it ʊgin dʊ dúʊr ʊ)da rɔq ɛ'us.
S shúʊr)nɜf 'z- stráit ɜp tʊ)dʊ

4. M wíʊr shi)'l æp tʊ fɔ'in dæt-éʊr drɜqk dɛth srivʊld tʃæp ʊ)dʊ
S wéʊr tʃaans fɔ'ind dæt drɜqkʊn fɛlʊr

M néʊm ʊ :tɔm.
S níʊm :tɔmɔs.

5. M wi aal nooz im vɜri wéʊl [waal].
S aal him wɛri wel.

6. M wúʊnt dʊ óʊld tʃæp súʊn larn ʊr nevʊr tʊ duu ʊt noo
S wɜnt ool tʃɛp sun tiitʃ hʊr nɔt it

M móʊr, púʊr thiq!
S ʊgín, poor

7. M lu·k)i déʊr! bíʊnt ʊt truu?
S [omit] it

*Notes to M.*

1. *I*, at the beginning of a sentence (ɔ'i), and (ʊ) in the middle.—*be*, used, Mr. P. prefers am; *he be* also used.— *little*, Miss D. was surprised at Mr. P.'s (lid'l), which she never heard. Mr. P. says "double *t* is always pro-

nounced as *d*, as liddle for little, etc." Miss D. inquires what becomes of bo*tt*le, wa*tt*le, which are in constant use.

2. *she*, *her* is used for *she* only immediately after a verb, as (did)ʊʀ), *she be gooin*, or *she's a gooin*, optional.—*way*, *w* never becomes *v*.

3. *enough*, with *o* in *cot*.—*straight* = (strévt), but (rɔ'it) is the word that would be used here.—*up*, pr. (ap), but here *agin* = against, *i.e.* towards, would be used.—*house*, the *h* is 'dropped slightly, never put in the wrong place.'

4. *deaf*, Miss D. says, "As regards this word, I consider it a most peculiar thing that it should be called *death*, and it is a very common expression, 'she is troubled with *deathness*,'" so also Mr. P.'s Glossary. Halliwell says it is a Suffolk pron.—*Thomas*, a common name, but always abbreviated.

5. Miss Darby wrote *waal*, which ought to mean (wévl), but as Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen at Faversham said (waal), may have been meant for the latter.

*Notes to S.*

1. *mates*, written *méüts*, similarly par. 4, *name* (níʊm), written *néäm*. Misses Darby, Francis and Sayers have all (nêʊm).

2. *road*, written *róäd*, but Mr. P. may have meant (rúʊd).

4. *chance*, as this is written *chäance*, it ought to be (tjévns), which is unlikely, but I have no guide but Cuckfield 851 (a¹nt), aunt.

## East Sussex cwl.

Those words in which only the ordinary spelling is given in Italics are supposed to be in rp.

C Cuckfield, vv. from Miss Sayers, native, student at Whitelands.

E Eastbourne, vv. from Miss Francis, of London, 8 years at an Eastbourne school, student at Whitelands.

FC Cuckfield, from Archdeacon Fearon, native.

L Leasam, near Rye, from a numbered wl. by Miss B. C. Curtis.

M Marklye, given by Miss Darby, in addition to her dt.

P from Rev. W. D. Parish's *Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect*, conjecturally pal. by AJE. with the help of C and E above.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 CE béʊk. 4 CE téʊk. 5 CE méʊk. 6 CE méʊd. 7 CE séak. 9 FC bihéʊv. 12 CE saar [even without a following vowel]. 17 CE laar [as 12]. 18 [always called biscuit, even a large Christmas cake is called biscuit at E. and Brighton, not at C.]. 20 CE léʊm. 21 CE néʊm. 22 CE téʊm. 23 CE séʊm. 24 CE shéʊm. 33 CE & FC reedhʊʀ. 36 CE thaar. A: 43 CE and, FC an. 44 FC lan. 51 P maan. 56 L wash. A: *or* O: 60 CE *long*. 61 C ʊmɜq, E ʊmɔq.

A'- 67 P ʊgw*ee*'n [a going], ɔ'*i* guuz [I go], CE & FC guu. 70 CE *toe*. 72 CE uu. 73 CE *so*. 76 CE & FC tóʊd. 79 CE óʊn. 80 FC holʊd*i*. 82 P wanst. 83 FC móʊn. 84 CE móʊ)n)dat [more than that]. 86 P wats. 87 CE tl*oo*z. 90 CE bl*oo*. 91 CE mɜ'*u*. 93 CE snɜ'*u*. A': 101 CE óʊk. 102 L ast [inf. and past tense]. 104 FC róʊd. 105 FC róʊd. 106 CE bróʊd. 108 P daf, CE d*oo*. 111 CE *ought*. 115 CE hóʊm. 118 PCE & FC bóʊn. 120 P ʊguu. 122 P naan, CE nan. 124 CE & FC stóʊn. 125 CE *only*.

Æ- 138 P fívdhʊʀ, CE févdhʊʀ. — P laadʊʀ [ladder]. 141 CE névl. 142 CE snévl, L [often (snag) or (sn*ee*) omitting (l)]. 143 CE tévl. 147 bréʊn. — P amets [ants]. 149 CE bléʊz. 152 CE *water*. 153 CE sadʊʀd*e*.

Æ: 155 CE & FC thetɟ. — P aadʊʀ [adder]. 158 FC aatʊʀ. 161 PLM dii. 162 P tʊdii. 166 méʊd. — P wen)as [wain or waggon horse]. 168 P tɔlʊ. — waps [wasp]. — haps [hasp]. 170 CE arvist. 171 *barley*. 172 CE gwas [common]. Æ'- 185 CE *read*. 188 P nakʊʀ. 190 *key*. 197 *cheese*. 199 CE bleet. 200 CE wéʊt. Æ': 203 CE *speech*. 207 CE niidʊ|l [with

an indistinct (l)]. 218 PCE *ship*. 223 CE dhíɐr [(d) not marked in this word]. 224 CE wéɐr. 227 CE *wet*.

E- 231 P dɐ. 232 *break*. 233 *speak*. 234 *knead*. 235 *weave*. 236 *fever*. 239 CE séɐl. 241 CE réɐn, M ríɐn. 243 plée. 250 CE sóɐr [swore]. 251 C miit, E meet. 252 CE *kit'l*. 253 CE *nettle*. E: 261 CE see. 262 CE wéɐɐ. 264 CE éɐl. 265 CE strévt. — f*i*ld [field]. 272 *elm* CE [volunteered that it was (el'm) in Es.]. — P hiin [a hen]. 281 CE lɛnth. 282 CE strɛnth. — mɛsh mash [marsh]. 284 CE thrɛsh. 286 L harrɐ [and so for all words having double *rr*, as *carriage* (karrɐ), that is, very much lengthened (ɐ)].

E'- 290 CE *he*. 292 CE *me*. 293 CE *we*. 294 CE *feed*. 296 P ə'*i* blɛv, E bɐleev, bilɛft [believed], [I believe, parenthetically]. 300 CE kip, kɛp [keep, kept]. 301 CE íɐr. E': 305 CE hâi [?]. 307 CE nâi [?]. 308 CE *need*. 309 CE *speed*. 312 CE jéɐr. 314 íɐd. 315 CE f*i*t. 316 CE nɛks.

EA- — P volɐ [fallow]. 319 FC géup. EA: 323 CE fa'*u*t. 324 CE éɐt. 328 CE *oo*l. 330 CE *oo*l = 328. 333 CE kææf. 334 CE hææf. 336 CE *fall*. 337 CE *wall*. 345 CE *dare*. 346 P gívt, CE & FC gévt.

EA'- 347 CE ɐd. — haafɐr hafɐr [heifer]. 348 ói. 349 CE *few*. EA': 350 CE *dead*. 353 CE *bread* [but (brɛ)n(tjiiz) bread and cheese]. 354 CE *sheaf*. 355 P dɛth, CE dɛf. 356 CE *leaf*. 357 CE *though*. 359 C neebɐr, E níɐbɐr. 366 P gɛrt. 368 CE *death*. 369 CE *slow*. 371 CE strɑar.

EI- 372 CE [not used]. EI: 378 E week. 380 P dɛm. 382 P deerz.

EO- 385 CE *beneath*. 386 CE *too*. 387 CE nuu. EO: 388 FC melk. 394 P jaqɐr [? q], CE jandɐr jandɐr. 399 CE bróit. 400 CE arnest. 402 CE larn. 405 CE arth. 406 CE *earth*. EO'- — CE *flea*. 411 CE *three*. 412 CE *she*. 413 CE *devil*. 414 CE *fly*. 415 CE lói. 417 PCE tjə'u. 420 PE fə'*u*ɐr, C fóɐr. 421 P fanti. EO': 423 CE *thigh*. 424 P braf. 425 CE láit. 426 fóit. 435 CE *you*. 436 CE tríu. 437 CE tríuth. EY- 438 CE *die*.

I- 440 PCE wik. 442 CE *óivi*. 444 CE sto'*i*l. 446 CE nóin. — shiir [shire]. 448 PCE diiz. 449 CE git. 450 CE tuuzd*e*. I: 452 CE ói. 457 móit. 458 nóit. 459 CE róit. 462 CE sóit. 465 CE & FC sitj. 466 CE tjə'ild [?]. 468 CE tj*i*ld'n. — kl*i*m [climb]. 472 CE sriqk. 473 CE bla'in. 475 CE wóind. 476 CE ba'in. 477 fa'in. 478 gra'in. 479 CE wa'in [compare 475]. 483 P hiiz [his, written he's]. 484 CE dis. 485 P sis'l ['the usual pronunciation of thistle,' says Parish], CE th*is*'l. 488 CE jit. — P spɛt [spit]. I'- 490 CE bói. 493 CE dróiv. 494 CE tóim. I': 502 CE fóiv. 503 CE lóif. 504 CE nóif. 505 CE wóif. 506 CE *u*mɐn [(mói *oo*l d*u*mɐn) my old woman = (mói m*i*s*i*s). 511 wóin.

O- 524 CE warld. O: 527 CE *bought*. 528 CE *thought* [often (thə'ut) L]. 529 CE *brought*. 531 CE daatɐr. 532 CE *coal*. 533 CE *dull*. 536 CE *gold*. — krap [crop]. 552 P karn, CE karn. — marnin [morning]. 554 P kras. — CE poostisiz [posts]. O'- 555 CE [(buut) is always used, never (shuu)]. 558 CE *look*. — fɔdhɐr [fodder]. 562 CE muun. 563 CE *Monday*. — ʊ mant [month]. 564 CE sŭn [very short]. 566 CE adhɐr [not (ɐdɐr)]. O': 569 CE *book*. 570 CE *took*. — rad [rod]. 577 CE ba'u. 578 CE pla'u. 579 CE ʊnaf [(ʊnɛ'*u*) not known]. 586 P dóɐnt [don't]. 588 CE níyn [in after*noon*, this is Sf., it was difficult to appreciate]. 589 CE spíyn. 590 CE flúɐr. 592 P suɐr. 595 CE f*u*t. 596 CE r*u*t. 597 CE sat.

U- 600 CE *love*. 602 CE sa'*u*. 605 CE *son*. 606 CE dúɐr. 607 CE batɐr. U: 609 CE *full*. 610 CE *ul*. 611 CE *bullock*. 613 CE draqk. 614 P h*é*ɐnd, CE ɛ'*u*n. — P m*é*ɐnd [mound]. 615 P p*é*ɐnd. 616 CE gra*u*n. 619 CE fa'*u*n. 620 CE gra'*u*n. 625 CE təq. 629 CE *sun*. 631 CE thɐrzd*e*. 632 CE ap. 633 CE kap. — vuɐr [a furrow]. 634 CE *through*. 635 CE wath. 636 CE fardɐr. 639 CE *dust*. U'- 640 CE kjɛ'u [rather rounder, approaching (kja'u)]. 653 CE bat. U': 657 CE brɛ'un. 659 CE tɛ'*u*n. 665 CE mɛ'us. 666 CE azbɐn [but (mɛstɐr) is usual]. 671 CE mɛ'*u*th.

Y- — P hiiv [hive], biiv [beehive]. 676 CE lói. 679 CE tjətj. 682 P lid'l. Y: 689 CE *build*. — P kɛl [kiln]. 690 CE kóin. 691 móin. 700 CE wəs. — P bras'lz [bristles]. 702 P ɐdi·n [within]. 703 P pɛt. Y- 705 CE skói. — P diiv [to dive]. Y': 711 CE liis, L lɛ'usiz. 712 P miis, CE & L mə'*u*siz.

II. ENGLISH.

— P rɔbʊt [rabbit]. 716 P aad'l [stupid], ɛd'l [rotten]. 722 P driin, M drívn, CE drévn. 725 séʊl. — P klaps [clasp]. 737 P mítʊt. 741 CE méʊz. E. — P líʊr [lear, empty]. 752 P piint. I. *and* Y. 756 CE srimp. 758 CE ga'l. O. 761 CE láʊd. 767 CE náiz. 769 C mód, E ma'ul. 772 CE bɔnfa'ir. 773 CE dɔqki. 774 P póʊni, CE pooni. 775 CE *booby*. 778 CE vfúʊnd. 781 CE *bother*. 787 CE sɛ'us. 790 CE gɛ'und. U. — Jaf'l [yuckel or wood-pecker]. — P kwid [a cow's cud]. 799 CE *scull* of head. 800 CE *scull* of boat. 801 CE *rum*. 805 CE *curds*. 808 P pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· — P stéʊb'l [stable]. 811 CE plévs. 812 CE lévs. 813 CE bévkʊn. — P freel [flail]. 822 CE mee. 824 CE tjeejʊr. 826 CE *eagle*. 827 CE *eager*. 828 CE *ague*. — M griin [grain]. 830 CE *train*. — M stiivn [stain]. 834 CE shee. 835 CE rèz'n. 836 CE sèz'n. 845 CE *ancient*. 847 CE deendjʊr. 848 CE *change*. 849 CE streendjʊr. 851 C a'nt. 852 CE eepʊrn. — plívt [plate]. — P ríʊt [rate]. 862 CE séʊf. 863 CE tjéʊf. 865 CE faat. 866 CE *poor*.

E·· 867 CE tee. 868 P djA'i. 869 CE *veal*. — P spaatʊk'lz [spectacles]. — fitjiz [vetches]. — M strivnd [strained]. — M pívn [pain]. 876 CE dévnti. 878 CE sa'lʊri. 879 CE *female*. — JarB [herb]. 887 klandji. 888 sartin. — P sarv [serve]. 890 CE beest biistiiz [beast beasts, observe the change of vowel]. 892 CE *nephew*. 894 CE *deceive*. 895 CE *receive*. I·· *and* Y·· 899 CE *niece*. — vɔ'ilʊnt [violent]. 904 P vɔ'ilet, CE vóilet. 909 CE *breeze*. 910 CE djA'is. 911 CE sɛstʊrn.

O·· 913 kóʊtj. 914 bróʊtj. 915 CE *stuff*. 916 CE injʊn. 918 *feeble*. 919 CE náintʊd [anointed, beaten]. 920 CE páint [a pint pron. in same way]. 925 CE váis. 926 P spɔ'il, CE spáil. 928 CE ɛ'uns. 929 CE kɛ'ukɔmbʊr. 930 CE láin. 935 CE *country*. 939 CE *close*. 940 CE kóʊt. — farm [a form to sit on]. 942 CE batjan. 947 P bɔ'il, CE báil. 948 CE ba'uldʊr ba'uldʊr. 952 kúʊrs. 953 CE *cousin*. 954 CE *cushion*. 955 CE dɛ'ut. 959 CE *convey*. U·· 963 CE kwáiʊt. 965 CE áil. 968 CE áistʊr.

CE *usages*, I are, I're, I be, he be, I were, he do, he didn't ought. *Intonation* drawling.

## VAR. ii. NORTH KENT FORM.

A student of Whitelands, Miss Croucher, a native, dict. to me a dt. for Charing (6 nw.Ashford), but with slight exceptions all recollection of the dialect seemed to have left her. The (r) was quite cockney. It would, I think, be useless to give the test. The Rev. A. E. O. Harris, of Stoke (7 nne.Chatham), also gave me observations on a dt. which shews that very little dialect exists in the Hundred of Loo between the Thames and the Medway, while a settlement of Irish there, about 1845, seems to have much influenced pron. H. stated also that very few people used the few 'provincialisms' he gave. After due consideration I omit these as not sufficient. Rev. C. W. Rolfe, of Shadoxhurst Rectory (4 ssw.Ashford), marks (mêʊts, gæl, kumin, fræm, dʊ, Jændʊr, gu·in, róʊd, déʊr, góʊt, stréʊt, dúʊr, wul, fɛlʊr, nívm, wɛri, wuunt) for mates, girl, coming [very doubtful] from, the, yonder, going, road, there, gate, straight, door, will, fellow, name, very, won't, which are probably correct, but says nothing about (R). These indications are confirmed by Rev. J. W. Ramsay, of Rolvenden (12 sw.Ashford), who, however, also omits to notice the (R). The Isle of Sheppey

has no dialect, as I learned from Miss Lowman, a student at Whitelands, who had travelled all over it and resided there some years. It is a mere soldiers' depôt. Merely therefore glancing at these, I proceed to the best account of n.Ke. pron. I have been able to obtain.

Mr. Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, of Provender, Faversham (8 wnw.Canterbury), a well-known landed proprietor, who had learned the dialect well from his tenants, bailiff and farm-labourers, was kind enough in 1873 to spend many hours on several days in teaching me the pron. of a cs. written by Rev. Henry B. Berin, then of Biddenden (10 wsw.Ashford), to represent the Weald of Kent. This version Mr. Berin kindly supplemented by answering, as well as he could, more than 60 troublesome questions which I sent him, and finally introduced me to Mr. H. K.-H., who was able to give me the pron. of his own neighbourhood, and thus convert the version into one for Faversham. This was at an early period of my investigations, and I was then unacquainted with the S. (ʀ), and consequently confused the *r* with the London (r, $r_{\circ}$, ʁ). In 1880 Mr. H. K.-H., in answer to my inquiries, wrote: "On the whole I should say that the Kentish pronunciation of the *r* is distinct and has a burr," this identifies it with (ʀ), which I have accordingly introduced regularly when not preceding a vowel. When the *r* precedes a vowel, minute examination is required to be sure of the existence of a true (ʀ). I have therefore left the received *r* in those cases. And I have not assimilated the adjacent (t d n l) to (ʀ) as in D 4. After the cs. I give a few phrases which Mr. H. K.-H. dictated to me, and a cwl. containing wd. which he pronounced to me. Without this kindly help from Mr. H. K.-H. and Rev. H. B. Berin, my account of Ke. would have been very imperfect.

### Faversham (8 wnw.Canterbury) cs.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq.

0. d*i*s *i*ʊʀ)z wɐ'*i* :dɟon dúʊnt dé*u*t.

1. waa, m*i*ʊts, ɟu ʊn ii mʊ bóʊth læf æt d*i*s *i*ʊʀ tɟæt ʊv mɐ'*i*n? uu sets ɛn*i* st*u*ʊʀ bi dæt? dæt)s nedhʊʀ *i*ʊʀ nʊʀ déʊʀ.

2. dʊʀ *ee*nt [b*ee*nt] tərb'l mɛn*i* dɐ'*i* kéunt ʊ b*ii*)*i*n lææft æt, wi noo dæt d*i*n ʊ l*i*t'l dúʊnt-wi? wɐ'*i* sh*u*d dec? dæt *ee*nt [b*ee*nt] tərb'l lə'*i*kl*i*, *i*z *i*t?

3. dæt)s é*u* t)*i*z é*u*)evʊʀ, *soo* ɟu dɟest aad ɟʊʀ təq ʊn kiip w*i*st t*i*l ɐ'*i* ʊ dɐn. ərk*i*!

4. ɐ'*i*)ʊʀ sart*i*n shúʊʀ ɐ'*i* *i*ʊʀd ʊm sá*i*, sɐm ʊ dem déʊʀ tɟæps wət ʊ b*i*n thru aal ən *i*t dʊʀsaa·vz from dʊ fərst ənset, dæt ɐ'*i* sart*i*nl*i* dìd,

5. dæt dʊ ɟɛqgest bə'*i* *i*zsaa·f, ʊ griit tɟæp nɐ'*i*n ɟ*i*ʊʀ *oo*ld, n*oo*d *i*z faadʊʀz wɔ'ɪz direkl*i* m*i*n*i*t, doo *i*t wəz so tərb'l k*w*i*i*ʊʀ, ʊn r*i*q*i* lə'*i*k, ʊn ii)l taa)i dʊ tr*i*uth dé*u*t en*i* romænsin en*i* dá*i*, i sart*i*nl*i* wùd.

6. ʊn d)*oo*l *u*mʊn ʊrsaa·f 'l taa en*i* æn ji, dæt lææf né*u* plæmp AAf, dé*u*t no*o* trəb'l, ef ju)l *oo*n*i* aast)ʊr, w*oo*nt)shi ?

7. liistweez shi kep AAl ən tel*i*n æn mii, wen ɜ'*i* aast)ʊr, shi d*i*d —ʊn shi æd'nt AAt tʊ bii fər é*u*t bé*u*t d*i*s íʊr djəb, th*i*qk)sh hæd ?

8. waal ʊz ɜ'*i* wʊz ʊ tel*i*n æn ji, shii)d taa)i rɜ'*i*t AAf, é*u* shi kæm ʊpon d*i*s íʊr drəqk*i*n tjap wət shii)z gət mærid t*u*.

9. shi swúʊr shi ketjt ɜ'*i* æn *i*m ʊrsaa·f lee·*i*n AAl ləq dʊ grə́*u*n *i*n *i*z best k*w*óʊt, tlóʊs ʊg·*i*n dʊ dúʊr ʊ)dʊ hé*u*s, ʊt dʊ fərdʊr iind ʊ dæt éʊr rúʊd.

10. ii wʊz kæri)*i*n ən, sez shii, fʊr AAl dʊ wɜld lɜ'*i*k ʊ æmpʊri tjɜ'*i*l, ʊr ʊ l*i*t'l gæl wət)s b*i*n əpset.

11. d*i*s íʊr hæpt wɜ'*i*l d)*u*mʊn ʊn ʊr daa·tʊr*i*nlaa kæm tré*u*s*i*n kræs dʊ bæk jard, wéʊr dee)d b*i*n hæq*i*n é*u*t dʊ tlóʊz tʊ drɜ'*i* ən wosh*i*n dá*i*,

12. wɜ'*i*l dʊ ket'l wʊz ʊbɜ'*i*·l*i*n fʊr tii, wən b*uu*tif*u*l samʊr æætʊrnuun, wan*i* ʊ wiik bæk kæm thazd*i*.

13. æn, bʊh*oo*·ldji ! ɜ'*i* nevʊr íʊrd taal noo móʊr ʊ dæt *i*ʊr djəb, ʊz shúʊr ʊz mɜ'*i* níʊmz :djæk :shepʊrd, ʊn, ʊnadʊr th*i*q, ɜ'*i* dú*u*nt wənt t*u* *i*t, déʊr né*u* !

14. né*u* ɜ'*i*)l n*i*p AAf wóʊm tʊ sapar. waa, g*u*d nɜ'*i*t, ʊ ʊnɜ·dʊr tɜ'*i*m, w*i*n ʊ tjæp g*i*nz taak ʊ d*i*s, dæt, ʊr t)adhʊr, dúʊnt)i bii *i*n s*i*tj ʊ tərb'l em ʊv ʊ ər*i*i tʊ kæri dʊ swá*i*.

15. *i*t)s ʊ tərb'l s*i*l*i* tjæp wət kiips AAl ən tjætʊr*i*n ʊbé*u*t Aot ɜ'*i* kAAl rændʊm. æn né*u* ɜ'*i* shæ'nt see nʊ múʊr. g*u*d nɜ'*i*t.

*Notes.*

2. *terrible*, the common intensive adj. or adv.—*on account of*, the first and last words omitted.—*din* is *within*, which first assumes the form (ʊdi·n), the (*u*dhi·n) of He.

3. *whisht*, as 'the wild waves whisht,' Temp. 1, 2, 378.

5. *directly minute*, immediately, common phrase in the district.—*though it was so terrible queer, and ring-y like*, and like a ring, *and he)ll tell)ye the truth, without any romancing any day*, romancing; the people are fond of long romance words in this dialect. Observe (sái, dái). Mr. Harris also gave (sái) for Stoke, calling it Greek αι.

7. *She hadn't ought* [ought not] *to be far out about this here job*, [do you)] *think)she had*. The first *had* without, the second with the aspirate.

8. *drunken* (draqkin) is drunking, that is, playing the drunken man, not drunken itself.

9. *further end*, certainly the (d) must have been assimilated to the two (r) as (fərdʊr).

10. *ampery*, a common word in this district, as applied to cheese, mouldy, decayed; to people, weak, bad, sickly. Lewis in his Tenet (Thanet) refers to Ags. ampre (not in Etmüller), which Bosworth cites from the Liber Medicinalis of Baldus, and explains as 'a crooked swelling vein, an herb, sweet marjoram, feverfew;' others conceive it may be the French *empiré*, worsened.

11. *tracing across*, tracking, walking, across, a phrase actually heard.

12. *only*, the word used may, however, be *one-y*, which must have the same meaning.

13. *behold ye !* a common phrase for 'look there.'

14. *dont)ye be in such a terrible hem* [devil] *of a hurry to carry the sway* [victory], hem is clearly a euphemism for devil, deuce, devilish, damn, damnation, etc., *i.e.* exceedingly, it is very [or 'hem'] common in this district.

FAVERSHAM PHRASES from dict. of H.K.-H., Esq.

1. (ɑ'*i* shæl n*oo* d*i*n ʊ lit'l, *i*f ɑ'*i* kiip gw*i*n), I shall know within a little [soon], if I keep going.
2. (noo fARm ʊt AAl), no form at all, common expression, the meaning of which was unfortunately not noted.
3. (*oo*l rEn'ldz), old reynard, (p*oo*p), Guy Fawkes.
4. (d)*oo*l ɜntʒmʊn), the old huntsman.
5. (gu ·æn, w*i*dʒ)*i* !), go ·on, will you !
6. (wAR wɔps prEdʊntl*i*), beware of wasp presently.
7. (thrii jíʊrn aafʊrz), three-year-old heifers.
8. (t*u* drɜqk), to go about as a drunken man.
9. (fɔrnʊl lɑ'*i*z), infernal lies, the first unaccented syllable of a word is frequently omitted.
10. (sɜf*i*n ʊ dæt, nɜthʊn ʊt AAl), something of that, nothing at all.
11. (wɜni wɜns), only once, (tɔ'*i*m ʊn ʊgE·n), time and again, many times.
12. (íʊr stɔpʊr), fox-earth stopper.
13. (j*i*stʊrdee ʊn tɜdhʊrdee), yesterday and the other day, *i.e.* day before yesterday.
14. (i *ee*nt n*oo* k*é*unt t)AAl), he isn't no account at all, *i.e.* he is of no importance.
15. (m*oo*st d*é*utedl*i* duubʊrɔs), most (un-)doubtedly dubious.
16. (*i*z eed iz dæt eed'l), his head is that [so much] addled.
17. (wɔrk*i*n bɑ'*i* griit), working by the piece.
18. (w*i*k*i*t fʊr wæket, tr*i*k ʊn tɑ'i), each=tit for tat.
19. (dóʊn ju *i*ntʊrɜpt saaf), don't you interfere with self.
20. (díʊr ɜrt ʊlɑ'*i*v, s*i*tʒ ʊ ti'k*i*n), dear heart alive, such a ticking.
21. (tætʊr ʊn skæd'l), cross and mischievous.
22. (*i*t)s trɔə, ɑ'*i* t*u*k AAf), it's true I took off=went away.
23. (néu ʊn dEn, néu ʊn tEn), now and then.
24. (*i*t)s pr*i*nt muun lɑ'*i*t), it's print moon-light, *i.e.* sufficient to read print in.

FAVERSHAM cwl.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq., containing almost all the wd. in the cs. and also many others separately dictated.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 tévk. 5 méʊk míʊk. — kríʊd'l [cradle]. — wóʊk [wake]. 17 lAA l*aa*. 19 teʊl. 21 níʊm. 28 héʊr. — wAR [beware of]. 34 lææst.

A: 39 [(kɜm) used]. 43 hæn. 44 læn. 49 hæq. — kæænt [cannot]. 54 wɜnt. 55 *ee*sh. 56 wɔsh. A: *or* O: 58 frɔm. 60 lɔq. 64 rɔɔq.

A'- 67 gu, gw*i*n [going]. 72 uu. 73 s*oo*. 74 t*oo*. 76 túʊd. 82 wɜns. 84 móʊr múʊr. 89 bóʊth. 92 n*oo*, n*oo*d [knowed=knew]. 94 kr*oo*.

A': 102 aast [in infinitive also]. 104 rúʊd. 106 brAAd. — drɜv [I drove]. 111 AAt. 113 d)óʊl [the whole]. 115 wóʊm. 117 wɜn. 118 búʊn. 120 ʊguu. 122 n*oo*n, n*oo*. 123 nɜthʊn. 124 stúʊn. 125 *oo*n*i*, wɜn*i*. 129 gúʊst. 130 bóʊt búʊt. 137 nʊr [unemphatic].

Æ- 138 faadʊʀ. 140 ee'l. 143 téʊl tíal. 144 ʊgi·n. 147 breen. 148 féʊr. — ɛmet [ant]. 149 *blaze*. — hiiz'l [hazel]. 150 liistweez [leastwise]. Æ: 154 bæk. — hæd'nt [had not], hæd, æd [had]. 158 æætʊʀ. 161 dái. 164 mee. 166 meed. 169 wɛn. — wɔps [wasp]. 171 baʀli. 172 grææs. 173 wɔs. 176 æt. 177 dæt. 179 wɔt.

Æ'- 187 *leave*. 182 wee. 190 *key*. 194 ɛni. 195 mɛni. Æ': — spʀɛd [it spread]. 209 nɛvʊʀ. 211 gree. 213 edhʊʀ. 214 nedhʊʀ. — miil [meal, food]. 218 ship. 220 shɛpʊnd [the common word is (lʊkʊʀ), the other scarcely ever heard]. 222 héʊʀ. 223 déʊʀ. 224 wéʊʀ wíʊʀ. 229 bʀɛth.

E- 232 briik. 233 spiik. 234 *knead*. — tʀɛd [tread]. 239 síʊl. 241 riin. 243 plee [occ. (plái) in the pause]. 244 waa waal. 245 míʊl. — hiilin [bedclothes, *i.e.* covering]. 248 *mare*. 249 wíʊʀ. — wiiz'l [weasel]. 252 kɛt'l. 255 wɛdhʊʀ [never heard with a (d)]. E: — wɛb [web]. 259 *wedge*. 260 lee [as a hen eggs], lee·in [laying for lying]. 261 sai, sɛz [says]. — fil [field]. 269 saaf. 271 taa, taal, tɛlin [tell, telling]. 276 thiqk. — iind [end]. 281 lɛnth. 282 stʀɛnth. — nɛstʊ nɛstiz [nest nests]. — sɛt [set]. — bɛst [best]

E'- 290 ii. 293 wi. 300 kiip, kɛp [kept]. 301 íʊʀ. E': 305 *high*. 306 *height*. 312 íʊʀ. 314 íʊnd.

EA- 320 kéʊʀ. EA: 322 lææf. 323 féʊt. 325 *walk*. 326 *oold*. 328 káʊld. 330 aald. 331 swóald. 332 tüòld. 335 aal. 337 *wall*. 338 *kaal*. — sɔlt. — bíʊnd. 340 jaʀd. 342 *arm*. 343 waʀm. — íʊnn [to earn]. 346 gíʊt geet [first most frequent]. EA'- 347 eed. — aafʊʀz [heifers]. 348 a'i. 349 *few*. EA': 350 deed. 355 *deaf* [not (dɛth) as in e.Ss.]. 356 *leaf*. 357 doo. 359 neebʊnwʊd [neighbourhood]. — hiip [heap]. 364 tjæp. — jíʊʀ [year]. 366 griit. 367 thrɛt. 368 dɛth.

EI- 372 [*aye* is not used, but is replaced by *yes*]. 373 dee. EI: 378 wiik. 380 dem, dʊrsaa·vz [their = themselves].

EO- 386 *joo*. 387 nuu. EO: 390 shʊd. — dɔʀk [dark]. 397 súʊnd. 399 fɔʀm [farm]. 402 lɔʀn. 403 fɔʀ. 406 íʊʀ stɔpʊʀ [fox earth-stopper]. 407 faʀd'n. EO'- — flii [flea]. — nii [knee]. — frii [free]. 411 thrii. 412 shi. 416 díʊʀ. — tjɔɔz [choose]. EO': 422 (sik) [usual word for unwell, not used for vomited, which is called (bʀaat ap)]. 430 frin [when used, rarely]. 433 *breast* 435 ju. 436 trɔɔ. 437 triuth. EY- 431 da'i. EY: 439 tʀast.

I- 440 wiik. 446 na'in. 449 git. I: 453 kwik. 456 ef. 457 na'it. 459 ra'it. 463 til. 465 sitj. 466 tja'il. 482 iz. 483 izsaa·f [his = himself]. 484 dis. 485 *thistle*. 487 jistʊndee. — gra'ist [grist]. 488 gɔt [got, past tense]. 489 it. I'- 494 ta'im. 495 wa'in. I': — diik [ditch, dyke]. 500 lə'ik lə'ikli [likely]. 506 umʊn. 509 wa'il. 510 ma'in.

O- 519 oovʊʀ. 522 ap'n. — snúʊʀ [snore]. 524 wald. O: 525 aaf [off]. 531 daatʊʀinlaa. 532 kóʊl. 541 woont. — kwɔlt [colt]. 543 ɔn, ɔnset [onset, beginning], æn [for *of* as well as *on*]. 550 wɔʀd. 551 staʀm. 552 kaʀn. — maʀnin [morning]. 554 kræs. O'- 559 mɔdʊʀ. 562 muun. 564 sun. 566 ʊnɔdʊʀ [another]. 567 t)ɔdhʊʀ. O': 571 gʊd. — ruuf [roof]. 579 ʊna'u. 584 stúʊl. 586 duu dʊ́ʊnt [don't]. 587 dɔn. 588 nuun. 590 flúʊʀ. 592 swúʊʀ. 597 sat.

U- 604 sɔmʊʀ. 605 *son*. 606 dúʊʀ. U: 610 ʊl. 612 sɔm, sɔfin [something]. — tɔmb'l [tumble]. 613 drɔqkin [drunking, acting the drunken man]. 616 gréʊn. 618 wéʊnd [n. and p.p.] zéʊndz [God's wounds]. 625 tɔq. 627 sɔndi. 629 *sun*. — ɔntjmʊn [huntsman]. 631 thazdi. 634 thru. 636 fɔʀdʊʀ. U'- 641 éu, éu)evʊʀ [however]. 643 néu. 650 béut. U': 663 héus. 666 ɔzbʊn. 667 éut.

Y- 674 did [emphatic]. 675 dra'i. 681 bizinis [in three syllables]. 682 lit'l. Y: 692 jɔqgest. 694 wɔʀkin [working]. 695 ɔnk. 701 fenst. 702 din [within], déut [without]. Y- 706 wa'i. Y': 712 miis.

II. English.

A. 716 eed'l. 718 trévd. — tjæt [chat]. 737 míʊt. 741 *maze*. — swái [sway]. 742 liʊzi. E. 751 péʊnt [recovered from sickness].

I. *and* Y. — wip [whip]. 758 gæl. — wist [whisht, quiet]. O. 761

*lúvd*. — dʒɔb [job]. 767 *náaiz*. 774 *pwani*. 776 *gudbɑ'i*. — spúvrt [sport]. — hɑvɐr [technical word in hopping, shaking up the measure to make it look larger]. 721 bɔ'*i*. U. 796 blə*ə*. 798 *kwíur*. — ɐri [hurry]. — *rusht* [to rush, like 105 (aast), the past tense made an infinitive].

III. Romance.

A·· 810 févs. — trévs [trace, track]. 812 tɐ lévs [to lace, beat, drub]. — kɛtʒt [catched, for caught]. — pévl píul [pail]. — pee [pay]. 824 tʒévr. — févl [fail]. — tʒiin, tʒeen [chain]. — evr [air]. 833 pévr. 835 riiz'n. — pévl [pale]. 843 bræntʒ [not used]. — meendʒur. 849 strévndʒer [common word]. 851 æænt. — mɐntʒvnt [merchant]. — mæri [marry]. 857 kévs [often used]. — pææs [pass]. 862 sévf.

E·· 867 tii. — riil [real]. — *kritur* [creature]. 870 b*uu*tif*u*l. 874 riinz [reins]. — skiim [scheme, very common]. — plɛnti [plenty]. — wɛntursum [venturesome]. 885 wɛri [not much used, supplanted by (tɐrb'l) terrible]. — ɐrb [herb]. — klark [clerk]. — tɐrb'l [terrible]. — mæsiful [merciful]. — kɐnsarn [concern]. — fɐrm [firm]. 888 sartin. — rɛzvlʊt [courageous]. — disubil [dishabille, used commonly for any confusion or litter]. 890 biist. 891 *feast*. I·· *and* Y·· 910 dʒɑ'istiz [joists].

O·· 919 ɑ'intmvnt. — dʒɑ'in [join]. 925 wɔ'is. — kéunt [account]. 930 lɑ'in. — stúur [store]. 938 kaarnur. 939 tlóvs. — róvst [roast]. 940 *kwóut*. 941 fuul *fulish* [foolish]. — trɐb'l [trouble]. 942 bɐtʒur. 947 bɑ'il. 950 sapur. 955 dé*ut*. U·· 965 ɑ'il. 969 shúur. — hort [hurt]. 970 dʒest.

*Usages, eent beent*. (éu) falls much into (iu), thou never used.

## Var. iii. East Kent Form.

The Isle of Thanet has had its dialect nearly obliterated. Mr. Basil Hodges, of Vincent, Margate, to whom I was recommended as likely to know, said that *d* for *th* was unknown, though he had heard it from an old man who came from another part of the county. But (miis) mice shewed a remnant of dialect as well as *weal*, *wiolet*, *ile*, *bile*, I adopt his spelling, for veal, violet, oil, boil. Miss Peckham, a student of Whitelands, who had been at a school at St. Nicholas, Margate, did not know *d* for *th*, or *w* for *v*, nor recognise (r), and found the *h* omitted only by old people and not so often wrongly inserted. Her *r* followed London use, even to its euphonic insertion. But she used (ɔ'*i*) for long ī, except in (liis, miis) for lice, mice. U' gave (éu), and O' had (íu) in (spíun, aatvníun, bíuts) spoon, afternoon, boots, to which (tíu) two was assimilated, being confused with (too). Such words as I could get from her are in the e.Ke. cwl. Rev. R. Drake of Stourmouth Rectory, just w. of the river which bounds the Isle of Thanet, says he has never met with so little dialect. He admits *w* for *v* and finds it so general that "children taught to speak correctly are laughed at by their elders" Though he had been 38 years in the locality, the only dialectal words he could remember were (diik) for dyke, and (wæps) for wasp. He had not heard *I are* half a dozen times, and never *I be*. He notices *aint*=isn't, and *lease*=glean, and the common use of *terrible*=very. Mr. Toomer sent me a lw. for e.Ke. and Thanet, which are inserted in the e.Ke. cwl. p. 144. We may pretty well omit ne.Ke. from dialectal regions, though there is still just enough left to shew that it once resembled the rest of Ke.

The next region of e.Ke. consists of the Highlands east of Canterbury, of which the following dt. gives a good idea. The words are added to the e.Ke. cwl. p. 144.

### Wingham dt.

6 e.Canterbury, representing the Highlands of e.Ke., Adisham (6 se.Canterbury), Nonington (7 se.Cant.), Chittenden (8 se.C.), Womenswold (7 se.-by-s.C.), Sibertswold (9 se.C.), Goodneston (7 e.-by-s.C.),and Kearsney (3 nw.Dover) by Rev. F. W. Ragg, who when it was written was vicar of Ratling with Wingham, and became subsequently vicar of Marsworth, Tring, pal. by AJE. from indications and answers to questions.

1. s*óou* *ói* sá*i*, mévts, jé*u* sii né*u* dvt *ói* aar ró*i*t béut dæt l*i*d'l [l*i*lh] gæl kæm*i*n from dv skúvl jendvr.

2. shii)z g*óo*·*i*n dé*u*n dv róvd dévr, thru dv red gévt on dv left ænd só*i*d vv dv wâ*i*.

3. shúvr naf dv gæl vz gə'vn strá*i*t æp tv dv dóvr vv da rəq hé*u*s.

4. wívr shi vl bi ló*i*k to fó*i*nd dæt drəəqkvn def sr*i*vəld felv vv dv né*u*m vv :tomvs.

5. wi aal n*óou* *i*m weri wel.

6. wóvnt dv *oo*l tjæp síun larn vr nət té*u* dé*u* *i*t vgin, púvr th*i*q!

7. l*u*k)i *i*z'n *i*t tríu?

*Notes.*

1. *I*, "somewhat resembling (ə'*i*) and differing from (á*i*)," this points to (ó*i*) or (a'*i*). I have selected (ó*i*) because of the Faversham (ə'*i*).—*are*, "the *r* is full, a good burr, and has its usual effect on the *a*," this points to the (r), lost in Thanet but retained in these highlands. *I are*, rhyming to *fire* (óivr, fóivr), is the regular form, *I am* is sometimes used, *I be* very seldom if ever.—"*liddle* almost *li'l* with a rough breathing before the *l*," which I interpret (l*i*d'l, l*i*lh), though the latter is very strange, still I have *lile lill* given me by others.—*yonder*, "I am not quite sure of *yendĕ*, whether the *r* is sounded at all, but the *ĕ* has the modification which the *r* would give it as nearly as possible."

6. *to do*, written *tĕŏŏ dĕŏŏ*, which might have been meant for (tĭu dıu), as I got *tew* from Denton (7 nw.Dover), and hence within the district, from Rev. C. J. Hussey, who says, "In the hymns the *tew* for *to* strikes my ear, I have noticed it more in singing than in speaking." But Mr. Ragg says, "The ĕŏŏ is like a very short *ou* in y*ou*, ab*ou*t, h*ou*se," and that is explained to be the *e* and *w* in the Welsh Bettws, and hence (é*u*) or (r'*u*). But I believe the sound degenerates into some variety of (y, ə), see Faversham, and may have been originally merely (æ'u), which is apt to generate all these sounds.

### Folkestone.

The Folkestone fishermen are credited with a dialect of their own. So far as pron. is concerned, that is not the case. Mr. R Stead, to whom I am otherwise much indebted, being master of the Folkestone Grammar School in 1880, I asked his assistance. The will of the founder of the school provides for the instruction of sons of poor fishermen, and there are generally six or eight boys there from the houses of genuine working fishermen; and these boys are said to speak the dialect as well as their fathers. By observations on these boys Mr. Stead wrote me the following dt. in Glossic, and

supplemented it by several observations. Mr. Fynmore says: "The fishermen of Folkestone, I understand, are persistent in the transposition of *v* for *w*, and are called old Vills. They talk quick about vat for what, vell, vant, valk, etc, etc." Mr. Stead says: "I can't hear that anybody knows the fishermen by the name of 'old Vills.' I have to-day been listening to the pronunciation of two or three new fisherboys we have, and I can't hear anything but was, we, were, wat=what, etc." But in P.S. he adds, "I have just had communication with a man well acquainted with the town. He tells me that 'Folkestone fishermen are almost universally *credited* with the use of *v* for *w*,' but he thinks they don't 'do it so often as is made out.' Nevertheless, he says you will no doubt 'now and then hear *v*iting (=whiting), *V*ellard (=Wellard, a local tobacconist), etc.' Hence, while *v* for *w* may occasionally occur, it must be rare at least at present, and must be considered still to want satisfactory proof. On the other hand, *w* for *v* is the rule, or, as Mr. Stead says, "very largely if not universally used by the fisherfolk in Folkestone, as in *w*essel, No*w*ember, *W*esta (= Vesta, name of a fishing-boat), *w*alue, etc."

On the other hand, *d* for *th* does not seem to be heard among them, but the reverted (R) was distinctly recognised, although it is not unfrequently omitted to his ears. Not having heard these speakers myself, I do not venture to write (R) initial or to assimilate (t d n) to (R) as (T D N). But I feel tolerably sure that all are used, especially as (L) is particularly recognised. Mr. Stead says he never heard the final reverted (L) so decidedly as among these speakers. "Thus, Bill is (bíuL), or often (béuL), help=(eLp), etc." He finds, also, the long O′ and its cognates have developed not merely into (íu), but (yy), or an approximation to it, and writes (Jy, skyyl, thryy, shyyuR, ty, syyn, dyy, lyk, tryy), for you, school, through, sure, to, soon, do, look, true. Most probably the (yy) is not fully reached, and, as remarked under Faversham, the real sound may be (æ′u). The long I′ he finds most like (ói), as at Wingham, and the long U′ is (éu).

### Folkestone Fishermen dt.

written in Glossic by R. Stead, Esq., pal. by AJE.

1. s*óou* *ói* *sái*, má¹*its*, Jy sii n*éu* dhuT *ói*)m r*óit* ubéut dhet l*it*'L gjɔRL, kɔm*in* from dhu skyyL JandUR.

2. shii)z g*óou·in* d*éun* dhu r*óou*d dh*éiu* thryy dhu red gá¹*it* an dhu left end s*óid* ɔv dhu w*ái*.

3. shyy′uR enɔ·f dhu tJ*ói*LD [tJ*aa*LD] uz gAAn str*ái*t ɔp ty dhu d*óou*uR ɔv dhu r*a*q [raq] é*u*s.

4. w*éiu* shi w*íu*L tJaans ty f*ó*ind [shi'L preps kam ukraa·s] dhet drɔqkun def sk*ini* tJep ɔv dhu ná¹*im* ɔv :t*a*mus [:tamus].

5. wi AAL n*óou* *im* WER·*i* w*éu*L.

6. w*óou*nt dhu *oo*ld tJep syyn tiitJ uR nat ty dyy *it* ugáin, p*úu*u th*iq*!

7. lyk! iz'nt *it* tryy?

*Notes.*

2. *there*, as well as *where, fair, pare, wear*, have the triphthong (éiʊ), as (dhéiʊ, wéiʊ, féiʊ, péiʊ, wéiʊ).

4. *she'll perhaps come across*, is probably the phrase that would be used.

The following cwl. collects the e.Ke. words. The S. dial. has here decayed as much as possible, and has received strictly E. elements, which entirely extinguish the S. as we proceed n. The ES. group is therefore a transition between S. and E., but different from D 7.

## East Kent cwl.

F Folkestone fishermen's dialect, from Mr. Stead, p. 142.
N St. Nicholas, Margate, from Miss Peckham, p. 141.
T lw. sent by Mr. Toomer for in and about Isle of Thanet, known by him to have been used in e.Ke. Although a young man in 1871, he had noticed many changes in his time. Conj. pal. by AJE. from io. He apparently uses *r* as in London *ar or ur* = (aa AA əə), for he writes *dorg* [dAAG] for *dog*.
W Wingham, the words from Rev. F. W. Ragg's e.Ke. Highlands, p. 142.
Rec. spelling and italics denote rec. pron.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 N tee [very long, approaching (téeʊ)]. 12 N saaʊ [with euphonic r before a vowel]. 20 N léʊm. 21 W néʊm, F ná'im. 23 N séʊm. 24 N sheem. 29 W aaʀ ʊʀ. 33 N reedhʊ [occ.]. 36 N *thaw* [with inserted euphonic r]. A: 42 end. 43 W ænd. 55 T ishez. A: *or* O: 58 WF frəm. 64 W rəq, F *raq* raq. A'- 67 W góo·in, N [rec. pr.], F *góou·in*. 69 N *no*. 73 WF *sóou*, N *so*. 74 N tíu. 76 N tóʊd. 84 N móʊn [more than]. 86 N óʊts. 92 F *nóou*. 94 W *nóou*. A': 101 N *oak*. 104 róʊd, F *róoud*. 110 W nət, F nat. 121 W gɔ'ʊn, F gaan.

Æ- 140 N [140–147 rec. pron.]. 142 T snʀg. 144 W ʊgi·n, F ʊgái·n. 153 N sɛtʊdi. — T *pati* [pretty]. Æ: — T wæps wəps [wasp]. 174 T ish. 177 W dʊt [unemphatic], dæt [emphatic]. Æ'- 183 F tiitj. 190 N *key*. Æ': 218 T ship. 223 W déʊn, F dhéiʊ, N *there*. 224 W wíʊʀ, T wéiʊ.

E- 231 W dʊ [weʊk]. 233 N *speak*. 235 N *weave*. 236 N *fever*. 251 N *meat*. 252 N kit'l. E: 261 WF sái. 262 WF wái [in pause (wâi)]. 265 WF stráit. 266 W wɛl, F wéʊl. 272 T ɛlʊm. 278 N [never heard]. — T iinz [ends]. — T mɛsh [marsh]. E'- 293 F wi. 297 W fɛlʊ. E': 314 N íʊʊd.

EA- 319 N *gape*. EA: 323 N *fought*. 324 N *eight*. 326 W *ool*, N *ood*, F *oold*. 330 T *óoul*, N *ood*. 335 W aal, F aal. 346 T góʊt, N *gate*, F gá'it. EA': 352 WF rɛd. 355 WF dɛf. 364 W tjæp, F tjep. 371 T straa. EI: 378 N *weak*.

EO: 388 T mɛlk: 394 W jandʊʀ [? final (ʀ) absent], F jandʊʀ. 402 W aʀn. EO'- 412 WF shii. — T kləivʊ [cleaver]. 413 N div'l. EO': 428 WF sii. 435 W *jéu*, F jy. 436 W tríu, F tryy. EY- 438 N *die*.

I- 442 N ɔ'*ivi*. 446 N nɔ'*in*. — T shíiʊz [shires, applied to the Midland counties]. I: 452 T *ói* [see note to dt.], F *ói*. 459 WF róit, N rɔ'it. 462 N sɔ'it. 465 N sitj. 466 F tjóiʀd tjaaʀd. 469 wíʊʀ. 477 WF fóind, N fɔ'ind. 479 N wɔ'in. 480 WF thiq. I'- 490 N bɔ'*i*. 492 WF sóid. I': — T diik dɔ'ik [ditch]. 500 W lóik. 507 N *umʊn* [old people].

O- 522 N ʌp'n. O: 525 F ɔv. 541 W wóʊnt, F wóoʊnt. 543 W ɔn. — T faak [fork]. — T ɔs [horse]. 554 ʊkraa·s [across]. — T pósst póʊstez [post posts]. O'- 556 W *téu*, F ty. 558 W *luk*, F lyk. 560 W skúʊl, F skyyʀ. 564 W síun, F syyn. O': 579 W naf, F ʊnɔf. 586 W *déu*, F dyy. 589 N spíun. 594 N bíuts. 597 TN sat.

U- 603 W kɜmin, F kɔmin. 606 W dóʊʀ, F dóouʀ. U: 632 W ɜp, F ɔp. 634 W thru, F thryy. U'- 640 N kéu. 643 WF néu. 650 WF béut. U': 658 WF déun. 663 W héus, F éus.
Y- 682 W lid'l lilh, F lit'ʟ. Y: 700 T was wasʊ [worser], N was. 701 TN fɜst. Y': 711 N liis. 712 N miis.

II. English.

A. 722 T driin. — preps [perhaps]. 737 T méʊts, F má'its. E. 749 WF lɛft. I. *and* Y. 758 W gæl, F gjəʀʟ. 760 W sriʊld. O. 770 W :tomʊs, F :*ta*mʊs :tamʊs. U. 804 W drəəqkʊn, F drɔqkʊn. 808 T pɜt.

III. Romance.

A·· 841 F tjaans. — T kaa [carry, or (káu) ?]. 864 T kɔz. 866 W púʊʀ, F púuʊ, N póoʊ. E·· 867 N *tea*. 885 TWF wɛʀi. — T təəb'l [terrible]. O·· 916 T iqʊn. — T fɔdʒ [forge]. U·· 965 T ə'it. 969 W shúeʀ, F shyy'ʊʀ, T síuʊlə'i· [surely]. — T haat [hurt].
T *usages*, he didn't (hadn't shouldn't) ought, Miss for Mrs.—N *usage*, I are.

## D 10, 11, 12 form the WS. or west Southern Group.

*Boundaries.* The e. b. is the w. b. of MS. and the other boundaries are formed by the Bristol and English Channels.

*Area.* The w. portion of Sm., all but the extreme sw. of Dv., all Co. and the Scilly Isles. This represents comparatively recent, and in w.Co. very recent, overrunning of a Celtic language (Cornish or West Welsh) by English. In D 12, w.Co. and Scilly, a true dialect has apparently never been formed.

*Character.* Besides the general S. character with the (ʀ) very strongly developed in the e. but gradually weakening on going w. (till in D 12 the received *r* is perhaps quite established), there is also the striking change of O' into ($yy_1$), closely resembling Fr. (y), which sharply limits this group towards the e.

## D 10 = n.WS. = northern West Southern.

*Boundary.* Taken from Mr. Elworthy's information. The n. b. is the n. coast of Sm., w. of e.Quantockshead (14 nnw.Taunton). The w. and s. b. begins at Comtisbury (14 ene.Ilfracombe Dv. and 2 e.Linton Dv.), and proceeds nearly s. along an affluent of the Lynn R., to Exe Head Hill, Sm., where the affluent rises (14 ese.Ilfracombe). Then passing the head of the Barle R. proceeds to Span Head on the b. of Sm. (14 se.Ilfracombe), then se. to North Molton Ridge (14 e.Barnstaple), and still se. over Molland Down, Anstey's Barrow and Anstey's Hill (all on the watershed at the b. of Sm.), and then turning s. along the high ground to just s. of Tiverton (where it crosses the Exe), of Collumpton (6 ese. Tiverton, and of Kentisbeare (7 ese. Tiverton), and then turning ne. to join the w. b. of D 4 about Otterford (7 s.Taunton), after which the e. b. is identical with the w. b. of D 4 from n. to the sea.

*Area.* The w. of Sm. with a small portion of ne.Dv.

*Authorities.* See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., ‖ systematic, ° in io.

*Sm.* *Bishop's Hull, °Milverton, °Taunton, *Wellington.

*Dv.* ‖*Morebath.

*Characters.* A- (éʊ). A: (æ, a¹). A'-, A': (úʊ, óʊ). AEG. (âi). Æ' (ee) and various. EG (âi). E (e). EL (ɜl). I: often (ə¹). I' (á¹i). O' (yy₁, ᵊᵊ₁). U (ɪ, ʌ). U' (ɛ'u).

Of these the most important are the diphthongs for I', U'. They are both quite different from those of D 4. Mr. Elworthy originally appeared to me to make two forms (á¹i, ə'i) for I', but on the last examination I did not find the separation certain, and the question was which of the two I should adopt. With some hesitation I selected (á¹i), which is transitional to (ái), the Dv. form. This was, however, kept distinct from (âi), in which the first element was decidedly longer and lower than in (á¹i). The (ɛ'u) form of U' was very marked, but did not fall into (æ'u) as in Nf. It is quite distinct from the Dv. (ɔ'y₁), so that it forms another mark of separation between D 10 and D 11.

The vowels (ə¹, yy₁, ᵊᵊ₁) sharply distinguish the dialect from D 4. They are very difficult even to appreciate. The (ə¹) may be considered as (ə) raised towards (i), or (i) degraded towards (ə). Strangers may be content with considering it as (i). Before (l) it seems to be absorbed by the murmur, so that (mə¹lk, sə¹lk) differ little from (m'lk, s'lk). Dr. Murray (Elworthy, Gram. West Sm. p. 113) considers the last to be the exact sound. When I so pronounced the words, Mr. E. said I was wrong. Neither was the word (mə̆lk). I had imagined that perhaps (m'ʟk) might be right, but Mr. E. says he uses (ᵤl) with the tip of the tongue thoroughly against the teeth. I must consider that the correct analysis of this vowel sound has not been reached. It is strangely affected by adjacent consonants. In listening in 1885 to the list of 30 words in Mr. Elworthy's Dialect of West Sm., p. 58, which I had drawn up in 1875, I found the same separation into three parts, resembling (i, ᵊ, u), in all of which Mr. Elworthy and natives reckon only one vowel, except in *milk*, *silk*, where they seem to recognise no vowel at all besides the vowel *l*. The sound occurs chiefly for EO, I.

The vowels (yy₁ y₁, ᵊᵊ₁ ᵊ₁) are quite as difficult to utter, but easier to recognise. They are usually both called "French *u*," but they decidedly reminded me of (y, ᵊ) or Fr. *pu*, *peu*, from which, however, they were clearly distinct, and apparently 'lowered.' To say (tyy₁ bᵊᵊ₁ts) two boots, is a most difficult problem to a stranger, and one he is not very likely to solve.

Judging from JGG.'s experience at Chippenham, Wl., p. 51, I anticipated finding the whole series (T D N L R *s*h *z*h TJ DJ) in this region also. So far as Mr. Elworthy's pronunciation is concerned, this was not the case, as (R) was clear, even when initial, but the other sounds seem to occur only when adjacent to (R), as (ɜRDJ) ridge. When there was merely the separation of two words, as (ʊR də¹d) she did, the (R) does not seem to affect the following letter. When (d) comes before (R), the most natural thing is to say (DR-); but Mr. E. says he feels the tip of the tongue *slide* along the palate from the (d) to the (R) position. On going through the points touched by the palate for (R t d n l) in his pronunciation, (R) was fully reverted and the under part of the tip touched the

highest part of the palate, for (t, d) the contact lay between that and the gums, but nearer to the former, for (n) the contact was on the gums, and for (l) on the teeth. This makes the series (R, t d, n, l). Now Mr. E.'s pronunciation seems to be perfect, and he is really a native, but it is difficult to believe that the peasant himself makes these elaborate distinctions. The sounds uttered by Mr. E. appeared to me to be the same as I produced by using reverted (R, T D, N, L). In particular with (l) I could not in the least produce his effects, but with (L) I seemed to reach them. I have thought it prudent, however, to retain (t d, n l) with their usual coronal values, except when they were acknowledged to become (T D N L) on account of the adjacency of (R). It must be remembered that the distinction (t T, d D) is very slight, and the generation of the peculiar English (t, d) as distinct from the foreign (t d) was probably entirely due to converting reverted (R) into retracted (r), a confusion even now going on. But the existence of alveolar (n) and purely dental (l) seems an entire anomaly in England. Yet it was not new at Mr. Elworthy's last interview with me on 4 Nov. 1885, for I find the same thing noted from him on 22 Nov. 1880, thus in *filth* (fə¹lth) the (l) and (th) were noted as having precisely the same position. Another peculiarity of Mr. E.'s pronunciation was the word *potatoes*, which Mr. E. considered he pronounced (tɑɪ'ʊdiz), whereas Dr. Murray, Mr. Sweet, and myself heard an (r) in place of (d), to my ears the word was (téʊriz). As to *l*, Dr. Murray (in Mr. E.'s *Gram. of W. Sm.*, p. 112) says, "*l* is also often *guttural*, and this is the apparent peculiarity of" such words as bull, pull, full, school, wool, tool, stool, and written (bə₁l, pə₁l, və₁l, shə₁l, ə₁l, tə₁l, stə₁l), etc. On asking Dr. M. in 1885 what he had meant by "guttural *l*," properly (*l*), he was unable to remember, and thought that possibly *guttural* should have been *retracted*, which is more likely.

In 1875 I had drawn up the lists of vowels with examples in Mr. Elworthy's Dial. of W. Sm. from his dictation. Not to be swayed by these, I extracted a large number of them, and made them into the following cwl., and then Mr. E. was kind enough to pronounce every word to me afresh. My impressions were slightly different, but almost the same. This list which follows gives the full characteristics of the dial. to the best of my powers of observation. The sounds (y₁ ə₁ ə¹) were distinctly recognised, as different from (y ə ə), although I failed in imitating and cannot analyse them. The (t d n l) are left as in rs., because, as already stated, I cannot either adopt Mr. E.'s distinctions, or make them always reverted. This is followed by the cs. and some examples from the grammar, while the translation of the first chap. of Ruth will be given with the L. and Ch. versions in the Introduction to L., as it was especially written for this contrast. All of these were revised from dict. in Nov. 1885. Mr. Elworthy's papers already cited have been supplemented by his elaborate *Glossary*, pp. 924, full of interesting matter. His power of imitating peasant speech is most remarkable. His kindness and patience in giving me information are gratefully acknowledged.

## West Somerset cs.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of F. T. Elworthy, Esq., Foxdown, Wellington, Sm., revised from dict. 27 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1885, with a slavishly literal interlinear translation.

0. E'*u* t)*eez* in)s :dʒæn aa)n ʊgAA'ʊt n*oo* dE'*u*tinz lá¹*i*k.
how it)is even)as John has)not got no doubtings like.

1. wəl, faarmʊR :ƎRTʃʊt, á¹*i* təl)e aat t)*eez*. ʒyy₁ ʊn ii, búʊdh *o*)i,
wel, farmer Richard, I tell)thee what it)is. You and he, both of)ye,

m*i*d laafi bE'*u*t dhiʊzh)ʒ*i*R stóʊR ʊ má¹*i*n. yy₁ dʊ kíʊR vʊR dha¹t?
may laugh-y about this)here story of mine. who does care for that?

t)ƎEd)'n n*o* Adz nƎdhʊR wAn wee nʊR t)ƎdhʊR.
it)is)not no odds neither one way nor that)other.

2. dhƎR *i*d)'n vƎRi mƎni m*ee*n dhʊt dʊ dá¹*i* vʊRkéʊ·z dh*e* bi ʊlaa·ft *o*,
there is)not very many men that do die for-cause they be laughed of,

wii dy₁ n*oo* dha¹t d*oo*)n) is? wAAt ə¹z) ʊR vƎR tʊ mévk)ʊm dyy₁)ʊt?
we do know that do)not us? what is)there for to make)them do it?

t)ƎEd)'n vƎRi lá¹*i*k ə¹z ə¹t?
it)is)not very like, is it?

3. E'*u*sƎmdə¹vʊR dhƎ¹sh)ʒƎR)z dhʊ daps *o*)dhʊ kíʊs, *zoo* dhii dʒ*i*s
howsoever this)here)is the daps [turns] of)the case, so thee just

sta¹p dhii RAt'l, óʊl fƎlʊR, ʊn bá¹*i*d stíʊl g*i*n á¹*i*)v ʊfə¹·n*i*sh.
stop thy rattle, old fellow, and abide still against I)have finished.

nE¹*u* aRk, wə¹l)i?
Now hark, will)thee?

4. á¹*i* bi saaRt*i*n shúʊR á¹i ʒƎRD) ʊm zee—zƎm ʊ dh*ee* dhƎR voks
I be certain sure I heard)them say—some of they there folks

wAt w*ee*nt RE'*i*t vóʊR dRyy₁ *i*t AA'ʊl vRʊm dhi vƎRi fƎs dhʊR)*oo*n
what went right fore through it all, from the very first their)own

zƎlz, dha¹t á¹*i* dƎd, saaf anƎ·f,
selves, that I did, safe enough.

5. E'*u* dha¹t dhi ʒƎqgis zə¹n ə¹zƎ·l, ʊ gƎRT bŭói ʊ)ná¹*i*n ʒíʊR *oo*l,
how that the youngest son his-self, a great boy of)nine year old,

n*oo*d dhʊ vA'*i*s ʊ dhʊ faadhʊR *o*)ʊn tʊRæ·kli vʊR AA'ʊl t)wʊz sʊ
knowed the voice of the father of)him directly, for all it)was so

k*w*íʊR ʊn sk*w*i*i*ki lá¹*i*k, ʊn á¹*i*)d wAARn ·ii vƎR tʊ speck tRyy₁
queer and squeaky like, and I)would warrant ·he for to speak true

ə¹ni dee ʊ)dhʊ w*i*k, iis, ʊn ·dha¹t á¹*i* wə¹d.
any day of)the week, yes, and that I would.

6. ʊn dh)*oo*l)d)ɜmʊn ʊrzɜ·l, ɜr ʊl tɜl ə¹ni *o*)i dha¹t bii ʊlaaf*i*n nɛ¹*u*,
and the)old)woman herself, her will tell any of)ye that be a-laughing now,

iis, ʊn tɜl)i rɛ'*i*t ʊn ìn, ʊdhɛ'ut n*oo* bodʊréʊrshʊn, n)if i)'l ɜni
yes, and tell)ye right on end, without no botheration, and)if ye)will only

aks *o*)ʊr, *oo* âi, *oo*)n)ʊr? dha¹t)s aa'ʊl.
ask of)her, oh, aye, wo)n't)her? that)is all.

7. ʊr t*oo*l mi *o*)ʊt ə¹ni)ɛ'*u*, han ái akst)*o*)ʊr, tyy₁ ʊr drii tá¹*i*mz
her told me of)it any)how, when I asked)of)her, two or three times

ɔvʊr, ʊr dɛd, ʊn ·ɜr dɛd)'n aat vʊr tʊ bi ɛ'*u*t pɜn dʒə¹tʒ ʊ dh*i*q
over, her did, and ·her did)not ought for to be out upon such a thing

ʊz dhíʊzh)jɜr, waat)s ·dhii dh*i*qk *o*)ʊt?
as this)here, what)dost thee think of)it?

8. wɜl, in)s á¹i wʊz ʊtɜlin *o*)i, ɜr)d læt)i nóo ɛ¹*u* ʊn
well, even)as I was a-telling of)thee, her)would let)thee know how and

wéʊr ʊn w*ee*n ʊr vɛ¹*u*n dh*i*ki drɜqkin t*ú*ʊd waat ʊr dy₁
where and when her found that drunken toad what her do

kaal [kjaal] ʊr méʊn.
call her man [husband].

9. ʊr z*w*éʊrd ʊr zid)'n w*ee* ʊr *oo*n á¹*i*z ʊlâ*i*d aa¹ʊl ʊstratʒt ɛ'*u*t
her sweared her see'd)him with her own eyes laid all stretched out

ty₁ ʊz və₁l lɛqkth pʊn tap ʊ)dhʊ grɛ'*u*nd w*ee*)ə¹z gəə₁d zə¹ndi
to his full length upon top of)the ground with)his good Sunday

k*ú*ʊt ɔn, dʒə¹s ap ʊg*i*·n *o*)dhʊ d*ú*ʊr *o*)dhʊ ɛ'ʊz, dɛ'*u*n dhɜr
coat on, just up against the door of)the house, down there

tʊ)dhe kaandʊr *o* dh*i*ki dhéʊr léʊn.
to)the corner of that there lane.

10. dhɜr ʊ waaz ʊwá¹*i*nin ʊwee, ʊr zɛs, dʒe¹s dhʊ vɜri séʊm)zs
there he was a-whining away, her says, just the very same)as

thaaf ʊ wʊz ʊ tʃíʊl ʊtə₁kt bæ'ʊd, ʊr ʊ l*i*d'l mâid aza'ʊt ap
though he was a child tooked bad, or a little maid set up

in ʊ jɛt.
in a heat.

11. ʊn dha¹t dhɜr apt dhʊ vɛri séʊm tá¹*i*m)z ɜr ʊn ʊr daartʊrlaa
and that there happed the very same time)as her and her daughter-in-law

wʊz ʊkamin in drʒyy₁ dhʊ bak kóʊrt [ki*ú*ʊrt] aadʊr dh*ee*)d
was a-coming in through the back court after they)had

ʊb*i*n ʊ)æqin dhʊ wɛt klóʊz vɛr tʊ drɛ'*u*·i, pɜn a waarshin dee.
been a-hanging the wet clothes for to dry-y, upon a washing-day.

12. séʊm tá¹*i*m dhʊ kə¹t'l wʊz ʊ bŭó*i*lin pɜn dhʊ vá¹*i*ʊR vʊR t*ee*,
same time the kettle was a boiling upon the fire for tea,

wʌn fá¹*i*n bʀá¹*i*t zɜmʊR ʌʀdʊʀnə*ə*₁n on*i* ʊ w*i*k ʊgʌn kʌm
one fine bright summer afternoon only a week ago come

nɛks dhɜzdi.
next Thursday.

13. ʊn, də¹z dhi n*oo*? á¹*i* nə¹vʊR laʌʀn, wʌn mʌʀs'l biit m*óo*ʊR)n
and, dost thee know? I never learned one morsel bit more)than

dh*i*sh)jɜR kʊnsa·ʀnin dha¹t dhéʊR bə¹zn*i*s tə¹l ə¹z móʊʀnin, *zoo*
this)here concerning that there business till this morning, so

sh*ú*ʊR)z má¹i néʊm)z :djæn :shə¹pʊR, ʊn wʌt)s m*ú*ʊR, á¹*i* d*ó*o)ʊn
sure)as my name)is John Shepherd, and what's more, I do)not

wʌnt ty₁ nɜdhʊR, dhéʊR nɛ¹*u*!
want to neither, there now!

14. ʊn *zoo* á¹*i* bii gŭ*ee*n *ó*ʊm vʊR tʊ æ'ʊ mi sɜpʊR [t)æ)mi)sɜpʊR].
and so I be going home for to have my supper [to)have)my)supper].

gə₁d ná¹*i*t)i, ʊn d*oo*)n)i bii *zo* k*wi*k, má¹*i*n, vʊR tʊ kʀ*ó*o *ó*vʊR
good night)to)thee, and do)not)thee be so quick, mind, for to crow over

ə¹ni bʌdi ʊgíʊn, hʌn ɛni bʌd*i* dʊ tʌʌki *o* dhíʊz ʊʀ dh*i*ki ʊʀ
any body again, when any body do talk-y of this or that or

t)ɜdhʊʀ dh*i*q.
that)other thing.

15. *ee* mʌs bi ʊ aavə₁l fɜlʊR vʊR tʊ pʀ*é*ʊti ʊdhɛ¹*u* t ʀá¹*i*m ʊʀ ʀ*ee*z'n.
he must be a half-fool fellow for to prate-y without rhyme or reason.

ʊn dh*i*sh)jɜr)z mə'*i* làs wɜʀd. gə₁d bŭá¹*i*)t)i.
and this)here)is my last word. good bye)to)thee.

The three specimens which follow are borrowed from Mr. Elworthy's *Grammar of the Dialect of West Somersetshire*, 1877, pp. 96 and 99, where they are presented in glossic. They have been pal. by AJE. and, as before stated, revised with Mr. E. In the translation letters and words in *Italics* are either supplementary or explanatory, and the translation itself as before is slavishly literal.

## Specimens.

A genuine yarn taken down by Mr. Elworthy from a peasant's dictation.

:lA¹ʊrd :pAApʊm.

1. *á¹i* spúʊz jy₁)v ʊjɜrd bɛ'*ud* dhʊ gɜrt *oo*k'n trii ap tʊ :wɜ·*lí*tʊn :park :ə₁d, wat dh*ee* jyy₁z tʊ *zee* :lA¹ʊrd :pAApʊm wʊz ʊkɜ·ndjʊrd inty₁?

2. wɛl, d*óo*)ʊn i zii, ap dhéʊr, jy₁ n*oo*, zʊr, dhʊr)z ʊ gɜrt dip bA'dʊm gəə₁z dɛ'*u*n zʊ dip)s dhʊ táʊʊr, mâ*i*n stíʊr lá¹*i*k in)s mə¹d *zee*, séʊm)z dhʊ zá¹*i*d gw*ee*n ap *ó*v'r :wɜl*i*tʊn :íʊl, ʊn dhíʊzh)jɜr *oo*k'n trii, ii waz ʊ tɜr·əb'l gɜrt trii sh*óo*ʊr nɛf, i waz, ʊn i gróʊd in dhʊ zá¹*i*d *o* ʊn, ʊn dh*i*ki plévs ez ʊkAal :wə¹lskʊm bAadʊm.

3. jy₁ má¹in dhʊ púʊr *oo*l :tAm :aalw*ee*, d*óo*)ʊn i, zʊr? dhat)s dhʊ *oo*l :tAm :aalw*eez* faa·dhʊr, jʊ n*oo*, zʊr, ʊlp dr*oo*d)ʊn, ʊn w*ee*n dh*ee* dr*oo*d)ʊn, nif i dɛd)'n tɜrn r*ee*t tap)'m tâ*i*ʊl—iis sh*óo*ʊr, ʊn dhʊ *ee*d *o* ʊn wʊz r*ee*t dɛ'*u*n ʊndʊr, ʊn dhéʊr i bá¹*i*d.

4. ʊn dh*ee* wəz aal *o*)'m ʊfíʊrd vʊr tʊ gə₁ ʊníʊs)'n, ʊn dh*ee* zɛd ɛ'*u* in)s ʊ wʊz ʊkɜndj'rd n*oo*·badi kə₁d)ʊn nə¹vʊr drɜg)ʊn ɛ'*u*t; ʊn dhéʊr i bá¹*i*d.

5. ʊn tʊ laas, á¹*i* w*ee*nt ap, kɜz dh*ee* zɛd dhʊ A'sez)ʊd sh*óo*ʊr tʊ bi ʊkíʊld, w*ee* t*ee*n aaks'n, ʊn á¹*i* itjt ʊm ap ty₁ ʊn, ʊn dhʊ bɜliks pə₁ld)an ɛ'*u*t, ʊn drɜg)ʊn intʊ dhʊ æqin kl*o*z.

6. ʊn á¹*i* nə¹vʊr zid nóoʊrt ʊn dh*ee* wʊz aal *o*)ʊm ʊwA'*i*tin ʊn ʊlə₁kin in)s á¹*i* shə¹d ʊbə¹·n kíʊld, ʊn kaalin *o* mi ʊ fə'₁ʊl vʊr tʊ gə₁, bʊd á¹*i* nə¹vʊr zid nóoʊrt, nit-n*oo*badi t)aal.

Lord Popham.

1. I s*u*ppose you've a-heard *a*bout the great oaken tree up to Wellington Park *W*ood, w*h*at they use*d* to say Lord Popham was a-conjured into?

2. Well, don'*t* *ye* see, up there, you know, sir, th*e*re's a great deep bottom = *ravine* goes down so deep)as the tower, main steer = *steep* like, even)as *one* may say, *the* same)as the side going up over Wellington *H*ill, an*d* this)*h*ere oaken tree, *h*e was a terrible great tree sure *e*nough, *h*e was, an*d* *h*e growed in the side o*f* *h*im = *the ravine*, and this place is a-calle*d* Wilsc*o*mbe bottom.

3. You min*d* = *remember* the poor = *deceased* old Tom Alway, don'*t* *ye*, sir? that's the old Tom Alway's father, you know, sir, *he* help*ed* to throw = *fell* *h*im = *the tree*, an*d* w*h*en they throwed-*h*im, an*d*-if *h*e did'n*t* turn right top-on-tail = *head over heels*—*y*es sure, an*d* the *h*ead o*f* *h*im was right down under, an*d* there *h*e bide*d* = *remained*.

4. An*d* they was all *of-th*em a-feared for to go a-nighe*st-h*im, an*d* they said *h*ow e'en-*as* *h*e was a-conjured nobody could'n*t* never drag-*h*im out; an*d* there *h*e bide*d*.

5. An*d* to = *at* las*t*, I went up, *be*cause they said the *ho*rses)*would* sure to be a-killed, wi*th* ten oxen, an*d* I *h*itched *th*em up to *h*im = *the tree*, an*d* the bullocks pulled-*h*im out, and dragged-*h*im into the *h*anging close.

6. An*d* I never seed = *saw* noughrt, an*d* they was all o*f-th*em a-waiting an*d* a-looking even as I should a-been a-killed, an*d* calling o*f* me a fool for to go, but I never seed = *saw* noughrt, no*r-y*et nobody-*a*t-all.

7. ʊn JY$_1$ nóoʊz :wɑl·it'n :pɑʀk E'*uz*, dóoʊn i, zʊʀ? á$^1$*i* má$^1$*in* hɑn á$^1$*i* JYY$_1$Z tʊ liv dhɜʀ, ɑpʊm dhʊ gjɑʀʊt, dhʊʀ wʊz ʊ pléʊs dhéʊʀ dh*oo* lá$^1$*i*k ʊ *oo*v'm lá$^1$*i*k.

7. And you knows Wellington Park house, don't *ye*, sir? I mind *when* I used to live there, up)on the garret, there was a place there then like a oven like.

8. ʊn á$^1$*i* zid zʊm bə$_1$ks· w*ee* reedin in)ʊm in ʊn, ʊn dh*ee* zɛd dhàt wʊz :lɑ ʊʀd :pɑɑ·pʊmz bə$_1$ks ʊn dh*ee* zɛd E'*u* ʊ méʊn w*ee*nt ɑp ʊn zɑɑt ʊstrá$^1$*i*d pʊn dhʊ ʀəə$_1$f w*ee* ʊ bá$^1$*i*'b'l, in)s ·ii mə'd)'n kɑɑʀ)'n ʊw*ee*·.

8. And I seed some books with reading in-*them* in *him* = *the oven*, and they said that was Lord Popham's books, and they said *how* a man went up and sat a-stride *upon* the roof with a bible, e'en-*as he* = *the devil* might'n*t* carr*y*-*him* = *the roof* away.

9. iis! ʊn t)eez ʊ tɜʀ·ʊb'l *oo*l E'*u*·z)ʊʀ, bʊd á$^1$*i* nə$^1$vʊʀ dɛd)n zii n*oo*bɑdi dhéʊʀ n*oo* wə's)'n mizɜl, in)s mə$^1$d z*ee*.

9. Yes! and *it*-is a terrible old house-sir, but I never did'nt see nobody there no worse-*than* myself, e'en-*as one* might say.

10. E'*u*ʊmə'vʊʀ á$^1$*i*)v ʊJɜ·ʀd ʊm z*ee* E'*u* dhʊ saa·ʀvʊn tʃàp wʊz gw*ee*n vʊʀ tʊ læt E'*u*t dhʊ ak·ni aadʊʀ)z méʊstʊʀ)d ʊkəmd A'm vʊʀm mɑʀkʊt, ʊn dhʊʀ wʊz ʊ méʊn ʊstə$_1$d in dhə gíʊt w*ee*, ʊn i kəd)'n *oo*p'm)ʊn.

10. Howsomever I've a-heard *them* say, *how* the servant chap was going for to let out the *hackney* = *hack* = *horse*, after-*his* master-*had* a-come*d* *home* from market, and there was a man a-stood = *standing* in the gateway, and *he* could'nt open-*him* = *the gate*.

11. ʊn hɑn dh*ee* tə$_1$k)ʊn tʊ dyy$_1$'in næks mɑ'ʊʀnin, vʊʀ kɑɑz i æd)ʊn ʊpɜt E'*u*t dhʊ ɑɑs, dóo)ʊn i zii z'ʀ? ʊ zɛd, s)ii, E'*u* ʊ kə$_1$d)ʊn pɜt)ʊn E'*u*t, kɜz dhʊʀ wʊz ʊ méʊn ʊstə$_1$d ʀ*ee*t in dhʊ gíʊt w*ee*, in)s i kə$_1$d)'n *oo*·p'm)ʊn, ʊn dh*ee* ɑɑ·vis JYY$_1$Z tə z*ee* E'*u* dh*e* ɑɑ·vis kʊnsə$^1$dʊʀd dhàt dhéʊʀ wʊz :lɑ'ʊʀd :pɑɑ·pʊm.

11. And *when* they took-*him* to doing = *took him to task* next-morning for cause *he had'nt* a-put out the *horse*, don't *ye* see, sir? *he* said, *said-he*, *how he* could'n*t* put-*him* = *the horse* out, *be*cause there was a man a-stood = *standing* right in the gate way as *he* could'n*t* open *him* = *the gate*, and they *al*ways used to say *how* they *al*ways considered that there was Lord Popham.

The following was taken down by Mr. Elworthy from the dictation of the carpenter himself.

Dh)*oo*l fɜlʊʀ ʊn dhʊ kɑɑfin.

The old fellow = *devil* and the coffin.

1. dɛd JY$_1$ n*oo* dh)*oo*l :næn :skɔt, zʊʀ? mɑɑs ə$^1$vʊʀi bɑɑdi wʊz ʊfíʊʀd *o* ɜʀ, kʊz dh*e* n*oo*d E'*u* ɜʀ kɜd ɔ́vʊlə$_1$k)ʊm nif ʊʀ wə$^1$d.

1. Did you know th*e* old Nan Scott, sir? *Al*most every body was a-feard *of her*, *be*cause they knowed *how her* = *she* could overlook them = *cast an evil eye on them* and-if *her* would.

2. wɑl, á$^1$*i* méʊd dhe kɑɑfin vɑʀ)ʊʀ, ʊn sʊ tʀyy$_1$)z á$^1$*i* bi Jɜʀ, t)wʊz dʃə$^1$st ʊkɑm wi æd'n ɑɑl *o* əs ʊbə$^1$n ʊkíʊld.

2. Well, I made the coffin for *her*, and so true-*as* I be *here*, *it*-was just a-come = *it had almost happened it was a mere chance* we *had*'nt all of us a-been a-killed.

3. t-wʊz sʊ fáin ʊ d*ee*)z ə$^1$vʊʀ JY$_1$ zid, ʊn dhʊ zə$^1$n)'d ʊbə$^1$n

3. *It*-was so fine a day)*as* ever you seed = *saw*, and the sun-*had* a-been

ʊsh*ee*nin sʊ bʀá¹*i*t)s ə¹n·idh*i*q, hʌn dʒə¹s in)s wi wʊz gw*ee*n in tʊ dhə tʒʌʀtʒ dúʊʀ, dhʊʀ kʌmd ʊ vláʊʀsh ʊ l*ee*t·nin fə¹t tʊ téʊʀ ʌp dhʊ vʌʀi stóʊnz, ·æn w*ee* dhʊ séʊm dhʊ thʌndʊʀ bʌst ɛ'*u*t lá¹*i*k ʊ kæn·ʊn.

4. wʌl, hʌn wi kʌm tʊ pʌt ʊʀ in dhʊ kiʊv nif dh)*oo*l méʊn wʌd'n ʊtʌʀnd ʀe*e*t ʀɛu'n. á¹*i* n*oo* ʊ wʌz, vʊʀ á¹*i* ʌlp pʌt)'n)in.

5. *oo*! wi n*oo*d wʌt t)wʌz ʊd ʊdy₁d ʊt. wi n*oo*d vʌʀi wʌl dh)*oo*l fʌlʌʀ)ɒ ʊbə¹n dhéʊʀ lʌʌq w*ee* ʊn. tʀy₁)z ʒy₁ bi stænin dhéʊʀ!

a-shining so bright)*as* anything, *w*hen just e'en)*as* we was going in to the church door, there comed a flarsh of lightning fit to tear up the very stones, and *emphatic* wi*th* the same the thunder bu*r*st out like a cannon.

4. Well, *w*hen we come = *came* to put *h*er in the cave = *vault*, *and*)if the-ol*d* man = *her husband long since dead* was'nt a-turned right rou*nd*. I know he was, for I help*ed* put)*h*im)in.

6. Oh! we knowed w*h*at *it*)was *h*ad a-do*ne*ɒ it. We knowed very wel the ol*d* fellowʀ-*h*ad = *the devil had* a-been there *a*long with him. *It's as* true-*as* you be stan*d*ing there!

The reason that a respectable washer-woman gave the "parson" for having married a disreputable husband.

d*oo*)n i zii, zʊʀ, á¹*i*)d ʊgʌ't sʊ mʌtʒ wʌ'ʊʀshin, ʊn á¹*i* wʊz ʊfúʊs tʊ z*ee*n ʊt ʌm, ʊn if á¹*i* æd)'n ʊ)éʊd ·ii, á¹*i* mʌs ʊ b*oo*ʊt a dʌqk.

Don'*t* *ye* see, sir, I'd a-got so much warshing an*d* I was a-for*ced* to sen*d* it *h*ome, an*d* if I *h*ad'nt a-*h*ad He, I mu*st* *have* bought a donk*ey*.

## West Somerset cwl.

Made up from the lists in Mr. F. T. Elworthy's Dialect of West Somerset, which had been made by him and AJE. jointly in 1875, revised so far as these especial words are concerned and pal. from dict. of Mr. Elworthy in 1885 by AJE.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 béʊk. 5 méʊk, mɛk. 6 méʊd. 8 aav, æ'ʊ [see Mr. E.'s W. Sm. Grammar, p. 57]. 12 zaa. 18 kíʊk. 19 téʊl. 20 léʊm. 22 téʊm. 23 séʊm. 24 shíʊm. 32 béʊdh [intrans.], baadh [trans.]. 35 nʌʌl [an-awl, n from the art.] 36 dhʌʌ [intrans.], ʌʌndhʌʌ [trans.]. 37 klʌʌ. A: 41 dhæqk. 43 æn, éʊn [emph.] 44 læn. 46 kæn'l. 49 æq, ʊæ·qd, ʊa·qd [to hang, hanged, hung]. 56 wʌʌʀshi [intrans.].

A: *or* O: 58 vʀʌm. 59 là¹m. — ə₁'m [womb]. 60 lʌq. 61 mæq ʊmæqst. 64 vʀʌq, vʀæq. 65 zʌq. 66 dhʌq. A'- 67 gə₁, g*w*een [going]. 69 nʌʌ n*oo*. 74 tyy₁ 76 túʊd tóʊd. 77 lʌ'ʊʀd. — v*oo* [foe]. 81 léʊn. — zə₁p, z*w*ip [sweep]. 84 múʊʀ móʊʀ. 85 zúʊʀ. 86 wɛts wə¹ts. 87 klóʊz kloz. 89 búʊdh bə₁dh. 90 blʌʌ. 92 nóʊʊ [(sn*oo*) dost know?]. 93 snooi, zn*oo*. 95 dʀ*oo*. — ó*o*ʊʀt [aught], nó*o*ʊʀt [naught]. A': 102 a¹ks. 104 ʀhúʊd. 105 ʀhʌd. 109 lʌʌ. 111 ʌʌf [+t before vowels], ʌʌt. 113 wol. 115 A'm. 117 wʌn wæn wə₁n uun [acc. to circumstances]. 118 bʊ́ʊn. 120 ʊgʌ·n. 124 stʊ́ʊn stʊ́ʊn st*oo*. 125 ʌnl [emph. (ʌnli) singular]. — ʀhʊ́ʊp, ʀhɒp [rope]. 126 óʊʀ. 127 óʊz. 129 gʊ́ʊs [+t before a vowel] g*o*st. 130 bʊ́ʊt bóʊt. 131 góʊt. 132 A't. — ʀhyy₁ [row of hay]. 136 ʌʀ [or].

Æ- 138 faadhʊʀ. 140 hâiʊl. 141 nâiʊl. 143 tâiʊl. 146 mâin [adv. = very]. 147 bʀâin. 148 féʊʀ. — jamʊt [emmet, ant]. 149 bléʊz. — *see*t [a seat]. 153 zædʊʀdi. Æ: 154 ba¹k. 155 dha¹tʒ. 158 aadʊʀ aatʊʀ

[occ. (ARDER)]. 160 eeg. 161 dee. 166 mâid. — ɜlth [health]. 169 hɜn [but (ween) emph.]. 170 ARES. 174 ARsh. — VREEdh [to wreathe], VREth [a wreath]. Æ'- — REetɟ [to reach]. — leetɟ [leech]. 184 leed. 185 RheeD. 187 lɛf læf [both inf.], vlæ·f [left]. 189 WA'ï. 190 kee. 192 meen. 193 klíen [adj.], kleen [adv.]. 194 ə'ni. 200 weet. — JEth [heath]. 202 JET JIT JƏ'T. 203 speetɟ. — míed [mead], midɛ [meadow]. 205 DRæd. 207 nîvl. 208 ə'VER. 210 klâi. 213 ɜdhER. 214 nɜdhER. 217 eetɟ. 218 ship. 219 sleep zlíep. 223 dhéER. 225 vlARsh. 226 MAAS [(móes múes) almost]. — vræs'l [to wrestle]. 227 wə't. 228 zwET. 229 bRæth.

E- 233 speck. 235 weev. 236 feeVER. 238 ædɟ. 239 sâivl. 241 RhâIn. 243 plâi. 244 wɜl. — wə'lɛ [willow]. 248 méER. 250 zwéER. — eet [eat]. 251 meet. 252 kə't'l. 253 nə't'l. — VEDhER vædhER [feather]. 255 wædhER. — bædER [better]. E: 256 stRa'tɟ. 257 ædɟ. — beed [bed]. 262 wee. 264 âivl. 265 stRâit. 266 wɜl. — vivl [field]. 269 zɜl. — twɜlv [twelve]. 271 tɜl. 272 ɜlem. 273 meen [but (méen) man]. 278 WAntɟ. — in [end]. 280 læb'm. — een [hen]. — peen [a writing pen, (pá'in) a cattle pen]. — dræsh'l, dræks'l [threshold]. 285 kris [pl. (kristez)]. 286 AREE. — bæs [best]. E'- 290 ì [emph.] — sik zik [seek]. 295 BARD. 296 bleev. 297 fɜlER. 300 kip [colloquially (kip)]. 301 JAR. E': 305 á'i. 306 á'ith. 309 spid. 312 JAR. — giz [geese]. 316 næks.

EA- — shíep [to shape]. 319 gíep gap gjap. EA: 324 âit. 333 kaav kjaav. 324 aav aaf [(ât'mjàf) half and half]. 335 âvl A'vl. 336 vaal VAAl. 337 waal WAAl. 338 kjal. — AAvis [always]. — bíERD [beard]. — ARD [hard]. 343 WARm. 345 déER. 346 gívt. EA'- 347 eed. 348 á'i. 349 vyy$_1$. EA': 350 deed. 351 lə'd. 352 Rhe'd, ɜRD, ɜRDnis [redness]. 353 breed BARD. 354 shîf shîv. 355 dîv. 356 lîv. 357 thAAf, AAf. — kREem [cream]. 361 bíen. 363 tɟip. — ìp [a heap]. — JAR [year]. 366 GART. 367 dræt. 368 dæth. 370 RhAA. 371 stROO. EI- 376 bA'it. EI: 378 week. EO- 383 zæb'm. 386 JOO. 387 nyy$_1$. EO: 388 mə'lk. — sə'lk [silk]. 389 JUk. 390 shəə$_1$d [emph.] shə'd [unemph.]. 392 jə'n. 393 bijə'n. 397 zúERD. — fARMER. 402 lARN. 403 vAR. 405 JEth. 406 æth. — zə'stER [sister]. — fARD'N VARD'N. EO'- — lyy$_1$ [lee, shelter]. — drì. — vlì [to fly]. 415 lá'i. krop [to creep]. — vRiz [to freeze]. 419 JóER [emph.]. 420 váuER [(fáuER) emph.]. 421 fARTi. EO': 422 zik. — RhID [a reed]. 423 dhá'i. 425 leet. 426 feet. 428 zì. 430 fREEn. — dip [deep]. 435 JYY$_1$. EY- 438 dâ'i. EY: 439 trə's.

I- 440 wik. 441 zìv. — liv [to live]. 443 VRá'idi. 446 neen. — iis ees [emph.], JæS [fine but common]. 448 dhees. 449 gə't. 450 tyy$_1$zdi. I: — dhARD [third]. 456 if nìf. 458 neet. 460 WA'it. 462 seet [large number] zeet [vision]. 465 dɟə'tɟ dɟe's dɟe'sh. 466 tɟívl. 469 wə'l [will], wə't [wilt thou]. — shin [shin]. 472 shRiqk zhRiqk. 473 bleen blá'in. 475 win. 476 bá'in. 477 vâ'in. 479 wâ'in. 480 dhiq. — skin [skin]. — shə'p [ship]. — ARN [to run]. 482 id'n ə'd'n [is not, common], ɛd'n [is not, emph.] 483 ə'z [(iz) emph.] — fish vish [fish]. 488 it. — vrit rit [a writ]. zə'nz [since]. — spə't [to spit]. I'- 490 bá'i. 493 dREEV. — shin [to shine]. 496 â'iER [subs.] â'iERN [adj.] 498 VRá'it. 499 bit'l. I': — ditɟ [ditch], dik [dyke]. 500 lá'ik. 502 veev vá'iv. 503 lá'iv. 504 neev ná'iv. — stə'f [stiff]. 505 wá'iv. 506 ɜmen. 507 wə'min. — âi [hay]. 508 má'ivld. 509 wá'ivl. — wit [white adj.], wá'it [pigment subs.].

O- — smook [smoke]. 523 hop. 524 WARD'L. O: — VRAG [a frog]. 525 oof [off]. 526 kAAf. 527 bóvt. 528 dhAA'vt. 529 bRaat. 531 dARTER. 532 kool kAAl. 533 dɛl. 535 voks. 536 gúvl gool. 544 'n [than], dheen [emph. in that case], dhoo [at that time]. — shóER [ashore]. 546 VAR. — VARK [a fork]. 547 báERD. 548 vóERD. 549 wóURD [but in composition as 'to hoard apples,' that is, to store up, (WARD)]. 550 WARD. — váuth [forth]. — MARnin [morning]. — AAS [horse]. 554 kRAAS. — PAAS [gate post]. — pávst [letter post]. — móvt [mote]. O'- 555 shyy$_1$. 556 tyy$_1$ [emph.]. 557 tyy$_1$ [in addition], tɛ [even when emph. meaning to an excessive degree]. 558 lə$_1$k. 560 skə$_1$l. 561 blə$_1$m. 562 mə$_1$n. 563 mɜndi. 564 zə$_1$n [but (zə$_1$nDER, zə$_1$ndist) sooner, soonest]. O': 569 bə$_1$k. 570 tə$_1$k 'ɛtə$_1$kt) taken]. 575 stə$_1$d. 576 weenzdi. — RhAV RhyyF [roof]. — bá'u. 578 plE'u [in com-

position as plough-horse (plɛ'u)AAS), but the common word for plough is (zúvl)]. — ak [hough]. 583 tə₁l. 584 stə₁l. 586 dyy₁. 589 spəə₁n. — gəə₁z [goose]. — bazvm [bosom]. 593 mas. 595 vəə₁t. 596 rəə₁t. 597 sat.

U- 599 vbəə₁·. — əə₁d [wood]. 601 vá¹uvl. 602 zá¹u. 603 kam [emph.] — kruum [crumb]. 607 badvr. U: 608 agli. — zúvl [Ws. sulh, a plough, see 578]. 610 ə₁'l. — pə₁l [to pull]. 611 balik. 612 safin [something]. 614 ɛ'un. 615 pɛ'und. 616 grɛ'und. 617 zɛ'un. 619 vvɛ'u·n. — andvrd [hundred]. 627 zandi. 631 dhazdi. 632 ap. 634 dryy₁. — thasti [thirsty]. 635 wɛth [(wɛthlis) worthless]. 636 vandvr. 639 dá¹ust)á¹uz [dusthouse, chaffhouse, but only in this sense, dust is otherwise called (pə¹lɛm)]. U'- 640 kɛ'u. 641 ɛ'u [however is (wə¹vɛr)]. 647 ɛ'uvl. 648 áuvr. 649 dhá¹uzɛn. 650 bɛ'ut [but (bɛ'ud) before a vowel]. 652 kəə₁d. 653 bad [before a vowel]. U': 654 shrɛ'ud. 655 fá¹uvl. 656 rhəə₁m. — dham [thumb]. 657 brɛ'um. 658 dɛ'un. 663 ɛ'uz [(ɛ'uz'l) household]. 665 má¹uz. 666 azbvn. 667 ɛ'ut. 668 prɛ'ud. 670 bəə₁dh. 671 má¹udh. 672 zɛ'udh.

Y- 674 dɛd dy₁d. 676 lá¹i. 681 bə¹znis. 682 lid'l [but (nit'l) is commonly said to children]. — eev'l [evil]. Y: 685 ardj. 689 bivl [(bə'lt) built]. — vali [follow]. 690 ká¹in [+d before a vowel]. 691 máin [+d before a vowel]. 692 jaqgis. 697 bari. 699 vrá¹it. — arnvt [hornet]. 700 wɛs [used also for worst before a consonant, +t before a vowel]. 701 fas [+t before a vowel]. 703 pə¹t. Y- 706 wá¹i. — dreem [to dream]. — deev [to dive]. — kit [a kite, (vazkit) furze-kite or falcon]. Y': — fə¹lth [filth]. 709 vá¹ivr. — vliz [fleece].

## II. English.

A. 713 bévd. 718 trévd. 738 prévt. — tévdi [potato, heard by AJE. and others as (tévri), p. 147]. E. — walth [wealth]. 750 bá¹ig. I. *and* Y. 754 peeg. 756 shrə¹mp zhrə¹mp. — wə¹p wup [whip]. 758 gard'l. O. — daag [dog]. 791 bwói. U. — kwid [cud]. 796 blyy₁. — anty₁ [unto]. 805 kridz [this form always used]. — kərd'l [curl].

## III. Romance.

A·· 810 févs. 811 plévs. — trévs [trace]. 812 lévs. 813 bévk'n. 820 gâi. 822 mâi. — âid [aid v. and s.] — vpâi·d [paid]. 827 eegvr. — fâivl [to fail]. 830 trâin. — sâint [saint]. 833 pévr. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n. 841 tja¹ns. 845 ænshvnt. 847 dændjar. 848 tjændj. 849 strændjvr. 850 da¹ns. 852 apvrn. — kar [to care]. — kaf'mdvr [carpenter]. — saarsi [saucy]. 862 saaf [adj.] séuf [sb. a meat safe]. E·· 867 tee. — sparik'lz [spectacles]. — dha¹tjez [vetches]. 874 rhâin. 876 dâinti. 878 sælvri. — meen [amend, mend]. 881 seens. — arb [herb] — mæsi [mercy]. — févr [a fair]. 888 sartin. — sar [to serve, deserve, earn]. — neet [neat]. 890 bívs [pl. bívstvz)]. 891 fees fívs [pl. (fívstvz)]. 893 fláuvr [flour=meal is (vlâuvr)]. 894 reesee·v.

I·· *and* Y·· — sâ¹idvr. 901 fá¹in. — pá¹int [a pint]. — vá¹ilvnt [violent]. 904 vá¹ilvnt [violet]. — zer [sir]. — sparit [spirit]. 910 djá¹is [both in sing. and pl.]

O·· 920 pwA¹int. — djA'int [of a man], djá'int [of meat]. — stúvr stóvr [story]. 924 tjA'is. 925 vA'is. 926 spwá¹il. 929 kɛ'ukvmvr. — rɛ'un [round]. — fúvs [force, and +t before a vowel forced]. — sóvrt. 939 klóvs. 947 bwA'ivl. 950 sapvr. — táuvr [tower]. — pəə₁sh [push]. — bad'l [a bottle] — mav [move]. 959 kvvA'v·. U·· — dəə₁ [due]. — dy₁k [duke]. 960 kee. — fuu·ent [fluent, said of a river only]. — djə¹dj [judge]. — wA'it [wait]. — ry₁·in [ruin]. 965 A'ivl. 969 shóvr. — duurvb'l [durable]. — muuzik [music]. 970 djas [+t before a vowel]. — fá¹usti [fusty].

# D 11 = s.WS. = southern West Southern.

*Boundary.* On the n. the n. coast of Co. and Dv. to the b. of D 10, which forms the n. and e. b. till it joins the w. b. of D 4. The rest of the e. b. is the s. part of the w. b. of D 4 = down to Axmouth. The s. b. is the s. coast of Dv. and Co. There was much difficulty in determining the w. b., concerning which I collected several opinions, and finally follow the information of Rev. W. H. Hodge, which I believe to be most accurate. Begin at the Black Rock in the middle of the entrance to Falmouth Harbour, and go through the centre of the water-way to Truro. Then proceed by land e. of Kenwyn (1 nnw.Truro) and w. of St. Erme (4 nne. Truro), e. of St. Allen (4 n.Truro) and w. of Newlyn (8 n.Truro), and also west of Cubert (9 nnw.Truro), but e. of Perran Zabulo (8 nnw.Truro) to the sea in Ligger or Perran Bay. This border was determined by noting the change of speech. Mr. Rawlings, speaking only from general impressions, said the b. was probably a straight line from St. Anthony, on the e. horn of Falmouth Harbour to St. Agnes Head (9 nnw.Truro). This line, beginning practically at the same point as the other, and ending only 5 m. to the sw., must be considered as practically identical with it. Mr. Sowell, who wrote the Cornish-English version of the *Song of Solomon* for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, inclines to a line from St. Austell to Padstow. According to Mr. Hodge, Mr. Herman Merivale in his "Historical Studies" lays down the border between Celt and Saxon, no doubt at a much earlier date, from Down Derry (8 sse.Liskeard) to St. Germans (7 se.Liskeard), thence to St. Ive (4 ne.Liskeard), South Hill (7 nne.Liskeard), North Hill (7 n.Liskeard), Altarnun (7 wsw.Launceston), Minster (13 wnw.Launceston), and to the sea by Forrabury (14 nnw.Launceston). This line is just a few miles w. of the e. b. of Co. itself.

*Area.* Most of Dv. and e.Co. The w. b. of D 11 is properly the w. limit of dialect in England.

*Authorities.* See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ systematic, ° in io.

*Co.* *Camelford, °Cardy'nham, °Landrake, °Lanivet, °Lanreath, *‖Millbrook, °Padstow, °Poundstock, °St. Blazey, °St. Columb Major, °St. Goran's, °St. Ive, °St. Stephens, °Tintagel.

*Dv.* *Barnstaple, ‖Bigbury, °Burrington, *Challacombe, °Colyton, *‖Devonport, °‖Exeter, *Harberton, *Iddesleigh, °Instow, °Modbury, *°North Molton, °North Petherwin, °Parracomb, ‖Plymouth, °Stoke, °St. Marychurch, °Warkleigh, °Werrington, †General.

*Characters.* The character of the pronunciation is essentially the same as that of D 10, with a few distinguishing particulars.

ÆG, EG are rarely if ever (a'i). They become regularly (ce, EE), with more or less of an (*i*) following.

I' is regularly (*ái*), that is, the (æ'*i*) of D 4 after passing through (á'*i*) mixed with (ə'*i*) of D 10, now assumes the regular German (*ái*) sound. It was a matter of course, then, that the (*âi*, *áai*) for ÆG, EG should also be changed. U', which was mainly (E'*u*) in D 10, becomes (æ'$y_1^5$) as well as I can analyse it, see the note on *doubt*, p. 158 below. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte heard it as French *œu* in *cœur*, followed by French *u*, that is (œ'y), which it certainly resembles. How far does this extend? It is certainly in n.Dv. Mr. Baird (Nathan Hogg) acknowledges it in e.Dv., Mr. Shelley (Plymouth) in s.Dv. In Co. I have not been able to trace it, with certainty, further than Millbrook, just on the e. b. of Co., not even in the vv. specimen from Camelford. But I suspect that it really

pervades Co. as well as Dv. The diphthong is not unlike the Dutch *ui* in *huis*, or the French *œi* in *œil*.

I have thrown the whole of this large district together because my information is necessarily very deficient upon such delicate points as those last mentioned, and the great features seem to be the same. There is said to be considerable difference between n.Dv. and s.Dv., and between e.Dv. and w.Dv., but this difference probably concerns the vocabulary and grammar more than the pronunciation. Mr. Shelley's Dartmoor cs. shews, however, considerable difference from the Iddesleigh cs. Hence it will be convenient to consider as Var. i. n.Dv., and as Var. ii. s Dv. including Co., to Mr. Merivale's line, for both. Then Var. iii. will be e.Co., which may be associated with St. Columb Major, extending from Mr. Merivale's line to Mr. Hodge's by Truro, that forms the boundary of D 11. The w.Co. region D 12 is entirely different.

### Var. i. North Devon.

I naturally rely on my vivâ voce from Mr. J. Abbot Jarman, a native of North Molton (11 c.-by-s.Barnstaple), which is close to the b. of D 10, and from Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe's servant from Iddesleigh (15 s.Barnstaple), which comes to nearly the s. b. of n.Dv. They were both taken some years ago, North Molton in Oct. 1877, and Mar. 1879, and Iddesleigh in Nov. 1877. I begin with the last, because having been taken from an uneducated native almost fresh from the place and studied closely, it is probably more correct.

#### Iddesleigh cs.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of a native, Mary Anstey, housemaid to Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe. For convenience (æ'y$_1$[5]) has the [5] omitted, see first note.

0. wái :dʒæk·i hæth nʊ dæ'y$_1$t ʊbæ'y$_1$t *i*t.

1. WEL :dʒAARDʒ ʒy$_1$ me b*oo*dh laaf ʊt dh*i*s nyy$_1$z əv máin, *i*f i wi$_1$L, yy$_1$ k*ée*ʊrth fʊR dhæt ? dhæt)s nʊdhʊR ʒíiʊR nʊR dhéʊR.

2. vyy$_1$ men dá*i* k*oo*z dhe)m laaft æt, ʌs nAA, dóʊnt)əs ? ət shʊd méʊk)'m ? T)i$_1$D)'N VERi láiklí, *i*z)ʊt ?

3. æ'y$_1$EVʊR dh*i*s *i*z dhə TRyy$_1$th *o*)t, z*o* dʒES *oo*ld dhi nA'iz, :dʒAARDʒ, ən bi k*wái*·ʊt vor áiv dy$_1$n)ʊt. aaRk !

4. ái bi zʌRten ái ʒíiʊRD əm zee *i*t—zʌm *o* dheez voks y$_1$ went DRyy$_1$ dhʊ *oo*l *o*)t dhʊRz*e*·LVZ—dhæt á*i* d*i*d séʊv ʊnʌf.

5. dhʊt dhʊ ʒəq·ges zə$^1$N *i*zs*e*L, ə gʌRT bó*i* ʊ náin, nAAd)z faadhʊRz VA'is ʊt wæns, dh*oo* t)wæz s*o* k*w*eeR ʊn sk*w*ee·k*i*n, ʊn ái)d TRə$^1$s)n v'R speek dhʊ TRyy$_1$th æn·*i* DEE'i, is, ái wed.

6. ʊn dh-*oo*l w*u*mʊn ʊRZEL wʊd TEL)i dhʊ zéeʊm, æn*i* ɔ i dhʊt bi laaf*i*n næ'y$_1$, ʊn TEL)i RáIt ɔf, tæy$_1$'.· w*i*dhæ'y$_1$t· æn·*i* fʌs ʊbœ'y$_1$t ʊt, ef ʒyy$_1$)L ən·l*i* æks ʊR, *oo*'u, waant-ʊR ?

7. æn·i)æ'y$_1$ ʊR t*oo*l ·mii, wen ái ækst ʊR, tyy$_1$ ʊR DRii táimz əvʊR, D*i*D)N)ʊR ? ʊn ʌR AA·t'n tʊ bi RʌIq, ən dʒES ʊ th*i*q ʊz dhæt, wat dy$_1$ i dh*i*qk ?

8. WEL ʊz ái wʊz *zee*·*i*n ·ʌR wʊd TEL)i, æ'y$_1$ ʊR væ'y$_1$nd ʊn, wèn

ʊʀ vœ'y$_1$nd ʊn, ʊn wéeʊʀ ʊʀ vœ'y$_1$nd ʊn,—dhʊ DRƎqk'n pEg ʊʀ kaalth ʊʀ mæn.

9. ʊʀ swéeʊʀD ʊʀ zid)ʊn wee ʊʀ òn áiz, lái·in STREtɟt œ'y$_1$t ɔn dhʊ gʀœ'y$_1$n wee *iz* bEST kòt ɔn, kl*oo*s tʊ dhʊ dúʊʀ, dœ'y$_1$n *in* dhʊ KAARND'R ɔ dhʊ léʊn.

10. i wɔz meek*in* ʒp dɟə$^1$s ʊ nA'*iz* láik ʊ tɟil kʀái·in ʊn tee·dɟəs.

11. ʊn dhæt æp'ND əz ʒʀ ʊn ʊʀ daa·tʊʀ lee kʒm DRyy$_1$ dhʊ bæk kóoʊRTLedɟ fʀʊm æqin œ'y$_1$t dhʊ WET TL*oo*dhz ɔn dhə wæsh·*in* dee,

12. wáilst dhə tee·kĭTL wʊz bó*i*L*in* vʊʀ tee, wʒn vá*in* zƎmʊʀ ARTʊRnyy$_1$n·, ɔn·l*i* ʊ w*i*k guu kɔm nEks dhƎzde.

13. ʊn dyy$_1$)i NAA ? ái NEV·'R JƎRD NAART m*óo*ʊʀ ʊbœ'y$_1$t *it* bivoo'R tʊdee·, zh*óo*ʊʀz ái bi kaald :dɟæk :zh*i*pʊʀD, ʊn ái d*oo*nt wɔnt tœy$_1$'·ʒdh'R, dhƎR nœ'y$_1$ !

14. ʊn z*oo* ái bi gwee·*in* àm tʊ ææ ʊ b*it* ʊ SƎPʊʀ. g*u*d néeʊʀT ʊn d*óo*ʊnt)i bi sʊ k*wi*k tʊ kʀaa ɔvʊʀ æn·ibɔd*i* ʊgéʊn, WEN i speeks ʊ wæn dhEq ʊr dhʊ tƎdhʊʀ.

15. "styy$_1$p*i*d fELʊʀ tEL*in* ʒp th*i*s *oo*ld stƎf, ʒs dóoʊnt wɔnt to JíiʊR)T." dh*i*s *iz* dhe lææst a'*i* shʊL zee ʊbœ'y$_1$t it. g*u*d bái.

*Notes.*

0. *doubt.* The last element of the diphthong in this word is precisely the same as for (tyy$_1$) = two. The lips are pouted, the upper lip is especially projected, but there was very little closure of the lips, not nearly as much as when I pronounce (tyy) = Fr. *tue*, in fact the corners of the mouth are hardly brought together at all, so that an acute angle is left, but the upper lip was very much pouted, giving (y$_1^5$). Both lips are projected, but the upper lip far the most. For the first element in (œ'y$_1^5$) the lips are wide open, and then they suddenly dart forward to form the (y$_1^5$). This action is very curious to study on the native lip. The openness of the lips for the first element excludes (œ) for the first element, as Prince L.-L. Bonaparte appreciates saying (preface to H. Baird's *St. Matthew*), that "the sound is best defined as the French 'œu' in 'cœur,' (œ) followed by *u*, the Scottish 'oo' in 'moon,' that is, the French 'u' (y) with a slight tendency towards the 'eu' in 'peu' (ə) in the same language." The speaker rejected (œ'y$_1$) when pronounced to her. What the precise vowel in the first element may be I was not able to determine, but it did not seem to be either (ə) or (ʒ), and I was not satisfied with (ʊ). For the word *too* the sudden rise in pitch on the second element was most remarkable, (tœ-y$_1^{5'}$·), the stress also falling upon it, which quite distinguished the diphthongs, as in (:dɟæk gid *iz* tyy$_1$ maaRv'lz tʊ tyy$_1$ bóiz, ən :tom g*i*v hiz tyy$_1$, tœ-y$_1$', tʊ tyy$_1$, tœ-y$_1$') 'Jack gave his two marbles to two boys [with distinct (o) and distinct (i), thus (bóiz) not (bA'*iz*)], and Tom gave his two, too, to two, too. This change of stress from (œ'y$_1$·.) with if anything a falling pitch on the last element, to (œ-y$_1$'.·) with a rising pitch, and without perceptible glide of the first element on to the second, distinguished the two sounds so completely, that it was difficult to discover that they were made up of the same elements. I had them pronounced to me frequently during two visits, and the distinctions were steadily maintained, though the speaker was quite unaware of any peculiarity.

1. *neighbour.* This word is not used as a term of address. Mr. Faunthorpe (who had first written the version from his servant's dictation, in his own spelling, which I altered to palaeotype from dictation) had written 'Jarge,' meaning (:dɟaardɟ), and though the speaker insisted on (:dɟAARdɟ), the other seems more correct.—*will.* Mr. F. wrote 'wŭl,' I heard (wi$_1$L, wə$^1$L). I carefully studied the sounds of *milk* and *theirselves*, and concluded that there was a true (L), and that the preceding vowel was greatly affected by it. But (mi$_1$Lk) seemed best, and not (m'Lk) without a vowel, nor (mə$^1$Lk), but of course (i$_1$, ə$^1$) have considerable re-

semblances.—*careth.* The transition (RTH) is easy, as the tongue when uncurling slides down directly to the teeth, but (THR-) or (DHR-) is difficult, because the tongue has to be curved back during the transition, unless we begin with the under part instead of the upper part, of the tip of the tongue against the teeth making (TH, DH). This leads at once to the substitution of (T, D) for (th, dh) as (TRUU DRY$_1$Y$_1$). —*for.* I have constantly written (ER) in these weak words, though I seemed to hear only (E), but this I attributed to the faintness and shortness of the sound.

2. *they am,* for *they are,* contracted to (dhem), and the (e) used for (E) because the sound is weak. — *what.* (ət) or (wæt).—*it)is)not.* I seemed to hear every consonant reverted, and the (i$_1$) position was consequently not properly formed, destroying its precise character.—*very.* Mr. F. wrote 'vŭrry,' but I seemed to hear (E) modified by (R). I did not hear (VERi) with the usual trilled (r). But in this case I consider the (R) to be trilled, and there is no difficulty in so speaking.

4. *safe enough.* (ənæ·f) not (ənyy$_1$); they make no distinction between (ənæf, ənyy$_1$), and use the first generally.

5. *trust)him.* Mr. F. had written both *trŭs* and *tris,* and I at first appreciated (TRES). This shews the difficulty of the vowel (ə$^1$) to an outsider.—*day.* (DER'i, SNEE'il, TEE'il), almost (dææ'i) etc., and clearly one of the transitional forms from (dâi) to (d*ee*). *Fair,* a market, is (feeR); the fire is (vâiR). The long *I'* having become (âi) in place of (ɔ'*i*), it was to be expected that the EG, ÆG, should pass from (âi) to (*ee*) or some intermediate form. These changes shew the original diversity of the sounds, which obliged both to be modified, if one was.—*yes, I would.* I did not feel certain of the vowel in (wed). Mr. F. wrote *wĕd* and *wŭd?* could it have been (wə'd)?

6. *woman.* Mr. F.'s cook, from Challacombe, said (æm·ən). Mr. Baird always writes *humman* = (hæm·ən).—*tell ye.* This is how the word sounded to me, Mr. Baird always writes *tul,* like Mr. Elworthy's (tæl) in D 10 (p. 148, par. 1). This reverted (L) produces strange effects.—*too.* See *too* in note on *doubt,* par. 0.

7. *did not her.*—*such. just* is pronounced in the same way. Mr. F. wrote *jiis, jis, jes.*

8. *pig,* for *beast* (beest) is too noble a word. *cattle* is always used in place of the plural of beast.—*calleth.* Similarly (ER waaketh). A wife says (WEN mi mæn kæmth ôm) = when my husband comes home.—*man.* This word is regularly used for *husband.*

9. The omitted word *length* = (LEqkth) as usual. The plural of the omitted word *house* is (ɔ'y$_1$sez) not (ɔ'y$_1$z'n).—*corner.* Observe inserted (D). They say (tjimblikAARNDER) = chimney corner; (KERD'LZ AAl ɔVER ER *ee*d) = curls all over her head.

10 *child,* applied to either sex, but (MEE'id) is the regular word, see note on *day,* par. 5. The question, is it a boy or a girl, becomes (bôi ER MEE'id); *wench* is not used.—*tedious* is used especially of fretful children that weary the mother by crying, when the (tjil)z TERib'l). To be sick is to be (bad), full (a) not (æ).

11. *daughter-in-law.* (daa·terlAA) is commoner, but *son's wife* (zə$^1$nz wâiv) is most common.—*wet.* Nearly (wæT), very broad.—*clothes.* Clearly initial (TL-) is easier and more natural than initial (KL-). The (dh) is used at Iddesleigh, but not at Challacombe. —*washing day.* The speaker had never heard the phrase "Quarter Sessions" for washing day, as given by Mr. Rock from Barnstaple, and Mr. Pulman from Axminster.

12. *tea-kettle.* The two last syllables pronounced very shortly indeed, with no secondary accent like in *capital.*—*boiling.* Without prefixed *a-,* they say (wəz bôi·LIn, it bôi·LIth).

13. *sure, shepperd.* Having neglected to note the sounds of the words *sure, shepherd,* I follow the usages of Mr. Baird.

14. *Good night,* a parting *good night,* but when the *night* is spoken of it is called (nâit). Observe that (R) was distinctly heard in (néeERT).—*again,* (éu) is very short.

15. *Stupid fellow, telling up this old stuff; us don't want to hear-it.* This was inserted by Mr. F. as a remark of one of the persons spoken to. He also proposed: (wat ə gART fi$_1$'y$_1$l dhi aart). The sound of (fi$_1$'y$_1$l) is like the Norfolk (*iy*), or the Lancashire (*æ*'u), a mere lip glide, as I seemed to hear it.—*this,* the speaker recognised the distinction of Mr. Barnes's Dorset "shaped thicky" in (dhiki æ'y$_1$s) and "shapeless that" in (dhæt WAT'R, dhæt GRæ'y$_1$nd).

## North Molton (12 ese. Barnstaple) dt.

pal. by AJE. from the dict. of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq., New College, Southsea, native. The (⁵) means "with projected lips."

1. *zoo* ái zee, meets, ɹy$_1$ zii nœy$_1$⁵ ái bi ráit vbœ'y$_1$⁵t dha¹t dhɔʀ lit'l méeid kɜmin vʀʊm dha¹t dhʊʀ skíyy$_1$l *oo*vəʀ dhɜʀ.
2. ɜʀ)z gw*ee*n dœy$_1$⁵n dhʊ ʀood dhɜʀ, dʀy$_1$ dhʊ ɜʀd *gi*t [ɹet] on dhʊ lift a¹n *záid*.
3. zh*u*'ʀ nɜf dhʊ tʒil)z gòn strá¹it ɜp tʊ dhʊ dyy$_1$ʊʀ ʊ dhʊ ʀa¹q œ'y$_1$⁵z.
4. weeʀ pra¹ps shi)l vá¹ind dha¹t dhʊʀ dhin dʀɜqk'n tʒa¹p :tomɔs yy$_1$)z aaʀd ʊ *iiʊʀin*.
5. wi à¹l noo)n [nooz)ʊn] vɛʀ*i* wɛl.
6. wont dhʊ *óo*vl tʒa¹p zy$_1$n laaʀn ɜʀ not tʊ dyy$_1$ *it* ʊgɛn, p*uu*ʀ dh*i*q!
7. l*u*k! beent *it* tʀyy$_1$?

*Notes.*

1. *So* would not be used; *mates* would rather be *lads, chaps.*—*I* and long *ī* generally is rendered as (á¹*i*), as in D 10, but it may be (á*i*).

## North Molton phrases, pal. by AJE. from the dictation of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq.

The (⁵) means "with projected lips."

1. (g*o* ʊn a¹ks)ʊn), go and ask him.
2. (wi bi g*o*·in), we are going.
3. (dʀoo ʊt *in* dhi a¹shez dhɜʀ), throw it in the ashes there.
4. (ʊʀ za¹q dʀii ʊʀ vœ'y$_1$⁵ʀ zaqz), he (or she) sang three or four songs.
5. (lɛn)z ʊ a¹n), lend-us a hand.
6. (la¹n)z pʀ*it*·*i* gy$_1$d), land is pretty good.
7. (i wœ'y$_1$ˆn ʊn ʀœ'y$_1$⁵n *iz* a¹n dʀii ʊʀ vœ'y$_1$⁵ʀ táimz), he wound him=*it* round his hand three or four times.
8. (dhe dʀaad dhʊ vil wɜʀ dhʊ wɛts wɜz), they drawed the field where the oats was.
9. (oni wɔn ʊ dhem 'l dyy$_1$), any one of them will do.
10. (dhʊ baaʀ·li mœ'y⁵), the barley mow.
11. (œ'y$_1$⁵ *oo*ld *iz* ʊʀ ?), how old is he?
12. (*əə*$_1$z dha¹t ? ʊ skɔlʊʀd), who's that? a scholar.
13. (dhʊ bói rá¹its ʊ gy$_1$d rœ'y$_1$⁵nd a¹nd), the boy writes a good round hand.
14. (a¹v)i gɔt ɛni nyy$_1$ bry$_1$mz, m*is*·*iz* ? á¹*i*)v gɔt ʊ vy$_1$y$_1$, əbœ'y$_1$⁵t· dʀii ʊʀ vœ'y$_1$⁵ʀ), have you any new brooms, Mistress? I've got a few, about three or four.
15. (g*i*t dhi ɜp dhɜʀ *in* dh*i*k dhʊʀ adʒ, ʊn p*i*k mi dh*i*k dhʊʀ st*i*ck, w*i*lt?), get thee up there in that there hedge, and pick me that there stick, wilt *thou?*

16. (kɜm *in*, tɟil, dy$_1$)i, ʊn RɜKi dœ'y$_1$$^5$n ʊn JɛT JʊRZɛL·), come in, child, do ye, and sit down and heat=*warm* yourself.
17. (ɜl·*oo*, dhɛN, yy$_1$)z ii?), Hulloh, then, who's he?
18. (á'i bii, dhœ'y$_1$$^5$ ʊRT ʊ vyy$_1$l, ii)z, wii)m, yyy$_1$)m ʊn dhee)m gȯ·*in*), I be, thou art a fool, he's, we're, you're and they're going.

## North Devon cwl.

I words from the cs. from Iddesleigh.
M words from Mr. Jarman's wl. from North Molton.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 M beek. 4 M teek. 5 I méʊk, M meek meek*in*. 7 M zeek. 8 tʊ ææ [to have]. 12 M zaa. 13 M naa. 14 M dʀaa. 17 I lee, M laa. 20 M l*eem*. 21 M neem. 23 I zéʊm, M zeem. 24 sheem. 33 M reedhʊʀ. A: 43 M a'n. 46 M ka'n'l. 48 M za'q. 42 I æq. 54 I wɜnt. 55 M a'sh. 56 I wæsh. A: *or* O: 60 M l*oq*. 64 I RɜQ.

A'- I gwee·*in* [going]. 72 I yy$_1$, M *ə*$_1$ [probably (yy$_1$)]. 73 I *zo*. 74 I tyy$_1$, M t*ə*$_1$. 75 M stʀaak. 76 M t*ood*. 79 I òn, M aan. 81 I léʊn. 82 I wæns. 84 I móʊʀ. 85 M zooʀ. 86 M wɛts. 87 I tʟ*oo*dhz, M tl*ooz*. 89 I b*oo*dh. 92 I naa. 94 I kʀaa. 95 M dʀaa. 97 M zaal. A': 101 M *ook*. 102 I æks, M a'ks. 104 M ʀaad. 105 M ʀaad. 106 M bʀaad. 107 M l*oof*. 108 M daa. 109 M laa. 110 I naart. 111 I aat. 113 I *ool*. 115 I òm, M *om*. 117 I wɜn. 118 M b*oon*. 120 I guu. 123 [(naat) used]. 125 I anl*i*, M *oni*. 130 M b*oot*. 131 M g*oot*. 133 M rɔt. 136 IM ɜdhʊʀ. 137 I nɜdhʊʀ, nʊʀ.

Æ- 138 I faadhʊʀ, M vaadhʊʀ. 140 M *éeil*. 141 M n*éeil*. 142 M zn*éeil*. 144 I ʊgéʊn, M ʊg*in*. 152 M w*aa*tʊʀ. Æ: 154 I bæk. 155 M dha'tɟ. 158 I artʊʀ. 161 I dɛɛ'i, M d*éei*. 163 M l*éei*. 164 M m*éei*. 166 M m*éei*d. 169 I wɛn. 170 aarɔst. 172 M g'rs. 181 M pa'th. Æ'- 182 N z*ee*. 183 M t*ee*tɟ. 187 M l*eev*. 190 M k*éei*. 191 M *eel*. 193 M kl*een*. 194 I æn*i*, M ɛn*i*. 195 M mɛn*i*. 197 M tɟiz. 200 M wéʊt. 202 M jɛt. Æ': 203 M sp*eet*ɟ. 205 M dʀɛd. 207 M nid'l. 209 I nɛvʊʀ. 217 M *eet*ɟ. 218 M shiip. 219 M sl*eep*. 220 I zh*ip*ʊʀd. 223 I dhéʊʀ. 225 M vlɛsh. 227 I wɛt. 228 M zwɛt. — M jɛth [heath]. 229 M bʀɛdh. 230 M va't.

E- 232 M bʀ*eek*. 233 I speek, M sp*eek*. 235 M w*eev*. 236 M f*eev*ʊʀ. 237 M tɟ*i*bl*i*nz. 238 M a'dɟ. 241 M r*éein*. 243 M pl*éei*. 247 M w*een*. 251 M m*eet*. 252 IM k*it*'l, tee·k*i*t'l [tea-kettle]. 253 M nid'l. E: 256 I stʀ*ee*tɟ. 257 M a'dɟ. 258 M za'dɟ. 259 M wa'dɟ. 261 I zee, M *zéei*. 262 w*éei*. 265 M str*éeit*. 271 I tɛl. 276 IM dhiqk. 281 M lɛqkth. 284 M dʀa'sh. 287 M bɛzʊm [generally (brəm)]. E'- 297 I fɛlʊʀ. 298 M vil. 299 M grüin. 301 M iiʊʀ. 302 M mit. E': 306 M áit. 312 I jiiʊʀ, M jɜʀ. 314 I jiiʊʀd, IM jɜʀd. 315 M vit. 316 I nɛks.

EA- 319 M gaa'p. 320 I k*éeʊ*ʀ. EA: 322 IM laaf. 323 M vaat. 324 M áit. 325 M waa'lk. 326 I *ool*, M *oold*. 327 M b*oold*. 330 I *oold*. 332 I t*ool*, M t*oold*. 333 M kjaa'f. 336 M vaa'l. 337 M waa'll. 338 I kaal. 343 M waa'rm. 346 M g*it* jɛt [the last more frequent]. EA'- 347 M ɛd. 348 I *ái*. 349 I vyy$_1$, M vi*ə*'. EA': 350 M dɜd. 352 M ɜʀd. 353 M bʀɛd. 354 M sh*eef*. 355 M dɛf. 356 M l*eef*. 357 IM dh*oo*. 360 M tiim. 361 M b*een*. 363 M tɟ*eep*. 366 I gɜʀt, M gʀ*eet*. 367 M dʀɛt. 370 M ʀɛɛ. 371 M stʀaa. EI- 372 M ái ái [(is zh*uu*ʀ), never (ái) simply]. 373 M dh*eei*. EI: 377 M steek. 378 M week.

EO- M ɛv'n. 386 M jaa. 387 I nyy$_1$, M ni*ə*'. EO: 388 M mʊlk [so it sounded to me]. 389 M j*oo*k. 397 M s*oo*ʀd. 398 M stanv. 402 M lɜʀn. 403 M vaaʀ. 404 M staaʀ. 405 M jɛth. 406 M ɛʀth. 407 M vand'n. EO'- 411 IM dʀii. 414 M vlái. 417 M tɟaa. 420 M vɔ'*n*ʀ. 421 M vaʀti. EO': 423 M dhái. 425 M láit. 426 M fáit. 428 M zii. 430 M vʀɛn.

434 M *beet*. 435 I JY$_1$, M JIə'. 436 M TRIə'. 437 I TRYY$_1$th, M TRIə'th. EY- 438 IM dái. EY: 439 IM TRə'ls.

I- 440 IM wik. 441 M *zeev*. 442 M áivi. 446 IM nâin. 448 IM dheez. 449 M git. I: 458 M náit, I néeURT [in the phrase, good-night, only]. 459 IM RâIt. 460 M *weet*. 466 IM tjil. 468 M tjiDRin. 475 M win. 477 M váin. 478 M gráin. 479 M wáin. 480 I thiq dhEq. 481 M viqgUR. 482 I iz)Ut? [is it], T)i$_1$D)'N [it)is)not]. 485 M dRiz'l. 488 M JIt. I'- 494 IM tâim. 499 M bid'l. I': 500 IM láik. 506 I wumUn, M *ool* dumUn. 507 M wimiq. 509 I wâilst. 510 I máin.

O- 519 I OVUR. 520 M BAA. 521 M *vool*. 522 M op'n. O: 525, ii. I of. 526 M KAAF. 531 I daatUR. 533 M dal. 534 M AAL. 535 I vok. 536 M *goold*. 538 I wed. 539 M bœ'y$_1$Ul. 541 I waant [emph.]. 542 M *boolt*. 548 M vóURd. 552 M KARN. 554 M kràs. O'- 555 M shæ shyy$_1$. 556 I tœy'$_1$.· 557 I tœy'$_1$.· 559 M modhUR. 562 M miy'$_1$n. 564 M zy$_1$n. O': 569 M *buk*. 570 M *tuk*. 571 I *gud*. 572 M blad. 573 M flad. 574 M bry$_1$d. 575 M sty$_1$d. 577 M bœ'y$_1$$^5$. 578 M plœy$_1$$^5$. 579 IM vnaf. 583 M ty$_1$l. 586 I dy$_1$. 587 I dy$_1$n. 588 I nyy$_1$n. 589 M spy$_1$n. 590 M vlóUR. 594 M by$_1$t. 595 M vy$_1$t. 596 M RY$_1$t. 597 M sy$_1$t.

U- 601 M fœ'y$_1$$^5$l. 602 M zœ'y$_1$$^5$. 604 I zamUR. 605 I zə'n, M zan. 606 I dúUR, M dóUR. U: 609 M *vul*. 610 M *wul*. 611 M balUk. 612 M zam. 613 M DRaqk. 616 I GRœ'y$_1$n. 619 I vœ'y$_1$nd. 625 M toq. 629 M zan. 631 I dhazde. 632 IM ap. 633 M kap. 634 I DRyy$_1$, M DRə. 625 M wEth. 639 M dist. U'- 641 IM œ'y$_1$. 643 IM nœ'y$_1$. 646 M bæ'y$_1$$^5$. 647 M œ'y$_1$$^5$l. 650 I vbœ'y$_1$t. 651 I widhœ'y$_1$t. 652 M *kud*. U': 658 IM dœ'y$_1$$^5$n. 659 M tœ'y$_1$$^5$n. 663 M œ'y$_1$$^5$s. 664 M læ'y$_1$$^5$s. 667 IM œ'y$_1$t.

Y- 680 M *bizi*. 682 M lit'l. Y: 684 M BaRDJ. 685 M RidJ. 688 M szytJ. 691 M máin [(miin) was given as n.Dv. by Mr. Shelly, see p. 165]. Y- 706 IM wâi. Y': 711 M lœ'y$_1$$^5$zuz. 712 M máis [(miis) was given by Mr. Shelly, see sw.Dv. p. 165].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 732 I æp'nd. E. 744 M *meez'lz*. 750 M ba'g. I. *and* Y. 754 IM peg. 758 M ga'l [little used, (tjil)]. O. 761 M lood. 767 IM na'is. 773 M daqk. 790 M gœ'y$_1$$^5$n. 791 I bói. U. 797 I *skweekin*. 798 I *kweer*. 804 I DRaqk'n. 806 I fas, M vas. 807 M py$_1$s. 808 M pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· — teedjəs [tedious]. 824 M tjiiR. 830 M TRéein. 835 M *Reez'n*. 836 M *seez'n*. 840 M tjEIMUR. 862 I séuf. 864 I *kooz*. 865 M VAALt.

E·· 867 I tee, M *tee*. 878 M sa'lURi. 885 I VERi. 888 I zarten, M zartin. 890 M *beest* [pl. (*bees*)]. 894 M *deseev*. 895 M *Reseev*.

I·· *and* Y·· — kRâi [cry]. 901 IM váin. 904 M vo'ilet. O·· 916 M iqinz. 922 M *bushel*. 923* M mo'ist. 925 I VA'is. 929 M kœ'y$_1$$^5$kumUR. 933 M frant. 938 I KAARNDUR. 939 I *kloos*. 940 I kòt. 941 M vy$_1$l. 947 I bóil. 950 I sapUR. 955 I dœ'y$_1$t. U·· 963 *kwâi·Ut*. 965 M o'il. 969 I zhóoUR, M zhy$_1$UR. 870 I djES, M djist. 971 M vly$_1$t.

## VAR. ii. SOUTH DEVON CS.

Dartmoor, north of a line from Plymouth to Kingsbridge (17 ese.Plymouth), pal. by AJE. from the glossic of Mr. John Shelly, 8, Woodside, Plymouth, a resident for thirty years, who has especially occupied himself with the glossary of the dialect, but is a native of Norfolk. Full explanatory notes have been given of every point of difficulty, and Mr. S.'s indications are strictly followed.

0. wəə'*i* :djan hez noo dœ'yts.

1. WEl, *soos*, JY un ii mu *booth* gr*iz*'l ut dhis)JU nəəz u məə'*in*. həə məə'*in*z dhET? dhET-s n*eedh*u JA nu dhíiUR.

2. fəə vook də'*i* bɪkyy·z dhɛɛ)m laaft æt, es nɑɑ dhɛt; doont)es? wæt sh*i*d mɛɛ'k)n? t)ɛz)n zʊ láa*i*k·l*i*, ez et?

3. *ee*dhʊmɑɑʊʀ dhɛɛz-jʊ ʊʀ dhʊ fæks ʊ-dhʊ kɛɛs, so dj*i*s h*oo*l jʊ baal, *oo*s, ʊn bi k*w*əə'*i*·ʊt tel ə'*i*-v ʊ-d*i*n. l*u*k)jɛʀ.

4. ə'*i* ʊm zhúʊʀ [zhóʊʀ] ə'*i* jɛʀd)n z*ee*—zɛm ʊ dhɛɛ v*oo*k ʊt wɛnt dhr*əə* dhə h*oo*l dhɛq vrəm dhə vœʀst dhʊzɛl·vz—dhat dɛd ə'*i*, zhúuʊnɛf.

5. ʊt dhʊ jɛq·gest z*i*n h*i*zsɛlf·, ə gœʀt bɑ'*i* ʊv nə'*i*n, nɑɑd əz vaa·dhʊz vəə'*i*s tʊ wæns, dhɔf et ·wez zʊ k*w*éeʊʀ ʊn sk*w*eec·k*i*n, ʊn ə'*i*)d tr*i*st ·hii tʊ speek dhʊ tr*əə*th æn·*i* d*ee*, *i*s ·fɛɛ, ə'*i* w*i*d.

6. ən dh)*oo*l h*u*m·ən ʊsɛlf· əl tɛl æn·*i* əv jyy, ət stan gr*i*z·l*i*n dhiiʊʀ, ʊn tɛl)i stráa*i*t ɑf tyy, ədhœ'yt m*i*tɟ bədh·ʊʀ, *i*f jʊ)l on·*i* æks)ʊ ty, ɑɑ, waant-ʊʀ?

7. *ee*dhʊmɑɑʊʀ hʊʀ t*oo*ld et ·mii wæn ə'*i* ækst)ʊ, tyy ʊ dhr*ee* təə'*i*mz, ɑɑ·vʊʀ, hʊʀ dɛd, ʊn ·hœʀ ɑɑft nət tə bii ræq ən z*i*tɟ ʊ dhɛq)z dh*i*s, wæt dyy)i z*i*m?

8. wɛl, ez ·ə'*i* wɛz ʊz*ee*·*i*n, ·hœʀ w*i*d tɛl)*i* hœ'y, wiiʊʀ, ʊn wææn ʊ fœ'yn dhʊ drɛk·n b*ée*st, ʊ kaalth ʊ mɛɛ'ʊstə.

9. hʊ zwɑɑʊʀ ʊ zɑɑ)n w*i* ʊʀ ɑɑn əə'*i*z, ləə'*i*·*i*n spr*ee*d ʊbraa·d on dhʊ *ee*th, in ez gœd z*i*n·d*i* k*óo*ʊt, hoom tə duu' ə dhə hœ'yz, dœ'yn tə dhə kɑɑn·dʊʀ ʊ dhæk·*i* l*ee*n.

10. ə wɛz krəəz·l*i*n, hʊ z*ee*d, fʊʀ aal dhʊ wəəʀl l*áa*i*k* ʊ tɟiil dhet)s bæd, ər ə v*i*n·ed gœʀl.

11. ʊn dhɛt wɛz, ez hʊ k*ee*m thruu dhə bæ·klɛt w*i*dh ʊ daa·tʊʀ)n)laa, vrʊm hɛq·*i*n œ'yt dhʊ wɛt kl*oo*z tʊ drəə'*i* ən ʊ wɛsh·*i*n d*ee*,

12. wə'*i*l dhʊ kɛt·'l wɛz bəə'*i*l*i*n fʊ t*ee*, wæn vəə'*i*n brí*i*ʊt z*i*m·ʊʀ aa·tʊnəən, on·*i* ʊ wɛɛk ʊg*oo*, kɛm nɛks dhœʀz·d*i*.

13. ʊn dyy)*i* nɑɑ? ə'*i* n*i*v·a laarnd æn·*i* mɑɑ)n dh*i*s ʊ dhæk·*i* b*i*zn*i*s h*oo*m tʊ dhes maan*i*n, zʊ zhúuʊ)z mə'*i* neem)z :djaan :zhep·ʊd ʊn ə'*i* doont wæænt ty, n*ee*·dhə—g*u*·nœ'y.

14. ən z*oo* ə'*i*)m gáa*i*n om tʊ zɛp·ʊʀ. :gœœd ní*i*ʊt, ʊn doont)i bii zʊ kwɛk tʊ krɑɑ ɑɑ·vʊ m*i*n əgen, wæn ə tɛlth ʊ dh*i*s ʊn dhɛt ʊn dh)ɛdhʊʀ.

15. t)ez ə t*oo*·tl*i*n vyyl, ət tɛlth ʊdhœ'yt m*ee*n·*i*n. ʊn dhɛt)s mə'*i* láaʊs wɛd. :gœd bə'*i* tœ)*i*.

*Notes.*

0. *why*. Mr. S. has given various analyses of this diphthong (ə'*i*, əə'*i*, ɑ*i*, ɑɑ*i*). I follow the one chosen in any particular case. He found a variety in actual use, but is inclined most to (ɑ¹*i*). See also the following Devonport and Millbrook.—*doubts*. This diphthong is also variously indicated, but Mr. S. generally gives (œ'y), following Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, and finds a rounding of the lips in the first element.

1. *soce*. Rarely used in S. Dv., supposed to be a N. Dv. word; it is plural.—*grizzle* or grin; the *r* before vowels Mr. S. takes as common; finally when fully pronounced he acknowledges (ʀ), but the words are often much clipped, and then he hears the same effect as in London, a simple (ʊ), but it is probably (ʊʀ) or (ʊ) with the tongue turned up, the difference is very slight, and Mr. S.'s (ʊ) is here left.

2. *news*. When final and emphatic the sound seems to become (y) and (ə), between which Mr. S. hesitates; ($y_1$) recalls both. Mr. S. being a Nf. man, finds the sound less clear in Dv. than in Nf., and thinks (ə) or something

between (ə) and (y) more common.—*because they am* for they *are*. The form (bikyy·z) seems rather to be *by course*, for (ʊv kyys) is used for *of course*.

3. *either-more*, that is, *however*.—*bawl* or *noise*.—*look*. Mr. S. also writes (lœk).

4. *through*. The (dr-) initial seems almost lost here, but (dryy) occurs at times, also (dreks'l) threshold.

5. *though*, the (f) is common.—*yes faith I would*.

7. *three*. This is said to be the ordinary form. Mr. S. has, however, heard (drii) once or twice.—*ought*. Compare *though* in par. 5.—*what do you seem = think*, a common Dv. word.

8. *drunken*. Observe the northern form (drak·n).—*her* (she) *calleth her master* (husband). Observe the use of the form *calleth* in *eth*; common in Dv.

9. *lying spread abroad on the earth*. —*home* = close or fully up to.—*corner of thackey* (that, yonder) *lane*.

10. *crewsling* = complaining, the word is not in the glossaries.—*bad* = unwell, sick would mean vomiting.—*vinnied*, mouldy as applied to cheese; cross or peevish, as applied to children.

13. *good now* (last word). Mr. S. says that he never actually heard this phrase in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, but that it is common in N. and E. Devon.

14. *night*, no (ʀ) in s.Dv., but see p. 159, note to par. 14.—*to crow over any one* (min) is a common word.

15. *totling*, dottering.

## South-West Devon cwl.

written in Glossic by Mr. J. Shelly, and pal. from that and other indications by AJE.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 béʊk. 4 téʊk. 5 méʊk. 6 méʊd. 7 séʊk. 19 *tee*l. 20 léʊm. 21 néʊm. 22 téʊm. 23 zéʊm. 24 zhéʊm. 25 m*ee*n. 32 baath [as the rec. subst.]. 33 rədhʊʀ. 34 l*a*s.

A: 41 dhæqk. 43 hæn. 44 læn. 46 kan'l. 51 mæn. 54 waant. 55 ʀshez. 56 wʀsh. A: *or* O: 58 vrim vrəm. 59 lʀʀm. 60 ləq. 62 straq. 64 raq. 65 zəq.

A'- 69 nu. 72 *əə*. 73 z*oo* [emph., (zʊ) unemph.]. 74 *təə* tyy [emphatic]. 76 twúʊd. 78 aa. 79 aan. 81 léʊn. 84 múʊʀ móʊʀ. 87 kl*oo*z. 92 naa. 94 kraa. 95 dhraa.

A': 102 ʀks, ʀʀks. 104 rúʊd róʊd. 105 raad. 110 nat. 111 aaít. 115 h*o*m [h generally sounded]. 117 wan [e.Dv. wæn]. 121 gaan. 122 naan. 123 nathin. 124 st*o*n. 125 *o·ni*. 127 h*oo*s, hoos. 129 g*oo*'wst. 130 b*oo*t. 133 raat. — r*oo*v [a row or rank].

Æ- 138 vaadhʊʀ. 140 h*ee*l. 144 ʊgʀ·n. 150 l*ee*st. 152 wa'tʊʀ. Æ: 160 *ee*g. 165 zed. 166 méʊd. 169 wen wæn. 173 wʀz. 175 f*a*s f*a*z. 179 wa't. Æ'- 182 z*ee*. 183 t*ee*tj. 184 l*ee*d. 185 r*ee*d. 190 k*ee*. 192 m*ee*n. 193 kl*ee*n. 194 en*i*. 195 men*i*. 199 bl*ee*t. 200 w*ee*t. 202 jet. Æ': 203 sp*ee*tj. 213 *ee*dhʊʀ [only in eithermore = however]. 215 t*aa*t. 216 d*ee*l. 217 *ee*tj. 218 zh*i*p, zhep. 219 zl*ee*p. 223 dhíʊʀ. 224 wíʊʀ. 226 maast.

E- 232 briik. 233 sp*ee*k. 238 ædj. 241 r*ee*n. — br*i*m'l [bramble]. 248 míʊʀ. — *ee*t [eat]. 251 m*ee*t. E: 257 ædj. 261 z*ee*. — b*ee*d [a bed]. — twelv [twelve]. 272 el'm. 280 leb'n. 281 l*ee*qkth. 284 drʀsh. E'- 290 hii [emph., gen. (ʊ) unemph.]. 292 mii. 293 wʀ [emph. (əs)]. 300 k*ee*p. 301 jʀʀ. 302 m*ee*t. 303 zw*ee*t. E': 305 *ái*. 306 *eet*, éʊt. 311 tʀn [usually half a score]. 312 jʀʀ. 314 jʀʀd. 316 níʊst.

EA: 322 la'f. 324 *áit* ʀ'*it*. 325 w*aa*k. 328 k*aa*ld. 335 *aa*l. 336 v*aa*l. 337 w*aa*l. 343 w*a*ʀm. 346 gíʊt. EA': 347 h*ee*d. 348 *ái* ʀ'*í*. 349 v*əə*. EA': 350 d*ee*d. 352 ənd. 355 diif diiv. — t*ái* [verb], t*ái* [subs. in bed-tie, the local name for feather-bed]. 361 b*ee*n. 363 tj*ee*p. 371 stʀʀ straa.

EI- 373 dh*ee*. EI: 378 w*ee*k. EO- 383 zæb'n zeb'n. 385 bin*ee*th, bin*ee*dh. 387 n*əə*. EO: 338 milk. 390 sh*i*d. 402 larn. 406 *éeʊ*th. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 dhr*ee*. 412 shii [emph. obj. (ʊʀ teld ·shii tʊ du et)].

414 vlái, vlɛ'i. 417 tɟə'u. 420 vaaʊr. EO': 425 lə'it [rarely (líivt)]. 430 vrind. 434 beet. 435 ɟə [gen., unemph. (i) meaning *ye*?]. EY- 438 dáai [very much drawled]. EY: 439 trist.

I- 440 week. 446 náin [drawled]. — peez peez'n [pea peas]. 449 git. I: 452 ə'i, âi. 455 lái ɪɛ'i. 458 nə'it [rarely (níivt) as in e.Dv.]. 459 rə'it [correct, but (ɜrt) straight]. 460 wee'jt. 462 zə'it. 465 sitɟ zitɟ. 466 tɟívl. — gild [a guild]. 473 blə'in bláind. 475 wind. 476 bwdind, [occ.] báind. 477 və'in. 479 wâind. 485 dæsh'l. 488 ɟit. — zeks [occ. ziks]. — het [hit]. I'- 490 bái bɛ'i. 491 sə'if. 493 dreev. 499 bit'l. I': 500 lə'ik [rarely (lek)]. 502 vâiv. 503 lə'iv. 505 wə'iv [rarely used]. 506 hʌmɪn.

O- 522 aap'n. 523 haap. — barn [born]. 524 wɜrd'l. O: 528 thoft [subst.] thoft [vb.]. 531 daatɪr [rarely (dɑftɪr)]. 534 haal. 538 wid, id. 552 karn. 554 kraas. O'- 555 shəə. 560 skəəl. 562 məən [perhaps more gen. (myyn)]. 564 zyn [very short, or (zin)]. 565 naaz. O': 569 bək. 570 tək. 571 gəd. 572 bləd. 575 stod. 576 wɛnzdi. 582 kəəl. 584 stəəl. 585 brym brəəm [more gen. (yy)]. 586 dyy, dəə. 587 dín. 588 nəən. 589 spəən. 590 [(plænshin) that is, planking, is used for floor]. — bəzɪm [bosom]. 594 bət. 595 vət.

U- 599 ʊbyy·. 606 dóʊr. U: 608 ugli. 615 pœ'yn. 618 wœ'ynd. 619 vœ'yn. 620 grœ'yn. 629 zin. 636 vədhʊr. U'- 640 kœ'y. 641 œ'y. 643 nœ'y. — plim [plum]. 652 kid, kyd. 653 bit. U': 656 rəəm. 659 tœ'yn. 663 hœ'ys.

Y- 674 dɜd. 677 drái. Y: 684 bɜrdɟ. 685 ɜrdɟ. 686 bái. 689 bild. — kiinli [kindly]. 691 máin [(miind) in e. and n.Dv.]. Y'- 706 wəə'i [occ. (wee)]. 712 [(miis) at Totness and in n.Dv.].

II. English.

A. 718 treed tréɪd. 737 méɪt. I *and* Y. 754 peg. U. — pʌd'n [pudding]. — bish [bush].

III. Romance.

A·· 815 faks. 842 plænsh. 852 eepʊn. — mantɟɪnt [merchant]. 854 báavl. 864 bikəə·z. E·· 867 tee. — zarv [serve]. I·· *and* Y·· 910 dɟəə'ist. O·· — rəb [rob]. 916 i·qiʊn. — dɟá¹in [join]. 922 bish'l. 938 kaandʊr. — zart [sort]. 941 vyyl. 952, i. kyy·s, ii. kəəs [hence probably (bikəə·s) by course, in or of course, used for because, see 864]. 956 kivʊr. U·· 960 kee. — dɟidɟ [judge]. — pʌpit [pulpit]. 969 zhóʊr. 970 dɟist dɟes.

Consonants.

B is not omitted after *m*, except in (brim'l) bramble, and when final.
Ch remains except occasionally in (kist) chest.
D remains after *n*, but is omitted after *ol* in (*ool* kool) old cold, it is inserted in (kaandʊr) corner, *dd* does not become (dh) when medial as in *ladder*.
F initial is often (v).
H is seldom dropped, according to Mr. Shelly, but sometimes prefixed in emphatic words, and replaced by (ɟ) in (ɟet, ɟæfʊr, ɟæful, ɟœ'yl) heat, heifer, handful, howl.
L is never dropped, and *-lm* final becomes often two syllables as (elʊm filam) elm film especially in e.Dv.
N becomes *l* in (ii·vlin ɟii·vlin) evening.
R is (r) only when dwelled upon, Mr. Shelly not feeling sure that it is really pronounced, he says he heard 200 children singing "send her victorious, happy and glorious" and could detect no *r* at all. If seems probable that he had not separated (ə, ɜ, ʊ) simply, from these sounds as modified by turning up the tongue, which alters their character. I have consequently, as the result of much correspondence, introduced (r) frequently in the preceding list and cs. although in his first writing he omitted it. As I was a considerable

time myself before I could recognise this very peculiar modification, I can well appreciate his difficulty. My own impression is that it is always reverted or retracted, even before vowels, and when preceding *t, d, n, l* reverts or retracts these also. But these cases I have left unmarked. The following cases, where Mr. S. marks the absence of *r*, may therefore be marked, as in other S. cases, as having a transposed *r*, (kɜrzmɐs gɜrt gɜrts *ee*pɐrn ɜrtɟ bɜrd bɜrtɟɐn) Christmas great groats apron rich bread breeches.

S of the plural becomes (-ɐn) in (hœ'yzɐn bot'l'n *pee*zɐn) houses bottles peas.

T is lost in (wi*s*'l, kaas'l, dæsh'l, ræs'l, aaf'n; æk fæk) whistle, castle, thistle, wrestle, often; act, fact.

Th, there is "a general tendency to substitute (dh) for (th), as (dh*i*q) for (th*i*q)."

V is lost in (gii) give, and becomes (b) in (zeb'n) seven, it never becomes (w).

W is omitted before *r* and in (h*u*d, h*u*mɐn) wood woman; would is (w*i*d); *wh* is always (w).

My especial thanks are due to Mr. Shelly for the great assistance which he has given me and the work he has done for me in sw.Dv., from 1868 to 1886, continually attending to every point of difficulty which arose. It will be perceived that he is mainly corroborated from Devonport and Millbrook, the differences being simply those of appreciation, and that the real differences in n. and s., e. and w.Dv. and e.Co. are not sufficient to form districts for, but are mere varieties of substantially the same dialect.

## Devonport by Plymouth dt.

Town pron., pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. John Tenney, Chancery Audit Office, native, compared with that of Mr. J. B. Rundell, native, see Millbrook.

1. s*oo*$^{1}$ æ'i séc*i*, meets, jíy$_{1}^{5}$ s*ii* nœ'y$_{1}^{5}$, dhɐt æ'*i* bi r,ɔ'it ɐbœ'y$_{1}^{5}$t dha$^{1}$t l*i*t'l mee*i*d kamin fr,ɐm dhɐ skúɐl [skyy$_{1}^{5}$l] ovɐr dhéɐr.

2. shii)z [ɜr,)z] gŭeen dœ'y$_{1}^{5}$n dhɐ r,*oo*$^{15}$d [r,ɔ$^{15}$ɐd] dhéɐr, thr,yy$_{1}^{5}$ dhɐ r,*i*d geet on dhɐ l*i*ft a'nd sæ$^{1}$*i*d ɐv dhɐ wee*i*.

3. sh*oo*$^{15}$ɐr, naf dhɐ tɟil)z gaan str,ɔ'*i*t op ty$_{1}^{5}$ dhɐ d*oo*$^{15}$ɐr, ɐv dhɐ r,oq œ'y$_{1}^{5}$s.

4. wéɐr, pr,a$^{1}$ps shii)l [ɜr,)l,] fæ'*i*nd dha$^{1}$t dr,ɜqk*i*n diif dr,æ'*i*d op fɜlɐ kaald :tomɔs.

5. wi [ɜs] nòz)'n vɜr,*i* we$^{1}$'l.

6. wo)nt dh*i* *oo*$^{15}$l tɟa$^{1}$p sy$_{1}^{5}$'n teetɟ)ɐr, not ty$_{1}^{5}$ dyy$_{1}^{5}$ *i*t ɐgeen, p*oo*$^{15}$ɐr, th*i*q.

7. lyy$_{1}^{5}$k! ee)nt ɐt tr,yy$_{1}^{5}$?

*Notes.*

Observe that (*o*$^{15}$, y$_{1}^{5}$) mean (*o*$^{1}$, y,) with projected lips. The letters o, r, ɐ are called (*oo*$^{15}$, pii, kyy$_{1}^{5}$), but coal is called (kal). Mr. T. himself noted that in *so you* it was necessary to project the lips considerably to bring out the sound.

1. *I.* The analysis of long *ī* is not perfect. I write as I seemed to observe. Mr. T.'s varied between (æ'*i*) and (ɔ'*i*). Mr. Rundell seemed generally to use the latter. Perhaps both meant (á$^{1}$*i*) at all times.—*you.* This seemed to be diphthongal in Mr. T.'s speech. I did not observe this character in Mr. R.'s.—*now.* This diphthong was precisely the same as at Iddesleigh, both for Mr. T. and Mr. R., though perhaps less forcible in the s. than in the n.—*right.* The *r* in Mr. T.'s pron. was treated very much like the London *r* as I at first appreciated. But after attentively examining Mr. R.'s, I concluded that his was retracted (r,) and not reverted (ɹ), and this agreed with Mr. R.'s own appreciation, see Millbrook. As both Messrs. T. and R. were natives of Devonport, I concluded that Mr. T.'s had been more reduced to the London level.—

*school.* I appreciated (skúvl), and Mr. T. wrote *skooül.* But Mr. R. decidedly had (skyy₁l), which would be the regular form.

2. *she is* and *her is* are quite interchangeable. Mr. T. wrote *shee-z*, and Mr. R. *ur-z.*—*through.* Both Mr. T. and Mr. R. gave (thr,-) and not (dr,-) in this word. Rev. H. S. Wilcocks of Stoke, which adjoins Devonport, gave *dr-*, which is certainly the purer form, though Mr. T. said he had heard (thr-) five miles away in the country.

3. *enough.* Mr. T. had never heard *enow.*—*child.* Mr. T. says (tɟiil) is used for either sex.

4. *dried up*, because *shrivelled* is not used, but (shr,) is used, as (shr,*i*mps, shr,ab).—*called.* This word would be used, *name* = (nɛɛm).

6. *chap* is not often used, (maᵗn) is more common; a woman will speak of her husband as (mæ'*i* tɟaᵗp); the man generally speaks of his wife as (mæᵗi misɛs), but (*oo*ᵗ ˡ/d)ɜmɛn) may also be heard.—*thing*, with (th-) in town and (dh-) in country.

## From Millbrook Co.

2 sw.Plymouth, on the other side of the Hamoaze. Specimen written in glossic by Mr. J. B. Rundell, of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, who lived there as a boy from 4 to 10, and has had frequent opportunities of refreshing his memory. Pal. by AJE. from vv. instruction in 1885. The specimen is supposed to be a dialogue between two persons A and B, and is constructed so as to bring in the principal peculiarities. The pron. is thorough s.Dv., and Mr. Rundell states that having had occasion to visit Padstow in Co., he was surprised to find the speech practically the same.

1 A. gy₁d mar,n*i*n ty₁)i, neebɛr,. ɟy₁)m ɔp brèv,ɛn)ɜr,l*i* dh*i*s mar,n*i*n. wéɛr, bii ɛgween ty₁ *zo* zy₁n ?

2 B. aa ! gy₁d mar,n*i*n ty₁ ·ɟyy₁, mə'*i* díɛr, ! wə'*i*, ɟy₁ zii var,mɛr, :ɔbzez tɟiil)z ɛty₁k bæd w*i*dh dhɛ meez'lz, ɛn ə'*i*)m gween dœ'y₁n tœ'y₁n ty₁ dɔktɛr,z œ'y₁s ty₁ vɛtɟ)'n vɜr,)'n.

3 A. aa ! ɜr,)z ɛgɔt dhɛ meez'lz ɛv)ɛr, ? [æth ɛr,). ɜr,)z ly₁kt kry₁l w*i*sht vɜr, dh*i*s var,tnə'*i*t pæst. ɛr, mɔdhɛr, tə'*u*l mi ɛr, ky₁d'n g*i*t ɛr, ty₁ eet nɔth*i*n ɛn ɛr, wɜz ɛz week)s)ɛ ræb*i*n.

4 B. *i*s, ə'*i* zid var,mɛr, :ɔbz h*i*zsɛlf *i*stɛrde, æz ə'*i* wez in dhɛ viil dr,ee·*i*n tɜr,mɛts, ɛn)i)zɛd i thɔft i mɔs kæl *i*n dhɛ dɔktɛr,. ɔz ə'*i* wɜz ɛkom*i*n ɔp dhɛ leen dɟ*i*s nœ'y₁ ə'*i* mɛt)'n ɛgɛ·n, ɛn i ækst mi ty₁ g*o* var,)'n ty₁ wɔnst.

5 A. ɟy₁)d bɛtɛr, mɛk eest dh'n. sh*i*l ə'*i* zii)i bə'*i*)m)bə'*i* in dhɛ eevn*i*n æt dhɛ t*i*·dl*i*w*i*·qk? ɛn wii)l ɛv ɛ pə'*i*nt ɛv swə'*i*ps tɛg*i*dhɛr,.

*Notes.*

1. *good.* The sound was decidedly a deeper (y), approaching (ə), in some cases almost (ə).—*morning*, the (ɛ) was decidedly retracted and not reverted, it was very faintly marked, not nearly so strong as at Iddesleigh.—*neighbour*, the (ee) did not seem to approach (*ee*), and there was no suspicion of a following ('j).—*you*)*m*, you am, the regular conversational form.—*up*, this form (ɔp, ap, aap) seems to run through this group, D 10 and 11, and indeed occurs also in D 4.

2. *my*, this (ə'*i*) was the nearest approach I could make to this diphthong, which was certainly not (ái), and not even (áᵗ*i*), before mutes, but became so before sonants, as *white*, *wide* (wə'it, wáid).—*down town house*, at first hearing this diphthong sounded to me as (ə'*u*) and it was not till after close examination and continual repetition that I was convinced the sound was (œ'y₁⁵). See the remarks on Iddesleigh (p. 158); the action of the mouth was identical with that there described, wide open for the

first element, with the lips closed nearly and projected for the second.—*house* with final (s) not (z), *to doctor's house to fetch him for him.*

3. *her*, used either for *he* or *she*. Mr. R. did not know of the distinction (ʊ, ʊʀ) *he, she.*—*wisht*, whished, poorly, haggard.—*told*, here I think the diphthong was (ə'*u*) or (*óu*), it was certainly not (ɔ'y$_1$).—*robin*, the bird.

4. *drawing*, i.e. pulling up, *turnips.*—*thought*, the form (thɔft) with (f) is very common.—*at once*, the sound seemed more like (wɔnst) than anything else.

5. *by and bye, tidliwink* small public-house or beershop.

## Var. iii. e.Co.

### Camelford (14 w.Launceston) dt.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of Miss Ada Hill, native, student at Whitelands, June, 1881.

1. zoo ái *zee*, méʊts, ɹu zii nə'*u* dhʊt ái bi ráit ʊbə'*ut* dhat *lit*'l gəʀl kamin from dhek*i* skuʸl.

2. ɜʀ)z ʊ gu·in də'*un* dhʊ róʊd dhɜʀ thruu dhʊ ʀɛd géʊt on dhʊ lɛft han sáid ʊ dhʊ w*ee*.

3. shooʀ ʊnóo*u* dhʊ tʃiild)z gòn street ɜp tʊ dhʊ dóʊʀ ʊ dhʊ roq ə'*uz*.

4. wɜʀɜʀ)l bi lái*i*k tʊ fáind dhek*i* dɹɜqk'n diif w*i*z'nd fɛlʊ ʊ dhʊ néʊm ʊ :tɔmɔs.

5. ɜs aal n*oo*)ʊn vɛr*i* wɛl.

6. wɜnt dhʊ *oo*l tʃap zun teetʃ [lɜʀn] ɜʀ nɔt tʊ du)*it* ʊg*i*n [ʊg*e*n], puuʀ dh*i*q !

7. l*u*k ez)'nt [*i*d)'nt] *i*t tr*uu* ?

*Notes.*

1. *mates*, (sɜni), not (z*i*ni), is commonly used in place of 'mate,' even to old people.—*now*, I wrote (ə'*u*) from dictation, but do not feel at all certain, because of my initial mistake for Millbrook (p. 167 note on *down*), that it was not (ɔ'y$_1$$^{ɔ}$), here and at St. Colomb Major notwithstanding the different analysis.—*I be*, so generally, Miss H. never heard *I's* (see Cardynham) nor *I are*, but she knew *we'm you'm* for *we are, you are.*—*girl*, Miss H. had heard (gɜʀd'l), (meed) maid, is common enough for a young girl under twelve, (tʃiild) is only used for children before they can speak properly, and she did not know of its exclusive confinement to girls. She, however, uses it generally in par. 3.—*that*, (dhek*i*) a very common word.—*school*, not (skyy$_1$l), there was a tendency towards (u) shewn by (uʸ). I got *schule sheur* from Padstow.

2. *through*, Miss H. was confident that it did not become (ɹuu ɹy$_1$), although (ɹii) takes the place of (thrii), see also Millbrook. I got *drew* from Padstow.

3. *enough*, "(ʊnɜ·f) is also heard, not (ʊni·f)."

4. *wizened, shrivelled* not known, but (shr-) initial is used.

6. *chap* is properly a young fellow who works in the quarries, called also a "quarry nipper."—*thing, think*, both have initial (dh).

The two following dt. are given with much hesitation, but they are the best I could obtain, and the writers had taken so much trouble that I thought it best to insert them.

## Cardy'nham (3½ ene.Bodmin).

dt. from a very careful translation in io. with long aq. by Mr. Thos. H. Cross, national schoolmaster, not a native, but much of my interpretation remains conjectural. The pronunciation was obtained by Mr. Cross from an old labourer whose family had been 150 years in the parish.

1. *zoo* ɜ'*i* *zee*, bóiz, jéy₁ zii nɛ'*u*, ʊt ɜ'*i*)m ráit bé*ut* dh*i*k*i* let'l meed kɜmʊn frʊm dhe skuul *j*ind*u*r.

2. ɜr)z ʊgá*i*n dɛ'un dh*i*k*i* róʊd dhíʊr thru dhe rɜd gíʊt ʊn dhe l*i*ft hæn sá*i*d ʊv dhe wee.

3. shóʊr ʊn*i*·f dhʊ tʃil ʊz gʌ'ʊn str*ee*t ɔp tʊ dóʊr ʊv dhe raq ɛ'us.

4. wíʊr ɛr wil tʃæns tʊ vend dh*i*k*i* drɔqken dif wizend felʊr ʊv dhe néʊm ʊv :tɜmʊs.

5. ɜs *oo*l n*oo*z ʊn wɛr*i* wel.

6. w*ee*nt dh*i*k*i* ó*u*ld s*i*n*i* sé*u*m teetʃ shi nɜt tʊ déy₁)ɛt gen, puur th*i*q !

7. lɜk s*i* ! ɛd)'n)*i*t truu ?

*Notes.*

1. *so*, *say*. The initial (z) was written in these two words only, not in *soon* and *side*. This may have been an oversight.—*boys*, written *bo-oys*, which, judging from other spellings, may mean (bóiz), but (bóiz) seemed the more probable sound.—*you* written *ya-ew* and explained "*a* as in h*a*ter, *u* as French *u*, *ya-u* quickly."—*now*, explained "same sound as *ow* as in c*ow*, pronounced quickly, the *a* very distinct."—*that*, the abridged form (ʊt), said to be "very common."—*I am* written *oi um* with the variant *I's*, which is also stated to be "very common, more so than *oi um*." In 1865 TH. heard (*ai*)z)a'd) I have had, from a miner from Gwennap (3 se.Redruth), but that is in D 12. I conjecture that *oi*, which was used in *right side*, meant (ɜ'*i*).—*school* written *skole*, altogether doubtful.—*yonder*, Mr. C. says he never heard *yinder* till he came here, but has often noticed it.

3. "*cheel* is the term for *girl*."

4. *find*, the form *vend* was unexpected.—*drunken* written *dro-un-ken* and said to be so pronounced, which is so unlikely that I have not ventured to give it. Mr. C. may have meant that *o* was substituted for *u*, as in the next note, see also (ɔp) written *op* for *up*.

5. *all*, "there is a remarkable presence of the letter *o* which gives the word the sound of (h)ole," but he writes *o-all*, so his *dro-un-ken* may indicate a substitution.—*very*, Mr. C. has never heard (w) for (v) in any other word, "and in this case it is only in slight use," it is probably an error.

6. *sonny*, commonly used as an address, but said to have been obtained from a labourer in this phrase.

The *r* I have left unmarked before a vowel, from pure uncertainty.

## St. Columb Major (11 wsw.Bodmin)

and about ten miles round; dt. written by Mr. T. Rogers of the St. Wenn National School, Bodmin, with the help of the members of the Reading Room, in which each portion of the dt. was discussed. The original io. was difficult to understand, and although Mr. R. kindly furnished very full explanations, I cannot be quite sure that I have always interpreted them rightly in the following pal. translation.

1. s˩ *zoo* ái s˩ *zee*, kɔmr*ee*·dz, d)i s˩zii nɔ*ó*o dhʊt ái)m ráit bɔ*ó*ot dh*i*ki l*i*t'l m*ee*d kɜm*i*n frʊm dhʊ sk˩ɔúul jaandʊr.

2. shii)z g*ee*n dɔ*ó*on dhʊ r*oo*d dhíʊr druu dhʊ rɛd g*ee*t ɔn dhʊ l*i*ft hæn s˩záid ɔv dhʊ w*ee*.

3. s[ziúʀ nɜf dhʊ tʒiild)z gɔn stráɪt ɜp tʊ dhʊ dúʊʀ ɔv dhʊ ræq hɔóɔs,

4. wíiʊʀ sh)ɪl tʒeens tʊ váɪn dhɪkɪ dʀɜqkin díiʊf skrúuɔd fɛlʊ ɔv dhʊ néeʊm ɔv :tɔmʊs.

5. wi aal nʌ ʊn wɛl)ʊ)fáɪn.

6. wænt dh)ool tʒæp s[zuun teetʒ ʊʀ nɛt tʊ duu)ɔt ʊgɛn, púuʊʀ kreetʊʀ!

7. luk! ɛd)'nt)et triú!

*Notes.*

1. *so say see.* These were said to begin with (s) followed by a faint sound of (z), in that case they would form the transitional sound from (z) to (s).—*I right.* The phonographic sign for (áɪ) was given, but the actual analysis of the diphthong is conjectural. —*comrades,* with the accent on the second syllable, the usual word for 'mates.'—*now about,* etc. The diphthong, written *nŏŏw,* was explained as "*o* in *not* or innovate, but rather short, *ow* as sparr*ow*." This gives the transcription (nɔoo). For *bout, down, house,* Mr. R. used these spellings, and said of *house* "*ou* as in sparr*ow*, with the *o* prolonged slightly." It seems to me that the analysis is certainly wrong, and that (ə'u), heard from Camelford, is more correct. But the explanation was so explicit I felt bound to adopt it.—*I'm* "is used in such sentences as 'I'm gain tä town,' *I be* in answering questions, as: 'are you one? eĕs I be,' not 'I am.'"—*right.* "The *r* is trilled in many cases, *droo* for instance. A big boy in school once said to me, 'how many dree hapences in dreppens,' with a trill on each *r*, the point of the tongue touching the gums of the front teeth of the upper jaw and then vibrating. But when *r* occurs at the *end* of a word, it is not trilled, as far as I am aware, but the tongue is withdrawn back to the throat in pronouncing it. In *droo* there is a trill, in *drunken* not, the tip of the tongue touching the teeth [for *d*?] and then withdrawing. In *strīte* and *trew* there is a slight trill in the first word, and a strong one in the second.—*strīte.* The front part of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth in front; the tip, the top of the gums in the lower jaw, and the tongue is drawn backwards, and the tip lifted upwards at the same time.

2. *trew.* The tongue (tip) touches the gums in front in the upper jaw, and is then quickly withdrawn back to the throat past its normal position in the mouth." This would generally indicate (r,, ʀ) with occasional (r, ɹ). Under these circumstances I have retained (r) before a vowel, but used (ʀ) final.—*from* or (vrɛm, f[vrɛm).—*school.* This was written *skŏŏl,* and explained to be *o,* as in *not,* but *very* short, followed by *ō,* as in *hoot.*' This I have endeavoured to render by (sk[ɔúul), but I think that this is probably wrong. Perhaps he meant (skœ'uul), a generating sound of (skyy,l), but everything is uncertain. I generally got *schule, skewl* in io. from Co.

3. *enough,* 'the *f* strongly accented.'

6. *her,* '*she* is but rarely used for *her*.'

Although these examples of e.Co. leave much to be desired, they evidently shew a dying out of Dv. forms, and the characteristic (ʀ, y,) are more or less implied.

## D 12 = w.WS. = western West Southern.

*Boundary.* On the e. the w. b. of D 11 from Falmouth Harbour to Pirran Bay (p. 156) b. are made up of the sw. coast of Co.

*Area.* The w. of Co., to the w. of Truro, together with the Scilly Islands (24 wsw. Land's End).

*Authorities.* See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ° in io.

*Co.* °†Gwennap, *Marazion, *Penzance, °St. Just, °St. Stithians.

*Character.* None can be given. The mode of speech is said to vary much from place to place, not more than ten or twelve miles apart, and most of the WS. characters seem to have disappeared. Down to 200 years ago some Cornish was still spoken in these regions. How the change to English came about, I do not know, but it was clearly not imported from the e., because we find scarcely a vestige of Dv. phraseology or pronunciation. The miners, who abound, are a mixed race. Many words of Cornish origin remain. The phrases used are picturesque, and the spelling which the dialect-writers of west Cornish have adopted is also rather picturesque than phonetic. It would be necessary to study the pronunciation of each neighbourhood on the spot from the mouths of natives, and for such a haphazard speech as appears to prevail, this would be hardly worth while. At the same time, any tolerably complete view would demand too much space.

Tregellas, as quoted by Mr. T. Q. Couch ("East Cornish Words"), remarks on the peculiar sing-song of the West Cornwall speakers, and its lessening and alteration in character on proceeding eastward, through Trevednack (? Towednack, 2 sw. St. Ives), St. Ives (7 ssw.Penzance), Hayle (4 se.St. Ives), and Camborne (4 wsw. Redruth), and says that, "e. of Camborne, even at Redruth, the natural accent has died away, nor is it again heard from the more guttural speakers of Redruth, Gwennap (3 se. R.), and St. Agnes (6 n-by-e.R.). But . . . the miner of Perranzabuloe (7 nnw. Truro) expresses himself uniformly in a full note higher than his adjoining parish of St. Agnes, and no sooner have you passed Cranstock (8 wsw.St. Columb Major) and Cubert (2 s.Cr.), and entered into St. Colomb's," than you begin to hear (z-) for (s-), in first to a small and then to a large extent. This agrees precisely with Mr. Hodge's b. of e. and w.Cornwall passing between Cranstock and Cubert, and here adopted (p. 156).

Mr. William Noye kindly wrote me a version of the cs. for Penzance, and I took it down from his dictation in 1873. In 1876 I went over it with Mr. Rawlings, of Hayle, who was exceedingly well acquainted with the speech of his neighbourhood. He differed from Mr. Noye in a great number of particulars, and found the cs. so ill adapted for exhibiting the west Cornish peculiarities, that he re-wrote a portion of it, which I pal. from his dict. in Feb. 1876. It seems, therefore, advisable to limit any examples to this particular specimen, which, as will be seen, is founded on the cs. He locates his yarn in Marazion (3 e.Penzance), and entitles it

## Jacky Tresise, a Marazion Specimen.

1. :dʒæk·i :tʊzaiz sɛd: *oo*! ·hii lææf! hi *did*·'nt lææf wen ʊ rand ʊwee· láʊst krez·məs frʊm thʊ giiz-déʊnsʊz, ʊn sɛd tu ən :mæl·i :*pul*gree·n, dhʊt hii)d siid ʊ *pis*·k*i*. ·hii ɛd'nt wəth ʊ snəf!

2. sid)'n, *did*·shi? drəqk *ái* sp*oo*z? krái·*in* tu? zæk·li láik'n!! náu, ái)l tɛl·i :dʒéʊmz, ái nɛv·ʊ láik)'n — aa·lez kráid *in* dhʊ rəq pl*ee*s!

3. ái wʊz dáun tu :midhiʊn m*it*·'n léʊst sən·d*e*, ʊn əqk'l :tom :vɛs'nt priitʒt ʊbaút dhʊ p*áu*ʊ :sʊmær*it*ʊn—wi hæd ʊ klab fiist dhʊ dee ʊfoo', ʊn ·səm)ʊv)ʊz iit ʊnəf· fʊ dʒɛn·t'lmen — ʊn dhʊ wɔz'nt a dráí ái en dhʊ m*i*t'n, sɛpt ·hiiz.

4. s*oo* ái sɛd tu· ʊn: "háu ær)·i s*oo* ənkʊnsaa·nd?"

5. ʊn sɛz hii: ":dʒæk·i, ʊ do'nt kʊnsaa·n ·mii, kaaz ái do'nt l*iv* *in* jo' pær·*i*sh. ái *oo*·nli st*ee*d af·tʊ dhʊ klab fiist, kaaz ái wʊz a l*it*·l f*u*d·'ld w*i* b*iiv*."

6. æz tʊ sii·ʊn ɔb)'m, hi w*u*d'n kəm *in*·tʊ ·mái háus ʊn nɔt bi siid! áu' :mee·r*i* táuld mi *oo*·nl*i* :mən·de iib·m*in*, hii'·r*in* ʊbáut dhʊ tæn·trʊmz ʊ k*i*kt ɛp dáun tʊ :tʒəatʒ :táun;

7. "ez·'nt hææf ʊ mæn," sɛz shii, "hii-l gəz'l aal dhʊ l*i*k ʊ hi kʊn h*it*ʒ ʊn skr*ee*p, ʊn ʊ dʊ p*ee* noo·bʊd*i*. səm dʊ s*ee* hi ɛd'nt paat*i*k·lʊ ʊbaút t*ee*·k*in* whɔt ɛd'nt ez *oo*n. dhʊ kl*oo*z ʊ hæd ɔn ʊ nɛv·ə p*ee*d dha pækmæn fa. ʊn ái w*u*d'nt," sɛz shii, "trəs'n *in* á*u*r eel tʒ*ee*m·bʊ bái ʊsel·f.

8. "ái bliiv *if* hii-d nɔth·*in* iit·*in* a dr*i*qk·*in*, hii-d t*ee*k ʊ kəmp ʊ sh*ug*·ʊ áut ə dhə níʊr*iz* k*ee*dʒ. ái nev·ə siid ə fɛl·ə láik)'n fʊ[r iit·*in*, sɛpt dr*i*qk·*in*, ái bliiv hii-z láik ʊ kl*oo*m·ɛn kæt, hii-z hɔl·ʊ dáun tʊ h*i*z t*oo*z."

1. John Tresise said: Oh! *he* laugh! he didn't laugh when he ran away last Christmas from the guise-dancers, and said to aunt Molly Polgrain, that he'd seen a piskey. *He* isn't worth a snuff!

2. Saw-him, did-she? drunk, I suppose? Crying too? Exactly like-him! Now, I'll tell)you, James, I never liked)him—always cried in the wrong place!

3. I was down at Mithian meeting, last Sunday, and uncle Tom Vincent preached about the poor Samaritan—we had a club feast the day before, and *some* of us ate enough for gentlemen—and there wasn't a dry eye in the meeting, except he's.

4. So I said to-him: "How are-you so unconcerned?"

5. And says he: "Jacky, he doesn't concern *me*, because I don't live in your parish. I only stayed after the club-feast, because I was a little fuddled with beer."

6. As to seeing of)him, he wouldn't come into *my* house and not be seen! Our Mary told me only Monday evening, hearing about the tantrums he kicked up down to Church Town;

7. "Isn't half a man," says she, "he'll guzzle all the liquor he can hitch and scrape, and he do pay nobody. Some do say he isn't particular about taking what isn't his own. The clothes he had on he never paid the packman for. And I wouldn't," says she, "trust-him in our hall chamber by himself.

8. "I believe if he'd nothing eating or drinking, he'd take a lump of sugar out of the canary's cage. I never saw a fellow like-him for eating, except drinking, I believe he's like an earthenware cat, he's hollow down to his toes."

*Notes.*

1. *guise dancers.* Christmas mummers, dancers in fancy guise.—*aunt.* This "aunt" is said to have been the usual mark of respect for the Virgin Mary. It reminds one of the American negro Uncle and Aunt.—*piskey*, metathesis for (pik·si) *pixy* or fairy, as (wæps) for *wasp*, etc.—*snuff*, namely, a candle-snuff, the most worthless thing he could think of.

3. *Mithian* is a small curacy 6 nnw. Truro. — *meeting*, that is, a Nonconformist chapel or preaching house. —*uncle*, a title of respect, see *aunt*, par. 1.—*poor*, a little confusion between the "good" Samaritan and the unfortunate man he relieved.—*he's* apparently for *his*, but it may have been only (hiz) for (hiz); the common *hissen* is not used here.

5. *He*, the (ʊ) is *her*, less the aspirate and the trill of *r*, and *her* is used for he, a southern importation. Of course the joke is a very ancient one, Cornwallised for the occasion.

6. *Church Town*, the name always given to the place where the church is.

7. *packman*, the pedlar who carries round a pack of cloth for sale.—*hall-chamber*, the chief room of the house is so called, however small it may be.—*himself*, but written "*her*self." See *her* for he in par. 5.

8. *if he'd nothing*, etc., that is, if he was not engaged in eating or drinking something.—*earthenware.* (kloom) is a common Cornish word for earthenware. A common red earthen pitcher with two handles is called (ʊ kloom bus·ʊ), where the (u) is peculiar, perhaps a ($u_o$), and I occasionally heard it like an (ɑ).

As this was a vv. specimen of pronunciation, I have extracted some of the principal words, and I have also taken those given by Miss Courtney in the introduction to her "West Cornwall Glossary." But I am quite unable from both, and also from looking over many books of West Cornish tales and rhymes, to make out any satisfactory characteristics. There appear, however, to be some traces of D 11 from e.Co. and Dv., as 1) the metathesis of s and consonant in (p*is*k*i*, klæps, hæps) pixy, clasp, hasp; 2) the use of ('n) for acc. him, it; 3) (tʒil) for a girl; 4) the neutral infinitive in (-i) as (digi, hæki, peenti, wAAki) to dig, hack, paint, walk. Miss Courtney also adduces the use of (bii, beent, ái bi, bii-i ?) for am, is-not, I am, are you ?; but they do not seem to occur in the literature, and the disuse of *be* was one of the marks by which Mr. Hodge was enabled to draw the line between e. and w.Co.

## West Cornish cwl.

Unmarked generally or marked R, words from Mr. Rawlings's example.
C words for the Land's End and adjacent districts from introduction to Miss Courtney's Glossary, conjecturally palaeotyped.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 8 C hæʊv. 30 C kiʊ. 34 lévst. A: *or* O: 61 C ʊmɔ·q. 64 rɔq. A'- 92 C nAA. A': 123 nɔthin. Æ- 141 C névl. 143 C tévl. Æ: — C hæps [hasp]. Æ'- 182 C see. 193 C kleen. Æ': — iibmin [evening]. 249 C wíʊ [according to Westlake]. — iit [eat]. 251 C meet. E: 263 ʊwee. E'- 290 hii [strong], ʊ [weak]. 296 C bleev. 302 C mit, R mi·t'n [meeting]. E': 314 híʊd. EA: 322 lææf. 334 hææf & C. 338 C kææl. EA'- 348 C ái. — jíʊ [ear]. EA': 366 C geet. EO: — jælʊ [yellow]. 406 C jɑɑth [Westlake, also (íʊrth)]. EY: 439 trɑs)'n [trust him]. I: 466 C tʒil. 482 ed)'nt [is'nt]. — krips [crisp].

I': 500 láik. O: 525 ɔb)'m [of him]. 533 C d*u*l. 541 C w*ee*nt. 546 fA. O'- — C grAA [grow]. Ö': — C huuk [hook]. — C huud [hood]. U- 603 C kuum. Ü: 635 wath. U'- 641 hau. Ü': 658 dáun. Y-' — kiit [a kite].

II. English.

A. — níυr*i* [canary]. — C klæps [clasp]. E. — C biit [peat]. — C skiin [skein]. I. *and* Y. — p*i*ski [pixy]. — shEvυ [shiver]. U. — f*u*d'ld [fuddled]. 804 drɑqk. — p*uz*'l [to puzzle].

III. Romance.

A·· 811 pl*ee*s. — p*ee* [pay]. — C mææstυ [master]. — C ænJυl [angel, possibly (eenJυl)]. 849 C strænJυ [possibly (streenJυ)]. 850 déυns. 851 an. — skw*i*υ [square]. 866 p*iu*υ. E·· 867 C tee. — C *see*krυt [secret]. — — siin [a seine, net]. — rυleev [relieve]. — br*ee*m [bream, fish]. — ankυnsaa·nd [unconcerned]. 891 fiist. 895 C risee·v. I·· *and* Y·· — rEvυ [river]. O·· — C kɑlυm [column]. 933 C frant. U·· — sh*u*gυr [sugar]. — giiz [guise].

## The Scilly Isles.

Miss Courtney in her West Cornish Glossary makes the Scillonian dialect different from that of Co., instancing *tread tree* for 'thread, three,' (ɔ'*i*) for (a'i) in (pɔ'int ɔ'*i*lz) pint, isles, and conversely (pá*i*nt bá*i*l) for point, boil. She also draws a distinction between the speech of St. Mary's island containing the capital Hugh Town and the speech of the "Off-oislanders," as she writes them, who inhabit the smaller isles. This was in 1880. Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, vicar of Newlyn St. Peter, Penzance, kindly wrote to Mr. Dorrien Smith (proprietor, and familiarly known as "the King of Scilly"), who, in reply, dated Tresco Abbey, Isles of Scilly, 7 Aug. 1883, says, "I know of no place in the British Isles where the Queen's English is less massacred by the lower classes than it is in these islands. There is no dialect or any peculiarities of speech worth mentioning, and I can find no record of any having been spoken." Mr. Lach-Szyrma says compulsory education has prevailed for forty years and stamped out dialect, and that the people are mostly Cornish, some are said to be descended from the Cavaliers of Charles II. who settled there, and others from sailors from all parts (Scillonia once was a pirate station). The population is quite hybrid in all points, in appearance, physique, ideas, and language; a sort of gathering from the coast population generally, but with a strong Cornu-British element. Under these circumstances no dialectal value can be attached to any pronunciations there heard. I am indebted to Miss Toulmin Smith for the means of obtaining the above information.

## II.

# WESTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

*Boundaries.* The w. b. is the CB (p. 9) from the Bristol Channel to the point where the n. *sum* line 1 breaks from it. The n. and part of the e. b. are the n. *sum* line 1 (p. 15), from the point of its deflection from the CB to the point where the reverted *ur* line 3 (p. 17) joins the n. *sum* line 1 on the w. The rest of the e. b. is formed by the reverted *ur* line 3, from its w. junction with the n. *sum* line 1 to the Bristol Channel. The s. b. is the Bristol Channel between the CB and the reverted *ur* line 1.

*Area.* Portions of Mo., He., Sh. in England, and of Br., Rd., Mg. in Wales. This district represents on the e. comparatively late, and on the w. very modern invasions of the English language on the Welsh.

## D 13 = SW. = South Western.

*Boundaries.* On account of the absence of detailed information, the n. b. is rather arbitrarily assumed to be first the b. of Rd. and Mg., and then of Mg. and Sh. as far as a little w. of Bishop's Castle (8 se.Montgomery); next, turning to the s. between Clun (13 w.-by-n.Ludlow) and Craven Arms (7 nw.Ludlow), nearly in an e. direction to just n. of Bewdley (3 wsw.Kidderminster, Wo.). This is merely meant to imply that at least a few miles n. and s. of this line the speech is sensibly different. The other b. are the w. e. and s. parts of those of the W. div.

*Area.* The e. part of Mo., almost all He., the greater part of Rd., the e. of Br., and a narrow slip to the s. of Sh.

*Authorities.* See the County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ systematic, ° in io.

*He.* ° Almerley, † Dinmore, ‖ Docklow, ‖ Hereford, † Leintwardine, † Leominster, ‖† Lower Bach Farm, ° Lucton, † Stockton, † Wacton, ° Weobley.

*Sh.* † Clun, † Ludlow.

*Mo.* ° Caerleon, ° Chepstow, * Llanover, ° Pontypool.

WALES.—*Br.* ° Brecon, * e.Br., ° Builth, ° Crickhowel.

*Rd.* ° Boughrood, ° Llanddewi Ystradenny, ° New Radnor.

*Character.* S. English spoken by Welshmen or their descendants, the e. side being more English and the w. side more Welsh, in fact, on the w. the speech is most like book Eng. spoken by foreigners, with occ. dialectal influence. The whole is very imperfect dialect, even in m. and e. He. marks of Welsh influence abound. In D 13 the groundwork is S. English, which has been altered by Celts in

a different way from D 10, 11. The initial (z, v) for (s, f) is almost extinct, and the initial employment of (dr) for (thr) is lost. The reverted (ʀ) exists, but is generally inconspicuous and often uncertain, so that it would not be possible to correct line 3. The use of (*ái*) for AG, EG is uncertain. Some of the fractures A- (*éʊ*), A′ (*úʊ*) remain. The fine (ə) rather than (ɑ) has developed itself for O′ as well as U. The form (əth) for *with* is striking. The diphthongs for I′, U′, are mildly (*ə′i, ə′u*).

For examples I am mainly indebted to specimens obtained by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which he passed over to me, from Docklow, Hereford, Lower Bach Farm and Weobley in He., and Llanover in Mo TH. also went over most of the ground, and brought me valuable information; he visited the sons of Mrs. Burgiss, of Lower Bach Farm, who were very polite in communicating their knowledge, which enabled me to understand better the information of Mr. Woodhouse, of Docklow. As these give the best idea of the dialect, I place them first, and then give a mixed cwl., which shews the n.He. habits of speech. Mr Woodhouse's examples are full of local colouring. For Hereford itself, the speech had become too much like 'received' for me to cite two cs. obtained for me by the Prince, and that from Weobley could only be conjecturally interpreted. It must be remembered that all se.He. belongs to D 4, in which it is treated (pp. 68–75). The w. of He. becomes more like Welsh English, and is treated afterwards. Of Rd. I know too little, but it is probably very like Mo., which will be noticed further on.

### Illustrations for n.He. and s.Sh.

### Lower Bache (:b*ee*tɟ) Farm (3½ ene.Leominster) dt.

pal. by TH. from dict. of sons of Mrs. Burgiss.

1. nə′u ə′i)sâ*i*, mêʊts, ɹu sì nə′*u* ə′*i* bì rə′*it* ʊbə′*ut* dhat l*it*′l wensh kɜm*in* frʊm dhʊ skuul ɹandʊr.
2. ɜʀ)z ʊg*w*â*in* də′un dhʊ r*oo*d dhêʊr thrə′*u* dhʊ ʀɛd gîʊt o)dhʊ)l*i*ft ɔnd sə′*id* o)dhʊ)wâ*i* (wâ′*i*).
3. bə′*i* gɔm! [shúʊr ʊnəf] ɜʀ)z gɑ̀n str*ái*t tʊ dhʊ roq ə′*u*s.
4. wêʊr, lə′*i*k ʊnəf ɜʀ)l fə′*i*nd dhat drəqk′n dən*i* *áu*ld :təm.
5. wì ɑɑl nô*u* ì*m* wɛl ʊnəf.
6. ə′*i*)l bak ì)l lɜʀn ɜʀ bɛtʊr)′n du)*it* ʊgjə̀n pûʊr wɛntɟ!
7. luk! ɹənt)*it* truu?

*Notes.*

1. mates (ladz, tɟaps), if one person (sɜ·ʀ*i*) sirrah. 4. (dən*i*) deaf.

## Docklow (5 ese. Leominster).

Examples written "as near as possible how one of his farm-labourers would speak" by Mr. R. Woodhouse, Newhampton, Leominster, Hereford, acquainted with the dialect 30 years in 1875; pal. by AJE. from his indications, and the information obtained at Lower Bache farm, about 2 miles off, by TH.

### Original.

1. pliiz, *mis*is, dhə míəstər teld mi tə a'ks ju tə send :təməs ən :djíəmz də'*un* tə *im* *in* dhə áa*i* f*i*ld, əz suun əz dhá*i* əv dən ma'g*i*t*i*n dhə sh*i*p, tə elp *im* tə tərn dhə áa*i*, ən *im* sed əz dhá*i* wəz tə br*i*q səm pə'*i*ks əth əm, əz səmbədə əv *i*d tuu əz wəz left dheer last nə'*i*t fə ga'ləsnes, ər st*oo*l əm.

2. ən :bil *i*z tə t*ee*k ə ɔkshət əv w*ee*ətər, intə dhə s*i*dz fər dhə kaavz, ən f*i*l dhər traa fər əm, ən dhen br*i*q dhə wa'g*i*n tə dhə áai f*i*ld. ii məst p*u*t dhə f*i*lər as, əz :daarb*i* əd bii tuu rest*i*v fə dhə bwáa*i* tə drə'*i*v əp dhə aartj*i*t, əz pra'ps i *u*d ran əwáa*i* ən spwə'il *i*zself, ər səmət. ən *i*f jə wa'nts en*i* t*ee*tərz fər d*i*nər, míəstər teld mi tə d*i*q səm. ii sed əz səm on jə *u*d pə'*i*nt ə'ut dhə framest tə mii, ən tel mi ə'u men*i* jə'u)d wa'nt.

3. jə məst pliiz tə a'v dhə p*i*gz pend əp, fər dhá*i* wəz *i*n dhə wiit f*i*ld əz ə'*i* kəm əp, ən dhái əv wa'z'ld it də'*un* ver*i* ba'd, djest thrə'u, dhə gíət, ən fə'*i*n wərk ə'i a'd tə get əm ə'*u*t əga'n·, spesəl*i* dhə n*i*sgəl, i ra'n mi aal ovər dhə f*i*ld əfóovər ə'i k*u*d get *i*m ə'*u*t.

4. mə'*i* aald umən teld mi tə tel jə əz ər *i*z gwáa*i*n tə :lemstər təmorə, *i*f jə wa'nts tə send, ər ə got səm fə'*u*lz tə s*i*t. ər əd intended əm fə spa'rəgras tj*i*k*i*nz, bət dháai waarnt fram ənəf, s*oo* ər ə a'd tə k*i*p əm t*i*l nə'*u*. míəster *i*z gwáa*i*n tə send *i*n dhə bíənz i tild last w*i*k, ən ər th*i*qks ə get*i*n ə rə'*i*d ba'k in dhə wa'g*i*n,

### Translation.

1. Please, Mistress, the Master told me to ask you to send Thomas and James down to him in the hay field, as soon as they have done maggotting the sheep, to help him to turn the hay, and he said that they were to bring some pitchforks with them, as somebody has hid two that were left there last night for mischief, or stolen them.

2. And Bill is to take a hogshead of water, into the seeds = *clover* for the calves, and fill their trough for them, and then bring the waggon to the hay field. He must put the thiller (shaft) horse, as Darby would be too restive for the boy to drive up the orchard, as perhaps he would run away and spoil himself, or something. And if you want any potatoes for dinner, master told me to dig some. He said that some of you would point out the ripest to me, and tell me how many you)d want.

3. You must please to have the pigs penned up, for they were in the wheat field as I came up, and they have wasselled it down very badly, just through the gate, and fine work I had to get them out again, specially the youngest, he ran me all over the field before I could get him out.

4. My old woman told me to tell you that she is going to Leominster to-morrow, if you want to send, or have got some fowls to sit. She had intended them for asparagus chickens, but they were not forward enough, so she has had to keep them till now. Master is going to send in the beans he tilled last week, and she thinks of getting a ride back in the waggon,

ʊn if ʊʀ fə'*u*lz s*i*lz wel, ʊʀ miinz br*i*q*i*n ʊ b*i*t ʊ b*i*f, ʊz wii bi gwáa*i*n tʊ a'v dhʊ ɟəq)ʊn kr*i*s'nd ʊ sənd*i*, ʊn gra'n*i*ʊn gra'ndshʊr bi kəm*i*n tʊ d*i*nʊr ʊth wii. ə'*i* miinz tʊ beg ʊ bət'l ʊ sə'*i*dʊr ʊ míʊstʊr, ʊn a'v ʊ b*i*t ʊ ba'kʊ fʊr dhʊ AAld tʃa'p, ʊz ə'*i* shʊd lə'*i*k tʊ m*ee*k ʊm dʒəl*i* ʊn kəmfʊrtʊb'l.

and if her fowls sell well, she means bringing a bit of beef, as we be going to have the young)one christened on Sunday, and granny and grandsire be coming to dinner with us. I mean to beg a bottle of cyder of master, and have a bit of tobacco for the old chap, as I should like to make them jolly and comfortable.

Note, par. 2. (fram) is much used for early and ripe in He. Note, par. 3. (n*i*sgəl), called (nizgəl) in Miss Jackson's glossary, is the youngest of a brood of fowls or litter of pigs. Mr. Woodhouse thinks it comes from *nest gosling* (nist gəl) in He.

*w.He. and e.Br.* Mr. Stead (p. 142), who lived for 6 or 7 years at Christ's College, Brecon, has kindly furnished me vv. with some of the principal peculiarities of the pronunciation of the e.Br. and w.He., which chiefly affect the following classes of words.

1. (*éʊ*) verging on (*é*'ʊ, *íʊ*), but with both the vowels extremely short and difficult to catch, evidently the fracture which appears as (éʊ êʊ, íʊ îʊ) in D 4, but peculiar from the great shortness of the first element; found in A- bake take make sake cake tale lame name tame same shame mane late bathe, A'- lane, Æ- dray hail nail snail tail again slain brain, where in He. generally (âa*i*, â*i*) is heard, and in blaze, Æ: egg day, he lay, may dale, Æ': clay, EG- sail rain play, EG: to lay say way, where the S. practice wavers between (*ee*, â*i*), E': high nigh, EA- gape, EA: gate, EA'- eye, EA': slay great, EI- they nay, EI- their; English A. trade drain sale frame mate wave, E. scream cheat; French A·· face place lace mason fade age rage gain train danger change stranger dance case brace chase paste taste, E·· faint. All of these words (except d*a*nce) have (*ee*, *ée*'j) or (ee) in received speech, shewing the extremely modern form of the usage.

2. (*u*$_1$ʊ, *u*hʊ, *u*$_2$ʊ, *o*$_u$ʊ), the extreme shortness of the first element rendering appreciation very difficult; the first element sometimes sounded as (*u*) and sometimes as *o*$_u$), but (*u*$_o$) seemed to be the nearest; found in the words A: comb, A'- go no toe so toad more clothes clothe road rode loaf whole bone stone those ghost boat goat, Æ: most, O: coal; O'- nose; English O. load; French O·· coach rogue coat. All of these words have (*oo*, *oo'w*) in received speech; another mark of modern development, though the fracture itself represents the S. (úʊ, ûʊ) common in D 4.

3. (ɑ'*i*, ə'*i*) it seemed to me that (ɑ'*i*) was the nearest sound as in the Forest of Dean (p. 60), and it seemed to have been developed from Welsh *yi*—found in the words EO'- a fly, EO': light fight, EY- to die, I- ivy Friday stile nine, I: I, to lie down, night right sight child wild blind, the wind bind find grind to wind, I'- by sigh drive time iron arise write, I': like wide five life knife wife mile while mine wine ice wise, Y: to buy, a kind, mind, Y- sky why hire, Y': fire lice mice; French I·· and Y·· nice fine dine violet advice, U·· quiet. Here every word, except the w*i*nd, and even that practically, has (a'i) in rs., another proof of a very modern form, even the existent He. and Sh. (*ivi*) ivy not being used.

4. (ɑ'*u*, ə'*u*) evidently the same first element as in the last case, similar to that in D 4, Forest of Dean, and, as in the last case, probably derived from Welsh *y* in *yw*; found in the words U: pound sound (=healthy) found, U'- cow now our thousand, U': brown down town shower house louse mouse out proud mouth south; English O. bounce; French EU·· flower, OU·· allow doubt, that is, precisely those words which have (a'u) in rs.

Although, then, these fractures are highly dialectal in character,

they are merely the representatives of the received (*ee*, *oo*, a'i, a'u), and hence shew that the pronunciation is merely book-English with a slight dialectal tendency. In Br. the people speak English with each other, especially towards the east, and as the He. border is reached the English is more and more dialectal. Going farther w. the English is more and more bookish, clearly a foreign language. From Carmarthen Mr. Spurrell has sent me very interesting specimens of this English, which is of an old-fashioned type, and probably sounds very pleasant when spoken with a Welsh lilt, but is certainly not an English dialect, and hence has no place here.

*Rd.* From Rd. I have no specimens, but the Rev. Henry de Winton, vicar of Boughrood (19 sw.Presteign), says, "The English spoken being an acquired language is more free from provincialisms and purer than that of the neighbouring English counties." It is therefore a foreigner's English, and embraces nearly the whole county.

*Mo.*, though long a part of England by law, is essentially Welsh in feeling. By Chepstow, on the borders of Gl., the pronunciation, to judge from the wl. sent me by Dr. J. Yeats, approaches very near to that of adjoining Gl., D 4. The use of auxiliary *do* and *did* is the rule, as it seems to be among Welsh speakers. The main characteristic is the intonation, which, as described by Dr. Yeats's correspondent, is strongly Welsh in character. The same was very marked in the cs. which, at the request of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, Lady Llanover, of Llanover (12 w.-by-s.Monmouth), wrote for and dictated to me, representing the Welsh English of Mo. and Gm.

Lady Llanover spoke with much emphasis and apparently exaggerated distinctness in order to assist me. I noticed that the utterance was rapid and jerked, with frequently a compound pitch accent; that is, in (léik·li) for the first syllable the voice fell in a glide, and then rose suddenly on the second syllable, as in Norwegian. The pure (i) was occasionally used finally as in this word, but when dwelled on the long final (ii) often fell into (ɹ, ɹh) as (siiɹɹh) see. The (ee) was medial, without any vanish, but (e) became occasionally (ɛ). The *a* was usually (a[1]), but at times reached (æ). The *h* and *wh* were distinct. The *r* before a vowel was trilled, but otherwise fell into (ʊ), which may have been an English habit on Lady Ll.'s part, as she also used (ɔ, *oo*), whereas in Welsh (o, oo) are employed. She used (s) not (z) in (bisnis), but kept (z) in (bizi). She used (w) in (w*u*d), but said (*u*mʊn). Generally her pronunciation was simply a foreigner's English and not a dialect. A few S. sounds occurred as (tee, máid) tea, maid, and (kʌ'ʊn-el) corner. On the other hand a Welsh word *heol* (hee·ol), a road, occurred, as also a nondescript word written *cliffer*, and pronounced to me as (kli·bɛ) or (kli·pʊ) meaning 'noise, row,' for which she said (p*u*·takh), another unknown word, was often used. According to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte he was informed by Mr. Meredith that other S. constructions and pronunciations were used, such as *him*, *us* for *he*, *we*, *un* for *one*, *be* for *is*, and the pronunciations (dhái, dáai, sáai, wáai) they, day, say, way, in place of Lady Ll.'s (dhee, dee, see, wee). The use of the periphrastic forms, as 'did tell' for 'told,' was regular. All these were probably the 'vulgarisms' which Lady Ll. purposely omitted.

The whole of Mo., like e.Br. and all Rd., belongs, therefore, to a predominating Welsh form of English, with very little of true dialectal English left in it, and in this respect they are totally unlike D 2, 3, which are merely worn-out English forms without any Welsh influence.

## North Herefordshire cwl.

B words obtained by TH. from the Burgiss family, and B† words from lists furnished by Mr. G. Burgiss, of Lower Bache Farm (3 ene.Leominster).
D words from Mr. R. Woodhouse, of Docklow (5 ese.Leominster).
H words from Hereford, collected by TH.
L words from Leominster, collected by TH.
Lu words from Ludlow, collected by TH.

Several of these letters before the same word show that it was found in all the places. In such groups medial are not distinguished from short vowels.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 B bêʊk. 4 DL *teek*. 18 B kîʊk. 21 B nêʊm, L *neem*. A: 43 B ɔnd. — B gɔndʊr [gander]. 54 D waˈnt. 56 DL wɛsh. A: *or* O: 58 Lu thrɔm. 60 B loq, †ləq. 64 D rəq, BLu roq. 65 D səq. 66 D thəq. A'- 67 B gwâin, B gûʊ. 82 D wɔnst. 86 B óʊts, †wəts. 92 BLu nôu. 95 B thráu. A': 104 B*rood*. 110 B nʊ[in], kɔnʊ, mənʊ, unʊ, shanʊ, dənʊ, [but] bɔənt [can't, mustn't, won't, shan't, don't, be not]. 114 D pɑal [pole]. 115 B wòm, L wɑˈm. 117 Lu wən.

Æ- 138 B *feedhʊr*. — B siit [seat]. 152 BLu *weetʊr*, D *wéeʊtʊr*. Æ: 154 B bak. — D ɛdʊr [adder]. 161 B dɛˈ*i*, H d*ee*, LLu. dâ*i*. 164 H mâ*i*. — B ɔpˈl. Æ'- 183 B tiitʒ. 190 B kɛˈ*i*. 192 D miin. 193 Lu kliin. 200 B wìt, B† wítʊt. Æ': — D *sid* [seed]. 216 B† dɛl, B dilʊl, Lu *dil*. 218 DLu *ship*. 222 B† jeer. 223 B dhêʊr, H dhɔr, L dhɛˈʊr, Lu dhîʊr. 224 B wêʊr.

E- 233 B spiik. 241 Lu râin. 251 B miit. E: — B a)ən·st, BD ʊnə·nt [anent, opposite to]. 262 B wâi, L wâˈ*i*, L wɛˈ*i*. 263 D ʊwáa*i*. 265 B str*áit*, DH strɛˈ*it*. — BLLu *fild* [field]. E'- 300 D *kip*, H kiip. E': 312 Lu íʊr. 314 B íʊrd. 315 B *fit*.

EA- 320 B kíʊr. EA: 323 B† fəˈ*ut*. 326 B *dul*d, D ɑald. 332 L tɔˈ*u*ld [? tó*u*ld]. 333 BD kaav. 338 Lu kaal. 346 BD gîʊt. EA'- 347 B jɑˈd. EA': 350 B djʊd, Lu dɛˈd. 352 B rɛd. 354 D skəf. 361 B†D bíʊn. — B† jəp [heap]. 366 L gr*eet*, Lu griit. — B† djaa [dew]. EI- 373 D dhá*i*. EO- 386 jəˈu. EO: 393 D bijæ·nd. 394 D jændʊr. 402 B làrn. 405 B† jərth. EO': 431 L bíʊr. 436 B truu.

I- 440 D w*i*k. 442 B *ivi*. 446 H nɑˈin. I: 452 LLu *ái*, Lu ɔˈ*i*. 458 D nəˈ*it*. 459 BH rəˈ*it*. 466 B tʒəˈild. — D *fi*las [thill or shaft horse]. 469 B† ut, wut [wilt]. — Lu *wi*ndʊ [window]. 477 B fəˈind. 482 B† jənt tənt bɔənt [is not, Mr. G. B said these were the most difficult words to utter]. I'- 492 B səˈid. I': — B dəˈ*it*ʒ [dyke]. 500 B ləˈ*i*k. 506 BLu umʊn. — D âa*i*, L â*i* [hay].

O: — D traa [trough]. 541 BD wɔnt, D ɔ̀nt. — B†D kəˈut [colt]. 550 Lu wənd. — D thərn [thorn]. — D as [horse]. O'- 558 B luk, Lu [between (luk) and (l*u*k)]. O': — B† brək [brook]. — B†D ək [hook]. 579 B ʊnəf. 587 B dəˈn. 595 B fət. — təth [pl. (*tith*) tooth, teeth].

U- — B wəd [wood], BLu ùd. 603 Lu kɑm. 606 B dôʊr. U: 612 DH səm. 616 L grô*u*nd [or between that and [grô*u*nd)]. 632 DLu əp. 634 BD thrə*u*. U'- 643 DLu nə*u*, H nɑˈu. U': 658 BDHLu dəˈ*u*n. 663 L ə*us*, [pl.] ə*u*zˈn. 665 H mə*us*. 667 D ə*ut*. 671 L mə*uth*. Y: 691 B məˈind. 702 D əth. Y': — flis [fleece].

### II. English.

A. 737 B mêʊt. E. 749 B *lift*. 751 D píʊrt. O. — D pə*u*ʊr [to pour]. 791 D bwáa*i*. U. — B† ə*u*dʒ*i* [huge]. 804 B drəqkˈn.

### III. Romance.

A·· — B klɛ*i*ʊr [clear]. — D pliiz [please]. — B† míʊstʊr [master]. 850 B dèns. — B plêʊt [plate]. 866 B pûʊr. E·· — B that*i*z, D faˈtʒ*i*z [vetches]. — B priitʒ [preach]. 890 B bjəst. 895 D ris*eet*. O·· — D *bif* [beef]. — djɔˈ*in* [join]. 920 D pəˈ*int*. 926 D sp*w*əˈil. — Lu əqkˈl [uncle]. 930 B† ləqk. 941 D fəl. — H push [push].

# D 14 = NW. = North Western.

*Boundaries.* The s. b. is the same as the n. b. of D 13, p. 175, and the other b. are the ne. and nw. parts of those of the W. div.

*Area.* The greater part of Sh. and a small part of Mg.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

*Sh.* †Baschurch, †Bridgnorth, ‖Church Pulverbach, †Clee Hills, †Corve Dale, †Craven Arms, ‖Ford, †Hadnall, °Llanymynech, †Longville, †Much Wenlock, †Oswestry, †Shrewsbury, °Whittington.

*Mg.* °Berriew, °Buttington, °Fordon, °Guilsfield, °Kerry, °Llandrinio, °Montgomery, °Snead, °Welshpool.

*Character.* Observe that Sh. is much cut up by different b. D 14 contains m.Sh. The n. belongs to two separate districts, the nw. to D 28, and the ne. to D 29, and these are bounded on the s. and w. by the n. *sum* line 1. On the w. there is the CB, with a small part of Mg., which speaks English, but more book-English than Sh., because it has been much more recently overcome. On the e., beyond the n. *sum* line 1, lies D 29, from which in Sh. the information obtained is insufficient. On the s., in Bishop's Castle, Clun Forest, Ludlow, and Cleobury Mortimer, the dialect assumes the He. character, the verbal pl. in *en* being almost or quite lost, but the line of demarcation cannot be exactly traced. In this restricted area Miss Jackson, assisted phonetically by TH., has produced her admirable Glossary, about the best that we possess of any dialect. To this work, to personal communication and much correspondence with her, to TH.'s personal work with her, and travels over much of the region, I am mainly indebted for the view here taken, which, however, had not been formed or laid down by them, but has been merely deduced from their collections. In the introduction to the Glossary, pp. xxiii to xlii, is TH.'s minute account of the pronunciation drawn up in Glossic with the greatest care, for both Vowels and Consonants, under the personal supervision of Miss Jackson, and from her indications. It is perhaps the most searching investigation of the sounds of a dialect that has been made. But as it is arranged in reference to the ordinary spelling, and as the whole of the county was considered, much work was required to reduce it to a shape that could here be used. Miss Jackson divided the county into 14 districts and 4 sub-districts for the purpose of examination, and not with an intention of distinguishing 14 phases of dialect. On the next page is their distribution among the four districts here used, D 13, 14, 28, 29. I give the names of the principal places only in each district, to which she constantly refers, to shew that the word so pronounced was heard in that district, without implying that it exists *only* there. The letters n, s, e, w, refer to the extreme places in those districts. Would that other glossarists had hit upon such an admirable arrangement! When Miss Jackson knows the word and its pron. to be generally distributed, she puts "common" after it, with a "Qy." prefixed, if she merely suspects it to be so.

D 13. Bishop's Castle and Clun, Ludlow, placed in D 13 with some hesitation.

D 14. Shrewsbury, Pulverbach (:pə'*u*dərbætʃ, :pə'*u*dhurbætʃ) or (-*bit*ʃ) [Miss Jackson's native place], Worthen, Craven Arms, Church Stretton (subdistrict), Corve Dale and Clee Hills, Bridgnorth s. and w. (on the line of separation of D 14 and D 29, the n. and e. belong to D 29), Much Wenlock, Oswestry s.

D 28. Wem n. and w., Whitchurch (subdistrict), Ellesmere, Oswestry n. and e.

D 29. Wellington, Colliery regions, Newport n. and w., Wem s. and e., Bridgnorth n. and e., Newport s. (Shiffnal). In this place only D 14 will be attended to, other places are noticed in the proper order.

The whole of D 14 presents a remarkable mixture of S. and M. The S. forms are much used. U=(ə) is carried considerably further than in received speech, as in (fəl, fələr, pənd, bənd, bəlʊk), full, a fuller, a pound, was bound, a bullock. Also more frequent O'=(ə), as (brək, stəd, rəf, təth, fət, sət), brook, stood, roof, tooth, foot, soot, but of course neither forms are carried out consistently.

S forms are (âi) in (d*ái*, l*ai*, lâin, r*ái*n, pl*ái*) day lay has lain, rain, to play, the use of 'thee bist' (dhii bist) for 'thou art,' and *be* in the pl. But here comes in the strongly M. forms of I am, he is, we you they bin, where bin (*bin*) represents *be* with the verbal plural in *-en*. This v. pl. in *-en* is used throughout D 14 with all verbs, as (wi wən) we were*n*, (we shæn) we shall-*en*, (wi dən) we do-*en*, (wiin) we have-*n*, (wi hæd'n) we hadd*en*. The S. forms (*joo*)m wii(m) you am, we am, may also be heard, as well as 'er (ər) for 'she.' But the S. (R) is quite absent, the regular trilled Welsh *r* (r) prevailing over the whole district, even when final or before consonants, and the trill in that case is always more distinct than in the adjacent M. regions. This peculiar Welsh (r) with the sharp, crisp, highpitched, rising Welsh intonation which prevails, marks the region still as having been carved out of the Celtic settlements with a joint and alternate action of the S. [Wessex] and the M. [Mercian] folk. According to Green's Maps in his *Making of England*, while He. was under the Mercian rule of Penda in 634, Sh. remained Welsh till included under the Mercian supremacy of Offa in 792, and in 828 Egbert the West Saxon conquered Mercia. It must have been in this early period that the M. peculiarities were introduced with M. English, but they never eradicated the Welsh (r). The West Saxon (R) did not reach beyond He., and is now not very strong or marked even there. TH. believes his Midland *r*, used in Db., Ch. and St., to be "the common English *r*" (on which see Introduction to the M. Div.), then he hears the Welsh *r* "with stronger vibration and retracted" in n.Sh., "verging in m. and s.Sh. with still stronger vibration to reverted *r*," which it reaches at Bewdley. The (ə) for U, O', is of course modern, but the fine (a¹), "still very general but gradually passing away," and becoming quite (æ) in Miss Jackson's speech, may have been either Welsh or Ws.

TH. in his elaborate investigation has often distinguished (a, a¹) and (e, E), and also (ə, ɐ), and sometimes in accented syllables (*y*, *i*), where I write ($i_1$, *i*), writing (*i*) always in unaccented syllables. He also gives three sounds of *ī*, (âhi), which I now write (â¹*i*) by preference, in m.Sh., (âi) in s.Sh., and (*ái*) in ne. and e.Sh. In my notes of Miss Jackson's pronunciation I used (âi), though I remarked that it varied with (æ'*i*, E'*i*), and I now prefer to use the unanalysed form (a'i). TH., who has been over much of the ground and heard native speakers, considers (âh*i*=â¹*i*) the true fine Sh. *ī*, but as he heard U' as (ə'*u*) in (kə'*u*, hə'*us*) cow, house, it would seem that (ə'*i*) would be the correct older form of I', whence the other forms easily flow. In fact, the difference between (â¹*i*, ə'*i*) is often difficult to seize. These forms (ə'*i*, ə'*u*) would then be strictly S.

The formation of the negatives (amnʊ, binʊ, wənʊ, a¹nʊ) am-not, be-e*n*-not, were*n*-not, have*n*-not, is remarkable, but the real forms have a (d) final, the (nʊ) being a contraction for (nʊd) when final or before consonants, as shewn by the reappearance of the (d) before vowels, as (æmnʊd a¹i? wənʊd-ʊ? unʊd-ʊ bi?) am not I? were-n not-they? will-not-they be? and the fact that 'not, what,' when emphatic, are called (nəd, wəd).

The consonants otherwise as a rule present nothing peculiar except in using (dj) for *d* in deal dead death darn dew (djɛl djɛd djɛth djaarn djə'u) which must have arisen from inserted (j), as in (jɛd jɛp jaar jə'ul) head heap hair howl, with a similar change in (tjem tjuun tjuuzdi) team tune tuesday, and (shuut shuuit kʊnshuu·m) suit suet consume, with the obsolete forms (shəm shɛm) for seam. But (sh) presents a difficulty before (r) as (sriqk srəb) shrink shrub, while the county-town Shrewsbury is (:shroozbri) only "in classical and educated," (:sroozbri) "in semi-refined," but (:soozbri) in the common pronunciation of "country-folk," for which (:suuzbri) is a "vulgarism."

Names of places always fare ill. Here are a few given by Miss Jackson, pp. 515–519, the usual spelling being added in italics (:ee·bʊrt'n *Albrighton*, :kwə·rdʊk *Caradoc*, :kəndʊr *Condover*, :di·dlik *Diddlewick*, :jərbn *Eardington*, :aarkʊl *Ercall*, :eemʊn *Haughmond*, :məmfʊrt *Montford*, :wək'njɛts *Oaken-gates*, :əqket *Offoxey*, :trəsbʊn :trəspʊn *Osbaston*, :ə·zestri :ə·djestri *Oswestry*, :shreed'n *Shrawardine*, :stədhʊrt'n *Stottesden*, u·sʊs'n *Woolstaston*, :vïuu :ɛdj *Yew Edge*).

*Illustrations.* I select two of the examples written analytically by Mr. Hallam in Miss Jackson's Glossary, and one which I wrote from her dictation myself in 1873. To these I have added a cwl. containing almost all the words in D 14 cited in Mr. Hallam's treatise on Shropshire pronunciation in Miss Jackson's Glossary, all made under her own superintendence, and also most from a long list of words which she read to me on 11 July, 1873, and of which she subsequently revised the Glossic writing. These will, I think, sufficiently illustrate the character of this very interesting dialect. Illustrations in Miss Jackson's orthography abound in her Glossary, which also contains the pronunciation of each single word in Glossic.

Of the strictly Welsh parts of D 14, comprehending a slip of Mg., I am not able to give any specimen, but it may be regarded as book English with Sh. tendencies and a Welsh intonation, just as in Mo. we have book English with Welsh intonation and He. or Gl. tendencies.

## Examples, Pulverbach (7 sw. Shrewsbury).

I. Betty Andrews relates how her little boy fell into a brook, 1873. The words are run all together, no stops, no pause, "but," says Miss Jackson, "no written characters of any kind—no 'want of stops'—can convey an idea of the story as poured forth by Betty's voluble tongue—it took away one's breath to listen to it." From Mr. Hallam's 'analytical' Glossic in Miss Jackson's Sh. Wordbook, I. xcv.

á¹i îʊrd ʊ skrá¹ik mʊm ʊn á¹i rən ʊn dhîʊr á¹i si₁d :fra¹qk ʊd pekt i dhʊ brək ʊn də'ukt əndʊr ʊn wʊz drə'undin ʊn á¹i djəmpt a¹ftʊr im ʊn got ə'ut ə̀n im ʊn lɔgd im ɔn tʊ dhʊ bə̀qk ʌ̀l slɛdj ʊn á¹i got im wœm ʊfə́ʊr ə'uʊr :sa¹m kəmʊn in—ʊ gùd djəb it wəz fʊr :sa¹m ʊz ii wənʊ dhîʊr ʊn ʊz :fra¹qk wənʊ drə¹undid fʊr if i a¹d bin, á¹i shʊd ʊ tə́ʊr ə'uʊr :sa¹m ʌ̀l tʊ

I heard a shriek, ma'am, and I ran, and there I saw Frank had pitched in the brook and ducked under, and was drowning, and I jumpt after him and got hold of him, and lugged him on to the bank all sludge, and I got him home afore our Sam came in—a good job it was for Sam as he wasn't there, and as Frank wasn't drowned. For if he had been, I should have torn our Sam all to

windʊr ra'gz, ʊn dhen ì)d ʊ bin dʒE'd ʊn :fra'qk drə'undid, ʊn á'i shʊd ʊ bin a'qd. á'i tə'ud :sa'm wen i tuk dhʊ ə'us ʊz á'i didnʊ lá'ik it. 'bles dhʊ wensh,' i sed, 'wə)dn)i want?—dhîʊrz ʊ tá'idi ə'us ʊn ʊ gùd gàrdin ʊn ʊ rən fʊr dhʊ pig.' 'á'i,' á'i sed, 'ʊn ʊ gùd brək fʊr dhʊ tʒildʊrn tʊ pek in.' sə́ if :fra'qk a'd bin dro'undid á'i shʊd ʊ bin dhʊ dʒE'th ʊ ə'uʊr :sa'm. á'i wʊz 'dha't frit'nd mʊm dhʊt á'i didnʊ speek fʊr ʊ nə'uʊr a'ftʊr á'i gɔt wœm ʊn :sa'm sed ʊz i a'dnʊ si,d mi kwá'iʊt sə́ lə⌊q sens wi wən ma'rid ʊn dha't wʊz 'á'it'tiin îʊr.

window-rags, and then he)d have been dead and Frank drowned, and I should have been hanged. I told Sam when he took the house as I did not like it. 'Bless the wench,' he said, 'what)do)ye want?—there's a tidy house, and a good brook for the children to pitch in.' So if Frank had been drowned, I should have been the death of our Sam. I was that [so much] frightened, ma'am, I did not speak for an hour after I got home, and Sam said as [that] he had not seen me quiet so long, since we were [were-en] married, and that was eighteen year.

II. Betty Andrews, talking fast as usual in a railway train, was thus addressed by a passenger and made the following reply.

'wi misis, á'i shʊd thiqk ʊz ʒə́ mən ʊ a'd ʒóʊr təqg á'ild dhis mɑrnin ʊfóʊr ʒə́ stàrtid.'

'nə́ indiid sʊr,' sed Beti, 'á'i a'nʊ, fʊr if it 'a'd ʊ bin á'ild, it ud nɛvʊr ʊ stəpt. nə́ 'dá'indʒʊr!'

'Why, missis, I should think as you)must have had your tongue oiled this morning afore you started.'

'No indeed, sir,' said Betty, 'I haven't; for if it had have been oiled, it would never have stopped. No danger!'

III. 'Adam's Apple,' or Larynx, here called 'Eve's Core.' See Eve's Scork in the Glossary. This example was pal. by AJE. from Miss Jackson's dictation.

'dædi, wəd)z dhis lɑmp i ʒɑr nɛk?'

'wi, it)s :iivz skɑɑrk, tʒæ'ild, áud mɑdhʊr :iiv iit dhʊ æp'l ʊrsɛl, bɑt ʊr gid dhʊ skɑɑrk tʊ feedhʊr :ædʊm, æn it stɑk in iz thrúʊt, æn aal mɛn)z æd'n dhis lɑmp ɑvʊr sens.'

'Daddy, what)s this lump in your neck?'

'Why, it)s Eve's core, child. Old mother Eve ate the apple herself, but she gave the core to father Adam, and it stuck in his throat, and all men)have had this lump ever since.'

## Mid Shropshire cwl.

Unmarked, rearranged from Mr. T. Hallam's Glossic in Miss Jackson's Glossary, Vowels, pp. xxiii to xxxv.

Marked *, rearranged from a list of words dictated to AJE. by Miss Jackson, 11 July, 1873, the pronunciation having been subsequently revised by her. In these words the unanalysed form (a'i) of the diphthong has been used throughout, see p. 182, l. 14 from bottom.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 bek. 4 ta'k. 5 ma'k. — *kreed'l [cradle]. 13 nɑ'. 19 tel. 21 nem. 25 *meen. 34 *læs. 37 klɑɑ, kleez [claws]. A: 43 *ond. 44 *lænd. 45 unt, *unt. — kən [can]. 51 *mən. 54 want. 55 ɛs. 56 wɛsh [common],

wash [Clee Hills]. — kæt [cat]. A: *or* O: 60 ləɩq. 62 strəɩq. 63 *thrəq. 64 rəɩq, ræɩq. 65 səɩq. 66 *thəq [Mr. Hallam finds the (q) very weak in this group].

A'- 67 *gúʊ, gwœn [gone], gwiɩ·in [going]. — *slo, [pl.] *slòn [sloe, sloes]. 69 nò, *nAA. 70 *tooʊ. 79 *u [(uuz'n) whose]. 73 sò, *súʊ. 74 *tuu. 76 túʊd. 82 wənst. 84 múuʊr, *móoʊr. 86 ívts, wəts. 91 moo. 92 *noo. 93 *snoo. 95 *throo. A': 101 wək. 102 *æks, *æst [both for present and past]. 104 rod *rúʊd. 105 *rid. 106 *brAAd. 107 lof. — *drov [drove], droovɪʊr [drover]. 108 *doo. 109 *loo. 110 nət, nəd. 111 *AAt. 115 wœm wəm *woom. 117 *wən. 118 bwœn, *bɯən. 122 *nən. 124 stɯœn [common], ? stɯən stən [a weight]. — rəp [a rope]. — wa'r [hoar, white]. 134 wəth, *úuʊth. 135 *klooth.

Æ- — *eetɟ [an ache]. 138 feedhʊr [com.], fàdhʊr [Clee Hills]. — ladhʊr [ladder]. 139 drá'i [dray, a squirrel's nest]. 148 faar. — *staarz [stairs, in Sh. people go up the *stars* to see the *stairs*, see No. 404]. — *ænt [am not]. 149 *bléez. 150 *leest. — lezʊ [leasow, pasture]. — set [a seat]. — ræk'l [rattle]. 152 weetʊr.

Æ: 154 bæk. 155 thɛtɟ. — æd [had]. — gjɛdhʊr [gather]. 160 *ɛg. 161 dá'i, *da'i [common], dâi [Craven Arms]. 163 la'i. 165 sed. 169 *wɛn. — *wiq [wing]. 170 *ærʊst. 171 *baarli. 172 *græs. 173 wəz, wənʊ. — *glæs [glass]. — *heez'l [hazle]. — *lɛs [less]. — *kaart [cart]. — æp'l [apple, common], əp'l [at Craven Arms]. 177 dhæt. 178 næt. 179 wəd.

Æ'- 184 *leed. 185 *riid, *red [past tense]. — spreed [spread], *spɛd [past]. 187 *leev. 189 *wéei. 190 kee. 192 *meen. 200 wiʊt [common], weet [occ.]. 201 *eedh'n. — ɟíət [to heat], æt [heated]. Æ': — mɛdʊ [meadow]. — *spreed [to spread]. — *iivnin [evening]. 213 a'idhʊr. 214 na'idhʊr. 216 dɟɛ'l. — *meel [repast]. 218 ship. 222 ɟaar. 223 dhîʊr. 224 wîʊr. 227 *wɛt. — ɟíɩʊth [heath]. 229 brɛth.

E- 232 *breek. 233 *speek. 234 *need, *nAd [kneaded]. — *treed [tread]. — *wɛdhʊr [weather]. 235 *weev. 236 feevʊr. — ɛvi [heavy]. 240 lâin [Shrewsbury], lâin [Craven Arms]. 241 ráin [Shrewsbury], râin [Craven Arms]. 245 *meel. 247 *ween. — *baar [to bear]. — *taar [to tear], *tíʊr [a tear, rent]. 248 maar. — *bɛri [berry]. — *iit [to eat], ɟɛt [ate]. — *fidhʊr [a feather]. 254 lɛdhʊr. 255 *wɛdhʊr. — *wɛb [web]. — *eev [heave]. — fætɟ [fetch]. — *rætɟ [wretch].

E: 259 *wadɟ. 261 *sa'i. — *bɛd [bed]. — wɛd [to wed]. 266 *wiil. — fiɩld [field]. 267 ild. — sildʊm [seldom]. — *twɛlv [twelve]. 270, ii. bæli. — sɛl [to sell]. 276 thɛqk. 278 wensh, *wɛntɟ. — sɛnd [to send]. — *pin [a pen]. 284 thrəsh. — *nist, *niist [nest], niiz'n [nests].

E'- 290 i. 292 mi. 293 wi. 296 biɩliɩf [belief]. 301 *iʊr. E': *a'i. 306 áit. — *bra'iʊr [briar]. — bles [bless].

EA- — * AAk [hawk]. — *el [ale], ɟɛl, ɟul. — *shoo [to shew].

EA: 322 laf, *læf. 324 á'ittiin [eighteen], *éit. 326 ə'ud. 327 *bə'ud. 328 kóoʊld, kə'ud. 329 fə'ud, fɑ'ud. 330 ə'ut. 331 sɑ'ud. 332 *tə'ud. 333 *kAAf. 335 A'l. 336 fA'l. 337 *wAAl. 338 kA'l. — *mAAt [malt]. — *sAAt [salt]. — shaar [share]. — *bɟaard [beard]. 340 *ɟərd [court], ɟaard mizʊr [measure]. 342 *aarm. — *aarm [harm]. 343 wàrm. — *shaarp [sharp]. — *fɟaarn [fern]. — *ɟAArn [yarn]. 345 *daar.

EA'- 347 *ɟɛd. 348 *a'i, *á'in [eyes]. — *da'i [to dye]. — îʊr [ear]. — bet [beat]. 349 fɟɑ'u, *fiú. EA': 350 dɟɛ'd. 351 lɛd. 352 rɛd. 355 *dɟɛf. 356 líʊf, lɛf [Shrewsbury]. 359 náibʊr. — bíiɩʊm [beam]. — kreem [cream]. 360 tɟem. 361 ben [Pulverbach], biiʊn [com.]. 363 tɟɛp. — *ɟɛp, ɟɛp [heap]. — íiʊr [year]. — tɟòz [chose]. 366 greet. 368 dɟɛ'th. — dɟə'u [dew], ɟíə'u [obsolete]. 371 strA', streebriz [strawberries, obsolete].

EI- 372 æi, *ái. 373 dhee. 376 bet. EI: 378 wɛk, *week. 382 *dheer. EO- — *wik [a wick]. 386 ɟə'u. 387 *niú.

EO: 389 *ɟook. — *ʊm [unemph. 'em, hem = them]. 394 ɟantʊr. 395 *ɟəq. — *daark [dark]. — *kaarv [carve]. 398 *staarv. — *faarm [farm]. 402 laarn. 403 *feer. 404 *steer. — *shart [short]. 406 *ɟaarth. EO'- 409 *bii. — *nii [knee]. — *trii, *triin [wooden]. — *krə'ud [to crowd]. 416 *díʊr. 418 bruu. EO': 422 *sik. — thiif [thief]. 423 *tha'i. 424

*rəf. 426 *fa'it. — wil [wheel]. 427 bin [pl.]. 428 sin [seen], *sii. 430 *frend. 433 *brest [breast]. 435 *joo. 436 truu.

I- 440 wi$_1$k. 441 siv. 442 i$_1$vi$_1$. — senœ [sinew]. — i$_1$s [generally], jes [Newport], jaas, áis [Church Stretton, yes]. — *peez [pease]. 449 get. 450 tuuzdi tjuuzdi. 451 *soo. I: — thərd [third]. 457 *ma'it. 458 *na'it. 460 wâit, *wéit. 463 tel. 469 ul [will]. 473 *bla'ind. — windu, *windər [(r) distinctly trilled]. 476 *ba'ind. 478 *gra'ind. — *tjərn [a churn]. — *rən [run]. — *rəsh [a rush, plant]. 485 *this'l *fis'l. 488 *it. — *dərt [dirt]. — *wit [wit]. — sens [since]. I'- 491 *sa'ik. — *gi *gid *gid'n [give, gave, given]. — *pa'ip [pipe]. 498 *ra'it. I': — *da'itj [a dyke]. 500 lá·ik. 502 *fa'iv. 503 *la'if. 505 *wa'if. 506 umən, *umən. 508 *ma'il. 511 *wa'ind [with (d) added].

O- 520 bə'u. 523 *oop. — *smədhər. 524 *wərld. — *thrûət [throat]. O: — trəf [trough], trəf [occ.], troo [for kneading]. 527 bat. 528 that. 531 da'tər. 532 *kool. 533 *dəl. 536 guuld [obsolete], *gə'ud. 538 ud. 539 bool, bə'ul [for bowling, a hoop, to trundle]. — *kə'ut [a colt]. 544 *dhen. 546 fər. 547 búərd, bwə'rd. 549 urd. 550 wərd. — thərn [thorn]. — marnin [morning]. — *broodh [broth].

O'- 555 shuu. 556 *tu. — *uu [to woo]. 562 mun, *muun. 564 *sun. — *groo [to grow]. 566 ədhər. 568 *brədhər. O': 569 *buk. — brək [brook]. — shòk [shook]. 570 tuk, *tuk. 571 gùd *gud. 573 *fləd. 575 *stod. — rəf [roof]. 577 *bə'u. 578 *plə'u, *plaa [to plough]. 580 təf, *təf. 584 *stuul. 589 spun. 590 flər. — boozəm [bosom]. — təth. 595 fət. 597 sət.

U- — ud [wood]. 600 la'v *ləv. 602 *sə'u. — *həl [hull or shell]. 603 *kəm. — *pun [to pound, thrash]. 605 *sən. 606 dar, *door. Ü: — shuudhər [shoulder] shuudər [Church Stretton], shoodər, shə'udər [Shrewsbury], shə'udər [occ.]. 609 fəl. 610 ul. — puul [pull]. — *fələr [a fuller]. 612 *səm. — ən- [un-]. 615 pənd. 617 *sə'und. — *bənd [was bound]. 619 fənd. 620 grənd. 621 *wond. 625 təq. — tərf [turf]. — fər [a fir]. 634 thra''u, *thruu. — dhəs.

Ü'- 640 kə'u. 643 nə'u. — *sək [to suck]. — *mə'u [a mow]. 646 *bə'u. 648 ə'uər. 650 *əbə'ut. 652 *kud. 653 bət. Ü': 656 rum, *rum. — *sə'uər [sour]. 663 ə'us, *ə'uz'n [houses]. 665 mə'us. 667 ə'ut. 668 prə'ud.

Y- 673 *mətj. 677 *dra'i. 679 tjərtj. Y: 686 bá'i. 689 bi$_1$ld. — gi$_1$lti [guilty]. — shilf [shelf]. 694 *wartj [work = throb]. 697 berin [a burying]. — frit'nd [frightened]. 701 *fərst. — shət [shut]. 702 uth. Y- 705 *ska'i. Y': 712 má'is. — *wish [to wish].

II. English.

A. 726 ta'k. — bəqk [bank]. 733 *skaar. 734 djaarn *daarn. E. — *peet [peat]. — maar [mere, accented; unacc. (mər)]. 751 *pívrt. — kliver [clever]. — srood [shrewd]. I. *and* Y. — *skra'ik [a shriek]. 754 pig. — *wip [whip]. 758 gerld. — serup [syrup]. — pek [to pitch or fall]. O. 761 *lóvd. 769 *mə'udiwaarp. 773 dəqki. — u·sti$_1$d [worsted]. — lòz [to lose]. — drə'und [to drown]. 791 bwa'i [obs.]. U. — *pudin [pudding, called (pədin) in Glossary]. — dək [a duck, bird], də'uk [to duck]. — *ə'udjə [huge, compare after 791 p. 180]. 796 bluu. — bəl [bull]. — bəldj [to bulge]. — tjuun [a tune]. — təp [a ram, tup]. — *kərl [curl]. 807 *pus. 808 pət.

III. Romance.

A·· 810 feez [gen.]. — *ketj [catch], *ketjt [caught]. 813 *bek'n. 814 mes'n. 822 má'i, *mee. — *pá'i, pee [pay]. 824 tjiiər. — klæ'i·ər [clear]. — *aar [air]. 833 paar. — *pleez [please]. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n. — meestər [master, com.]. — feetjər [feature]. 847 dá'indjər. 850 da'ns. 851 *ent, neent. — *dænt [daunt]. — raar [rare]. 855 gærit. — skès, skaars [scarce]. 856 *part. — *kaard [card]. — *saas [sauce, Corve Dale]. 862 *seef. 865 *faat. — *stee [to stay].

E·· 867 *tee*. — kr*ee*tər [creature]. — *r*éé*vl [real]. 869 v*ee*l. — s*ee*kr*i*t [secret]. — kənse*e*·t [conceit]. — sk*ee*m [scheme]. — *ɹaarb [herb]. — *klaark [clerk]. — *saartɹ [search]. — *faar [a fair]. — *kənsaarn [concern]. — saarpint [serpent]. 888 saartin. — *saarv [serve]. — kəmpl*ee*t [complete]. — mizhər, *mizər [measure]. 890 bívəst. 891 *f*ee*st. 894 *dis*ee*·v, dis*ee*·t [deceit]. 895 *ris*ee*·v, ris*ee*·t [receipt]. I·· *and* Y·· — *krá'i [cry]. — sinəb'l [syllable]. — *ma'izərd [miser, with added (d)].

O·· — bi₁f [beef]. — *drəg [drug]. 916 á'*i*nivən. — ná'*i*nt [anoint]. — dɹá'*i*n [join]. 926 spá'il. — pl*i*m [plumb]. 928 *ə'*u*ns. 929 kə'*u*kəmbər [Shrewsbury], kə'*u*kəmbər [com.]. 930 lá'*i*n. 933 *frənt. — k*ui*ərd, k*w*ərd [cord]. — far*i*n [foreign]. — *f*iú*ərst [forced]. 940 *k*ó*ət. 942 bətɹər. 943 *tətɹ. 946 *ma'il. 951 *kəp'l. — suup'l [supple, to make supple]. 953 *kəz'n. — *pəsh [push].

U·· — tɹub [tube]. — *wa'it [to wait]. 965 á'il. 966 frùt. — p*i*lp*i*t [pulpit]. — *pə'*u*t*i*s [poultice]. — ɹa'*u*l [howl]. — n*ee*tər [nature]. — k*i*ú·r*i*yz [curious]. 970 dɹest.

## III.

# EASTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

*Boundaries.* Begin on the e. coast, where s. b. of Li. falls into the sea about 3 e.Sutton Bridge. Go w. along the Li. b. to Rt.—the peninsula containing Stamford Li. must be practically considered as part of Rutland. Pass by the b. round Rt. to Rockingham, and continue on the b. of Np. to the b. of Wa., and then continue along b. of Np. to opposite Crick Np. (4 se. Rugby, Wa.). Then pass through Np. e. of Watford, through Long Buckby, where turn s. and pass e. of Daventry and Weedon, turning more se. near Pattishall. Then pass s. of Blisworth and e. of Towcester, and continue to the b. of Np. near Hartwell, Np. Then go by the w. b. of Bu. to the Thames. Go down the Thames to the coast and round Es., Sf. and Nf. to the starting-point.

The w. b. of Bu. is, perhaps, not the absolute b. of the District, but it is the best that could be determined.

*Area.* The whole or greater part of the eleven counties, Bd. Bu. Cb. Es. Ht. Hu. Mi. Nf. Np. Rt. Sf.

*Character.* A closer resemblance to received speech than in any other div. It is the region from which rec. sp. was taken, and contains the greater part of London. The pron. is, however, not quite uniform, but the differences are so slight that it has been found extremely difficult to obtain satisfactory information, and many years elapsed before materials could be collected for even the approximative account here subjoined, which, drawn up from actual observation by my informants and founded only on existing usages, differs materially from what has been hitherto given. The northern part of this district, as already mentioned, is intersected by the n. *sum* line 1, which passes through the length of Np. and n. of Hu. and Cb., while the s. *sŏŏm* line 2 lies to the s. of all the s. part of Np., the n. part of Hu. and Cb. and the nw. part of Nf., so that a considerable part of the E. div. is in the mixed *sum sŏŏm* or *som* region, and a smaller part in Np. and Rt. is in the pure *sŏŏm* region. This materially modifies the pron. in respect of U in those places, as will be seen. But the change, as already observed in Wl. and Gl., seems to be without influence on the remainder of the dialect, and in respect to the rest of the pron. it was found impossible to relegate n.Np. and Rt. to the M. div. In fact, as has been already said (p. 16), the (u, *u*) sound of U was the elder. It is the (ɔ, ɐ) sound which is aggressive, and the mixed regions merely shew the process of change which has gone on independently of the other changes and almost unnoticed, even by dialect speakers themselves.

# D 15 = WE. = West Eastern.

*Boundaries.* Begin where the Chiltern Hills cut the w. b. of Bu., about Radnage (10 ssw. Aylesbury). Go w. across Bu. s. of Prince's Risborough and n. of Chesham to Whelpley Hill (12 se. Aylesbury). Cross the w. horn of Ht. to Great Gaddesden, Ht., and then by the b of Bu. all round the n. and s. to the starting-point.

*Area.* The little projection of Ht. into Bu. by Tring and all of Bu., except the extreme s. part, which belongs to D 17, and has no dialect proper.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ so., ° io.

*Bu.* *Mr. Wyatt, *†Aylesbury, †Buckingham, °Cheddington, †Chackmore, °Edlesborough, °Great Kimble, *Hanslope, °Marsh Gibbon, °Marsworth, †Stowe, °Swanbourne, °Tyringham with Filgrove, *†Wendover, †Winslow.

*Ht.* °Berkhamstead, °Little Gaddesden, °Long Marston, °Tring.

*Character.* The main point which distinguishes Bu. from Ox. or D 15 from D 6, 7, is the entire absence of reverted (ʀ) or retracted ($r_o$). In the whole E div. the *r* when not preceding a vowel is purely vocalised. After (aa, ʌʌ) it disappears. A native who can read thinks that he "pronounces *r*" in pa*r*t sho*r*t, because it is to him a symbol that the vowels become (aa ʌʌ) as in (paat shʌʌt), and if he wrote *pat shot* without the *r*, he would say (pa'ʌt shot) with quite different vowels. To hear (part short) with real short vowels and a truly trilled *r* would be shocking to him. He may occasionally 'drawl' the words (as local authorities term the change) into (pâʊt sho'ʊt), but that is not usual. After (ə, ɜ) the *r* is merely a symbol of lengthening; *culled*, *curled*, are really (kəld, kəəld), or (kɜld, kɜɜld), and the speaker again thinks he 'pronounces *r*' in the second word because it causes him to differentiate it from the first. After other vowels, or finally, he uses (ʊ), as (îʊ, kêʊ, bʌtʊ), here, care, butter. But before a vowel the case is different. Then he may trill *r* slightly, but the general practice seems to be to use the imperfect ($r_o$), that is, the point of the tongue rises as if to trill it, but it does not effect its purpose, and merely produces a maimed effect. Both (ʊ, $r_o$) in this connection arise from ('ʀ), of which they are simple degenerations. They are not imperfect trills. But a gentle trill may always be used, and hence I have introduced (ɾ) as a 'permissive trill' in writing received speech. Here I generally abandon it, and write (r) for ($r_o$) as a matter of convenience before vowels, writing ($r_o$) or using (ʊ) in other cases. Throughout the whole E. div. this treatment of the *r* is general, not merely among peasants (where there are any), but among the most educated and refined townsmen. As (ʀ) is the mark of the S. div., this ($r_o$, ʊ) is the mark of the E. div. When final *r* has been lost after (aa, ʌʌ, ɜɜ, ʊ), or degraded to (ʊ), and a word commencing with a vowel follows, the *r* reappears as ($r_o$), to avoid the hiatus. This is 'euphonic *r*,' just as we have 'euphonic ν' in Greek, and just as in French a lost final consonant reappears under

similar circumstances, as 'il fai(t) froid, fai*t*-il froid? il a(), a-*t*-il?' (il fɛ frŭ*a*, fɛt-*i*l frŭa? il)a, at)il?). But peasants, and even educated people, are apt to introduce this 'euphonic r' after final (aa, AA, ɜɜ, ʊ), even when no *r* had originally existed, as (dhʊ lAA+r$_o$ ʊ)dhʊ land, dhi a'*i*dii·ʊ+r$_o$ ɔv *it*, ʊ :tʒa'inʊ+r$_o$ ɔr*i*ndʒ), the law of the land, the idea of it, a China orange. This is a truer case of euphonic (r$_o$) than before, and quite organic, but is much resented by those who have painfully learned not to use (+r$_o$) under such circumstances.

In giving the pron. noted by TH., who used final (r), but states that he considers it a "weak *r*" (ɹ), I retain his writing, but do not agree with his appreciation, for so far as I can hear there is no semblance of a trilled (r). See introduction to the M. div.

A- remains (éʊ), as in most of the S., as (léʊm, séʊm), lame, same, and A'- remains (úʊ), as (túʊd), toad, with the usual variants.

ÆG may also be (éʊ), or be recognised as (ɛɛ'*i*), as (snéʊl snɛɛ'*i*l), snail.

I' seems to have abandoned the (ɜ'*i*) and rarely even reaches the (ɔ'*i*) form, it is usually (ái, *di*), the last of which differs but slightly from (ɜ'*i*) on the one hand, and (ɔ'*i*, A'*i*) on the other. My informants usually select (ɔ'*i*, A'*i*), that is, as they write it, *oy*, to express this sound. But my observations on Bu. peasants, as well as TH.'s, are against this change, though it may possibly occur in D 16, where A- degenerates to (éi, ɛ'*i*, ái), so that a distinction is required.

U. Although this was avowedly (ə, ɜ) at Aylesbury, the following exceptions occurred, which I conceive as (*u*), because of the local separation from the M. (*u*$_o$): (l*u*v, k*u*m, b*u*tʊ; *u*gli, dr*u*qk, *u*ndʊ, tɔq, ɔqgʊ, *u*p, th*u*rʊ: d*u*v, ʊb*u*v; m*u*tʒ), love, come, butter; ugly, drunk, under, tongue, hunger, up, thorough [but (ap thɜrʊ) also occurred]; dove, above [which had U'] and m*u*tʒ [which had Y]. At Wendover (5 sse. Aylesbury) I did not find these. From Buckingham n.-wards, (*u*$_o$) was the rule, or some mixture of (*u*$_o$, ə), or of (o, *u*), and past the n. s*u*m line 1, as at Watford and Weedon only (*u*$_o$).

U' is rather uncertain from want of sufficient instances, but (ɛ'*u*) seems the rule, although (ə'u, ɜ'u) also occur. This diphthong is specially variable in D 18. Of course (ə'*u*) is a survival of S.

The consonants are treated generally as in received speech. The initial (z, v) have been replaced by (s, f), the aspirate is very uncertain, and (wh) always becomes (w), as in polite London conversation.

Particulars are furnished in the following word lists, where, as shewn, large portions were heard by me or TH. from natives, and in the two annexed short examples, which indicate at least two if not three varieties of existing pronunciation.

### Aylesbury Example.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. R. R. Fowler in 1881.

1. A'*i* bi [A'*i* ʊr] ʊ)gu·*i*n tʊ sii *i*m súʊn, A'*i* tɛl)i [tɛl)jʊ].

2. b*u*t, A'*i* s*ee*, fædhʊr [fíʊdhʊr] ʊnd mɜdhʊr ʊ b*ú*ʊth æn em tɜrʊb'l l*éeʊ*m w*i*)dhʊ ruu·mʊtiz tʊd*ee*.

3. A'*i* b*i* (A'*i* ʊr)ɔlm*oo*st [ɔlmúuʊ·st ʊmúʊ·st] ʊfíiʊd dhe wɜnt bi ʊ)get*i*n ʊbɛ'u·tʊt)ɔlfʊr)ʊlɔqwA'*i*lst ta kɜm.

1. I be [I are] a)going to see him soon, I tell)ye [you].

2. But, I say, father and mother are both on them terrible lame with the rheumatism to-day.

3. I be (I are) almost afeared they won't be a)getting about at)all for a long while to come.

4. ʊn dúʊnt ɹʊ n*oo*? dh*ee*)*u*l bi AAf ʊg*i*·n ʊfúʊ w*i*ntʊr, ʊn l*ee*v mi ʊlóʊʊn *i*)dhʊ *oo*l E'us.

4. And don't you know? they)'ill be off again before winter, and leave me alone in the old house.

5. wíʊr ʊl dhe guu tʊ?

5. Where will they go to?

6. A'*i* dóʊʊnt hegzæ·kl*i* [tʊzæ·kli] n*oo*; sɜm wéeʊz dE'*u*n *i*)dhʊ sE'*u*t, A'*i* bl*ee*v.

6. I don't exactly know; some ways down in)the south, I believe.

7. dh*ee*)'l bi hevʊ sʊ lɔq ʊw*éei*.

7. They'll be ever so long away.

8. ɜs íiʊd ʊ dhæt ɹi'stʊd*ee*.

8. Us [we] heard of that yesterday.

9. d*i*d)ɹʊ nE'*u*? u tɜ'*u*ld ɹʊ?

9. Did you now? who told you?

10. m*u*tɟ g*u*d m*e* *i*t duu)ʊm.

10. Much good may it do)them.

11. ɹʊ shʊl iiʊ drEkl*i* ɔs n*oo* dh*ee* bi ʊ)kɜm*i*n *oo*'m [wɜm] ʊg*i*·n.

11. You shall hear directly us know they be a)coming home again.

12. s*oo* g*u*d nA'*i*t.

12. So good night.

*Notes.*

1. *I.* Mr. RRF. said distinctly (A'*i*), but I generally heard (ái, *ái*) from the labourers. *I are* is more frequent than *I be.* The (r) is euphonic before a following vowel, here and elsewhere.

2. *father,* though Mr. RRF. used (æ), I heard rather (a) from the labourers.

4. *know* was distinct (*oo*), not (n*óou*). The negative (n*o*) is quite short. *house* (E'*u*s) was inclined to (ȧ*u*s).

6. *exactly.* (hegzæ·kl*i*) is emphatic, (tʊzæ·kl*i*) is the common form.

7. *ever,* the (h) is prefixed for emphasis only.

9. *told.* This (ɜ'*u*) diphthong is kept quite distinct from (E'u).

## Chackmore (1½ wnw. Buckingham) dt.

pal. 1881 by TH. from dict. of G. Cave, 71, gatekeeper to Stowe Park, native.

1. ə'*i* séi, méits, ɹu sì nə'*u*, ə'*i*)m rə'*i*t ʊbə'*u*t dhat l*i*t'l gjal kɜm*i*n frʊm dhʊ skuul ɹɔndʊr.

2. shi)z gu·*i*n də'*u*n dhʊ róʊd dhíʊr thruu dhʊ rEd géʊt ɔn dhʊ lEft and sɔ'*i*d ʊ)dhʊ róʊd.

3. luk ɹɔndʊr! dhʊ tɟə'*i*ld)z gAn strE'*i*t $u_o^3$p tʊ)dhʊ roq ə'*u*s [roq dûʊr],

4. wíʊr shi)l vEr*i* lə'*i*kl*i* fə'*i*nd dhat drəqk'n dEf ó*u*ld tɟap ʊv dhʊ nêim ʊ :tɔm.

5. AAl ɔv)ʊz nô*u* *i*m vEr*i* wE'l.

6. wɔnt dhʊ ó*u*ld tɟap sùn titɟ ʊr nɔt tʊ kɜm dhíʊr ʊgjE'n, púʊr th*i*q!

7. luk! d*i*d'nt ə'*i* tEl ɹʊ sôu.

*Phrases.* (ɹu ént ʊ)gu *i*n :darʊl), you are-not a-going [to, omitted dialectally] Dayrell (3 n. Buckingham). This omission of 'to' is gen. in the E. division as well as in Ch.

*Mem.* "*r* half reverted," possibly ($r_o$).

## s.Bu., Aylesbury and Wendover cwl.

Unmarked, word list written io. by Mr. John Kerseley Fowler, Prebendal Farm, Aylesbury, and his son, corrected from dict. and pal. by AJE. with additions marked E, heard by AJE. from farm labourers at Aylesbury, and a few words marked H noted by TH.

W words from Wendover (5 sse. Aylesbury) pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Beeby. "&W" means that the last given pron. was heard at Wendover.

WH Wendover from Mr. Hallam's observations chiefly from Varney 82, and Higgs 63, who generally corroborated Varney, and from some others, (R) was once heard from a woman.

(+r) means that euphonic ($r_o$) was specially stated to be inserted before a following vowel.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 béuk. 4 téuk *tíuk*, W téuk [both (éu) and (iu) are used in these doubly written words, as they are in D 4]. 5 méuk *míuk*, W méek. 6 méud *míed*, WH [old] *mêid*, [now] *mêid*. 7 séuk *síuk*. 8 W eev. 9 *bihee'iv*. 12 saa, W saa+r. 13 naa. 14 draa. 16 daan. 17 laa, W laa+r. 18 W kéuk. 19 téul *tíul*, W tɔ'il [?]. 20 léum *líum*, W léum &WH. 21 néum, WH *néum* níum. 22 téum *tíum*. 23 séum *síum*, W séum &WH. 24 shéum *shíum*, W shéum. 25 méun *míun*. 28 éur. 32 baadh. 38 *reedhu*. 34 last. 36 W thaa. 37 klaa. A: 41 theqk. 51 maan, W mon. 54 waant, W wáunt. 57 as. A: *or* O: 58 W frum. 59 lam. 61 umɔq &W. 63 thræq. 64 W rɔq.

A'- 67 gu·*in*, W guu &WH. 70 W *too*. 72 W uu. 73 W *soo*. 74 E tíu, W tuu. 76 *túud*. 81 léun, W léun. 84 múur &W [E (múu nu dhàt) more nor that]. 86 wats, W *óuts* ats, WH $wu_o$ts, WH wats. 87 W tl*ooz*. 89 W b*óou*th, WH bûuth. A': 101 W óuk. 102 ast, æks. 104 rûud &WH. 106 W braad. 108 daf d*oo*. 111 W aat. 113 W uul, W w*ul*, WH $wu_o$l. 115 wóum, H ôum, WH *oom*. 121 H gaan. 122 W nan. 123 nothun, W nɔth*i*qk. 124 E stúun &W, WH stûun. 125 *oni* &W. 129 góoust.

Æ- 138 fædhu fíudhu, W feedhur. 140 *éul*. 141 *néul*. 142 sn*éul* &WH, W snee'*il* &WH [Varney gave (sn*éul*) and Higgs (sne''*il*)]. 143 *téul*, W tee'*il*. 147 bréun, W bree'*in* &WH. 149 W bléuz. 150 líust. 152 waatu &W. Æ: 155 thetɟ &W. 151 aatu. 160 W eeg. 161 d*ee* [see 438], W dee'*i*. 163 l*ee*. 164 m*ee*. 166 méud, W mee'*id*. 167 déul. 169 wen. 170 W ær*ist*. 172 graas, W grææs. 174 W *ee*sh. 175 faast. 179 wɔt &W. 180 baath. Æ'- 182 see. 182 teetɟ [common], &W. 184 leed. 185 *reed*. 186 bret. 187 leev. 190 kee &W. 191 iil. 193 klíiun, W tleen. 194 W ceni. 197 W tɟeez. 199 bl*eet* &W. 200 wéeut. 201 eedh'n. 202 eet. Æ': 203 speetɟ. 205 tred [occ.], W thred. 207 W niid'l. 213 *éidhu*, W iidhu. 216 deel &W [but meaning wood (diil)]. 217 iitɟ. 218 sh*ip* &W. 219 W sliip &WH. 223 W dhéu. 224 wíu &W. 226 [(umóust) almost]. 228 swet swee'*it*. 230 fɔt.

E- 232 bréeuk &W. 233 E sp*eek* &W &WH. 235 W wiiv, WH *wêuv*. 236 W fiivu. 241 réeun, W ree'*in*, WH *réein*. 247 ween, W wiin. 251 meet &W, WH me''*it*. 252 k*it*'l &W. 253 W net'l. 255 wedhu, wedu. E: 262 E wéu [frequent, sometimes (w*éei*)], W wee'*i* &WH. 268 ɟeldest. 272 elum &W. 281 leqkt, W leqkth. 282 streqkt, W streqkth. 284 throsh, E thresh. 287 bezum biisum &W. E'- 294 fiiud, W feed. 299 W green. E': 305 hɔ'*i*. 306 hekth [very common], E hekt. 307 na'*i* nɔ'*i*. 308 W need. 314 *iiud*. 315 W fée*it*. 316 W neks.

EA- 319 gaap &W. 320 kéu. EA: 322 laaf &W. 323 W fɔ'*ut*. 324 *eet*, W ee'*it*. 325 wéuk. 326 *ool* [but (*ool*)d)*u*mun)], W *ool*. 327 ba'*uld*. 328 k*oold*. 329 f*oold*. 330 *oold*, W *oolt*. 332 ta'uld. 333 kaaf &W. 334 aaf &W. 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. 343 W waam. 345 déu. 346 géut &W. EA'- 347 ed &W. 348 W ɔ'*i*. 349 W fiú. EA': 350 W ded. 353 H brèd, W bred. 355 W def. 359 n*eebu*. 360 tíium, W tiim. 361 b*éeun*, E b*eenz*. 363 tɟeep. 366 grɔt. 368 W deth. 370 W raa[1]. 371 straa. W straa[1]. EI- 376 b*éeut*. EI: 377 stee'uk. 378 W wiik.

EO- 386 *joo* &W. 387 W néu. EO: 393 bijænt, bige·n [the latter rare, the (æ) should probably be (a)], W bijend. 394 *jindʊ* jendʊ [I heard the last] hindʊ [all used], W endʊ, WH ɛndʊr [occ. jɛndʊr]. 396 wɜɜk, W wɜk. 397 súʊʊd. 400 aanest &W. 402 E laan. 407 faad'n. EO'- 411 W thrii. 413 W divel. 417 tjaa. EO': 425 W lɔ'it. 426 W fɔ'it. — E helt [held]. 428 H sái, W sii. 430 W frɛnd. 436 W tríu. 437 W tríuth. EY- 438 dA'i &W [(dhʊt pig)'l dA'i tʊ déei) said Mr. F., but (dhàt pig *ul* d*ái* tʊ déeʊ) agrees better with what I heard from the labourers].

I- 440 W wiik. 443 W frɔ'idi [see 512]. 444 W stɔ'il. 446 W nɔ'in. — peez'n [pease, occ.], E p*eez*. 449 W g*it*. 450 W tuuzd*i*. I: 452 E á'*i* ái [once only heard], A'*i* &W, WH ə'*i*. 458 nɔ'it &W. 459 rɔ'*it* &W. 462 sɔ'*it* &W. 465 W sitj. 466 W tjɔ'ild. 468 W tjildʊ. 472 W sriqk. 480 en*ithiq*k sɜth*iq*k nɜth*iq*k [anything something nothing, the two last are also] sɜthin nɜthʊn. 485 W this'l. 487 jiistʊd*i*. 488 W *jit*. I'- [I heard (*ái*) not (ɔ'*i*) from the people]. 491 sɔ'*i*. 494 tɔ'im &W. 499 biit'l. I': 500 W lɔ'ik. 506 W oomʊn. 507 W w*i*min. 508 mɔ'il. 514 W A'is ɔ'is *ái*s [the diphthong apparently varies as at Aylesbury].

O- 521 f*oo*l. 524 W wɜ'ʊl. O: 526 kaaf &W. 527 baat. 529 braat. 531 daatʊ &W. 532 W k*oo*l [no vanish]. 533 dɜl d*u*l. 536 guuld [but] g*oo*ld'n. 539 bol. 541 H w*o*nt. 543 E sɜmth*iq*k an ʊm [the (æ) of Mr. F. was rather (a) in the labourer's mouth]. 547 bûʊʊd. 550 wɔɔd. 551 W staam. 552 kaan &W. 553 aan. O'- 559 mɜdhʊ, W m*u*dhʊ. 564 súʊn, E sʊn. O': 569 b*u*k. 570 t*u*k. 573 flɜd. 579 ʊnɛ'u· [never (ʊnɜf)] &W. 595 f*u*t, E fɜt fuut, W fɜt. 596 rúʊt. 597 sɜt.

U- 599 ʊb*u*v. 600 l*u*v, W lɜv. 602 sɛ'*u*. 603 kɔm k*u*m [both are used; the driver stands on the near side of the horse and says (k*u*m *i*·dhʊ) for go to the left, and (djii aaf) for to the right; the ploughboy will be directed to (p*u*l)*i*m ʊ lit'l múʊ tûʊd) pull him a little more towards, *i.e.* to the left]. 606 dûʊʊ &W, WH dûʊr. 607 b*u*tʊ. U: 608 *u*gli. 609 f*u*l. 610 w*u*l &W. 611 b*u*lʊk &W. 612 sɜm. 613 dr*u*qk, W drɜqk. 614 ɛ'*u*nd [apt to be nasalised, as (ɛ'‚*u*nd) and so of the rest] &W. 615 pɛ'*u*nd. 616 E grɛ'*u*nd, W grɛ'*u*n. 617 sɛ'*u*nd. 620 grɛ'und. 621 wɛ'*u*nd. 622 *u*ndʊ. 625 tɔq. 626 ɔqgʊ. 630 wən. 632 *u*p, ap [(ap) is the rule, I heard the groom say (k*u*p, k*u*p) *i.e.* come up, to the horse]. 634 th*u*rʊ thɜrʊ [(thərʊt) throughout], W thruu. 635 wɜth. 636 fɜʊdʊ. 637 tɜsh. 639 dɜst.

U'- 640 kɛ'u kjɛ'u kea'*u* [uncertain]. 641 ɛ'*u* [verging to ə'*u*]. 642 [not used]. 645 d*u*v [(duu) on the Chilterns]. 650 E ʊbɛ'ut. 653 b*u*t, W b*u*t [occ.]. U': 658 E dɛ'*u*n, WH dɔ'*u*n. 659 WH tɔ'*u*n. 663 ɛ'*u*s. 666 *u*zbʊnd, W azbʊn. 672 sɛ'ut [not (th)].

Y- 673 m*u*tj &W. 674 E ded. 676 W lɔ'*i*. 679 W tjatj. 682 liit'l [occ.]. Y: 685 ridj. 690 W kɔ'ind. 691 W mɔ'ind. 696 W bath. 700 was. 701 fɜst &W. 704 w*i*ks'n. Y- 705 W skɔ'*i*. 706 W wɔ'*i*. Y': 709 W fɔ'*i*ʊ. 712 mə'*u*zʊz [used].

II. English.

A. 722 drévn &W. 737 mévt. E. 744 W meez'lz. 746 briid [always with (d) not (dh)]. 748 [(kælʊ) callow, unfledged, applied to birds only]. I. *and* Y. 756 W sr*i*mp. 758 W gæl. 760 shriv'ld ívd baali [shrivelled eared barley was used for *chevalier barley*]. O. 761 lóʊd, W lóʊd. U. 808 pɜt &W.

III. Romance.

A·· 810 W févs. 811 plívs plévs &W. 813 bívk'n, W bévk'n. 816 W févd. — E fr*ee*l [flail]. 824 tjíiʊ. 827 eegʊ. 828 W eegʊ. 830 tréevn. 834 sh*ee*'j [&W for a perambulator]. 835 r*eez*'n. 836 s*eez*'n. — WH wɛs'l [vessel]. 847 W déʊndjʊ. 852 æpʊn [by old people]. E·· 867 t*ee*'j. — thetjez [vetches]. 874 révn. 885 WH wɛri. — fíu [a fair]. — te·rʊb'l [a common intensitive, occasionally (terii·b'l) to increase the effect]. 888 saat*i*n. — WH sàrvʊnt [servant]. 890 W beest biist. 891 f*ee*st. 894 dis*ee*·v &W. 896 b*ee*vʊ. I·· *and* Y·· 898 W nɔ'*i*s. — w*i*lij [village].

— *wi*nɐgɐr [vinegar]. 901 *wáivlit*, W və'*ilit* [not (ɔ'*i*) not (w)]. — WH *wit*'lz [victuals].

O·· 913 W kóvtɟ. 914 W bróvtɟ. 916 *dinɐn*, W ɜ'*in*jɐn. 918 W feeb'l. 920 *páint* [and 'pint' is (pɔ'*int*)]. 929 W kɜ'ukɐmbɐ. 940 W kóvt [an underpetticoat]. 947 *báil*, W bɜ'*il*. 948 bɜ'*ul*. 959 W kɐnwee·ɐns. U·· 965 *áil*, W ɜ'*il*. — H ɜrt [hurt, TH. found the (r) was "stronger than at Dunstable, on the way to reverted, something like n.Sh." I failed to hear it, and should have written (əət)].

E *Note.* *ă* approach (a) rather than (æ); (e, ɛ) were used uncertainly; (ɔ, o) I could not feel sure of, nor of (ə, ɜ); the *ĭ* approach ($i_1$). I think rather (*u*) than ($u_o$), (h) occ., wh = (w). I did not hear (w) for v; (*ee*, ee) uncertain, did not hear (*ee*'j), and heard (*oo*) not (*oo'w*); (ɛ'*u*) had no prominent (ɛ), but it was not (ɜ'*u*).

## n.Bu. cwl.

B Buckingham and Clackmore ($1\frac{1}{2}$ nw.B.), wn. in 1881 by TH. ($u_o$°) is a sound intermediate to ($u_o$, ə) and most like ($u_o$). TH. hears a very faint (r), which he calls "common English *r*"; sometimes he hears a faint reverted r (ɹ); and he heard reverted or retracted (ɹ) in ale, bell, Bill, children, girl, he'll, milk, silk, tail, possibly an individuality. *Usages*, I are (= am), you be, they be. The I' U' are very refined, as (ə'*i* ə'*u*) in place of (ɔ'*i* ɛ'*u*).

H Hanslope (10 ne. Buckingham), pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cox, native.

T Tyrinham (13 ne.Buckingham), from Rev. J. Tarver's wl. io.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 21 T nam, H néum, B nêimz nîumz. 24 T sham, H shéum. 31 lévt. 33 HT *ee*dhu. A: 43 T hond, H ænd, B and. 44 T lond. 50 T tɜqz. 51 HT mɔn, B màn. 54 H wáunt. A: *or* O: 61 T umɔq, H umɜq. 64 B roq'. A'- 67 B gu góu. 76 T tôud, H tûud. 86 T ôuts, H ôuts ɜts. 89 H bûuth. 92 B nôu. 95 B thróu. A': 102 T aast. 104 T rôud, H rûud, B rôud. 110 B ə'*i* shànt [I sha'nt]. 113 H wul. 115 T hɜm, H ôum, B òm. 117 B wòn. 121 B gaan. 122 B nôu. 124 T stɜn, HB stûun. 125 H *oo*ni. 130 T bôut. 131 T gôut.

Æ- 138 T feedhu, H faadhur. 143 B téiuL. — B stêu$_{\text{L}}$rz [stairs]. 152 HT waatu. Æ: 155 HT thek. 158 T aatu. 160 H eeg. 161 B dêi. 163 T lɔ'*i*. 166 T mêud, H mrɛ'id. 170 T héeuvist. 171 HT béuli. Æ'- 183 B téitɟ tiitɟ. 190 B kêi, HT kee. 194 HT ɔni. 195 HT meeni. 200 B wêit wîut [occ.]. A': 213 HT eedhu. 218 HT ship. 223 H dhîiu, B dhîu$_{\text{L}}$r. 224 HT wíiu, B wíur. 230 T fɔt.

E- 233 HT speek, B spéik. 236 T feevu, H fiivu. 241 H rêin. 243 B plêi. 252 H kit'l. E: 260 B lêi. 261 B sêi. 262 HB wêi. 263 B uwêi. 265 H strêut. 272 T helum [? h]. 280 B lɛb'm. 281 H lɛqkth. 282 H strɛqkth. — H níustiz [nests]. E'- 299 B griin. 300 T kɛp [? kept]. E': 306 T heet. 312 B îur. 314 B îurd. 315 HB fit.

EA- — B éiul [ale]. 319 HT gaap. EA: 323 HT fɜ'*ut*. 324 B éit. 326 T ɜ'*uld*, H *ool*, B ó*uld*. 328 T kɜ'uld. 330 HT *oo*lt. 332 T tɜ'*ud*. 333 T kêuf, H kaaf. 334 T hêuf, H haaf. 343 T waam, H waam. 346 HT gêut, B gîut, [middle class, usual] gêit. EA'- 347 T íiud, B ɛ'd, H ɛd. EA': 355 B dɛf'. 361 B bíunz. 366 B grɛt. 370 H raa+r. 371 T straa, H straa+r.

EI- 373 T dhɔ'*i*, B dhéi. 374 T naa. EI: 377 T stêuk. 378 HT week. EO- 383 B sɛb'm. 386 HT *joo*. 387 T nuu.

EO: 388 B mə$^{\text{l}}$Lk [reverted (L), and the Sm. intermediate between (ə, *i*) p. 146]. — B sə$^{\text{l}}$Lk [silk, see 388]. 398 T stêuv. 400 T êunest, H aanest. 402 HT laan, B làrn. 406 T aath, H ɜth. 407 T fêudhin faad'n. EO'- 411 B frii [very often]. 420 T fɜ'uu, H fôu, B fóuur. EO': 425 HT lɔ'it. 427 B bɔ̃i. 436 H tríu. 437 H tríuth, B trœ'uth. EY- 438 HT dɔ'*i* [? (dɜ'*i*)].

I- 443 HT frɔ'idi. 444 T stɔ'il. 449 HT git. 450 HT tuuzdi. I:

452 HT ɔ'*i*, B ə'*i* *ái*. 458 HT nɔ'*it*, B nə'*it*. 459 HT rɔ'*it*. 465 HT sitɟ. 466 T tɟɔ'*ild*. 468 B tɟuɪdrən [(u) verging to ($u_o$) and (ɪ) reverted]. — B r*u*$_o$n rən [run, some vowel intermediate to ($u_o$, ə)]. 482 B ənt é*int* [ain't, is it not?] I'- 490 T bɔ'*i*. 494 T tɔ'*im*, B tə'*im*. 496 T ɔ'*i*·ən. 498 T rɔ'*it*. I': 500 HT lɔ'*ik*. 502 T fɔ'*iv*, B fə'*iv*. 503 HT lɔ'*if*. 504 T nɔ'*if*. 505 T wɔif. 506 HT *u*mən.

O- 519 B ó*u*vər. O: 525 B aaf [off]. 531 T daatə, H daatə daatə [but my (gæl) is more usual]. 541 B ə'i wənt [(ə) approaching ($u_o$)]. 543 B *a*n an. O'- 555 B shuu shæ'u. 559 T m*i*dhə [?], H mam m*u*$_o$dhə. 564 B s*u*$_o$n. O': 579 T ənıu, H ənaf [was the only form known]. 587 B dù$_o$n. 592 HT sóə.

U- — B ùd [wood]. 603 B kam. 605 T sən, B s*u*$_o$n [when used]. 606 B dûə[ɪ]ɪ. U: 610 T *u*l. 612 B s*u*$_o$$^{ə}$m. 614 T and [?]. 615 T pan. 616 T grand. 622 T ondə. 629 B so$^{u}$n'. 632 B *u*$_o$p. 633 B ku$_o$$^{ə}$p. U': 658 H dɛ'*un* [and so on for the rest, but the diphthong is rather uncertain, and may be (ə'u). Miss Cox used (ɛ'*u*) herself, and was unable to decide]. 663 B ə'us. 667 B ə'*ut*.

Y: 700 T was. 701 HT fast. Y- 705 HT skɔ'*i*.

II. English.

A. 737 B mê*it* mît*ə*t. E. 749 B left. O. 761 HT lóəd. 767 T nə'iz. 790 T gɛ'*und*. U. 803 B dj*u*$_o$mp. — B fòn [fun]. 808 T pat.

III. Romance.

A·· 810 H fêəs. 811 H plêəs [pl. plêəs'n]. 813 T bíək'n, H béək'n. 824 T tɟ*é*ə, H tɟ*í*ə. 827 H eegə. 828 H eegə. 840 T tɟaambə [not a bedroom, but any other room]. 852 T *ee*pən. 862 H séəf. 866 H pôə.

E·· 867 H tee, B tê*i*. 878 H sælari. 879 HT *fee·meel*. 888 H saatin. 890 H bîəst [pl. (bîəstiz, bîəs)]. 896 T biivə [in common use]. I *and* Y. 898 B nə'is. 904 T vɔ'*i*let.

O·· 913 T kətɟ. 914 brûətɟ. 920 H pa'*int*. 923* H mɔ'*is*. 926 H spa'il. — B t*u*$_o$n'l t*u*$_o$n'l [tunnel]. 939 H klôəs. 940 T kóət, H kúət [under petticoat, the outer is *skirt*]. 942 T batɟə. 947 H ba'*il*. 954 T kash'n.

U·· 963 T k*w*a'*it*. 965 H a'*il*.

T (watɟed) wet-shod, (ankid) wretched, a few broth. B (*ái* àr) I are. TH. hears a faint (r), but to me it was quite inaudible.

## D 16 = ME. = Mid Eastern.

*Boundaries.* Begin at Harwich at ne. corner of Es. Go along n. b. of Es. till you reach Cb. Go along first the s. and then the w. b. of Cb. to Peterborough, Np. Go w. along n. b. of Hu. to its nw. corner about Wansford, Np. (In the map the line accidentally falls a little s. of this border, and does not quite pass through Peterborough.) Go wsw. across Np. to Rockingham, Np., at sw. angle of Rt., passing s. of King's Cliffe, Np. Go sw. along the n. b. of Np. to Watling St., near Crick. Then go se. across Np., by the b. of D 6, passing e. of Watford, through Long Buckby, where turn s. and pass e. of Daventry and Weedon, where turn more se. near Pattishall, and proceed s. of Blisworth and w. of Towcester, and continue to b. of Np. and Bu. at about Hartwell, Np. Pursue first the n. and then e. b. of Bu. to Gt. Gaddesden, Ht., and then pass s. across the w. horn of Ht. to strike the b. of Bu. again just about

Whelpley Hill (4 ssw. Gt. Gaddesden). Go e., passing s. of Hemel Hempstead, Hatfield, and Hoddesdon, Ht., n. of Waltham Abbey, Es., ne. of Epping, and w. of Brentwood to the Thames at Tilbury. Then go down the Thames, and round the e. coast of Es. to the starting-point, Harwich. It will be observed that borders of counties are much followed, betraying imperfect information. The line which forms the s. b. is quite uncertain, see D 17. The two lines through Np. are fairly correct, being founded on TH.'s numerous observations. The line across the w. horn of Ht. is rather conjectural, but I have been informed that that horn does not differ from Bu.

*Area.* Most of Es. and Ht., all Hu. and Bd., and the middle of Np.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

*Bd.* °Ampthill, *‖Bedford, †Dunstable, °Edworth, °Flitwick, †Girtford, °Harrold, °Hatley Cockaine, °Melchbourne, *Ridgmont, †Sandy, †Sharnbrook, °Thurleigh, †Tilbrook, °Toddington, †Upper Dean.

*Es.* °Black Notley, °Bradfield, †Braintree, °Brentwood, °Brightlingsea, †Chelmsford, °Elsenham, †Great Chesterford, °Great Chishall, °Great Clacton, *†Great Dunmow, °Great Easton, °Great Saling, °†Great Shalford, †Henham, ‖Ingatestone, *Maldon, †Newport, °Paglesham, °†Panfield, °Rayne, °Southend, °Stanway, †Stebbing (Bran End), *Thaxted, °Witham.

*Ht.* °Anstey, °†Ardeley, †Bishop's Stortford, °Boxmoor, †Braughin, †Buntingford, °Furneaux Pelham, °Gilston, °Great Gaddesden, °Great Hormead, †Hadham, °Harpenden, †Hatfield, °Hemel Hempstead, †Hertford, †Hertford Heath, °Hitchin, °St. Albans, °Sandridge, °†Sawbridgeworth, °†Stapleford, *†Ware, *°Welwyn, °Weston.

*Hu.* °Alconbury, †Godmanchester, °Great Catworth, †Great Gidding, °Great Paxton, °†Great Stukeley, °Hamerton, °Hilton, °†Holme, °Houghton, †Huntingdon, °Keystone, †Kimbolton, †Little Stukeley, †Old Fletton, °Pidley, †St. Ives, °†Sawtry, °Somersham, †Staneley, °†Stilton.

*Np.* †Blisworth, †Brixworth, †Clay Coton, †Denton, °Duston, *East Haddon, †Great Houghton, †Hackleton, °Hannington, †Hardingstone, °Hargrave, °Harrington, †Irchester, †Islip, °†Lower Benefield, †Lowick, †Nether Heyford, *†Northampton, °†Oundle, †Sibbertoft, †Stanion, †Sudborough, †Thrapston, †Welford, †Wellingborough, °West Haddon, †Yelvertoft.

*Character.* This is a long straggling district, and between the n. in Np. and the s. in Es. there can be little or no connection. But I have found it impossible to divide the district by any definite lines, and have felt it best to consider the different counties involved as forming 'varieties,' and very slight such varieties are. The general character is

A- remains (éʊ) only among very old people; but becomes (âi, ɛ'i, á'i) in different parts among the younger people. Thus, a Mrs. Clarke, about 73, at Ardeley called apron (ɛ'iprɛn), but said her grandmother called it (*éʊ*pɛn). Sometimes the women have made the change only, thus at the last-named place both Calvert 77 and Clarke 73 said (m*ee*t) mate, in which the (ʊ) is merely omitted; but their wives said (mɛ'*i*t méit) respectively. It is certain then that this (é*i*, ɛ'*i*), which is now so characteristic of D 16, is of recent growth, and has arisen from (éʊ), which with (íʊ) is prevalent all over the S. div., just as (â*i*) in the M. has grown out of (aʊ), an alteration of (â*u*). Alphabetically, the letter *a* is called (a'i).

A' is still occ. (áʊ) as an old form, but falls into (óʊ), and thence into (ó*u*, ô*u*).

I' becomes quite (ʌ'*i*), and the letter *i* is so called alphabetically; it is thus practically distinguished from *a* (ɛ'*i*).

U′ has similarly to be distinguished from (óu), and hence (ɜ′u, áu) were ousted by (ɛ′u, éu), which is the general form.

These characters appear pretty generally in all the varieties, which I propose to pursue and exemplify in the order Var. i., Ht ; Var. ii., Bd. ; Var. iii., Hu. ; Var. iv., Np. ; and then, starting from Ht. again, proceed to Var. v., Es., which leads directly to the e.London variety of D 17.

## Var. i., Hertfordshire.

There were three principal centres of information. 1. Ware, where I had a vv. cs. from a native, checked by TH.'s observations; 2. Ardeley, where I had first much information from Rev. C. Malet, and then had it checked by TH. in a journey made on purpose; and 3. Welwyn with Hitchin.

1. The Ware speech is well exemplified by the following cs., with the cwl., which includes the words observed by TH.

2. Ardeley was recommended to me by the gentleman who gave me the cs. of Ware, and with much difficulty, owing to want of phonetic knowledge on the curate's part, I obtained a sufficiently intelligible version, but this was excellently supplemented by TH.'s visit, when he had the good fortune to be assisted by very old peasants, whose information is embodied in the cwl.

3. Welwyn I had hoped to have settled by a vv. from a native student at Whitelands Training College, but it was spoiled by the peculiarity of her education, and I am indebted to an old college friend, Mr. C. W. Wilshere, who lives at Welwyn, for a dt. for that place and also from Hitchin; but as they were written in unsystematic orthography, there is much that is conjectural in my pal., the interpretation being often derived from the other sources.

Finally, I add a few words from Harpenden and Hatfield, to shew the nature of the dialect at the borders of D 17.

There are very few points to be noticed. One is the partial use of (w) for (v) more developed in Es. and D 19, which we also met with in D 9, p. 132. The use of 'together' in addressing several people, and 'it do' for 'it does,' are more developed in Cb. and D 19. The use of the aspirate varies, but it is generally omitted.

## Ware cs.

pal. by AJE. in 1876, from the dictation of Mr. J. W. Roderick, a native of Amwell (1 se.Ware), who considers that the specimen he gave applied to a district from Great Munden (6 n.Ware) to Broxbourne (4 s.Ware), and from Watton (6 nw.Ware) to Widford (4 ene.Ware). Drawing lines e. and w., n. and s. through these extremes, we get a large district including Hertford and Stapleford, but excluding Welwyn and Ardeley. TH. endeavoured to verify the indications here given. At the end I collect the principal words of this cs. in a cwl., adding the words obtained by TH. at Ware, Hertford, Hertford Heath, and Stapleford. The introductory (ı) was found at Ware by TH., but the nasalisation was not observed at Ware, and neither were observed elsewhere. TH.'s chief time had been devoted to Ardeley, and he was unable to do much in the other places.

0. wó*i* :dʒĭoo‿n ɛz nóɔʊ déʊts.

1. wɛ'ʊl, nísbʊ, ʃíu ʊn ii mʊ búʊʊth lĕáaf ʊt dhis níuz ʊ móin. íu kíʊrz ? dhaat)s nadhʊr íiʊ nʊ dhíiʊ.

2. fíu mɛn dói kʊz dhee)ʊ lĕáaft ʊt, wii núʊʊz, dúʊnt)ʊs ? waat shʊd míʊk ʊm ? t)ii)nt weri lóikli is)t ?

3. éusʊmɛ·vʊ dhíʊs íiʊ)z dhʊ tríuth ʊ dhʊ kíʊs, soo dʒist óʊd ʃʊ réu, mét, ʊn bi kwóiʊt til ói)ʊ dan. lis'n.

4. ói)m sət'n ói íiʊd ʊm sĭée‿i,—som ʊ dhee piip'l íu we‿nt thríu dhʊ úʊʊl thiq frʊm dhʊ fast dhʊselfs—dhaat ói diid, síʊf enĭəof.

5. dhaat dhʊ ʃaqgest san imself, ʊ gríʊt bói ʊ nóin, níu iz fĕáa‿dhʊz vóiʊs ʊt wʊʊns, dhoo t)waaz sʊ kwíiʊr ʊn skwiikʊn, ʊn ói ʊd)trast)ʊm)t spíiʊk dhʊ tríuth ʊmi dĭée*i*, aa, ói ·wʊd.

6. ʊn dh)óʊd wʊmʊn ʊself, 'l tɛl ɛni ɔv ʃʊ dhat lĭáaf nĭé‿u, ʊn tɛl ʃʊ stríʊt aaf tíu, ʊréʊt nʊ boodhʊ, ef ʃíu)l ooni æks)ʊ, úʊʊ wúʊnt shi ?

7. líʊstwíʊz shi tuuld ʊt ·mii wen ói ækst)ʊ, tíu)ʊ thríiʊ toimz úʊʊʊ, sh)diid, ʊn ·shii úʊʊt noot tíu bi ròq ɔn sitʒ ʊ páint eez dhíʊs —waat díu ·ʃíu thiiʊqk ?

8. wɛl, ʊz ói wʊz ʊ)see·ʊn shii)d tɛl)ʃʊ éu, wíiʊr, ʊn wɛn shi fĭéʊnt dhʊ draqkʊn bíiʊst shʊ kaalz ʊr azbʊn [óʊd mæn].

9. shi súʊʊ sh)sid)ʊm wi ʊr óoʊn óiz ʊlói·ʊn stríʊtʒt at fuul líʊqkth oon dhʊ grĭéʊnd, in iz gúʊd sa'ndʊ kúʊʊt, klúʊʊs bói dhʊ [bʊ dhʊ] dúʊʊr ʊ)dhʊ ĭɛ'ʊs dĭéʊn ʊt th)kúʊʊnʊr ʊ)dhʊ líʊn indʊ.

10. ii wʊz ʊ wóinʊn [ĭéʊlʊn] ʊwéeʊ, sez shii, fʊr aal dhʊ wald lóik ʊ síʊk tʒĭóild [tʒĭái'ld] ʊr ʊ lit'l gjɛl ʊ fréʊtʊn.

11. ʊn dhaat aapʊnd ʊz shii ʊn ʊr dúʊʊtʊr)in)laa kíiʊm thríu dhʊ bĭæk ʃĭaa‿d frʊ æqʊn ĭéʊt dhʊ wíʊt klúʊʊz tíu drói on ʊ woshʊn déei,

12. wóil dhʊ kit'l wʊz ʊ báilʊn fʊ tii, wʊn fóin broit samʊr aatʊnuun, úʊʊnli ʊ wíʊk ʊguu· kam neks thazdi.

13. ʊn d)ʃʊ núʊʊ ? ói nɛvʊ laant ɛni múʊʊ dhʊn dhíiʊs, ʊ dhaat biznis ɔp tíu tʊ déei, ʊz shíuʊ)z mói níʊm)z :dʒaak :shipʊt, ʊn ʊ dúʊʊnt woont tíu nadhʊ, dhíiʊ nĭéu.

14. ʊn soo ói)in gúʊʊn úʊʊm tíu sa'pʊ. gŭ)nóiʊt, ʊn dúʊʊnt bi sʊ kwíʊk tíu krúʊʊ úʊʊʊvʊr ʊ fɛlʊr ʊgi·n, wen i tóoʊks ʊ dhíiʊs dhaat ʊ t)adhʊ.

15. ii)z ʊ wíiʊk fúʊʊl, dhat dʒĭa'ʊz ʊrĭéʊt kĭaa'z tʊ. ʊn dhaat)s mói lĭáast wad. fáʊ ʃʊ wɛl.

*Notes to Ware cs.*

1. *neighbour*, the final *r* is entirely absorbed in the vowel, here and elsewhere.

2. *it is not*, distinct (tiint) not (tiʊnt).—*very*, *v* is constantly pronounced as *w*, but not conversely.

3. *this here's*; very short fracture in (dhíʊs).—*hold*, doubtful whether (a'ud) or (óʊd) and may be (óʊd).—*row*, noise. —*I are done*, *I are* for *I am* and that for *I have*, as usual. (ói ·aaʊ) I are, an emphatic assertion, and (ii)ʊ) he are are common, so also thou, we, you *am*, (dhéu)m wii)m ʃíu)m) ; they *be* sometimes, but in answer to a question they're, them and it's me (dhee)ʊ dhɛm, it)s mii) are used.

4. *I am* with an adjective predicate, not *I are*.—*certain*, not (sat'n).—*say*, the nasality occurs only when the word is very prolonged.—*people*, *folk* is not usual.—*enough*, this was the best imita-

tion I could give, the (ĭ) very short, the (əə) long, but I was not satisfied with the last vowel.

5. *great* (gəət) is never used.—*knew*, (níu) distinctly, not (náu). — *voice*, though this is a common word, (w) is not used.—*day*, the (ee) is not nasal, (diiɐ) occ., the prefixed (i) was not heard in par. 11 and 13.—*aye*, also (jíɐs) yes.

6. *ask*, distinctly (æks), not (aks). At Albury (8 nne.Ware) (jíæ‿ks) is heard.

7. *point*, distinctly (páint) while *pint* is (póint) similarly (djáint, áil, áintmɐnt) joint, oil, ointment, (iiɐr áil) hair oil, and similarly (ríiɐn, dríiɐn, ríiɐlwéei tríiɐn) rain, drain, railway train.

9. *yonder* is very commonly called (indɐ). We have the various forms (jɔndɐr jandɐr jindɐr) in S. dialects and (jendɐ, jindɐ, indɐ) in E. dialects, but whether (indɐ) represents *yonder* or *hinder* is not clear.

14. *goodnight*, almost (gɐ)nói·t).

15. *fare ye well, good-bye* would not be used except for a long absence, (tataa·) may be heard, but it is not very common.

## se. Ht., Ware, etc.

Unmarked words from Mr. Roderick's cs. for Ware, with others given by him.
W wn. by TH. at Ware from Goldstone 29, and $W_2$ Saunders 12, natives.
H wn. by TH. at Hertford from Seymour 71, and HH. Hertford Heath (2 se.Hertford).
S wn. by TH. at Stapleford (3 n.-by-e.Hertford). All in 1884.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- $W_2$ [letter A = (ái)]. 5 míɐk, W mɛ'ik. 8 W æv, $W_2$ ɛv, H. ènt [have not]. 17 laa, W laa. 19 HH tɛ"ivl. 21 níɐm, $W_2$ nɛ"im. — fâaɐ [fare]. 34 lĭâast. A: 39 kiiɐm. 49 æq. 53 $W_2$ kæ'n. 54 woont. 56 wosh. A: *or* O: 60 lɔq. 64 ròq, HH rɔq.

A'- 67 gúɐn, W [between] ɐgôu·in, ɐgôu·in, $W_2$ góu·in. 69 W nóu. 72 íu, $W_2$ uu, W uu úu. 74 tíu, H tíu. 79 óɐn. 81 líɐn. 82 waans. 84 múɐ, H môɐ. 87 klúɐz. 89 búɐth, W bóuth, $W_2$ bôuth. 92 núɐ. 94 krúɐ. A': 102 æks [at Albury (jĭæ'ks)], W àsk. 105 H rûɐd. 106 H braad. 110 noot. 111 úɐt. 113 úɐl, W *oo*l. 115 úɐm, W ôùm, H oom òm. 117 wən, HH ɐloon [alone]. 120 ɐguu·. 122 nóɐ. 125 *oo*nli úɐnli. 137 nadhɐ, W nɛdhɐ.

Æ- 138 fĕáa‿dhɐ, $WW_2H$ faadhɐ. 144 ɐgin. 150 líɐst. Æ: 154 bĭæk. 155 HH thɛtj. — tɐgjɛ·dhɐ [together, addressing several persons]. — W àd [had], $W_2$ ɛd. 151 aatɐ. 161 dɛ́ɛi, déɛi, díɐ, W dɛ"i, $W_2$ dâi, H dêi. 169 wɛn. 173 waaz. — kaat [cart]. 177 dhaat [? (dhàt)]. 179 waat.

Æ'- 194 ɛni. 200 HH wìt. Æ': 209 nɛɐɐ. 220 shípɐt. 222 íiɐ. 223 dhíiɐ, W dhéɐ. 224 wíiɐ. 227 wíɐt.

E- 233 spíiɐk. 241 ríiɐn, W rɛ"in, $W_2$ râin. 244 wɛ'ɐl. 252 kit'l. E: 256 stríɐtj. 261 sĭée‿i, ɐsee·ɐn [a-saying], W sɛ"i. 263 ɐwéɐ, W ɐwɛ"i. 265 stríɐt, W strɛ'it. 276 thíiɐqk. 279 we‿nt. 280 W ·lɛv'n. 281 líɐqkth. E'- 297 fɛlɐ. E': 307 HH nâi. 312 íiɐ. 316 neks.

EA- 320 kíiɐr. EA: 322 lĕâaf lĭâaf, $WW_2HH$ laaf. 326 óɐd, W óu[ld, $W_2$ óuld, H [between] ôul ôul. 330 óɐd, W óu[ld. 332 tuuld. 335 aal & H. 338 kaal. 340 jĭaa‿d. EA'- 348 ói. 349 fíu. EA': 357 dhoo. 359 nɛ́ɐba. 366 gríɐt, W grɛ'it. EI- 372 aa. 373 dhee. EI: 378 wíiɐk.

EO- 383 W sɛv'n. 387 níu, W nìù & $W_2$. EO:· 392 jælɐ [yellow]. 394 indɐ, W jɔndɐ [mostly, occ.] jindɐ, $W_2$ jɔndɐ [old (jindɐ)], HH jindɐ. 399 bróit. 402 laant. 408 níu. 411 thríiɐ. 412 shi sh-. EO': 422 síiɐk. 435 jíu, HHW ju. 437 tríuth. EY- 438 dói, W dA"i, H [between] dâid dA"id. EY: 439 trast.

I- $W_2$ [letter I = (AA'i)] 440 wíɐk. 446 nóin. I: 452 ói, W ái. 453 kwíɐk. 458 gŭ)nóɐt [good-night]. 465 sitj. 466 tjĭóild, tjĭâild, $W_2$ tjaa'ild. 469 wɐl. — wɐndɐ [window]. 480 thiq. 482 tiint [it is not], W ɛ'int tz'nt, $W_2$ ɛ'int. 484 dhíɐs dhíiɐs. I'- 492 $W_2$ saa'id. 494

*tóim*, H [between] tʌ"*im* *táim*, HH tʌ"*im*. 495 *wóin*. I': 500 *lóik*, W *láik* & H. 596 *wumvn*. — $W_2$ [between] *âi*, â'*i* [hay]. 508 HH [between] mʌ'*ild*, *mâild*. 509 *wóil*. 510 *môin*, W mʌ"*in*, $W_2$ mʌʌ'*in*.

O- 519 *úvvv úuvvv*. 523 *wald*, W wɑ'ld wɑald. O: 525, ii. ʌʌf. 531 *dúuvtv*, W dʌʌtv, HH dʌʌ'tv. 538 *wud*. 541 *wúvnt*, $W_2$ *wôunt* [sometimes (want)]. 550 *wad*, H *wòd*. O'- 555 *shíu*. 556 *tíu*. 557 *tíu*, H [between] *tíu*, *téu*. 567 t)adhv. O': 571 *gúvd*. 579 vnïəəf, W vnɑf, $W_2$ [between] vnɑf, vnəf. 586 *díu* *dúvnt* [don't], W *dúu*, H *díu*. 587 *dan*. 588 *nuun*. 592 *súuv*.

U- 603 *kam* & W. 604 *samv*. 605 *san*, HH sə'n. 606 *dúuv*. U: 609 *fuul*. 612 *som*. 616 *grïéund*, W *grïâ'un*. 623 *fïéunt*, W *fïə'und*. 627 *sandv*. 629 HH sə'n. 631 *thazdi*. 632 *əp*, $W_2$ *əp*, H *ap*. 633 H [between] *kap* *kap*. 634 *thríu*, HH *thrúu*. U'- 641 *éu*. 643 *nïé,u*, W *nïâ'u*, $W_2$ [between] nɛ"*u*, *nêu*. 648 *a'uvn* [ourn, in "our mode of pronouncing"]. 651 *vréut* *erïéut* [? is this *there-out*], W *widhïâ'ut*. U': 658 *dïéun*, W *dïâ'un*, $W_2$ *dïɛ"ùn*, H *dɛ"un* *də'ùn*, HH *də"un*. 659 $W_2$ *tɛ"ùn*. 663 *ïéus*, W *ïə'us*, HH [between] ɛ"*us* ə"*us*. 666 *azbvn*. 667 *ïéut*, W ɛ"*ut*, H *ə'ut*.

Y- 673 H *matɟ*. 674 *diid*. 677 *drói*. 681 *biznis*. 682 *lit'l*. Y: 692 *jaqgest*. 694 H *wak*. 701 *fast*, $WW_2$ *faast*. Y'- 706 *wói*, W wʌ"*i*.

II. English.

A. 722 *dríivn*. 726 *tóovk*, H tʌʌk. 732 *aapvn*. 737 *méut*, W mɛ'*it*. — dɟïʌvz [jaws]. E. 652 *fréut*. I. *and* Y. 758 gjɛl, W ga'l, H gjal, $W_2$ gja'l. O. 767 W *nôiz*. — H *wôv* [worn]. 781 *boodhv*. 789 *réu*, W *rïâ'u*. 791 *bói*, HH *bóv*. U. 797 *skwiikvn*. 798 *kwíiv*. 803 *dɟəmp*. 804 *draqk'n*.

III. Romance.

A·· 811 H *plès*. 830 *tríivn*, W trɛ"*in*. 841 H *tɟaans*. 857 *kívs*. 862 *sívf*. 864 *kïʌʌ'z* [cause]. — *sïææ'vidɟ* [savage]. E·· 867 *tii* & H. 885 wɛr*i*, W vɛr*i* [no *w* used for *v*], $W_2$ vɛr*i*, H [no *w* used for *v*], HH & S [*w* used for *v*]. — *pïææ'tridɟ* [partridge]. 888 *sət'n*. 890 *bíivst*. I·· *and* Y·· 901 *fóin*, $W_2$ fʌ"*in*. — W *vi·nígv* [vinegar] & $W_2$ [with v only]. — *póint* [pint], W [between] *póint* *páint*, $W_2$ *pə'int*. — *vit'lz* [victuals], & $W_2$ [adding, some say (*wit'lz*)], HH & S *wit'lz*.

O·· 919 *áintmvnt*. 920 *páint*, $W_2$ *pô'int*. — dɟ*áint* [a joint]. 925 *vóivs*, W *vôyis*. 938 *kúuvnv*. 939 *klúuvs*. 940 *kúuvt*. 941 *fúuvl*. 947 *bâil*. 950 *sa'pv*. 955 *déut*, W *dïâ'ut*. U·· 963 *kwóivt*, W *kwʌ"ivt*. 965 *áil*. — *ïéul* [howl]. 969 *shíuv*. 970 *dɟist*.

## Ardeley or Yardley (8 c.-by-s.Hitchin) dt.

written by Rev. C. Malet, son of the Vicar, and palaeotyped by AJE. from indications given by him. Mr. Roderick of Ware, Ht., said that (:jaa·dl*i* :w*u*d :iind) or Yardley Wood End was a famous outlandish place for the dialect. From TH.'s observations it appears that long vowels are too freely used in this translation.

1. s*oo* ɔ'*i* s*éei*z, méevts, *jí*u sii *néeu*, dhaat ɔ'*i* bii rɔ'*it*, tvg*i*dh·vr, əbéeut dhaat éev liit'l gaal v-kəm·*in* from dhv skíiul jaan·dv.

2. shii)z vg*oo·in* déeun dhv *róovd* dhéev thríu dhv réevd gíivt ɔn dhv lɛft aand sɔ'*id* v dhv wéei lɔ'*i*k.

3. shíuv nɛf dhv tɟɔ'*i*ld v gaan strɔ'*it* ap tíu dhv dúuvr v dhv roq éeus.

4. wéev shii vl m*oo*st)vn)iin fɔ*i*·nd dhaat draqk'n déevf *sii*vd tɟaap nvem v :taa·məs.

5. wi aal nóoʊz ʊn vɛr·*i* wɛl.
6. wɜnt dh)ʌʌl tʃaap sɛ́i·un laan ʊ not tʊ díu ʊt əgíiʊn nə'idhʊ, pʊ́uʊ thíq !
7. líuk ! éeʊnt ʊt trú·u.

*Notes.*

Very drawled. 4. *most on end*, generally, surely. *seared*, shrivelled. 5. *we all knows him*. Mr. M. was sure that (ʊn) for (ʊm) or (im) was used. No other authorities admit this strictly MS. form.

## Ardeley Wood End (:ʒaadl*i* :w*u*d :iind, :ʒàrl*i* :w*u*d :iin), (1½ se. Ardeley), cwl.

TH.'s observations on Darby and wife 48, Brown 86, Calvert and wife 77, Clarke 73 and wife 62, these are not here generally distinguished, as that would be descending to personal differences, when there was substantial agreement, but it was observed that the men inclined to older and the women to recent forms. Darby used 'together' as an address to several, as (wíʊ⌊r ʒʊ gu·in, tʊgjɛdhʊ?) where are you going, you people? Common in D 18 and 19.

B a few wn. by TH. at Buntingford (:bɑ·nifʊt) about 4 ne. Ardeley, chiefly from F. Kimpton, labourer, 72. Mrs. K. said (it du) for it does. All wn. in 1884.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 5 m*ee*k. 21 nîʊm n*é*ʊm nɛ"im, B [between], née⌊ʊm née⌊im. A: 43 and. A: *or* O: 64 [between] rɔq roq [or something between (rɔq), roq)]. A'- 67 guu go·in. 73 B sôu. 74 tíu. 81 l*éé*ʊn, l*ee*ⁱn, lɛ"in [Mrs. Clarke, whose mother said (l*éé*ʊn)], B lê⌊in. 86 ó*u*ts. 92 nô*u*. A': 104 [formerly] rûʊd, [now] rô*u*d, [Brown and Mrs. Calvert], r*oo*d [Calvert]. 115 *oo*m. 117 w*u*n.

Æ- 138 faadhʊ. Æ: B thɛtʃ. 161 dêi, d*ee* [Calvert], dɛ"*i* [Mrs. Clarke], d*ee*⌊*i* [Clarke]. — st*é*ʊl [stale = handle]. — wʌps-*i*z [wasp-s]. 170 à⌊rvist-*i*z. — glaas [glass]. — kjaat [cart]. Æ'- 125 on*i*. Æ': 226 mòs ʊn iin [most on end, generally].

E- 241 r*ee*n [Calvert] rɛ"in [Mrs. C.]. E: 263 ʊw*ee*. 265 strɛ'*i*t stré*i*t strèt, B stré*i*t. — f*i*ld f*i*lz [field fields]. E'- 299 griin. E': 314 îʊd &B. 315 f*i*t.

EA: 326 ó*u*ld, B ó*u*l, ó*u*l⌊d. 328 B kó*u*ld. — ʒà⌊rn [earn]. 346 g*é*ʊt. EA'- 347 ɛ"*i*d. EA': 355 dɛf. 371 straa [Mrs. Clarke's grandmother]. EO- 383 sɛv'm. EO: 394 ʒindʊ [Darby], ʒandʊ [Brown], [both at B.]. 396 [between] wak wok. 402 laan, [between] lɛɛn lɜən [Mrs. Clarke].

I: 452 *ai*. — bɜd [bird]. 459 r*á*it rɔ'it rɔ'it. 466 tʃ*á*ild tʃɑ"*i*l. 469 wù*l*. 477 fɑ'*i*nd fʌ'*i*nd. 482 è*n*t [aint, is not]. I'- 492 sɑ"id sʌ'id [nearly], s*â*id, B sɑ"id [and all long *i* at B = (ʌ"*i*)], B sô'id. 494 tʌ'*i*m & B. I': 503 ʊlʌ"iv [alive]. 510 mʌ"in.

O- — bô⌊ʊn [born]. O: 531 dʌʌtʊ. 541 w*u*nt wò*n*t wont. — fʌʌk [fork]. 550 wɜd. — ʌ"ʊs [horse]. O'- 556 t*í*u. 560 skuul & B. 562 muun. 564 s*í*ùn suun s*œ*'un. O': 586 d*i*u. 588 nuun.

U- 603 kɜm. 605 sù⌒n. 606 d*ú*uʊ dúʊ dûʊ d*œ*'uʊ [between (dûʊ, dóʊ)]. U: 613 dr*u*⌒qk, drɜqk. — w*u*ndʊ [wonder]. 632 ɜp əp. 634 thr*í*u. U'- 643 [between] nə'u, nɛ'u, [Darby and Calvert], nə"*u* [Brown], nɛ"*u* [Mrs. Clarke]. 648 ə'*u*ʊn [our'n, ours]. 650 ʊbə'*u*t. U': 658 də"*u*n [between that and (dɛ'un) Mrs. Calvert and B; between the two, Mrs. Clarke], B d⌊iɛ"*u*n. 659 B t⌊iɛ"*u*n, B tɛ"*u*n. 663 ə'us [between that and (ɛ'us) Mrs. Calvert, B ɛ'*u*s].

### II. English.

A. 737 m*ee*t [Clarke, Calvert], mɛ"*i*t [Mrs. Calvert], m*é*it [Mrs. Clarke]. E. 749 lɛft. I. 758 gjàl gjal. O. — grə"ul ⌊growl]. U. 803 B [between] dʒəmp, dʒɜmp. — tanʊps [turnips].

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 810 fêʊs. — déeʊm [dame]. 852 [Mrs. Clarke's grandmother said *ɛ̂ʊpʊn*, but the present pronunciation is ɛ'*i*prʊn]. I·· *and* Y·· 898 n*ái*s. 901 f*ái*n. O·· — bìf [beef]. — B pamp [pump]. — fùst [forced]. — tən [turn]. 955 [between] dɛ"ut də"ut [Calvert].

*Note.* B no (w) for (v).

## WELWYN (8 s.-by-e.Hitchin) dt.

pal. by AJE. from notes and indications by C. W. Wilshere, Esq., of the Frythe, Welwyn.

1. s*oo ái* SEZ, m*ee*ts, SEZ *ái*, JíU sii nɛ́*u* ʊz *éu ái*)m r*ái*t əb*éu*t dhat l*i*t'l gæl ʊkamin frəm dhʊ skuul JandʊJ.
2. shii)z ʊg*oo*·in dé*un* dhʊ r*óo*ʊd dhéeʊ thruu dhʊ rɛd g*ái*t ən dhʊ fadhʊ [dh*i*s] s*ái*d ʊv dhʊ w*ái*.
3. shíur ʊnaf dhʊ tJ*ái*ld *iz* gaan str*ái*t ɛp tʊ dhʊ dúuʊr əv dhʊ rəq é*u*s.
4. wéʊ shii)l tJaans f*ái*nd dhat draqk'n dɛf w*i*z'nd fɛlʊr əv dhʊ n*ái*m ʊ :toməs.
5. wii aal n*oo*z *i*m vɛr*i* wel.
6. w*oo*nt dhʊ *oo*l tJæp suun ləən)ʊ nət tʊ duu *i*t ʊgen.
7. l*u*k·*i* dhéeʊ, *ee*nt it dJɛst ʊz *ái* sɛd ?

### *Miscellaneous Welwyn Notes from Mr. Wilshere.*

*r* not sounded except before a vowel.

*h* initial almost unknown except in *hisn hern*.

*I be* was constantly in use about 1850, and *beant* is universal now among old people.

*unked* (aqkid), uncomfortable, dreary, —common.

*like* (lɔ'ik), a common qualifying addition to adverbs. She looked at me quite strange-like; I thought she knew him, they seemed quite friends-like?

*do* (dí*u*), (ɔ'*i* aalʊz dí*u* *i*t, sô*u* ɔ'*i* dí*u*), I always do it, so I do. (*i* təənz *i*n dhéʊ p*u*ti rɛglʊr ʊ)nɔ'its, i dí*u*) he turns in there pretty regular at nights, he do.

*gave*. In Welwyn (gi*v*), in Hitchin (gav).

*audacious* (é*u*déei·shʊs), impudent,—common.

*who* (íu). "I be-ant a-goin ther ter-day." "They people over at Harford *aint* [anciently beant] like *we*," "Lookee, there, if that aint [or beant] our Jim, dooant e jist look spry [(spr*ái*) not (spro'*i*)] since ee's biin keepin company with Jane," universally used for courting.

*-en*, in yearn hisn hern theirn ous*en* ros*en* [at Welwyn].

*town*, up town, down town, always without the article.

*done*, "it was im as done it, she done it, its er as done it, it's them as done it."

*favour*, "e (the os) favours is off leg wus than yesterday," does not rest on it being lame; "bless me ow she dew favour her mother sure-lie," how like she is to.

*shut* (shɛt), *shrink* (sriqk), *put* (put), *foot* (fat).

*donkey* female ass, the male being a jackass. *clock* is feminine.

The indications were not sufficient for me to give the pronunciation fully in these notes.

## Hitchin dt.

pal. by AJE. from notes obtained by C. W. Wilshere, Esq., of the Frythe, Welwyn.

1. *soo* ɔ'*i* sez, m*ee*ts, sez ɔ'*i*, ju sii ʊs *éu* ɔ'*i*)m rɔ*i*t əbé*u*t dhæt l*i*tl ʊn [dhæt jɛq gæl] ʊz iz ʊ)kɛm·in é*u*t)ʊ skuuld jæn·də.
2. shii-*z* ʊg*oo*·in déʊn [dæ'*u*n] dhæt éʊ rúuʊd dhéʊ, thruu dhʊ red gíʊt ʊ)tɛdhʊ [ə)dh*i*s] sáid ʊ dhʊ wee.
3. shíur ʊnɛf· *if* shi *ee*nt ʊ)gaan rɔ'*i*t ɛp tʊ dhʊ dúuʊr ʊ)dhʊ rɔq é*u*s.
4. blest *if* shi w*oo*nt [bɛt ʊ pɛn·*i* shii)l] fɔ'*i*nd dhæt drɛqkn *oo*l tʃæp dhéʊ, w*i*z·'nd *oo*l :tɔm.
5. wi aal n*oo*z *i*m p*u*t·*i* wɛl.
6. w*oo*nt dhʊ *oo*l tʃæp suun lʊrn)ʊ tʊ t*ee*k kéeʊr é*u* shi dɛz it ʊgɛn, púuʊ th*i*ng!
7. l*u*k·*i* dhéʊ! t*úu*ʊld jʊ s*oo*.

*Notes.*

*I* is distinctly broad (ɔ'*i*). (ʊné*u*) is said when it refers to the plural.

## Harpenden (4 n.St. Albans) cwl.

words from Mr. T. Wilson's dt.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 21 n*é*im. A: 43 ænd. A: *or* O: 58 fɛn [?]. 64 rɔq. A'- 67 gu·in. 92 nó*u*. A': 104 rúʊd. 121 gaan. Æ- 144 ʊgi·n. Æ: 177 dhɔt. Æ'- 183 t*ee*tʃ. Æ': 223 dhîʊ. 224 wìʊ. E: 261 sa'*i*. 262 w*ái*. 265 stré*u*t. 266 wæl. E'- 293 w*ee*. 297 fælʊ fɛlʊ. EA: 326 ó*u*l. 346 gíʊt gé*u*t gæt. EA': 355 dɛth. EO: 394 jɛndʊ. EO'- 412 sh*ee* [?]. EO': 428 s*ee* [?]. 435 jɛ'*u*. 436 tríu. I: 452 *ái* [probably, uncertain]. 459 ra'*i*t. 466 tjɔ'ild. 469 w*u*l [will]. 477 fɔ'*i*nd. 480 f*i*qk f*i*q th*i*qk. 482 *ee*nt [is not]. I'- 492 sɔ'id. O: 541 w*u*nt want. O'- 560 skuuld. 564 síun. O': 579 ʊnɛ'*u*. 586 díu. U- 606 dúuʊ. U: 634 thr*oo*. U'- 643 nɛ'*u*. U': 658 dɪɛ'*u*n. 663 ɛ'*u*s.

II. English.

I. *and* Y. 758 gæl. U. 804 dr*u*qk'n.

III. Romance.

A·· 841 tjaans. E·· 885 wɛr*i*. U·· 969 shíuʊ.

## Hatfield (6 wsw.Hertford) cwl.

wn. in 1884 by TH., chiefly from J. Hart 62, and his wife.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 téik. 5 méik. 8 ènt [hasn't]. A'- 74 tæ'u. 82 wans. A': 104 rô'ʊd [old form (rûʊd)]. 121 gaan. 128 dhô'*u*z. Æ- 144 ʊgjè·n. EA: 326 ó*u*l. 346 gj*éi*t. EO: 394 jandʊ. 402 laan [old form]. EO'- 411

thrii. I: 466 tɹáil. 480 ɛnithiqk [anything]. — itɛn [hitting]. I'- 492 sáid. O: 541 wóunt wunt. O': 586 dæ'u. 587 [between] dɔ'n, dɑ'n. U- 606 dóɛ. U'- 650 ɛbɔ'ut. U': 663 [between] ɔ'us, ɛ'us.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 làd [used more than boy]. I. *and* Y. 758 gjàl [old form, Mrs. H. said between] gjàl gjæ'l. O. — IAAst [lost]. 791 bôi [more often lad].

III. ROMANCE.

A·· — gaad'nin [gardening]. O·· — pɑmp [pump].

## VAR. ii. BEDFORDSHIRE.

The Bd. var. is scarcely distinguishable from the Ht. We have Batchelor's account written 80 years ago, and it scarcely differs from the present pron., as shewn by the following dt. from Ridgmont and the cs. from Bedford. It is sufficient to leave these to tell their own story.

T. Batchelor in 1809 wrote an "Orthoepical Analysis of the English Language—to which is added a minute and copious analysis of the dialect of Bedfordshire," 8vo. pp. viii. 164. This differs from ordinary writing about dialects by being written in a systematic character, and therefore I deviate from my usual habit of disregarding printed books. All is here given in the best pal. interpretation I could assign. But of course difficulties and uncertainties abound. Thus, (e, ɛ) are quite uncertain, and hence (éu, ɛ'u). Similarly, (ə, ɜ), and hence (ə'i, ɜ'i), are also uncertain. The simple (e, ə) are therefore alone used. B. has no other way of expressing (ii, uu) but by the equivalents of (iɹ, uw), which might mean (íi, úu), but I interpret them as (ii, uu) for simplicity. B.'s *r* is said to be always "smooth," and that means most probably, as generally in E. div., before a vowel (r) or ($r_o$), and when not before a vowel simply (ɹ); but to indicate his usage, 'permissive r' or (ɹ) is here employed. For the simple (ɹ) see the following cs. and dt. B. gives a very long list of principally "accidental" errors of pronunciation, and a large number of "colloquial phrases or low vulgarisms." The first I give to a small extent in a cwl. and a few of the latter are also added. But to go into the whole would be to give undue prominence to the district. His rules for pronouncing the dialect in 1809 amount to the following, the examples and pronunciation are his own.

1. *ow* generally = (éu), this refers to the words with U' (néu kéu dhéu féul éul), now cow thou foul owl, and O' (pléu) plough, and with the French OU ·· (véu, vléu) vow, allow. He takes the received diphthong as (*ou*).

2. Long *ū* is generally (*iu*), as (tri*u*, tri*us*) true, truce, and in French words (mi*uz*, ri*u*·in, ni*uz*ɛns, kri*u*·il, sli*us*) muse, ruin, nuisance, cruel, sluice.

3. *ai ay* = (éei) in (déei wéei séei néeil réeil) day way say nail rail and French (péei péeil), but *a* followed by a consonant and final *e* is (éu, êɛ, éeɛ), for which I usually write (éu), as (séeul séeil) sale sail, (téeul téeil) tale tail, (méeul méeil) male mail, (péeul péeil) pale pail. This corresponds to the treatment of A-, ÆG-, EG, to which other Saxon and French words are levelled up, thus he

gives also (wéeɐɪ téeɐɪ géeɐt) wear tear gate, and (gréeɐs pléeɐs spéeɐs péeɐɪ) grace place space, pear & pair. And he says (néeɐshɐn stéeɐshɐn) nation station occur in n.Bd.

4. *ea* and long *e* before *r* = (*iiɐ*), for which I usually write (iɐ), these words are from various sources (híɐt míɐt swíɐt bíɐt fíɐɪ :djíɐmz píɐɪ bíɐɪ) heat meat sweat beat fear James peer beer.

5. *oa* and *o* before a consonant followed by *e* = (úɐ), as (múɐn grúɐn thrúɐt búɐt túɐn sɐpúɐz, befúɐr múɐɪ flúɐɪ) moan groan throat bought tone suppose before more floor; here whatever has (*oo*, *oo'w*) in received speech is levelled up. But B. adds *not* in "hope home rope spoke oak told mould sold soul roll," and not in (nóou dhóou dóou króou) no though doe crow, so that each word would have as usual to be separately acquired.

6. *o* short before (k, g, q) is (*o*), as (brok strok spok fok) broke stroke spoke folk, (dog hog rog) dog hog rogue, (soq loq roq) song long wrong. This rule is difficult, the *o* being (now at least) often long in rs.

7. (əq, əqk) of rs. become (*u*q, *u*qk), as (s*u*q d*u*q h*u*q dr*u*qk m*u*qk tr*u*qk s*u*qk b*u*q m*u*qgr*i*l ɐm*u*q) sung dung hung drunk monk trunk sunk bung mongrel among.

8. *oi*, *oy* become (ə'*i*) in (brə'*i*l spə'*i*l fə'*i*l be'*i*l sə'*i*l ə'*i*l ə'*i*ntment nə'*i*z təɪmə'*i*l rə'*i*al) broil spoil foil boil soil oil ointment noise turmoil royal; but is (ə'*i*) in enjoy noise [as well as (nə'*i*z) ?] voice choice toys boys = (bə'*i*z).

9. *r* is not pronounced before *s* followed by *e* or by a consonant, as (fəst dəst wəst kúɐs fúɐs AAS bAAdɐɪ bəth wəth w*u*st*i*d) first durst worst course force horse border birth worth worsted. Here we have not always simple omission.

10. *-ow* final is often (ɐɪ), or more probably (-ɐ) except when a vowel follows, (elbɐ melɐ nærɐ w*i*ndɐ) elbow mellow narrow window, also (ə'idiiɐ pɐtéeitɐ :æ·frikɐ :tʃéi*n*i) idea potato Africa Chinaware.

11. *-nge* final = (nzh) not (ndʒ) as (stréeinzh réeinzh méeinzh spr*i*nzh tw*i*nzh s*i*nzh sw*i*nzh) strange range mange springe twinge singe swinge.

12. *-ing* of participles is (*i*n), as (s*i*q*i*n) singing, (gu·*i*n) going.

13. *wh* initial is simple (w), as (wət) what.

14. *h* initial generally omitted, as (i *iz im*) he his him, but sometimes inserted in the wrong place, as (hAAl hé*u*l hAAdɐɪ hæks hæ·ndə'i·ɐn) awl owl order axe andiron.

15. *-aw* final generally = (-aa), but the custom is disappearing, (laa saa klaa) law saw claw.

16. *er*, *ir* followed by a consonant is (əɪ), meaning really (əə, ɐɐ), and unaccented seems to be (ɐɪ) or simply (ɐ); (pɐɪhaps pɐɪswéɐd pəɪt məsif*u*l pəɪs'n) perhaps persuade pert merciful person.

17. unaccented (ɐ) takes the place of long *o* and even *a* in initial, middle and final unaccented syllables, as (*i*·nɐsɐns ɐkəɪ· ɐfe·nd ɐlúɐn ɐké*u*nt) innocence occur offend alone account.

*I are* for *I am* is common, he'm she'm we'm you'm they'm, are used by a few. On b. of Bu. I be, ye be, are heard.

## Batchelor's Bd. Sentences. Only a few are given.

1. (wət ɐ vaas sə'*i*t ɐv fok), what a vast sight of folk.
2. (ə'*i*l bi w*u*)ɪɐ nekst wé*i*z), I'll be with)you next ways, i.e. I'll come soon.
3. (hii)z loq ɐ dhɐ bak an *i*m), he's long of the back on him, i.e. he has a long back.
4. (dhíez ɐɪ g*u*d wíɐts, baaɪl*i*z), these are good wheats, barleys, etc., i.e. good kinds of wheats, etc.
5. (ə'*i* kaant méɐk n*o*th*i*n ɐv *i*t, nedhɐɪ hed nɐɪ té*i*l an)t), I can't make nothing of it, neither head nor tail of it.
6. (g*i*v mii ɐ f*i*u brAAth, pər*i*dʒ), give me some broth, porridge.
7. (héu men*i* brAAth ? *iz* dhéɐr ɐníu), how many [much] broth ? is there enew. [Broth is always in the plural.]

8. (:m*i*strʊs :m. iz né*i*shʊn, mAAɹtʊl, dé*u*s*i*d r*i*tɟ, púʊɹ, *i*l, g*u*d, bad, hansʊm, ɔgl*i*, etc.), Mrs. M. is 'nation, mortal, deucid rich, poor, ill, good, bad, handsome, ugly.
9. (dhéʊɹ wʊz ʊ də·nʊ he·mʊn*i*), there was I don't)know how)many.
10. (AAlʊs gu·*i*n tʊ féʊɹz ʊn s*i*tɟ), always going to fairs and such like.
11. (evʊr*i* né*u* ʊn tan), every now and then, (dhen) with (dh) assimilated to the preceding (n).
12. (dh*i* wedhʊɹ)z p*i*uʊɹ kəmfʊɹtʊbl *oo*vʊr it wor), the weather)is pure comfortable over it was.
13. (ə'*i* he)nʊ wəts tʊɹíʊr), I have)no oats to-year [this year].
14. (*i*t)s pʊɹt*i* g*u*d*i*sh, bɔb*i*sh, lə'ik), it's pretty goodish, bobbish, like; the 'like' qualifies the meaning similarly to the usual as it were, it is *about* pretty good.
15. (*i*t stanz tʊ sens, hii wənt bi sed), it stands to sense [it is clear] he won't be said [stopped by words].

## Ridgmont (9 ssw.Bedford) dt.

pal. by AJE. from the dictation of Miss Susan Wheck, native, student at Whitelands, June, 1881.

1. *soo* A'*i* sée*i*, m*ee*ts, JUU sii nE'*u* A)ʊ rA'*i*t ʊbE'*u*t dhàt l*i*t'l gEl [gæl] kəm·ʊn from dhʊ sk*u*l JondʊB.
2. ʊr)ʊ g*oo*·*i*n dE'*u*n dhʊ rúʊʊd dhéeʊ, thruu dhʊ rEd géeʊt on dhʊ lEft a'nd sA'*i*d ʊv dhʊ w*ée*i.
3. shəʊr ənəf· dhʊ tɟA'*i*ld)z gɔ'n str*ée*ʊt ʊp tʊ dhʊ dúʊʊr ʊ)dhʊ roq E'*u*s.
4. wʊʊ sh*i*)l lA'*i*k·l*i* fA'*i*nd dha't drəqk·'n dʊf sr*i*qk·'ld fElʊr)ʊv dhʊ n*ée*ʊm ʊv :tam·ʊs.
5. wi AAl n*oo*z ʊm vER·*i* wEl.
6. wənt dh)*oo*ld tɟa'p s*u*n t*ee*tɟ [laan] ʊ not tʊ duu)t ʊg*i*n·, p*i*uʊ th*i*q!
7. l*u*k)i, *ee*nt *i*t tr*i*u [try'*u*].

*Notes.*

2. *her-are*=she is (ER)ʊ).—*thou* is not usual. *I he we they knows* is common. Has not heard *he do*. The *w* and *v* are never confused. The euphonic *r* is freely introduced, as (sAAr*i*n) for *sawing*, but final *r* is the same as in London, *earth hearth* being (ʊəth aath). The pl. of nouns in *-st* is *-steses*, as (biis·tesiz).—*I are* is commonest, pronounced when unemphatic (A'*i*)ʊ) or (A)ə), and emphatic (A'*i* aa).—(géeʊt) is commoner than (gíət).—*pail, pale* are sometimes distinguished as (péil, pévl) by the peasantry.—*home, shrub* are (əm, srəb). The (h) is constantly omitted, and (w) is used for (wh) initial.—*enough* is pronounced as (ʊnəf, ʊnE'*u*), but with no distinction in meaning.

## Mid Bedfordshire cs.

pal. in 1877 by AJE. from dict. of James Wyatt, Esq., St. Peter's Green, Bedford, not a native, but who had resided 40 years in the county, and "knew the country talk pretty well." He had not observed any strong mark of separation between n. and s.Bd., but in extreme s.Bd. *I be* is used, not in n.

0. wɔ'*i* :dʒɔn ʊz n*oo* dé*u*ts.

1. wel, né*u*ba, ʃíu ʊn ii mʊ búʊth laaaf ʊt dh*i*s níuz ʊ mɔ'*i*n. íu kîʊz? dhat)s nʊdhʊr îʊ nʊ dhéʊ.

2. fíu men dɔ'*i* kɔz dhʊ bi laaft ʊt, wi n*oo* doont wi? wɔt sh*u*d méʊk)ʊm? *i*t *i*zn't vɔr*i* lɔ'*i*kl*i*, *i*z *i*t?

3. é*u*z*i*·va dhiiz)ʊ dhʊ faks ʊ dhʊ kíʊs [kéʊs], s*oo* dʒ*i*st *oo*ld ʃʊ nɔ'*i*z, fr*i*nd, ʊn bi k*w*ɔ'*i*ʊt tel [wɔ'*i*l] ɔ'*i*)v dʊn. aar$_{o}$ki.

4. ɔ'*i*)m saat'n ɔ'*i* əəd)ʊm see—sɔm ʊ dhem dhéʊ f*oo*k u went thríu dhʊ hʊl th*i*q from dhʊ fʊst dhʊsʊlvz—dhat d*i*d ɔ'*i*, séʊf [síʊf] ʊnʊf—

5. dhʊt dhʊ ʃ*u*qg*i*st sʊn *i*zsʊlf, ʊ gəət bú*i* ʊ nɔ'*i*n, n*oo*d iiz fadhʊz vɔ'*i*s ʊt wʊns, dh*oo* it wʊr$_{o}$ sʊ k*w*íʊr ʊn sk*w*iik*i*n lɔ'*i*k, ʊn ɔ'*i* ʊd trʊst *i*m tʊ speek dhʊ tríuth an*i*dee, aa ɔ'*i* ·*u*d.

6. ʊn dhʊ *oo*l)d)*u*mʊn ʊsʊlf)'l tʊl an*i* ʊ ʃíu dhʊt laaaf né*u*, ʊn tʊl ʃíu street ʌʌf tíu, ʊ)é*u*t mʊtʒ bɔdhʊr, *i*f s*o* bii ʊz ʃíu)l *oo*n*i* aks ʊr, *oo* wʊnt shi?

7. liistweez shi tʊld *i*t tʊ mii, wʊn ɔ'*i* akst)ʊ, tíu ʊ thrii tɔ'*i*mz *oo*vʊ, d*i*d ·shii, ʊn shii ʌʌt nɔt tʊ bi rʊq an s*i*tʒ ʊ pɔ'*i*nt ʊz dhis íʊ, wɔt dʊ ·ʃíu th*i*qk?

8. wel, ʊz ɔ'*i* wʊr ʊ)see·*i*n, ·shii ʊl tʊl ʃíu, é*u*, wíʊr, ʊn wʊn shi fʊn dhʊ dr*u*qk'n bíʊst, ʊz shi kʌʌlz ʊr ʌzbʊn.

9. shi súʊ shi siid *i*m wii ʊr úʊn ɔ'*i*z lee·*i*n strʊtʒt ʊt fʊl lʊnth an dhʊ gré*u*nd *i*n iiz g*u*d sʊndi k*u*ʊt, kl*oo*s b*i* dhʊ dúʊr ʊ)dhʊ)é*u*s, dé*u*n ʊt dhʊ kʌʌnʊr ʊ dhat dhéʊ lévn.

10. ii wʊr ʊwɔ'*i* n*i*n ʊwee·, sez shii, fʊr ʌʌl dhʊ wʊʊld lɔ'*i*k ʊ s*i*k tʃɔ'*i*ld ʊr ʊ l*i*t'l gæl ʊ)frʊt*i*n.

11. ʊn dhat ap'nd ʊz shii ʊn ʊ dʌʌtʊr *i*n lʌʌ'ʊ kʒm thríu dhʊ bak ʃaad from ʊ)aq*i*n é*u*t dhʊ wʊt klúʊz tʊ drɔ'*i* an ʊ wɔsh*i*n dee,

12. wɔ'il dhʊ k*i*t'l wʊr ʊ bɔ'*i*l*i*n fʊ tii, wʊn fɔ'*i*n brɔ'*i*t sʊmʊr aatʊnuun, *oo*n*i* ʊ wiik ʊguu kʊm nekst thʊzd*i*.

13. ʊn dʊ ʃíu n*oo*? ɔ'*i* n*i*vʊ laant an*i* múʊ nʊ dh*i*s ʊ dhat dhéʊ b*i*zn*i*z ʊp tʊ tʊdee·, ʊz shíuʊr ʊz mɔ'*i* níʊm *i*z :dʒɔn :sh*i*pʊd, ʊn ɔ'*i* doont woont tíu ʊdhʊ, dhíʊ né*u*!

14. ʊn s*oo* ɔ'*i* bi ʊgu·*i*n hʊm tʊ aa m*i* sʊpʊ, g*u*d nɔ'*i*t, ʊn doont bii sʊ k*w*i*i*k tʊ kr*oo* *oo*vʊr ʊ tʒʊp ʊg*i*n, wʊn *i* tʌʌks ʊ dh*i*s dhat ʊ tʊdhʊ.

15. *i*t)s ʊ wíʊk fuul ʊz príʊts ʊ)é·*u*t reez'n. ʊn dhat)s mɔ'*i* laast wʊʊd. g*u*d bɔ'*i*.

*Notes.*

0. *why*, for the long *i* Mr. W. sometimes said (*ái*, *âi*), the (ɔ'*i*) which he wrote was not consistently pronounced; but it was quite (ʌ'*i*) at Ridgmont.—*doubts*, Mr. W.'s (é*u*) was probably a refined form, as I got (ʊ'*u*) from Ridgmont.

1. *neighbour*. Mr. W. treated *r* in the London way quite vanishing except before a vowel. TH. finds a decided *r* in Bd., but very moderate, probably not more than (r$_{o}$), of course it was in no wise trilled.

2. *make*. (méʊk míʊk), "two persons in the same house will pronounce the word in different ways."

3. *case*, double pronunciation as for *make*.—*hark*, here Mr. W. considered that there was an *r*, but that it was not "quite trilled." I failed to hear it.

4. *say*, (see) and distinctly not (sé*e*i see'j), which Mr. W. did not recognise

at all. But I got it from Ridgmont, and it is found in Batchelor.—*whole*, (həl) with the aspirate clearly pronounced.—*safe*, see *make* par. 2.

5. *his*, specially dictated as (iiz), quasi *he's*.

6. *without*, apparently a form of (ʊréʊt) arout = athout (ʊdhéʊt).

8. *beast*, plural (bívʊstez).

9. *full*, the (fəl) was clear, but they do not say (bəl).—*on*, the (an) was very distinct.—*lane*, see *make* par 2, for *yonder* they would use (ɟindʊ).

11. *law*, the pronunciation assumes *law* to become law*r*.

12. *tea*, observe (tii), not (tee).

14. *home*; the aspirate well pronounced.

## Miscellaneous Words and Phrases furnished by Mr. Wyatt.

1. (ɔ'*i* w*u*l), I will.
2. (hi had'nt AAt), he should not.
3. (é*u*z·ən), houses.
4. (tʊ Empt), empty.
5. (ʊní*u*), enow, more general in the north, (ʊnəf) enough, in the south.
6. (dəbth), depth.
7. (dizaa·v), deserve.
8. (ən·g*i*v·*i*n), ungiving, (ən-) is usual for *un*.
9. (ɔ'*i* gɔv *i*m ʊ d*i*q·ʊr ɔn dhʊ tɟɔp, *soo* i sʊn gɔn *oo*vʊ), I gave him a stinger, strong blow, on the chaps, so he soon given (gave) over, or discontinued.
10. (shi gAAnd at mi), she stared, girned, at me.
11. (i ɔt mi ʊ kl*i*qkʊr an dhʊ bak), he hit me a clinker on the back.
12. (ɔ'*i* k*u*d'nt ap·ʊn ʊv an*i* nɔledɟʊbl man), I could not happen-of (=meet with) any knowledgable man.
13. (an lɔ'ik*i*nz), on liking or approbation.
14. (ɔ'*i* lɔ'*i*k ʊ fíu brAAth. ɔ'*i* beent *soo* mətɟ rapt əp in spuun v*i*t'l; g*i*m·*i* plEn t*i* ʊ g*u*d biif ʊn məstʊd, dhat *iz* səm·ət for ʊ fElʊ tʊ lɔl ɔg*i*n), I like a few (=some) broth. I be-not so much wrapped up in spoon victual; give-me plenty of good beef and mustard, that is somewhat for a fellow to loll (= lean back, rest) against.
15. (ɔ'*i* beent), is used on the Bu. or w. side, (ɔ'*i* eent) is n.
16. (m*oo*st)'n)iin) ? (múʊst), most-on-end=generally.
17. (AA·kʊd, pl*ee*z·ʊn, pívr$_o$t), awkward, pleasing, pert=saucy, full of spirit.
18. (i kəm pAAltɟ·*i*n rɔ'*i*t an mɔ'*i* fət, f*i*t), he came poltering right on my foot, feet; to *palch* is used for walking slowly in Dv., but *palchin* is a fish spear.
19. (rɔts ʊn miis), rats and mice.
20. (skúʊ, skrat, sɔ'*i*th, s*i*d·ʊz, spə'*i*·t*i*k'lz, tíəm, tɔ'*i*t, fɔrʊdʊ), score, scratch, sigh, scissors, spectacles, team, tight and forwarder =tipsy.
21. (ii)z dhʊ vEk·s*i*nest ʊn é*u*dee·shʊsest bú*i*), he's the vexing-est and audacious-est boy.
22. (ɟíu)ʊ b*i*n ʊ-*e*t*i*n ar·ʊw*i*g pɔ'*i*, ɟii)ʊ sʊ shaap), you've been a-eating earwig pie, ye are so sharp.

23. (i AA·ləz tɹEts púə *fook éut* ʊ dhʊ rə'*i*ts), he always cheats poor folk out of their rights.
24. (JíU-l bii tʊ GET dhat dhéʊ píʊpʊ dən *éut*), you'll be to get that there paper done out=you'll have to get that document copied.
25. (i d*i*d l*u*k n*oo* weez ʊz plez ʊnt lə'*i*k), he did look nowise as pleasant, like.
26. (ə'*i* doont SET n*oo* stúʊ bə'*i* gælz, ə'*i*)d raadhʊ av bú*i*z), I do-not set no (=any) store by girls, I'd rather have boys.
27. (wəts, wɜr, JEEbz, h*i*lt, wət·shod, bab·*i*), oats, our, herbs, held, wet-shod, baby.

## BEDFORDSHIRE cwl.

B from Batchelor, but not nearly all his words.
D from TH.'s Dunstable observations on a railway porter, a native, representing extreme s.Bd.
R from Miss Wheek's dt. for Ridgmont.
W from Mr. Wyatt's cs.
H Mr. Rowland Hill's word list for Bedford generally confirms the above, I give a few differences, or new words.

In Hatley Cockayne (12 e.Bedford), the dialect has been nearly exterminated by the action of a former Rector, the Hon. and Rev. H. C. Cust, and his wife.

### I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 W méʊk. 8 W aa. 11 B maa. 12 B saa, H SAA. 13 B naa. 14 B draa. 17 B laa, W lAA'ʊ. 20 H léʊm. 21 W níʊm, RH néeʊm, D nE"*i*m. 23 H séʊm. 24 H shéʊm. 35 B hAAl. 36 H thAA'ʊ. 37 B klaa. A: 43 R a'nd. 44 H laand. 42 W aq. 50 H təqz. 51 H mən man. 54 W woont, H wA'ʊnt. 46 W wəsh. A: *or* O: 60 B ləq, H ləq. 61 B ʊm*u*·q. 62 H strəq. 64 B r*o*q, R roq, D rəq, H rəq. 65 B s*o*q.

A'- 67 W gu·in, R g*oo*·in, H gu. 69 D nó*u*. 72 W íu [interrogative, (u) relative]. 73 R s*oo*. 76 H túʊd. 79 W úʊn. 81 W léʊn. 82 W wans. 83 B múʊn. 84 W múʊ, H mAA. 86 BW wəts. 87 W klúʊs. 89 W búʊth. 92 WR n*oo*. 94 W kr*oo*. A': 103 BW aks. 104 R rúʊd. 107 H lúʊf. 110 W doont [don't]. 111 W AAt. 113 W hɜl, H həl wəl. 115 W ham, D ô*u*m. 117 W wən. 118 B búʊn. 120 W ʊguu. 121 R gə'n. 122 W n*oo*, D nó*u*. 123 B nAAdhʊn nəthin. 124 B stúʊn stən. 125 W *oo*n*i*. 129 H gúʊst. 134 B w*u*th, H *ó*ʊth. 136 W ʊdhʊ. 137 W nʊdhʊ.

Æ- 138 W fadhʊ, D faadhʊ[r ["In e.Sf. Cb. no *r* in these cases, in Bd. *r* certainly but very moderate," says TH. but probably [r₀ would better represent the sound, if he was not mistaken]. 141 H néʊl. 142 H snéʊl. 144 W ʊgin. 147 H bréʊn. Æ: 154 W bak. 155 B thek. 157 H rEEv'n. 158 W aatʊ. 161 W dee, D dE"*i*. 169 BW wen. 173 [(wAr₀) used]. 179 BW wət. Æ'- 183 R teetɹ. 184 H líʊd. 187 B líʊv. 189 H w*ee*. 190 B k*éei*. 194 W an*i*. 199 B blaat, H blíʊt. 200 BH wíʊt, D wiit. 202 B híʊt. Æ': 209 W nivʊ. 213 H *ee*dhʊ. 221 B fíʊɪ. 223 W dhéʊ dhíʊ, D dhE"ʊ[r, R dhéeʊ. 224 B wéʊɪ, W wíʊ, R wɜɪ. 226 H móʊst. 227 W wET. 228 swíʊt.

E- 233 W speek, D spiik. 236 H fiivʊ. 239 H sE'il. 241 H rE'*i*n. 243 H plE'*i*. — B téʊɪ [tear]. 249 B wéʊɪ. 251 míʊt. 252 BW kit'l. E: 261 W see, R s*éei*, DH sE"*i*. 262 R w*éei*, DH wE"*i*. 263 W ʊwee·. 264 H E'il. 265 W street, R strécʊt, H stráit [?]. 272 H helm [generally]. — BW iind [end]. 281 W lenth. — B gəm [grin]. 284 H thresh. E'- 290 WD ii. 293 W wi. 297 WR felʊ. 299 D gr*ii*n. E': 312 W îʊ. 314 W əəd, D îʊ[rd [see 138]. 316 H neks [frequently, without the *i*].

EA- 320 W kîʊz. EA: 322 W laaaf, D laaf. 323 H fit. 324 B áit,

H *eet*. 326 W *ool*+d, R *oold*, D ô*ud*. 330 B h*óoult*, W *oold*. 335 R AAl. 338 W kAAl. 340 W JAad. 342 B ćum. 346 B géut, R géeut. EA'- 347 D E'd. 348 W ɔ'*i*. 349 W fíu. EA': 352 R rED. 355 B deth, R dEf. 357 W dh*oo*. 359 W néubu. 360 WH tíum. 361 H bíun. 363 H tJíup, W tJap, R tJa¹p. 366 W gəət, D gré*it*. 370 raa. EI- 372 W aa, H ə'*i*. 373 W dhéu. EI: 377 H stéuk. 378 W wíuk.

EO- 386 B JéU. 387 W níu. EO: 390 W sh*ud*. 393 B bi*r*end. 394 B JenduI endu, R Jondu. 399 W brɔ'it. 402 B laamin lamin, RD laan. 406 B éuith iith Jəth. EO'- 411 W thrii. 412 W shii. EO': 422 W W sik. 425 H lɔ'it. 428 R sii. 430 BW frind. 431 B bíuI. 434 B bíut. 435 W JíU. 436 BR tr*iu*. 437 W tríuth. EY- 438 W dɔ'*i*, D dA''*i*. EY: 439 W trast.

I- 440 H wíuk. 446 W nɔin. — B iis 'ms 'mns [yes]. 449 H g*it*. I: 452 W ɔ'*i*, R'A'*i* [practically the same sound]. 458 W nɔ'it, D [between] nA'it n*ai*t. 459 R rA'it. 463 W tel. 465 W sitJ. 466 W tJɔ'ild, R tJA'ild. 469 BW w*ul* [will]. 473 H blɔ'ind. 477 R fA'ind. 478 H gréind. — B hinmust [hindmost]. 480 W th*i*q. 483 W iiz. 485 B f*is*'l. 488 B Jit. I'- 491 B sə'ith, W sə'ith. 492 R sA'id. 494 W tɔ'im. 499 B bet'l. I': 500 W lɔ'ik, R lA'ik. 503 H lɔ'if. 506 W *u*mun. 508 H mɔ'il. 509 W wɔ'il. 510 W mɔ'in.

O- 519 W *oo*vu. — B drap [drop]. — B smədu I [smother]. 524 W waald. — B thrúut [throat]. O: 527 B búut bot. 531 B daatu I, W dAAtu, D dAAtu[r [see 138]. 535 B f*o*k, W f*oo*k [but the length of Mr. W.'s vowel was not particularly observed]. 536 H gúuld. 538 W *ud*. 541 WR want. 542 H búult. 550 W waad. 551 B staaJm. 554 B kraas. O'- 555 D sh*æ*'u. 556 W tíu. 558 WR l*u*k. 560 R sk*u*$_{\circ}$l. 562 D m*æ*'un [H says it is (míun) "soft," as the (m*æ*'un) often sounds, but I think this (*æ*'u) at Dunstable was an individuality]. 564 R s*u*n. 565 H núuz. O': 569 H bək. 570 H tək. 571 W g*ud*. 578 B pléu. 579 WR unaf [in the s.; but (uníu) more general in the n., H gives it]. 583 H túul. 584 H stúul. 586 R duu. 587 W dan, D də'n. 588 D nɔ'un. 589 H spúun. 590 flúuI. 591 B múuI. 592 W súu. 595 W fat, H fət. 597 H sət.

U- 603 B kəm, k)əp [come up], RD kam. 604 samu. — B m*u*qk [monk]. 605 W san, D sa'n. 606 W dúu, R dúuu, D d*ó*u[r [see 138]. U: 609 W fal. 612 W səm. 613 B dr*u*qk. 616 W gre'*u*nd. 619 B fé*u*nd, fənd, W fan. 632 W ap. 634 W thríu, R thruu. 635 B wəth. U'- 640 B kéu. 641 W éu [H. says that this diphthong is "broad and flat," and seems to mean (a'u), but he may mean (E'u) after all]. 642 B dhéu. 643 BW néu, R nE'u. 647 B hé*u*l. 648 W war$_{\circ}$. 650 R vbE'ut. 651 W v)é*u*·t. U': 655 B féul. 658 W déun, R dE'*u*n. 663 B hé*u*s [the kitchen where the family sit], W é*u*s, R E'*u*s, D [between] ɔ'*u*s, a'*u*s. 666 W azbun. 667 W é*u*t.

Y- 673 matJ. 675 W drɔ'*i*. 682 B liit'l [intensive form], WR l*ii*t'l. Y: 692 W J*u*qgist. 696 B bəth. 700 B wəs. 701 BW fəst. 702 W wii. Y- 706 W wɔ'*i*. Y': 712 W miis, H mɔ'*is*.

II. English.

A. 726 W tAAk. 737 R m*éei*t. 738 W príut. E. 745 W tJet. 751 B pəJt, W píut. I. *and* Y. 758 B gal, WR gæl, R gEl. 760 B sr*iv*'l. O. 761 H lúud. — B dɔg [dog]. 767 B nə'iz, W nɔ'iz. — B m*u*qgril [mongrel]. 790 H [adds a (d) gownd]. 791 W bú*i*, H bɔ'*i*. U. 804 W dr*u*qk'n, R draqk'n [perhaps Miss W. did not know the word well].

III. Romance.

A·· 811 B plévs. — B fréil [flail]. 824 B tJíuI. 833 B pévI. — B pléizhur [pleasure]. 835 B réiz'n, W reez'n. 840 B tJaambuI. 849 B stréinzhuI. — B waandhi waantJi [warrant you]. 857 W kivs kévs. 862 W séuf síuf. 864 W kɔz. 866 R p*iu*u.

E·· 867 W tii. 885 WR vE*ri*. — W JEabz [herbs]. 888 BW saa*ltin*. 890 BW bíust. 895 B risíut [receipt]. — B weks [vex], W vEks. 901 W fɔ'in. 910 H dJə'*ist*.

O·· 913 H kúʊtɟ. 916 B *i*nɹʊn *i*qʊn. 917 B *r*og. 919 B ə'*i*ntmʊnt. 920 W pɔ'*i*nt. 925 W vɔ'*i*s, H və'*i*s. 926 B spə'*i*l. — B *u*qk'l [uncle]. 938 W kʌʌnʊ. 939 W kl*oo*s. 940 W kúʊt. 941 W fuul. 944 B vléu·. 945 B véu. 947 BW bɔ'*i*l. 950 W sʌpʊ. 952 B kúʊs. 955 W dé*u*ts. 956 B k*i*vɹɪ.

U·· 963 W k*w*ɔ'*i*ʊt. 965 B ə'*i*l. — B néʊtʊɪ [nature]. 969 W shíuʊ, R shʌr$_{o}$. 970 W dɟ*i*st.

## Var. iii. Huntingdonshire.

All s. of the n *sum* line No. 1, which passes just s. of Sawtry (9 nnw.Huntingdon) and n. of Ramsey (10 nne.Huntingdon), the pron. is thoroughly ME. in every particular, that is, it practically coincides with that of the Ht. and Bd. varieties, and n. of this line the change seems to be confined to the treatment of U as (ə) in the s. and (*u*) or (*u*$_{o}$) in the n. But as all the (ə) are modernisms, this difference, as before observed, p. 16, cannot be considered to determine a difference of dialect which is preserved in all other important particulars.

Without TH.'s investigations, in which he was so kindly assisted at Great Stukeley by the late vicar's daughter, Miss Ebden, I should have had a most imperfect notion of Hu. pron., but these have enabled me to appreciate other information, and to determine the general homogeneity of the E. forms throughout the m. and s. part of the county, and the change in the n. part with respect to the treatment of U only, all other M. characters being absent.

### Gt. Stukeley (2 nnw.Hu.) dt.

written io. by Miss Ebden, daughter of the late Vicar, but corrected by the results of TH.'s interviews with old inhabitants as given in the adjoining wl.

1. sôu ʌ'*i* sɛ'*i*, mɛ'*i*ts, ɟu sii nɛ'*u* dhʊt ʌ'*i*)m rʌ'*i*t ʊbɛ'*u*t dhʊt l*i*t'l gjaˈl kʌm*i*n frʊm dhʊ skuuul ɟ*i*ndʊ.
2. shì)z gu·*i*n dɛ'*u*n dhʊ rûʊd dhéʊ, thr*i*ù dhʊ rɛd gjɛ'*i*t ɔn dhʊ lɛft ˌhand sʌ'*i*d ʊ)dhʊ wɛ'*i*.
3. shûʊ ʊnə·f dhʊ tɟʌ'*i*ld)z gʌn stré*i*t əp t*i*u dhʊ dôʊ ʊ)dhʊ rɔq ˌhɛ'us.
4. wìʊ shi)l tɟàns t*i*u fʌ'*i*nd dhat drʌqk'n dɛth [=deaf] sr*i*v'ld fɛlʊ ʊ)dhʊ nɛ'*i*m ʊ :təmɔs.
5. wi ʌʌl ɔn əs nôuz *i*m vɛr*i* wɛl.
6. wənt dhʊ ô*u*ld tɟap suun tiitɟ)ʊ nɔt tʊ d*i*u *i*t ʊge·n, pôʊ th*i*q !
7. l*u*k, é*i*nt *i*t tr*i*u.

### Great Stukeley cwl.

wn. by TH. in 1881 from William Johnson 77, and James Valentine 75, natives and labourers, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebden, daughter of the late Vicar.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 21 nɛ''*i*m. A: — kànt [cannot]. 57 às. A: *or* O: 64 roq. A'- 67 ʊgô*i*n ʊgu·*i*n. — slʌ''*u*n [pl. sloes]. 69 nó*u*. 73 só*u*. 74 t*i*,uu. 92 dh*e* n*oo*d [they knowed]. A': 105 rûʊd. 115 òm. 122 nò. 130 bûʊt. 132 ɔtʊd [hotted, made hot]. Æ- 138 faadhʊ. 144 ʊgè·n. Æ: 158 àftʊ.

161 dɛ"*i*. — bàg [bag]. — ˌhɛp"l [apple]. 173 wAA [=wor]. — [between] dlàs dlàs [glass]. — kaat [cart]. — sɔt [sat]. Æ'- 183 tìtɹ. 200 wìt wíɛt. Æ': 218 ship. 223 dhɛ"ɐ. 224 wiɛ+r.

E- 233 spiik spɛ'ik. 248 mɛ"ɐ. 251 mîɛt. — fɛdhɛ. E: 261 sɛ"*i*. 262 wɛ"*i*. 265 strèit strɛ'it. 278 wɛntɹ [occ. usually (gjal)]. 280 vlɛb'm. E'- 290 ì. 299 griin. E': 312 îɛ. 314 îɛd. EA: 322 [between] làf *làf* laaf. 324 ɛ'it. 326 ôuld. 332 tɛld. 346 gjéit. EA'- 347 èd. EA': 355 dɛth dɛf. 366 grèt, gr*eet* grɛt. EI: 382 dhɛ"ɐn. EO- 383 sɛv'n sɛb'm. 386 [between] ɛ'ù ə'ù. EO: 394 ɹɔndɐ ɹandɐ ɹindɐ. 402 lɑɐn laan [(ɑ'ɐ, àr) written, but then Johnson did not pronounce (r) when not before a vowel] lɛ"ˌɐn [Valentine's pron.]. EO'- 412 shì. EO': 428 sì. 435 ɹu, ɹûɐn [yours]. 436 tr*i*ˌuu. 437 tr*i*ˌuth. EY- 438 d*ái*.

I- 447 ɑɐn [hern, written (ɑ'rn)]. I: 452 A'*i* *ái*. 458 nA"*it*. 452 r*áit*. 480 thiq. 482 *éint* [ain't, is not]. 483 *iz*'n. 488 *jit*. I'- — ongji·vin [ungiving, said of the frost giving way], gj*i*)m*i* [give me]. 494 tA"im. I': 517 ɹiˌuu. O- — fɔrɐd [forward]. O: — frɔg [frog]. — srəbz [shrubs]. 527 bA't. 531 dAAtɐ. 532 kûɐl. 541 wənt. — ɔs'iz [horses]. O'- 555 shuu. O': 579 ɐnɔ·f [sg., but pl.] ɐn*i*ˌuu. 586 d*i*ˌu, d*ó*ɐnt [don't]. 587 də'n. 588 nuun. 595 fət.

U- 603 ɐkamin [a-coming]. 605 sə'n. 606 d*ó*ɐ. U: — d*u*ˌm [dumb]. — tɔmb'l [tumble]. 632 əp. 634 thr*i*ˌù. 636 fɑɐdɐ. [TH. considers that both speakers used final (-ɐˌr).] U'- 643 nɛ"u. 648 à'*u*ɐn ɛ'uɐn [ours]. U': 658 dɛ"*u*n. 663 ɛ'*u*s, [or between this and] ə'*u*s, ɛ"*u*z'n [pl.]. Y: — shɔt [shut].

II. English.

A. 714 lad. — trAantɐ [a tranter, carrier, buyer and seller of corn]. I. *and* Y. 758 ga'l, gjal [generally, occ. (wɛntɹ)]. O. — tlək [clock]. — tlɔg [clog]. — dɔˌg [dog]. 791 bô*i*. U. — təb [tub]. — skəf'l [scuffle, to rough harrow]. — ləmp [lump]. — gən [gun]. 804 drəqk'n.

III. Romance.

A·· 811 plɛ"iz'n [pl.]. 841 tjàns. — gàd'n [garden, TH. writes (gàˌr-)]. — paalɐ [parlour]. 866 púɐ. E·· 869 vîɐl. — prívtɹ [preach]. I·· *and* Y·· — bA"il [bile, bilious attack]. 901 fA"in. 903 dɐnɐ. O·· — tûɐst [toast]. U·· — dl*i*ˌuu [glue]. 969 shûɐ.

*Words.* (A'*i*)m bA't')*it*) I am=have bought it, (fl*id*) fledged, (ɛ)ɹɐ) dɔn)*it*) have you done it, (*iz*)*i*ˌ dən)*i*ˌt) is=has he done it, (mîɐt ɐnɔ·f, tè*i*tɐz ɐn*i*ˌuu), (trAantɐ) tranter, (dɔk*i*) food carried with workmen, (ra·kl*i*n) youngest pig of a litter, (skrəsh) crush, (ɔ·pɛzA'*it*) opposite, (dɔ·sɐt*i*) audacity, courage, (frit) frightened.

## Sawtry (9 nnw.Huntingdon) and Holme (10 nnw.Huntingdon).

TH. was also introduced by Miss Ebden to John Harlock, aged 81, a Sawtry man, who had left his village in 1816, and worked in other parts of Hu. and Cb. His speech was mainly the same as that of the other old men at Great Stukeley, except in one important particular, the treatment of U. Harlock used the M. vowel ($u_o$), and the others the S. vowel (ə). Thus I find noted (r*u*$_o$n, vl*u*$_o$q, ɹu$_o$q*i*st, r*u*$_o$q, d*ù*$_o$n, sh*u*$_o$t, t*u*$_o$b, t*u*$_o$mb'l, f*u*$_o$t, skr*u*$_o$sh, s*u*$_o$n, sr*u*$_o$bz, ɐn*u*$_o$f, d*u*$_o$m), run, along, youngest, wrong, done, shut, tub, tumble, foot, crash, sun, shrubs, enough, dumb. Only the words (əp, dòn, gə°n, kamin), were otherwise noted, of which (əp) was queried. To check this sudden transition, within a distance of 7 miles, which Miss Ebden had also observed in a maid-servant from Sawtry, TH. went to Holme (:hô*u*m), about 2 n.Sawtry, where he found (ɐn*u*$_o$dhɐ, k*u*$_o$ntr*i*, s*ù*$_o$m, t*u*$_o$mb'l, th*u*$_o$ndɐ, *u*$_o$p,

g*u*$_o$d, s*ù*$_o$n, r*u*$_o$q, s*u*$_o$t, t*u*$_o$p), another, country, some, tumble, thunder, up, good, son, wrong, soot, tup, and only (wɔn, ɔndrɔd, kɜmin, wɜst), one, hundred, coming, worst, with anything else but (*u*$_o$), where *one* belongs to the class A′, *worst* arises from the *r*, and (kɜm) seems to be common in many (*u*$_o$) regions. Hence I have drawn the n. *sum* line 1 through Hu., just s. of Sawtry. I think it unnecessary to cite TH.'s careful work at Holme and Sawtry more particularly, as it only confirms the pronunciations already obtained for Great Stukeley.

### Var. iv. Mid Northamptonshire.

This variety differs from Ht. by the use of (*u*$_o$) for U, and scarcely in any other respect, although it is so far removed. The example from East Haddon is, however, evidently tinctured slightly by Midland influence. From this Hannington, Harrington, and Lower Benefield are free. The researches of TH. were made in a large number of places chiefly for the sake of determining the S. limit of (*u*$_o$), hence the results are not very complete in other respects, but words enough are given to shew the strongly E. character of this comparatively remote district. The remarks on Lower Benefield will shew this distinctly.

### East Haddon (7 nw. Northampton) cs.

pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of G. S. Hadley, then a railway porter at St. Pancras Station, an intelligent man and native of East Haddon. In consequence of TH.'s information from Watford and Weedon, Np., between which E. Haddon lies, I wrote to the long resident vicar, Rev. W. P. Mackesy, in 1886, and he informed me that in the two points I specially inquired after, (shéi kɜt) she cut, Hadley's pron. was correct. The (shéi) seems due to M. influence, and was observed also in Rt. As East Haddon is in the mixed region, we have the intermediate sound (*o*) in (fol bolʊk) full bullock.

0. æ′*u* *it* *iz* :dʒɔn ʊz n*óu* dæ′uts.

1. wɜl, neeber, ɹuu ʊn *im* mæ′*i* booth lææf ʊt dh*is* n*í*uz ʊv m*ái*n. wɔt duu *ái* kéeʊ? dhæts niidhʊ *iiʊ* nʊ dh*iiʊ*.

2. fíu mɛn d*ái* bʊkɔ·z dhaa)ʊ laaft æt, w*éi* n*óu*, d*óu*nt w*éi*? wɔt)ʊd meek ʊm? *it*)s nɔt vɛr*i* l*ái*kl*i* *iz* *it*?

3. æ′*u*sʊmɛvʊ, dh*is* *iz* dh*i* tr*æ*′uth ʊv *it*, s*oo* dʒ*i*st oold ɹʊ n*óiz*, w*i*l)ɹʊ, ʊn b*éi* k*wái*ʊt w*ái*l *ái*)v f*íni*sht. l*is*′n.

4. *ái*)m sh*úu*ʊr *ái* *iiʊ*d ʊm sæ′*i*—sɜm ʊv dhɛm f*ó*uks u wɛnt thr*uu* dh*i* ol th*i*q frʊm fɜɜst tʊ laast dhʊsɛ·lvz—*ái* d*i*d dhæt, seef ʊnɜ·f.

5. dhæt dhʊ ɹɜqg*i*st sɜm *iz*sɛ·lf, ʊ gr*éi*t bɔ′*i* ʊv n*ái*n, n*óu*d *iz* faadhʊz v*ó*is ʊz s*oo*n ʊz *éi* *iiʊ*d *it*—ʌldhoo *it* wʊz s*ó*u kw*iiʊ* ʊn skw*éi*kin, ʊn *ái* w*u*d trɜst *im* tʊ sp*éi*k dhi tr*æ*′uth æn*i* dæ′*i*, ·dhæt *ái* w*u*d.

6. and dh)*óu*ld w*u*mʊn ʊsɛ·lf w*u*l tɛl ʌʌl ʊv)ɹu dhæt ʊ lææf*i*n n*æ*′*u*, ʊn tɛl ɹu street t*æ*′u wi)æ′u·t mɜtʃ bɔdhʊ, *if* ɹu)l oon*i* ast)ʊ, oo! w*uu*nt sh*éi*?

7. æniw*æ*′*iz* sh*éi* t*óu*ld ·m*éi* wɛn *ái* aast)ʊ t*æ*′u ʊ thr*éi* t*ái*mz oovʊ sh*éi* d*i*d, ʊn·sh*éi* ædn't ʌʌt tʊ b*i* rɔq ɔn sɜtʃ ʊ mætʊr ʊz dh*is*, wɔt d)ɹu th*i*q*k*?

8. wɛl ʊz *ái* wʊz sæ'*in*, shéi)d tɛl ɹu, æ'u, w*ii*ʊr ʊn wɛn shé*i* fæ'*u*nd dhi drɛqk'n skæmp dhæt shé*i* kaalz ʊr ɛzbʊn.

9. shé*i* s*úu*ʊ shé*i* sii *im* w*i* ʊr *ou*n æ'*iz* l*ái*·*in* aal iz lɛqkth, ɔn dhʊ græ'*u*nd, *in iz* bɛst sɛnd*i* tl*oo*z, tl*oo*s tʊ dha d*úu*ʊr ʊv *iz* æ'*u*s, dæ'*u*n ʊg*in* dhʊ kaa'ʊnʊr ʊv dhæt leen.

10. é*i* wʊz w*ái*n*in* ʊwæ'*i*, shé*i* sɛz, fʊr aal dhʊ wɛɛld l*ái*k ʊ s*i*k tɹ*ái*ld, ʊr)ʊ l*i*t'l gæl ʊ wɛɹ*i*t*in*.

11. ʊn dhæt æpʊnd ʊz shé*i* ʊn)ʊ daatʊr *in* laa kɛm thr*uu* dhʊ bæk ɹaad frɔm æq*in* æ'*u*t dhʊ tl*oo*z tʊ dr*ái* ɔn ʊ washin dæ'*i*,

12. w*ái*l dhʊ ket'l wʊz ʊ b*ói*l*in* fʊ t*éi*, wɛn f*ái*n sɛmʊr aaftʊn*oo*n, *oo*ni ʊ wik ʊguu· kɛm nɛks thɛɛzd*i*.

13. ænd duu ɹu n*óo*u, *ái* nɛvʊ lɛɛnd æn*i* m*óo*ʊ dhʊn dh*i*s ʊv dhæt b*i*zn*i*s ɛp t*i*'l tʊdæ'*i*, ʊz sh*úu*ʊr ʊz m*ái* neem)z :dɹɔn :shɛpʊd, ʊn *ái* d*óu*nt wɛnt tʊ iidhʊ, dh*ii*ʊ.

14. ænd soo *ai*)m ʊgu·*in* oom tʊ sɛpʊ. g*u*d n*ái*t, ʊn d*óu*nt ɹu bi so kw*i*k tʊ kr*ó*u oover æn*i*bɔd*i*, wɛn é*i* taaks ʊ dh*i*s ʊn dhæt.

15. *it*)s ʊ p*úu*ʊ fuul dhʊt taaks w*i*)æ'ut r*éi*z'n. ʊn dhæt)s m*i* laast wɛɛd. g*u*d b*ái*.

*Phrases from the same speaker.*

1. (dhee l*i*v *in* dhɛm æ'*u*z*i*z), they live in those houses.
2. (wéi l*ái*k dhʊ mæn wɛl ʊnɛ·f), we like the man well enough.
3. (*ai*)m ʊgu·*in* dæ'*u*n oom nɛkst wik), I'm a-going down home next week.
4. (*úu*ʊr ʊn *oo*ld frɛnd ʊv m*ái*n), you are an old friend of mine; *thou art* scarcely ever used.
5. (uuz kaavz ʊn ɛfʊz aa dhee?), whose calves and heifers are they?
6. (wɔt)s ɹ*úu* ɹeem? sp*éi*k dhʊ tr*æ*'uth), what's your name? speak the truth.
7. (faadhʊ)z dh*ii*ʊ, eent é*i*? aast mɛdhʊ, shéi n*oo*z), father's there, ain't he? ask mother, she knows.

*Notes to the East Haddon* ES.

1. *neighbour* is used in addressing. —*may* (mæ'*i*). I noted at the time that (é*i* æ'*i*) were occ. difficult for me to catch, and that I heard them much better when conversing with Hadley, and that then (æ'*i*, æ'*u*) came out very well.—*I* (*ái*), this at times approached closely to (ɔ'*i*), but (ɔ'*i*) or (ʌ'*i*) when it occurred was very distinct.—*laugh* (lææf) here and (laaft) in par. 2. It is very probable that (æ) was often used for (a); as I wrote at the time, I retain it, but it is very probable that I appreciated incorrectly.

3. *truth*, though at the time I wrote (trɔɔ'uth), I noted that it was difficult to catch and not sure, and I now think it was a false appreciation for (træ'uth), with which I was then not sufficiently familiar.—*friend*, (frɛnd frɛnz) are used.—*finished*, a common word here. But very probably (*ái*)v) should be (*ái*)m).

5. *soon*, with (*oo*) and so after*noo*n, par. 12, they also use (ʊt·wɛns) at once without any following (t).—*that I would*, (æ'*i*) is used for aye, but is not so common as yes.

6. *all*, because any (æn*i*) would not be used.

7. *matter*, point, pron. (p*ó*int), would not be used here.

8. *scamp*, beast (b*é*ist) would not be used in this sense.—*husband* and *wife* are the expressions always used.

9. *all his length*, stretched (strɛtɹt), full (fol) rather (fu*o*l), and so (bol botɹʊ) bull butcher, shewing that the

place is in the *sum sŏŏm* region.—*clothes*, but (kuoot) coat is also used.—*that lane*, yon not used (*jandʊ*) is heard.

10. *whining*, this word is used; *girl* is the usual word, (wɛnsh) in a bad sense, (læs) not used, (mæ'id) is an old maid.

11. *wet clothes*, the *wet*, not in the text, is pron. (wéit).

12. *week*, observe (wik) not (wik), *weak* is (wéik).

13. *know*, (nóou), but *now* (næ'u).—*shepherd*, observe *sheep* (ship), *ship* (ship).

14. *I'm a-going*, this prefix *a-* to the participle is regular.—*this and that*; *t'other* is not used.

15. *good-bye* is used only on leave-taking for a considerable time.

## East Haddon, Np., cwl.

Words from the above cs. and a wl. from the same speaker.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 1 sóu. 5 meek. 17 laa. 21 neem. 34 laast. A: 39 kam. 49 æq. 54 want. 56 wash. A: *or* O: 60 lɔq. 64 rɔq. 65 sɔq. A'- 67 guu, ʊgu·in [agoing]. 73 soo. 74 tæ'u. 79 óun. 81 leen. 84 móoʊ. 86 oots. 87 tlooz. 89 booth. 92 nóu. 94 króu. A': 101 ook. 102 as [in pres. as well as past tense]. 104 rood. 111 aat. 113 ol. 117 waan. 120 ʊguu·. 122 nóu. 125 ooni. 130 bóut.

Æ- 138 faadhʊ. 140 æ'il. Æ: 154 bæk. 161 dæ'i. 164 mæ'i. 166 mæ'id. 169 wɛn. 179 wɔt. Æ'- 182 séi. 190 kéi. 194 æni. 200 wéit. Æ': 209 nɛvʊ. 213 iidhʊ. 214 niidhʊ. 218 ship [not (ship)]. 219 sléip. 223 dhíiʊ. 224 wíiʊ. 227 wéit.

E- 233 spéik. 241 ræ'in. — péeʊ [a pear]. E: 256 strɛtɟ. 261 sæ'i. 263 ʊwæ'i. 265 street. 276 thiqk. 278 wɛnsh. 281 lɛqkth. E'- 290 éi [is as nearly as possible the sound]. 292 méi. 293 wéi. 294 féid. 299 gréin. E': 311 tɛn. 312 íiʊ. 314 íiʊd. 316 nɛks.

EA- 320 kéeʊ. EA: 322 lææf, laaf. 324 æ'it. 326 óuld. 330 oold. 332 tóuld. 338 kaalz. 340 jaʊd. EA'- 348 æ'i. — léip [leap]. 349 fíu. EA': 357 aldhoo. — afʊ [heifer]. 359 neebʊ. — kréim [cream]. 360 téim. 366 gréit [but grate is (greet)]. — díu [dew]. EI- 373 dhaa [before (ʊ) meaning they're]. EI: 378 wéik. EO- 383 sɛv'n. 387 níu. EO: 394 jandʊ. 395 jɛq. 399 bráit. 402 laan. 408 [*knew*, replaced by present tense *know* (nóu)]. EO'- — néi [knee]. 411 thréi. — tréi [tree]. 412 shéi. 429 fóoʊ. EO': 422 sik. — wéid [a weed, plant]. 425 láit. 426 fáit. 427 béi, bi. 430 frɛnd, frɛnz. 435 juu. 437 træ'uth. EY- 438 dái. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 wik [not (wik)]. 446 náin. — péiz [pease]. 449 gat [got]. I: 452 ái. 455 lái. 457 máit. 458 náit. 460 wéit. 462 sáit. 465 satɟ. 466 tɟáild. 473 bláind. 477 fáind. — ship [a ship]. 487 jɛstʊdee [(-di) in names of the weekdays, see 631]. — siks [six]. I'- 494 táim. 495 wáin. I': 500 láik. 502 fáiv. 606 wumʊn. 509 wáil. 510 máin — wáit. 517 jíu.

O- 519 oovʊ. 524 waald. — rat [to rot]. O: — kraaft [croft]. — aaf'n [inclined to (*aaf*'n), often]. 531 daatʊ. 535 fóuks. 538 wud. 541 wuunt. — tap [top]. 550 waad. O'- 557 tæ'u. — food [food]. 562 moon. 564 soon. O': 571 gud. — saaft [soft]. 579 ʊnæ·f. 586 dæ'u dóunt [don't]. 588 noon. 592 súuʊ. 594 boot. 595 fot [very, never (fuot)].

U- 604 samʊ. 605 san. 606 dúua. U: 609 fol. 611 bolʊk. 612 sam. 615 pæ'und. 616 græ'und. 619 fæ'und. — andʊd [hundred]. 631 thaazdi. 632 ap. 634 thruu. U'- 640 kæ'u. 641 æ'u. 643 næ'u. 651 wi)æ'u·t. U': 658 dæ'un. 663 æ'us. 666 azbʊn. 667 æ'ut.

Y- 673 matɟ. 674 did. 675 drái. 676 lái. 682 lit'l. Y: 690 káind. 691 máind. 692 jaqgist. 701 faast.

### II. English.

A. 726 taak. — skæmp [scamp]. I *and* Y. — trái [to try]. O.

— hAb [a hob]. — dAg [a dog, never (dɑg)]. — fAg [a fog]. — hAg [a hog]. — lAg [a log]. 767 nə'iz. 776 gʊd bái. — pAt [a pot]. 781 bɔdhʊ. 791 bA'i. U. 804 drɑqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 822 mæ'i. — pæ'i [pay]. 824 tɟéiʊ. 833 péeʊ. 835 réiz'n. — péeʊ [to pare]. 862 seef. E·· 867 thêi. — pæ'in [pain]. 885 vERi. 890 béist. 891 féist. I·· *and* Y·· — krái [cry]. 900 præ'i. 901 fáin. 910 dɟA'ist. O·· — dɟA'in [join]. 920 pA'int. 925 vóis. 938 kAAnʊ. 939 tloos. — roost [roast]. — toost [toast]. 940 kHoot. 942 bɔtɟʊ. 947 bA'il. 950 sɑpʊ. 955 dæ'ut. U·· — wæ'it [wait]. 963 kwáʊt. 969 shúuʊ+r. 970 dɟist.

## HANNINGTON, Np. (5 nw. Wellingborough), dt.

pal. by AJE. from indications given and the io. of Miss Downes, daughter of the Vicar, written 1878.

1. sóʊ A'i sêi, mêʊts, ju sii nə'u dhʊt AA)m rA'it ʊbə'u·t dhat lit'l gæl kɑmin frʊm dhi skuul dhêʊ.
2. shì)z ʊ)go·in də'uʊn dhʊ róʊd dhîʊ, thríu dhʊ rîʊd gêʊt ɔn dhe left ant sA'id ʊ)dhʊ wêi.
3. shôʊ ʊnə'u dhʊ tɟA'ild ʊ bin ʊn gAn strétʊt əp tʊ dhʊ dA"ʊr ʊ)dhʊ rɔq ə'us.
4. wîʊ shì)l hap'n ɔn dhat drəqk'n def sniv'ld felʊ ʊ)dhʊ nêʊm ʊ :mabʊt.
5. wi A'ʊl nôu im veri wel.
6. wôʊnt dhi ôuld tɟap sûʊn ləən)ʊ nɔt tʊ dûʊ it ʊge·n, póoʊ thiq.
7. lûʊk! eent it trío.

*Notes to the Hannington* dt.

1. (də'uʊn) for (də'un) is doubtful.
2. (rîʊd) is doubtful, written *re-ad.* —*left.* This word was left unmarked.
3. *straight,* this is conjectural, written *straiert.*
4. *snivelled* used for *shrivelled,* (*shr-*) initial becomes (sr-).—*Mabbutt* was written in by Miss D. in place of Thomas.
6. *do it,* (dûʊ it) is suspicious.

Miss D. also gave me the following words, which I have pal. as well as I could. The italics mean received spelling.

A nêʊm *name,* sêʊk *sake.*
A' lêʊm *lane,* ôʊts *oats,* gu *go,* ʊlôʊn *alone,* bôʊnz *bones,* mAA'ʊ *more,* ôʊk *oak.*
Æ spêʊd *spade,* lâet *late,* rɔt *rat,* sɔt *sat.*
Æ' wîʊt *wheat,* kêi *key,* ladhʊ *ladder,* shi *sheep.*
EA gâʊt *gate.*
EA' gret *great,* bîʊnz *beans,* bîʊm *beam,* bîʊst *beast.*
EO laan *learn.*
I sitɟ *such.*
O hAAl *hole.*
U tɔq *tongue,* dAA'ʊ *door.*
U' bu$_o$t *but.*
A. bêʊbi *baby.*
O. bwA'i boy [written *buoy*], duug *dog* [written *doog*].
U. srəb *shrub.*
A·· kêʊdɟ *cage,* lêʊba *labour,* stêʊb'l *stable,* êʊb'l *able,* wêʊsted *wasted.*
E·· téi *tea,* kʊnsaa·n *concern,* saavis *service,* saatin *certain,* and gave the plurals housen placen closen postes crustes brere, the last pl. of briar.

The words strong long wrong, she possibly meant to be pronounced with (ə) or with ($u_o$).

## Harrington, Np. (5 w.Kettering), dt.

by Miss Tollemache, daughter of the Rector. The numerous words marked to be in rec. pr. are here given in ordinary spelling and inclosed in square brackets [ ]; no doubt the peasants pronounce slightly differently.

1. [so] A'i [say], mêvts, [you see] nE'*u* æz A'*i*)m rA'*i*vt [about that little] gal vk*u*ₒmiq throm [the school yonder].
2. əə)z vgoin dE'*u*n [the] róvd [there through the red] gêvt [on the] left and sA'*i*d [of the] rôvd.
3. shúuv vníu, [the] tɟA'*i*ld)z bin vn gAn [straight up to the door of the wrong] E'*u*s.
4. wêv [she]'l tɟaans fA'*i*nd [that there drunken] diif w*i*z'nd felvr [of the] nivm [of Thomas].
5. [we all know] *i*m [very well].
6. wóvnt [the old chap soon] laan)v [not to do it again, poor] th*i*n.
7. [look], é*i*nt [it] tríu?

*Notes to the Harrington* dt.

1. *I*, "very much drawled."
2. *road*, at the end, is repeated because *way* would not be used.
3. *up* must have been (*u*ₒp).
4. *chance* or (mebi).
7. *ain't* or aren't (aant).

The Rector himself added a wl. as follows:

## Harrington cwl.

by Hon. and Rev. H. T. Tollemache, Rector, conjecturally pal. by AJE.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 36 thAA. A: 55 *ee*shiz. A': 102 haks [occ.]. 105 [always 'he ridden']. 113 wool [occ. *w* sounded and *h* omitted]. 127 hôust [written *hourstt*]. Æ- 188 fívdhv [written *fearther*]. 152 weetv [written "wäter, not *worter*"]. Æ: 155 thak. 174 *ee*sh. 181 pad. Æ'- 190 k*ee*. 195 m*ee*n*i*. E: 287 bez'm. EA: 335 AAl. 336 fAAl. 337 wAAl. 343 waam. EA': 355 diif. EO: 402 laan. 407 faad'n. EY- 438 dA'*i* [occ.]. I: 468 tɟild'n. 486 ɟest. I'- 494 tA'*i*m. I': 500 lA'ɪk. 501 wA'*i*d. 503 lA'*i*f. 504 nA'*i*f. 505 wA'*i*f. 508 mA'*i*l. 509 wA'*i*l. 511 wA'*i*n. O: 533 d*u*ₒl. — AAs [written *orse*]. O'- 559 muudhv ['as in *bloom*']. O': 569 buuk. 572 bluud. 579 vníu. 593 m*u*ₒst. U- 600 l*u*ₒv ['as in *push*,' that is, with (*u*), but I have used (*u*ₒ) as TH. heard in Np.]. 603 k*u*ₒm. 607 b*u*ₒtv. U: 638 *u*ₒgl*i*. 609 fəl ['as in *hull*']. 618 wə'*u*nd. 622 *u*ₒndv. 629 s*u*ₒn. 632 *u*ₒp. 633 k*u*ₒp. 632 d*u*ₒst ['as in *push*']. U'- 640 kE'*u*. 641 hE'*u*. 643 nE'*u*. 647 hE'*u*l. 653 b*u*ₒt. U': 658 dE'*u*n. Y- 673 m*u*ₒtɟ. 676 lA'*i*. 677 drA'*i*. Y: 684 brig. 621 mA'ind. Y- 705 skA'*i*. 706 wA'*i*.

### II. English.

I. *and* Y. 758 gəəl ['as in *whirl*']. O. 767 na'iz. U. 808 pət ['as *hut*'].

### III. Romance.

A·· 841 tɟaans [written *chānce*, which should be (tɟ*ee*ns), but Miss T. wrote *charnce*]. 843 braantɟ. 848 tɟondɟ. 850 daans. 854 baal [written *barrl*].

E·· 878 salɐri. 888 saatin. 892 nevi. I·· *and* Y·· 910 dʒa'ist. O·· 915 stu₀f. 916 inɹɐn. 919 a'intmɐnt. 920 pa'int. 926 spa'il. 942 bətɹɐ. 943 tu₀tʒ. 947 ba'il. 948 bɛ'ul. 950 su₀pɐ. 953 ku₀z'n. 954 kɔsh'n. 958 kivɐ. U·· 965 a'il.

*Notes.*

(u₀nkid) lonely, dull, frequently used; for *very well* they often say 'deadly well'; 'chilled' for 'warm' water; (friz) froze frozen; (frit) frightened; (wed) weeded; (ku₀md) came; housen placen; (eld'n) elder tree; (wiɐ) our; (wiɐse·n) ourselves; *them there* = those; (sin, sid) saw, *was took*, he *ta'en*, he *given* it, *it was gave*, more frequently (gɔv). 'I *am* read that book' usual for 'I *have*, etc.'; *a few broth*; *his'n whos'n theern*; he *hadn't used* to do so. Many of these provincialisms are gradually disappearing.

## Lower Benefield, Np. (3 w.Oundle), dt.

pal. in 1881 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. C. H. Wykes, national schoolmaster there, native of the county, but not of the place, who believed himself, and was stated by Mr. Reade, of the Oundle Grammar School, to be perfectly well acquainted with the pron. of the district.

1. sóu ái sɛ^'i, tʒaps, ɹɐ)sii nɛ^'u ɐz ái)ɐ [ái)m] ráit ɐbɛ^'ut dhat lit'l wɛntʒ kɐmin frɐm)dhɐ skuul dhêɐ.
2. shì)z gù·in dɛ^'un dhɐ rôud dhêɐ thruu dhɐ)rɛd gjá¹it ɔn dhɐ lɛft and sá¹id ɐ)dhɐ wá¹i.
3. bi aq'd, if dhɐ tʒá¹ild e'nt gʌ'n strá¹it u₀p tɐ)dhɐ rɔq dóuɐ [rɔq ɛ^'us],
4. wɛ^'ɐ shì)l vɛri lá¹ik [mè)bi, praps] fáind dhat dru₀qk'n dɛf skjini tʒap [fɛlɐ] ɐ)dhɐ nêim ɐ :tom.
5. u₀s aal nâ¹u im vɛri wɛ'l.
6. wu₀nt dhɐ óuld tʒap suun làn)ɐ nɔt tɐ)du·)it ɐgjɛ·n, póɐ thiq [wɛntʒ].
7. luk)ɹɐ! ènt)it tríù.

*Notes to the Lower Benefield* dt.

This pronunciation agrees on the whole very well with that of the Islip group, including Thrapston and Oundle, and is therefore sufficiently accurate, though it is somewhat uncertain. In a previous correspondence with Mr. W. he said that the four cardinal points of the local pronunciation are the treatment of 1. long *ā*, 2. long *ō*, 3. short *u* in *but*, 4. long *i* in *mine*. Now these were heard by TH., in the dt. as follows. 1. long *ā* (sɛ^'i, gjá¹it, wá¹i, strá¹it, nêim ènt), and in words subsequently given (pleez'n grêit, ná¹im sá¹i), so that he used (á¹i, ɛ^'i, êi, è, ee) for this sound. 2. long *ō*, in the test (sóu rôud dóuɐ ná¹u óuld póɐ), and in subsequent words (óuts) oats, labourers (áuts), (gu·in) going, (ná'u) no, (á¹uld) old; so that the sound is represented by (óu, á¹u) sometimes in the same word. 3. short *u*, (u₀p, dru₀qk'n u₀s wu₀nt) and in subsequent words (du₀l, u₀dhɐz, shu₀dn't, nu₀thiqk, ɐnu₀f, nu₀t, bu₀tɐ, du₀n, mu₀k) that is, always (u₀), which Mr. W. said was pronounced with pouted lips. As this is a native sound to TH., and as it is the regular M. vowel of this part of the country, there can be no doubt that these words were correctly heard. But Mr. W. considered it to be the first element of his long *ī*, which greatly perplexed me before TH.'s visit. 4. long *ī* in *mine*. In the test this occurs in (*ái ráit* sá¹id tʒá¹ild lá¹ik), and in subsequent words (*ái*) frequently (máind sáid fái'l fáind, ná¹it táim), from which we may conclude that (*ái*), as in other places, is the regular form, and the rest are slips. In no dialect could (á¹i) represent both long *ā* and *ī*, which must be differentiated in speech. Mr. W. did not dwell on *ou*.

This, in the test, is (nɛ"u vbɛ"ut dɛ"un ɛ"us), and in subsequent words (ɛ'uz'n fɛ'und), that is, (ɛ'u) regularly. Hence the district has the regular E. forms, (e'i, ɛ'i, a'i) for long ā, (ôu) for long ō, (ái, ʌ'i) for long ī, and (ɛ'u) for ou, but being beyond the n. *sum* line 1, has the M. form ($u_o$) for ŭ.

In transcribing TH.'s version I have, as usual, put (i) in unaccented syllables for his (i, y), a mere matter of appreciation, and have omitted the (r) when not before a vowel, as, if Mr. Wykes meant to pronounce it, other speakers shew he was wrong, and even when before a vowel it is probably no more than ($r_o$). I attach no weight to Mr. Wykes's medial vowels, which TH. observed, and have, as usual, omitted to note his occ. lengthened final consonants. TH. was not able to interview any natives, but a boy who shewed him the way to Mr. W.'s said (jis ì d$u_o$z, $u_o$p dhat lɛ"in), yes he does, up that lane, thus verifying two points.

## Mid Northamptonshire cwl.

from wn. by TH. in three groups, distinguished by the initials I, N, Y.

I words from Islip (:ʌ'islip), with Lowick, Thrapston, Sudborough, Stanion, Oundle, and Lower Benefield, a group adjoining Hu., all lying n. of the n. *sum* line 1, and hence in the pure ($u_o$) region.

N words from Northampton, with Nether Heyford, Great Houghton, Hardingstone, Brixworth, and Wellingborough, a group adjoining Bd., all lying s. of the n. *sum* line 1, and mostly n. of the s. *sŏŏm* line 2, and hence in the mixed *sum*, *sŏŏm*, and *som* regions.

Y words from Yelvertoft, with Clay Coton, Welford, and Sibbertoft, a group adjoining Le., visited by TH. in 1886, all n. of the n. *sum* line, and hence with U = ($u_o$). In Yelvertoft one instance of verbal plural in *-en* was observed (dhi kʌʌn it íɜr) they call-en it here. In Sibbertoft was heard (a)mni tlooz'n) how many closes = fields. In Welford (dhɜr)z ɜ w$u_o$ndɜrful dìl ɜ difɜrɜns ɜ tʌʌkin in dhɜ shîɜrz) there's a wonderful deal of difference of talking in the shires.

Final (r, ₍r) are written in where TH. so appreciated. I should myself have most probably omitted the signs altogether. They indicate a real trill made with the tip of the tongue, and my feeling is that natives are quite unable to utter such sounds. See introduction to M. div.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 Y bévk beek béik. 4 I teek, Y téik, N mistɛ"ik [mistake]. 5 Y mêik. 6 I méid. 20 Y lévm lêim. 21 I nâim névm, [between] nɛ"im, nêim; nɛ"im, N nêim, Y névm. 23 Y sévm. 33 Y rɛdhɜr. A: 56 Y wash [old], wɔsh [new]. A: *or* O: 60 I l$u_o$q. 61 Y ɜm$u_o$q. 64 I roq rɔq, N roq, Y rɔq r$u_o$q. A'- — I â'i [name of the letter A]. 67 I góu gu·in go·in góu·in, N gù·in. 69 YIN nôu. 73 I [between] sôu sə"u, N sôu. 76 Y tûɜd. 81 IY lêin, N [between] lôin lɔ'in, lévn. 84 Y múɜr. 86 INY óuts, NY ûɜts. 92 I noo, N nôu. 93 I [between] snôù snâù, N snôù. 94 I [between] krôù krâu, N krôù. 95 N thróu. A': 104 I rood, N [farmers (rôɜd)], rûɜd [from men from the country], róud. — I láidi [lady]. 109 I lôu. 110 I kànt shànt dònt [can't shan't don't], N kɛnt kívnt shènt shîɜnt. 115 INY ôum, N òm, Y oom oom wò$_1$m. 117 I wə'n wʌ'n, N wʌ'n. 118 Y bóɜn bûɜn. 121 I gʌ'n. 122 I nóu nʌ'n. 123 IN n$u_o$thiqk. 124 I stóun, N stôun stʌ'n, Y stôun. 128 I dhóuz.

Æ- — I éiks [aches]. 138 YIN faadhɜr, Y feedhɜr. 139 I drêi. 152 IY wʌʌtɜ₍r. Æ: 160 N èg. 161 I dâ'i dâi dɛ"i, [between that and dêi], YN dɛ"i dêi, Y dee. — N téip [tape]. 171 Y bàrli. 172 Y gras. — I dlâs [glass]. — I kàt [cart]. — lêit [late]. Æ'- 183 Y tíitɟ. 193 N klîɜn. 194 Y oni ani. 200 IN wiit, N wíut, Y wîɜt wìt wiit. Æ': 209 IY nivɜ. 223 I dhéiɜ dhêɜ, N dhîɜ₍r, Y dhíiɜr dhɛ'iɜr dhíɜ₍r. 224 I wéiɜ, YN wîɜ₍r. 226 I móust.

E- 233 I spíik spiik. 241 N rêin reen. 243 I plɛ"i. 248 Y méɜr. E: 251 Y mɛ"it. 261 N sɛ"i, Y see sai. 262 I wâi, N wɔ"i, Y wee. 263

IY ʊwɛ"*i*, N [between] ʊw*âi*, ʊwà'*i*. E'- 295 I brɛd. 299 I griin, Y gr*î*in. 300 Y k*ĭ*ip. E': 305 I A"*i*. 312 IN íʊ. 314 IN îʊ[rd ə'ʊ[rd, [between] əəd, ʊʊd.

EA: 322 I làf laaf. 324 I á*i*t, Y ɛ'itiin [18]. 326 I [between] ɔ'*u*ld, INY ó*u*ld áʊld. 328 I kóuld. 329 I fíá*u*d. 333 N kàf [pl.] kàvz, Y kjàf. 334 Y aaf. 343 Y wAAm [? new]. 346 I gjɛ'*i*ts, Y gj*é*ʊt gj*é*it. EA'- 347 INY èd. EA': 350 Y dɛ'd. 353 IN brèd. 360 NY tîʊm. 361 NY bíʊnz. 366 I gr*é*it gr*ee*t, N grêit grɛt gr*é*it. EI- 373 N dhâ'*i*. EI. 382 N dhɛ"ʊn. EO- 383 IY sɛv'm. EO: 395 INY *ju*q. 402 I la'[rn lə[rn, N lʊʊn, NY laan, Y [between] lern lərn. EO'- — I trii [tree]. 413 N dɛv'l. 420 Y fóʊ[r. EO': 425 N la'*i*t. 428 I sì, Y sí*i*. 431 N bîʊ[r, Y bîʊr. 435 N jôʊn [your'n]. 437 I [between] trə'uth, tr*u*uth [first element of diphthong very peculiar in one speaker's mouth]. EY- 438 IN dA"*i*, N d*â*i, Y [between] d*â*i, dA"*i*.

I- 446 I nA"in. — N shîʊ[r [shire]. — I *jis* [yes]. — N pɛ"*i*z [peas]. I: 452 I A"*i* *ái*, N A'*i* *ái*. 458 INY nA"*i*t, NY n*ái*t, nɔ'*i*t. 459 N rA'*i*t rɔ'*i*t. 465 N s*u*tj, Y s*i*tj. 469 N w*u*l. 481 N fiqgʊ. — I rən r*u*n, N ron rən r*u*n. 482 I ɛ'int' [ain't, are not, have not]. I'- — I A"*i* [name of the letter I]. 492 N sA"id. 493 N drA"iv. 494 I tA"ím [and between that and (t*á*im)], N tA"im. I': 500 I l*á*ik, N lA"ik. 502 N fA'iv. 506 I w*u*mʊn, N wʊmʊn. 508 I mA"il. 509 N wA'il, Y w*â*il. 514 Y *ái*s.

O- 519 I ó*u*vʊ. 522 N ó*u*p'n. — I bA'[rn [born]. O: 527 Y bAAt. 529 Y brAAt. 531 IY dAAtʊr, Y dɔ'*u*tʊr [occ.], N dɔ'utʊ. — I tɛ'*u*l [toll]. — Y krap [crop]. 551 Y stA'rm. 554 N krA'ʊ's [nearly (kroos.)] O'- 555 I shuu. 559 IN modhʊ, mədhʊ, NY mədhʊ[r. 562 Y [between] mə'*u*n móun, muun. — I m*u*nth [month]. 566 I *u*dhʊ. 568 I br*u*dhʊ, Y br*u*dhʊr, N br*u*dhʊ[r. — I gr*ó*u [grow]. O': 571 Y g*u*d. 578 Y [between] plâ*u*, plâ'*u*. 579 IN ʊn*u*f. 586 IN dô*u*nt [don't], d*u*ʊnt. 587 I dɔ'n. 588 Y nuun. 595 N f*u*t.

U- N wùd. 603 IN kʊm. 605 IN s*ù*n sə'n. 606 IN dôʊ[r, N dûʊ[r. 607 IY b*u*tʊr, N [between] b*u*tʊr botʊr. — N nət [nut]. U: — N [between] dəm dom [dumb]. — I t*u*mb'l təmb'l [between] təmb'l tomb'l. 613 N [between] dr*u*qk dreqk. 615 Y p*á*ʊnd. 622 N *u*ndʊ. — I th*u*ndʊ. 632 YI *u*p, N *u*p op əp. 633 I [between] kep kap; k*u*p kop, N k*u*p kop kəp, Y k*u*p. 634 Y thræ'u. 639 Y d*u*st. U'- — I [usual pronunciation (ɛ"*u*)]. 640 N kjâ*u*, kâ*u*jʊs [cowhouse]. 641 I ɛ'*u*, N ə'*u*. 643 I nɛ"u, N nâ'*u* nê*u*. — N plomz [plums]. 648 IY á'ʊʊ, N ə'ʊʊn. 650 I ʊbĭá'ʊt. U': 658 I dɛ"ʊn də'ʊn, IN də'ʊn, N dɔ"ʊn dɔ'ʊn, Y dâʊn. 659 N tə"ʊn. 661 Y shâʊʊr. 663 I ɛ"ʊs ə'us ĭá'ʊs, N ə'us, Y áʊs áʊzʊz, áʊz'n [Sibbertoft]. 667 I â'ʊt, N ɛ"ʊt ə"ʊt.

Y- 673 IY m*u*tj. 679 Y tjartj. Y: 691 N mA"ind. 699 N [between] r*ái*t rA'*i*t. — I shət [shut], N sh*u*t. Y': 709 I f*ái*ʊ.

## II. English.

A. 713 I bad. I. *and* Y. 758 IN gjal. O. 773 N dəqk*i*. U. — I [between] təb tob [tub], N t*u*b tob. 794 I dj*u*g djog [and between the two]. 803 INY dj*u*mp, I djəmp djomp. — N f*u*n*i* [funny]. 808 IN p*u*t.

## III. Romance.

A·· 811 N pl*é*ʊs, Y pl*eez*'n. 814 I m*ê*i*s*'n. 822 I m*ê*i. — N pá'*i* [pay]. — I plêin [plain]. 830 I trêin. — N plîʊz [please]. 836 Y *seez*'n. 851 N aant. E·· 867 Y tɛ"*i* tii. — N prɛ'itj [preach]. — N klà[rk [clerk]. — N paas'n [parson]. I·· *and* Y·· 898 N [between] nA"is n*ái*s. — I krA"*i* [cry]. 900 N prɛ'ʊrz [prayers]. 901 IN fA"in. 903 IN dinʊ. — N prA"is [price]. O·· 916 N ənjʊn, Y *u*njʊn. 920 N pɔ'int. — IN p*u*mp pomp. — N *u*qk'l [and twice] əqk'l. — N rɛ"ʊnd. 933 I fr*u*nt front. 939 I tlóʊs, N tlóʊs [pl.] tlóʊz'n. — brəsh [brush]. 940 N [between] kó*u*t kə'*u*t. — I bot'n [button]. — I m*u*t'n [mutton]. U·· — N p*u*blik [public]. 965 N êil. — N ə[rt [hurt]. 970 I dj*u*s, Y dj*u*st, N djis dj*u*st.

*Usages.* I (*ái*)m dɔ'n) I *have* done. N (gu·in :kjɛtʊrin) going *to* Kettering, regularly. No euphonic *r*.

## Var. v. Essex.

Coming s. again, we proceed from Ht. to Es., where the E. characters are most marked. But the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining information. And after all, most of the information obtained failed to bring out the chief peculiarities. Hence, until I had obtained the Maldon specimen, and TH. had made a special journey through the nw. of Es., I could feel very little confidence in the meagre accounts I obtained. But the result is that the ME. characters are all identified.

A- becomes (e'*i* ɛ'*i*) and even (âᵗ*i*, â*i*), so that it seems at first hearing to displace *i*, and as an alphabetical letter is called by some form of (a'ĭ).

A'- is variously treated; (úʊ) and (óʊ) seem to be lost, but the latter survives in a few words as (ó*u* ô*u*). TH. heard (só*u*) so, at Stebbing (11 n-by-w.Chelmsford) and (nô*u*) know at Braintree (11 n-by-e.Chelmsford), but on the other hand home, oats, appeared there as (òm, òts) mixed with (əm, əts *u*ts), and so on. The transition to (ó*u*) seems therefore not to have taken place, and there is an occasional reversion to (oo, o). This applies also to O when usually lengthened.

I' and I usually lengthened, as generally in E.div., is much broadened and falls into (ɑ'*i*, *ái*, ɔ'*i*, ʌ'*i*). Most writers of the dialect use *oi*, *oy*, as *toime*, *soide*, but I think that (ɑ'*i*, *ái*) are really the most common pronunciations. TH. gives (tʌ'*i*m mɑ'*i*l) from Braintree, (*ái*kli kwʌ'ĭ·ʊt) from Gt. Shalford, between (mʌ'ĭ, mó*i*) from Stebbing, (mə'*i* mɑ'*i*, l*ái*kl*i*) from Great Easton, and I got (dʌ'*i*k d*ái*k, mó*i*n) from Gt. Dunmow, but quite (lɔ'*i*kl*i* fɔ'*i*nd) from Maldon. I do not, however, entirely trust any one of my own authorities on such a delicate point.

As to the U' and the U usually lengthened in S. sp., that is, the usual (a'u) sound, there was much uncertainty. TH. gives (ɛ'*u*s tɛ'*u*n dɛ'un ɛ'*u*t) house town down out, from Braintree, (rɛ'*u*n ə'uz'n nɛ'u) and between (də'un dɛ'un), round housen now down, from Panfield, with (ə'*u*z'n nê*u*) and the intermediate (ʊbə'*u*t ʊbɛ'*u*t, grə'*u*nd grɛ'*u*nd) from Gt. Shalford. This intermediate sound causes the difficulty, as also the occasional prefix of (ı) as (nĭɛ'u) Maldon; but as (ɛ'*u*) was frequently heard, and I got it from Gt. Dunmow and Maldon, I think that (ɛ'*u*) must be taken as the general sound. This will be found to harmonise with the other varieties of D 16 and with D 9.

As to the U sounds, they are regularly (ə, ɑ), but some exceptions seem to occur. The Vicar of Panfield stated that the following words had "German *u*" (*u*), "d*u*st, l*o*ve, ab*o*ve, h*u*nger, t*o*ngue, *u*nder, s*o*me, b*u*t, b*u*tter, c*u*p, r*u*m, r*oo*f, en*ou*gh, dr*u*nken, c*o*ming," and even "ab*ou*t." It was principally for that reason that TH. spent some time in Panfield and the neighbourhood, but he could find no trace of this pronunciation. The same vicar gave "*ew* as in *new*" for the sound in "sch*oo*l thr*ew* s*u*re t*oo* s*oo*n d*o* p*oo*r tr*ue*," and said that French *u* was not heard. TH. found no confirmation of this in the neighbourhood, nor did I from Gt. Dunmow or Maldon, though the Vicar of Rayne (3 s.Panfield) gave me a similar list, just reversing ordinary usage, which I attributed to his exactly misunderstanding the signs I asked him to use. I therefore conclude that U is treated as in received speech.

Another salient point is the use of (w) for (v). TH. got (wit'l winɛgʊ) victuals vinegar from Braintree, (wɛri wit'lz winɛgʊ) but (vɛri winɛgʊ wôis) from Gt. Shalford, and (wit'ls winɛger vôis) from Stebbing. On the other hand, an innkeeper and an old man at Gt. Dunmow assured him that (w) was not used for (v) there, but my Gt. Dunmow authority, a native, gave (wɔ'*i*s) voice, and my Maldon authority gave (wer*i*), and from Southend I obtained (westr*i* wæl*i*) vestry value, from Paiglesham (6 nne.Southend) and Stanway (3 w.Colchester) and Brightlingsea (7 sse.Colchester) (wer*i*), while from Bradfield (9 ene.Colchester) came (wes'lz) vessels, with the remark that the people could not pronounce (v). In Clark's Glossary to his "John Noakes and Mary Styles," the classical Es. dialect specimen, I find "*w*ark *w*arld *w*armin *w*arses *w*arsley" (I believe a corruption of uni*versally* that is, *altogether*, for Clark used "I shudn't *warsley* loike to

troy," I should not altogether like to try, compare the '*Varsity* for University in the boat races), "*w*entersome *w*erry *w*eskit *w*isit." Hence we may conclude that (w) is generally used for (v), and that where in isolated cases (v) is heard, it is a modern refinement. But does (v) ever occur for (w)? Dr. Charnock in his Glossary has *v*ae *v*en *v*ite *v*ot = way when white what, but I have had no confirmation from any of my authorities. Compare D 9, p. 132.

As in E. div. generally, *r*, when not preceding a vowel, becomes (ʊ) or disappears altogether. Every dialect writer puts in the *r*, however, even where it never was and never could have been sounded, as Clark's bacc*a*r (bæckʊ) tobacco, b*a*rgun (bʊgən·) begun, bell*a*r (belʊ) bellow, boa*r*nt (bóʊnt) bonnet, ca*r*l (kaal) crawl, cha*r*mber (tʃaambʊ) chamber, da*r*ter (daatʊ) daughter, fell*a*r (fɛlʊ) fellow, ho*r*t (hAAt) hot, lo*r*ss (lAAs) loss, ma*r*ster (maastʊ) master, mo*r*r*a*r (mɔrʊ) morrow, naa*r*bour (naabʊ) neighbour, o*r*fan (AAfʊn) often, sc*r*a*r*l (skraal) scrawl, squa*r*ls (sk*w*aalz) squawls, thurr*a*r (thorʊ) furrow, uste*r* (JUUs tʊ) used to, was accustomed to, yall*a*r (JælʊJ) yellow. And in addition I find in Charnock arr*a*r (ærʊ) arrow, a*r*ter (aatʊ) after, ha*r*ve (haav) a haw, or small piece of land by a house, sna*r*th (snaath) snath, long handle of a scythe. The acme of this mode of writing was reached by my Southend authority, who described the clerk's pronunciation of *amen* as "*r*men *r*mon, *rrr*mon," that is (aaa·mʊn) with the first (aaa) very prolonged. In my phonetic printing-office at Bath with London compositors the confusion between the names of the types for (aa, r) was so great, that I was forced to have the latter called (éeʊ) or (*ree*). The writing in of *r* in such cases shews that the writer habitually neglects it in speech, but its insertion is very confusing to the reader occasionally. It serves only as a diacritic to modify the meaning of the preceding vowel, and when such modification does not occur it is omitted by the writer. Thus we find in Clark c*oa*s (k*oo*s, kóʊs) course, f*o*ce (f*oo*s, fóʊs) forced, f*u*st (fəst) first, g*a*l (gæl) girl, h*o*ss (hɔs) horse, h*u*ll (həl) hurl, suppas (sʊpaa·s) surpass, t*u*nnips (tənips) turnips, w*u*sser (wəsʊ) worse-r. What the precise sound of *r* was *before a vowel* was not recorded either by TH. or myself. It was certainly a light *r*, but whether lightly trilled (ɹ) or lightly buzzed (ɹ̥) I cannot say; theoretically certainly the latter as a degredation of (ʀ), but (r) alone has been written by both of us. When (aa, AA, ɑɜ, ʊ) precede a vowel, a euphonic *r* is always added, even in the same word, as (sAA-r-*i*q) saw-r-ing, (drAA-r-*i*q) draw-r-ing, whether the syllable or word did or did not originally end in an (r). Hence the country people were accused of adding on an (r) in places where they could not pronounce it!!

Clark gives (AAld*oo*') although, which would be remarkable if certain. Other slighter peculiarities will be found in the following word list.

Of constructions the only striking usage is putting the plural verb to the singular subject, as: he *do* (i d*oo*), my head *swim* (ma'i ed sw*i*m), usual in all the E. div. But I have no example of the reverse, or putting the singular verb to the plural subject as: we *does*. *Be* is apparently occasionally used in *he be*, not in *I be*. Without *he*, belong to *we*, a S. construction, is sometimes heard. Of peculiar words which are not also found in D. 19 there are few or none. *Mawther* (mAAdhʊ) is here used in a depreciatory sense, as a coarse wench. *Together* is a common form of address to several persons. Come to *mine*, means to my house, and so in other persons. But all this is more developed in D 19. At Brightlingsea *master* is used in the sense of *very*, an intensitive adverb. *Snace* (sn*ee*s) the snuff of a candle is (sniis) in Cb.

## *Illustrations.*

### Gt. Dunmow (10 nnw. Chelmsford).

Abridged cs. pal. in 1873 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. N. Cullingford, a native of Great Dunmow, who when it was made had been several years absent, and had been endeavouring to forget his dialectal tendencies. But the uncertainty which would therefore cling to it has been mostly dissipated by TH.'s investigations in the neighbourhood.

1. wɛl, neebʊ, JE'u ʊn ii mʊ booth laaf, uu kéeʊz?

2. wi noo, dóoʊt wi?
3. dʒist *oo*ldʒʊ rɛ'u, t*i*l á*i* dən.
4. ɔ'*i*)m saat*i*n á*i* îʊd ʊm *séei*, dhæt á*i* ded, séif ʊnɔf.
5. dhæt dhʊ ʒəq·gest sən *i*self, ʊ gret buə'i ʊv nɔ'*i*n n*iú* *i*z faadhʊz wɔ'*i*s ʊt wəns, ʊn á*i* ud trəst ·*i*m tʊ spiik dhʊ tr*iú*th en*i* dé*i*, é*i*, á*i* ·uud.
6. ʊn dhʊ ɛ'ud *u*mʊn ʊrself ul tel eni ən)*ʒi* *i*f ʒɛ'u)l on*i* æks)ʊ, oo woont shi?
8. ɛ'u, w*iiʊ* ʊn wɛn shi fɛ'*u*n dhʊ drəqk'n biist shi kaalz ʊr əzbʊn.
9. shi saar)*i*m w*i*dh ʊr oon á*i*z lé*i*·ʊn strɛtʒt ən dhʊ grɛ'*u*nd, *i*n *i*z g*u*d sənd*i* kóoʊt ʊg*i*·n dhʊ daar)ʊv)dhʊ ɛ'*u*s, dɛ'*u*n ʊt dhʊ kaanʊr ʊv dhæt)éeʊ lé*i*n.
11. dhæt æp'nd ʊz shii)ʊn)ʊ daatʊr)in)laa kəm thr*iú* dhʊ bæk ʒaad frʊm æqʊn ɛ'*u*t dhʊ wɛt klóoʊz tʊ drɔ'*i* ən ʊ wəshʊn de'*i*,
12. wɔ'*i*l dhʊ k*i*t'l wʊz bɔ'*i*lʊn fʊ tii.
13. æn dʒʊ noo? á*i* nivʊ laant en*i* maa dhʊn dh*i*s, ʊn á*i* doont wənt it eedhʊ, dhîʊ nɛ'u!
14. ʊn s*oo* á*i*)m gu·ʊn oom tʊ səpʊ. g*u*d nɔ'*i*t.

*Notes to Great Dunmow* cs.

2. don't (dóoʊt) for (doont) is doubtful, compare don't, par. 13. 3. *hold your row till I done*, possibly *I've done*. 5. *youngest*, *great*. I am not quite sure of having correctly separated (e ɛ, ə ʊ) at this early period of my work. 9. *saw him* with euphonic (r).—*eyes*, (a'*i* ɔ'*i*) seem to have been confused.—*door of the*, the (r) is euphonic, (daa'ʊ) might be said if no word followed, but (daa) would be most usual before a consonant, compare (maa) par. 13. 11. *daughter-in-law*, euphonic (r). 13. *d)you know*.

Mr. Roderick, see Ware, Ht., told me he heard at Great Dunmow (shʊ dʒaad á*i*, ʊn á*i* dʒaad ·əə bæk ʊgi·n), she jawed I, and I jawed her back again.

## Maldon (9 e.Chelmsford) dt.

pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Miss Wing, a native of Hornsey, six years at the National School, Maldon, as pupil teacher, at the time of dict. a student at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea.

1. s*ó*u ɔ'*i* sæ'*i*, mæ'*i*ts, ʒɛ'*u* sii niɛ'*u* dhʊt ɔ'*i*)m rɔ'*i*t ʊbɛ'*u*·t dha't l*i*l gɛl [gæl] ʊ-kəm·ʊn frəm dhʊ skuul ʒən·dʊ.
2. ʊt bi ʊ-giiʊn dɛ'*u*n dhʊ róoʊd dh*iiʊ* thruu dhʊ rɛd gæ'*i*t ən dhʊ lɛft a'nd sɔ'*i*d ʊ dhʊ wæ'*i*.
3. sh*úu*ʊr ənæf· dhʊ tʒɔ'*i*ld ʊz gaan stræ'*i*t əp tʊ dhʊ d*úu*ʊr ʊ dhʊ roq ɛ'*u*s,
4. w*iiʊ* sh*iiʊ*l lɔ'*i*k·l*i* fɔ'*i*nd dha't drəqk·'n dɛf sr*i*v'ld fɛlʊr, ʊ dhʊ næ'*i*m ə :tom·əs.
5. əs aal n*oo* *i*m wer·*i* wɛl.
6. *oo*nt dhʊ oold tʒa'p suun t*ee*tʒ [laən] ʊ not tʊ duu *i*t ʊg*i*n, p*oo*ʊ th*i*q!
7. l*u*k, *ee*nt *i*t tríu?

*Notes to the Maldon* dt.

1. *so*, this is one of the very few instances collected of this pron.—*I am* most usual. *I be* is used more than *I are*, but *I are* is also used. Never heard *we is*, or *thou*. *He do*, *we was*, and *theirselves* are used.—*now*, this inserted (i) was given me in (fiɑ'ʊnd griɑ'ʊnd piɑ'ʊnd fiɑ'ʊl kiɑ'ʊ shiɑ'u·ʊ miɑ'ʊth miɑʊs tiɑ'ʊn iɑ'ʊt priɑ'ʊd) by the Vicar of Panfield, but he also gave me (ʊbuu·t) about, and reiterated it, though it was not heard or known in the place when TH. visited it.—*yonder*, probably an error for (indʊ), an E. form, possibly *hinder* used in place of *yonder*. As to the final *r* I felt uncertain, as Miss Wing being from Hornsey might have imported the London use; but it has been fully confirmed.

3. *enough* (ʊnɑ'ʊ) was not known.—*door*, this (dúuʊ) is suspicious, the (r) is euphonic.

4. *shrivelled*, *shr-* becomes (sr-) as (srɑk) shrieked. Generally, the voice is pitched high with a final rising inflection, which runs very high in questions.

## Essex cwl.

As the dialect seems homogeneous, I have not distinguished the places whence the words came. Those obtained from TH. are placed first or are unmarked, and those from other sources are preceded by —.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 5 méik meek. 10 — haa. 13 — naa. 14 — draa. 21 nêim nɛ"im,—néeʊm náim. 33 — reedhʊ. 34 — las. 37 — klaa. A: — kjéint [can't]. A: *or* O: 64 rəq. A'- 67 gu·ʊn [going], — gə'u. 73 — sôʊ sɛ'u. 76 — tôʊd. 86 ots əts $u_o$ts, — óʊts. 91 — mə'ʊ. 92 nôʊ. A': 104 rood rôʊd, — róʊʊd rɛ'ʊd. 110 — nat. 115 òm ˌnòm, — həm əm, — haamli [homely]. 117 wa'n wən. 118 — bon. 121 — gaan. 122 — nə'ʊn. 123 — naathʊn. 124 stoon, — stə'un. 125 — oni.

Æ- 138 — faadhʊ. 140 — ha'il. 141 nâ'il. 143 — tɑ'iʊl téeil téeʊl. 152 waatʊ. Æ: 158 — aatʊ. 161 dêi dɛ"i. 171 baali. 179 vət [this, 224 and 266 are the only examples of (v) for (w) actually heard from an innkeeper at Panfield, and they are very doubtful as he was merely stating his opinion]. Æ'- — retɹ [reach]. 183 — tiitɹ. — ærənd [errand]. 199 — bleet. 200 wéit wiit. Æ': 213 — eedhʊr. 217 — etɹ. 219 — ship. 224 vɛ'r [see 179].

E- 241 rêin râ'in râin, — ra'in. 252 — kit'l. E: 261 sêi sâ'i sɛ"i. 262 wâ'i wɛ"i. 263 ʊwâi. 265 strêit strɛ'it stráit. 266 vɛ'l [once given, see 179]. — fil [field]. 273 — min. 278 — iind [end]. 282 — gəən [grin]. E': 305 — hə'i. 306 — hekth. 307 — nə'i. 312 îʊ. 314 — haad. 315 — fit.

EA- 319 — gaap. 320 — kîʊ. EA: 322 laaf. 324 — a'it a'iʊt. 326 á'ʊld, [between] óʊd a'ʊd, — ə'ʊld, ood. 327 — bə'ʊld. 328 — kə'ʊld. 329 — food. 330 — hood. 331 — sood. 332 tâ'ʊd, — tood. 333 — kíʊf. 334 — heef. 346 — gɹit. EA': 355 — diif dif. 359 neebʊ ná'ibʊ náibʊ nɛ'ibʊ. 361 bêinz biinz. 369 — slóʊ. 370 — raaʊ. 371 straa, — straaʊ.

EO- — sev'm. 384 — hev'm. EO: 388 — melk. 393 — bijə·nd. 394 indʊ [see top of this page, col. 2]. 396 wak wàk, — wək. — aal [earl]. 400 — aanest. 402 laan. 406 — aath. EO'- — fra'iz [freeze]. EO': 430 — frin. 435 jaa [your]. 437 tráuth træ'uth. EY- 438 dɑ'i.

I- 444 — stə'il. 446 nâin. — piiz [pease]. — iis [yes]. I: 452 ái. 458 nɑ'it. 459 — rə'it. 468 tɹəldʊrn [approaching (tɹildʊrn)]. 469 — wul [will]. 477 — fa'in. 483 — his [not (hiz)]. 488 — it. — dət [dirt]. I'- 491 — sa'ith. 494 tʌ"im tɑ'im, tʌ"im [verging to tôim]. — rep [reap]. 499 — biid'l. I': — dʌ'ik dáik [dyke]. 500 láikli, — lə'ik. 501 — wə'id. 502 — fə'iv. 505 wɑ'if. — ha'iʊ hee héei [hay]. 508 mɑ"il. 510 máin mái.

O- — smok [smoke]. 524 wəld wòld. O: 527 — boot. 528 — thoot. 529 — broot. 531 — daatʊ. 533 — dʊl. 535 — fok. 541 ònt. — ɔs

[horse]. O'- 560 skúul. — guums [gums]. 562 muun. O': 583 túul. 586 dooz [he does], — doo [does]. 587 də'n. 588 nûvn núun. 593 məs-t.
U- 602 — sia'u. 603 kam, — kim. 605 sə'n. 606 dóv. U: 614 — hɛ'un. 616 gra'und. 623 — fa'un. 632 əp ap, — up [at Stanway]. 634 thrúu thræ'u, — thríu. 636 — fədv. U'- 640 — kia'u. 643 na'u [varying to nə'u]. 650 vbə^ut vbɛ^ut, — vbia'ut. U': 658 da'un də'un dɛ'un [between] (dɛ^un, də^un), — diâun. 659 tɛ'un. 663 ə'us a'us ɛ'us. 667 ɛ'ut.
Y- 674 — ded, dent [did not]. — hiiv [hive]. 679 — tjaatj. 682 — liit'l lid'l. Y: 684 — bredj. 690 kjdind. 691 — mə'ind. Y': 711 — liis. 712 — miis.

II. English.

A. 722 — driin. 737 mɛ'it. I. *and* Y. 758 — gæl. O. 761 — lod. 767 — na'iz. 790 — ga'und. 791 bôi, bôi. U. — mag [mug]. — gan [gun]. — kaal [curl].

III. Romance.

A·· pâil [pail], — pæ'iəl péeil. péevl. — plâin [plain = dialectal]. 840 — tjaambv. 845 â¹inshvnt. 849 strâ¹indj. — skees [scarce]. — sle'it [slate]. 862 sêif. E·· 885 wɛri vɛri. — kvnsaa·n [concern]. 888 — saatin. — saavis [service]. I·· *and* Y·· — wilvdj [village]. 901 fa'in. — winvgv vinvgv [vinegar]. — wit'lz vit'ls [victuals]. O·· — kotj. — dja'un [join]. 925 wóis wôis váis. 926 — spa'il. — rɛ'un [round]. 940 — kot. 947 — ba'il. — djaani [journey]. — məv [move]. 956 — kivv. 963 kwA^i·vt kwdi·vt. 965 — a'il. 970 — djes.

## D 17 = SE. = South Eastern.

*Boundary.* To the s. the Thames R., being the b. of the S. div. To the n. a sweeping semicircular line, from the b. of Ox. from 10 s. Aylesbury, Bu., s. of Wendover, Bu., and of Hemel Hempstead, Ht., of Hatfield, Ht., and Hoddesdon, Ht., and just n. of Waltham Abbey, Es., and then passing through Epping, Es., and w. of Brentwood, Es., to the Thames R. at Tilbury, opposite Gravesend. This line is, of course, very roughly and conjecturally drawn, the parts of Bu., Ht., and Es. to the north, not being perceptibly different from those immediately south of it. But to the n. of this line the speech of the people seems to be really dialectal, while within there are so many causes for interference with the natural development of speech, and the population is so shifting, that it would be misleading to suppose that there was any real hereditary dialect or mode of speech. But there is a decided tendency to E. as distinguished from S. feeling, and hence the district is considered to be a mixture of Metropolitan and Eastern.

*Area.* The whole of Mi., the se. of Bu., s. of Ht., and sw. of Es. D 17 SE. and D 8 sBS. are the two halves of the Metropolitan Area, n. and s. of the Thames R., where the enormous congeries of persons from different parts of the kingdom and from different countries, and the generality of school education, render dialect nearly impossible. Nevertheless, D 17 is even more distinctly E. than D 8 is S. Almost all the so-called "vulgarisms" of London are of E. and more especially metropolitan E. origin. And this form of speech has become prevalent also in Australasia (see p. 236).

*Character.* This must be collected from the following sections, especially the first.

## § 1. *Mr. D'Orsey on London Town Speech.*

The Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey, B.D., Professor of Public Reading at King's College, London, with large experience in correcting errors of speech and defects of utterance, in writing to the School Board for London, 4th December, 1882, said:

"Such words as *paper, shape, train,* are pronounced *piper, shipe, trine,*—the very first letter of the alphabet being thus wrongly taught. *Cab* is *keb, bank* is *benk, strand* is *strend*; *light* is almost *loyt*; the short i is made *ee, e.g.*, 'second edeeshon;' *no* is *now*; *mountain* is *meowntain*; *stupid* is *stoopid,* and many more. The final consonants are so feebly uttered that it is sometimes impossible to tell whether the pupil says *life,* or *like,* or *light.* 'H' is constantly transposed. 'G' is dropped in such words as *coming, going,* etc., or is turned into *k* in *nothink.* Most pupils cannot trill the *r,* burring it in the throat, or making it a *w,* as *dwink* for *drink.* In many cases *r* appears improperly at the ends of words, thus *Maida-hill* as *Myder-eel, Maria Ann* as *Maria ran.*"

In p*i*per, sh*i*pe, tr*i*ne, the *i* probably means (E'*i*) or (æ'*i*), and only rarely (á'i); if so, this is only a fully developed Es. form. It is found all over Ht. and Es. as already shewn, and is strongest in East and North London, being as yet comparatively little developed in North West and West London. But it is recent, as will be shewn in the following sections. I was myself born in North London in 1814, and cannot recall it.

We have seen that when long *a* has developed in (E'*i*, æ'i, a'*i*), long *i* develops into (*ái* A'*i*), but in London I have not myself observed anything beyond (*ái*), and that very rarely. This is perhaps the sound which Mr. D'Orsey alluded to by saying "*light* is almost *loyt.*"

The correlative of the change of long *a* into (a'i) is that of long *o* into (a'u), but to my ears it seldom reaches this in London, though I have heard 'ladies in a boat' in Hyde Park spoken much like (la'id*i*z *i*n)ʊ ba'ut), but I think it did not go beyond (læ'id*i*z *i*n)a bó*u*t). This is common ME, D 16, etc. For London it is not mentioned in Walker or Smart (see § 2), or in the 'Errors of Pronunciation 1817' (see § 3), or in 'Pickwick' 1837 (see § 4), or Thackeray 1845 (see § 5), and must therefore be recent. For the received (*oo'w*), which is quite different, see Part IV. p. 1152. But when *o* tends to (ó*u*), the *ow* diphthongs tend to (é*u*, E'*u*) as in the whole of the E. div., and this is most probably the sound meant by Mr. D'Orsey's *meowntain.*

The use of *keb, benk, strend,* probably (kEb bEqk strEnd) for (kæb bæqk strænd), may be growing. The use of ed*ee*shon, often heard as (*idii*shʊn), seems confined to newsboys, and is merely emphasism.

The use of (uu) for (iú) in st*u*pid n*ew*s, etc., is by no means confined to London or E. div. The 'transposition' of "H" is very common, though its simple omission is still more common, everywhere. The use of comin' goin' etc. in the participle is historically preferable to the received coming going, and is almost universal

dialectally, but becomes (-*i*qg) in s.La. and (-*i*qk) in Ch. The received sound is (-*i*q), which of course is what Mr. D'Orsey meant. We find nothin*k* (nəth*i*qk) in several dialects. The London treatment of *r* belongs not merely to the whole E. div. but to the whole e. coast of England from Ke. to Nb. The feebleness of the pron. of final consonants is so far as I know insufficient to characterise London.

Mr. D'Orsey's examples, therefore, do not seem to characterise a peculiar mode of speech, but merely show a grafting of some E. habits on our received speech.

## § 2. *Walker* (1792–1807) *and Smart* (1836) *on London Speech.*

These two well-known authors of *Pronouncing Dictionaries* have each given a section on Cockney Pronunciation. I quote Walker from the stereotype edition of 1814. He enumerates four faults only. 1) post*e*s, fist*e*s, mist*e*s, etc., for posts, fists, mists [mentioned in § 3 under P, p. 228]; 2) interchange of *v*, *w* as *w*eal, *w*inegar, *v*ine, *v*ind, for veal, vinegar, wine, wind, the two latter are spoken of as common; 3) not sounding *h* after *w* to distinguish *wh*ile *w*ile, *wh*et *w*et, *wh*ere *w*ere [now firmly rooted even in educated speech]; 4) interchange of *h* as *a*rt, *h*arm, for *h*eart, *a*rm. There is no hint at pronouncing *ā*, *ō* as *ī*, *ow*.

Smart in his *Hints to Cockney Speakers* finds it almost unnecessary to remark on the interchange of *v*, *w*. But notes *wōōld cōōld shōōld*, would could should, [now never heard]; *chick'n*, *Lat'n*, *nov'l*, *parc'l*, but swiv*e*l, heav*e*n, ev*i*l, dev*i*l, [the last of which is scarcely heard now but in the pulpit]. Other errors he notes as ar*e*thmetic, char*e*cter, writi*n*', readi*n*', spīle sīle for spoil soil, t*oo*sday, d*oo*ty, perp*u*t-rate, affin*u*t-y, provid*e*nce, ed*e*cation; boa'rd fo'm co'd for boa*r*d form co*r*d, law*r*, saw*r*, 'and, 'eart, *h*onour, *h*onest. There is no hint of sounding *ā*, *ō* as *ī*, *ow*. But he says that the *ā* of "a well-educated Londoner . . . finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards the sound of *e*" (ii); and that *ō* "in a Londoner's mouth is not quite simple . . . finishing almost as *oo* in *too*." These are the *ee*'j, *oo'w* of rec. sp. which are quite different from the *ī*, *ow* sounds.

## § 3. *Errors in London Speech in* 1817.

In an anonymous book called "Errors of Pronunciation and improper expressions used frequently and chiefly by the inhabitants of London" (Lackington), 1817, not one example of the pronunciation *ī*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō* is adduced. As this little work is probably not accessible, the following extract may be of service. Wrong pronunciations only are extracted, the author's orthography is adopted, and any explanations are given in [ ]. The order is alphabetical, arranged by the initial letter.

A advert*ise*ment, *ar*ter, air*y* [area], alablaster [alabaster], álly [ally'], angola [angora, now usual], any-think, ar*ch*angel [*ch* = (tj)] ar*ch*etype, ar*ch*itect, ar*ch*itecture, ar*ch*itrave, ar*ch*ives, aristocrásy, arnt [aunt ant], árrac [now usual], arrant [errand], arrer [arrow], ast [ask], attainer [attainder], axe [ask].

B babby, baggonet [bayonet], bálcony [now usual], basilicum [basilica], beadle [beetle], bile [boil], Bishergate St. [Bishopgate], botherdash [balderdash], brachygráphy, brile [broil], broach [brooch, now generally with (*oo*) not (uu)], broccolo, Brummagem, Burgamy [Burgundy], burnfire [bonfire], berrin [burying], buzzum pronounced boosom [seemingly meaning (buuz'm) bosom].

C chaney [China-ware, obsolete], cha*m*ber [obs.], chimley [chimney], chisscake [cheesecake], comforts [comfits], crow'd [crew], curossety.

D democrásy, drugs [dregs], dyséntery.

E eddication [observe not ed*j*ication] i-thur [oldest form, still in use], -er for -ow in arrer beller feller holler narrer piller swaller willer, ere pronounced are [not clear], ewe is pronounced yeo [this must be common provincial (*joo*) now unknown in London].

F feater [feature], Febberwary [February], fígary [vagary].

G ga*r*p [(gaap) gape, common prov.], genus [genius], geográphy, gobble [cobble], gownd [gown], Gracious St. [Gracechurch St.], grassplat for —plot [both usual].

H omitted in 'eart, put in in *h*arm, etc., hankechur *h*arbour [arbour], have rhyming to cave, *h*edge, *h*eir [*h* with abnormal aspirate], Herkerlis [Hercules], his'n, holler [see -er].

I ide*ar* Maria*r* Louis*ar*, ile [oil], imminent [eminent], Ingia [India], ingenious [ingenuous], instid [instead], irrepárable.

J janders [jaundice], Janniwery, jessamy [-mine], jest [just], jine [join].

K kittle [kettle, common provincial].

L la*r*n la*r*ning, least [less], leef [sub. leave], leeftenant pronounced levtenant [leftenant, now usual], leetle [very little], lickerish [licorice], line [loin], lingo, live for lief, lozenger [lozenge].

M manifacter, manifacterer, marrew [marrow], massacree, materals [materials], meller [mellow], Mepomené [Melpomene], meracle maracle for miracle, mercántile, mezéreum, mischéevous, muckenger [muckender, obs. for mockadour, Fr. mouchoir].

N narrer [narrow], nater [nature], necessitate, nevvy, noways [no wise].

O obstroperous, oman "this error is constantly committed by the ordinary class of people," otherways [-wise], otter of roses, our'n.

P pantomine [-mime] peashuks [peashells], Penelopé, pertikalar, piller, pint [point], pi-son [poison] post-es persist-es and other words in -ist, preambulate, prejudiciary [prejudicial], pronounciation, pudden [pudding].

R redikerlous [ridiculous].

S salary [celery], salitary [salutary], sartin, sarve, sarvice, sawder [solder], sentry [century], set [sit], shay [chaise], shemmy [chamois, applied to leather], shet [shut], shou*l*d, cou*l*d, wou*l*d, sitteation [situation], sparrow-grass [or grass only, asparagus], spear [sphere], sperrits [spirits], spile [spoil], statute [statue], stenográphy, substraction, successfully [successively], sich [such], suddun, to summons, superflúous, supperate [suppurate], surgeon for Sir John, to swaller.

T taller [tallow], Terpsi-chore in three syllables, terrestial [terrestrial], Thália, Toosday, topográphy, towárds, trow [trough, a common provincialism].

U umberella, 'un [one], uvola [uvula].

V & W constantly confused, weal, winegar, vine, vind.

W warnt, Wensday, willer [willow], winder [-ow], wurt [wart].

Y your'n.

Z called izard in place of zed.

It is observable that in this list the great number of cases are not at all dialect, but are false appreciations of unfamiliar words. Sometimes they are genuine survivals, as *arrant* ags. æ'rende, in place of *errand*, falsely derived from *errandum* in imitation of *errant*. On the whole these are not Londonisms of the present day and are in that respect noteworthy.

## § 4. *Dickens' London Speech*, 1837.

We do not find the peculiar pron. pi*p*er for p*a*per in Sam Weller's speeches in Dickens's "Pickwick," 1837, where it would have been immensely picturesque, and we may therefore infer that Dickens did not then know it. Indeed 11 years later in his *Haunted Man*, p. 66, 1st ed. 1848, where there was a splendid opening for it, it never seems to have occurred to Dickens. Adolphus Tetterby, the newsboy, varies his calling out of Paper! by changing "the first vowel in the word *paper* and substituting in its stead, at different periods of the day, all the other vowels in grammatical succession." The effects are written as "pa-per, pepper" not pe-per, "pipper" not pi-per, "popper, pupper." All this is natural supposing (pee·pɐ, pep·ɐ, pip·ɐ, pɔpɐ, pəp·ɐ) to be used, the second and third being regular degradations of the first, but (pa'i·pɐ) would not come in anyhow. We may thus conclude that the pron. *pi-per* was not known 40 years ago in London.

In Sam Weller the principal fun is made out of the interchange of *w* and *v*, and while (w) is constantly used for (v) in D 9, Ke. and D 16, Es., and also D 19, Nf., I have not found a certain example in the provinces of (v) being used for (w), and though I have for many years been on the look out for it, have never heard (v) used for (w) in *earnest* in London (see p. 132). Now Dickens's Sam Weller, who calls himself Veller, and says he spells his name with a *wee*, is full of this. I have noted the following examples of v for w: vaggin, vouldn't, vy [why], vos, vurth, vhite, vidower, vidder, veskit, ve, vay, vile, vun, vunce, vich, Pickvick, Veller, Valker, vide, vhen, ven, vheel, Barnvell, Vellingtons, vorn, svear, vare-ever; and the following w for v: dewotion, wery, inwest, conwert, rewerse, wictim, wisit, wessell, inwention, woter, wentilation. Sometimes, but rarely, w is preserved, as in well, widder, washus [wash-house].

The other words of S. and T. Weller have no great peculiarity, as: babby [incompatible with *bĭby*), feller, I des-say, fort'nit, biled [boiled], 'ooman, see'd, hollering, bustin' [the g not by any means always lost], nothin', anythin', a'nt, ha'nt, 'ansome [handsome, Hansoms did not exist], rayther, natur, imperence, dooties, most of them common in all dialects. Most of these are merely conventional literary cockney, and it is only the absence of *ī*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō* which is of any importance.

## § 5. *Thackeray's London Footman's Speech*, 1845–6.

In *Punch* for 1845–6, W. M. Thackeray first published his *Jeames's* [not *Jimes's*] *Diary* in highly picturesque spelling, founded, of course, principally on phonetic habits, or it would have had no point. Now here I find no hint of *ā*, *ō* being called *ī*, *ow*. He uses *y* for unaccented *a*, that is, (*i*) for (*ə*), in gyzett, myjestick, jyponica, myommidn [Mahometan], and also nybobb (nəbəb·), the accentuation (nee·bəb) for *nawaw·b* being quite modern, and from an Indian point of view incorrect. For *ā* he either uses *a*, as infam*a*tion, g*a*ve, *a*ble, pl*a*ce, p*a*ne, h*a*te [eight], ch*a*sely [chastely], ph*a*mously, shamp*a*ne, f*a*te [fête], l*a*zy f*a*se, gr*a*sefly, l*a*bor, ist*a*te, g*a*cing [gazing], sitaw*a*shns, A [=hay], t*a*ty t*a*ty [tête à tête], or employs *ai*, *ay*, as aw*ai*led, hord*ay*shis, pl*ai*t, p*ay*ges, h*ay*pix [apex], g*ay*v, l*ay*t, br*ay*v, s*ay*le, str*ay*nger, s*ay*, be*ay*viour, s*ay*ber, f*ai*nted, narr*ai*t, g*ay*tors, l*ay*borer, r*ay*ge. For *ō*, which occurs seldom, he has *oa* in r*oa*g, p*oa*ker, n*oa*s, t*oa*n. The *w* for *v* is not very conspicuous in *w*ery, *w*ulgar] [but also *v*ulgar], in*w*ite, *w*isit, con*w*ussing, *w*eakle [vehicle], pre*w*ents, di*w*ine. Of *v* for *w* I have found only one instance, *v*isper, twice repeated. The euphonic *r* is common, po*r*ring, paw*r*ing, hidee*r* of, dro*r*ing, so*r* 'em; and the interchange of *or* and *aw*, as p*or*, l*or*s, dr*or*, en*aw*mous, sp*aw*ting, t*aw*n. The use of *j* for *d*, and *ch* for *t* is conspicuous in ho*j*ous, *j*uice, treemen*j*eeous, assi*j*uously, *j*ewties [but also do*o*ties], en*j*urance, and cos*ch*ewm, creec*h*urs [cos*t*ume, once spelled cos*t*ewm, and crea*t*ures]. The *ī* for *oi* occurs in p*i*nt, adj*i*ning, enj*y*. Thackeray seldom marks *-in'* for *-ing*, but this was mere carelessness. Much more might be cited, but the above will suffice to shew the common errors then, and to prove his ignorance of *ī*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō*.

## § 6. *Mr. Tuer's Cockney Almanac.*

Returning to recent times, in 1883 Messrs. Field & Tuer published "The Kaukneigh Awlmineck, edited by 'Enery 'Arris, down't-tcher-now," in which what are supposed to be cockneyisms of pronunciation are for fun conspicuously exaggerated. It is therefore worth while examining these.

The principal fun of the book is made from the *ā* and *ō*, which become (a'i, a'u). Thus we have for *ā*: sy [say] tyken eyen't [ain't] myke engyged operyted relytions adjityting lydees [ladies] grytis [gratis] pygis [pages] ible wy plice dize [days] fital [fatal] fyver [favour] stytmints risin' [raising] dy sitooyshun pytient edoocytion [education] brines [brains] py myde pice [pace] nyked wites [waits]

gryte waist [? an error for wyste] nyture rite [rate] 'a-penny ipnee [both half-penny] tyste flyver [flavour] stairkise pline pint [paint] vyper [vapour] pypers pline sime fyth [plain same faith]. Then for *ō*, I find: knou own'y [only] tould moust ould now [no] stoun noutice [notice] gous gows [both meant for *goes*] down't sou grous bouth sowp [soap] nowsiz [noses] sowl oun lown [loan] bouns owm [home] smouke jouke wows [woes] Owb'n [Holborn] spouken. But the author, partly perhaps for lack of a convenient spelling, does not notice the corresponding changes of *ī*, *ow*, but writes: minds lie eye fires nice, and thousand pound 'ow [how] down out cloud round, with the usual spelling of the diphthong.

Two vowels *ă ŭ* are both represented by *e*. The first must be (ɛ), but I am not at all sure what the second is, as different from my own (ə). These both occasion strange combinations. Thus for *ă:* bed men bellence edjityte [agitate] ket peck ven etteckin' [attacking] rets [rats], Elbert medder leshir ev [have] et [at] then execly beck kebbijez pession tremwize [tramwise] smeks kebs eccidints kerrijez Clep'em [Clapham] fet begs 'ets [hats] metches enxiety grend veccinitid fect gremmer. And for *ŭ:* sembdy [somebody] kentry [country] metch [much] dezzin [dozen] nethink trenk Lendin [London] yeng nethir eneff enkemfterble ether [other] shevving [shoving] tetch ekkempneed sem [some] entil screbbed bleddy ren 'besses [omnibuses) Jengshin [Junction] glevs teng [tongue] semmers inselt frent [also spelled front] themb enderstends metherly epstairs kezzin [cousin] brether peblicytion pesshed [pushed for (pəsht)]. But either by accident or design *u* is written in: wuz [was], uv [of], drunk, 'ungry, 'unts gun 'underd gluttid, and *i* in sitch. I do not recognise the sound at all. It is, however, quite a novelty so far as neighbouring dialects are concerned. But see TH.'s ewl. p. 232, Nos. 632 and 633.

The *ŏ* before *s, f* becomes *aw* [AA], a common Es., form as: crawss auf [off] auf'en kauffey lawst craussin's tauss, to which the writer adds: dawg [dog, common], faugy [foggy, unknown] daunkey kaukneigh and faund [fond]. On the other hand short unaccented *ŏ*, *ŏw* become *-er* [ɐ], as innercent serciety; widder winder yeller [? yaller] sparrer barrer [barrow], which is common in every S. and E. dialect.

The use of (uu) for (*iú*) is quite customary everywhere, as: dooly gredooal doo [due] accoomoolyte [accumulate, evidently inferred] noozpyper [newspaper, one of the commonest words] amooz valoo [value, ? valley].

*H* is of course regularly omitted, in fact it is now so universally omitted, and has been for so long a time in old literary English, that its retention has become a mere artificial mark of breeding, so we expect: 'eard 'orses 'int 'evin [heaven] 'ow 'arf [half] 'ed 'i [high], and again: wot wair wite [what, where, white], these last being admitted in polite S. speech.

The *R* is of course not pronounced except before a vowel, thus: fust cowidly wuth wuss [first cowardly worth worse] and paw yaw [poor your], but it is euphonically introduced after (AA) as in all the E div. as: sawr-a, draw-ring, jawrache [jaw-ache], strawr'et [straw hat]. Of course *-ore* (*óoʊ*, *óoʊ*) becomes simply (AA).

*W*, *V*. These are not interchanged at all in the *Cockney Almanac*, though *w* is put for *v* in one passage, apparently for the sake of a pun. It runs thus: "Veccinite from the calf direct if yer *w*alue yar infant's *w*eal (veal)." In no case is *v* used for *w*. The contrast, then, between Mr. Tuer's and Dickens's Cockney is complete and very curious. In Dickens's the fun is made out of the interchange of *v* and *w*, and there is no hint of using *ī*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō*. Here the fun is made out of the latter, and the former is ignored. This shews a change in London habits as viewed by humourists in the last 50 years. Still more curious is it to note that the American humourists examined in Part IV. pp. 1224-1230, namely, Mr. Davis (Major Downing 1835), C. F. Brown (Artemus Ward 1860), Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick), and Bret Harte, make no fun at all of either interchange.

## § 7. *Mr. Baumann's Londonisms.*

Mr. Heinrich Baumann, head-master of the Anglo-German School, Brixton, a German who is thoroughly acquainted with English,

in 1887 brought out his book called "Londinismen, Slang und Cant" (Berlin, Langenscheidt), which, besides being exhaustive on Slang and Cant, gives the pron. of every word on the Lagenscheidt'sch system of notation. On pp. xc-xciv Mr. B. gives a summary of popular London pron., which I have still further abridged, adding brief observations in [ ].

A. *Consonants.* 1. *h* omitted and inserted [general dialectally]. 2. *r* vocalised and inserted [all the east coast]. 3. *ng* for *n* in a few words, *kitching*, *golding*, *certing* [frequent in literature, but I have not heard it, probably at most a misappreciation, not dialectal], and *n* for *ng* in participles [regular in dialects]. 4. *mn* becomes *mbl* in *chimbley* [frequent provincially]. 5. *ni* becomes *ng* in *ungans*, *ingans* onions [which Mr. B. pron. (əqgʊnz, iqgʊnz) in place of (iq·ʊnz), I do not know (əq·ʊnz)]. 6. *gn* reduces to *n* in *reckonise*. 7. *w* often omitted, as *old 'ooman*, *west'ard*, *innard* [to which he adds *hot'un* hot one, whereas here the *w* was the insertion] and used for *v* [as in all the Land of Wee, see D 9, D 16, D 19]. 8. *v* final omitted in *have* [general when unaccented]. 9. *l* omitted especially before *m* and *n*, *on'y*, *a'most*, *certn'y*, *Lor' A'mighty* [common everywhere]. 10. *d* final nearly inaudible, as *ole husbin'* [common after *n*] and *dreffle* dreadful [a special word, common in literature, merely assimilation]. 11. *dia* = (dɨi) in *Ingee* India, *soger* soldier [both common everywhere]. 12. Final *t* lost in *brekfus*, *fac* [breakfast, fact] and medial *t* in *gen'lman* [the old *gemman* of literature is not named]. 13. *tian* = (tɨʊn) in *Christian* [common educated, as in ques*tion*]. 14. *th* initial omitted in *'em* for *them* [old English *hem*] *more'n harder'un*, more than harder than [quite common], *th* final omitted *wi' sou'wester* [common everywhere], *th* medial becomes *d* in *furder*, *farden* further farthing [common everywhere], "isolated *th* becomes *r* in *wirrout* without" [*arout* known provincially, but not the other], "with old people becomes *f* as *nuffin* nothing" [also common]. 15. *k* occ. for *q* as *ekal* equal [I have heard this, but take it for an old and not London pron.]. 16. *y* added in *yearn* earn, omitted in *'ears* years [common].

B. *Vowels.* 1. Long vowels shortened, *agen*, *babby*, *craddle*, *mebbe*, *thripund*, *fippence*, *tuppenny*, *I dun know*, again baby cradle may-be three-pounds fivepence, twopenny, I don't know [common, except *craddle*, even among better speakers]. 2. *e* for *a* in *keb*, *ketch*, *Stendard*, cab, catch, Standard. 3. *per* in *partickler* particular, (*i*) for *a* in *extry*, *bony fide* [misappreciations of foreign words]. 4. *jest sech*, *jist sich* just such [common]. 5. (*ee*) is very commonly (*éei*), [already discussed], *ea* becomes (*i*) in *airey* area [this is merely an abbreviation, like *ide'* (e'idii) for idea, final *a* omitted, belongs to No. 3]. 6. *ar* for *ear*, *er* in *arn sarve* earn, serve [still common, but going out]. 7. *a* obscured to (ə) in (mɔm) for *ma'am* [merely unaccented obscuration, common]. 8. (*i*) for (ə, ɔ) in *kiver kimplete* [not confined to London]. 9. *heerd* for *heard* [common]. 10. *ile*, *pint*, *hist*, oil, point, hoist [common old]. 11. "*ŏ* [the *o* in *born*] is very common for *au* (AA) as in *cort* (kɔɔt) for *caught*" (kAAt) [this I do not quite understand], "conversely *aw* (AA) is used for *ŏ* (ə) as *dawg* for *dog*" [not confined to London]. 12. (*oo*) becomes generally (*oo*-ə) as *road*, pronounced (*roo*-əd), unaccented *o* becomes (ʊ) as *pertato* [? pertater, tater] potato. 13. *doo* for *dew*, *insinivate*, *cowcumber* [the last old]. 14. *oo* for *ŭ*, *Rooshan*, *Proossian* [old], (*poo*, *shoo*) poor sure [unknown, but (pAA, shAA) known].

This is sufficient to shew that although these pron. may have been heard in London, they generally did not arise there, but were importations, or misappreciations of non-Saxon words common throughout England.

## § 8. *Mr. T. Hallam's London Observations.*

When TH., a Derbyshire man resident in Manchester, on different occasions visited London, he noted, as usual, differences of pro-

nunciation which he heard from the middle and lower classes. His notes are not complete, but they possess the value of observations made by a phonetist who was not a Londoner, and therefore I collect the examples without distinguishing the different speakers or occasions, as he has done in his notes. It will be found that his experience is far from yielding such pronounced results as the *Awlmineck*. The *ā* becomes (*éi*, *êi*, E^'*i*), the *ă* yields only once to (è), the *ō* is (ôu, œ'u), the word *road* as shouted at railway-stations by porters (who were very possibly not Londoners) giving a singular variety of forms, the *ī* becomes generally (*ái*), but once reaches (A'*i*) (I heard a very near approach to (*ói*) from a boy in Kensington today, 30th March, 1886), the *ŭ* is generally (ə), rarely reaching (ɜ), and the *ow* varies from (ə'u) to (æ'u). These pronunciations are, however, such as ME., D 16, would lead us to expect.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 téik. 5 méik mE'ik. — mistêik [mistake]. 24 shé₁im. 31 lE^it. 34 laast. A: — [between] hæ'm, hE'm [ham]. — stènd [stand]. — kjæ'n, kaant [can't]. A'- — óù œ'u [oh!]. 67 gó₁ù, gœ'ù [long *o* seems often to be (œ^u) perhaps (ɜ'o)]. 69 nœ'u. 92 nóu. A': 104 [between] rôud, ráud; rôud ró₁ùd; [between] róud, rə'ud; [between] ró₁ud, rœ'ud; rœ'ud; rə'ùd. 117 wən. 122 nóu. 132 ɔt. — rœ'ù [row rank]. Æ: 160 èg [nearly (*èg*)]. 161 dE^i. — bæ'g [bag]. — [between] æp'l, EP'l. 172 grâ'ls. — [between] æ't èt [hat]. 179 wɔd [what, before (dv)], wɔt [before a vowel]. Æ'- 195 meni₁. Æ': 223 dhêv. 224 wêv. — strìt [street].

E- 231 dhv. E: 261 sE'ì. — bed [bed]. 262 wE'i. 263 vwéi· vwE^i. 266 wEl. — fîvlz [fields]. — sEll'i₁n [selling]. E'- 290 ii. 300 kiip. E': 311 tèn. EA: 324 éit. — shaant [shan't] shæ^'l. 334 *aaf*. 335 AAl AA^lwi₁z [always, (AA^l) "with a peculiar pursed rounding"]. 340 *jaad*. — *paak* [park]. EA'- 347 vhèd [a-head]. EA': 352 red. 364 tjæp. 365 níur [near, ? (r)]. EI- 373 dhe. EO- 387 níù. EO: 388 míulk. 396 wɑ₁rk [the (r) doubtful, possibly (wɑak)]. EO'- 420 fôv. EO': 428 sii. 431 bîv.

I- — lìv [live]. 446 *náain*. 448 dhiiz. 449 *git* ["even middle class people say (*git* ən)"]. 450 ti₁úzdi₁. I: 452 *ái* [on one occasion, long *i* like (*ói*), nearly *ái*], [between] ə^'*i ái*. 459 *ráit*, [between that and (râit)]. 465 sətj. 477 *fáind*. 482 *eent ènt* [ain't]. I'- 494 tA^im. I': 500 *láik*. 510 *máin*. O- — smœ'*u*ki₁n [smoking]. 520 :bɑ'*u* [the town]. — bi₁fóu [before]. O: 525 [off], AA^lf, AAf ɔɔf; [of] ov. — m*oo*₁ni₁n [morning "the analysis for these depressed vowels seems to be, tongue for (o), lips for (*o*) pursed"]. 554 kr*oo*zs [or] kroozs; [between] krA's, krò*s* ["say (krò*s*) with pursed lips"]. O'- 556 tv [unemphatic]. 557 tù. 559 mædhvr [? (r)]. O': 571 *gùd*. 576 wenzdi₁. 586 dó₁*u*nt [don't]. 587 dən, du·i₁n [doing].

U- 603 kəm. U: 612 səm. 631 thərzdi [? (r)]. 632 [between] əp, EP; əp. 633 [between] kəp, kEP. 634 thərvfEE^l₁r [thoroughfare]. U'- 643 [between] náae nâa^lə; ná^lə, nə^'*u*. — pləm [plum, when intensive (pla^lm)]. 650 vbáət. U': [(a'u) was heard as (áaə) approaching áav]. 656 ruum. 658 dæ^'*u*n. 663 áa^ləs. 667 áa^l*u*t; [between] áaət, áa^lət; áa^lat; [between] ə'*u*t, á^l*u*t; ə'*u*t. Y: 689 bi'ldi₁nz [buildings]. — *i*'l *ía*l [hill]. — shətərz [shutters].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 727 djæ'm. — sæ'ndwi₁tj. — bærv [barrow]. — êist, E'ist [haste]. I. *and* Y. — *táiv*ri₁n [tiring]. O. — [between] oof'n AAf'n [often]. U. — fani₁ [funny]. — krəsh [crush]. — shətərz [shutters].

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 811 pléis plE'*is*. 822 méi. 833 tré*in* trE'*in*. — êər [air]. — pali₁s. —

pal'mal' [Pall Mall, generally (:pel :mel)]. 841 tjàns. — bæænd [band]. — [between] mAAtji₁n, maatji₁n [marching]. — djæ'ki₁t [jacket]. — gà⌊rd'nz [gardens]. — kjari₁dʒ [carriage]. — paast [past]. — plætfoom [platform]. — stɛ'i [stay]. E·· 869 viil. — ɛkó₁u [Echo]. — ʊtènd [or (-ènd)]. — kʊntenti₁d [contented]. — tènt [tent]. 885 vɛri. — gʊze·t [gazette]. — áa'ʊʊ [hour], áaərz [? r], æ''ə'rz [? Londoner]. I·· *and* Y·· 898 [between] nái*s*, nái*s*. 903 [between] dái*n*i₁n, dA''i*n*i₁n. — mi·ni₁ts [minutes]. O·· — grəmbli₁n [grumbling]. — məni₁. — ô₁⌊rdʊr [order, ? both (r), possibly (AAdʊ)]. — fori₁st. — pooshʊn [portion]. — transpôuz [transpose]. — *groo*ser [grocer, at Bermondsey, no (óu), ? (ʀ)]. 942 butjʊr [? (r) at Bermondsey, must have been (ʀ) almost]. — kəlʊr [? (r)]. — tʊrn [turn, ? (r)]. U·· — ɛkwɛ'ri₁ʊm.

## § 9. *Mr. J. G. Goodchild's East London Pronunciation.*

Mr. J. G. Goodchild (:gutjái'l⌊d), who is an East Londoner by birth and education, has been at the pains to write a very long wl. of *his own* 'colloquial' as distinguished from his 'studied' pronunciation, as in lecturing, and as distinguished from low East London talk. As this was carefully written in pal., it is a document of considerable interest to shew the middle-class pron. of the district. It is not, however, dialectal, as is shewn by the same pron. being regularly assigned to vowels of very different origin. Hence it seems better to give it in classes founded on received pronunciation.

1. Long *ā* is always (*ê₁i*) except before (ʊ), where (*e₁*) is deeper than (*e*) and more like (e) or (ɛ) even, than (*e*), the circumflex shews the diphthong and medial length of the first element. But JGG. does not consider even the first element to be uniform; he thinks rather that beginning with (*e₁*) he glides to (*e*) and thence to (*i*); all this is, however, avoided before (ʊ) representing final written *r*, and the vowel is then (*ee*) simply as in (*éeʊ*) air. This long *ā* occurs in A- (bê₁ik) bake, etc., A: (kê₁im) came, Æ- (dr₀ê₁i) dray, (hê₁il) hail, etc., Æ: (dê₁i) day, etc., Æ'- (nê₁i) neigh, etc., Æ': (klê₁i) clay, etc., E- (br₀ê₁ik) break, (sê₁il) sail, etc.; E: (lê₁i) lay, (sê₁i) say, etc., EA- (flê₁i) flay, EA: (ê₁it) eight, EA': (grê₁it) great, etc., EI- (dhê₁i) they, etc., EI: (stê₁ik) steak, etc. I: (wê₁it) weight, etc. A. (tr₀ê₁id) trade, etc. A·· (ê₁ib'l) able, etc. E·· djê₁i, etc., where the etc. refers to other words in the class in the wl. thus headed, which have *ā* in rec. sp., but not to those otherwise treated. This long *ā* is evidently of E. origin. Before (ʊ) = *r* we have A- (heeʊ) hare, Æ- (feeʊ) fair, Æ'- (weeʊ) were, Æ': (heeʊ) hair, (weeʊ) where [but (dhæ'ʊ) there], E- (meeʊ) mare, (weeʊ) wear, (sweea) swear, EA- (keeʊ) care, [but EA: (dæʊ) dare], EI (dheeʊ) their. A·· (meeʊ) mayor, (peeʊ) pair, E·· (eeʊ) heir. [Observe (eeʊ) and not the rec. (éeʊ). My own pronunciation has been subjected to so many influences in different parts of England, and abroad, and has been so artificially cultivated, that though I am a North Londoner, I refrain from citing it; but refer generally to Part IV. pp. 1090–1157, 1168–1173, 1206–1207, where Bell's, Haldeman's, Sweet's, Smart's pron. are also considered.]

2. Short *ă* is sometimes (ah) [which JGG. considers to occur in the local pronunciation of Bath (baahth), where I hear (bææth), a difference of appreciation simply, for both of us are well used to hear the name from natives], and sometimes (æ). Thus he has A- (hahv) have, A: (thahqk hahn'd lahn'd) thank hand land, etc., A: *and* O: (lahm) lamb, etc. A. (bahd bæd) bad, etc., A·· (bær₀'l) barrel, (kahr₀ʊt kær₀ʊt) carrot, etc.

3. Long *ē*, Æ'- (sii) sea, etc., Æ': (diid) deed, etc., E- (niid) knead, etc., E: (jiil'd) yield, etc., E'- (jii) ye, (fiid) feed, etc., E': (hiil) heel, etc., EA' (tiim) team, EO (bi*n*ith) beneath, EO'- (bii) bee, etc., EO' (sii) see, etc., I- (dhiiz) these, etc. E. (skr₀iim) scream, etc. E·· (ti) tea, (viil') veal, etc.

4. Short *ĕ*, E: (edʒ) edge, (men') men, etc., EA' (ded) dead. E. (beg) beg, etc. E·· (sens) sense, etc. Observe always (e) and not (ɛ); this is metropolitan.

5. Long *ī*, diphthong, is always (*âi*) which is broad, but not nearly so broad as

in Ht. and Es., EY (dái) die, I- (âivi) ivy, etc., I: (âi) I, (máit) might, etc., I'- (táim) time, etc., I': (láik) like, etc., Y'- (skái) sky, etc., Y': (máit) might, etc., I'- (táim) time, etc., I': (láik) like, etc., Y'- (skái) sky, etc., Y': (máis) mice, etc. I. (táini) tiny. I·· (náis) nice.

6. Short ĭ is regularly (i), I- (gît) get, occ. I: (witɹ) witch which, etc. Y: (bridɹ) bridge, etc. I. (pig) pig, etc. I·· (sistə'n) cistern.

7. Long ō, this is invariably (ôu), except before (ə) = *r*, *s*, *f* and *th* occ., in which case it is (AA, A'). But this (ôu) includes at least three sounds (as in the case of long ā), it "begins with (o) and goes on through (o) to end in (u)." This occurs in every case, thus A'- (gôu) go, (môun) moan, etc., A': (ôuk) oak, O- (ôup'n) open, etc. O'- (nôuz) nose. O. (pôuni) pony, and it even occurs unaccented as (tælôu) tallow—before *r*, *s*, *f*, *th* it falls into (A, AA), the (r) becoming (ə) when final and being omitted before another consonant, as A'- (lAAd) lord, (mA'ə) more, (sA'ə) sore, A': (gAAn) gone, (hAAs) hoarse, (klA'th) cloth, EA: (wA'm) warm, EO: (sAAd) sword, EO'- (fAə) four, (fAti) forty, EO': (fAath) fourth, O: (kA'f) cough, (bA't) bought, (thA't) thought, (br$_o$A't) brought, (r$_o$A't) wrought, (dA'tə) daughter, (bAAd) board, (fAAd) ford, (hAAd) hoard, (stAAm) storm, (kAAn) corn, (HAAn) horn, (kr$_o$AS) cross; O': (sA't) sought, (flAAə) floor, (mAAə) moor, (swAAə) swore; U- (dAAə) door. O. (əfA'd) afford. A·· (pAAə) poor; O- (kA's) course coarse corse.

8. Short ŏ is almost always (ɔ), as O: (HɔIi) holly.

9. Long ū is regular (Juu), and is so written after a consonant, as (nJuu) new.

10. Short ŭ is regularly (ə), but becomes (əə, ə') before suppressed *r*, as EO: (lə'n) learn, (ə'th) earth; O- (wəəl'd) world; O: (wəəd) word; U: (wəəth) worth, (fəədhə) further. E. (pə't) pert; I. (gə'l) girl, while all the unaccented final *-ar*, *-er*, *-ir*, *-yr*, *-or*, *-ur* become (ə) unless a vowel follows and determines (ər$_o$).

11. Incidental *ah* seldom arises [as in A- (r$_o$âdhə) rather, Æ- (fàdhə) father], without a suppressed *r*, but it is the regular form of *ar*, as in EA: (Jaad) yard, (aam) arm, EO: (staav) starve, (faa) far, (staa) star, (Haath) hearth, (faadhiq) farthing.

12. Incidental *aw* is regular for *or*, as in the examples to No. 7, but sometimes occurs otherwise, as EA: (fA't) fought, (wA'k) walk, (fAAl') fall, (wAAl') wall; EA': (r$_o$AA) raw, (str$_o$AA) straw. A. (bAAl'd) bald.

13. Diphthongal *oy* is regularly (A'i) or (A''i).

14. Diphthongal *ow* is regularly (á'u), excluding the cases in which it belongs to No. 7. It is curious that diphthongal *ī*, *ow* have a different first element, (a) in the first and (a') in the second, the first apparently to distinguish the sound from (é$_i$ì), and the second as a reaction against the common (éu).

15. The sounds (l, n) are lengthened before a following consonant, as (bAAl'd lahn'd) bawled land, and often when final, as (AAl') all. This of course is most conspicuous when the words are taken singly, and less so in connected speaking.

16. The *r* is at most (r$_o$) when preceding a vowel, or between two vowels. This imperfect (r$_o$) when vocalised and made syllabic as ('r$_o$) is very difficult to distinguish from (ə), and when no vowel follows is regularly suppressed; but on a vowel following, either in a new or the same word, it recovers its power. Now as the *r* when suppressed converts *ar*, *or*, *ur* into (aa, AA, əə), it follows that when these sounds have otherwise arisen, the speaker inserts an (r$_o$) before a following vowel, thus saw, sawing, saw him, become (sAA, sAAr$_o$iq, sAAr)im). This has been here termed "euphonic *r*," and it produces an unpleasant effect, which JGG. avoids, but the natural "East-Ender" and Eastern Counties man regularly introduces. The unaccented (ə) usually written *er* ought not to insert a euphonic *r*, but even persons of high cultivation will often talk of (dhia'idi·ər$_o$əvəthi·q) the idea of a thing.

## § 10. *Rural Speech.*

For the rural portions of the SE. district, I have very slender information. My informants find a shifting population, and nothing distinctive to record. They imagine that if there is nothing different

to their hearing than uneducated London speech, there is nothing to report.

In *Bu.* the late vicar of Henley-on-Thames after 60 years experience had nothing to say. From Penn (se.High Wycombe) the Vicar after 17 years writes, "It would be useless to attempt to go systematically through the following list [wl.], as the dialect of this neighbourhood is of a very natural character, *i.e.* apart from a few vulgarisms there are very few (if any) pure provincialisms or archaisms. The only instance of the latter that occurs to me is *housen* for houses, and that is fast dying out." But he marks I, we, you, they *be*; I, he *were*; they, we, *goes*, *those* not used, *he do*, *he live*, *theirsell*, didn't *ought*, which shew a mixture of provincial Bu. With regard to the use of *I be* it disappears gradually s. of Penn (10 nnw.Eton); it is occ. heard between Beaconsfield (7 n-by-w.Eton) and Denham (7 ne.Eton), but further s. it seems lost.

In *Ht.* the late Rector of Bushey (2 se.Watford) says: "This place offers no opportunity of assisting your work. The inhabitants come and go, from various places, and remain but a very short time, but chiefly from London. I will not call this place a *colluvies omnium gentium*, but very much like it, and hence has no special language or dialect." But from Rickmansworth (3 sw.Watford and hence very near Bushey) Prince L.-L. Bonaparte obtained a few notes. *I be* is not much in use, *I are* is more common, and *we am*, *am you?* *I*, *we knows* are heard occ., *I says* frequently, *w* for *v* rarely if ever heard. The National Schoolmaster, who gave this information, kindly wrote a dt. for me where some ruralisms occur, as (ɔ'i ʀɔ'it kʌmin skiûl gu·in róʊd aand sɔ'd gin tiú wéʊ fɔ'ɪnd weri wəl wænt ·ɛgin been tríu) I right coming school going road hand side gone to where find very will won't again be-not true. He notes also *on*, *wrong* nearly like *an*, *rang*. All these have a stronger provincial tinge than might have been expected, but this does not represent the general language. From St. Albans, Ht., which I place on the borders, my informant after 8 years had only noticed *tale* pr. as *tile*. From *Es.* I could get no information beyond the borderline marked. Even at Brentwood very little was obtained.

In *Mi.* from Harmondsworth (7 w.Brentford) the Schoolmaster gives me (aatʀ wənt fil sa'il hil hiz'n a'uʊn ɹuuʊn dhéʊn miún niún spiún diú bin ee wʌʌ kit'l va'is) after won't feel soil heal his ours yours theirs moon noon spoon do been have was kettle voice, and the phrases, I or we *wants*, or *does*, make *they* come, we *bin* [have been], I *is* [very doubtful], we *was*, I, he, *were*, they *is*, *for* to do it, *-in* for participial -ing. And he says that "*leasing* is used for *gleaning* exclusively," which is the only strict ruralism in the list.

From Ashford (7 sw.Brentford) the Vicar writes: "The inhabitants of this locality are *mainly* strangers from every corner of the country who have settled here for a brief space and never remain long. They represent *any* and *no* special pronunciation."

From Hanwell Rectory (3 nw.Brentford) I am informed that "the people speak what is commonly called the cockney dialect, the chief peculiarities of which are inability to pronounce *a* or *o* correctly. The former is turned into *ah-ce*, (âi), the latter into *a-ow* (ɛ'u) and a tendency to add *r* to words ending in *aw* (I *sawr* a man, the *lawr of*). These defects are common in the lowest class, particularly the boys, but are less observable in the better educated."

At Willesden (5 nne.Brentford) Prince L.-L. Bonaparte made attempts to find native pronunciation and construction from the Vicar. He found *be* not used, but *I are* as well as *I am*, *I wur*, we *was*, I *loves*, they *loves*; day say hay may cake gate home, with the vanishes, he even writes "cike gite"; *w*iper, *w*inegar, vocalised final r; euphonic r; *I seen* for *I saw*, better *nor* me. Hence there was nothing distinctive, nothing rural. It was common London SE., as was to be expected.

From "the chief mason at Enfield" [(5 e.Barnet), sometimes called (:e·nf*ul*, :e·nf'l)], Prince L.-L. Bonaparte notes that I *be*, I *is*, I *are*, we *am*, are not found, but only I *am*, I *loves*, we *says*, they *gives*, they *was a goin*; I got 'em, he *do* (rarely, better *nor* me; and, as pronunciations, (ʌʌkʊrd shʌʌʊ) awkward sure, (lisʊm, géit kéik déi séi méi héi) lithesome, gate cake day say may hay, (kit'l

tʃimbli kettle chimney. Hence this has fully the London SE. character, with no distinctive rurality.

As South Myms (3 nnw. Barnet) lies in a corner of Mi., projecting into Ht., I hoped to find more of a rural character, but no perceptible differences from Enfield were found. The Vicar, however, noted that the village being on the old high road to the north, "the population has a large proportion of families originally from a distance."

This examination will shew that in so far as this northern part of the Metropolitan Area has any dialect at all, it is essentially ME. in its character. Even the (a'i, a'u) forms of long *a* and long *o* have an Eastern origin and are comparatively modern, within the memory of persons now living. They have of late years rapidly advanced in all the SE. district and in our Australian colonies. They threaten to become predominant in received speech, for habits of pronunciation work upwards, and in another hundred years the 'polite' pronunciation of *ā*, *ō* may become (a'i, a'u), while *ī*, *ow* sink to (ɔ'*i*, ɛ'*u*), just as our received (*ee*, *oo*) have ousted (a, â) and our received (a'i, a'u) have replaced (ii, uu). It is only quite recently that in such words as *boil*, *joint*, the present (ɔ'*i*) has replaced Pope's (a'i). We now think (ɔ'*i*) "polite" in *join* and (a'i) "vulgar." Pope thought just the reverse. And to all old people, like myself, of all generations, modern changes such as those just noted are simply excruciating.

## Australasian South Eastern.

English colonies, including the United States, whose independent government has of course not changed their origin, necessarily at first speak the English which they carry with them. That might have been originally any one of the forms of English contained in this book, or else of Irish English. This English alters in generations, and is much interfered with by constant immigration from the mother country. And now, when education is so prominent both in the mother country and the colonies, the speech of the colonists is modified artificially by teachers aiming at what each considers a "good" pronunciation, and the test of this "goodness" must necessarily be the habit of persons of "consideration," that is, social position, first in the mother country and secondly in the colonies themselves. Now the centre of English is London, which, as far as pron. is concerned, lies in the E. div., and, as we have seen, is at present, at least in its middle and lower strata, distinctly modified by the habits of the Eastern Counties. The habit of speech among the educated classes in London may be looked upon as the basis of "received speech and pron." It is, therefore, to be expected that the pron. of the colonies would, as a whole, tend to resemble it. On examination we find that the colonies speak generally such a form, with modifications belonging to a less artificial stratum. Thus, in the eastern United States, New York and Massachusetts, there is a tinge of Norfolk. In the Australasian colonies, that is, those in Australia, Tasmania (or Van Diemen's Land) and New Zealand, there is more than a tinge of what is

commonly called "cockney," as exhibited in pp. 239–248. On the whole, therefore, a visitor from England to Australasia finds great resemblance to the mode of speech he has left behind him, and, struck by that, does not much observe the differences. So Mr. Froude says (according to the Australian *Daily Telegraph* of 29th March, 1886) that Australian English is "free from provincialism, not Americanised, of soft tone, good language and correct aspiration." And a letter in the same paper on the following day says that "after listening to the 'colonial' of various degrees of education in all parts of Australia, in the street, the coach, the steamer and the train, and particularly in the schoolroom, Mr. Sala's opinion is confirmed that their only peculiarity of speech is a very slight drawl in the school-attendant, which wears off and becomes imperceptible in manhood."

After such opinions from such well-known literary men, one might almost stay any further inquiry and put Australia on a par with London. But it must be remembered that, as just shewn, there are marked peculiarities at present in London among the mercantile and labouring classes at least, and the question arises whether these peculiarities exist in Australasia and to what extent. Persons who have visited Australia declare that there is a marked "cockney" element in its speech. Mr. Samuel McBurney, who was for several years principal of the Ladies' College at Geelong, Victoria, and has travelled much about the Australasian colonies, where he has had the opportunity of examining schools and large classes of Tonic Solfa singers, is decidedly of the same opinion, and he made numerous observations in Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland and New Zealand, from January to November, 1887, for the purpose of ascertaining real Australasian usage. The result of these observations he tabulated and sent to me in Dec. 1887, from St. Francisco, so that I received them in Jan. 1888, on purpose that I might insert them here. They are so full of condensed original information that I feel unable to do better than present them almost in their original form, transliterating the Glossic into palaeotype. His plan was to take a number of test words, and record the pron. in glossic, and then mark by symbols whether these were general, in the majority or minority, about half, or sporadic. In some cases he has even found it expedient to separate the habits of boys and girls in schools.

The following extracts from an article by Mr. McB. in the *Lyttelton Times*, Christchurch, New Zealand, will form a fitting introduction to these tables, and will explain their general tendency. I have introduced a few words in [ ], and given some pron. in pal.

" . . . It is generally supposed that two main influences affect pronunciation —*parentage and the teacher*. In the bush, where children hear only their parents, we may find broad Scotch, Irish, or provincial English, but in almost all other circumstances the influence of parentage is very slight, and generally acts by modifying the *general* usage, not by conserving the original type of speech. This decided variation from the parent speech is easily accounted for in some cases, as the universal tendency of all speech-alteration is towards what may be called 'the line of least resistance.' . . . Where the young colonial finds

himself understood by half the oral exertion necessary, he forthwith abbreviates. . . . 'Do you hear me?' becomes *jeer me*; pudding, *pudn*, etc., and the strong trilled final *r* is avoided as an unnecessary exertion, when it is noticed that the majority of arrivals habitually neglect it. It is therefore quite common for the children to call farther *fahthu* (*u* of *but*) (faadhu) when the parent says *farrthurr* with a very loud trill (fa.rdhu.r); world, *wu'ld*, (wald) instead of *wurruld* (wa·rəld), and so forth. The insertion of *r* where it is not wanted, as in *idea-r-of*, is also explicable, as it is easier than to make the necessary hiatus between the two tongue positions of the several vowels. But why there should be a general tendency, as there undoubtedly is in Australia, to a Cockney pronunciation . . . is a mystery still to be explained.

"The modern Cockney . . . is of comparatively recent date, and is, I think, not to be found in Dickens [see p. 228]. Its leading features are—(1) The omission of the aspirate, and its occasional wrong insertion; (2) clipping *ing*, as singin', shillin'; (3) alteration of *a* in *fate*, to nearly *i* in *bite*; (4) alteration of *o* in *hope*, to nearly *ow* in *how*; (5) alteration of the first factor of *ow* in *cow*, so that it is written *kyow*, or *caow* (kjɛ'u, kæ'u); (6) a general drawling of the vowels, so that dog becomes *dawg*, coffee, *kawfy*, etc.; (7) insertion of *r* between the vowels, *I saw-r'im*.

"In Australia and parts of New Zealand, (1), (2), and (7) are of frequent occurrence, as in all parts of England, but they are decidedly less frequent in New Zealand, where (1) and (7) are rarely to be met, at least in flagrant positions. *Idea-r-of*, however, is pretty general. (3) and (4) are to be heard pretty often in Australia, but seldom in New Zealand. . . . (5) has nearly naturalised itself in Australia, and is extremely hard either to express or to get rid of. The first part of the diphthong is often so short that it is difficult to fix it. The ordinary English ow begins with *a* of *sofa*, *u* of *nut*, or *a* of *father*, tapering off to *oo* of *woo* (ʊ'u, ə'u, ȧu). The Australian begins with *a* of *cat*, or *e* of *get*, prolonged (ææ'u, ɛɛ'u), while the New Zealanders give all sorts of varieties, but are, I think, settling down to a sharp *a* of *father*, followed by *oo* (ȧ¹u). One has only to hear "down town," "around and around," said by Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Colonials, to notice at least that there *is* a difference. The tendency to drawl the short vowels is noticeable in parts of Australia and Tasmania, *ha··nd*, *da··ug*, etc. (hæænd dʌʌg), but not, so far as I can discover, in New Zealand.

There is a strange development in the *oo* in *food*, *school*, *room*, to be found in Australia, the true sound being introduced by something like the French *eu*, forming a diphthong [(ə'uu, œ'uu) or possibly (œ'uu)], but this is quite absent in New Zealand, although there is in its place a peculiar shortening of the sound—of Scottish origin—*good food* being both given with the short *u* of *pull* [gud, fud], the first rightly, the second wrongly [not at all uncommon in London].

One thing in common with Australia is the broadening of *i* in *die*, which is a diphthong formed by a very broad *ah*, tapering to *ee* (*ai*). This in Tasmania and parts of New Zealand even approaches *oi*, *I die* sounding *oi doi* (A'i dA'i). There is also in some places a peculiar final *r*, with introverted tongue modifying the previous vowel, especially *e* and *u*, as *fern*, *furnish*, taking the place of the rough Scotch *r* [apparently reverted (ʀ)].

The only point that has struck me in New Zealand as peculiar is the short *u* in *but*, *tub*, etc., which has a much more open sound than I have been accustomed to, approaching the *a* in *father*, but difficult to describe [between (ʌ) and (a)].

Throughout the schools a fair amount of attention is being paid to pronunciation, and I am told by the teachers that common errors eradicated in the lower classes, give very little trouble among the older children, and that the good habits formed in school are generally retained afterwards. I think, therefore, that we may hope for a very fair average pronunciation throughout the colony, which will compare favourably with that of any home district."

These conclusions are established in the following Table, itself a mere condensed abstract of many observations which it would be too lengthy to give in full. After the table will be found full explanatory notes relating to the separate entries and pronunciations.

## Comparative Table of Australasian Pronunciation

Containing the results of observations on the pron. of each particular school with different classes, examined where possible in every town visited. These results have been condensed, and the main features of each district only are given. Where the pron. is *normal*, i.e. *received* in England, no note is made except where it is contrary to colonial usage.

The arrangement of the table is as follows:

In the first column in each page is a numbered set of words used as types, in *Italics*, the different pron. as estimated by Mr. McBurney being added in pal. in separate lines below each type.

The seven other columns in each page refer to the districts examined, and each column is headed by an abbreviation of the name of the district referred to.

The seven columns on the left-hand page refer to districts or towns in Victoria, the first two relating to Melbourne. Mr. McBurney drew up a smaller table of observations in this colony in Gippsland, made in July, 1886, for the towns of Sale, Maffra, Stratford, Travalyon, Walhallal, Warragul, and afterwards Melbourne, Geelong, Ballarat, Castlemaine, and Sandhurst, which he had visited, or resided in, and examined. But this table is superseded by the left-hand page of the present one.

The last seven columns of the right-hand page contain notes of the two Australian colonies of Queensland and New South Wales, as represented by Brisbane and Sydney, and general observations in Tasmania, with particular observations in New Zealand, in which the districts examined were large, occasioning the necessity for marking variations. In the W., Na. (Wellington and Napier) column, notes inclosed in ( ) refer especially to Napier. In the Ne., Ch. (Nelson and Christchurch) column, notes in ( ) refer to Christchurch, but those in [ ] to other unnamed districts, and in the Sydney column notes in [ ] refer to similarly unnamed districts in New South Wales.

The notes shew about the proportion of those school children examined who used the pron. in the given line. As a rule boys and girls are taken indiscriminately, but are sometimes distinguished.

### *Notes used in the columns.*

B boys, G girls — boys and girls frequently vary much; in some cases the G were *finer*, as (E) for (æ), (*éeu*) for (á¹w), (*áai*, á¹*i*) for (*áhi*), in other cases they were broader.

*g* general or almost all, more than three-quarters.

*m* many or more than half.

*e* equal proportion, and hence if only one or two pron. are mentioned, half.

*s* some or several, but less than half.

*f* few, two or three, less than a quarter.

? doubtful if the proportion is rightly estimated.

..... indicates no note made, and serves to guide the eye across the page.

### *Contraction of names of places at the head of the columns, in alphabetical order.*

A. Auckland, New Zealand.
Ba. Ballarat, Victoria.
Br. Brisbane, Queensland.
Co. Collingwood, Me., Victoria.
Ch. Christchurch, New Zealand.
Dn. Dunedin, New Zealand.
Dy. Dunolly, Victoria.
F. Frankton, Victoria.
Ma. Maryborough, Victoria.
Me. Melbourne, Victoria.
Mo. Mornington, Victoria.
Na. Napier, New Zealand.
Ne. Nelson, New Zealand.
S. Sydney, New South Wales.
T. Tasmania, general.
W. Wellington, New Zealand.
Y. South Yarra, Me. Victoria.

| Types. | Y. | Co. | Mo. | F. | Dy. | Ma. | Ba. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *please* | | | | | | | |
| pliiz | ..... | *f* | ..... | *f* | *f* | *f* | ..... |
| 2. *here* | | | | | | | |
| híiɐ | *g* | *e* | *g* | *g* | *e* | *g* | *g* |
| *íi*ɐ | ..... | *e* | ..... | ..... | *e* | ..... | ..... |
| ʃia[1] | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ʀ | ..... | *f* | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 3. *simplicity* | | | | | | | |
| -i | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 4. *city* | | | | | | | |
| sit*i* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| sit*i*$_1$ | ..... | ..... | *f* | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| s*i*$_1$t*i*$_1$ | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 5. *new, tune* | | | | | | | |
| nuu, tuun | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 6. *day say* | | | | | | | |
| d*ee* d*éei* | *g* | *m* | B *e* | ..... | B *m* | B *e* | *e* |
| dé*i* | *f* | *s* | *e* | ..... | G *g* | *g* | *e* |
| dæɐ'*i* | ..... | ..... | G *g* | *g* | *s* | *f* | *f* |
| 7. *dare* | | | | | | | |
| déɐʀ | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| déɐr | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 8. *die* | | | | | | | |
| d*ái* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g m* |
| dʌ'*i* | ..... | *f* | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | *s* |
| 9. *my might* | | | | | | | |
| m*ái* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| m*ái* má[1]*it* | *f* | *f* | ..... | *f* | *f* | ..... | ..... |
| mʌ'*i* mʌ'*it* | ..... | *f* | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| m*ái* mə'*it* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 10. *no* | | | | | | | |
| n*oo* | *g* | *g* | *g* | B *g* | *e* | *e* | ʔ *g* |
| ná[1]*u* | ..... | ..... | ..... | G *m* | *e* | *e* | ..... |
| 11. *toe* | | | | | | | |
| t*oo* | B *g* | ..... | B *m* | ..... | ..... | *g* | *g* |
| tá[1]*u* | G *g* | ..... | G *g* | G *g* | G *g* | ..... | ..... |
| 12. *tore* | | | | | | | |
| tʌʌ | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| tʌʌ'ʊ(r) | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| tóoʊ(r) | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| t*ó*oɐ | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 13. *now, town* | | | | | | | |
| ée*u* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| æɐ'*u* | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | B ʔ *g* | ..... |
| áa[1]*u* | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| áu | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ə'*u* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 14. *woman* | | | | | | | |
| *u*$_o$ | ..... | ..... | *s* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 15. *pull* | | | | | | | |
| *u*$_o$ | *e* | B *g* | *f* | *f* | ..... | *s* | ..... |
| *u* | *e* | ..... | *g* | *g* | ..... | *m* | ..... |
| 16. *pool* | | | | | | | |
| pɔ'uul | *g* | *g* | *f* | *e* | *m* | *e* | *g* |
| puul | ..... | *f* | *g* | *e* | *s* | *e* | ..... |
| pul | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

| Types. | T. | Br. | S. | A. | W, Na. | Ne, Ch. | Dn. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *please* | | | | | | | |
| pliiz | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 2. *here* | | | | | | | |
| híiʊ | ʔ *e* | *e* | *e* | *m* | *s* | *e* | *g* |
| íiʊ | *e* | *e* | *e* | *s* | *m* | *s* | ..... |
| íia[1] | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *s* | ..... |
| R | ..... | ..... | ..... | *e* | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 3. *simplicity* | | | | | | | |
| -i | ..... | *g* | *m g* | *g* | *g* | *m* | *g* |
| 4. *city* | | | | | | | |
| siti | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| $siti_1$ | *f* | *f* | *f* | ..... | *f* | ..... | *f* |
| $si_1ti_1$ | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* |
| 5. *new, tune* | | | | | | | |
| nuu, tuun | *f* | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | *f* | *f* |
| 6. *day, say* | | | | | | | |
| dee déei | *e* | ʔ *e m* | *e* | B *g*, G *e* | [G] *m* | *g* | *g* |
| déei | *e* | *s* | *e* | *e* | *s* | G *s* | G *s* |
| dææ'i | *e* | *s* | *e* | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... |
| 7. *dare* | | | | | | | |
| déʊR | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* |
| déʊr | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* |
| 8. *die* | | | | | | | |
| dái | *s* | *g* | *g* | G *g* | G *m* | G *g* | see |
| dA'i | *m* | ..... | [*s*] | B *g* | B *m* | B *m* | note |
| 9. *my might* | | | | | | | |
| mái | *s* | ..... | *g* | G *s e* | *e* | G *e* | ..... |
| mái má[1]it | *s* | ..... | *s* | ..... | G *e* | G *m* | ..... |
| mA'i mA[1]it | *m* | ..... | [*s*] | G *m* | B *e* | B *m* | B *g* [G *s*] |
| mái mə'it | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | G *m* |
| 10. *no* | | | | | | | |
| noo | *m* | *g* | *e* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| ná[1]u | *s* | ..... | *e* | ..... | *f* | G *s* | ..... |
| 11. *toe* | | | | | | | |
| too | *m* | *s* | *s* | *s* | *f* | (*g*) *e* | *m* |
| tá[1]u | *s* | *m* | *m* | *m* | *g* | G *m* | *s* |
| 12. *tore* | | | | | | | |
| tAA | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *e* | *g* | ..... |
| tAA'ʊ(r) | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *e* | ..... | ..... |
| tóoʊ(r) | ʔ *s* | ..... | ʔ *s* | ..... | *e* | ..... | *g* |
| tóoʊ | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | B *m* |
| 13. *now, town* | | | | | | | |
| éeu | *g* | *e* | *g* | *s* | *m* | *m* | (ʔ G *m*) *f* |
| ææ'u | ..... | *e* | *f* | *s* | *s* | *e f* | *f* |
| áa[1]u | ..... | *e* | *f* | *s* | *f* | *e f* | (B) *m* |
| áu | ..... | ..... | ..... | *s* | *f* | *e f* | *s* |
| ə'u | ..... | ..... | ..... | *s* | *f* | *e f* | *s* |
| 14. *woman* | | | | | | | |
| $u_o$ | *f* | *f* | *s* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 15. *pull* | | | | | | | |
| $u_o$ | *s* | *s* | *s* | *f* | ..... | *f* | ..... |
| *u* | *m* | *g* | *m* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| 16. *pool* | | | | | | | |
| pə'uul | *e* | *e* | *m* | *f* | ..... | G *f* | ..... |
| puul | *e* | *e* | *s* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| pul | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* |

| Types. | Y. | Co. | Mo. | F. | Dy. | Ma. | Ba. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17. *rule* | | | | | | | |
| ruul | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *e* | *g* |
| réul | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *e* | *g* |
| 18. *food* | | | | | | | |
| fuud | ..... | ..... | ..... | | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| fud | ..... | ..... | ..... | *m* | ..... | *f* | ..... |
| fə'uud | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| 19. *law paw* | | | | | | | |
| pAA | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| pAA'ʊ | *f* | *f* | *f* | *f* | ..... | *f* | ..... |
| 20. *floor* | | | | | | | |
| flAA | ..... | ..... | *g* | ..... | *e* | ..... | *g* |
| flAA'ʊ | *g* | *g* | *f* | *g* | *m* | *g* | *g* |
| flóoʊ | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| flóoʊ | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| —R | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| —r | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 21. *poor* | | | | | | | |
| pAA | *e* | *g* | *e* | *e* | *e* | *e* | ..... |
| púuʊ | *e* | ..... | *e* | *e* | *e* | *e* | ..... |
| púuʊ | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| púuʊR | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 22. *pure* | | | | | | | |
| pJAA | *f* | *f* | *e* | *g* | ? *e* | *g* | ..... |
| pJúuʊ | *g* | *g* | *e* | ..... | *e* | ..... | ..... |
| pJúuʊR | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 23. *sure* | | | | | | | |
| shAA | ..... | ..... | *f* | .... | *g* | ..... | ..... |
| shúuʊ | ..... | ..... | *g* | ..... | ..... | *g* | *g* |
| shúuʊR | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 24. *more* | | | | | | | |
| mAA | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| moo | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| móoʊ | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| móoʊ | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| mAA'ʊR | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 25. *morning* | | | | | | | |
| mAA- | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| mAA'— | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| mAAR— | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 26. *dance* | | | | | | | |
| dEEns | *f* | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| dEns | *e* | *g* | *g* | *m* | *g* | *e* | G *g* |
| da$^{i}$ns | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| dæns | *e* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *e* | B *g* |
| 27. *hand* | | | | | | | |
| hEEnd | ..... | ..... | ..... | *g* | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| hEnd | ..... | *g* | *e* | *f* | ..... | B *m* | G *g* |
| hænd | ..... | ..... | *e* | ..... | ..... | *e* | B *g* |
| hand | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 28. *saw him* | | | | | | | |
| sAAjim | *g* | *g* | *g* | *e* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| sAA-r-im | ..... | *f* | ..... | *e* | *f* | *f* | ..... |
| sAA-R-im | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 29. *drawing* | | | | | | | |
| AAjiq | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| AA-r-iq | ..... | *f* | ..... | *f* | *f* | *f* | ..... |

| Types. | T. | Br. | S. | A. | W, Na. | Ne, Ch. | Dn. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17. *rule* | | | | | | | |
| ruul | *g* | *g* | *m* | *g* | *g* | *g* | ..... |
| rʊ́ul | *s* | ..... | *s* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 18. *food* | | | | | | | |
| fuud | ..... | *s* | *f* | *g* | *g* | (*g*) *m* | *g* |
| fud | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* | *f* | *f* | *f* |
| fə'uud | *m* | *m* | *g* | *f* | *f* | (*f*) *s* | ..... |
| 19. *law paw* | | | | | | | |
| pAA | *m g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | [*m*] *g* | *g* |
| pAA'ʊ | *s* | ..... | [*m*] *f* | *f* | *f* | [*s*] *f* | *f* |
| 20. *floor* | | | | | | | |
| flAA | *s* | *f* | [*m*] *e* | ..... | (*m*) *f* | *s* | ..... |
| flAA'ʊ | *m* | *m* | *e* | ..... | ..... | *m* | ..... |
| flóoʊ | ..... | ..... | ..... | *g* | *g* | ..... | *g* |
| flóoʊ | ..... | *f* [*s*] | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | ? |
| —R | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ? |
| —r | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 21. *poor* | | | | | | | |
| pAA | *s* | *f* | [*e*] *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| pʊ́uʊ | ..... | ..... | ..... | [B *s*] | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| pʊ́uʊ | *m* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | ..... | ..... |
| pʊ́uʊR | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | [*f*] *g* | *g* |
| 22. *pure* | | | | | | | |
| pJAA | *s* | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| pJʊ́uʊ | *m* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| pJʊ́uʊR | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | [*s*] | ..... |
| 23. *sure* | | | | | | | |
| shAA | *e* | *f* | *f s* | G *m* | *s* | ..... | ..... |
| shʊ́uʊ | *e* | *g* | *m* | B *m* | *m* | *g* | *g* |
| shʊ́uʊR | ..... | ..... | ..... | [*f*] | ..... | [*s*] | ..... |
| 24. *more* | | | | | | | |
| mAA | *g* | *g* | *g* | ..... | *g* | ..... | ..... |
| moo | *g* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| móoʊ | ..... | *g* | ..... | *g* | *g* | ..... | *g* |
| móoʊ | ..... | *f* | ..... | *g* | ..... | ..... | *g* |
| mAA'ʊR | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *g* | ..... |
| 25. *morning* | | | | | | | |
| mAA— | *g* | *g* | ..... | *g* | ..... | ..... | *g* |
| mAA'— | ..... | ..... | *g* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| mAAR— | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *g* | *g* |
| 26. *dance* | | | | | | | |
| dEEns | *m* | *f* | *m* | ..... | *s* | ..... | ..... |
| dEns | *f* | *s* | *s* | G *f* | ..... | ..... | *s* |
| dans (? a[1]) | *f* | *s* | *s* | G *g* | (*f*) *m* | *g* | ..... |
| dæns | *f* | *s* | *f* | B *g* | *s* | ..... | *m* |
| 27. *hand* | | | | | | | |
| hEEnd | *m* | *f* | *g* | ..... | ..... | *e* | ..... |
| hEnd | *f* | *s* | *f* | G *g* | *e* | *e* | *s* |
| hænd | *f* | *s* | *f* | B *g* | *e* | *s* | *m* |
| hand | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* |
| 28. *saw him* | | | | | | | |
| sAA)im | *m* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| sAA-r-im | *s f* | ..... | *f* | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... |
| sAA-R-im | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... |
| 29. *drawing* | | | | | | | |
| AA)iq | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| AA-r-iq | *f* | ..... | *f* | ..... | *f* | *f* | ..... |

| Types. | Y. | Co. | Mo. | F. | Dy. | Ma. | Ba. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30. *Ada has* | | | | | | | |
| dʊ̯hæz | *g* | *e* | *g* | *e* | ..... | ..... | G *g* |
| ʊ-r-æz | ..... | *e* | ..... | *e* | *f* | *f* | B *g* |
| ʊ-ʀ-æz | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 31. *idea of* | | | | | | | |
| a'idiiʊ̯ɔv | ..... | ..... | *g* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| —ʊ-r-ɔv | *g* | *g* | *f* | *g* | *g* | *g* | G B *g* |
| —ʊ-ʀ-ɔv | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 32. *pearls* | | | | | | | |
| pæɔlz | ..... | ..... | G *g* | ..... | .... | ..... | ..... |
| pərlz | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 33. *ferns* | | | | | | | |
| fœœnz | *g* | *g* | B *m* | *g* | *g* | *g* | ? *g* |
| 34. —*in*g | | | | | | | |
| —iq | *g* | *g* | *g* | ..... | *m* | ..... | ..... |
| —in | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... |
| 35. *anything* | | | | | | | |
| —thiq | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| —thiqk | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | *s* | *f* | ..... |
| 36. *dog* | | | | | | | |
| dɔg | *g* | G *g* | G *g* | G *g* | G *g* | *g* | *g* |
| dAAg | *f* | B *g* | B *s* | B *g* | B *g* | *f* | ..... |
| dɔhg | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 37. *H omitted* | *f* | *f* | *f* | *m* | *f* | *f* | ..... |
| 38. *wh*— | | | | | | | |
| wh— | ..... | *e* | G *g* | G *g* | *m* | ..... | ..... |
| w— | *g* | *e* | B *g* | B *g* | *f* | *s* | *g* |
| 39. *wet* | | | | | | | |
| wət | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... |
| 40. *s* | | | | | | | |
| th | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 41. *tub* | | | | | | | |
| tab | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 42. *water* | | | | | | | |
| ɔh | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 43. *star* | | | | | | | |
| ææ | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 44. *boy* | | | | | | | |
| *ói* | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

*Notes to the above Table.*

The numbers refer to the numbers of the word types. The columns are, when necessary, indicated by the initial letters at their head, the pronunciations referred to are given in palaeotype.

1. *please*, (pliiz) was only heard from a few children, and I think always in singing, when it is much easier to take (*ii*) than (ii). There was a line to say that *ee* was (ii) generally.

2. *here*, three sounds are entered, of which (iiʊ) seems the most popular, though (*iiʊ*) is not unfrequent. In rs. only (iiʊ) is acknowledged, but (*iiʊ*) is more frequent. The sound (iia[1], iia), which is given only in Ne. and Ch., is well known as either an affected or vulgar sound in London, as *heeah !* for *here !* from a "swell," who has a difficulty with his *r*'s. The appearance of reverted (ʀ), if rightly observed, here and in 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, is highly interesting,

| Types. | T. | Br. | S. | A. | W, Na. | Ne, Ch. | Du. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30. *Ada has* | | | | | | | |
| dæ)hæz | *s* | *g* | *m* | *g* | *g* | *m* | ..... |
| ɐ-r-æz | *m* | *f* | [*g*] *s* | ..... | *f* | *s* | ..... |
| ɐ-R-æz | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 31. *idea of* | | | | | | | |
| a'idíɐ)ɔv | *f* | ? *m* | ..... | *e* | *e* | *s* | *g* |
| —ɐ-r-ɔv | *g* | *s* | *g* | *e* | (*m*) *e* | [*g*] *m* | G *s* |
| —ɐ-R-ɔv | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 32. *pearls* | | | | | | | |
| pœœlz | *f* | *e* | *f* | ..... | *s* | ..... | ..... |
| pœRlz | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *e* | *m* |
| 33. *ferns* | | | | | | | |
| fœœnz | *m* | *e* | *g* | *g* | *g* | (*g*) *e* | G *m* |
| 34. *—ing* | | | | | | | |
| —iq | *m* | *m* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *g* |
| —in | *f* | *s* | *f* | ..... | *f* | [*m*] *f* | ..... |
| 35. *anything* | | | | | | | |
| —thiq | (?) *e* | ..... | ..... | ..... | *g* | ..... | ..... |
| —thiqk | (?) *e* | *f* | *f* | ..... | *f* | [*m*] *f* | *f* |
| 36. *dog* | | | | | | | |
| dɔg | *s* | *g* | *m* | *g* | *g* | *g* | *m* |
| dAAg | *m* | *f* | *f* | .... | *f* | B *m* | ..... |
| dɔhg | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | *e* |
| 37. *H omitted* | *m* | ? *f* | ? *f* | ..... | ? | ..... | ..... |
| 38. *wh—* | | | | | | | |
| wh— | *f* | *s* | *f s* | *f* | (G *g*) *e* | [*f*] *m* | G *g*, B *m* |
| w— | *m* | *m* | *m* | *g* | (B *g*) *e* | [*m*] *s* | B *s* |
| 39. *wet* | | | | | | | |
| wɔt | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 40. *s* | | | | | | | |
| th, | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* | B *s* | B *s f* | *f s* |
| 41. *tub* | | | | | | | |
| tab ta'b | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 42. *water* | | | | | | | |
| ɔh | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 43. *star* | | | | | | | |
| ææ | ..... | ..... | ..... | *f* | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 44. *boys* | | | | | | | |
| bóiz | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | (*f*) | ..... | ..... |

but is possibly due to some colonists from our D. 4 or 11. See note on 24 *floor*, col. Dn.

3. *symplicity* with final *y* as (-i, -ii) and not (-*i*). This was not tested by Mr. McB. till he came to Br., and there he found it very common in Br., S., A., W. and Na., Ne. and Ch., and Dn. His attention had been drawn to it by two Englishmen as a colonial peculiarity.

4. *city*. There is a schism among English speakers as to the pron. of the *i*, *y* in this word. My ($i_1$) here is used for a sound between (*i*, *e*), which I am loth to identify exactly with (*y*), the equivalent of the symbols Mr. M. Bell and Mr. McBurney use. Hence the observation on the great predominance of (*siti*) is interesting.

5. *new*, *tune*, the pron. (nuu tuun), which was found with comparative rarity by Mr. McB., is very common in London.

6. *say day* includes all the words usually having (*ee*) sounds, see p. 233, and forms one of the chiefly "cockney" tests, No. 3, in Mr. McB.'s article, p. 238. The sound given as (*ée*) in the table may be, Mr. McB. says, (EE'*i*) or

probably (ɛ'*i*). In England certainly the sounds so vary. Mr. McB. also gives from Ba. (dææ'i grɛɛ'ɛv) day grave, with (i), and in all cases long first elements. In England they are heard with the first element quite short, as (dɛ'*i*, dæ'*i*, dâ¹*i*, dâ*i*) as shewn in D. 16. Mr. McB. says the (*ee*) is purer in New Zealand, although the (ée*i*, ææ'*i*, ɛɛ'*i*) are still to be heard. In Napier Mr. McB. did not notice any strong tendency to make (*ee*) into (a'i), but two Scotch teachers there told him that the children used to be very bad, reading (dh*i* a'ikaan gra'uz on dh*i* sta'itli a'uk) the acorn grows on the stately oak.

7. *dare*, on the (ɛ) see 2.

8. *die*, under Dn. he notes ɢ seem to have more (â*i*), perhaps (â¹*i*), ʙ (*âai*). At Ba. the *g m* for (d*âi*) probably refer to different classes. The (d*âi*) of ɢ was frequently (daa'*i*) or (dah'*i*), Mr. McB. could not be sure which, but at any rate more (a'*i*) than (â*i*).

9. *my might* contrasts the treatment of (a'i) in open and close syllables, from which it appears that the latter generally have the finer sound.

10. *no*, and 11. *toe*. Mr. BcB. considers that the forms (nâ¹*u*, tâ¹*u*) which he wrote were uncertain, and that they may have been rather (â*u*) or something else. In *no, go, home* as a general rule it seems to be some form of (a'u); but in 11. *toe* there was generally a marked change, especially with ɢ.

12. *tore*. About final *r* see 2.

13. *now town*, this is another test diphthong (a'u), see No. 5, in Mr. McB.'s article, p. 238. The first element in (ée*u*) may be rather (ɛɛ), as in No. 6. *say day*. "In New Zealand," says Mr. McB., "this diphthong (a'u) was very varied. You never could guess how the next child would pronounce it, and (əə'*u*, *âau*, *âau*, â¹*u*, ææ'*u*, ɛɛ'*u*, ée*u*) I think were all to be heard, but not, or rarely, (óo*u*, *âhu*), which I have heard from Americans here [St. Francisco, Dec. 1887]. In New Zealand the (ææ'*u*, ée*u*) were not so marked as in Australia. They did not dwell on the first syllable with a drawl, but went rather quickly to the (*u*)." [In reference to this drawl Mr. McB. says: "A young intelligent American, who had travelled a good deal and walked 2000 miles through Europe, etc., told me that no Englishman could pronounce the *a* of *nasty* properly—*laugh fast*, etc.!!! He pronounced it (nææ,st*i*) to the best of my hearing, with a nasal (æ) well drawn out."] "The American [meaning the St. Franciscan] (a'u) is totally opposed to the colonial (ée*u*). I hear (hâa*us*, h*âau*s), and perhaps (hææ'*us*) around me, but nothing like our Australian (hɛɛ'*us*). I am so far utterly bewildered in my attempt to analyse and localise American pron. People from all parts of the States and every nationality are here, and I feel thoroughly in a foreign land. I have a difficulty in understanding the people, and they evidently in understanding my simplest questions." On the east side of the continent in the States of New York and Massachusetts the case would have been different.

14. *woman*, and 15. *pull*, with ($u_o$). I almost fear that Mr. McB. got his notion of ($u_o$) from my *Pronunciation for Singers*, where it is written [ù] in glossic and described as the result of "giving the tongue a mid-back position and rounding the lips as for (u)." This I have subsequently found to be slightly in error, the tongue is still high-back as for (*u*), and the lips are placed as for (oo). See the introduction to the M. div., where it is fully considered. Hence I do not feel sure about this vowel, and it may be ($u_1$) rather than ($u_o$). To find this peculiar transitional vowel ($u_o$) in Australia is more than could be expected, although according to TH. it exists n. of the s. *sööm* line 2 in the n. of Cb. Hu. and Nf. in the E. div., but quite out of ken of London.

16. *pool* (pə'uul) and 18. *food* (fə'uud). Mr. McB. writes the sound (œ'u) with (œ) short but accented, for which I have substituted (ə), which is the finer form of (œ). He says that it is common in Australia, especially in the word *food* (although not in all *oo* words), and was very marked in a Paramatta school (Sydney), but almost disappears in New Zealand, and becomes replaced by (f*u*d) or (fud). This shortened form is not unfamiliar to me in London. The longer form (ə'uu) I suspect to be one of the forms of my (œ'u) discussed in the introduction to M. div., which seems to have generated the Nf. ($y_1$). In its mildest form I hear it not unfrequently in London, especially in the words *too, afternoon*, where it is apt to generate (iu). At Ba. Mr.

McB. notes (féuud) singing in a large collective class. The sound is always difficult to analyse and necessarily unstable.

17. *rule* (rɛ'ul), and hence one of the forms of (a'u) in place of (íu). The form is remarkable, and does not occur very widely. I do not know it in England, but (ríuul) is common.

18. *food*, see note on 16.

19. *paw*, the only thing to be noted is the form (pAA'ɐ), which immediately suggests, perhaps occasions, a euphonic (r) as in 29. *drawing*.

20. *floor*, here we have both (flAA, flAA'ɐ), where instead of (ɐ) having been developed from the (AA), the latter was obtained by throwing off an (ɐ), which replaced an (r), probably through (ʀ), which still occurs occ. At Dn. Mr. McB. notes "final *r* throughout (ʀ, r, ɐ), each from several speakers." We have similar cases in Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24.

21. *poor*, the pron. (pAA) is known in London. The title of Mr. Burnand's burlesque of (pAA :klAA·diɐn), poor Claudian, written *paw Claudian*, was, however, little understood, and had to be explained in the newspapers.

24. *more*, 25. *morning*. Mr. McB. says "final (r) or (ʀ) is common, especially in Dn., and the difference between *more* and *morn*, *oar* and *aur* and *au*, is quite distinct, while they are almost indistinguishable in Australia and Tasmania. In Ne. district final (ʀ) was very marked with a peculiar vowel preceding, perhaps *u* in *fur*, *pearl*. I have heard it before from Birmingham and elsewhere." This may have been merely (ɐ) as modified by the following (ʀ).

26. *dance*, 27. *hand*, both (ɛ) and (æ) were frequently nasalised in the colonies, as (dɛ‿ns dæ‿ns, hɛ‿nd hæ‿nd), but the two words belong to entirely different categories, *dance* is French and *hand* Ws., though the (n) has affected both alike.

28 to 31 are cases of inserted euphonic (r) which may be (ʀ), the insertion of (r, r$_o$) is regular at many places in the E. div. and often heard in London.

32. *pearls*, 33. *ferns*. Mr. McB. has apparently appreciated the two vowels differently, but they may be only two different attempts to figure the same vowel. Probably I should have written (pəəlz fəənz) or (pəʀlz, fəʀnz) as he writes for the first at Ne. and Dn.

34. *-ing*, and 35. *anything*. Mr. McB. did not hear (-in, -thiqk) himself, but took it on trust from the teachers in Ba., who gave both as used by several.

36. *dog*, 42. *water*, the writing (dɔhg) is rather an uncertain attempt to symbolise the sound heard. Mr. McB. calls it "an open *o* in *hot dog*, and sometimes also in *water*—like the Irish and American." He thinks it must be (ɔh), and says "it is quite a marked difference." It approaches (a), and he was about to write it (â$^1$) at first.

37. *H omitted*, as he heard in singing *God save the Queen* at Ba., "on 'er be pleased to pour."

39. *wet*, written in the table [e+u] glossic. But Mr. McB. says: "In some cases it seemed to lie between (e, a), perhaps (wa$^1$t), at another between (e, ə), perhaps (wət), as his 'Scotch car,'" he says, "inclines, perhaps, to the broad (ɑ) for (ə)." But I know no such English sound for *wet*.

40. *s* (th$_{/\!/}$), Mr. McB. says: "A peculiarity in the *s* struck me frequently in New Zealand, which I write *s'* but without certainty. The natives have no *s*, and they also produce frequently a strange *s* more approaching (sh), while the other *s'* approaches (th)." I have therefore written (th$_{/\!/}$), the symbol for the Spanish *z*, which becomes (s) in Spanish America. He goes on to say, "The Maori *o* is, I think, in reality (o). The *t* = (‿t) or (‿‿t) generally, although some districts have the English (t). *wh* was at times decidedly (t), and at times, I think, a lip *-f*" = (ph). Although, as he says, this is *not* English dialect, it is worth preserving.

41. *tub*. "The u of *tub* struck me as very open, almost (a), in a large area of New Zealand, probably (a$^1$), as (ra$^1$b ɐ da$^1$b), rub a dub." The Germans find our *u* in *tub* the nearest approach to their *a* in *mann* (man), and so, possibly, they hit this sound in saying *tub*.

42. *water*, see note on 36.

43. *star*. "A strange (a) was to be heard in Auckland. The boys calling the *Evening Star* shouted out *sta* . . . , perhaps (stæææ). It had a strange effect."

44. *boy*, *voice*. "*oy* most unfortunately escaped my notice, I know not how, but I have not heard anything

peculiar except in rare cases. Two teachers (Scotch) in Na. said it was habitually pronounced (*óoi*), as (b*óoiz* v*óoisiz*), boys' voices. I have noticed (*óoi*) but rarely."

This examination, conducted entirely by one man over such a large range of country, is entirely unprecedented, and furnishes the first trustworthy account that has been rendered of Australasian English. Mr. McBurney is a Glasgow man, but his parents belonged to Dumfries and Edinburgh; he lived in the Isle of Man for some years, and on his voyage to Australia studied Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, and, subsequently, my *Pronunciation for Singers*, adopting my glossic-writing in his reports, as most convenient for writing and pointing. This phonetic training was, of course, indispensable, and adds much weight to his testimony. I feel under great obligations to Mr. McBurney for his kindness in enabling me thus unexpectedly to complete my account of South-Eastern pronunciation.

## D 18 = NE. = North Eastern, so called in opposition to D 17 = SE.

*Boundaries.* Begin at the sw. angle of Rt., near Rockingham, Np. Go ene. across Np. s. of King's Cliffe to the nw. angle of Hu., near Wansford, Np. Pass along the b. of Hu. to Peterborough (in the map, the line has been accidentally drawn a little s. of this border). Go all round Cb. to the ne. angle of Np., then proceed along the n. b. of Np. to the entrance of the inlet of Li. containing Stamford. Cut across that inlet to the opposite point of Rt., and then pass round Rt. to the starting-point.

*Area.* The whole of Cb. and Rt., ne. Np., and the Stamford inlet of Li.

*Authorities.*—See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in systematic spelling, ° in io.

*Cb.* *general (Mr. Perkins, Prof. Skeat), †Cambridge, †°Chatteris, †Ely, °Haddenham, °†March, †Sawston, †Shelford, °Soham, †Whittlesford, †Willingham, °†Wisbech, *°Wood Ditton.

*Li.* †Stamford.

*Np.* †Ailesworth, †Castor, †Eye, †Peakirk, *†Peterborough, †Rockingham, †Wakerley, †Werrington, †Wryde.

*Rt.* *Cottesmore (:kɔtɹmóoʊ), °Empingham, *Oakham, °Stretton, °Uppingham, °Whitwell.

*Character.* It is curious that Cb. differs from Hu., especially in the A- words, which are no longer (éi) as a rule, though of course there are exceptions near the b. of Hu., Bd., Ht., and Es., but are simple (*ee*), and this is also frequently the case for the ÆG, EG words, though these more frequently admit of (ɛɛ'*i*), or some such form. This astonished me very much when I first became aware of it, but it is an evident approximation to Nf. and Sf., across both of which Cb. lies.[1] The A′ words have also (*oo*) rather than (*óu*, *óou*).

[1] It is, however, not quite uniform. TH. noted at Willingham (8 n.Cambridge), (dɛ"i rɛ"in, téib'l mɛ"ɛstʊ) day rain table master, at Wisbech (dɛ"i) day, at Ely (strɛ'*it*, pl*éis*, wêi, m*eed*, *ee*, kɹéiz) straight, place, way, made, letter A, because, and at Cambridge (ɛ'int) is-not?

The U′ words take the general E. form (ᴇ′*u*) or thereabouts. The U, however, changes, for the n. *sum* line 1 runs across the n. part of Cb. in a straight line from Sawtry, Hu. (9 nnw.Huntingdon), to just n. of Ramsey, Hu., and s. of March, Cb. (12 nnw.Ely), and then, turning suddenly northwards, passes just w. of Wisbech and proceeds to the ne. point of Cb., whence it pursues the b. of Nf. to the sea. All n. of this line is therefore in the *sŏŏm* region. But the s. *sŏŏm* line passes from Hu., goes s. of Ramsey, Hu., and passes between Chatteris (9 nw.Ely) and Ely, then passing ne. to Downham Market, Nf. (6 s.King's Lynn). The intervening part of Cb. is therefore in the mixed region, so that s. of the s. *sŏŏm* line we have pure (ə, ɜ), in the mixed region (ə, ɜ, $u_o$, o) and other intermediate forms, and in the n. part pure ($u_o$). But this seems to have no effect upon the rest of the dialect.

Remembering this, I was struck by the great resemblance of Rt. to Cb. pron. There are the same A- (*ee*), A′ (*oo*), I′ (*ái*, ᴀ′*i*), the same U′ (ᴇ′*u*). On the extreme of Rt. I noticed a slight tinge of M. in the use of (*shéi*) for (shii), as I had found in E. Haddon, Np., D 16, p. 213). This satisfied me that the portion of Np. intervening between Cb. and Rt. must present the same peculiarities. But my information from this region was far too scanty for me to judge till TH. at Easter, 1886, took a rapid phonetic survey of the country, and finding there the Rt. characters, I included it in D 18.

Cb. has many usages like those of the adjacent Nf. and Sf., such as 'together' as an address to several persons; 'come to mine,' that is, my house, 'he do' for he does. Also the words 'to do' are frequently (tíu díu), which is half-way to (tíy$_1$ díy$_1$), which will be considered in D 19. These do not appear to occur in ne. Np. and Rt. Hence we must distinguish three varieties, Var. i. Cb., Var. ii. ne.Np., Var. iii. Rt.

### Var. i. Mid Cambridgeshire dt.

pal. in 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. John Perkins, of Downing College, Cambridge, who was very familiar with the peasant speech, but he could assign no particular locality.

1. s*oo á*i sᴇ, meets, jᴇ′u sii nᴇ′u dhæt *ái*)m r*ái*t vbᴇ′*u*t dhæt l*i*t'l gæl kɜm*i*n frɜm dhɜ skuul h*i*ndɜ.

2. shi)z ɜ)go·*i*n dᴇ′*u*n dhɜ r*oo*d dhêɜ, thr*i*u dhɜ red gᴇ′ɜt ɔn dhɜ left hand s*ái*d ɜ)dhɜ wee.

3. shûɜr ɜnə·f dhɜ tʒ*ái*ld)z gan street ɜp tɜ dhɜ dɔ′ɜr ɜ)dhɜ rɔq hᴇ′*u*s,

4. wêɜ shi)l bi shûɜ tɜ f*ái*nd dhæt def w*i*z'nd félɜ ɜ)dhɜ neem ɜ :tɔmɔs, dhæt)s ɔlɔs t*ái*t ɜz ɜ drɔm.

5. we aal n*oo i*m vᴇr$_o$*i* wᴇl.

6. w*oo*nt dhi ó*u*d tʒæp suun tiitʒ [laan] ɜ nɔt tɜ duu *i*t [d*i*u)t] ɜgᴇ·n.

7. l*u*k! *ee*nt *i*t truu.

*Notes to m. Cambridgeshire* dt.

1. *so*, noted as usual pron.—*mates*, no vanish noted here or in other cases. —*yonder*, the aspirate is not usually dropped, but often wrongly inserted.
3. *child*, pl. (tɟildʊn).
4. *wizened*, the word *shrivelled* not in use, the use of (shr-) seemed uncertain. Mr. P. gave (shrimps srimps, ram srab, shruu mɛ'us, sragd) shrimps, rum shrub, shrew mouse, shrugged.—*that is always tight as a drum*, the people object to the word *drunk*.
6. *teach*, 'learn' is much more usual.

## s.Cb., Sawston (6 sse.Cambridge), dt.

pal. in 1879 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. John Mullett, native, 18, and 3 years latterly in Nt., son of the foreman to a paper mill.

1. náu *ái* see, meetiz, jɑ'u sì *ái* wʊr$_{\circ}$ *ráit* ʊbáut dhat lit'l gjal ʊkɑ·mín frʊm jon skuul.
2. shi)z ʊgu·in dáun dhʊ rood dhéʊ thruu dhat rɛd gjeet ʊ)dhʊ lɛft and sáid.
3. wái dhʊ tɟaild)z gon strɛ'it tʊ)dhʊ dóʊ ʊ)dhʊ rɔq áus,
4. wɛ'ʊ shi)l praps fáind dhat óud drɔqk'n dɛf laqki tɟap ʊv)ʊ :tɔmʊz.
5. ju aal noo)im wɛl ʊnə·f.
6. ònt dh)óud tɟap suun tiitɟ)ʊr nɔt tʊ du)it ʊgjɛ'n, póʊ thiq.
7. lʊk jʊ! it)s ráit, jʊ sii.

*Notes to Sawston* dt.

1. *now*, the diphthong (áu) is very doubtful. It most probably should be (ɛ'u) as in the surrounding districts.—*say*, no vanish written.—*that*, the (a) for (æ) is doubtful, and may have been a slip here and elsewhere.
5. *road*, observe the absence of vanish.
6. *won't*, the absence of (w) is noticeable.—*old*, the absence of (l) is suspicions.

## se.Cb., Wood Ditton (3 ssc.Newmarket, 13 e.Cambridge, on the b. of Sf.), dt.

pal. in 1879 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Walker, native, daughter of the then vicar.

1. nɛ'u ɑ'i diú see, tʊge·dhʊ, jə'u sii nɛ'u ɑ'i bi rɑ'it ʊbɛ'ut dhæt éeʊ lit'l gɛl [mɑdhʊ] kɛmʊn frʊm dhæt éeʊ skiúl [dhʊ skiúl jəndʊ, hindʊ].
2. shi bi goo·in dɛ'un dhʊ rod dhéʊ, thriú dhʊ red gáit on dhʊ left hæn sɑ'id ʊ)dhʊ rod.
3. shiúʊ ʊnɛ'u dhæt tɟɑ'ild)z [dhʊ lit'l ʊn)z] gòn strɑ'it [rɑ'it] ɜp tʊ dhʊ dóʊ ʊ)dhʊ roq hɛ'us,
4. wêʊ shi)l hæp'n fɑ'ind dhæt drɜqk'n dif wiz'nd fɛlʊ, ʊ)dhʊ nêʊm ʊ :tɜməs.
5. wi aal noo ʊm wɛl ʊnɛ'u [wɛr$_{\circ}$i wɛl].
6. oont dhʊ ool tɟæp siún teetɟ [laan] shi not tʊ diú dhæt ʊgi·n, pôʊ thiq!
7. lʊk, tʊge·dhʊ, beent it triú.

*Notes to Wood Ditton* dt.

1. *now I say*, (soo) as it is called would not be used here, they (siú a drɛs ʊn *sóou* dhʊ kɔr₀'n) they sew a dress and sow the corn.—*together*, the regular address in Cb. to more than one, (meets) is also used.—*I be*, 'I am' is also used, 'thou' is not in use.—*girl*, *mauther*, the latter word imported from Sf., *wench* is not used. —*that there school* is the usual phrase.

2. *road*, with a short vowel certainly, but doubtful if (o) or (ɔ).—*gate* clearly dictated as (gáit), possibly due to adjacent Sf., but (gêʊt) is also used. —*of the road* or (wee) way.

3. *enow*, 'enough' is never used.—*door*, they say (pɜ'*u*ʊ, fɜ'uʊ) pour, four.

4. *happen*, used for 'it may happen,' perhaps.—*find*, the (A'*i*) was dictated clearly throughout, (ʊ sA'*it* ʊ piip'l) a sight, great number, of people.—*name*, also pronounced (nææ'*i*m). The alternative forms (gêʊt ga'it, nêʊm nææ'*i*m) recall the succession of (e'*i*) to (éʊ) observed in Ht. (p. 196 *d*).

5. *very well*, given as an alternative, is the only example of (w) for (v) I have found in Cb., and it may be like *mawther*, an importation from Sf.

6. *teach she* for *her* is a suspicious S. form.

Miss Walker also dictated the following sentences and words:

1. (h*i*ndʊ b*ii* ʊ dɛ'*u*), yonder is a dove.
2. (wɛ'ʊ ʊ ɟ*óu* ʊ g*oo*·*i*n tíú, bɔ ?), where are you going to, bo? [lad, man, a Sf. word].
3. (A'*i* bi glad tiú sii shii), I be glad to see she.
4. (hɛ*u* shi ·diú grA'h), how she *do* grow, with an amount of wind following, like a guttural.
5. (diú ɟɜ'*u* goo ʊwee·, doont ækt soo fíuul*i*sh), do you go away, don't act so foolish.
6. (shi)z dhæt bæd), she is so ill.
7. (tʊ kop), to throw, (m*i*z'n, miis), mice, the latter rare, (peez 'n beenz), peas and beans, (tɜmʊts), turnips, (wɔz'l), wurzel, (fɜst, bɜst), first, burst, (k*i*dɟd), only convalescent, in Nf. brisk.

## n.Cb., March (12 nnw.Ely), dt.

by the Rev. J. W. Green, Rector, pal. by AJE. from his notes; the words in [ ] were marked rp. and are retained in ordinary spelling, as the exact pron. intended could not be assigned.

1. [so I say, mates,] ɟə'*u* [see now that I am] r₀*ái*t [about that little] gæl kəm*i*n fr₀ʊm [the] skiúl ɟ*i*ndʊr₀.
2. shi biz g*oo*·*i*n [down the] r*óo*ʊd dhaar₀ [through the red gate on the left] hænd [side of the way].
3. [sure] ʊníu [the] tɟ*ái*ld hez [gone] strá*i*t *u*p tiú [the] d*óo*ʊr₀ [of the] r₀əqg [house].
4. waar₀ shi)l tɟæntɟ [to find that] dr₀əqk'n [deaf] dr₀*i*z'nd felʊ [of the name of Thomas].
5. [we all] n*oo* [him] vær₀*i* [well].
6. uunt [the old chap soon teach her not] tíu díu [it] gin, p*óo*ʊr₀ th*i*q!
7. lək, iint [it] tríu?

*Notes to March* dt.

1. *you*, rh. *now*.—*right*, "the tip of the tongue is merely raised," this must be ($r_o$) in all cases before a vowel, otherwise it is probably omitted; hence as the Rector always wrote the *r*, I have inserted ($r_o$) always.—*coming*, "first syllable as in *hum*, second sounded *in*."—*school*, "pronounced *skewl* as in *skewer*."—*yonder* "*yin* is the word used, and *yinder*."

2. *She is*, "*be* is mostly used, *she bees*."—*going*, "*a* is prefixed when the first person is used before it, as *I'm a goin*."—*road* "roh-ud."—*there*, rh. *tar*.

3. *enough*, "one form *enew* always used."—*child*, "the vowel 'i' has a diphthongal sound as if *ei* 'cheild.'" I have taken the (*ái*) from TH.'s observations at March.—*has*, 'hez' as in 'fez,' 'have' as in 'heav-en.'"—*straight*, "*ai* as in the Greek diphthong *αι*," as pronounced in England.—*up*, "vowel as in *full*." Mr. Green marked the following words as having *u* in d*u*ll (ə), us husband dust love dove above hunger tongue sun under but butter *up* cup jump gun tumble thunder, and with *u* in full (*u*) bullock full. Thus he gave *up* differently in the list and the dt.—*to* "as in *tew*."—*door* "as in *oar*."—*wrong* "sounded with double *gg*, and the vowel as in *rung*."—*house*, "and *home* are not commonly used, the pronoun ours, yours, mine, being commonly employed alone, as 'come to mine,' instead of 'my house.'"

4. *where*, "*h* not pronounced, the vowel sounded as in *far*."—*she'll*, "if emphatic sounded as *wul*" (wəl).—*chance*, pr. *chanch*.—*drunken*, "*dr* sounded with the tongue against the teeth, *u* as in sunk;" this dental *dr* must apparently be an error.—*shrivelled*, "the word used is *drizzend*; *shr* is sounded in words of that beginning."

5. *know*, 'we know' is the form used, vowel as in *over*.—*very*, "like *Harry*," this is a very remarkable form.

6. *teach*, "*learn*, used instead of *teach*, is pronounced *larn*" ($lar_on$, laan).—*poor*, "as in *oar*."—*thing*, "sometimes *k* instead of *g*, and sometimes *g* dropped, *somethin*, *anythink*."

7. *look* "as in luck."—*isn't* "as *ēēnt*."—*true* "as *treuw*."

The treatment of U from the account of the Rector (except in the word *up* in the dt.) appeared to be the same as in rs. But TH. on visits made with the express purpose of verifying this point in 1881 and 1882, found generally ($u_o$) for short *u* and short *o* treated as *u*, as in tumble stumble thunder gun up sun jump pump cup tub jug mutton some son crumbs couple another colour supper other sum duck brother ($mu_onu$) [mustn't] honey monkey trumpet plunder run stomach. Once he got (o) in each of the words *tu*mble, c*u*p, c*o*lour, *o*thers, and once a vowel between ($u_o$, o) in *onion* ($u_onjun$). Hence I have placed March on the n. *sum* line 1 itself.

With regard to other sounds TH. found *ai*, *ay* = (*ee*) in way day say, with no vanish.

*i*, *y* long = (*ái*) in die while time behind.

*o* long, *o-e*, *ow* generally (*oo*) without vanish.

*ou* and *ow* generally (E'u), sometimes (ə'u), and sometimes an intermediate diphthong.

## ne.Cb., Wisbech, cwl.

Herbert J. Little, Esq., of Wisbech (:w*i*zb*i*tɟ), kindly filled up one of my old wl. He marked by far the majority of the words as having rp., and only those which follow had any indication of a dialectal change, except such minor points as *w* for *wh*, *g* and *k* omitted in *g*naw, *k*now, *k*nead, etc., which are not distinctive. These now follow in the order of the cwl.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 14 drAA+r [before a following vowel]. 33 *ee*dhu. 36 th*oo*. A: 47 wandu. 54 want. A': 102 æks. 105 *ri*d. 115 hom. 118 bən. 123 nathiq [? nA-]. 124 stən. 133 rit. Æ- 144 ugi·n. Æ: 155 thæk. 173 wAA. 118 pæd. Æ': 218 ship. E- 233 speek. 236 *fee*vu. 248 maa. E: 265 stra'it. 270 belez. 272 elum. 273 min. E': 306 ha'ith.

314 hîʊd. 316 neks. EA- 319 gaap. EA: 323 *foot*. 324 a'it. EA': 355 diif. 366 gret. 370 rîʊ [written *rear*]. EO- 386 ɹa'u. EO: 389 ɹelk. 396 wək. 397 sûʊd. 400 éɛnest. 402 laan. 406 êʊth [written *airth*]. 407 faad'n. EO': 434 bet. I- 441 siv. 442 a'ivʊri [written *ivory*]. O: 537 ma'uld. U- [where rp. was especially marked, the word is given in Italics in ordinary spelling]. 600 *love* [a very slight approximation of the *o* to (*u*), scarcely perceptible; this expression must refer to one of the sounds intermediate to (ə, u)]. 603 *come* [very slight approximation to (*u*)]. 605 *son* [rp.]. 607 *butter* [rp.]. U: [where rp. was especially marked, the word is given in Italics in ordinary spelling]. 608 *ugly* [very slight approximation to (*u*)]. 612 *some* [very slight approximation to (*u*)]. 618 wa'und. 625 *tongue* [rp.]. 626 *hunger* [*u* approximates slightly to (*u*), not (huuqgʊ)]. 629 *sun* [slight approximation to (*u*)]. 630 *won* [slight approximation to (*u*)]. 631 *Thursday* [rp.]. 632 *up* [rp.]. 633 *cup* [rp.]. 635 wəth. 636 fədʊ. 637 təsh təsh. 639 *dust* [rp.]. U'- 653 *but* [rp.]. U': 662 *us* [rp.]. 666 *husband* [the *u* approaches (*u*) sometimes]. Y: 684 brig. 685 rig. 688 bíuld [written *beuld*]. 696 bəth. 697 biuri [written *bewry*]. 700 wəs. 701 fəst.

II. English.

O. 767 na'iz. 769 məl. 790 ga'und. U. 808 *put* [rp.].

III. Romance.

E·· 892 nevi. I·· *and* Y·· 910 dɹa'ist. O·· 916 iqɹʊn [written *ingyon*]. 919 a'intmʊnt. 920 pa'int. 923 ma'ist. 924 tɹa'is. 925 va'is. 926 spa'il. 947 ba'il. U·· 965 a'il. 968 a'istʊ.

*Usages.* I am, I are, we you they are, I be, I is [this must be imported], they is, he do, he live there, I am a-going.

*Note to Wisbech* cwl.

Mr. Little says: "In a district like this, with very little dialect proper, one has to consider whether individual peculiarities are not often due to some connection with either Norfolk or Lincolnshire, which approach so very closely, and which have distinct modes of speech. I was much influenced by this consideration. I therefore dwelled (mentally) as much as possible on the speech of a typical labourer or two of my acquaintance, rather than marked the numerous peculiarities of those who, in my opinion, or to my knowledge, had borrowed accidentally from our neighbours." Mr. Little, however, kindly went once more over the words which have (*u*, ə) in rs., and the result is given under U- U: U'- U':. Here he frequently recognises a tendency of (ə) to pass, more or less, generally slightly into (*u*) and the consequent occ. generation of (o), see No. 637 *tusk*. This is the distinctive mark of the mixed area, in which therefore Wisbech is situate, the n. *sum* line passing just above it. TH., who visited Wisbech in 1882, must have fallen in chiefly with those who in Mr. Little's opinion were affected by neighbouring Li. and Nf., both of which have ($u_o$), Wisbech being wedged between them, so that it could scarcely keep an (ə) in the younger generation. Thus from a boy of 13, a native, TH. heard ($u_o$) in jump [with at one time a blending of (o, ə)], pump, cup, tub, jug, tumble, mutton, sun, son, duck, crumbs; but in *some* he heard a mixture of ($u_o$, ə) and in *colour* a mixture of (o, ə) while in *couple* the sound was completely (o). From a man of 39, a native, he heard ($u_o$) in jump, cup, mutton, some, sun, son, duck, couple, crumb, but a mixture of ($u_o$, o) in tumble, and complete (o) in pump, tub, jug, colour. The phenomenon was almost the same at Chatteris, which is 15 ssw. Wisbech, and hence not exposed to the Li. action, and is 9 m. from the Nf. b. Here TH. from a native, a roadman of 73, noted ($u_o$) in nothing, tub, some, crush, wonderful; but also (ə) in nothing, just, a mixture of ($u_o$, o) in jump, cup, and of (o, ə) in crumble, crumbs, crumbly, but pure (o) in jug, tumble, mutton, gruffer, couple, colour, sun, son, scholar, and so on from others, shewing that Chatteris is in the mixed region, but just at the limit of ($u_o$).

Mr. Little says that "the fen country generally is the home of pure speech, by which I mean, of language but little differing from the ordinary literary English." It is an opinion held by many that "received speech is pure, and dialectal speech impure," forgetting that received speech has been highly "doctored" in the course of ages from some form of dialectal hereditary speech, and hence is really the impurest possible form of speech. Received English, however, probably descended from E. speech, especially the inland variety, and that would account for the marked resemblance between the two.

VAR. ii., ne. NORTHAMPTON cwl. containing:

Pt Peterborough, wn. by TH. at Peterborough and Werrington in 1881-2.
Pe those observed by AJE. from Miss Furness, student at Whitelands, and the following wn. by TH. at Easter, 1886.
A Ailesworth (5 w. Peterborough).
C Castor (4½ w. P.).
E Eye (3 ne. P.).
P Peakirk (5½ n-by-w. P.).
R Rockingham (8 n. Kettering).
S Stamford, Li., from a Rutland man.
Wak Wakerley (15 w. P.).
Wer Werrington (3½ nnw. P.).
Wr Wryde, in parish of Thorney, Cb. (9 ene. P.).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 PWr b*ee*k. 8 ARE EV. 18 P kj*ee*k. 20 PPc l*ee*m (with no vanish). 21 WakEPWrS n*ee*m. A: *or* O: 58 A thrəm. 60 AWerP l*u*ₒq. 64 ARWr rəq, WakEWerS r*u*ₒq, R r*u*q, EP roq. A'- 69 WakREP n*oo*. 74 C t*ú*u tuu, R tuu. 76 Pe tood. 81 WakR l*ee*n. 82 A w*u*ₒns. 86 Wer *oo*ts, AEPWr *ò*ts, CE *ó*nts. 92 E n*oo*z. 93 AWak sn*oo*, P sn*ôu*. A': 104 AWak r*oo*d. 115 CP *ôu*m, AWakREWerWr *oo*m, Pt *ò*m, CPt *ôu*m, P *ôₒu*m. 117 C WA'n. 118 Wak b*oo*n. 122 WakREP n*ò*. 124 WakP st*oo*n.

Æ- 138 AWakREWerPWr faadhʊ. 142 APWakE sn*ee*l. 152 ARE WAATʊ. Æ: 162 CA d*ê*i, AWakREWerP d*ee*. 172 Wak GRES, RE GRAS. 181 Wak pad. Æ'- 197 CAEPWr tjiiz. 200 CREPWr wìt, AEP wiit. Æ': 209 WakPE n*i*vʊ. 223 CWakREP dh*ê*ʊ. 224 REP wîʊ+r, E wêʊ WE'ʊ.

E- 233 CWakREWerP sp*ee*k, A sp*ě*k, RP spiik. 241 C r*ê*in, AR r*ee*n. 243 S pl*ee*·in. E: 261 A SE', WakREP s*ee*, R sii, E see. 262 WakREWerPWr w*ee*, E wee. 263 P ʊw*ee*, S ʊwêi. 278 A WENtjʊz. E'- 290 AREPWr ì. 292 R m*ii*. 299 WakREWerPWr griin. E': 314 A ə'ˌˌrd, E EˌˌLrd, WakREP îʊd, R əəd.

EA: 322 WakREPPtWr l*à*f. 324 EP E'*it*. 326 WakREP *óu*ld. 328 Wer k*óu*ld. 335 A AAl. 338 A KAAl*i*n. EA'- 347 AWakEPWr ɛ̀d, R ɛ̀d, Pt. E'*i*d. EA': 361 AWakEWer biin. 366 WakPWr gr*ee*t, E GREt. EO: 394 C JəndʊW, Wer JondʊW, AEWak JəndʊW. 395 ARWerP J*u*ₒq. 402 Wak la'ˌrn*i*ˌn, REP lə̀ən, E Wer laan. EO'- 411 C thrii. 412 R shi, EPWr shì. EO': 428 A sii. 437 Wak tr*i*uth, PWr tr*i*ˌuth. EY- 438 RE d*ái*, WakWer [between] dA"i d*ái*, P dA"i d*ái*.

I: 458 WakREWerP n*ái*t, Wr nə'*it*. 465 WakES s*i*tʒ. I'- — [name of the letter] A *ái*, Pe ɐ'*i*. 494 P tA"*i*m, WakEPWr t*ái*m. I': 500 AWakE l*ái*k.

O: — Pe sr*u*ₒb [shrub, shr- never used]. 531 CAREWerPWr dAATʊ. O'- 555 AEP shuu. 559 PE mAdhʊ, A [between] mAdhʊ modhʊ, E modhʊ, Pt mədhʊ, Wr mədhʊ. 562 WakREWerPWr muun. 564 P suun. 568 AR

br*u*$_o$dhʊ. O′: 579 WakE ʊn*u*$_o$f, Pe ʊniú. 587 WakREP dù̀n, Wr dù$_o$n. 588 WakREWerPWr nuun.

U- 605 WakREWerPS sù$_o$n. 606 AWakREWerP dóʊ+r. 607 R bu$_o$tʊ. U: — P t*u*$_o$mb'l [tumble]. 629 Wer s*u*$_o$n. 632 AWakRPS *u*$_o$p. 633 Wr k*u*$_o$p. U′- 641 A ɛ''*u*, Wr ə′*u*. 643 AE nâ*u*. 650 S ʊbâ*u*t. U′: 658 R dâ*u*n, E dá*u*n, P dĭɛ''*u*n. 659 E tá*u*n, P tĭɛ''*u*n, Wr [between] tɛ′*u*n tɔ′*u*n. 663 AWak ə′*u*s, WakWerWr [between] ə′*u*s, ɛ′*u*s, RE á*u*s, P ⌊⌊*i*ɛ′*u*s [A ɛ''*u*z'n, Wak ə′*u*z'n].

Y- 673 WakE m*u*$_o$tɟ. Y′: 712 AWak m*á*is.

II. English.

I. *and* Y. 758 Pe gjel [Miss F. had not heard *wench*]. O. 791 ARE bô*i*, WakP bó*i*. U. 794 Pt dɟ*u*$_o$g. 803 Pt dɟ*u*$_o$mp.

III. Romance.

A·· 810 A fès. 866 Pe póoʊ. I·· *and* Y·· 901 AE f*á*in. O·· — CAPWr bìf [beef]. 947 AR bó*i*l, Wak bô*i*l. U·· 965 A ô*i*l.

## Var. iii., Rutland.

The short *u* as dictated to me in Ru. seemed to be rather ($u_1$) than ($u_o$), due perhaps to the neighbouring Li., but as a compromise I have used only (*u*). Ru. is quite distinct from adjoining Le., where according to TH. ($u_o$) prevails. See Introduction to M. div.

### Cottesmore, Rt. (4 nne.Oakham), dt.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native, who resided there till 14, but had been absent 14 years, and was then teacher at St. Mark's Coll., Chelsea. The *r* was not particularly observed.

1. s*oo* ʌ′*i* see, b*ut*i*z*, ɟʊ sé*i* nɑ′u dhʊt ʌ′*i*)m rʌ′*i*t ʊbɑ′*u*t dhat l*i*t'l gɛl k*u*mʊn frʊm ɟən [ɟɛn] sk*i*$_1$uul.

2. shé*i*)z g*o*·ʊn dɑ′*u*n dhʊ r*oo*d dhêʊ thruu dhʊ rɛd geet on dhʊ lɛft and sʌ′*i*d ʊ)dhʊ wee.

3. sh*i*$_1$ûʊr ʊn*u*f dhʊ tɟʌ′*i*ld ʊz gon street *u*p tʊ dhʊ d*ú*$_1$ʊr ʊ)dhʊ roq ɑ′*u*s,

4. wîʊ shé*i*)l tɟa'ns to fʌ′*i*n dhat dr*u*$_1$qk'n dɛf ṣr*i*v'ld fɛlʊ ʊ)dhʊ neem ʊ : tɔmʊs.

5. wi ʌʌl n*oo* *i*m wɛr*i* wɛl.

6. wuunt dhʊ *oo*l tɟap s*i*$_1$uun tiitɟ ʊ not tʊ duu *i*t ʊg*i*·n [agɛ·n], pó*ʊ* th*i*qk!

7. luuk, eent *i*t truu.

*Notes to Cottesmore* dt.

1. *so, say* without vanish; whether (see) or (*see*) was said is not absolutely certain, but I have generally marked (ee), and so I retain it in preference to (*ee*), as there was no trace of a following (*i*).—*see*, both (séi, sii) seem to be used, the (sé*i*) is of course a M. encroachment.—*girl*, (wɛntɟ) wench is used affectionately.

2. *she*, (shé*i*) was heard here, but in par. 4 (shii) wrs also given.—*on* rather (on) than (ən).

3. *enough*, 'enow' is not used.

4. *shrivelled*, the word is common, and so is (wiz'nd) wizened.

5. *know*, occ. *knows*.—*very*, inclined to (wɛr*i*), but not very certain, (wit'lz) victuals is the only instance of (w) for (v) quite certain.

## Oakham, Rt., dt.

pal. by AJE. from the writing of Miss Kemm, native, teacher at Whitelands, assisted by her wl. which had been corrected from dict.

1. *soo di* sée*i*, meets, ɹu sii nɜ'u dhʊt *di*)m *ráit* ʊbɛ'ut dhat-êʊ l*it*'l gɛl, k*u*m*i*n thr*u*m dhʊ skuul.
2. shii)z)ʊgo·*in* dɜ'*u*n dhʊ r*oo*d dhêʊ, thríu dhʊ rɛd gée*it* ɔn dhʊ lɛft and s*ái*d ʊv dhʊ wée*i*.
3. shûʊr ʊn*u*f, dhʊ tɟ*ái*ld *iz* gɔn strɛt *u*p tʊ dhʊ dôʊr ʊv dhʊ r*u*q ɜ'*u*s.
4. wîʊ shi)l tɟaansh tʊ f*ái*nd dhat dr*u*nk'n diif [def] sr*i*v'ld fɛlʊr ʊv dhʊ neem ʊv :tɔmɔs.
5. wi hʌʌl [ôʊl] n*oo*)*i*m vɛr*i* wɛl.
6. wuunt dhʊ h*oo*ld tɟap suun laan)ʊ not tʊ duu *it* ʊge·n, pôʊ th*i*q!
7. luuk! eent)it tríu?

*Notes from Miss Kemm.*

R as Miss K. pron. was when initial a decided (r), when final it was untrilled and mostly like the vowel (ʊ) as in London.

The cwl. is made up from Miss K.'s observations on old people, especially shepherds, which she had observed from childhood.

H. is generally omitted in the right and inserted in the wrong place, the latter especially when the speaker is emphatic and slow, and is anxious to speak well, as (hɔv k*oo*s) of course.

Irregular (strong) verbs are often made regular (weak).

Th and F are not confused, we have neither (throks) frocks, nor (*fis*'lz) thistles [but observe (thr*u*m) from, par. 1].

*Many* is called (me*e*n*i*) by old and antiquated people.

*Cl, Gl* initial become (tl, dl).

Old, well-educated people say (*fift* *sikst* *eet* n*ái*nt) fifth sixth eighth ninth.

*Noise* is used for sound.

*Proud* is expressed by (*di* ʊn lɔfti) high and lofty.

Though *ointment* is not used, they speak of (ʊ nʌ'*i*nted raaskʊl) a 'nointed rascal, one who has been well thrashed.

To *addle*, earn, is not common, but has been heard.

*** I cannot be sure of my notes for (*ee*, ee), as they were not distinctly separated, and hence have generally used (ee) even when perhaps (*ee*) or (*éei*) was said.

## Rutland cwl.

C Cottesmore (:kɔtɟmôʊ) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell in 1882, as above.

O Oakham (:uukʊm) wl. pal. in 1877 by AJE. from dict. of Miss A. Kemm, as above. This is town pron., and in some respects refined. Miss K. says: "The provincialisms are not glaring, they consist chiefly in the use of old Saxon words, and the peculiar sound of *u*" as (*u*). Oakham was celebrated for its holm-oaks, as at Ashwell (3 n.Oakham) there are beautiful ash-trees.

S Stretton, as given by the then Rector, Rev. E. Bradley ('Cuthbert Bede').

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 O b*ee*k. 4 C tɛk. 5 CO mɛk. 6 O m*ee*d. 7 O s*ée*ik. 8 CO ɛv. 9 C biɟɛ·v, biɟee·v. 10 O ôʊ. 12 O sôʊ+r. 13 O nôʊ+r. 14 O drôʊ+r. 17 O lôʊ+r [sometimes]. 18 O keek. 20 CO l*ee*m. 21 CO n*ee*m. 22 O t*ee*m. 23 CO s*ee*m. 24 CO sh*ee*m. 28 êʊ. 32 C b*ee*dh. 33 COS r*ee*dhʊ, O radhʊ. 36 O thôʊ. 37 O klôʊ+r. A: 39 O kuum. 56 C wɛsh, O wɔsh.

A: *or* O: 58 C thrɔm [has been heard from poor people], O thrɔm thr*u*m. 60 C lɔq, O [between that and] l*u*q. 61 CO ʊm*u*q. 62 O [between] strɔq str*u*q. 64 O [between] rɔq r*u*q. 66 O [between] thɔq th*u*q.

A'- 67 O g*oo*+*u* [in the pause]. 69 O n*oo*+*u* [in the pause]. 70 O t*oo*+*u* [in the pause]. 71 O w*oo*+*u* [in the pause]. 72 C *oo*. 73 O s*oo*+*u* [in the pause]. 74 C t*oo*, O t*oo*+*u* [in the pause]. 75 O str*oo*k. 76 O tôʊd. 77 O lôʊd. 81 C l*ee*n. 82 O w*u*ns. 84 O môʊ [like 12]. 85 O sôʊ [like 12]. 86 C *oo*ts. 87 C kl*oo*z, O tl*oo*z. 89 b*oo*th. 92 O n*oo*. 93 O sn*oo*. 94 O kr*oo*.

A': 101 O *oo*k [but old-fashioned people call *Oakham* (:uukʊm)]. 102 O aast [both pres. and pret., old people say (aks)]. 104 CO r*oo*d. 105 CO r*oo*d. 106 CO brAAd, O brôʊd. 107 C l*oo*f, O lɑf, l*u*f. 108 O dôʊ [(peest) more common]. 111 O ôʊt. 113 CO al [*hurl* is not so pronounced, as it is in Nf.], O h*u*d. 115 O *u*m [with or without (h)], S w*u*m. 116 O uum [rarely used]. 117 O wAn [never (w*u*n)]. 118 C b*ooo*n, O b*oo*n. 122 CO n*u*n [(nɔn) in Le.]. 123 CO n*oo*t, n*u*thiqk. 124 O stɔn. 125 O *oo*n*i*, *oo*nd*i*. 126 O ôʊ [like 12]. 127 C ôʊs, O ôʊst*i* [occ.]. 129 O g*oo*st. 132 O ɔt. 134 O ôʊth.

Æ- 138 C faadhʊ, OS feedhʊ. 139 O dree. 141 CO neel [no vanish]. 142 CO sneel. 143 CO teel. 147 C breen. 148 O fêʊ. — a¹nt [ant, oftener (p*i*smáiʊ)]. 149 C bleez. 152 C watʊ. Æ: 155 C thak thɛk thɛtɟ. 158 O haatʊnuun [afternoon, very common]. 161 CO dee. 163 O lee. 164 CO mee. 166 C meed. 171 G bêʊl*i*. 172 C grɛs. 173 CO wAA. 181 CO pad [regular form]. Æ'- 182 CO sii. 183 C teetɟ, O [(laan) learn, used]. 184 O liid. 185 C reed, rɛd [pt.], O riid, rɛd [pt.]. 186 O brɛdth. 187 C leev, O liiv. 188 C nee [(w*i*n*i*) more common], O néei w*i*n*i* [both used]. 189 C wee, O wée*i*. 190 CO kii. 191 iil. 192 C meen, O miin. 193 O kl*u*q [heard from an old lady near Uppingham, who was 90 when she died]. 194 C on*i*, O een*i* ɛn*i*. 195 O meen*i* [old], S mɔn*i*. 196 O *ái* waa, wi waa, dhe waa [I was, we they were]. 197 C tɟeez, CO tɟiiz [C both used]. 199 O bliit. 200 C wîʊt, O wiit. 201 CO iidh'n, C eedh'n [C both used]. 202 O iit. Æ': 204 O diid. 205 C thr*i*d, O thrɛd. 207 O niid'l. 210 C klee, O kl*ée*i. 211 C gree, O gr*ée*i. 212 O w*ée*i. 213 S *ee*dhʊ. 216 CO diil, C dɛl [C both used]. 218 O sh*i*p. 219 CO sliip. 221 O fîʊ. 222 O êʊ. 223 CO dhêʊ. 224 CO wîʊ. 226 O m*oo*st. 227 O wɛt. 228 C swot, O swɛt.

E- 232 C br*ee*k. 233 C sp*ee*k, O sp*éei*k, sp*o*k [pret.]. 234 C niid. 235 O wiiiv. 236 O fiivʊ. 238 O ɛdɟ [always, compare 257]. 239 C seel, O sêil. 241 C reen. 243 C plee, O plêi. 246 O k*w*iin. 247 O wiin. 248 O mêʊ. 249 O wêʊ. 250 O swêʊ. 251 C meet mêʊt miit [all used], O miit. 252 O ket'l [never (k*i*t'l)]. 253 O nɛt'l. 254 O lɛdhʊ. 255 O wɛdhʊ. E: 257 hɛdɟ [(h) frequent]. 258 O [(flagz) always used]. 260 O l*ée*i. 261 C see, O s*ée*i. 262 C wee, O w*ée*i. 264 C eel, O *ée*il. 265 C street, O strɛt. 268 O [(*oo*ldest) used]. 272 O hɛlm [in one syllable, not (hɛlʊm)]. 273 O mɛn. 276 O th*i*qk. 278 O wɛntɟ [in a good sense for grown girls]. 280 O lɛb'm. 281 O lɛqkth. 282 O strɛqkth. 284 C thrɛsh. 285 O kriis. 287 CO biiz'm. 288 O læt.

E'- 290 C i, O [(h*i*m) more frequent]. 291 C dhi, O [not used]. 292 O mi. 293 C wi, O wi. 294 CO fiid. 296 C bileev, CO biliiv [C both used]. 298 C fiil, O fiild. 299 O griin. 300 C k*ée*ip, O kiip. 302 CO miit. 303 CO swiit. E': 305 C hA'*i*, O *ái*. 306 C *ée*it. 307 C nA'*i*, O n*ai*. 308 CO niid. 309 O spiid. 310 C iil. — O brâiʊ [and (brîʊ) about Belton (7 ssw.Oakham) = briar]. 313 O haak at. 314 O îʊd. 315 CO fiit.

EA: 322 O laaf. 323 fôʊt. 324 O *ee*t. 325 O waak. 326 CO *oo*l. 328 O k*oo*ld. 331 O s*oo*ld, sɛld. 332 C tɛld. 333 O kaaf. 334 C AAf, O aaf. 335 O óʊl [(AAlʊs) always]. 336 fôʊl. 337 O wôʊl. 342 C aam. 343 C waam. 345 O dêʊ [pres.] dêʊst [pret.]. 346 CO geet. EA'- 347 C jɛd, O ɛd. 348 O *ái* [almost (A'*i*)]. 349 O fiú. — O sriik [shriek]. EA': 350 C dîʊd, CO dɛd [last commonest]. 351 CO lɛd. 352 O rɛd. 353 CO brɛd. 354 O shiif. 355 C dɛth dɛf [mixed], O diif [old and common]. 357 O dh*óou*. 359 O n*ee*bʊ. 360 C tîʊm, O tiim. 361 C bîʊn, O biin. 365 O nîʊ. 366 CO grɛt. 367 O thrɛt. 368 O dɛth. 370 O rôʊ. 371 O strôʊ. EI- 372 O á*i*. 373 O dh*ee*. 374 O n*ee*. 375 O r*ee*z. 379 O b*ee*t. EI: 377 O st*ee*k. 378 O wiik.

EO- 385 O biniiˑth. 387 O níu. EO: 388 O milk. 390 O shud. 394 O indʊ. 396 CO wuk, O wêʊk. 397 O sôʊd. 399 O bráit. 402 C laan [used for teach]. 403 CO fɑɜ. 404 CO staa [also to (staar ʊt piip'l)]. 406 C ɑɜth. 407 O faad'n. EO'- 409 CO bii. 411 C thrêi, O thrii. 412 C shêi. 413 O divil [jocular], dæv'l [angry], dɛvel [solemn]. 414 C flʌ'i, O flái. 415 O lái. 416 O dîʊ. 417 O tjíu. 418 O bríu. 420 O fôʊ. 421 O fôʊti, fɑɑti. EO': 423 O thái. 424 O ruf [(ruuf) roof]. 425 O láit. 426 C fʌ'it, fit [fought], O fáit. 427 CO bi. 428 C séi, O sii. 429 O fiind. 430 CO frend. 431 O bîʊ. 432 fôʊt. 434 i bɛt mi ʊt kriket [he beat me at cricket]. 435 O ɹuu [usual], ɹoo [from old people], ɹɑ'u [in contempt]. 436 C truu, O tríu. 437 O tríuth. EY- 438 C dʌ'i, O dái. EY: 439 O trust.

I- 440 C wìk. 442 C ʌ'ivʊri, O áivi, S ivi. 444 C stʌ'il. 448 O dhiis îʊ [always]. 450 O tíuzde. I: 452 C ʌ'i. 455 C lʌ'i, O lái. 457 O máit. 458 C nʌ'it, O náit. 459 C rʌ'it [never (rɛ'it)], O ráit. 462 O sáit. 465 O sitɹ, O sutɹ. 466 C tɹʌ'ild, O tɹáild. 467 C wʌ'ild, O wáild. 472 O sriqk. 473 C blʌ'in, O bláin [occ. (blɑ'in)]. 477 C fʌ'in, O fáin [occ. fɑ'in]. 484 O dhis îʊ [always so]. 485 O this'l [not with (f)]. I'- 490 C bʌ'i, O bái. 493 C drʌ'iv. 498 C rʌ'it. 499 O biit'l. I': 500 C lʌ'ik. 503 C lʌ'if, O láif. 505 C wʌ'if, O wáif. 506 O [(oold umm) old woman, rare]. 508 C mʌ'il, O máil. 514 O háis. 517 O ɹíu.

O- 520 O bə'u. 522 CO ɹp'n. 523 CO oop, O hup [also]. 524 wɑɜld. O: 526 C kɔf kɑf [both used], O kɔf. 527 CO bɑɑt [O children say (bôʊt) at times]. 528 O thɑɑt. 529 CO brɑɑt. 531 C daatʊ, O dɑɑtʊ. 532 O kool. 536 O goold. 537 O moold. 538 O wuuld [in reading]. 539 C bool. 540 C ɔli. 542 O boolt. 545 C ɔp. 547 O bôʊd. 549 O ôʊd. 550 O wɑɜd wêʊd [not (wɑd)]. 552 O kôʊn, kɑɑn. 553 O ôʊn. 554 krɔs. O'- 555 CO shuu. 557 C tuu, O [(ʊn ɑɑl) much used]. 558 CO luuk. 559 CO mɔdhʊ. 562 C mi,uun, O muun. 563 O munde. 564 C si,uun, O suun [more frequently 'after a bit']. 565 O nooz. O': 569 CO buuk. 570 O tuuk. 571 O gud. 572 CO blud. 573 CO flud. 574 O bruud [generally 'a hatch']. 575 CO stud. 576 O wɛnzde, C wɛnzdi. 577 O bɑ'u. 578 O plɑ'u. 579 O ʊnuf, ʊníu [pl.]. 580 O tuf. 581 O sôʊt. 582 O kuul. 583 O tuul. 584 O stuul. 586 CO duu. 587 O dun. 588 O [noon is always spoken of as 'dinner-time']. 589 C spí,uun. 590 O flôʊ. 592 O swôʊ. 594 O buut. 595 C fɑt, O fut. 596 O ruut. 597 C sut, O sɑt.

U- 599 O ʊbuuv. 600 O luv. 601 CO fɑ'ul. 602 O sɑ'u. 603 O kum. 605 CO sun. 606 C dûʊ, O dôʊ. 607 CO butʊ. U: 608 O hugli. 609 C fɑl, O ful. 610 O wul. 611 C bɑlʊk, O bulʊk. 612 O sum. 613 O druqk. 614 O ɛ'und [ʔ (ɑ'u-)]. 615 O pæ'und [ʔ (ɑ'u-)]. 616 C grɑ'un. 619 C fɑ'un, O fæ'und [ʔ (ɑ'u)]. 622 CO undʊ. 625 O tɔq. 626 O uqgʊ. 628 O nun [same as 122]. 629 CO sun. 631 O thêʊrzde, thɑɜzde. 632 C up, O hup. 633 CO kup. 634 C thruu, O thríu. 635 O wɑɜth. 636 C fɑdʊ, O fɑɜdʊ. 637 O tusk. 638 O busk. 639 O dust. U'- 640 CO kɑ'u [not (kɛ'u), which was repudiated by C, and so throughout]. 641 C ɑ'u, O æ'u [ʔ]. 643 O nɑ'u. 644 O duv. 646 O bɑ'u. 647 O hɑ'ul. 648 O ɑ'uʊ. 649 O thɑ'uzʊnd. 653 CO but. U': 654 C shrɑ'ud. 655 O fɑ'ul. 656 O ruum [sitting-room called *house*, bedroom *chamber*]. 657 CO brɑ'un. 658 CO dɑ'un. 659 CO tɑ'un. 660 O bɑ'uʊ. 661 O shɑ'uʊ. 662 O huz [when emphatic at the end of a phrase]. 663 CO ɑ'us, O æ'uz'n [houses]. 665 O mɑ'us. 666 O uzbʊnd. 667 CO ɑ'ut. 670 O buudh [rarely used]. 671 C mɑ'uth. 672 O sɑ'u wɛst [south-west].

Y- 673 O mutɹ. 674 O dun [*done* used for *did*]. 676 C lig, O lái. 679 CO tɹutɹ, C tɹêʊtɹ [also]. 682 O liit'l. Y: 686 C bʌ'i, O bái. 689 C bild. 690 O káind. 691 O máind. 693 O sin. 696 O bêʊth bɑɜth. 697 O bɛri. 698 O mêʊth məəʊth [that is, tongue for (əə), lips for (u)]. 700 C wus, O wɑsʊ wêʊs wəəʊs [that is, tongue for (əə), lips for (u)]. 701 C fus [(fog) first 'go' at marbles], O fɑs fêʊs fəʊs. Y'- C skʌ'i, O skái. 706 O wái. Y': 709 O fâiʊ. 711 C lʌ'is [O uses *dicks*]. 712 C mʌ'is, O máis.

II. English.

A. 718 O treed. 722 O dreen. 723 O dêʊri. 724 O bɑɑld. 725 O seel.

728 O sham. 733 O skîʊ. 734 O daan. 740 O w*ee*v. 741 CO meez, O miiz. 742 C leez*i*. E. 746 O briidh. I. *and* Y. 753 O t*i*t'l. 754 O p*i*g ['swine' is not used]. 756 O sr*i*mp [no (shr-) used]. 758 O gɛl. O. 761 O lood. 767 O nʌ'*i*z. 769 O m*oo*ldiwaap [moldywarp]. 772 O bɛanfdiʊ [? burn-fire]. 778 O ʊfôʊd. 779 O ôʊts [rare]. 781 C bɔdhʊ. 782 C pɔdhʊ. 787 O sɛ'*u*s. 790 CO gɑ'*u*nd. — C tʊ drɑ'*u*nd [to drown]. 791 CO b*ui*. U. 793 O *u*g. 794 O dɟug. 795 CO sr*u*q [no (shr-) used]. 799 O sk*u*l. 802 O r*u*m. 803 O dɟ*u*mp. 805 O kêʊdz. 806 CO f*u*s. 807 C p*u*s [(pɛs) is purse]. 808 C pɛt.

III. Romance.

A·· O heeb'l. 810 CO fees. 811 CO plees. 812 C lees. 813 C bêʊk'n, O beek'n. 814 O mees'n. 816 O feed. 818 O eedɟ. 819 O reedɟ. 822 CO mee. 823 C bee. 824 CO tɟêʊ tɟîʊ [both used, the latter by old people]. 828 O eeg*i* [old]. 829 O geen. 830 CO treen. 832 O mêʊ. 833 O pêʊ. 835 C reez'n, CO riiz'n [both used]. 836 C seez'n, CO siiz'n [both used]. 838 O triit. 840 CO tɟeembʊ. 841 C tɟa'ns, O tɟaans, tɟaansh. 843 O braantɟ. 845 C eenshʊnt. 846 O tɟaandlʊ. 847 C deendɟʊ. 848 tɟeendɟ. 849 C streendɟʊ. 850 C da'ns. 851 O aant. 852 O hɛpʊn. 853 O baag*i*n. 857 O kees. 858 O brees. 859 O tɟees. 860 CO peest. 861 O teest. 862 CO seef. 863 O tɟeef. 865 O folt. 866 CO pôʊ.

E·· 867 C tee, CO tii [C both used]. 868 CO dɟee. 869 O viil. 874 C reen. 875 O feent. 877 O hêʊ. 878 O salʊr*i*. 879 C fiimeel. 880 O ɛgzaamp'l [or pattern]. 888 O sêʊt*i*n. 890 C bîʊst biisez [pl.], O biist. 891 O fiist. 892 O nɛv*i*. 894 C d*i*seev, CO d*i*siiv [C both used]. 895 O r*i*sii·v.

I·· *and* Y·· 898 O náist. 899 O niis. 900 O pree. — C pʌ'*i*nt [pint]. 904 C vʌ'*i*let. — C wit'ls [victuals, about the only word in which (w) replaces (v)]. 910 O dɟʌ'*i*st. 911 O s*i*stʊn. 912 O rô*i*s.

O·· 913 O k*oo*tɟ. 914 O br*oo*tɟ. 915 O st*u*f. 916 C ʊnɟʊn, O *u*nɟʊn. 917 O r*oo*g. 918 C feeb'l, O fiib'l. 919 O [(saav) salve used)]. 920 C pâint, O pʌ'*i*nt. 922 C bɔsh'l, O b*u*shʊl. 923* O mʌ'*i*st. 925 O vʌ'*i*s. 926 C spâil, O spʌ'*i*l. 927 O tr*u*qk. 928 O ɑ'*u*ns. 929 C kɑ'*u*kʊmbʊ, O kiukʊmbʊ. 930 O lʌ'*i*n. 931 O [(k*u*ndɟʊrʊ) conjurer, used]. 932 O ʊmɑ'*u*nt. 933 O fr*u*nt. 934 O bɑ'*u*nt*i*. 935 O k*u*ntr*i*. 938 O kôʊnʊ. 940 CO k*oo*t. 941 O fuul. 942 C bɔtɟʊ, O b*u*tɟʊ. 943 O t*u*tɟ. 947 C bâil, O bʌ'*i*l. 948 CO bɑ'*u*l [also used for to (bɑ'*u*l) bowl at cricket]. 950 O s*u*pʊ. 952 O k*oo*s. 953 CO k*u*z'n. 954 C kashʊn, O k*u*shʊn. 955 O dɑ'*u*t. 956 CO k*i*vʊ. 957 O *i*mplái [old].

U·· 961 O gríu*j*il. 964 O síu*j*it. 965 C âil, O ʌ'*i*l. 966 O fríut. 967 O síut. 968 O ʌ'*i*stʊ. 969 O shûʊ. 970 O dɟ*u*st. 971 O flíut.

*Notes.* C no euphonic (r), (nʌʌ*j*iq, drʌʌ*j*it) gnawing, draw it. *I am, I are* in answer to a question, I (wʌʌ) for was, we *goes*, he *do*, he *live*, their*sens*. Intonation rough thick clear drawling, sinking at end. O in place of *either* they say 'one on em, one or t'other.'

## D 19 = EE. = East Eastern.

*Boundaries.* Those of Nf. and Sf.

*Area.* The whole of Nf. and Sf., commonly known jointly as East Anglia.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ systematic, ° in io.

*Nf.* * County, † Ashill, † Binham, † Brancaster, ° Burnham, † Buxton, ° Congham, † Diss, ° Ditchingham, † Downham Market, °† East Dereham, † Fakenham, † Gaywood, † Great Dunham, * Great Yarmouth, † Hardingham, † Heacham, † Hempton, ° Hemsby, † Holme, † Hunstanton, ° Ingham, * Kimberley, † King's Lynn, * Kirby Bedon, † Marham, * Mattishall, † Middleton, † Narborough, † North Elmham, † North Tuddenham, ° North Walsham, °*† Norwich, † Old Hun-

stanton, °Ovington, °Ringstead, †Snettisham, *†Stanhoe, †Stoke Ferry, †Stow, †Swaffham, †Terrington St. Clements, †Thetford, †Tivetshall, °Tuttington, † Walsingham, ° Warham, † Watton, † Wells-next-Sea, † Wiggenhall St. Germans, ° Witton, † Wolferton, † Wymondham.

*Sf.* °Boyton, °Bradwell, * Framlingham, † Great Bealings, °Great Finborough, °Hemingstone, * Orford, * Pakenham, * Southwold, ° Stowmarket, ° Ufford, °Yaxley.

Due attention has also been paid to R. Forby's *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, whose prefixed treatise on Nf. pr., with all its examples, was revised with the help of Rev. Philip Hoste (see p. 264), and to Moor's *Suffolk Words* (p. 286).

*Character.* Every one has heard of the Nf. 'drant,' or droning and drawling in speech, and the Sf. 'whine,' but they are neither of them points which can be properly brought under consideration here, because intonation has been systematically neglected, as being impossible to symbolise satisfactorily, even in the rare cases where it could be studied. The next salient point is the French (y), of which every one speaks. This sound, whatever it may be, certainly replaces O′ in: shoe, too (and also the Ws. A′ in *two*), school, bloom, moon, soon, brood, cool, tool, stool, to do, noon, spoon, moor, boot, root. When habit has shortened the long O′, this (y) effect is not produced, as in: look, mother, Monday, book, took, good, blood, flood, stood, done, foot, soot. Even when the vowel remains long, it is occ. unchanged, as in nose, floor. Shortening does not destroy a similar effect in L., hence the origin of this so-called (y) is probably different in the two cases. It has in neither anything to do with the old Ws. Y=(y). It is, indeed, of recent origin in Nf.

The author of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, 1440, says: "Comitatus Northfolchie [or as another MS. has it, 'comitatus tamen Orientalium Anglorum'] modum loquendi solum sum secutus, quem solum ab infancia didici, et solotenus plenius perfectiusque cognovi," but he writes: schoo, scole, blome, mone, sone, brode (the same spelling for *brood* and *broad*), coolynge, tool, stool, doon (inf. form of *do*), noone, spone, moore, bote, rote. It is evident, therefore, that he still pronounced long (oo) here as well as in the words where the vowel is now shortened, as he writes: loke (the same spelling for *look* and *lock*), moder (the same spelling for *mother* and *mawther*), book (or boke, according to another MS.), goode, blode, flode, foot, soot. As *oo* was not used for (uu) till the XVI th century, it is evident that 400 years ago the vowel in these words was (oo), and that even the change to (uu) had not then taken place.

Now I was very much struck by the fact that in the numerous words collected by TH. in Nf., not one case of the so-called French (y) occurred. He not only found the usual (muun, suun), but such forms as (mô*un*, skô*ul*), which remind us of the Promptorium. He, however, also found (œ′u) in (dœ′u, nœ′un, mœ′uzik), see his cwl., p. 262, under O′. Now this seemed to me the key of the whole mystery. This (œ′u) is a very common glide, arising from beginning to say (uu) with the mouth too open and closing it as the speaker proceeds. It is also unstable; it has a tendency to (iu, ə′u), and to unpractised ears gives at times not a bad imitation of French (y). Then I reflected that all the authorities on whom I relied for the sound were educated people, and that TH. had been in direct communication with the uneducated, while he was, from his Midland antecedents, quite familiar with (œ′u). Also I remembered that the sound I myself heard in Nf. was certainly not (y), but

something much deeper, which I write ($y_1$). Again, this sound is apparently often fractured by beginning with the mouth too open, giving to my ear ($\acute{i}y_1$), which, again, is readily confused with (íu). All dialect writers represent it by *ew* or long *u*, as *tew*, *shues*, too, shoes, and *sune*, *mune*, *skule*. In Sf. as well as Nf. I found this ($y_1$, $\acute{i}y_1$) from my authorities, educated natives, but in w.Sf. the vicar of Pakenham entirely repudiated it, saying it was a Norfolk pron. The exact analysis of this curious sound is still to be made.

When the drant and French (y) are passed over, there is very little left which distinguishes D 19 from D 18. The general characters of both are as follows:

The A- words are (ee, EE) in place of (*ee*), and the ÆG, EG words are (EE'*i*, éei), at least in ne.Nf.

The A' words have (*oo*) without the vanish, as (b*oo*t) boat.

Many of the E- words have (ee) as (speek) to my ear, others hear (*ee*).

The long I' words are uncertain, (ə'*i*, ɐ'*i*, ɑ'*i*, *ái*) being all found.

The long U' words also vary, as (ɐ'*u*, ə'*u*, ɑ'*u*, E'*u*). See this discussed in the notes to the Stanhoe cwl., p. 268, where Forby's remarks are particularly considered, p. 270.

The *r* is treated as throughout the E. div. The *h* is generally aspirated. The *v* in Nf. at least becomes regularly (w), while the (v) for *w* appears to be a modern refinement, the speaker knowing that many of his (w) should be (v), but not knowing which they are. This (w) for *v* has been given me also from Sf., where it is generally repudiated, but as it exists in Ke., Es., and Nf., Sf. could hardly escape having had it, though it may now be 'corrected.' The illustrations, cs., dt., cwl., with the notes, will tell the rest.

There are many peculiar words, of which (mAAdhɐ) contracted to (mA), especially when applied to little girls, and with a euphonic (r) before a following vowel, and (bA+r) applied to men and boys, and rarely to women, are remarkable. The (mA), written *mor*, seems to me a form of *mother*, here often pronounced (mədhɐ), see p. 260, l. 35. The (bA) is usually written *bor*, and associated with neigh*bour*. This is more than doubtful. There is no trace of (bA) in the *Promptorium*. It is amusingly said that 'together' used in addressing several people is the plural of (bA). 'Come to *mine*' for 'my house,' and 'he *live* there he do,' are, as we have seen, pp. 197, 222, 249, by no means peculiar to Nf., but are there very marked.

In this very large district there must be several varieties. We may assume two principal ones, Nf. and Sf. In Nf. we may take a ne. form and nw. form, and a s. or general form. It would, however, be difficult to draw lines of demarcation or to formulate the differences, except in the nw., where, thanks to TH.'s efforts, we know that U becomes transitional, from (ə) in the s. through (o) to ($u_o$) in the n. This is an entirely new discovery, not alluded to in any account of the dialect. Could it have escaped notice? Possibly. A woman of Middleton (4 se.King's Lynn) married a man of Narborough (9 se. K. L.). The woman called *cup* (kap), the man (k$u_o$p), and they had never noticed that they spoke differently, so that TH. had the greatest difficulty in making the woman recognise the distinction. The b. of the nw. variety is, therefore, the s. *sŏŏm* line 2 as determined by TH.'s personal observations. The ne. variety may be presumed to extend to about Buxton (9 n. Norwich), and the s. variety to occupy the rest of the county.

In Sf. it seems necessary to distinguish two varieties, e. and w., which appear to be tolerably distinct. At least the w. form, as

illustrated by the Pakenham specimen, differs materially from the e. form as contained in the Framlingham and Orford specimens and the Southwold cwl.

The order in which these varieties will be treated and discussed is: Var. i., nw.Nf., as nearest related to the n. varieties of D 18; Var. ii., ne.Nf., of which I have the most complete account; Var. iii., s.Nf., where I first wrote dialect from dictation in 1868; Var. iv., e. Sf., of which I have three accounts; and Var. v., w.Sf., where I have only one example, but that is highly characteristic.

### Var. i. nw.Norfolk Form.

This was examined by TH. in 1882–3 from three centres, King's Lynn, Swaffham and Hunstanton. The dt. from Narborough, p. 263, gives the general character of the whole variety. As it seems unnecessary to distinguish the places in this limited variety, I have placed them in three groups, as marked by the letters L, S, H in the following cwl. At first, of course, each place had to be carefully distinguished, in order to ascertain if there were any differences.

#### nw.Norfolk cwl.

formed from wn. by TH., in the neighbourhoods of King's Lynn, Swaffham, and Hunstanton.

H Hunstanton with Heacham, Holme, Old Hunstanton and Snettisham.
L King's Lynn with Marham, Middleton, Terrington St. Clements, Wiggenhall and Wolferton.
S Swaffham with Ashill, Downham Market, Great Dunham and Narborough.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 21 L *neem*. A'- 67 LS *gòun* [going]. 81 H lɛ"*in*. 93 H snâ'*u*. A': 104 LS *rood*. 115 HLS *oom* [Holme is called (:ɔlum)]. Æ- 138 HLS faadhu. Æ: 161 LS *dee*, H dɛ"*i*. Æ'- 185 L riid. 200 L wiit, S *weet*. Æ': 223 L dhɛ"u. 224 L wɛ"u. E- 233 S spiik. 251 S *meet*. E: 261 L *see*, S sɛ"*i*. 262 L *wee*, HS wɛ"*i*. E'- 299 S griin. E: 314 S îud. EA'- 347 L [between] èd ɛ'd, S ɛ'd. EA': 353 S brèd. 366 LS *grèt*. EO: 395 L [between] ɔoq ɔuq. 396 H wak. 402 L laan lɔɔn. EO'- 419 L ɔaa [your]. EO': 437 L trùth. EY- 438 L *dâi*, S [between] *dâi* dʌ"*i* dɔ'i. I'- 494 S [between] *tâim* tʌ"im. I': 500 S lɔ'ik. O: 531 L daatu, LS dʌatu. O'- 555 LS shuu. 556 S *tœ*'u. 557 L *tiu*. 559 S madhu. 560 LS skuul. 562 H *môun*, S muun. 564 H suun. 566 S ɔdhu *u*ₒdhu. 568 L brɔdhu brodhu br*u*ₒdhu. O': — H [between] grâ'*u* grʌ'*u* [grow]. 586 HL *dîu*. 587 S dùn. 588 H *nœ*'un. U- 605 S *sù*ₒn. 606 LS *dôu*. 607 H botu. U: 612 L *sù*ₒm. — L tɔmb'l tomb'l t*u*ₒmb'l. 629 S s*u*ₒn. 632 L ɔp op *u*ₒp. 633 L kɔp kop k*u*ₒp, H k*u*ₒp, S kap k*u*ₒp. U'- 643 S nʌ'*u*. U': 658 S dɔ'un, H dɛ"un. 659 L tɔ'un. 663 LS ɔ'us.

II. English.

O. 767 S [between] *nâiz* nʌ"*iz*. 790 L gjɔ'*u*nd. U. — L tɔb tob t*u*ₒb. 796 L blœ'uu. 803 L djɔmp djomp dj*u*ₒmp. — L *tœ*'un [tune].

III. Romance.

A·· — S pl*eez* [please]. E·· 869 H wiil. — S pr*eet*ʃ [preach]. 885 H wɛr*i*. I·· *and* Y·· 901 S [between] fɔ'*in* fʌ'*in*. O·· — L pɔmp pomp p*u*ₒmp. — L mɔt'n mot'n m*u*ₒt'n. U·· — S m*iu*zik, LS mœ'uzik [music].

*Notes to nw.Norfolk* cwl.

The uncertainty in the use of (ə, o, $u_o$) was very great, as shewn in several cases in the cwl. These pron. came generally from different people at the same place. See the case of the woman from Middleton (4 se.King's Lynn) and her husband, a native of Narborough (6 se.Middleton, 9 se.King's Lynn), on p. 261, l. 11 from bottom. In the following dt. from Narborough only (ɐ) and not ($u_o$) is used. From the same place TH. got the sentences (gj*i*)m*i* ɐ kɐp' ɐ)tii) give me a cup of tea, (kət dhat tri də'*u*n) cut that tree down, (*ái*)l flee JU ɐlɐ'*i*v) I'll flay you alive, (JU skə'undrɐl, JU)l kət ɐm AAl ɐp) you scoundrel, you'll cut them all up, (JA vàr$_o$mɐn, *ái*)l kj*i*l)jɐ) you vermin [observe *v* not *w*], I'll kill you, (ə'*i* WANT Jə'*u* tjaps tɐ gò ɐ dɐ'*i*kɐn) I want you chaps to go a diking or ditching.

For the use of (w) for (v), TH. was told the following at Holme (16 nne. King's Lynn), (NElsɐn wɐz ɐ wɐr*i* wal*i*ənt màn, *ái* wá'ù, ì séild in ɐ wɐsil kA'ld dhɐ W*i*ktɐr*i*) Nelson was a very valiant man, I vow, he sailed in a vessel called the Victory.

The omission of the *s* in the 3rd pers. sg. of verbs was shewn by (mɐ'*i* shù fit)m*i*) my shoe fits me, (ì lìv əp [op] dh*i*v) he lives up there, (A EKSPEKT *it* dæ'u) I expect it does. The last word illustrates the treatment of O' as TH. heard it. It would be usually heard and treated as (dyy$_I$, d*i*y$_I$, díu).

## NARBOROUGH (9 se.King's Lynn) dt.

pal. in 1883 by TH. from dict. of Robert Cater, 70, native, who had lived there 30 years, and then at Swaffham 30, and at Norwich 10, farm-labourer, retired.

1. sò ɐ'i sè, tɐgjE·dhɐ, luk éɐ, JU)sì nɐ'*u* dhɐt)ɐ'*i*)m rɐ'*i*t ɐbɐ'*u*t dhat l*i*t'l mAAdhɐ kɐmɐn frɐm skuul Jɐndɐ.
2. shì)z gòɐn dɐ'*u*n dhɐ r*oo*d dhéɐ trœ'u dhɐ)rED gj*è*t ɔn dhɐ lEft and sɐ'id ɐ)dhɐ)WE''*i*.
3. ɐ'i)l b*i* bl*ó*u*d*, dhɐ l*i*t'l mAAdhɐ ɐz)gAn strE'*i*t EP tɐ)dhɐ)rɔq dûɐ [ɐ'*u*s],
4. w*é*ɐ shì)l vEr ɐ lɐ'*i*kl*i* fɐ'*i*nd dhat drɐqk'n dEf fElɐ ɐz)w*i*)AAl kAAl ó*u*ld :tom, ì)z gjEt'n lɐ'*i*k ɐ)skjEl*i*t'n, tɐgjE·dhɐ.
5. wi)AAl nô*u* [Him vEr ɐ wèl.
6. wònt dhɐ ó*u*ld tjap suun tìtj)ɐr$_o$ fɐr$_o$)nɔt tɐ)du)*i*t en*i* mó*u*, pûɐ mAAdhɐ!
7. luk éɐ! *i*t)s trœ'u wɔt ɐ'*i* sE'd.

The following words omitted from the dt. were supplied afterwards: 1. (mèts) mates, (gEl) girl. 3. (shœ'uɐ) sure, (ɐnɐf) enough; (tjɐ'*i*ld) child. 4. (tjàns) chance, and for shr-, (shr*i*mps shrɐ'*u*d) shrimps shroud; (n*ee*m) name. 6. (th*i*q). The (ɐ'*i*) seemed at times to tend to (ɐ'*i*).

## VAR. ii. ne.NF. FORM.

For this I am principally indebted to the Rev. J. R. Philip Hoste, vicar of Farnham, Surrey, a native of Stanhoe (8 sw.Wells-next-Sea), from whose dictation I pal. the complete wl. in 1877, and the dt. in 1879, and with whom I went over all Forby's account of Norfolk pronunciation, which I have introduced in the cwl. Mr. Hoste was full of enthusiasm on the subject, and obligingly came up to London expressly on two occasions and worked with me many hours each time.

## Stanhoe (:stæ·nʊ) dt.

pal. 1879 by AJE. from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native.

1. so *ái* seɛ'*i*, meets, jɜ'*u* sii nʊ'u dhət *ái*)m r$_o$ʊ'*it* ʊbʊ'ut dha$^1$t l*it*'l maadhʊ kɜmʊn fr$_o$om dhʊ skíy$_1$l jɔndʊ.

2. shii)z ʊg*oo*$^1$ʊn dʊ'*un* dhʊ r$_o$*oo*$^1$d dh*ée*$^1$ʊ t[r$_o$y$_1$ dhʊ $_o$ed gĭɛt ɔn dhʊ lɛft ha$^1$nd sʊ'*id* ʊv dhʊ wɛ'*i*.

3. syy$_1$ʊr ʊnɜf dhʊ maadhʊ hʊ gɔn strɛ'*i*[t ɜp tʊ dhʊ *dúu*ʊr$_o$ ʊ dhʊ r$_o$ɔq ʊ'*us*,

4. w*éeʊ* sh*i*)l tjaa$_i$ns tʊ *fáind* dhæt dr$_o$ɜqk[$'$n dɛ[f shr$_o$*iv*'ld fɜlʊ ʊ dhʊ n*éeim* ʊ :tɔmɔs.

5. wi aal nɜ'*u* *im* wer$_o$*i* we$^1$l.

6. w*oo*nt dhʊ *óu*ld tjæp syy$_1$n *teet*j ʊr$_o$ not tʊ dy$_1$)*it* ʊge·n, p*úu*ʊ th*iq* !

7. l*uk*)ʊ *ee*nt *it* trĭy$_1$ ?

*Notes.*

1. *coming*, but the *a-* reappears in I see her a-coming (ái sii ʊr$_o$ ʊkamʊn). 3. *mawther* (maadhʊ) becomes (ma$^1$ʊ) in calling. 6. *won't* (*woo*nt) becomes (*oo*nt) when not beginning a sentence.

## Stanhoe cwl.

pal. by AJE. 1877, from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native, to which are added the words from Forby's account of the Norfolk pron. that Mr. Hoste acknowledged (* prefixed), or for which he gave with a different pronunciation († prefixed). I cannot always be certain of (ee *ee*) or (e ɛ) or (æ, a$^1$). On (*óu*, ɜ'*u*), see p. 268. All the (r) are really (r$_o$). The frequent "gradual glottid ([)" seems to have been a personal peculiarity. I retain it, but it may be neglected. The ($u_1$) is a deeper ($u$), see Introduction to Midland div. Forby's name is contracted to F, and Mr. Hoste's to H. There are also added:

B words from Burnham (4 ne.Stanhoe, 5 w.Wells-on-Sea), given me in writing by C. H. Everard, Esq., native, acquainted with the dialect 28 years, then at Eton Coll., only the differences from Mr. H. are noted.

W Rev. C. T. Digby, long rector of Warham (2 se.Wells-next-Sea), gave a long wl. mainly agreeing with this, a few differences are inserted.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 beɛ'*ik*. 4 tɛɛ'*ik*. 5 meɛ'*ik*. 6 meed. 7 seɛ'*ik*. — †kreed'l [cradle, F has (kriid'l)]. 8 *hev *hɛz [has; (hĭav) W]. 9 bi,heev [bihĭeev W]. 10 haa [,ho'izez) B, pl. only]. 12 saa [(saa·*in*) has no euphonic r]. 13 naa. 14 draaa. 16 daan. 17 laaa, laa+r [before a vowel]. 18 keek. 19 tɛɛ'*i*l. 20 leem. 21 neem. 22 teem. 24 sheeem. 25 meen. 26 ween. 27 neev. 28 héeʊ. — *staa [stare]. — *flaa [flare]. 31 lɛɛt. 32 beeth. 33 †rædhʊ [rɜdhʊ *ee*dhʊ B]. 34 la$^1$st. 35 aal. 36 thoo. 37 tlee. A: 40 *koom*. — *swæn [swan]. 41 *thɛqk. 43 hænd. 44 lænd *lɔnd [more gen. in Sf.]. — *sɔndi [sandy, more gen. in Sf.]. 47 *wa$^1$ndʊ. — **kin* [can, unemphatic]. 51 mæn. 53 kæn. 54 †wa$^1$nt [(wænt) F and W]. 55 eshez. 56 wesh *wæsh. 57 [(djɜ̆ki) used for *ass*]. A: *or* O: 58 †fram [(fræm) F]. 57 læm. 60 lɔq. 61 ʊmɜ·q [ʊmɔ'q B]. 62 strɔq. 63 thrɔq [trɔq W]. 64 rɔq. 65 sɔq. 66 thɔq.

A'- 67 *góou*. 69 *nóou*. 70 *tóou*. 71 *wóou*. 72 *híyy*$_1$. 73 *sóou*. 74 tiyy$_1$ [tíu B]. 75 str$_o$*uu*$_1$k. 76 t*uu*$_1$d. 77 lóoʊd. 78 ɜ'*u*. 79 ɜ'*un*. 80 ɔlʊdi. 81 leen. 83 m*oo*n. 84 móoʊ. 85 sóoʊ. 86 úʊts. 87 tl*oo*z. 88 tl*ooo*dh. 89 booth. 90 blɜ'*u*. 91 mɜ'*u*. 92 nɜ'*u*. 93 snɜ'*u*. 94 *króu*. 95 thrɜ'*u* [trɜ'*u* W]. 96 sɜ'*u*. 97 sɜ'*uld* [s*oo*ld B]. 98 nɜ'*un*. 99 thrɜ'*un*. 100 *sóun*. A': 101 *ook*. 102 æks. 104 r*oo*d. 105 rid W. 106 brood.

107 *lɨuu*ɪf. 108 *dɑ'u*. 109 *lɑ'u*. 110 *nɑt [especially by the women]. 111 *v'ut* [(ə'ut) F]. 113 *hu*ɪl. 114 *məl [? if it is mole in this sense]. 115 *uu*ɪm. 118 *bu*ɪn. 119 *gu*ɪn. 122 nɑn. 123 *nəthin* [(nɑ'ut) F]. 124 *stu*ɪn [stɑn BW]. 125 *u*ɪnli wɑn [only one, (ondlɐ) W]. 126 óoɐ. 127 hóoɐs. 128 dh*oooz*. 129 *guu*ɪst. 130 *boot*. 131 *goot*. 132 hot. 133 *root* [generally (rit) W]. 134 úɐth [not (wɑth)]. 135 tlaath.

*Æ*- 138 faadhɐ. — †lædhɐ [ladder, F. writes *lutther*, which may be a misprint for *latther*]. 140 hee'*il*. 141 †nee'*il* [(náil) F]. 142 [(dədmɐn) used for *snail*]. 143 tee'il. 145 slee'*in*. 146 mee'*in*. 147 bree'in. 148 [? (faa+r) F, see after 887]. 149 bleez. 150 lest [lesest B]. 152 waatɐ. 153 sætɐdi. *Æ*: 155 thɐtɟ [thæk W]. — *sta'f [staff]. 157 reev'n. — *gɐdhɐ [gather]. 158 aatɐ. 160 eg. 161 de'*i* [dee W]. 163 lee'*i*. 164 mee'*i* [(mii) B, written *mē*]. 166 †mee'*id* [(máid) F]. 167 :baanɐn :*dibdil* [Burnham Deep*dale*]. 168 tælɐ [tolɐ B]. 169 wɐn *wæn. — *wæsp [wasp]. 170 aavɐst. — *baa [bare]. 171 baal*i*. 172 graas. 173 woz. 174 esh. — *gla's. 175 faaɪst. 178 næt. 179 wot. 181 paath.

*Æ'*- 182 see. — *blitɟ [bleach]. 183 tee'tɟ. 184 leed. 185 reed. — **ridi* [ready]. — †spriid [(spre*e*d) F]. 186 brædth [breth W]. 187 leev. 188 nee'*i*. 189 †wee'*i* [(wái) F, not known to H]. 190 kee. 191 hii$_1$l. 192 mee'n. 193 kleen. 194 eni. 195 meni [menɐ W]. — *ærɐnd [errand]. 196 wéeɐ. 197 tɟee'z. 199 bleet. 200 weet. 201 he*e*dh'n [hædh'n W]. 202 heet.

*Æ'*: 203 spee'tɟ. 204 dii$_1$d. 205 *trid. 206 red. 207 nid'l. 208 *ivɐ. 210 klee'*i*. 211 †gree'*i* [(gree) and (grái) F, not known to H]. 213 *eedha [(áidhɐ) F, not known to H]. 214 *needhɐ. 215 taat [(teetɟt) used]. 216 dii$_1$l *deel*. 217 *itɟ. 218 ship. 219 sliip. 222 héeɐ [(hiiɐ) written *heer* B]. 223 dhéeɐ. 224 wéeɐ. — *a'li *eeli [early]. 225 flesh. 226 *moost*. 227 wet. 228 swet. 229 bræth. 230 fæt.

E- — †tred [(triid) F, tread]. 233 speek. 234 need. — *wadhɐ *wædhɐ [weather]. 235 weev. 236 feevɐ. 237 ble'*in* [usually called (kɐ'ibz)]. 238 hedɟ [hidɟ W]. 239 se'il. 241 re'in. 242 †twee'in [(twáin) F]. 243 ple'*i*. 246 *kwiin* [queen, but *quean* is not used]. 247 ween. 249 wéeɐ [wíiɐ W]. 250 swéeɐ [swíiɐ W]. 251 meet. 252 *kit'l. 253 næt'l. — *fadhɐ [feather]. 254 *lædhɐ [F says often (ladhɐ) especially in Sf]. 255 [(wadha) wether sheep, according to F, not known to H]. — [(bɑtɐ) better F].

E: 257 edɟ. 258 sedɟ. 259 wedɟ. 260 le'*i*. 261 se'*i*. 262 we'*i* [wee W]. 264 e'il. 265 stre*e*t. — *fild [field]. 267 *jild. 268 eldest. — *sildem [seldom]. 272 elm. 273 *min. 274 bentɟ. 275 stentɟ. 276 th*i*qk. 278 wentɟ. 280 læv'n [ɐlee·v'n B]. 281 læqkth. 282 strɐqkth. — *hin [hen]. 283 mer*i* B [written "*merrer*, so final y always"]. — †mesh [marsh F, (mæsh) as I got from Enfield, Mi. p. 235]. 284 thresh [here (thr-) is used, not (tr), but (trəsh) W]. 285 kriisez. — *baast [burst]. 287 hærɐ. 287 beesem [*besom* not used, B]. — *sæt'l [settle]. 288 let.

E'- 289 jii. 290 hii. 291 [*thou*, *thee* are not used]. 292 mii. 294 fiid. 295 bred. 296 bilee·v. 297 *fɑlɐ. 298 feel. 299 griin. 300 kip. 301 híiɐ *héeɐ. 302 meet. 303 swee't. 304 bee t'l.

E': 305 hɐ'i. 306 hɐ'it [ha'ith W]. 307 nɐ'*i*. 308 need. 309 spee'd spiid. 310 heel. 311 tæn. 312 héeɐ. 313 [*hearken* not used]. 314 hiiɐd. 315 fit. 316 nækst.

EA- 317 flee [flii B written *flee*]. 319 gaap. 320 *kjee'ɐ. EA: 321 saa. 322 laaɪf [(laa'f) F]. 323 fɑ'*ut*. 324 eet. 325 waak. 326 †ɑ'uld, [occ.] *ɑ'*ud*. 327 bɑ'*uld*. 328 †kɑ'*uld* *kɑ'*ud*. 329 fɑ'*uld*. 331 †sɑ'*uld* *sɑ'*ud*. 332 tɑ'*uld* *tɑ'*ud*. 333 *kaa'f. 334 aa'f. 335 aal. 337 waal. — *béeɐd [beard]. 340 jaad. 342 aa[r$_o$m. 343 waam [waam B]. 345 *daa. 346 geet. — *weks [wax].

EA'- 347 *hid. 348 v'*i*. — *aa+r [ear]. 349 fɐ'*u* [F.'s third sound of *ou*, (fyy$_1$) B]. EA': 350 †deed [(diid) F]. 351 leed. 352 red. 353 breed. 354 sheef [shɔft W]. 355 †dɐɪf [(diif) F]. 356 †leef [(liif) F]. 357 thɑ'*u*. — *ɑfu [heifer]. 359 †nɐ'ibɐ [(neebɐ) and (náibɐ) F, not known to H, (niabɐ) W]. 360 teem. 361 *been. 362 slee. 363 tɟeep. 366 grit. 367 trit. 368 deth. 369 slɑ'u. 370 raa. 371 straa.

EI- 373 dhee *dhee. 474 nee. 375 reez. 376 beet [ba'it W]. EI: 377 steek. 378 week. 381 sween. 382 *dhææ dhaa[1], *dhéeu.
EO- 383 sæv'n. 384 *hiv'n. 385 bincee·th [bincee·n W]. 386 *ɹa'uu. 387 níy$_1$. EO: 388 milk. 389 *jook* [jalk W]. 390 shud, *shad [occ.] — *selvu [silver]. — †jælu [yellow, F (jalu)]. 394 jendu. 396 wak [wak W]. 397 swad [B merely says "pronounce *w*"]. 398 staav. 399 bru'*it*. — baa[1]n [burn]. 400 *aanest. 401 jaan. 402 *laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 405 haathst*u*$_1$n [not used without *stone*]. 406 *éeuth †a[1]th. 407 faad'n.
EO'- 409 bee[1]. 411 trii. 412 shii. — *bed [bid]. 413 divil. 414 flu'*i*. 415 lu'*i*. — [(fru'*iz*) freeze F, not known to H]. 416 déeu. 417 tja'u W. 418 bríyy$_1$. 420 fa'*u*·u [fúuu W]. 421 fóouti [fúuutu W].
EO': 423 thu'*i*. 424 raf *ra'*u*. 425 lu'*it*. 426 fu'*it*. 427 bii. 428 see. 429 *f*ind. 430 *frind. 431 *béeu. 432 fóouth. 433 *brist. 434 beet. 435 ja'*u*. 436 tríyy$_1$ tríyy$_1$th. EY- 438 du'*i* [do'*i* B]. EY: 439 trast.
I- 440 wik. 441 siv. 442 u'*ivi* [(a'ivuri) always B]. 443 fru'*i*du. 444 stu'*i*l. 446 nu'*i*n [no'*i*n B]. — *jis [yes]. 448 dhiiz. 449 *g*it. 450 tyy$_1$zd*i*. 451 su'*u*.
I: 452 u'*i*. 454 witj. 455 lu'*i*. — *thaa[1]d [third]. — *baa[1]d [bird]. 457 mu'*i*t. 458 nu'*i*t. 459 ru'*i*t. 460 weet. 462 su'*i*t. 464 witj. 465 si$_1$tj. 466 tju'*i*ld. 467 wu'*i*ld. 468 tj*i*ldrun. 471 timbu. 472 shriqk. 473 bla'*i*nd [no *d* W]. 474 ra'*i*nd. 475 wa'*i*nd [not (wind)]. 476 baind [no *d* W]. 477 fa'*i*nd [no *d* W]. 478 gra'*i*nd [no *d* W]. 481 fiqgu. 484 dh*i*s. 485 th*i*s'l. 486 jist [jest B]. 487 jæstudee [jistudee B]. 488 *jit. — *set [sit]. — *daa[1]t [dirt]. — *tit [teat].
I'- 490 bu'*i*. 491 su'*i*. 493 dru'*i*v [pret. *(drav) drove, not the noun (dr*oo*v)]. 494 tu'*i*m. 496 u'*i*·un. 497 uru'*i*z. 498 ru'*i*t. I': [B "all the i's = öy" (o'*i*)]. 500 lu'*i*k. 501 wu'*i*d. 502 fu'*i*v. 504 nu'*i*f. 505 wu'*i*f. 506 wu$_1$mun [wamun W]. 507 w*i*min. 508 mu'*i*ld. 509 wu'*i*l. 511 wu'*i*nd. 512 spu'*i*r. 513 wu'*i*·u. 514 u'*i*s. 515 wu'*i*s. 516 wizdum.
O- 520 bó*u*. 521 f*oo*l. — *dra[1]p [drop]. 522 *oo*p'n. 523 h*oo*p. 524 wald [wald B]. O: 526 kof [kaaf B]. 527 baat [(ba'*u*t) F]. 528 thaat [(tha'*u*t) F]. 529 braat. 530 raat. 531 daatu. 532 k*oo*l. 533 dal [d*u*l B]. 534 h*uu*$_1$l. 536 ga'*u*ld. 537 ma'*u*ld. 538 wud *wad [occ.] 540 holi [in e.Nf. (halvu)]. 542 bo[lht. 545 hop. 547 bóoud. 548 fóoud. 549 hóoud. 550 *wa[1]d [wad W]. 551 staam. 552 kaan. 553 haan. — maanin [(maanin) morning F]. 554 kraas.
O'- [B says: "all *u*'s pronounced in correct Engl. *oo*, Norfolkers pronounce *ü*," that is, O' = (yy$_1$)]. 555 shyy$_1$. 556 tu. 557 tyy$_1$. 558 l*u*k. 559 ma[dhu. 561 blyy$_1$m. 562 *míyy$_1$n. 563 mandi. 564 *siyy$_1$n. 565 n*oo*z. 566 adhu. O': 569 b*u*k. 570 t*u*k [(t*oo*k) F]. 571 g*u*d. — *had [hood]. 572 blad. 573 flad. 574 bryy$_1$d. 575 stud. 576 wenzdi. — *sa[1]it [soit]. — *raf [roof]. 577 ba'*u*. 578 pla'u. 579 vnaf [sg.], vnu'*u* [pl.], [(vna'*u*), and (vniu) F pl.]. 580 ta'u [rare], taf. 581 sóout [(sa'ut) F]. 582 kíyy[1]l. 583 tíyy$_1$l. 584 stíyy$_1$l. 585 *bryy$_1$m [F. also has 'a harren brum' = (u ha[1]r'n bram), but it is not known to H]. 586 dyy$_1$. 587 dan. 588 níyy$_1$n. 589 *spiyy$_1$n, *spanf*u*l [spoonful]. 590 flóou. 591 [(míyy$_1$u) F, H says not in use, F. also gives (móou)]. 592 swóoud. — *gíyy$_1$s [goose]. 593 mast. 594 by$_1$t. 595 *fat. 596 ryy$_1$t. 597 sat.
U- — *wad [wood]. 599 u*boo*v. 600 lav. 601 fu'ul. 602 su'*u*. 603 kam. 605 san. 606 d*uu*$_1$u. 607 batu.
U: 608 agl*i*. 609 f*u*l, *fal. — *pal [pull]. 610 *wal. 611 b*u*luk. 612 sam. 613 draqk. 614 hu'*u*nd [*heoune* W, perhaps (hæ'un), and so for 615, 617, 621, 601, 602, etc., see p. 268]. 615 pu'*u*nd. 617 su'*u*nd. 618 wu'*u*nd. 619 fu'*u*nd. 620 gru'*u*nd [gran W]. 621 wu'und. 622 andu. 625 toq. 626 haqgur. 628 nan. 629 san. 630 wan. 631 thazd*i*. 632 ap. 633 kap. 634 tríyy$_1$ [=436]. — *kaa[1]s *kaas *kas [curse]. 635 wath. 636 *fadu [but F considers this as an alteration of *farther*]. 637 task [toshez, pl.]. 638 bask. 639 dast.
U'- 640 ku'*u*. 641 hu'*u*. 643 nu'*u*. 645 du'*u*. 646 ba'*u*. 647 u'*u*l. 648 a'uu. 649 thu'*u*zund. 652 k*u*d *kad [occ.]. 653 bat. U': 654 shra'*u*d. 655 fu'*u*l [=601]. 656 r*u*mm. 657 bru'*u*n. 658 du'*u*n. 659 tu'*u*n.

660 bə'*u*ʊ. 661 shə*u*'ʊ. 662 ʌs. 663 ʊ'*u*s, ʊ'*u*secz. 664 lʊ'*u*s. 665 mʊ'*u*s. 666 hʌzbʊnd. 667 ʊ'*u*t. 668 prʊ'*u*d. 669 ɔnkjyy$_1$th. 670 byy$_1$th. 671 mʊ'uth. 672 sʊ'*u*th.

Y- 673 mʌtʃ. 676 lʊ'*i*. 677 drʊ'*i*. 678 dɪn [(dʌlʊ) dolour, used for *noise*]. 679 tʃʌtʃ. 680 bɪ*z*i. Y: 683 mɪndʃ W. 684 brɪdʃ. 685 rɪdʃ [rɪndʃ W]. 686 bʊ'*i*. 687 flʊ'*i*t. 688 bɪld. — *kɪl [kiln]. — *mɪl [mill]. 690 kʊ'*i*nd. 691 mʊ'*i*nd. 693 sɪn. 696 bɑ$_1$th [bʌth W]. 697 bɛrɪ [bʌrʊ W]. 698 mɑ$_1$th. 699 rʊ'*i*t. — *haanet [hornet]. 700 wʌs [also (waa$^1$s) F]. 701 fɑ$_1$st. — *shɛt [shut, F also gives (shɪt)]. 703 *pɛt. 704 wɪksɪn [only applied to a woman, the animal is called by the labourers a (bɪtʃ fɔks)]. Y'- 705 skʊ'*i*. 706 wʊ'*i*. 707 thʌttɪin. 708 hʊ'*i*·ʊ. Y': 709 fʊ'*i*·ʊ. 711 lʊ'*i*s. 712 mʊ'*i*s [but I have (miis) from s. and e.Nf.].

II. English.

A. 713 bæd. 714 læd. 715 pæd. 716 æd'l [to thrive as plants]. — *wæd'l [waddle]. 717 dʒeed. 718 treed. 719 tædp*oo*l. — *rɑ$^1$ft [raft]. 720 fæg. 722 drɛɛ'in. 723 déeʊr*i*. 724 bɑɑld. 725 seel. 727 dʒæm. 728 shæm. 729 freem. — *swæmp [swamp]. — *glɑ$^1$ns [glance]. 730 kantʊ. 733 skiiʊd [scared]. 734 daan. — *hæsh [harsh]. 735 sm*æ*sh. — *grɑ$^1$sp [grasp]. — *drɑɑ$^1$ft [draught]. — *sɑɑ$^1$ntʊ [saunter]. 739 mɑɑdhʊ. 740 weev. 741 meez. 742 leez*i*.

E. — †ɪnst*ee*d [(ɪnstii·d) F, instead]. 743 skreem. 744 meez'lz. 745 tʃeet. 746 breedh. 747 †ɛndɪ·vʊ [(ɛndii·vʊ) F]. 748 ɔnflɛdʒd [the negative *un-* is always (ɔn)]. — *tʃéeʊ [cheer]. — *héeʊ [to hear]. — *snéeʊ [to sneer]. — *fléeʊ [to fleer]. 749 lɛɪt. 750 bɛg. — *mɑlʊ [mellow]. — *ɛldʊ [elder, tree]. 751 píiʊt.

I. *and* Y. 753 tɪt'l. 755 fɪlbʊt. 756 shrɪmp. — *stɛnt [stint]. 757 tʊ'ɪn*i*. 758 gæl. 759 fɪt.

O. 761 l*oo*d [luud W]. 762 *oo*k'm. 763 r*oo*m. 764 kɔd'l. 767 nʊ'ɪz. 768 k*oo*k. — *skɑ*u*ld [scold]. 769 mɔl. — rɔl [roll]. — [(skrɔl) F, scroll]. 771 fɔnd. 772 bɔnfʊ'ɪʊ. 773 dɪk*i* [compare (dʒæk*i*) 57]. 774 hɔbɪ [the form used]. — *níyy$_1$z [noose]. 777 shɔp. — *slɑ'p [slop]. 778 ʊfóoʊd. 780 dʒɔs'l. 783 p*oo*ltrɪ. 784 bɑ'*u*ns. 786 dɑ'us. 787 sɑus. 789 rʊ'u. 790 gɑ'*u*nd.

U. — *sk*w*æb [squab]. — *pʌd'n [a pudding]. 793 hʌg. 794 dʒʌg. 795 shrʌg. — *pʌlɪ [a pulley]. 801 rʌm. 802 rʌm. — †bʌnd'l [(b*u*nd'l) bundle F]. — †bʌntʃ [(b*u*ntʃ) bunch F]. — †pʌntʃ [(p*u*ntʃ) punch F]. 805 *[(kaa$^1$dz) F, not known to H]. — *bɔsh [bush]. — *pʌs [purse]. 806 fʌs. 807 †p*u*s [(pʌs) F]. 808 pʌt. — [(bʌti) butty, comrade.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 eeb'l. — *sɛk [sack]. 810 fees. 811 plees. 812 lees. — *kʌtʃ [catch]. 814 meesʊnʊ [sim. (my$_1$z*i*·shʊnʊ) musician]. 815 fæks. 816 feed. 817 *rɛd*i*sh. 818 eedʒ. 819 reedʒ. 821 dɪlɛɛ'*i*. 822 mɛɛ'*i*. 823 bɛɛ'*i*. 824 tʃéeʊ *tʃaa. 826 eeg'l. — [(dáɪn) deign F, unknown to H.] 827 eegʊ. 828 eegʊ [=827]. — †fɛɛ'il [(fáɪl) F]. 829 †gɛɛ'ɪn [(gáɪn) F]. — *plɛɛ'ɪn [(pláɪn) F, plain]. 830 trɛɛ'ɪn. — [(tʃɪɪn) chain F, is, H says, going out of use]. 832 méeʊ [F gives (maa+r) generally, but the (méeʊ+r) of Norwich, and Lynn]. 833 paa+r. — *plazʊ [pleasure]. — †faa$^1$zʊnt [pheasant, (fazʊnt) F]. — *plazʊnt [pleasant]. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n. 837 lees [of birds, but (leesh) of hounds]. 838 tre$^1$ɪt. 839 beel. 840 tʃambʊ. 841 tʃaans. 842 plæqk. 843 braantʃ. 844 trɛntʃ. — *paa$^1$ntʃ [H nasalises (aa$^1$)]. 845 anshʊnt. 847 dandʒʊ. 849 strandʒʊ. 850 *daa$^1$ns. 851 *aa$^1$nt [H nasalises (aa$^1$)]. — *dʒɪ·nɪwʊr*i* [January]. 852 eepʊn. — *maatʃʊnt [merchant]. 853 baag*i*n. 854 barʊl. 855 kɛrʊt. — *sk*ee*s [scarce]. 856 paat. 857 kees. 858 brees. — kɑ$^1$sk [cask]. 859 tʃees. 860 peest. 861 teest. — †nætʃ$_1$rʊl [natural, F (n*ee*-)]. 863 tʃeef. 864 kɔz. 865 fʌʌt. 866 †púʊr [(póoʊ) F].

E·· 867 tee. 868 dʒɛɛ'*i*. 869 wee'l [(wiil) written *weel* B]. 870 by$_1$lɪ [bíuɪ B]. — †gléeɪb [glebe (glʊ'ɪb) F]. 871 ʊgrɪi. 872 tʃif. — [(váɪn)

vein F, not known to H]. 875 faɒnht. 876 deent*i*. — [(*o*báí) obey F, not known to H]. 877 éeɐ. — †pɛɛ'*i*n [(páin) F]. 878 sæleri. — *trímb'l [tremble, (didɐ) didder used]. 879 feemeel [not in use]. — *tæmpɐ [temper]. 880 egzaa·mp'l. 881 sɛns. 882 pænz*i*. 884 prɛnt*i*s. — †sa¹ɪtɟ [(séɐutɟ) F, search]. 887 tlaadɟi. — *waamɛnt [vermin, F does not mention the initial *w* or final *nt*, see p. 263, col. 2, l. 1]. — *saam*i*nt [sermon]. — féeɐ [a fair, (fiiɐ) W]. 888 saat*i*n. 889 see¹s. — *mazɐ [measure]. 890 beest. 891 feest. — [(latɐ) letter, F]. 892 nɛɐve. — *fɐ'il [foil]. 893 flɑ'*u*·ɐ. — [(kɐnsáiv) conceive F, not known to H]. 894 dɪsee·v. 895 *r*isee·v [(risáit) receipt F, not known to H].

I·· *and* Y·· 897 dilɐ'it. 898 nɐ'is. 899 nee¹s. 900 pree. 901 fɐ'in. 902 mɐ'in. 904 wɐ'ilet. 905 rɐ'iɐt. 906 wɐ'ipɐ. 907 trɐ'is. 908 ɐdwɐ'i·s. 909 bree¹z. 910 dɟɐ'ist. 911 *sɛstɐn. — *strav [strove, a false pret. of *strive*, which should be *striv*ed or *striv*]. 912 rɐ'is.

O·· 913 kóɐutɟ. 914 bróotɟ. —*sɐ'il [soil]. 915 staf. 916 *in*jɐn. 917 *roog*. 918 feeb'l. 919 ɐ'intmɐnt. — dɟɐ'ɪn [join]. 920 *pɐ'int. 921 æk*wée*int. — *pɐ'*iz*'n [poison]. 922 *bashɐl. — [(léi·zɐ) leisure F, unknown to H]. 923 *mɐ'ist. 924 tɟɐ'is. 925 wɐ'is. — [(drəl) drole F]. 926 *spɐ'il. — [(bam) bomb, F]. 927 traqk. 928 ɑ'*u*ns. 929 kɑ'ukɐmbɐ. 930 lɐ'in. 931 dɟaglɐ. 932 ɐmɑ'*u*nt. 933 *frant. 934 bɐ'*u*nt*i*. 935 kantr*i*. 936 *fant. 937 kok. 938 kaanɐ. 939 tlóoz. 940 *koot*. 941 *fíyy₁l. 942 batɟɐ. 943 tatɟ. 945 wɑ *u*. 947 *bɐ'il. 948 bɑ'*ul* [(tɐ bɑ'*ul* ɐ hyy₁p) to bowl a hoop]. — *nas *naas [nurse]. 952 kóous [coarse]. 953 kaz'n. 954 kash'n. 955 dɐ'*ut*. — *prav *praf [prove proof]. — *mav [move], F has also occ. (miiv)]. 956 *k*ivɐ. 957 ɐmplɐ'*i*·. 958 frɛɛ'*i*. 959 kɐnwee [(kɐnwái) F, not known to H].

U·· 960 kii [in e.Nf.]. 961 gryy₁ɐl. 963 k*w*ɐ'it. 964 syy₁et. 965 ɐ'il. — *distrɐ'*i*· [destroy]. 966 frĭyy₁t. 967 sĭyy₁t. 968 ɐ'istɐ. 969 syy₁ɐ. 970 dɟest. 971 flĭyy₁t.

Mr. Everard (B) says intonation "thin, clear, rising in pitch at end," and that "the high key, the length of time they dwell on the accented syllable, are the most marked characteristics."

Notes made from interview with Rev. Philip Hoste, 15 Nov. 1877.

The aspirate is very fairly pronounced, but is occasionally put in the wrong place. Mr. Everard (B) says it is always rightly used.

*cl-*, *gl-* become (tl-, dl-).

(w) is always used for (v), but not conversely.

205. (Thr-) is frequent enough, as (thræ·shəld), but (tr-) is regular in some words, as (tr₀ii tr₀ip·ɐn*i* tr₀idz), three threepenny threads. 367. (hi tr₀*i*·t'nd m*i* bæ·dl*i*, h*i* d*i*d), he threatened me badly, he did.

*R* is generally treated as in London, final and before consonants, and is at most (r₀) before vowels.

The diphthongs (a'i, a'u) seem to have several different forms. The (a'i) when standing for I' is (ái) or (ɐ'*i*), and the latter seems the regular form. I could not determine whether (ái) was used by mistake or not. When standing for ÆG, EG, it was generally (ɛ'*i*, ɛɛ'*i*), as 141, 262, (nɛɛ'*i*l, wɛ'*i*), nail, way. The word *pay* was generally (pɛɛ), but when joined to a word gave (pɛ'*i*)m*i*), pay me; again, (fɛ'*i* ɐ'*ut* dhə hal), fay [or clean] out the holl [or hedge]. The (a'u) has the forms (ɐ'*u*) and (ɑ'*u*) as nearly as I could distinguish. The (ɐ'*u*) seems regular for U', EOW, EA'W, and (ɑ'*u*) regular for A'W, thus: (shi sæt oo·vɐ dh*i* fɐ'ir ɐ-sɐ'*u*·in ɐ pɔkət-haqkɐtɟɐ, ɐn dh*i* faa·dhɐ hii wɛnt ɐ'*ut* tɐ sɑ'*u* dh*i* kóoɐn), she sat over the fire a-sewing a pocket-handkerchief, and the father *he* went out to sow the corn. The (ɑ'*u*) is sometimes difficult to distinguish from (ó*u*), thus to throw, to sow, when compared seem to give (thrɑ'*u*, sóu). Generally (ɐ'*u*) sounded like a faint (éu), but at other times I found it difficult to distinguish (ɐ'*u*, ɑ'*u*), as in 645, 108, (dɐ'*u*, dɑ'*u*), dove, dough. Mr. Hoste, however, seemed to have no hesitation, and was consistent. See Forby's remarks, p. 270.

O' regularly generates (*i*y₁) or (yy₁), a deeper (y), sometimes begun with the mouth open. Mr. Shelly, a Nf. man, long resident in Plymouth, finds Nf. (y₁) resemble Dv. (y₁) p. 163, but in Dv. (*i*y₁) does not occur. I use identical symbols in Dv. and Nf. because I cannot

formulate the difference. The A′ words *who two*, owing, perhaps, to the influence of *w* on the vowel, become (*íyy*$_1$, *tíyy*$_1$) occ. (tyy$_1$). I noted (555 shyy$_1$, 557 tyy$_1$, 561 blyy$_1$m, 562 m*íyy*$_1$n, 564 s*íyy*$_1$n, 574 bryy$_1$d, 582 k*íyy*$_1$l, 583 t*íyy*$_1$l, 584 st*íyy*$_1$l, 586 dyy$_1$, 588 n*íyy*$_1$n, 589 sp*íyy*$_1$n, 594 byy$_1$t, 596 ryy$_1$t) shoe too bloom moon soon brood cool tool stool do noon spoon boot root. 585 *broom* was (bryy$_1$m) when alone or initial, as in (bryy$_1$mstik), but (brɑm) final, as (héɐvbrɑm) hair broom. If the vowel O′ had become shortened or compounded with (gh), this effect was lost, as (558 l*u*k, 559 mɑ)dhɐ, 563 mɑndi, 566 ɑdhɐ, 570 t*u*k, 571 g*u*d, 572 blɑd, 573 flɑd, 575 st*u*d, 577 bɑ′*u*, 578 plɑ′*u*, 580 tɑ′*u*, 595 fɑt, 597 sɑt) look mother Monday other took good blood flood stood bough plough tough foot soot, and (579 ɐnɐ′*u* ɔn)ɐm, ɐnɑ·f)ɐn)*it*) enough of them, enough of it.

The numerals (wan tyy$_1$ tr$_o$ii fɑ′*n*ɐ fɐ′*iv* *sik* sæv′n ɐɛt nɐ′*in* tæn læv′n twælv thɑt*i* hɑndrəd).

The following words and phrases were also noted.

(:nɔ·r$_o$idʒ, bɑt*i*, lɛ·stwəz, bɛɛ′ɐ, :sændr*i*nɐm paak) Norwich, butty, leastways, beer, Sandringham park.

(hi ɑld ɐ st*u*n æt)ɐm) he hurled—pitched, chucked—a stone at them.

(fɛɛ$_1$t *lit*′l mɑɑdhɐ) fete or pretty little girl.

(lætɐ, n*oo*·væ·mbɐ, disæ·mba, tæmpɐ, brɑ̈d ɐn tjee$^1$z) letter, November, December, temper, bread and cheese.

(ɐ′*u* d)jɐ fíɐ tɐ dyy$_1$?) how do you fare to do?

(ɐ réɐ fantii·g) a rare state of mind.

(ɐ fɐ′*u* brɑɑth) a few = some, broth.

(rɑf, ɐ hɑɑn ə bíiɐ, tj*i*·mbl*i*, brɐmb′lz, kmaa·dhɐ, wɛɛiiz) roof, a hand of barley, chimney, brambles, come hither, (go) ways; these last said to horses to order them to come to or go from the driver.

(ɐ tjatjmɐn, ɐ lees ɐ baadz, ɐ leesh ɐ hɐ′*u*ndz) a churchman = a clergyman, a leash of birds, a leash of hounds.

## Examination of Forby's Pronunciation.

In Forby (contracted to F.) it is said that "in the neighbourhood of Lynn all short *a* are *e* (ɛ), as *a bed men*, a bad man." TH. observed none such there, but heard (a) in back, apples, understand, that, man.

The vowel marked (a$^1$) is described by F. as midway between (aa, *ee*), and "like the bleat of a very young lamb"; this would be rather (ɑæ) than (a$^1$), but I take the pronunciation of Mr. Hoste (contracted to H.). Using *b* for before and *a* after a number, it occurs in *b*157 staff, *a*174 glass, 333 calf, *a*719 raft, *a*729 glance, *a*735 grasp, 850 dance, *a*851 cask.

F. gives *snare spare* apparently as (snéɐ spéɐ). I neglected to obtain Mr. Hoste's pron. of them, but judging by care (kjɛɛ′ɐ), they would probably be (snɛɛ′ɐ spɛɛ′ɐ).

F. says the pron. of "pit kiln silver stint bid mill cistern sit," with (ɛ) or perhaps (e) in place of (*i*), is not very general, and more in Sf. than in Nf.

F. pron. Nor-folk with (naa-), H. with (nóɐu-), TH. heard (nɑ$^1$[r$_o$-fik). After saying long *o* in *shrove*, *drove* = (ɑ), F. adds, "*It* has the same sound in *hither* and *wither*," unintelligible unless *It* be a misprint for *I*.

F. states and H. agrees that negative *un-* is always (ɔn-).

F. says that (shɛt) shut is universal in Sf. and Nf.

F.'s Italian *ai* in plain gain pain fail nail twain snail, where H. has (ɛɛ′*i*), is, H. thinks, due to F.'s deficient knowledge of Italian, and as for (bɔ′*it*) bait, H. has never heard of it. F.'s (aa) in may play pray stay, is H.'s (ɛɛ′*i*), and similarly in pay = (paa) in Sir T. Smith, and as was given me at Norwich, H. hears only (pɛɛ′*i*). F. also says that (*âi*) is occ. found in deign, either, leisure, conceive, vein, weigh, neighbour, receipt, grey, convey, obey, but these S. habits are unknown to H. F. does not mention in what part of East Anglia they are found.

F.'s account of the pron. of *straw law* is unintelligible, but may mean the actual (straa laa) with, before a vowel, euphonic (r$_o$), which he seems to think is represented by the *w*. H. does not allow euphonic (r$_o$) unless there are separate words, thus (saa·*i*q), but (saar$_o$)*it*).

F. gives the (*íy*$_1$) words as having long u (iu), which I assume to mean (*íy*$_1$).

F. gives three sounds of *ou*, *ow* = U′, which are difficult to understand by his description. H. knew only two (ɐ′*u*, ɑ′*u*), but I also constantly heard (ɛ′*u*, æ*u*′). F. says: "1. A broad twanging sound somewhat, but not exactly, as if it were written *au-w*." This should be (ɔ′*u*), and probably means (ɑ′u), which H. used in (lɑ′*u*, dɑ′*u*, mɛ′*u*, ɑ′*u*, sɑ′*u*ld) low, dough, mow, owe, soul, which are some of F.'s examples; his *ought*, however, seemed to be (ɐ′*u*t), which may be an error, as this was his sound of *out*. "2. The second considerably narrower, and may be attempted by endeavouring to sound the open *a* with *w* after it." This should give (ȧ*u*). Of the examples he gives, 'shower, our' were (shɑ′*u*ɐ, ɑ′*u*ɐ) according to H. Hence this would be the same as the last. His other examples are power sour devour scour, not given by H. "3. The third is narrower still, and may be described as about midway between the legitimate sound of *ou* and that of long *u*," that is perhaps between (a′*u*) and (iu), which might be very various, for the "legitimate sound of *ou*," whatever that be, is itself very various in the mouths of different speakers. His examples, cow sow (pig?) how proud, are given as (kɐ′*u* sɐ′*u* hɐ′*u* prɐ′*u*d) by H., but plow (plough) is (plɑ′*u*), and crowd does not occur in H.'s words. Hence the three are to H. 1 and 2 (ɑ′u), 3 (ɐ′u) as given above. But this does not exhaust the question. At Mattishall I had uniformly (ə′*u*), at Kimberley (ɛ′*u*), and at Kirby Bedon (æ′*u*), (ɑ′*u*) occurring in *you*. At Buxton (8½ n. Norwich) TH. got (nɑ′u, ɐbɑ′ut), at Diss (15 e.Thetford) on the border of Sf., TH. had (kjɛ′u, dɛ′*u*n) cow down, at Downham Market (10 s. King's Lynn) TH. chiefly records (ə′*u*) as at Mattishall, from Narborough TH. got (ɑ′*u*). At Old Hunstanton (14 nne. King's Lynn, and 9 nw. Stanhoe) TH. heard (dɛ′*u*n), and at Stanhoe itself he heard (dɛ″*u*n nɛ″*u*). Hence the sounds of (a′u) = U′ must be considered variable, (ə′*u* ɐ′*u*) may be meant for the same sound, (ɑ′*u*) is a variety of (ə′*u*), and (ɛ′u) seems to be a variety of (ɐ′*u*). But the information at my disposal is not sufficient to localise or classify these sounds, and F., whose observations extend over all East Anglia, rarely localises.

In the consonants F. and H. hear (f) for *v* in vane, vetch, vat and [F. not H. in] vagary.

F. finds *ng* = (qg) medially apparently in bri*ng*ing, fli*ng*ing (bri*q*gin, fli*q*gin), and finally before a vowel, as (fli*q*gi*q*g)ɑ′ut) flinging out; H. does not know it, and it has not been heard vv.

F. finds *l* dropped in old, cold, told, sold, hold, and H. also occasionally, *ol* becoming (ɑ′*u*).

F. and H. both find *thr-* invariably (tr-) as in throat, thread, threaten, through. See p. 268, note 205.

F. finds *v* and *w* "uniformly substituted for each other," H. only finds (*w*) uniformly for *v* initial. F. adds: "In general *w* for *v* is used by rude rustics, and *v* for *w* by those whose diction has been polished by town breeding." This means that (w) is the only hereditary sound, and (v) is a new one, and the latter once acquired, is through ignorance used in the wrong place. From Ke. to Nf. is the land of *Wee*.

F. then gives a nmmber of words and corruptions that I have not been able to verify, but many still exist. I palaeotype his spellings as well as I can. (æshɐp ɛshɐp ɑshɐp) ash-heap, (mɑkɐp) muck-heap, (nɛtɐs nætɐs) neat, or cattle, house, (dɑfɐs dɑ′u)ɐs) dove-house, (wɑdɐs) woodhouse, (se′ɪdɐs) sideways, (:bra′id′l) Bridewell, (ɔlɐs ɔlɐst) always, (wɑnm′l tʃiiz) one meal cheese, (shaa¹nt shæænt), shan't, (kaa¹nt kæænt) can't, (*oo*nt w*oo*nt) will not, (di*n*t dɛnt deent) did not, (shɑnt) should not, (wɑnt) would not, (maa¹nt mæænt) may not, (waant) were not, (iint) is not, (eent) am not, (heent) has not, (ha¹nt hænt) had not, (tət) to it, (dət) do it, (wət) with it, (hɛt) have it, (tɛbin) it has been. Final *-ive* (-a′iv) with stress, as expensī′ve abusī′ve natī′ve. Final *-able* (-ee·bɐl), as lamentā·ble abominā·ble. Final *-ly′* (-la′i·), as continually′ certainly′. Final *-le* = *ul* (ɐl), as possible. These words not having been written phonetically, I can only conjecture the value of the illustrative syllables and cannot make a guess at the others.

Corruptions as given by F. mostly affect Romance words; only a few are given in the wl. when recognised by H. and are marked *. I do not attempt to phoneticise them.

1. *-d*, *-t* added, attac-t, close-t, drown-d, epitaph-t, gallon-t, *gown-d, margen-t, nice-t, paragraph-t, regi-

men-t, scholar-d, *sermon-t, Simon-t, *soul-d, surgeon-t, talon-t, *vermin-t, *wine-d.

2. *-er* added, *mason-er, musician-er, physician-er, team-er.

3. *s-* prefixed, s-noose s-notch s-quench s-quink s-quit.

4. first syllable changed, the usual form prefixed: bay- bagonet, ca- compacity, coat- coart-of-arm, in- discommode, di- disgest, de- dismolish, imeminent, mo- mislest, pro- perdigious, per- preverse, stark- starnaked, va- vocation.

5. last syllable changed, the usual form subjoined: agash -gast, ballat -ad, becase -cause, bedisle -dizen, chaply -el, chimbly chimly -ney, clash -ss, conquest -course, delightsome -ful, drugster -gist, effidge -igy, fancical -ful, flustrate -ter, jaunders -ice, luxurious -riant, moral -del, notage -tice, otherguest -guise, portmantle -teau, quite -et, refuge -fuse sb., rheumatics -tism, successfully -ively, timorsome -rous, topsitivy -turvy.

6. superfluous letters inserted, italicised: bachel*d*or, bin*g*, caval*t*ry, commonal*i*ty, confis*t*icate, des*t*olate, dila*n*tory, dispos*i*al, dub*e*rous -bious, enorm*e*rous, flagit*t*itious, f*r*airy, fur*b*elow -lough, indust*e*rous -trious, man*d*er = manner, part*e*nd*e*r, prop*e*rietor, ruin*a*te, sol*e*ntary = solitary, sp*r*eckled, stupend*u*ous, stup*r*ify, sud*g*es = suds, tremend*u*ous.

7. letters omitted, inserted in parenthesis: (to)bacca-o, chai(se), christ(i)an, cur(i)osity, cur(i)ous, debili(t)ate, fic(ti)tious, ingen(i)ous, necessi(t)ate, ruffi(a)n, ted(i)ous [probably (tíijes)], ve(he)ment, (uni)versal, volum(in)ous.

8. Latin corruptions, correct in italics: arcyfarsy *vice versâ*, cavy *peccavi*, cersarary *certiorari*, crissy *crisis*, davy *affidavit*, diddimus *dedimus*, hizy-prizy *nisi prius*, hoxy-croxy *oxycroceum*, hoizon *horizon*, nolus bolus *nolens volens*, nonplush nonplunge *non plus*, primmery primminery *premunire*.

9. Unclassed. F.'s phonetic spelling, which I cannot always decipher, prefixed, usual form added in italics: acquese *acquiesce*, artiflexy *apoplexy*, bewiddle *bewilder*, blather *bladder*, bref kes *breakfast*, cartract *cataract*, coalese (in two syllables) *coalesce*, crowner crounier *coroner*, cutriments *accoutrements*, farisee *fairy*, farrage *fairing*, fidgy *effigy*, fishorate *officiate*, gashful gashly *ghastly*, hobble *hovel*, howsomedever *howsoever*, hume *hymn*, inquiration *inquiry*, intossicate intosticate *intoxicate*, intrust *interest*, jocotious *jocose*, juggler's vein *jugular vein*, liceners *license*, miscomfortune *misfortune*, miscomhap *mishap*, narrow-wriggle *earwig*, neckthorn *nectarine*, newelty neweltry *novelty*, nottomy *anatomy*, numpost *imposthume*, obligate *oblige*, odious *odorous*, obstropulous *obstreperous*, oudacious *audacious*, palaràtock *paralytic*, permiscous *promiscuous*, plumpendicular *perpendicular*, porpus *pauper*, portingal *portugal*, pumgenet *pomegranate*, quivy *equivocate*, rale *real*, semblitude *similitude*, sinnable *syllable*, sinni-fy (-fire) singa-fy (-fire) singma-fy (-fire) *signify*, scrummage *skirmish*, speciously *especially*, spettacle *spectacle*, surficate snufficate *suffocate*, tater tate *potatoe*, timinate *intimidate*, trinkle trittle *trickle*, turpentine walk *serpentine walk*, vimment *vomit*, viper's dance *St. Vitus's dance*, imbombinable *abominable*, upper hand *apprehend*, upperlet *epaulet*, wagabone *vagabond*, who-what- when- somedever, *who- what- when- soever*.

It is evident that all these forms 1 to 8 are not distinctive of any dialect. They were, at least originally, mere mishearings and misrenderings of unfamiliar words quite out of the speaker's range, and though they may have been handed down from parent to child, they are not the property of any one locality, but are more or less common property. Having been collected, however, probably from actual hearing, by F. and his informants, they are worth repeating, to shew the extraordinary way in which words can be disfigured and twisted when unfamiliar.

F. adds something about Nf. grammar. Some of the things may be noted.

*the*, omitted before familiar objects after prepositions; walk into house, go up chamber, put the apples into basket, turn the dog into yard, come out of barn. H. says this is going out of use.

substantive pl. in *-en*, housen, closen, cheesen, only.

adj. in *-en*, hornen spoons, tinnen pots, glassen bottles, eldern berries, Eastern Sunday.

superlatives: lessest, worsest, littlest, as old as old, bone-dry, gall-bitter, slug-slow, frog-cold, dog-tired.

pronouns: the woman what came; let us go, shall us go, my missis and me is going, Mr. S. he came, his

family they are all out, them are the women I meant, I saw them boys, give me them there books.

*be* in indic. rare except in here he be, used in subj.

*war* for was.

Nf. folks say (1) sell selled, tell telled, catch catched, teach teached, seek seeked, work worked; (2) snow snew snown, mow mew mown, row rew rown, sow sew sown, hoe hew [which H. has heard] hown; (3) rise ris, ride rid, rive riv, stride strid, smite smit, drive driv (never *drove*, sometimes druv); (4) bid bod, give gov, sit sot, swim swum; (5) giv gav gov, gin gan gon [H. hears: giv giv gin], ming mung [to knead bread, ags. *mengen*], ding dung [to throw or hurl], weave weft, save seft, wave weft [H. does not know the last three], and come, bid, see, run, are used as pres. pret. and pp.; steal, staul [H. (st*u*l)], shriek shruck; (6) taking taken not distinguished; kilt = killed, spilt = spilled, spīlt = spoiled.

## Nf. Notes and Sentences by TH.

TH. having visited Stanhoe in 1883, a few of his observations are added.

Stanhoe was called (:sta·nʊ). The general use of (ə, ʌ) for U: was confirmed with variants between (dək, dok) duck, between (gən, gan) gun and (d*u*ₒmpl'n) dumpling. TH. heard (snô*u*) not (snɑ'u).

Instead of ($y_1$, *i*$y_1$) in this district also TH. heard (uu, œ'*u*, íu) as (dɟuun dɟœ'uun) June, (:rœ'us'l) Rushall, (bɪ'ˌutɪ) beauty, (ɟ*is* *it* dœ'u) yes it does, not (d*i*yy). He also heard (plɛ''ʊs) for (plees) place, (pôʊk) pork, and from a woman of 89, (kʌm ɟu êʊ, mʌ') come you here, maw'; (pl*eez*) please; (ʌ'*i* kɟɛtɟt sʌ'*it* ən *im*), I caught sight of him.

## ne.Nf., North Walsham (14 nnw.Norwich).

Test written by R. S. Baker, Esq., J.P., who had lived there all his life, pal. by AJE. from Mr. Baker's own orthography and notes, bearing in mind vv. information. The (r) = ($r_c$).

1. s*oo* ə'*i* see, təg*i*·dhʊ, ɟɜ'*u* sii nɛ'*u* dhʊt ə'*i* ʊm rə'*it* ʊbɛ'*ut* dhæt l*i*t'l gæl (mʌʌ·dhʊ) kʌm·*in* fræm dhʊ skyy$_1$l ɟ*in*dʊ.

2. shii *iz* ʊg*oo*·*in* dɛ'*u*n dhʊ r*oo*d dhéeʊ trɛ'*u* dhʊ rɛd gɛɛt ən dhə left hænd sə'*i*d ʊ)dhʊ wá*i*.

3. shyy$_1$r enʌf dhʊ tɟə'*i*ld hev gʌʌn strá*i*t ʌp ty$_1$ dhʊ dóoʊr ʊ)dhʊ rəq hɑ'*u*s,

4. wéeʊ shii)l tɟæns (hæp) ty$_1$ fə'*i*nd dhæt drʌqk'n diif shr*i*v'ld fælʊ ʊ)dhʊ nɛɛm ʊ :təməs.

5. wi ʌʌl n*oo* h*i*m wɛr·*i* wɛl.

6. *oo*nt dhi *oo*l tɟæp syy$_1$n laan hʊ nʌt ty$_1$ dyy$_1$ it (dʌ)t) ʊg*i*n·, p*oo*ʊ th*i*q!

7. l*u*k, *ee*nt *it* tryy$_1$?

### *Notes to North Walsham* dt.

1. I am, you are, he is the man, here he be, I āan't, 'tāant.—*now* (nɛ'*u*) ow like owl, lips nearly closed, lower teeth thrust forward. This description being incomplete, (ɛ'*u*) was taken from elsewhere.

2. *hand*. "The habit is to pronounce the aspirate correctly in all cases." But "h is never sounded after w."—"W never becomes V, but V always becomes W. We cannot see any difference between the letter W and the letter WE," = V.—*enough* (ʊnʌf·) with sg., (ʊnɛ'*u*) with pl. nouns.

## Var. iii. s.Norfolk Form.

### Mattishall, Kimberley and East Dereham cs.

This version was originally written by Miss Buckle, a native of Mattishall (:mæts'l) (12 w.Norwich), acquainted with the dialect from childhood, and pal. by AJE. from her vv. explanations Oct. 1877. As I pal. in 1873 a vv. version of the same from Kimberley (10 wsw.Norwich and 5 s.Mattishall) by George Ashby, who, however, had been 33 years away from his county, then gardener to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, and had obtained a careful version in his own orthography, with elaborate explanations by Mr. G. A. Carthew, 60 years acquainted with the dialect as spoken at East Dereham (:dêurəm) (15 w-by-n.Norwich and 4 nw.Mattishall), and a version by Miss C. M. Day, of Kirby Bedon (3 se.Norwich), supplemented by long explanations and a vv. wl. given elsewhere, I take Mattishall as a centre, and give the variants of the other versions, when the difference is marked, in subsequent notes, in which K. means Kimberley, D. East Dereham, and B. Kirby Bedon. I have no guarantee that the pron. was purely local, but it must closely resemble all s.Nf. The (r) was not particularly observed, but was probably ($r_o$).

0. wái :dʒon æ)noo də'uts.

1. wæl, naa·bu, jə'u un hii ma booth laaf ut dhis niúuz u máin. hi'y$_1$ kjĭéeu ? dhæ)s naadhu héeu nu dhiiu.

2. fə'u min dái bikəz dh)aa laaft æt, wi noo, dóunt wi ? wæt shud meek)um ? teent we·ri lái·kli, is)t ?

3. hə'u·sumde·vu dhiiz a dhu fæks u dhu kjees, soo [so, so] dʒist hə'ud ja nóiz, frind [bʌ], ən be kwáit til ái hæ)dən. lis'n.

4. ái)m saa·tin ái hii'd əm see—sem ə dhem fuks dhut wænt tríy$_1$ dhə hul [hʌl] thiq frum dhu fast dhimse·lvz—·dhær)ái did.

5. dhæ)dhu jəq·ges sən hizse·lf, u grət bóoi u náin, nood)iz faadhuz wóis ut)wəns, dhoo t)wəz so kwéeur un skweeˑkin, un)ə'id trəst ·him tu speek dhu tríy$_1$th e·ni dee, aa, ə'i ·wud.

6. un dh)ool wu·mən hase·lf wul tel e·ni ən)ju dhut laaf nə'u, un tel ju street əf, tíy$_1$, ərə'u·t mətʃ bə·du i)jə)l oo·nli aask ha, oo ! oont shi ?

7. liistwái·z shi tə'ud it ·mii wen ái aast ha, tíy$_1$ u trii táimz oo·vu, shi did, un ·shii ə'u·t'nt tu bi rəq ən sitʃ u páint uz dhis, wər)u jə'u thiqk ?

8. wæl, əz ə'i weer əsee·in, ·shii)d tel jə'u hə'u wéeur u wen shi fond dhu drəqk·in beest dhæ)shi kaal har)əz·bən.

9. shi swóou she sii him wi·)ar)ooun áiz, lee·in stretʃt ut ful læqkth u)dhu grə'und, in hiz gíy$_1$d sən·di kuut, tlus bə'i dhu daar)u)dhu ə'us, də'un i)dhu kaa·nur u)jən léeun.

10. hi wəz blaa·rin awaa·, sez shii, fər aal dhu wæ'uld lə'ik u sik tjáild ər)u lit'l gæl (maadhur) in)u tempu.

11. un dhær)æp'nd, uz shii un ha daatur)i)laa kam tríy$_1$ dhə bæk-jaad frum hæq·in ə'ut dhu wet tlooz tə dráí ən ə wəsh·in dee,

12. wái'l dhu kit·l wuz bái·lin fa tii, wən fáin bráit sam·u aatuníy$_1$n oo·nli u wiik əgoo· kim neks thæ·zdee.

13. un díy$_1$ ju noo? ə'i nə·vu laand en·i móou nu dhis u dhæ)biznis əp tíy$_1$ tu-dee, uz shíy$_1$ur uz mə'i neemz :dʒon :shep·ud, un ə'i dóunt wænt tíy$_1$ ái·dhu (aa·dhu), dhéeu (dhiiu) nə'u !

14. ən soo ái)m goo·un huum [hʌm] tu hæ)mu sap·u. gíy$_1$d náit, un dóunt bi su kwik tu kroo oo·vur u bədi ugi·n, wen hi taak ə dhis, dhæt u tadhu.

15. t)*iz* ʊ week f*íy*$_1$l dhʊt gɔs*ip* w*i*)ə'*ut* *reezn*. ʊn dhæ)s mə'*i* laas wæd. g*íy*$_1$d bá*i*.

*Notes to Mattishall* cs.

0. *why* (wá*i*), this diphthong (á*i*) was not always steadily pronounced and at times sounded (ə'*i*), but I got (á*ɪ*) from K. and B.—*has*, (æ) or (a$^1$) (it was difficult to say which Miss B. said) short and run on to the next word for *have* used for *has*. This abbreviation, which occurs frequently here, was not given me elsewhere. B. insists on (hæ) with h.—*doubts* (də'*u*ts), this diphthong (ə'*u*) was given me as (ɛ'*u*) at Kimberley, and (ɛ'*u*), or more frequently (æ'*u*), at Kirby Bedon. I think this (æ'*u*) or (ææ'*u*) is what was meant by the sound written (nāew) for *know* at East Dereham.

1. *well* (wæl), in others (wɛl).—*neighbour* (naabʊ), so also D., but K. gave only (bóoʊ) or (bA), B. had (njaabʊ) and (bAA).—*may*, B. (má*i*).—*both* (buth) B.—*who* (h*íy*$_1$), as far as I could make out the fracture arose from commencing with the mouth open and then closing, it was therefore (*íy*) or (*i*$_1$y$_1$), but the first element was indistinct, and so I have marked it only (*íy*$_1$). From D., *who do through noon fool* were reported to "resemble French *eu* or long *u*," but the information was on paper only. At B. I heard (byyts, shəz, tɔ tjy, styl, stjypɪd) for *boots, shoes, two, stool, stupid*. From K. I heard (huu) simply.—*cares* (kjïéeʊ), at K. (kjéeʊ), at D. apparently (kaa), written *car*, but the writer employed *ar* for (aa), at B. (kéeʊz) with the (z) at the end, but Miss B. said they never used that form if they could avoid it.

2. *few* (fə'*u*) was (*fə*'u) apparently at K. Possibly the difference was only in my perception.—*because* (bikAAz, ʊkAAz) B.—*know* (noo) B.—*don't we* (dóʊnt wi) was written *dōnt ŭs* (doont əs) at D. This very Southern (əs) is certainly doubtful. I don't get it elsewhere in Nf. and Sf. But Forby talks of 'shall us go.'—*make them* (meek)ʊm), whether (meek) or (meek), must be considered doubtful. At K. the speaker insisted on (dhem).—*very* (wɛ·ri), the short *e* was, I think, generally rather (ɛ) than (e). The (w) for (v) is the rule among peasants, says Miss B., and both D. and K. give (wɔ'is) in par. 5. Miss B. says (wɛdɹ ʊv hæt) is the *verge* or brim of a hat.

3. *your* (ɹa) for unaccented *your*, was insisted on here and at K., and similarly (ha) for *her*.

4. *heard* (híiʊd) D., but (haad) K., (héeʊd) B. The initial (h) is insisted on by most Nf. people, but often vanishes.—*say* (*see*), from K. (séei), but my D. informant insisted on (saa), as also on (maa) for *may*, and made *day* into (dáa*i*). In XVI th century we had (saa) regularly, at present there seems to be much confusion, and the received (*see*, *see*'j, *séei*) are approached; also (se'ɪ) at Stanhoe.—*folks* (*fu*ks), so also at K., from D. I got *fo'ks*, which may or may not mean the same thing.—*through* (tr*íy*$_1$), but (thrɛ'*u*) D., (trɛ'*u*) K., (tra'*u*) B. It would seem as if (trɔ'*u* trɛ'*u*) were older forms and (tr*íy*$_1$ thr*íy*$_1$) more recent.—*whole* (h*u*l, hal), both were given, (h*u*l) B.; (h*u*l) as a remnant of (húʊl), the regular S. change from A', is perhaps the older form, and (hal), which may come from (h*oo*l hol), or be merely the regular change of (*u*) into (a), may be more recent.—*safe enough* was allowed to stand at the end of this paragraph by others, but Miss B. said the phrase was not used as an affirmative, and that *enough* was not said.—*that I* (dhær)á*i*), and afterwards, par. 7, (wɔr)ʊ) = *what do*. This *r* seems to be a mere euphonic insertion, the *t* or *td* being omitted, so (gɛr)*u*p) = *get up* in Leeds, D 24, where more examples will be quoted. In Nf. and Sf. this omission of the final *t* is frequent in (dhæ)s) for (dhæt)s), with which compare par. 0 (æ)n*oo*), par. 3 (hæ)dan), and par. 5 (dhæ)dhʊ). The insertion of euphonic *r*, as in (sAAr*i*n) = *sawing*, is almost universal in E. div. Compare also (ərə'*u*·t) = *athout* = *without* in par. 6.

5. *youngest* (ɹaq·ges) comes from D. in the form (ɹaq·gərest), my authority saying that "Nf. people are fond of indulging in ultra-superlatives," but probably they are seldom heard.—*truth* (tr*íy*$_1$th) distinctly so pronounced, but K. seemed to give (tr*ə*úth), possibly meant for (træ'uth), (tr*u*th) D. looks like a modernism for (truuth), the vowel being shortened to save it from falling into (*íy*$_1$).—*day* (dee) distinctly, (dé*i*) K., (dá*i*) D. and B., probably stages of variation from (daa)—*aye* (aa),

K. (JES), D. (·dhæt), Miss B. says *aye* is not used.

6. *will* (wul) K. (WE'ul) ? D. ('l).—*of you* (ən)JƏ), so at D., but K. (əf JƏ'u), a syllabic form.—*off* (əf), K. (ə'f), D. (ən).—*body* (bɔ·dɐ) or (bAA·dɐ), but D. and K. (bɔdhə).—*ask* (aask), K. (æks), D. (ækst).—*without* (ərə'u·t) = *athout*, with (dh) omitted and euphonic *r* inserted. K. and D. give *without* simply.—*won't* (oont), so the others. At the beginning of a sentence (woont) would be used.

7. *told* (tə'ud), so D., but (tould) K., evidently modern.—*she did* (shi did), the original had *did she*, but all agree in the other order, Miss B. stating that "dialect does not allow the nominative to be placed after the verb."—*three* (trii), all agree in *tr-* for *thr-* initial. —*point* (páint), so D. B., but (pə'int) K., modern form.—*what do you* (wər)ɐ JƏu), but D. K. B. have (wət dí$y_1$ JƏ'u).

8. *she would* (·shii)d), so D., but (shi WE'uld) K.—*found* (fənd), D. *feownd*, which may = (fE'und) K.—*drunken* (drə·qkɪn) looks like an error for (drəqk'n), as in the others, as if confused with (dr*i*qkɪn).—*her husband* (har)ƏZ·bən), the *r* is quite euphonic, owing to the omission of *h* in *husband*, which is as common as *my good man*.

9. *saw* (sii), common, (siid) D. = *see'd*.—*with her own* (wi·)ar)*óoun*), the *r* is euphonic, the syllabic division being (wi-a-*róoun*).—*lying* (lee·in), *laying* is always used for *lying*; so the others.—*ground* (grə'und), (grE'und) K. B., *greownd* D., probably the same, as my informant could not analyse the diphthongs on paper better than *eu-w*. —*close* (tlus), of course (tl-) for (kl-) was not acknowledged, but was heard; the vowel agrees with D. B., but K. has (kloos).—*door* (dAAr) = *door*, the *r* is euphonic, D. and K. give (dóoɐ+r). —*lane* (léeɐn). I noted that the (*ee*) was very light, more like (*ii*), but this was probably accidental, for K. has (leen), which is more analogous. D. gives *loke*, a common East Anglian word for a lane without a thoroughfare.

10. *whining* (blaa·rin). "Calves, sheep, asses, and children are all said to blare." *Moor*. D. gives *winnien* from Forby's "*Whinney*, to snivel and whimper like a child." K. has (pái·nɪn), B. has (wái·nin, pEnsin, páinin).—*away* (awaa·), this is a remnant of the old (waa) = *way*, K. (ɐwee·).—*world* (wæ'ld), (wold) D., (wəəld) K. B.—*child* (mAA·dhɐ+r), the regular Nf. and Sf. word for girl, the (dh) is weakly pronounced and often quite lost.

11. *that* (dhær), euphonic *r*.—*happened* (æp'nd), (hæp'nd) K., (hæpt) D. —*daughter* (daa·tər), euphonic *r*, so D. B., but (dAA·tɐr) K.—*came* (kam), (kam) D. K., which is most common, (kamd) B.—*clothes* (tlooz), the (tl-) not acknowledged.

12. *tea* (tii), so K., but (tee) D. B. —*come* (kɪm), but (kam) D. K. B., which is more regular.—*thursday* (thæ·zdee), the final syllable distinct (ee), not (*i*), but K. and D. have (thaa·zd*i*).

14. *home* (huum, ham), *home*, probably the correct form is (h*u*m) B. for A', modernised to (ham) D., (h*oom*) K. is quite modern. From Stanhoe, p. 265, No. 115, comes (*uu*$_1$m).—*have my* (hæ)mɐ), these words are omitted in E. D. and K.

15. *good bye* (gí$y_1$d bái) said only when parting for a long time. E. D. has (g*u*)bái), which is more regular.

'I are to go' is common. The Nf. *drant* (draant) is rough, thick, glib and quick, yet drawling, and the pitch does not rise at the end of a sentence.

## Kirby Bedon, Norfolk.

Words pal. in 1868 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cecilia M. Day, daughter of Rev. Edward Day, then rector of Kirby Bedon (3 se. Norwich), where she had resided from childhood, and had frequent opportunities of conversing with the peasants.

K is added to words given by Mr. Keith, of Norwich.

L is added to a few words from Miss Day's sister, Mrs. Luscombe.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 5 miák [?]. A'- 74 tə [(tjy$_1$) K]. 92 n*oo*. A': 102 aks. 111 a'nt. 115 h*u*m [(hom) K]. 117 wan. 124 st*o*n. Æ- —staaz [stairs]. Æ: 161 dáai. 173 WAA WAANt [was not]. Æ': 208 æve. 213 eedhɐ K. 214

needhʊ K. E- 232 briik. — píiʊ [a pear]. — bíiʊ [to bear]. 251 meet. E: 263 ʊwái·. 265 street. — twælv [twelve]. 270 bɛlʊz. 273 mín. 280 læv'n. 281 læqkth. — trɔsh'l [threshold]. E'- 301 héeʊ. E': 312 héeʊ [I have heard (iiʊ)]. 316 nækst. EA: 324 ɛɛt. — aan [earn]. EA'- 347 heed. — éeʊ [the ear]. EA': 353 breed. 359 nɛɛbʊ njɛba njaabʊ. 361 been. EO- 383 sæv'n. 387 ní$y_1$ L. EO: — ba·nʊn [burning]. 402 laan. EO'- 411 trii. 416 déeʊ. 420 fa'ʊʊ. EO': 431 béeʊ. I- 446 na'in. I: 452 ái [I have heard (ói, ái, a'i)]. — liid lid [lid]. — bad [bird, (bad) K]. — wíndʊ [window]. — fiish fish [fish]. — sɪks [six]. I'- — thati [thirty]. I': — diik dik [dyke]. 502 fa'ɪv. — háai [hay]. O- 524 wɔald. — trot [throat]. O: — træ'u [trough, same as *through* 634]. 527 ba'ut. — bɔrʊ [borrow] bɔrʊrín [borrowing]. — sɔrʊ [sorrow]. O'- 555 shɔz [shoes, probably (shy$_1$z) was said]. O': 577 bæ'u. 584 styy$_1$l. 592 swóoʊ. 594 byy$_1$t. 595 fat. 597 sat. U- 603 ka)ba L [come, bo']. U: 615 pæ'ʊnd L. 618 wæ'ʊnd [or 621]. 621 wæ'ʊnd [or 618]. 634 træ'ʊ [same as *trough* after 524]. U'- 640 kæ'u. Y- 679 tjatj. Y'- 707 that'n that'n [(thot'n) K]. — driip drip [drip].

II. English.

A. — snéeʊst [snast, burnt wick or snuff of candle]. — tjectʊ téeʊtʊ tjéeʊtʊ. 739 maadhʊ L. E. — malʊ [mellow]. — indjin [engine]. — klævʊ [clever]. O. — doog [? (dɔ'g) dog]. 791 bwɔ'i [has heard (bái)]. U. — ɔnlɛ·s [unless]. — ta·nʊp [turnip]. — bash [bush]. 808 pat. — krɔtj [crutch].

III. Romance.

A·· 824 tjiiʊ. — kléeʊ [clear]. — pleez L [please]. 840 tjambʊ tjaambʊ. 848 tjandj. — randj [range], ʊra·ndj [arrange]. — pjeepʊ péeʊpʊ pjéeʊpʊ. — tɔs'l [tassel]. — sælwee·shʊn [salvation]. 862 sĭaf [?]. E·· 869 weel. 870 bɔɔtifʊl [beautiful]. — envái·es [envious]. 885 wɛri. — saavʊnt saavis [servant service]. 890 beest L. — wɛks [vex]. I·· *and* Y·· — winigʊr [vinegar]. 910 dja'ist. O·· — dja'in [join]. 920 pa'int. 923 ma'ist. 929 ka'ʊkʊmbʊ. 938 kaanʊ. 947 ba'il. — deen [dean]. U·· — traant [truant]. — stjy$_1$pid [stupid].

Euphonic (r), (a'i saar)im in dhʊ draarin rʊm) I saw him in the drawing room. *un-* negative always (ɔn-).

## Examples from the Neighbourhood of Norwich.

mostly pal. by AJE. from oral and written communication of various informants, 1868.

### I. Dict. of Dr. Lomb.

1. (ɔ'i see, ba, dyy$_1$ jy$_1$ sii dhat dhʊ mee·vish ɔ-næp·in dhat dhʊ dɔdmʊn ɔn ʊ stɔn ?), I say, bor, do you see that there thrush a-napping that there snail on a stone ?
2. A. (doo)n)s'n halin !), don't stand hurling or throwing !
   B. (hyy$_1$)z ʊ·halin ?), who is a-hurling ?
   A. (ja'u wʊz ʊ-hal·in), you was a-hurling.
   B. (ɔ'i waa)nt ʊ-hal·in), I was-not a-hurling.
   A. (tɛl jau jʊ ·wɛz, fɔ ja'u hit)mʊ in dhʊ a'i widh)ʊ gyyy$_1$'z-beri), tell you, you was, for you hit me in the eye with a gooseberry.
3. (waat)ʊ jʊ goo·in tʊ)dhʊ faa, ba, widh dhem)dhʊ ship ?), what-are you going to the fair, bor, with them-there sheep ?

4. dhʊ sh*i*p *i*z plæn·jæn, wen *i*t féeʊ ty$_1$ bii ká*i*nd)ʊ dɜz *i*), the sheep is "plaignant"=unwell, when it fares to be kind of dizzy.

II. From Mrs. Luscombe.

5. (ə*i* wAAnt)jʊ, hi ka'nt dɜ)t), I warrant you, he can't do it.
6. (duu)t raa,n, bA? jes, *i*t dyy$_1$), do it rain, bo'? Yes, it do.

III. Dictated by a middle-aged passenger in the omnibus going from Norwich to Cromer on an expedition during the British Association, 27 Aug. 1868, a dialogue which he said he had overheard between two farmers at a pot-house, when he was a boy.

7. A. (wá*i* doont-jʊ paa)mi dhat)dhʊ tyy$_1$ pE'*u*nd jʊ)oo)mi fʊ dhEm)dhʊ tyy$_1$ sh*i*p?), why don't you pay me that two pound you owe me for them-there two sheep?
B. (ə'*i* doo)nt oo ·jɜ'*u* noo tyy$_1$ pE'*u*nd), I don't owe you no two pound.
A. (jɜ'*u* dyy$_1$), you do. [Pause, A. goes on smoking.]
B. (ə'*i*)d nok dhat)dhʊ pɜ'*i*p E'*u*t)ʊ jɔ'ʊ mE'*u*th, *i*f ɜ'*i* dáaʊ), I'd knock that there pipe out of your mouth, if I dare.
A. (aa$_I$! jɜu)ʊ daak ʊnɜf, :h*i*ndr*i*, bA, jɜ'*u*)ʊ bla'k ʊnɜf. jɜ'*u* ·w*u*d, ·ee jɜ'*u* ·dáaʊ, bɜt jɜ'*u* daa·s)'nt), Ah! you're dark enough, Andrew, bo', you're black enough. You would *if* you dare, but you dursen't. [Brings down his fist on to the table, which he upsets, spills the liquor and breaks the glasses.]
B. (dhɜɜ, bA, jɜ'*u*)v dɜ·n)it nE'*u*, ee)nt-jʊ? jE'*u*)l ha'v tʊ)paa fʊ)dhat nE'*u*, bA!), There, bo', you've done-it now, have-not-you? You'll have to-pay for-that now, bo'. [A fierce altercation ensued, during which the listener decamped.]

IV. Communicated by Rev. T. Burningham, formerly Rector of Charlwood (6 s.Reigate, Sr.), conjecturally pal. by AJE.

8. (ə'*i* k*á*i*n*d)ʊ shɜk so), I kind-of shook so.
9. (lAA, mAA, d*oo*·s'n blee·rɛn ʊ)dha·t)nʊ), lawk, girl, don't stand bellowing of that-way.
10. (wæl, ə'*i* wʊ fɜ·skɜɜ· jíiʊ laas fa·sgɛn tyy$_1$·zd*i*, we·da tʊ)jíiʊ bi hə·*i*)n ʊ l*oo*)n), well, I was four-score year last Paschal Tuesday, whether this-year be high-'un or low-'un, i.e. leap year or not.

V. Street cries heard repeatedly at Norwich by AJE. in 1868.

11. (n*é*y$_1$ bloo·tʊz *i*iʊ, f*á*i*n* blo·tʊz, :jaa'mʊth bl*ó*i*t*ʊz íiʊ!), new bloaters here, fine bloaters, Yarmouth bloaters here! [Observe three different pron. of 'bloaters' from three different men]. (m*i*ʊlk! mə'ʊlk f*ó*i*n*!), milk, milk fine.

VI. Notes and Sentences from TH., m. and s.Norwich.

12. *Buxton* (8 n.Norwich). (wɛl, :b*i*l, bʌ'ʊ, ar)jʊ gó·ʊn hoom), well, Bill, bo', are)you going home?
13. *Diss* (19 ssw.Norwich). (mʌʌdhʊr$_o$)z mɔ́st ʊ dhʊ wɜɜd), mawther)is most of the word, the word most generally used.—(nɔ́ də'*i*k nʊr j*i*t ʊ dr*ee*n), no dyke nor even a drain, at Diss.—(àr jʊ kɜmʊn dh*i*s waa?), are you coming this way?—(mə'*i*t ʊv kjɛp ʊ h*oo*m), might have kept a home. [The man from whom this was taken was a native of Diss, where he lived 24 years and then lived at March, Cb., 45 years, and he seems to have lost much of his dialect. I doubt, therefore, his furnishing true Diss speech.]
14. *Norwich. h* not aspirated in the city of N.
15. *Wymondham* (9 wsw.Norwich). TH. finds that a majority of U- words have (ə), but older men use ($u_o$) and a small number use (o). Of course (u *u* $u_o$) are the older forms, and gradually lead to (o), and thence to (ɜ ə). This seems the direction of change, but we cannot consider the sporadic ($u_o$) of any value against Mattishall and Kimberley, knowing nothing about it. Compare (nuun nœ'un), leading to (nyy$_1$n niyy$_1$n).

## Gt. Yarmouth, s.Nf. and n.Sf.

dt. written by Rev. Dr. Raven, then of the School House, Gt. Yarmouth, since 1885 Rector of Fressingfield (8 n.Framlingham), Sf., pal. by AJE. in 1879 partly from vv. directions.

1. suu ɜ'*i* sái, bʌʌz, jʊ sii nɛ'*u* ɜ'i)m rɜ'*i*t ʊbɛ'*ut* dhæt)dhʊ l*i*t'l gæl ʊkɔmʊn frʊm dhʊ skyy$_1$l [skíul] h*i*ndʊ.
2. shii)z ʊgo·*i*n dɛ'ʊn dhʊ ruud dhéʊ trɛ'*u* dhʊ r*i*d géʊt ɔn dhʊ lɛft hænd sɜ'*i*d ʊ dhʊ wá*i*.
3. shyy$_1$r ʊnɜf dhʊ tjɜ'*i*ld)z gʌʌn strá*i*t ɔp tʊ dhʊ dʌʌr ʊ dhʊ rɔq hɛ'*u*s,
4. wéʊ shi)l tj̆ans tʊ fɜ'*i*nd dhæt)dhʊ drɜqk'n dɛf shr*i*v'ld fɛlʊr ʊ dhʊ neem ʊ :tɔ̃mʊs.
5. w*i* úuʊl n*oo*)*i*m verʊ wɛl.
6. *oo*nt dh)ɜ'*u*ld tjap s*i*yy$_1$n teetj [laan] har nɔt tʊ d*i*yy$_1$ *i*t ʊg*i*·n, póoʊ th*i*q.
7. l*u*k, eent *i*t tr*i*yy$_1$?

*Note.*—The 'aristocracy' in Yarmouth say (óoʊ flóoʊz) our flowers. (bʌ) is used for women as well as men. The manner of speech seems much the same as over ne. and m.Nf.

s.Norfolk cwl.

collected from TH.'s observations in 1881-2-3. wn. at

B Buxton. Nt North Taddenham T Thetford.
D Diss. (4 nw.Norwich). W Wymondham.
E East Dereham. N Norwich.
TH.'s (r) not before a vowel is at most ($r_o$).

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 21 T nê m, W nɛ^n*im*. A: 56 D wʌsh. A'- [T (â*i*), letter A]. 74 DT t*í*ᵢuu. 91 D m*oo*·un [mowing]. A': 102 D aks. 104 W r*ood*. 115 D *ò*m, NtW *oo*m. 125 D *oo*nl*i*. — D ròp [rope]. Æ- 138 D faadhu. 152 B wʌ'tur. Æ: 161 D d*ee*, Nt dɛ^n*i*. Æ'- 187 D l*ee*v. 193 D kliin. 197 D tjiiz. 200 Nt wìt, T wiit. Æ': — D miil [a meal]. 223 T dhêu. 224 T wêu. E- 233 T spiik. 241 D r*ee*n. 251 Nt m*ee*t. 252 B kj*it*'l. 254 D lədhu. E: 261 Nt sɛ^n*i*. 262 D waa, Nt wɛ^n*i*, T wâ'l*i*. 263 D uwee·. — D fɪlz [fields]. — B hɪn [hen]. E'- 299 DT griin. 301 E hêu+r, Nt à+r. E': 305 D h*ái*. 314 D éur$_o$d, Nt aad. EA: 326 D *ôu*d. EA'- 347 BW hɛd, D èd. EA': — D îu [year]. 366 TW gr*éi*t. EO: — B ban [burn]. 402 B laan, T lɑɑn. EO'- 419 B júur, N jaa. EO': 428 B sii. 431 DNt bîur. 435 N jɑ'*u*. 437 D truuth, T trœ'uth. EY- 438 D d*ái*, Nt dɑ^n*i*, T [between] d*ái* dʌ^n*i*. I- 446 T nʌ^*in*. I: 452 B ɑ'*i*. 458 D nə'ɪt. 459 B rɑ'ɪt. I'- [T (ʌ^*i*), letter I]. 494 D tə'ɪmz, T [between] tʌ^*im* t*ái*m. — D riip'n [reaping]. I': 500 B lɑ'ɪk. O: 531 D dʌʌtur, F dootu [nearly (ʌʌ) with pursed lips], Nt dʌʌte [and in some villages] daatu. — B hɔs. O'- 555 D shuuz, T shœ'u, W shœ'ù [decidedly]. 557 B tù. 559 D mədhu. 560 D skuul. 562 Nt muun, TW muun. 566 D unə·dhur [another], E un*u*$_o$dhu [one person]. 568 Nt brodhu. O': 579 D unə·f. 587 DT də'n. 588 NtT nuun, W nœ'un n*ú*un. U- 603 D kəm. 605 T sə'n. 606 NtW d*ó*u. 607 D bə'tur$_o$, W botu. U: 612 ET sə'm, Nt sòm, Nt s*ù*$_o$m. 616 D grɛ'*u*nd. 629 T sən. 633 E kə°p kə°p kop [occ.] k*u*$_o$p. 636 N fadur. U'- 640 D kjɛ'*u*. 641 B ɑ'*u*. 643 B nɑ'*u*. 648 D [unemphatic] wur. 650 B [between] ubə'*ut*, ubɑ'*ut*. U': 663 D ɛ'*u*ss, T ə'*u*s, W ⌊hə'*u*s. Y- 673 B mɑtj, T m*u*$_o$tj. 679 N tjɑtj.

II. English.

A. 722 D dr*ee*n. I. *and* Y. 758 D gjalz. U. 803 E djə°mp djə°mp djomp [occ.] dj*u*$_o$mp. — T t*í*ᵢuun [tune], W tœ'un.

III. Romance.

A·· 811 D pl*ee*sez. — B pɛ^n*i* [pay]. — Nt. plá'*in*l*i*. 862 D s*ee*f. E·· 867 B tii. 869 N wiil. — D fɛtjez [vetches]. — N wɛntu+r [venture]. I·· *and* Y·· 901 D fɑ^n*in*. O·· 935 D kəntr*i*. 950 D səpur, Nt. sopur. U·· — W dlœ'ù [glue]. — D w*ee*t'n [waiting]. — W. mœ'uzik. 970 D djəs.

## Var. iv. e.Suffolk Form.

### Framlingham (18 n.Woodbridge) cs.

written by Mr. Jas. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough (2 ssw. Framlingham), and a frequent visitor at Woodbridge, when a boy, and long resident at Stowmarket (14 nw.Woodbridge), pal. Dec. 1881 by AJE. from his dictation.

0. wá*i* :djan hiint got no dɛ'*u*ts.

1. wɛl, naabu, jɑ'*u* un hii ma b*u*th laaf ut dh*i*s híiu n*í*yᵢz u máin. h*í*yᵢ kéeu ? dhæ)s nadhu híiu nu dhéeu.

2. fíy$_1$ min dái koz dhée)ʊ laaft ʊt, wii noo, dóoʊnt wi? wot shʊd meek)'m? tiint wer·i láik·li, iz it?

3. hɛ'use·vʊ, dhiiz fiʊr ʊ dhʊ fæks, su djɛs hood jʊ nóiz, bɑ'ʊ, ʊn bi kwáit til ái ʊ dan. lɛs·n.

4. ʊ)m saa·tin ái híiʊd 'm séeʊ, səm ʊ dhɛm fuks ʊt wɛnt thrɑ'u dhʊ hud djob from dhʊ fast dhʊse·lvz, dhæt ʊ did, síy$_1$ʊ ʊnɑ'u!

5. dhʊt dhʊ jɑqgist sɑn hizself ʊ gréʊt búi ʊ náiʊn, níy$_1$)z faadhʊz vóis dhéeʊr ʊn dhɛn, dhoo tʊ·wəz su kwíiʊr ʊn skwíʊkʊn ʊn a)d trɑst)'m tʊ spéʊk dhʊ tríy$_1$th, eni déei, dhæt a wud.

6. ʊn dh)ood wʊmʊn ase·lf 'l tɛl en·i ən-jʊ ʊt láaʊf nɛ'u, ʊn tel jʊ rait ɑ'f, tíy$_1$, ʊdhɛ'ut mɑtj bòdhʊ, ef jó)ʊl o·ni a'sk)ʊ, oont shi?

7. liistweez shi tood mi wen ái aast)ʊ tíy$_1$ ʊ thrii taimz u·va, ʊn shii ɑ'ut'nt tʊ bi rəq ən sítj ʊ póint ʊz dhis híiʊr, ɑ'ut shi, wət d)jɑ'u thiqk?

8. wɛl, ʊz ái wʊz ʊ)see·ʊn shii)d tɛl)jʊ hɛ'u, wéeʊr ʊn wɛn shi fɛ'un⌊d dhʊ drɑqk'n biist shi kaal ʊ hɑzbʊnd.

9. shi swóoʊ shi sii)im ʊdh ʊr oon áiz ʊ)lee·ʊn strɛtjt ful leqkth on dhʊ grɛ'un⌊d in iz sɑn·di kluuz klus bi dhʊ dúuʊr ʊ dhʊ ɛ'us dɛ'un əgin· dha kaanʊr ʊ dhʊ léeʊn hində.

10. hii wʊz ʊ wáinʊn ʊwéeʊ, sez shii, fʊr aal dhʊ wáʊld láik ʊ sik tjáild ʊr ʊ lit'l gæl ʊ frɛtʊn.

11. ʊn dhæt dhéeʊ hæp'nd djɛs ʊz shii ʊn ʊ daa·tʊrinlaa kɑm thrɑ'u dhʊ bækjaad aatʊ dhee)d hɑq ɛ'ut dhʊ wɛt kluuz wɑn wəshʊn déeʊ,

12. wáil dhʊ kit'l wʊz ʊ báil·ʊn fʊ tii wɑn fáin sɑm·ʊr aatʊníy$_1$n o·ni ʊ wiik ʊgu· kɑm thaazdi.

13. ʊn dii jʊ nòu? ái niv·ə híiʊd no máuʊr ʊ dhæt biznis til tʊ dee, ʊz síy$_1$ʊr ʊz mái neem)z :djən :shɛpʊd, ʊn ái doont wənt nɑdhʊ, dhéeʊ nɛ'u!

14. ʊn sóu ʊ)m ʊ goo·ʊn hum tʊ sɑpʊ. gud náit ʊn dúʊnt jɑ'u bi sʊ rid·i tʊ droo uv·ʊr ʊ tjæp ʊgin· wen i taak ʊ dhis, dhæt ʊ tɑdh·ʊ.

15. hi)z ʊ wiik fíy$_1$l dhʊt préeʊt ʊdhɛ'ut riiz'n; ʊn dhæ)s mái laast wɑd. gu)bái.

*Notes on the Framlingham* ES.

0. *has not* (hiint) for have not, they use the plural form in the singular, and never omit (h).—*doubts* (dɛ'uts), the sound was decidedly not (dóuts, dɑ'uts), but whether the first element of the diphthong was quite (ɛ) I could not feel certain. Mr. Grant has been many years in London, and this may have affected his utterance of the sound. But the approach to (ɛ'u) is noticeable in respect to Southwold.

1. *you* (jɑ'u) was clear, and quite different from (jɛ'u).—*news* (níy$_1$z), this was the nearest representation I could give of the diphthong; it was certainly not (níuz).—*that is*, (dhæ-s). The (æ) throughout is rather uncertain, as there was a suspicion of London influence.

2. *know* (noo), I did not always hear (noo, but sometimes (noo), sometimes (nò⌊u).—*it is not* (tiint).—(wer·i), this use of (w) for (v) is very general, but not used in every case; *violet* is (wáilet). I could not be certain whether Mr. G. intended (e) or (ɛ) throughout.

3. *bor* (bɑ') and (bɑ'', bɑɑ'), according to circumstances often sinks to (bɑ) when spoken rapidly.—*I have done* (ái ʊ dan), properly I are done, (ái dan it) is often used for I did it.

4. *that* (ʊt), relative.—*enough enow* (enɑf, enɑ'u) are sometimes distinguished for singular and plural nouns.

5. *son* is not distinguished from *sun*. —*boy* (bái), or nearly (bói) at times.—*it* (tʊ), this form of *it* is curious, and is recognised by Forby.—*day* (déei)

very distinctly here, but it may have been an error, as Mr. G. would not allow that "*y* was sounded in *day*." (déev) seems more usual, see last word of par. 11.

6. *you will* (jo)vl) was meant to be a shortened form of (jɑ'u'l), produced by absence of emphasis.

7. *three* (thrii) not (trii), as it is generally in Nf. and at Southwold.—*over* (*u*v·a) over, Mr. G. perhaps said (*o*v), but he insisted on (a) not (v).—*point* (póint), like (vóis) and not (páint), which is reserved for *pint*.

8. *found* (fɛ'*u*n|d), Mr. G. insisted upon a suspicion of a (d), without any recoil, and just touched; that is, the nasality of the (n) was momentarily lost.—*husband* (haz·bund), this word is in common use.

9. *clothes close* (kluuz klus), observe the distinction of vowel length. Mr. G. sometimes made it (kl*oo*z kl*o*s), but I believe the first to be most correct. I have used (kl*uu*z) in par. 11 as a compromise.—*yon* (hín) is also used for *yon, yonder* (hindu), is generally an adverb, and then we have (u dhu lən hindu).

10. *world* (wáuld) or (wər$_o$ld, war$_o$ld), the word was rather uncertain, perhaps (waald), at Southwold (wald).—*girl* (gæl) is more common than (maadhə) now, but the latter word is still used, and old farmers apply it to grown girls of five-and-twenty.

12. *boiling* (báil·un), and so (spáil áis·tu áint·munt), but not (páint) for *point*.—*Thursday* (thaa·zdi), the acknowledged sound for *er, ur* in Sf. seems to be (aa), hence perhaps (waald) in par. 10 as there suggested would be more correct.

13. *do* (dii) is an abbreviated way of saying (díy$_1$ ju) when asking questions. —*know* (no'u) is the best representation of what I heard, but I think it is not quite right; see (noo), par. 2.—*name* (neem) not (náam) as I got from Pakenham.

SOUTHWOLD, and 12 m. round (on the coast 12 ssw. Lowestoft) cwl.

pal. 1877 by AJE. from dict. of Miss C. M. Mallet, teacher at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, who had known the dialect all her life.

Words preceded by H were obtained by TH. in 1876 from an old native of Great Bealings (6 ne. Ipswich), then living in London.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bêuk. 4 têuk. 5 mêuk. 6 mêud. 7 sêuk. 8 ev. 9 bujeev. 10 haa'u. 12 saa. 14 draa [(draarin) drawing, H (draa·urz)]. 16 daan. 17 laa. 18 kêuk. 19 têul. 20 lêum. 21 nêum. 22 têum. 23 sêum. 24 shêum. 26 wêun. 27 nêuv. 28 êu. 31 lêut. 32 biidh. 33 radhu. 34 laast. 35 aal. 36 thóu. 37 tlaa. A: 39 kam. 40 kam. 41 tha$^l$qk. 43 a$^l$nd. 44 la$^l$nd. 46 ka$^l$nd'l. 47 wa$^l$ndu. 48 saq. 50 toqz. 51 ma$^l$n. 52 wa$^l$n. 54 wont. 55 a$^l$shez. 56 wesh [H (wosh)]. 57 aas.

A: *or* O: 58 from. 59 la$^l$m. 60 loq. 61 umaq. 62 strooq. 63 troq. 64 rooq. 65 soq. A'- 67 guu. 69 nuu. 70 tuu. 71 wuu. 72 wyy$_1$. 73 suu. 74 tyy$_1$. 75 strak. 76 tuud. 77 laad. 78 óun. 79 óun. 80 olude. 81 lêun. 83 máun. 84 móou. 85 sóou. 86 uts. 87 tlooz. 89 buth. 90 blóu. 91 móu. 92 nóu. 93 snóu. 94 króu. 95. tra'u [(al) hurl more used]. 96 sôu. 97 sóuld. A': 101 uk. 102 ast. 104 rud. 105 rud [(rid) gen.]. 106 braad. 107 luf. 108 dóu. 109 lôu. 110 not. 111 a'ut. 112 éul. 113 hul. 115 um. 116 yy$_1$. 118 bun. 121 gaan. 122 nun. 123 nothun. 124 stun. 125 unli. 126 óou. 127 aa'us. 129 gust. 130 but. 132 ot. 133 rut. 134 uth. 135 tlaath.

Æ- 138 faadhu. 139 dréei. 140 éeil. 141 néeil. 142 snéeil. 143 téeil. 144 ugi·n. 145 sléein. 146 méein [=the sea, not used for very]. 147 bréein. 148 fêur [? meant for "a fair," after 887]. 149 blêuz. 150 leeest. 152 watu. 153 sa$^l$dude. Æ: 155 thætj. 157 rêuv'n. 158 aatu. 160 éeig. 161 déeei. 163 léei. 164 méei. 165 sed. 166 méeid. 167 dêul. 168 ta$^l$lu. 169 wen. 170 a$^l$vest. 171 baali. 173 waz [(éi waant) he was not]. 174 a$^l$sh. 175 faast. 178 na$^l$t. 179 wot. 181 pa$^l$th. Æ'- 182 sêu. 183 têutj. 184 liid. 185 rêud. 186 br$_o$idth brætth. 187 lêuv. 188

néei. 189 wéei. 190 kêʊ. 191 iil. 192 mêʊn. 193 klêʊn. 194 ʊni. 195 mʊni. 197 tʃêʊz. 199 blêʊt. 200 wêʊt. 201 êʊdh'n. 202 eet. Æ': 203 spêʊtʃ. 204 dêʊd. 205 tr$_{o}$id. 206 r$_{o}$æd. 207 nêʊd'l. 210 kleei. 211 gr$_{o}$eei. 213 áidhʊ. 215 teetʃt. 216 dêʊl. 217 êʊtʃ. 218 shêʊp. 219 slêʊp. 221 fêʊ. 222 êʊ. 223 dhêʊ. 224 wêʊ [H wívr]. 225 flæsh. 226 must. 227 wæt. 228 swæt. 229 br$_{o}$æth. 220 fa't.

E- 232 br$_{o}$êʊk. 233 spêʊk. 234 nêʊd. 235 wêʊv. 236 fêʊvʊ. 237 tʃilbléein. 238 éeidʃ [=257]. 239 séeil. 241 r$_{o}$éein. 243 pléei. 246 kwêʊn [queen]. 247 wêʊn. — pêʊ [a pear]. 248 mêʊ. 249 wêʊ. 250 swêʊ. 251 mêʊt. 252 kit'l. 253 næt'l. 254 lædhʊ. 255 wædhʊ. E: 257 éeidʃ. 259 wædʃ. 261 séei. — leeg [leg]. 262 wéei. 264 eeil. 265 street. 267 ʃild. 268 ældʊs. 270 bælʊsiz [a pair of bellows], bæli [belly]. 272 ælʊm. 273 min. 274 bæntʃ. 276 thiqk. 277 drintʃ. 278 wæntʃ [a term of reproach]. 280 læv'n [(læv'nziz) beer and cake at 11]. 281 læqkth. 282 str$_{o}$æqkth. 283 mær$_{o}$i. 284 tr$_{o}$osh. 285 kr$_{o}$iis. 286 ærʊ. 288 læt. E'- 290 éi. 292 méi. 294 fêʊd. 295 brʊd. 296 bʊlêʊv. 298 fêʊl. 299 grêʊn. 300 kêʊp. 302 mêʊt. 303 swêʊt. 304 bêʊt'l [mallet]. E': 305 ái. 306 éeith. 307 nái. 308 nêʊd [=knead in sound]. 308 spêʊd [=spade in sound]. 310 êʊl. 311 tæn. 312 êʊ. 314 êʊd. 315 fêʊt. 316 næks.

EA- 317 flii. 319 gêʊp. EA: 321 sii [pres. tense gen. used for past]. 322 laaf. 323 fa'ʊt. 324 áiʃʊt. 325 wʌʌk. 326 ood. 327 boold. 330 ood. 331 sood. 332 tood. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 335 ʌʌl. 336 fʌʌl. 337 wʌʌl. 340 ʃaad. 342 aam. 343 wʌʌm. 345 dêʊ [(ʃa'u dʌs'nt) you dare not]. 346 gêʊt. EA'- 347 hid [town], hêʊd [country]. 348 ái. 349 fyy$_{1}$ [or (fɔ'y$_{1}$), perhaps there is a slight movement of the tongue, possibly (fœ'u)]. EA': 350 dêʊd. 351 læd. 352 ræd. 353 brêʊd. 354 shêʊf. 355 dæf. 356 lêʊf. 357 dhoo. 359 nêʊbʊ. 360 têʊm. 361 bêʊn. 362 sléei. 363 tʃêʊp. 365 nêʊ. 366 grêʊt. 367 tr$_{o}$ʊt. 368 dæth. 369 slôu. 370 róoʊ. 371 strʌʌ.

EI- 372 ee, éei. 373 dhéei. 374 néei [rare]. 375 reez. 376 bêʊt. EI: 377 stêʊk. 378 wêʊk.

EO- 383 sæv'n. 384 æv'n. 385 ʌndʊneeth [underneath]. 386 ʃa'u. 387 nuu. EO: 388 milk. 389 ʃalk. 390 shud. 394 indʊ. 396 waak. 397 sôʊd. 398 staav. 399 br$_{o}$áit. 400 aanest. 401 ʃaan. 402 laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 406 aath. 407 faad'n. EO'- 409 béei. 411 tr$_{o}$ii. 412 shéi. 413 dæv'l. 414 flái. 415 lái. 416 dêʊ. 417 tʃoo'u. 418 bra'ù. 420 fʌʌ [wʌn tyy$_{1}$ trii fʌʌ=1, 2, 3, 4, H (fóʊr)]. 421 fʌʌti. EO': 423 thái. 424 raf. 425 láit. 426 fáit. 427 béei. 428 séei. 429 find [an angry name for a mischievous teasing child]. 430 frind. 431 bêʊ [but (ʊ baal ʊ bîʊ) a barrel of beer]. 432 fʌʌth. 433 brist. 434 bêʊt. 435 ʃa'u. 436 tra'u [Miss M. had marked this and the next as having French u, but this was what she dictated]. 437 trooʊth. EY- 438 dái. EY: 439 tr$_{o}$ʌst.

I- 441 siv. 442 áivʊri. 443 fráidi. 444 stáil [(ʊ filstái) a field style]. 446 náin. 450 tuuzdi. 451 soo. I: 452 ái. 457 máit. 458 náit. 459 r$_{o}$áit [(r$_{o}$) gen. before vowels]. 460 weeit. 462 sáit. 466 tʃáild. 467 wáild. 468 tʃildʊn. 471 timbʊ. 472 shr$_{o}$iqk. 473 bláind. 474 r$_{o}$in [of cheese, apple peel (ʌ'p'l pil)]. 475 wind. 476 báind. 477 fáind. 478 gráind. 481 fiqgʊ. 484 dhis. 485 this'l [children (fis'l)]. 486 ʃist. 487 ʃistʊdi. — sæks [six]. I'- 490 H bái. 491 sái. 493 dr$_{o}$áiv [dr$_{o}$iv, dr$_{o}$ʌv]. 494 táim. 496 áiʃʊn. 498 r$_{o}$áit. I': 500 láik. 501 wáid. 502 fáiv. 504 náif. 505 wáif [not much used, gen. (iz misis) his missis]. 506 wʌmʊn [but (ool)d)ʌmʊn)]. 507 wimen. 508 máil. 509 wáil. 511 wáin. 512 spái·ʊ. 513 wáiʊ. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdʊm. 517 ʃuu.

O- 520 bóou. 521 fyyl [=fool in sound, inclined to (fɔ'y$_{1}$l)]. 522 up'n. 523 up. 524 wald. O: 526 kʌʌʊf. 527 boot. 528 thoot. 529 broot. 530 root. 531 daatʊ. 532 kóoʊ·l [H. (kuul)]. 533 dal. 536 góoʊld. 538 wud. 539 ba'ul. 540 [holly is only called a (krizʊmʊs bʊsh) Christmas bush]. 542 boot. 545 op. 547 bʌad. 548 fʌad. 550 waad. 551 stʌam. 552 kʌan. 553 ʌʌn. 553 os [horse]. 554 kr$_{o}$ʌʌʊs. O'- 555 shyy$_{1}$. 556 tʊ. 557 tíy$_{1}$. 558 luk. 559 madhʊ. 561 blɔ'y$_{1}$m [camomile *bloʊs* (blóouz) used for blossoms]. 562 myy$_{1}$n. 563 mandi. 564 syy$_{1}$n. 565 nuuz. 566 ʌdhʊ.

O': 569 b*u*k. 570 t*u*k. 571 g*u*d. 572 blad. 573 flad. 574 br*u*d. 575 st*u*d. 576 wænvsdi. 577 ba'*u*. 578 pla'*u*. 579 vna·f [sg.], vna'*u* [pl.]. 580 taf. 581 sòt. 582 kyy$_1$l. 583 tyy$_1$l. 584 styy$_1$l. 585 br$_o$ə̂y$_1$m. 586 dyy$_1$. 587 dan. 588 nyy$_1$n. 589 spyy$_1$n. 590, flóov. 591 maa. 592 swóov. 593 mast. 594 byy$_1$t. 595 f*u*t. 596 ryy$_1$t. 597 sat. 598 s*u*th.

U- 599 vbov. 600 lav. 601 fa'*u*l. 602 sa'*u*. 603 kam. 605 san. 606 daa'v. 607 batv. U: 608 agl*i*. 609 fal. 610 w*u*l. 611 balvk. 612 sam. 613 dr$_o$aqk. 614 a'*u*n. 615 pa'*u*n [H. páund] 616 gra'*u*nd. 617 sa'*u*nd. 618 wa'*u*nd. 619 fa'*u*n. 620 gra'*u*nd. 621 wa'und. 622 ondv. 625 toq. 626 aqgv. 628 nan. 629 san. 630 wan. 631 thazd*i*. 632 ap. 633 kap. 634 tr$_o$a'*u*. 635 wath. 636 fadv. 637 task. 638 bask. 639 dast. U'- 640 ka'*u* [H. (káu)]. 641 a'u. 643 na'u. 645 dav. 646 ba'u. 647 a'ul. 648 a'*u*v. 649 tha'uzvnd. 652 k*u*d. 653 bat. U': 654 sr$_o$a'*u*d [in both senses]. 656 r$_o$ə̂'y$_1$m [?ræ'um]. 657 br$_o$a'uvn. 658 da'*u*vn. 659 ta'uvn. 660 baa. 661 shaa. 662 as. 663 a'*u*s, [pl.] a'*u*zvn. 664 la'*u*s. 665 ma'*u*s. 666 azbvn [my man, my old man, my husband, have all been heard; the last is refined]. 667 a'*u*t. 668 pra'*u*d [gen. (stak ap)]. 669 onkuth. 670 b*u*th [not in sg., but (byy$_1$dhz) in plural]. 671 ma'uth. 672 sa'uth [(sath êvst) south-east, (sadhvn bái sau) southern by south ?].

Y- 673 motj [H. m*u*$_o$tj]. 674 [(dan) used for *did*]. 676 lái. 677 dr$_o$ái. 678 din. 679 tjatj tjatj. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l. Y: 683 midj. 684 br$_o$idj. 686 bái [H. b*ai*]. 687 fláit ev badz [flight of birds]. 689 bild. 690 káind. 661 máind. 693 sin. 696 bath. 697 bær$_o$i. 698 math. 699 weelr$_o$áit [wheelwright]. 700 was. 701 fast. — H. tjist [chest]. 703 pit. 704 wiksvn. Y'- 705 sk*ai*. 706 w*ai*. 707 thattiin. Y': 709 f*ai*v. 711 liis. 712 miis.

## II. English.

A. 713 bæd. 715 pæd. 716 æd'l [adj. bad, only]. 717 djêvd. 718 trêvd. 720 feeg. 722 dréein. 723 dêvr$_o$i. 724 baal. 725 sêvl. 727 djæm. 728 shæm. 729 frêvm. 733 skêv. 734 daan. 735 smæsh. 737 mèvt. 738 prêvt. 739 maadhv maa. 740 wêsv. 741 mêvz. 742 lêvzi.

E. 743 skr$_o$êvm. 744 mèvz'lz. 745 tjêvt. 746 br$_o$êvdh. 747 endæ·vv. 748 onflædjd [all un- become (on)]. 750 beeg. — malv [mellow]. 751 paat.

I. *and* Y. 753 tit'l. 754 p*ee*g. 755 filbvt. 756 srimp. 757 táini. 758 gæl. 759 fit.

O. 761 luud. 762 *u*kvm. 763 r$_o$uum. 764 kod'l. 767 náiz. 768 k*u*k [same as cook]. 769 muul, muul-ilz [molehills]. 771 fond. 772 b*u*mfáiv. 773 [(dik*i*) used for donkey]. 774 puuni. 775 buub*i*. 777 shop. 778 vfaa·d. 779 aats. 780 djos'l. 781 baadhv. 783 p*oo*tr$_o$i. 785 landj. 789 ra'*u*. 790 ga'*u*nd.

U. 792 skwob'l. 793 ag. 794 [(gotj) used for *jug*]. 795 srig. 799 skal. 800 skal. 801 r$_o$am. 802 r$_o$am. 803 djamp. 805 kadz. 806 fas. 807 p*u*s. 808 pat [used as a subst. for an old-fashioned labourer, a putt].

## III. Romance.

A·· 809 êvb'l. 810 fêvs. 811 plêvs. 812 lêvs. 813 bêvk'n. 814 mêvsvn. 815 fæks. 816 fêvd. 817 redish. 818 êvdj. 819 rêvdj. 822 méei. 823 béei. 824 tjêv. 825 wêvf [(wips vn strêvz) occ. for waifs and strays]. 826 eeg'l. 827 eegv. 828 eegv. 829 géein. 830 tréein. 832 mêv. 833 pêv [H peer]. 834 v puu sh*ee* [a post chaise, (vn os vn sh*ee*) a horse and chaise]. 835 rêvzvn. 836 sêvzvn. — H. wes'l. 838 trêvt. 839 bêvt. 840 tjeembv. 841 tjaans. 842 plæqk. 843 br$_o$aantj. 844 tr$_o$æntj. 845 êvnshvnt. 846 tjaandlv. 847 deendjv. 848 tjeendj. 849 straandjv. 851 aant ænt. 852 êvpvn. 853 baagin. 854 baal. 855 kaat. 856 paat. 857 kêvs. 858 brêvs. 859 tjêvs. 860 pêvst. 861 têvst. 862 sêvf. 863 tjeef. 864 koz. 865 folt. 866 paa.

E·· 867 têv. 868 djéei. 869 wèvl. 870 byy$_1$ti [(bnyy$_1$-) used, sounded very like (buu-)]. 871 vgréei. 872 tjêvf. 874 rêvn. 875 feent. 876 déeinti. 877 êv. 878 sælvri. 879 fii·mêvl. 880 egzaa·mp'l. 881 sæns. 884 prætis.

885 H. vɛr*i*. 887 tlaadʒ*i*. 888 saat*i*n. 889 sêʊs. 890 bêʊst [pl. not known]. 891 fêʊst. 892 nɛʊ*i*. 893 flaa'ʊ. 894 disêʊv. 895 risêʊv.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 dilái·t. 898 náis. 899 nêʊs. 900 prêe*i*. 901 fáin. 902 máin. 904 wɔ'ilet. 905 rái·ʊt. 906 wáipʊ. 908 ʊdwái·s. 909 brêʊz. 811 sistʊn. 912 ráis.

O·· 913 k*u*tʒ. 914 br*u*tʒ. 915 staf. 916 anʒʊn. 917 r*u*g. 918 fêʊb'l [=fable]. 919 áintmʊnt. 920 páint. 921 ʊkwee·nt. 922 bɛsh'l. 923* máist. 924 tʒáis. 925 wáis. 926 spáil. 927 tr$_{o}$ɛqk. 928 ɛ'*u*ns. 929 kɛ'*u*-kʊmbʊ. 930 láin. 931 dʒɛglʊ. 932 ʊmɛ'*u*nt. 933 frɛnt. 934 bɛ'*u*nt*i*. 935 kɛntr*i*. 936 fɛnt. 937 kɔk. 938 kaanʊ. 939 kl*u*s. 943 k*u*t. 941 fyy$_1$l. 942 b*u*tʒʊ. 943 tɛtʒ. 944 ʊlɛ'*u*. 945 wɛ'*u*. 946 mɔ'il. 947 báil. 948 bɛ'*u*l. 950 sɛpʊ. 951 kɛp'l. 953 kɛz'n. 954 kɛsh'n. 955 dɛ'*u*t. 956 kivʊ. 957 implái·. 959 kʊwee·ʊns [conveyance].

U··. 960 kii. 961 gr$_{o}$ʊu·ʊl. 963 sk*w*ɔt. 965 áil. 966 fr$_{o}$yy$_1$t. 967 syy$_1$t. 968 áistʊ. 969 sh*u*ʊ. 970 dʒest. 971 flyy$_1$t.

Notes and Examples to the Southwold cwl. by Miss Mallet.

1. (mɛlʊ pêʊz), mellow pears, always used for ripe pears.
2. (gyy$_1$zbrez, raasbrez), gooseberries, raspberries.
3. (ʊ gêʊl fr$_{o}$ʊm dhʊ sɛth êʊst), a gale from the south-east.
4. (ʒɛu dɛs'nt, *éi* waant), you dare not, he was not.
5. (aa ʒeu agaa·n tʊ tʒatʒ tʊdée*i*?), are you a-going to church to-day?
6. (wyy$_1$)z dhæt? dhʊ nêʊshʊnʊl skyy$_1$l têʊtʒʊ), who's that? The National School teacher.
7. (shéi)z dr*i*pʊn wæt!), she's dripping wet=drenched.
8. (l*i*st, w*u*l)ʒʊ), listen, will you.
9. (ái)m ʊgaa·n ʊmaa·ketʊn tʊn*á*it w*i* m*á*i *ó*ud mæn), I'm a-going a-marketing to-night with my old man=husband.
10. (hæ ʒɛ'*u* s*i*n m*á*i ʒɛq)ʊn? h*é*i)ʊ b*i*n ʊ-pl*ee*i·ʊn ʊn truuntʊn *i*s maanʊn), have you seen my young one=child? He has been a-playing and truant-ing this morning.
11. (m*á*i mɛdhʊ kæp m*é*i t)*u*m tʊ nɛs dhʊ bêʊb*i*), my mother kept me at-home to nurse the baby.
12. (pɛt dh*i*s k*i*lʊ *i*n dhʊ weshʊs), put this cooler (=washtub) in the wash-house.
13. (g*i*t dhʊ b*i*g b*á*ilʊ tʊ pɛt dhʊ syy$_1$p *i*n), get the big boiler to put the soup in.
14. (é*i* ɛld ʊ st*u*n ʊg*i*n dhʊ baaz ʊn maaz), he hurled [=threw] a stone against the bo's and mo's. Bo' is used for either sex, chiefly male, and for any age, *together* is its plural in addressing people. Mo', a contraction for *mawther*, is used especially for a young girl.
15. (á*i*)m ʊ g*oo*·*i*n *u*m), I'm a-going home.
16. (wɛs)ʊn æt), worse than that.
17. (ʊ tr*i*pʊn*i* tr*i*d, d*oo*nt trɛd *oo*vʊ dhʊ trɔsh'l), a threepenny thread, don't tread over the threshold).
18. (w*u*l ʒɛ'*u* paa)me fa dhem tyy$_1$ shéʊp?), will you pay me for them [=those] two sheep?
19. (teent n*oo* f*oo*t ʊ m*á*in), it)ain't no fault of mine.
20. (ɛt *i*z leeg), hurt his leg.

*Usages.* I am, we you they are, I beant [*not* I be], he is, I he we they was, he do [common], he live there, I am a-going, theirsells, he didn't ought [never, he hadn't ought].

*Intonation.* Suffolk people drawl very much, and their voice rises in pitch towards the end of their sentences. [This is the Sf. whine.]

*Notes on Southwold* from Miss Mallet.

1. At (:wɔ·lʊwig) Walberswick (1 s.Southwold) "they speak frightfully." (:*ee*s'n :brAAd) Easton Broad [piece of water] is 1 n.Southwold.
2. *v* is distinctly (w).
3. (tɟɪm) chum is used rather than mate at work.
4. (a'uzen) houses is used, but Miss M. had not heard *place-n.*
5. There is no reverted (R), but the *r* entirely disappears after (aa, AA) when a consonant follows, and at most becomes (ʊ) after other vowels and before consonants; before vowels it is the imperfect untrilled ($r_o$) and then very light indeed.
6. A hale old man (see p. 281, No. 112) is a (kEdɟ) kedge.
7. The negative *un-* is always (ɔn-).
8. (ʊ ma'uthf*u*l) is a mouth which is full, [a mə'*u*f'l] is a mouthful.
9. Initial *thr- shr-* are always ($tr_o$ $sr_o$) respectively.
10. In *broom* [$br_o yy_1 m$] there is said to be a little action of the throat which makes it more like ($br_o$uum, $br_o$*u*m); perhaps it is the ($r_o$).
11. *cow* (kE'u) has never been heard from a Sf. man, but has been noticed in Nf. people.
12. *shoe* ($shyy_1$), do ($dyy_1$), the sound is deeper than the French (y), and is certainly not (*iu*), with which it is confused, (giv mi $tyy_1$, $tyy_1$) give me two, too.

ORFORD (6 ssw.Aldborough) near the coast, with SUDBOURNE (2 n.Orford) and neighbourhood, dt.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. C. Davis, the son of a native, and frequent visitor, at interviews in 1879 and 1881. The (r) is ($r_o$).

1. s*oo* *ái* SEE, *oo*d fɜlʊz, Jʊ sii nE'*u* dhʊt *ái*)m *ráit* ʊbE'*ut* dha't l*it*'l gja'l [mAAdhʊ] kɜmʊn frʊm dhʊ skuul hEndʊ.
2. shii)z gu·ʊn dE'*un* dhʊ r*u*d dhEE'ʊ thr*ǐ*$y_1$ dhʊ rEd *géut* ʊ)dhʊ lEft ha'n *sáid* dhʊ WEE.
3. sh$y_1$'ʊr ʊnɜf dhʊ tɟ*ái*ld)z g*un* *ráit* [street] ɜp tʊ dhʊ dAA·ʊ ʊ)dhʊ rɔq hE'us,
4. WEE'ʊ shi)l ha'p'n ɔn dha't drɜqk'n dɜf shr*i*v'ld fɜlʊ ʊ)dhʊ n*ee*m ʊ :tɔmʊs, [hii l*i*v dhEE'ʊ, hi dž$y_1$].
5. wi AAl noo ʊm WERi WEl.
6. *oo*nt dh)*oo*d tɟa'p s*un* laan hʊ nɔt tʊ dž$y_1$ ʊt ʊg*i*·n, púuʊ th*i*q!
7. l*u*k, ii)nt *it* try$_1$.

*Notes on Orford* dt.

1. *I*, either (á'i) or (*ái*) here and elsewhere.—*now* (nE'u), decidedly not (nɜ'u).—*I'm*, use of *I be* not recalled. —*right*, the initial (r) or ($r_o$) very lightly touched, throughout. — *that* (dhæt) at the first and (dha't) at the second interview, when all the (æ) were made (a').—*school*, originally dictated (sk*i*$y_1$'l), but afterwards altered to (skuul) and stated to be an exceptional word.—*yonder* (hE·ndʊ), this is a somewhat unusual form. The (h) preserved, though at Southwold it was uniformly omitted.
2. *three*, (tr-) for (thr-) not admitted here or elsewhere, (thr*i*d) not (tr*i*d) for *thread*.—*gate*, the fracture (éʊ) very short.—*way* (WEE) very broad and with

no vanish in (ʊ, i), but in ÆG words as *tail* (tɛɛ'il), (i) was admitted.

3. *gone* (gʊn), also used for gave, given; A' regularly becomes (u), as (rud, stʊn, rup, hum), road, stone, rope, home.—*door*, (dʌʌ'ʊ) without euphonic (r), though a vowel follows, similarly (drʌʌ·ʊn) drawing, not (drʌʌrʊn).

4. *he live(s) there, he do(es)*, this was introduced to illustrate the use of the plural verb with the singular noun.

5. *very well*, right well (rá¹it wɛl) is more usual.

6. *learn*, not *teach*, in Sunday Schools the children say (tiitɟʊ).—*do* (dĭy$_1$), at the first interview (duu), but at the second (dĭy$_1$), at the same time (skĭy$_1$l) was made (skuul), the pret. of to sow seed, to mow grass, was also given as (syy$_1$, mĭy$_1$); and in (ĭy$_1$) the sound was certainly diphthongal, the (ĭ) very short and the (y$_1$) deeper than French (y).

## e. Suffolk cwl.

Some of Moor's "Suffolk Words" collected from specimens given in the Glossary so called, and conjecturally pal. by AJE., the original spelling being prefixed in italics. Only such words as have an altered spelling are selected, and the pron. is conjectured from vv. specimens. But Moor is on the whole very phonetic in his orthography, especially in often not writing the *r* when not pronounced.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 8 *heent* hiint [has not]. — *star* staa [to stare]. 33 *rutha* rʌdhʊ. 36 *thow* thóou ['rh. mow'] *thew* thyy$_1$ [pret.]. A: *hanspeke* ha:nspiik [handspike]. A'- 72 *hew* hyy$_1$, *howes* hʌ'uz [whose]. 82 *noonce* nuns [in the phrase *for the nonce=for then once*]. 90 *blew* blyy$_1$ [pret.]. 91 *mew* myy$_1$ [pret.]. 93 *snew* snyy$_1$ [pret.]. 94 *crew* kryy$_1$ [pret.].

Æ- 144 *aginn* ʊgi·n. Æ: — *heft* hɛft [haft]. 158 *aatanune* aatʊnyy$_1$n [afternoon]. 163 *lah* laa. Æ': — *midda* midʊ [meadow]. 205 *thrid* thrid. 208 *ivva ivver* ivʊ+r. 209 *nivva* nivʊ. 218 *ship* ship.

E- — *heevy* hiivi [heavy]. — *brumble* bʌmb'l [bramble]. — *butta* bʌtʊ [better]. E: — *neb* nɛb [nib]. 261 *sah* saa. — *red* rɛd [to rid]. 262 *wah* waa. — *shill* shil [shell]. 273 *min* min. — *ind* ind [end]. — *hin* hin [hen]. — *pin* pin [pen]. 284 *throsh* thrɔsh [to thrash in the sense of to drub]. — *neest* niist [nest]. E'- 297 *fulla* fʌlʊ. E': — *bliss* blis [bless].

EA: 328 *cowd* kʌ'ud. 330 *howd* hʌ'ud. — *bard* baad [beard]. — *ex* ɛks [axe]. EA'- 347 *hid* hid. EA': — *lick* lik [leck]. 354 *shoof* shuuf. — *tares* têʊz [tears, sb.]. EI- 372 *aah* aa. EO- 384 *hivvin* hivin. 386 *yow* jʌ'u. EO: 397 *swăd* swa¹d. — *bawm* bʌʌm [barm, yeast]. — *brunn* brʌn [burn]. EO'- — *frize* fráiz [freeze]. — *shute* shyy$_1$t [shoot]. EO': — *hild* hild [held]. 428 *sin* sin [seen=saw or have seen]. 435 *ya yah yar* jaa [your, 'rh. *a* in far'].

I- — *ēēs iivs* [yes, "long and drawly"]. I: — *bahd* baad [bird]. — *led* lɛd [lid]. 465 *sich* sitɟ. — *feller* fɛlʊ [filler, or thiller, that is, shaft-horse]. 469 *twool* t)wul [it will]. 488 *yit* jit. — *set* sɛt [sit]. I'- — *thahty* thaati [thirty]. I': 507 *wimmin* wimin. — *whitster* witstʊ [whitesmith].

O- — *sheow show* shʌu [to shovel, 'rh. *now*,' a shovel is *showl* (shʌ'ul). — *ifore* ifʌʌ [afore]. O: 532 *daata* daatʊ. 536 *gowd* gʌ'ud. — *cowt* kʌ'ut [colt]. 544 *thin* dhin. O'- 555 *shue* shyy$_1$ [this sound written *ew* never occurs before final *d, f, k, m, p;* but is sometimes found before *l, n, s, t*, but not in wool, full, bud, foot, loan, moan, root, love]. 557 *tew* tyy$_1$. 559 *mooda* mudʊ [mother]. 560 *skule* skyy$_1$l. 562 *mune* myy$_1$n. — *moonth* munth [month]. 564 *sune* syy$_1$n. 565 *nuse* nyy$_1$z. — *smuthe* smyy$_1$th [smooth]. O': — *ruff* rʌf [roof]. 582 *cule* kyy$_1$l. 583 *tule* tyy$_1$l. 584 *stule* styy$_1$l. 585 *brum* bram [see Forby's *harren brum*, p. 266, No. 585]. 586 *dew* dyy$_1$. 588 *nune* nyy$_1$n. — *guse* gyy$_1$s [goose].

U- — *spahs* spaaz [spurs]. U: — *sheowder* shʌ'udʊ [shoulder]. 634 *threw* thryy$_1$. U'- 645 *dow* dʌ'u.

Y- 674 *ded* dɛd. — *heeve* hiiv [hive]. — *boondle* bund'l [bundle]. — ĭs

*is* [hiss, "short and sharp"]. Y: 684 *bredge* brɛdʒ. 685 *redge* rɛdʒ. — *fell* fɛl [fill]. — *kell* kɛl [kiln]. — *mell* mɛl [mill, but] *mulla* mɛlʊ [miller]. — *then* thɛn [thin]. — *hahnet* haanet [hornet]. — *brussels* bras'lz [bristles]. — *shet* shɛt [shut]. 703 *pet* pɛt. Y- — *deeve* diiv [dive]. — *dreep* driip [drip]. 711 *leece* liis. 712 *meece* miis.

II. English.

A. 714 *led* lɛd. — *kiddier kidyer kidjer* kidʒʊ kidʒʊ [cadger]. 722 *dreen* driin. — *busk* bʌsk [to bask]. — *spraaowls* spráaulz [sprawls]. — *greeze* griiz [graze]. I. *and* Y. — *stelt* stɛlt [stilt]. — *stent* stɛnt [stint, or allotted day's work]. — *glent* glɛnt [glint]. — *sturrup* stʌrʊp [stirrup]. — *shivva* shɪvʊ [a shiver, or slice]. O. 769 *mawl* mʌʌl. — *snuze* snyy$_{ɪ}$z [snoose]. — *tawtah* tʌʌtʊ [totter]. 791 *baw* bʌʌ [but in the Sf. sense of any man]. — *frawn* frʌʌn [frozen, but this is from the proper pp. *froren*]. — *boke* book [bulk]. — *boonch* bʊntʃ [bunch]. — *poonch* pʊntʃ [punch]. — *reesty* riisti [rusty, applied to bacon].

III. Romance.

A.. 820 *gah* gaa [applied to coloured pictures in a book]. — *pah* paa [to pay]. 828 *agah eegʊ*. — *cheen* tʃiin [a chain]. — *saas* saas [sauce, said to rh. brass]. — *keeve* kiiv [cave]. E.. — *pill* pil [peel]. 874 *reens* riinz [reins]. — *hahnsey* haanse [heronshaw]. — *concite* kʊnsáit [conceit]. I.. *and* Y.. — *hume* hyy$_{ɪ}$m [a hymn]. O.. — *aint aaint* áint [anoint, to drub]. 926 *spile* spáil. — *crunya* krʌnjʊ [coroner]. — *pahpus* paapʌs [purpose]. 941 *fule* fyy$_{ɪ}$l. — *jahney* dʒaani [journey, or day's work]. — *meeve* miiv [to move]. 956 *kivva* kɪvʊ. U.. 965 *oyle* áil. — *stry* strái [destroyed], *stryance* strái·ʊns [liability to be destroyed]. — *consimmd* kʊnsi·md [consumed]. — *ponish* ponish [punish]. — *mosick moosic* [music, pron. quite uncertain].

## Var. v. w.Suffolk Form.

### Pakenham cs.

originally written by Rev. C. W. Jones, native and vicar of Pakenham (5 ene.Bury St. Edmunds) since 1861, and revised from his dict. 24 Oct. 1873, and again 19 Oct. 1886. Some of the points in which this pron. differs from that of e.Sf. are mentioned pp. 288, 289.

0. w*ái* :dʒɔn hànt gɔt nʊ dɛ'*u*ts.

1. wel, bʌ, jʌ'*u* ʊn hii mʊ booth ʊn jʊ là'f ʊt dh*i*s níuz ʊ m*ái*n. híu kéeʊ? dhæt beent nʌdhʊ híiʊ nʊ dhéeʊ.

2. fíu fooks d*ái* thríu b*i*n là'ft a't, wi n*oo* dhat, d*oo*nt ɔs, tʊg*i*·dhʊ? wɔt shʊd meek)ʊm? l*ái*kl*i* bii ʊt?

3. hɛ'usʊmɛ·vʊ, dh*i*s *iz* dhʊ trúʊth ʊ)dhʊ dʒɔb, *soo* jʌ'u dʒest hʌ'*u*d jʊ n*ái*z, tʊg*i*·dhʊ, ʊn bi sk*w*æ't tʊl *ái*)ʊ dʌn.

4. *ái*)m saa·t*i*n ʊ híiʊd)ʊm sæ'—sɔm ʊ dhem fooks wɔt gɔn thríu dhʊ hɔ̀l dʒɔb frʊm dhʊ fʌst dhʊse·lvz—·dhæt ʊ ded, síuʊ ʊnɛ'u.

5. dhʊt dhʊ jʌ·qes sʌn *iz*se·lf, ʊ gr*i*t bó*i* ʊ n*ái*n jʊr ʌ'*u*d, n*oo*d *iz* fà·dhʊz tʌq ʊt wʌnst, dh*oo* ·dhæt wʊr ·dhæt kíuʊrɔs, ʊn skriik*i*, ʊn *ái*)d trʌst ·hii tʊ speek dhʊ trúʊth en*i* dái, ·dhat ʊ w*u*d.

6. ʊn dhʊ ʌ'ud *u*·mʊn hʊse·lf ʊl tɛl en*i* ɔn jʊ ʊz là'f nɛ'u, ʊn tel jʊ r*ái*t ʊwæ'·, shʊ w*u*l tíu, ʊdhɛ'ut no nɔree·shʊn, ef jʌ'u)l o*ni* aks)ʊ, sii ef shʊ d*oo*nt.

7. liisw*ái*z shʊ tʌ'ud mi dhæt tíu ʊ thrii t*ái*mz ɔvʊ, shʊ ded, ʊn ·shii d*oo*nt ɔ'*u*t tʊ bʊ rɔq ʊv s*i*tʃ ʊ p*ái*nt ʊz dhis híʊ, díu shʊ nɛ'u?

8. wɛl, ʊz *ái* wor ʊsæ·*in*, shii)d tel ʃʊ hɛ'*u* wéeʊ ʊn wen shé fɛ'*un* dhat drɑqk'n beest shʊ kɑ'l ʊ mæ'n.

9. shʊ swaa shʊ sii *him* ɔv ʊr oon *áiz*, lee·*in* strɛtʒt ɛ'ut *fʊl* lɛnth ʊ dhʊ grɛ'*un* *in* ʊz *gʊd* sɑndi *koot*, kloos ʊ*gin* dhʊ daar ʊ dhʊ hɛ'us, dɛ'*un* ʊ dhʊ kaanʊr ʊ *hin* *láin*.

10. Hii wʊr ʊ *wáinin* ʊwææ, shʊ sææ, sʊ)shii·, fʊr aal dhʊ wɑld *láik* ʊ *sik* tʒ*ái*ld ʊr ʊ *lid*'l maar ʊv)ʊ frɛt.

11. ʊn ·dhat hæp'n ʊz shii ʊn ʊ dɑ'utʊlɑ'u kəm thríu dhʊ bak ʒaad frʊm hæq*in* ɛ'*ut* dhʊ wɛt kl*ooz* ʊv ʊ wɑ'sh*in* dá*i*,

12. *táim* dhʊ *kit*'l wʊr ʊ bá*ilin* fʊ tee, wɑn br*áit* *fáin* sɑmʊr àtʊn*un* *oni* ʊ wiik ʊ*gu*· kɑm nɛks thɑzd*i*.

13. ʊn *di* *oont* tel n*oo* *láiz*, ʊ n*iv*ʊ laant nʊ maa nʊ dh*is* ʊ dhæt dhéeʊ dʒɔb tʊ dh*is* híʊ dá*i*, síʊʊr ʊz m*ái* *náimz* :dʒɔn :shĭe·pʊd, ʊn ʊ d*oo*nt wɔnt tíu nɑdhʊ, dhéeʊ nɛ'u !

14. ʊn s*oo* *ái*)m ʊ*gu·in* h*oo*m tʊ *git* mʊ sɑpa. *gʊd* *náit*, tʊ*gi*·dhʊ, ʊn d*oo*nt ʒɑ'*u* bii sʊ kw*i*k tʊ kr*oo* ɔv·ʊr ʊ tʒap ʊ*gin*, wɛn i tɑak ʊ dh*is* ʊ dhat ʊ tɑdhʊ.

15. dhat)s ʊ week fùl, wɔt preet ʊdhɛ'ut reez'n. ʊn dhat)s m*ái* las wɑd. féeʊ dhʊ wɛl.

*Notes on the Pakenham* cs.

On my remarking to Mr. Jones that this specimen was very different from the e. of Sf., he wrote, "I should have been quite ashamed of myself if you had not found a marked difference between my pronunciation and that of Framlingham, Southwold and Orford, supposing these latter to have been well reproduced to you." Whence it appears that Mr. Jones himself recognised a great difference between the w. and e. of Sf., and he continually, also, drew attention to the difference between w.Sf. and Nf. As here presented, the absence of ($y_1$) and the presence of (iu) in its place, and the use of 'together,' resembles Cb. The use of (láin náim) lane name is like Hu. or Es. The use of (dái) day looks S., but may have been similarly derived to the other two. Still, the use of *be* and *don't us* are also S. On the other hand, (sææ, ʊwææ) for (saa, ʊwaa) belong to (paa), got from s.Nf. and also in old times to Li., and see *Moor*, p. 286, Nos. 261, 372, and p. 287, No. 820 and next word. But (ʊwái·) was also used.

I' was regularly (*ái*), which Mr. Jones wrote *oy*, but careful examination seemed to shew that it had not reached that point, which, however, I have to admit in D 16, 18. The sounds are certainly difficult to distinguish. On the other hand, (ái) was used for *boil, point* (báil, páint), being decidedly different.

U' was (ɛ'*u*) regularly, but (ɑ'*u*) was used in *you told* (ʒɑ'*u* tɑ'ud), this is a common distinction. In (dɑ'*u*tʊlɑ'*u*) daughter-in-law, the first (ɑ'*u*) is usual enough, the (lɑ'*u*) for *law* looks like a variation of (la'*u*), but Mr. Jones was very particular about it.

The following are the principal differences between w. and e.Sf. P Pakenham, F Framlingham, S Southwold, O Orford.

A *hasnot*. P hànt, F hiint.
*law*. P lɑ'u, FS laa.
*name*. P náim, F *nee*m, S nêʊm.
*washing*. P waashin, F wɔshʊn, S wɛshʊn.

A' *both*. P booth, FS b*u*th [Stanhoe and Mattishall], booth.
*who*. P híu, F hí*yy*$_1$, S wy*y*$_1$.
*two*. P tíu, F tí*yy*$_1$, S ty*y*$_1$.
*ought*. PFS ɑ'*ut*.
*home*. P hoom, F h*u*m, S *um*.
*whole*. P hol, FS h*u*l.
*lane*. P láin, FS *lé*ʊn.

Æ *day*. P dái, F déei, S déee*i*.

E *say*. P sææ, F séeʊ, S sé*ei*, O see.
*away*. P ʊwææ ʊwái, F ʊwéeʊ, S ʊwée*i*, O ʊwee.
*speak*. P speek, FS spêʊk.
*length*. P lɛnth, F lɛqkth, S læqkth.

EA *old*. P ɐ'ud, FS *oo*d.
*hold*. P hɐ'ud, FS *oo*d.
*told*. P tɐ'ud, FS t*oo*d.
EA' *few*. P fíu, F fíy, S fyy$_1$ fə'y$_1$.
EO *yon, yonder*. P hin, F hindɐ, S indɐ.
EO' *she*. P shii, F shi, S shé*i*, O shi.
*you*. PFS JɐʼU.
*truth*. P tr*ú*ath, F tr*í*y$_1$th, S tr*óo*th, [Stanhoe] tr*í*yy$_1$th.
I' *woman*. P *u*mɐn, FS w*u*mɐn.
O *folks*. P fooks, F f*u*ks.
*world*. PS wɐld, F wáɐld.
*over*. P ɔvɐ, F *u*vɐ.
O' *too*. P tíu, FS tíy$_1$.
*swore*. P swaa'ɐ, F swóoɐ, S swóoɐ.
*noon*. P nun, F n*í*y$_1$n, S nyy$_1$n.
U *through*. P thríu, F thrɐ'*u*, S trɐ'*u*, O thríy$_1$.
*door*. P dɐɐ'ɐ, F dúuɐ.
*tongue*. P tɐq, S toq.
*Thursday*. P thɐzdi, F thaazd*i*, S thɐzdi.
A·· *reason*. P reez'n, F riiz'n, S rêɐzɐn.
E·· *tea*. P tee, F tii, S t*é*ɐ.
*beast*. P beest, F biist, S bêɐst.
O·· *coat*. P k*oo*t, FS k*u*t.
*close*. P kl*oo*s, FS kl*u*s.
*fool*. P fuul, F f*í*y$_1$l, S fyy$_1$l.
*doubt*. PF dɐ'*u*t, S dɐ'ut.
U·· *sure*. P síuɐ, F s*í*y$_1$ɐ, S shúuɐ, O shy'$_1$ɐ.

## IV.

# THE MIDLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprises D 20 to D 29 as shewn on the map.

*Boundaries.* On the s. first the n. *sum* line 1 from its w. commencement on the Dee to Watling St., Np., and then going ne.-wards by the w. b. of Np. and round Rt. to the b. of Cb. which pursue to the sea. On the n. the n. *theeth* line 5. On e. and w. the sea-coast.

*Area.* All Ch. Db. Le. Li. Nt. St., the n. of Wo. and most of Wa., s. and m. La., the ne. of Sh., all detached or English Fl., a small part of main or Welsh Fl., and of Dn.

*Sections.* Dialectally this area falls into two distinct and apparently unrelated sections, an Eastern comprising Li. D 20, and a Western comprising all the rest. The several districts of the Western Section have a strong family resemblance, but they nevertheless fall into three tolerably distinct groups, the Northern, Mid and Southern. The Northern comprises s. and m.La., s.Yo., and n.Db.; the Mid contains Ch. and n.St., s.Db. and Nt.; and the Southern contains s.St., English Fl., and a small part of Welsh Fl. and Dn., ne.Sh., n.Wo., most of Wa. and Le. Nt. was more related to the other Mid M. districts forty years ago than it now is.

*Districts and Groups.* As will be seen by the map and key, the M. div. is separated into ten districts, D 20 to D 29, all provided with geographical names. These districts form four groups. 1. The BM. or Border Midland comprises D 20 only. 2. The NM. or Northern Midland comprises D 21 to D 24. 3. The MM. or Mid Midland contains D 25 to D 27. 4. The SM. or Southern Midland contains D 28 and D 29. Particulars of each district are given below.

*Character.* The M. div. not being homogeneous, we cannot look for any one pervading character. It is best defined by negatives. It is decidedly different from its neighbours, the W, S, E, on the s., and the N on the n. The basis of the language spoken was not the Wessex, but the speech of various tribes scattered over a large country, and most probably differing considerably in different parts. The following are some of the most important points to which attention should be directed.

### VOWEL FORMS (*u*, $u_1$, $u_o$. *æ*'u. $i_1$i, a'i).

(*u*, $u_1$, $u_o$). At the present day one of the characters which first strikes a Southerner in Midland speech is the total absence of (ə, ʉ) for *u* in *up*, called (əp) in educated London, and (ʉp) in the provinces, and in these regions represented by *u* in *full*, or nearly so. A similar representation of this vowel frequently occurs s. of the M. div., between the transverse lines 1 and 2. In that region, however, the sound of (ə, ʉ) is still more or less heard. Again, for the greater

part of the N. div., s. of the transverse line 8, there is a similar total absence of (ə, ɐ). Hence the mere absence of this sound is not enough to characterise the M. div. In fact, we are rather concerned with accounting for the *presence* of (ə, ɐ) anywhere than for its absence somewhere. There can be no doubt that short U was originally some variety of short (u) universally in English Britain, how then did it become (ə, ɐ)? Are there any existing recognised intermediate sounds between (ə, u)?

In the M. div. as here defined we must distinguish at least 3 forms representing short U and its congeners. First (u) as in f*u*ll, which is not (u), the short sound of *oo* in f*oo*l; compare French f*ou*le p*ou*le (ful, pul) with Eng. f*oo*l p*oo*l, f*u*ll p*u*ll (fuul puul, f*u*l p*u*l). The sounds (ful, pul) are even difficult for an Englishman to produce, and a Frenchman finds equal difficulty with (f*u*l, p*u*l). The difference between the two consists in what Mr. Melville Bell calls 'widening,' the 'physical cause' of which he finds in the 'retraction of the soft palate and expansion of the pharynx' (Visible Speech, 1867, p. 71). On the other hand, Dr. Sweet says 'in forming narrow sounds' [such as (u)] 'there is a feeling of tenseness in that part of the tongue where the sound is formed, the surface of the tongue being made more convex than in its natural *wide* shape, in which it is relaxed and flattened,' and he does 'not believe that the shape of the pharynx, the approximation of the palatal arches, etc., have any distinctive effect in producing distinct vowel sounds' (Handbook of Phonetics, 1877, p. 9). That there is a distinction between the two vowels of each of the pairs (i *i*, *e* e, ɛ æ, *o* o, u *u*) is undoubted. The first of each pair is called by Mr. M. Bell 'primary' and by Dr. Sweet 'narrow,' and the second is called by both 'wide,' but whether the distinction is of the same nature in each pair, and in what it really consists, has not been at present satisfactorily ascertained. It is sufficient for our present purpose that such a state exists.

There is also a state of *higher* and *lower*, generally supposed to result from bringing the highest part of the tongue nearer to, or further from, the palate. This we mark by $^{1}$ and $_{1}$, as ($i^{1}$), which approaches (i), and ($u_{1}$), which approaches ($o$), and indeed is hardly separable from ($o^{1}$) or an ($o$) approaching (u). We thus obtain the form ($u_{1}$) as a very low or deep form of ($u$).

Lastly, there is the different effect of 'rounding,' as Mr. M. Bell calls it, that is, of the greater or less closure of the lips. Mr. M. B. distinguished only 3 degrees of rounding, those for (ʌ, *o*, u), but there are of course any number of such roundings, and especially we may endeavour to speak vowels with other than their usual roundings. Thus ($u$) has the lips drawn closely together. Let them be more opened. The result is written ($u_{\circ}$), where ($_{\circ}$), the inverted mark of degrees (°), is not meant to be the letter (o), but merely a sign that ($u$) is uttered 'with more open lips.' From numerous observations on himself and others, TH. thinks that the position of the tongue is halfway between those for ($o$) and ($u$), and the position of the lips that for ($o$) but slightly flatter. Whatever it be precisely, the effect of this wider opening of the lips is to alter the value of ($u$) considerably. In fact, ($u_{\circ}$) is a very unstable transitional form, which, according to the consonants with which it is connected, simulates (ɐ, *o*, *u*). To TH. the sound is native, and he has kindly allowed me to study it from his lips on several occasions for many hours. At different times the resemblance of ($u_{\circ}$) to one or other of these sounds seemed to vary, and on the very last examination his ($u_{\circ}$) sounded to me very much like German *ö* in k*ö*nnen, B*ö*tticher, that is, closely resembling but by no means identical with (œ). I seemed never able to hit the sound to TH.'s satisfaction, but I succeeded best when bearing this sound of (œ) in my mind, and giving it more of an ($u$) flavour. I got TH. to say ($u_{\circ}$p, *u*p, ɐp) and so on for many words, and the distinction of one vowel from the other was complete. Then I got JGG. to observe this uttered vowel carefully in my absence, and he considered it as "a higher and rounded form" of (ɐ). According to Mr. M. Bell, ($o$) is the natural rounded form of (ɐ), hence the amount of rounding used by JGG. must have been different. He says, indeed, that in his imitation of the sound he does not round more than for (ʌ, ɔ), which is very little. He places it second in the series of sounds (not positions) which he wrote (ɐ, $u_{\circ}$, $o^{1}$, $u_{1}$, $u$), shewing his views of the passage from (ɐ) to ($u$), and of the natural transitional character of this remarkable vowel. TH.

recognised in actual speech while travelling over the region between the transverse lines 1 and 2 many intermediate forms between (ɜ̄, *u*₀), so that, allowing for the natural difficulty arising from the sound being native to his own organs, and hence likely to be recognised when not precisely used, there was continually some hesitation as to whether a sound heard was (ɜ̄) or (*u*₀), and there was so much difficulty of separating (*u*₀, *u*), that notwithstanding that he made several journeys for the purpose, he was unable to determine any boundary between them.

In order to print my book it was of course necessary to come to some practical conclusion respecting the use of (*u*₀, *u*, *u*₁). Those who have not an opportunity of carefully studying the sounds from native speakers and hearing them in general use, may be contented to use (*u*) as received (*u*) in *full* in all cases. I write (*u*₁) in D 20, and (*u*) in D 24, and also in Ru. D 18. In the rest of the M. div., and in the intermediate zone between the transverse lines 1 and 2, I write (*u*₀), as this is the usage of TH., to whom I am mainly indebted for information. But it cannot be supposed that in such an extensive region this peculiar transitional sound (*u*₀) remains absolutely the same as TH. uses, and hence, of course, hears it, or that it is formed always by the same precise action of the organs of speech that he employs. I mean then merely to imply by the use of (*u*₀) that through this region generally the sound is transitional between (ɜ̄) and (*u*), and is sufficiently like the sound used by TH. to be accepted by him as the same. TH., as stated above, heard many other transitional sounds, and is under the impression, founded upon his observations, that there is a mixed region within which both (*u*, *u*₀) are heard, bounded on the n. by a line from about Gainsborough, Li., to about Ulverstone, La., and that northward of this line (*u*₀) and its congeners disappear and (*u*) remains. This will be furthered considered in D 24 and D 31. The use of (ə, ɜ̄, *u*₀, u) does not separate dialect districts, as we have already found (p. 16).

This delimitation of (*u*₀, *u*, *u*₁) would require long special study to settle, and must be accepted as simply the nearest approximation to the truth that my present materials allow me to make.

(*æ*'u). As (*u*₀) appears to be a variant of (*u*), caused by *keeping* the mouth too wide open, so (*æ*'u) is a variant of (uu) caused by *beginning* it with the mouth too wide open, and gradually but rapidly closing it down to the position for (u). I met with a similar action in Ledbury (ɑ'*o*u), p. 73, note to par. 9, and it is very common among rec. speakers in such words as *oh*! *no*! (əəɜ́*o*, nəəɜ́*o*). While uttering (uu), open the mouth suddenly quite wide, the result is a sound something like (*ə*) or (œ), which I therefore write (*æ*). If we take various smaller openings, the sound approaches (*u*₀). Now begin with (*æ*), tongue as for (u), and rapidly close the lips to (u). An intermediate gliding sound is heard connecting the two extremes, represented as usual by ('), so that (*æ*'u) represents the whole phenomenon. When I studied this sound from TH.'s lips some years ago, I repeatedly observed that his lips distinctly did not touch one another in any spot at the beginning of his utterance. In later observations I found that he began with a partial rounding. He himself writes (ˌ*ú*₀u), believing that the tongue is a little more advanced than for (*u*₀), and the vowel is wide, while the opening of the lips is that for (*o*) and the lips are slightly flatter. But, except on pp. 322-329, I retain my old symbol with which I had written all the examples, and which is based on what I consider the complete phenomenon. It must be remembered that the initial (*æ*) is very short, and the final (u) often long, as (*æ*'uu), but as this varies from time to time according to circumstances, no notice is taken of it in writing. The ordinary dialect speaker generally considers that he says (uu). The result of JGG.'s examination of TH.'s pron. of (*æ*'u), his (ˌ*ú*₀u), was that it sounded like (*ə*₁'*u*u), "that is, a low form of the French *e* in 'que je me repente' [Volney's example], accented and sliding through (*u*) to (u) pure," and he does not consider that the initial vowel was (*u*₀). The first element is, however, not always low, it is sometimes quite high, depending upon the extent to which the mouth is opened at first.

Although not entirely peculiar to the M. div. (*æ*'u) is a very distinctive phenomenon. It is extremely unstable, varying to (iu, íy, yy, *əə*) or thereabouts on the one hand and (ɑ'u) on the other. It attacks principally O'- words, which must have been first reduced to (uu), but it does not at present attack original U'- words, which will be considered presently. Hence it must be a comparatively

recent phenomenon in England. In France some such intermediary possibly changed Latin *ū* into French *u*, that is, (uu) into (yy). The change into (iu ỉy yy) occurs in D 19, into (ə) in the L. div., into ($yy_1$) in D 10, 11, into (ɐ'u) in D 26. It is kept pure in D 21, 22, 25. It does not seem to affect D 24 or the N. div. I have not observed it in D 20. Sporadically instances of it occur in D 6, 7, and even with careless speakers in rec. speech. This is an example of *inchoant* diphthongs, arising from altering the *commencement* of some long vowel, of which the conclusion is retained. Such diphthongs are a fertile source of change, and their actually observed occurrence solves many riddles in the alteration of words.

(*ii*, a'i). Another inchoant diphthong is (*ii*), the first step in the change of (ii) to (a'i). This sound (*ii*) is difficult to appreciate at first hearing, and is liable to be taken for (*ii*) or (ii). The speaker usually considers it as (ii). When once set in motion the subsequent changes are rapid, as (*ii*, $i_1$i, *éi*, *ei*, E'*i*), all actually in use. This is the utmost extent to which E' is affected after becoming (ii), and hence, as in the case of the change of O' into (*æ*'u), I consider it to be recent. This theory of the generation of (E'*i*) from E' through (*ii*) does not exclude the generation of (*éi*) from (*ee*) by terminal addition, as seems to have occurred elsewhere very recently in (*ee*'j), sometimes appreciated as (*éi*). See especially D 16, 17 (pp. 196, 218, 226). But the initial change must have affected original I' long before, so that at present this appears already in the stage of (E'*i*) and passes on to (æ'*i*, â$^1$*i*, *ái*), and thence to (*ái*, A'*i*), all of which occur, while (â$^1$*i*, *ái*) vary as (ɔ'*i* ɐ'*i*), common forms in the S. div., with various other forms of the same kind as (ɔ'*i*, ʊ'*i*, œ'*i*).

When, however, the forms of (a'i) have once been reached, the dialectal changes are not over. The final (*i*) may be degraded to (ʊ) as (áʊ), and then the (ʊ) altogether omitted, so that (aa, *aa*, AA) result as an alteration of (ii), an almost incredible but completely established fact.

(a'u). The change of U' to (a'u) through ($ú_1$u) will be considered in the N. div., although it seems to occur in the M. and even E. div. as (*ú*u). We may, however, consider in the M. div. that we begin with (*âu*), as in D 23. This falls into (áɐ áɔ áʊ), and on arriving at (áʊ), another transformation is ready. As in the E. div. (léum) became (léim), so here (áʊ) becomes (ái). This remarkable form of U' is dominant in D 25. But it goes no further, it does not become (*ái*, A'*i*), which would clash with the representation of I'. Another change of (áʊ) arises from the omission of (ʊ), so that U' is represented by (aa). This is strongly marked in D 24. Hence both I' and U' tend to become (aa) in the same div., but not usually in the same district. It would seem that confusion could no further go than that I' and U' should both be confounded as (aa), which, however, does not represent A', for this original sound becomes (úʊ, *óʊ*, uu, *oo*). But, in fact, the changes are not ended. In (áʊ) the (a) becomes thinned to (â$^1$), and (â$^1$ʊ, æ'ʊ, E'ʊ, *éʊ*) and even (*i*ʊ) result as may be found in D 22 and w.D 24. In at least some of these forms (ʊ) becomes lost, and (aa$^1$, ææ, EE) result. These are the forms most prevalent in D 22. The (ææ) is the proper representative of the La. spelling *eaw*, invented, I believe, by Mr. Collier (*Tim Bobbin*), in whose region, however, at present they do not say (ææ), but (ɐ'*u*), another variety of (á*u*). The U' = (ææ) and I' = (aa) are compatible and are used together in part of D 22.

These are the principal vowel changes in the M div. and they are interesting for their preservation of forms which explain the transition from the old to the new value of the letters.

## CONSONANT FORMS (*r*, h).

(*r*.) The letter *r*, when not before a vowel, is entirely vocalised in D 20 as there explained, in the other districts it is asserted to have consonantal value, yet from several informants I got *corf* as the phonetic form of *calf* meaning (kAAf), which shews that they at least did not hear an *r*. Mr. Darlington, D 25, a native of s.Ch., acknowledged that Ch. *r*, when not before a vowel, had very little power, and was more felt by speaker than listener. TH. says he has paid particular attention to educated pronunciation, and has, during observations, continued for many years, recorded special points from more than 400 public speakers, and

is thus enabled "to say confidently that the Midland *r* before a vowel is the standard English *r*, and likewise that *r* before a consonant and *r* final are generally the same as when before a vowel in n.Db. Ch. La. and St." Consequently he writes (r) in every case. Although entirely disagreeing with him in this opinion, so far as standard English *r* is concerned, I have necessarily been unable to take any other course but to follow his example with this explanation. In discussions, however, I shall use (r) both before and after a vowel to indicate TH.'s sound, considering the printed (r) as (r) with the left-hand top corner removed (r) so as to be imperfect, and I write *r* with a stroke over it, *r̄*. This new symbol I call the Midland *r*, without pretending to define, because I have not ascertained, the exact mode of its generation. The "imperfection" of (*r̄*) is in respect to the "perfection" of the Italian *r*, the true value of (r). Certainly when not before a vowel the use of (r), without some explanation, is grossly misleading, to any one who reads phonetic writing according to its professed rules, or say to a Scotchman or Italian. The *r* in such cases is very much like a coarse (ʊ), and even in Yo. Cu. We. and Du. it is hardly perceptibly consonantal—at least to my ears.

I thought it best to take JGG.'s opinion on the *r* used by TH. He says: "his *r* is to my ear an inner buzzed *r* = (r$_{\circ}$), identical with the *r* I have heard wherever I have been in Ch. St. Db. or La." After mentioning two persons, whom he knows well, that use it, JGG. proceeds to say: "The place on my series is between the Wl. *r* and the n.We. or Swaledale *r*, and also my own *r* before a vowel. I should say it is exactly intermediate between these two." JGG. concludes by saying that he hears TH. "pronounce the *same* in initial, medial, and final positions, with a few exceptions." TH. says that as he is a native of Db., and has resided 42 years in La., he is "in a much better position to say what is the analysis or formation of the Midland *r* than any one who is not a native, and who has not resided in the district or whose visits have been only occasional." But it is well known that it is extremely difficult to shake off one's original habits of speech, and that without great practice in acquiring facility in using new sounds, the ear is apt to be misled. Owing to this initial "personal equation," the same sound will be appreciated differently by different observers who have studied the subject. Thus TH. and AJE. differ materially as to "the standard English *r*."

Generally *r* causes great difficulty to the phonetist. Mr. Melville Bell defines it as made by "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gums." This entirely eliminates the conception of trilling, and he therefore has a separate mark corresponding to my (ȷ) called "vibrator" and "trill" and defined as "vibration of the organ symbolised." (See the discussion in Part IV. pp. 1341-4, especially p. 1344, 9*g*.) For myself I consider vibration or trilling, or as I now prefer to call it *flapping* (caused by the passage of air over a loose flexible body, as linen flaps on a clothes-line or a flag flaps on its staff), the essence of all *r* sounds. This flapping may be produced by many organs, and the statement of the organs specifies the kind of flap. This is precisely the converse of Mr. Melville Bell's and Dr. Sweet's views. In England where no vowel follows, the flap is usually replaced by an obstructive position of the tongue which does not flap, but yet is not hard and rigid. Of course the non-flappable is somewhat different from the flappable position. When flatus only is driven through such a passage with non-flapping tongue, we have simply a hiss, one of the very numerous tribe of (s); when voice passes, we have a sound approaching in various ways to (ə, ɐ, ɷ) or even (z). These replacers of (r) are usually symbolised by (ʀ, ʀ$_{\circ}$), etc., shewing what form of (r) is replaced, and for convenience the ($_{\circ}$) is usually omitted after the replacement has been explained. In England we must distinguish at least Italian (r), Scotch (.r), Irish (ɾ) [written (,,r) in Part IV. p. 1232], the Southern (ʀ), Midland (r), Northumbrian (*r*, *rw*), different from the hard metallic Parisian and guttural North German uvular (*r*, *r*$_{/}$). All of these may be flapped or unflapped, and flated or voiced, and among the unflapped forms, produced by keeping the tongue or uvula in approximately the same position as if it were intended to flap but stiffened so that it cannot do so, are the Southern (ʀ$_{\circ}$) degenerating to the Eastern (r$_{\circ}$), for both of which the tip of the tongue is raised, and the Midland (r$_{\circ}$). This list is very far from

exhaustive. There is probably a Northern unflapped (r°), a strongly flapped and a "soft" Spanish *r*, of which the latter may be the same as the Northern unflapped (r°), an alveolar and dental *r* (ˌr, ˌˌr), an American *r*, various French and German *r*, besides the Polish *rz* (zrh) and the oriental mixtures of (lʳ, rˡ), the defective lip *r*, the North German glottal (ɪ) and its Arabic form (ɣ) with (krh, grh) and the corresponding Dutch *g* and Greek *γ*, and others. Many of these have still to be analysed, and the mode of production of the un-flapped replacers of flapped *r* presents problems of extreme difficulty.

This difficulty is seriously increased by the habits of reading, where the one symbol *r* is naturally associated in the speaker's mind with the sounds, or various sounds which he from local habit assigns to it, and hence as naturally hears from all others. In my *Pronunciation for Singers*, pp. 136-8, I distinguish 26 cases which require consideration in received English speech. They are here given in a condensed form, illustrated merely by examples, which the reader may exercise himself in distinguishing, and determine if possible what is the value of his own *r* in each case.

1. word journey furnish spurn. 2. myrrh guerdon. 3. recurring spurring purring blurring slurring demurring. 4. preferring conferring referring erring deterring. 5. near beer here we're pier. 6. eyry era weary peeress. 7. care pair air prayer there their bear mare mayor. 8. canary fairy therein bearing. 9. boar o'er door floor borne torn sore corps pour towards. 10. glory soaring pouring. 11. poor moor tour sure lure allure. 12. poorer surer assuring tourist. 13. cure pure endure immure your ewer. 14. fury purer enduring immuring. 15. hard clerk heart guard. 16. starry tarry (adj. not vb.). 17. wax ward swarm extraordinary George order born. 18. warring abhorring. 19. fire lyre quire choir chorister hire. 20. wiry wiery fiery. 21. hour power ourselves ours flour flower. 22. dowry flowery showery. 23. paper circuitous answer martyr altar alter grammar particular (last syllable) peculiar spectator tailor razor orator. 24. azure fissure measure nature feature stature figure. 25. barbarian particular (first syllable) partake marquee. 26. ornate ordain organic orthography orthoepy.

(h) The aspirate is altogether neglected in the M. div. The speaker has no sensation of omitting it, any more than a received speaker thinks (notwithstanding the orthography) that he is omitting *h* in his pron. of *h*our, *h*onest, *h*onour, it. In the last word indeed few of even received speakers are aware that an *h* has been omitted. This omission of (h) is also the case in Antwerp, Flanders, Belgium, Brabant, see Part IV. p. 1421 *d*. Of course *wh* is called (w), though this is a different case, which is phonetically (not historically) similar to the use of (z) for (s) initial. This absence of aspiration penetrates to well-educated classes, and may be even heard from the pulpit. In Le. the aspirate is, however, occ. wrongly inserted.

## CONSTRUCTIONAL FORMS [*the. -en. I am*].

[*the*]. The definite article *the* has four forms, (dhʊ dh th t'), in the NM and MM groups, D 21 to D 27, but they are differently employed in different districts, and in the SM group D 28 and D 29 only (dhʊ) seems to be used. The rule is that (dh) is heard before vowels, and (th) before consonants, while "suspended *t*" or (t') occurs by assimilation, and (dhʊ) is employed only in particular cases. Both (th, t') are common in D 21 and D 22. In D 24 (t') is almost solely employed, except on the borders of D 22 on the w. and D 26 on the s. *The* is sometimes assimilated to other letters, as (frɐm)s)skœ'u) from the school. This power of assimilation is interesting as still existent in dialectal speech. Numerous examples occur in the subsequent illustrations.

[*-en*]. The chief constructional peculiarity is the verbal plural in *-en* (wi n*oo*n, ɟo n*oo*n, dhi n*oo*n), we know-en, you know-en, they know-en. This is universal in D 21, D 22, D 25, D 26. In D 23 the people think that it is not used, but it still exists in a few contracted forms as (an ɟo? dʊ̯ʊn ɟo?) have-n you? do-en you? In D 24 it is only found at the borders of D 22 on the w. and D 26 on the s. In D 27 it seems to be practically lost, but there is evidence that it did exist some years ago. In D 28 it is plentiful. In D 29 it chiefly exists

in contracted forms, and more in the w. than the e., but even in Le. there are traces of it.

[*I am*]. The verb substantive is *I am*, which separates the M. from the N. div. where for the most part *I is* is heard. *I be* is seldom used, and most frequently in the negative *I ben't*, and is confined to SM., which borders the S. div. *I are* seems to be unemployed.

### Peculiar Words [*hoo, shoo*].

[*hoo, shoo*]. In vocabulary, the use of *hoo* pronoun, variously called (*uu*, *æ*'u, ɑ'u, iu), the Ws. *heó*, she, is prevalent in D 21, 22, 25, 26, although it is superseded, in several constructions, by what at least is assumed to be *her* (ɑr, ʊr), both for nom. and acc. But in D 24 appears the form *shoo* (shuu, sho, shu), which, like *she*, is usually referred to Ws. *seó*. I am inclined, however, to believe that *shoo* is also a form of *heó*, through some such form as (gjhoo). In the other districts *she* or rather *her* are in general use. For girl, *wench* is most usual, without any offensive suggestion.

### Negative Character.

There is therefore no one particular character, phonetic, constructional or vocabularian, by which the whole M. div. (even excluding D 20) can be separated from adjoining regions. But there are very numerous even merely phonetic characters by which any district can be separated from non-Mid. divisions, as will appear from the following details. The M. div. is therefore, as already stated, rather negatively than positively characterised. It has not the S. W. E. or N. characters. But it has generally the vowel ($u_{\cap}$) and occ. ($u$, $u_1$) for U and wonderfully varied forms of U′, I′, with occ. peculiar O′ (*æ*′u) and extensive, but not universal, use of the verbal pl. in *-en*. Collectively these form very distinctive characters. The striking uses of (ii) for A-, ÆG, EG and (*éi* ɛ′*i*) for E′, ECG are too much confined to portions of D 25, D 26, D 28, D 29, to be relied upon as a general M. character.

## D 20 = BM = Border Midland.

*Boundaries*, those of the co. of Li.

*Area*, the co. of Li.

*Authorities*. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH, ‖ in systematic, ° in io. *Li.* °Aisthorpe, °Alford, °Axholme Isle of, °Barnoldby-le-Beck, † Barrowby, °Beckingham, * Billingborough, °Blyton, °Bracebridge, * Brigg, °Brocklesby, °Caistor, °Coningsby, °Crowle, * Epworth, °Faldingworth, °Fillingham, °Friskney, °Fulstow, °Gainsborough, * Grantham, °Great Coates, °Great Grimsby, * Halton-Holegate, °Haxey, °Healing, °Horbling, °Horncastle, °Keelby, °Killingholme, °Kingerby, °Laceby, † Lincoln, °† ‖ Louth, °North Hykeham, °North Kelsey, °Saxby, °Scartho, * Scotter, °Scunthorpe, °Skellingthorpe, † Sleaford, °Snitterby, * Somerby, °† Spilsby, °Springthorpe, °Stallingborough, † Stamford, °Thorseway, °Thornton, °Ulceby, °Usselby, °Waltham, * Winterton.

*Character*. There is a certain degree of homogeneity of sp. throughout Li., which renders it difficult to subdivide the district, but we may roughly distinguish three varieties: Var. i. s.Li. Form, prevailing to just a little n. of Sleaford (11 ne. Grantham), and Boston, and perhaps as far n. as Friskney (3 sw. Wainfleet). Var. ii. m. Li. Form, prevailing over the whole county from the last-

named places to the s. *hoose* line 6, which cuts off the n. of Li. Var. iii. n.Li. Form is very clearly marked by the use of (uu) in U′ words, n. of the s. *hoose* line 6.

Li. more closely resembles the E. div. than the M., although it is quite distinct from the E., as it is from the adjoining Nt. and Yo. The great and peculiar character of the whole district is the marvellous quantity of fractured vowels. There are plenty of fractured vowels in Yo., but, as will be seen under Var. iii., they are of a different nature from the Li. fractures.

The latter are regarded by the natives merely as 'drawls,' and several, in writing to me, indicated this drawl by an added *r*. Thus Mr. Bogg (:*boog*) then of Louth, writing in Glossic, and meaning that *air eer our* should sound as in *pair peer roar* (pêʊ pîʊ rôʊ), not (ʀAA′ʊ), in ordinary received speech, without the shadow of a trill (for trilled *r* is unknown in Li., except, perhaps, before a vowel, and then it is very light), writes consistently throughout his translation of Lord Tennyson's Northern Farmer New Style *awair sair pairnz brairnz airdher toodair sairnts tairk mairks kwairker laird mair-be maird tairl nair mairz brairk sairm fairdher laizi* for Lord Tennyson's awaäy saäy paaïns braaïns eäther todaäy saäints taäk maäkes quaäker laäid maäde taäil naäy mays [=makes] breäk saäme feyther laäzi. Certainly this expresses the sound perfectly to a Li. man or a Londoner, though it renders the *look* of the words unintelligible. Mr. Bogg has also *weerk speerk beern seerd weernt deerd breerd reerzen eerd steerlz meerlz leerst seer theer meernz leerv* for Lord Tennyson's weeäk speäk beän [been] seeä'd [see'd for saw] weänt [won't] deäd breäd reäson eäd [head] steäls meäls leäst see thee means [the fracture unmarked in these three words] leäve. Also *woar boarth goar doarnt thoart noart oart noarn koarts noar noarshenz* for Lord Tennyson's woä [cry to stop a horse] boäth goä doänt thowt nowt owt [fracture not marked in these three words, and not usual] noän coäts noä noätions.

These words carefully pronounced will give an excellent notion of the peculiar Li. fracture. Compare aware away, dare day, bairns pains,—seed sear'd, reed reared,—oh! oar, moan mourn [avoiding London (mAAn)], coat court [avoiding London (kAAt)]. Londoners have quite lost and vocalised the *r*, so have Li. people, but the vocal (ʊ) glides closely on to the preceding vowel. Thus in London brewer poor (bruu,ʊ pûʊ) do not rhyme, and idea near (â'idii,ʊ nîʊ) also should not rhyme, though they often do; in 'the prayer of a prayer' (dhʊ pree)ʊr ʊv ʊ prêʊ), the two words 'prayer' have different sounds as well as meanings, the (r) due to the following vowel may be disregarded, but observe the vowel change (*ee* ê), and the absence of a glide in the first and its presence in the second. In the S. and E. div. we have had numerous examples of (êʊ), as in (lêʊm) lame, without the disappearance of an (r), but not of the other fractures except through such a disappearance; in Li., however, there is a constant tendency to this development after every vowel. The fractures elsewhere seem to have arisen from initial alterations of the vowels, but in Li. from mere additions, more comparable to the 'vanishes' of the south, and exactly equivalent to its 'numerous diphthongs.'

It is a singular thing that the vowel on to which this murmur is tagged is, as a rule, the same as in received speech, and may be 'widened' as for the murmur diphthongs, thus (wiik) becomes (wîʊk) or (wîuk), (stiil, stîʊl) or (stîʊl), and so on. And it is no doubt to this cause that the Li. conception that the vowels are merely drawled is due. The Li. speech is slow and drawly, but here we have not the mere drawling of a vowel, we have the real addition of another vowel on to which the first glides, and part of the length of the first vowel seems to be absorbed into the glide in the process.

This peculiar fracture, and the vocalisation of *r* into (ʊ) or its omission after (aa AA), are the main characteristics of this district. The U, as explained on p. 292, is taken to be ($u_1$). The *h* is uncertain; as a rule it is disregarded unless the speaker is excited,

and then often wrongly inserted. Particulars are given below, as I have been able to illustrate the dialect very fully.

## Var. i. South Lincolnshire Form.

### Friskney (3 sw. Wainfleet) spec.

Examples written by Rev. H. J. Cheales, vicar, and conjecturally pal. by AJE. from the informant's indications, who describes the intonation thus: "The utterance is loud, full, and coarse, with strong hard emphasis. The voice rises in pitch towards the end of each period. It is also slow, a broad heavy drawl with an unpleasant nasal twang (specially in the *ow* sounds [? niâu], in the case of women it amounts to a whine). In exception to the slow nasal drawl, in the words in *ass*, as *lass glass*, the *a* is short and sharp, as in our *mass* [(la'ˢ dla'ˢ)]. Long vowels and diphthongs and compound vowels always drawled, the former generally and the latter always resolved into two vowels." This is illustrated by the following words, those marked * being considered as exceptions:

A- 5 mêvk, 33 *rêvdhv. A'- 67 gôv, 104 rôvd. Æ- 138 *fèvdhv. 152 *watv [almost (wotv)]. Æ: 166 mêvl, 175 *fast. Æ': 218 *ship. E': 312 iv+r. EA: 338 kaa'vl. EI- 373 dhéev. EO': 428 sîv sîvn. I: 452 aa'i. U: 614 háuvnd. E·· 895 risîvv.

1. (hood jaa nóiz, i jaad me), hold your noise, he called me; *yah*, in place of *you*, as a sign of contempt.
2. (hiʃz got'n thru₁f), he has got through=he is dead.
3. (míu, sníu, géun, bak end), mowed, snowed, near, autumn.
4. (wot dhv plêvn du₁st dhv mîvn?), what the devil do you mean?
5. (wat'l déevz, remb'l, hu₁g), weekdays, move, carry.
6. (it tîvmd vn sáild v rêvn, it)s strêvndʒ mu₁ki hóuri wedhv), it emptied and sieved of rain [the rain came down as if poured out or run through a sieve], its strange mucky dirty weather.
7. (jon)z v strêvndʒ vmêvzin pîvt bêvn v jaan), yon=that is a strange amazing pert bairn of yours.
8. (ói nobvt akst im tv tak dhis íer ood praankvs dóum dhi smúvt), I nought-but=only asked him to take this here old donkey down the lane [narrow covered alley],
9. (vn i nipt u₁p vn staatid v ledhvrin dh)ood hes vn méud im hu₁k'l on vbu₁v v bit, vn ru₁n strivt u₁p dhv ra'mpv), and he jumped up and began beating the old ass, and made him jog on above a bit, and run straight up on the high road; *nip* is a word very variously used, but (nipv) nipper is a little boy that runs errands; (hu₁k) huck is the hip-bone; *ramper* is the *rampart*, always used for turnpike-road in Li.
10. (a méud súv i)d a tompoo·kt dhv lit'l lad óer iz íud), I made sure he'd have capsised the little lad over his head.
11. (i)z v wak'n lit'l tʒap, ói)l up)ood i)l téuk noo payment), he's a wide-awake little chap, I'll uphold he-l take no harm or damage, common expression.
12. (ói ku₁m, túvnv fróidv or sethvdv), I come either Friday or Saturday, Peacock writes *toner*, the one or the other.
13. (ói thiqk noot tu)it), I think nothing of it.
14. (did jer ad'l oot?), did you earn ought?
15. (shì)z v wa'qk'l lit'l wentʒ), she is a wankly little wench.

## Billingborough Examples.

Words and sentences by Mr. T. Blasson, resident surgeon, native, pal. by AJE. from his dictation.

1. Alphabetical names of A, E, I, O, U (êu ii *ói oo* îu).
2. Counting (won tuu thrii fûu fo'*iv* s*i*ks sev'n êut nó*i*n ten lev'n twelv that·*i footi* $u_1$ndud).
3. (d$u_1$z dhu sêum lêum man bêuk dhu bred un kêuks ut dhu *ood* plêus $ji_1$t? i duu), does the same lame man bake the bread and cakes at the old place yet? he do, occ., but only in answers; more frequently (i d$u_1$z).
4. (wot's *iz* nêum? *ói* dûunt n*oo*), what's his name? I don't know.
5. (*ói* sêu, ba, wîuz dhu m$u_1$dhu? jondu), I say, bo', where's the mother? yonder. The word *bo'* is occasionally used by very old people, and was actually heard.
6. (*iz* fêudhu dhîu? n*oo*—*jii*s), is father there? no—yes.
7. (w*i*tɩ wêu aa dh*e* go·*in* tu dêu? *ói* ka'nt sêu, *ói* ênt—bêunt—shûu), which way are they going to-day? I can't say, I am-not—be-not—sure. The use of *I be not* is uncommon, but exists.
8. (dhîu)z u gr*i*t snâ*i*l *in* dhu pa'd, aa)ju fró*i*t'nd [fr*i*t]? *ói* aa), there's a great snail in the path, are you frightened? I are. (snâ*i*l) is invariable, but this does not occur in any other ÆG-words. *I are* is rare, and used only in emphatic answers.
9. (g*oo* un bó*i* u thr*i*pn*i* thr*i*d), go and buy a threepenny thread.
10. (uu siiz dhîuz griin trîuz?), who sees these green trees? Here (griin) is used, but in 'the trees are green' (grîun) would be said.
11. (i braat ham dhu buuts i baat on iz fîit), he brought home the boots he bought on his feet.
12. (wîut ûuts baal*i* un bîunz), wheat oats barley and beans.
13. (doont stand alin stanz ut mó*i* w*i*ndez), don't stand hurling stones at my window, exactly the same use as at Nf. (p. 276, I, 2), but (don't stand) distinct and not reduced to (doonstun).

## South Lincolnshire cwl.

The unmarked words are chiefly from Mr. Blasson for Billingborough, corrected vv. in 1886, but some are from Horbling (15 e.Grantham) by Henry Smith, Esq., and Friskney (3 sw. Wainfleet) by Rev. H. J. Cheales, which are grouped as being practically identical.

L indicates the late Dr. R. G. Latham's Folkingham (9 e.Grantham), his native place, given in his *English Language*, 5th ed. p. 391, and conjecturally pal. by AJE.

H gives some wn. by TH. at Barrowby (2 w.Grantham).

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 béuk. 4 tek, L tek. 5 mek. 7 séuk. 8 hev. 9 bihêuv. 10 h*oo*. 11 maa. 12 saa [with euphonic (r)]. 13 naa. 14 draa. 16 daan. 17 laa. 18 kéuk. 19 têul. 20 lêum. 21 nêum. 22 têum. 23 sêum. 24 shêum.

25 mêʊn. 26 wêʊn. 27 nêʊv. 28 hêʊ. 31 lêʊt. 32 bêʊdh. 33 *ee*dhʊ rêʊdhʊ. 34 la'st. 25 AAl. 36 th*oo*. 37 klAA.

A: 39 k*u*$_1$m kEm. 40 kúʊm. 41 tha'qk. 43 ha'nd. 46 ka'nd'l. 47 wa'ndʊ. 50 t*u*$_1$qz. 51 ma'n. 52 wa'n. 54 wa'nt. 55 a'shez. 56 wEsh. 57 a's.

A: *or* O: 58 [accented] fr*u*$_1$m, [unaccented] frʊm thrʊm thʊm. 59 la'm. 60 loq. 61 ʊm*u*$_1$q, L ʊm*u*$_1$nst. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 65 soq. 66 thoq [it sounded to me most like (o), not (*o*), but it may have been (ɤ) as in other cases].

A'- 67 g*oo*. 69 noo. 70 t*oo*. 71 w*oo*. 72 uu. 73 s*oo*. 74 tuu. 75 strûʊk. 76 túʊd. 78 *oo*. 79 ôʊn. 80 ha'lʊd*i*. 81 léʊn. 13 múʊn. 84 múʊ+r. 85 súʊ+r. 86 úʊts. 87 klúʊz [Mr. B. insisted on (kl)], H tlúʊz. 88 klúʊdh. 90 bl*oo*. 91 m*oo*. 92 n*oo*. 93 sn*oo*. 94 kr*oo*. 95 thr*oo*. 96 s*oo*. 97 sûʊl. 98 nûʊn. 99 thr*oo*n thrûʊn. 100 sûʊn.

A': 101 ûʊk. 102 a'sk. 104 rûʊd, H rûʊd. 105 rûʊd. 106 br*oo*d. 107 lʌf. 108 d*oo*, 109 l*oo*. 112 hêʊl. 113 hal [(h) always pronounced in this word]. 114 [both this and the animal are called] múʊl. 115 hʌm, H ûʊm. 118 bûʊn. 121 gA'n. 122 n*u*$_1$n. 123 n*u*$_1$thiqk. 124 stúʊn. 125 úʊnl*i*. 126 úʊ+r. 127 ûʊs. 129 gúʊst. 130 búʊt. 131 gúʊt. 132 ɔt. 133 rúʊt. 134 úʊth. 135 tlAath.

Æ- 138 fêʊdhʊ. — lEdhʊ [ladder, same as leather]. 139 dr*ee*. 140 hêʊl. 141 nêʊl. 142 snáil [commonest], snéʊl. 143 téʊl. 144 ʊgEn. 145 sléʊn. 146 méʊn. 147 bréʊn. 148 fêʊ. 149 bléʊz. 150 lîʊst. 151 lEt. 152 wa'tʊ, H watʊ+r. 153 sa'tʊd*i*.

Æ: 155 thEtj. 157 réʊv'n. 158 aatʊ. 160 Eg. 161 d*ee*. 164 m*ee*ʊ. 165 sEd, L sEd. 166 mêʊd. 167 dE'vl. 168 ta'lʊ. 169 wEn. 170 haʊvest. 171 baal*i*. 172 grEs. 173 wAAr$_o$ [an (r) was felt and was most like (r$_o$)]. 174 Esh. 175 fa'st. 178 na't. 179 wɔt. 180 ba'th. 181 pa'th pa'd.

Æ'- 182 sii. 183 tîʊtj. 184 lîʊd. 185 rîʊd. 187 lîʊv. 188 n*ee*. 189 w*ee*. 190 kii. 191 hîʊl. 192 mîʊn. 193 tlîʊn, HL tlîʊn. 194 En*i*. 195 mEn*i*. 196 wAA [as in (dhʊ wAA dhîʊ) they were there]. 197 tjîʊz. 199 blîʊt. 200 wîʊt. 201 hîʊdh'n. 202 hîʊt. 203 spîʊtj. 205 thrEd thrid. 206 rEd. 207 niid'l. 210 tlêʊ. 211 grêʊ. 212 w*ee*. 213 *ee*dhʊ êʊdhʊ. 215 t*oo*t. 216 dêʊl. 217 îʊtj. 218 shîʊp. 219 slîʊp. 222 hêʊ+r. 223 dhîʊ+r. 226 múʊst. 227 wEt. 228 swEt. 230 fa't.

E- 232 bréʊk. 233 spîʊk. 234 nîʊd. 235 wîʊv. 236 fîʊvʊ. 237 bléʊn. 238 hEdj. 239 séʊl. 240 léʊn. 241 réʊn, L réʊn. 242 twéʊn. 246 kwîʊn. 247 wîʊn. 248 mêʊ. 249 wîʊ+r. 250 swîʊ+r. 251 mîʊt. 252 kEt'l. 253 nEt'l. 254 lEdhʊ. 255 wadhʊ.

E: 257 Edj. 258 sEdj. 259 wEdj. 260 léʊ. 261 séʊ. 262 wêʊ. 264 êʊl. 265 stréʊt. 267 jîʊld [the (j) distinct]. 270, i. bElʊs, ii. bEl*i*. 272 elʊm. 273 mEn. 274 bEnsh. 275 stEnsh. 276 thiqk. 277 drEnsh. 278 wEnsh. 280 lEv'n. 281 lEnth. 282 strEnth. 283 mEr*i*. 284 thrEsh. 285 krEs. 286 ha'rʊ. 287 biz'm. 288 lEt.

E'- 290 hii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fîʊd. 295 brEd. 296 bulîʊv. 298 fîʊl. 299 grîʊn, L grîʊn. 300 kiip. 301 hîʊ+r. 303 swîʊt. 304 bîʊt'l [the insect also so called].

E': 305 hói. 306 *ái*t. 307 nói [(nói ʊn duu) nigh and do, a common reply, meaning 'I should think so, *rather*,' that is, very much, completely]. 308 nîʊd. 309 spîʊd. 310 hîʊl. 311 tEn. 312 hîʊ. 314 hîʊd, L hîʊd. 315 fiit. 316 nEkst.

EA- 317 fl*ee*. 319 gêʊp. 320 kaa+r.

EA: 321 sAA. 322 laf. 323 f*oo*t fit. 324 êʊt. 325 wAAk. 326 *oo*d. 327 bûʊld. 328 k*oo*d. 329 f*oo*d. 331 s*oo*d sEld. 332 tEld. 333 kAAf [exactly like *cough*; a doctor asking a man if he had a *cough*, was answered yes, a fine one to sell; (k*u*$_1$f) is Li. for cough, see 526]. 334 êʊf. 335 AAl. 336 fAAl. 337 wAAl. 340 jaad. 342 aam. 343 waam. — L lîʊpin [leaping]. 345 daa+r [and you (dʌs'nt, daad'nt) durst not]. 346 gêʊt, H gêʊt.

EA'- 347 hEd hîʊd. 348 *ái* ["this and *I* are pronounced very like the (English) Greek *oι*, only broader"; this ought to make it (A'i)]. 349 fîʊ.

EA': 350 dîʊd dEd. 351 lEd. 352 rEd. 353 brEd. 354 shîʊf. 355 dîʊf

dɛf. 356 líʊf. 357 dhɑf. 359 náibʊ+r. 360 tívm. 361 bívn. 362 slee. 363 tjívp. 365 nívʊ+r. 366 grêʊt grit. 367 thrit. 368 dɛth. 369 sloo. 370 rɑɑ. 371 strɑɑ.

EI- 373 dhee. 374 nee. 375 réʊz. 376 bévt. EI: 377 stévk. 378 wívk. 379 évl [same as 140, used only in Bible reading]. 381 swévn swívn. 382 dhívʊ+r.

EO- 383 sɛv'n. 384 hɛv'n. 385 bʊnívth [but ($u_1$ndʊnívʊn) underneath]. 386 joo. 387 nîu [very distinct (î)].

EO: 388 milk. 389 jɛlk. 390 sh$u_1$d sh$u_1$ld. 393 bʊjɔ·nd. 395 L ju$_1$q. 396 wak. 397 swɑd swɑɑd. 398 staav. 399 bróit. 402 laan. 403 fɑɑ. 404 staa. 405 aath. 406 ívth, L ívth. 407 faad'n. 408 níu.

EO'- 411 thrii. 412 shii. 414 flái. 415 lái. 416 dívʊ+r. 417 tjîu. 418 bríu. 420 f$\hat{u}_1$ʊ+r. 421 foti.

EO': 423 thái. 424 r$u_1$f [or (rɑ$^u$f) between, (rɑf, r$u_1$f)]. 425 lait. 426 fáit. 427 bii. 428 sii. 429 fívnd. 430 frɛnd. 431 bívʊ+r. 432 footh, foot. 433 brɛst. 434 bívt. 435 H jaa [(jʊ) unemphatic; when used in anger, the (aa) is much prolonged, with a significant intonation]. 436 trîu. 437 trîuth.

EY- 438 do'i [between (ɑ'i, ɔ'i), but most like (ói)]. EY: 439 tr$u_1$st.

I- 440 wívk. 441 siv. 442 óivi. 443 fróidi. 444 stóil. 446 nóin. 448 dhívz. 449 git. 450 tîuzdi [see 387]. 451 soo.

I: 452 ái. 454 witj. 455 lig. 457 móit. 458 nóit. 459 réit. 462 sóit [see 438]. 465 sitj. 466 tjóild. 467 wóild. 468 tjildʊn. 471 timbʊ. 472 sriqk. 473 bláind. 474 ráind. 475 wóind. 476 bóind. 477 fóind. 478 gróind. 479 wóind. 484 dhis. 485 dhis'l. 486 ívst [no initial (j)]. 488 jit.

I'- 490 bói. 491 sói. 493 dróiv. 494 tóim. 495 wóin. 496 óivn. 497 ʊróiz, L ʊróiz. 498 róit.

I': 500 lóik, L lóik. 501 wóid. 502 fóiv. 503 lóif. 504 nóif. 505 wóif. 506 w$u_1$mʊn. 507 wimin. 508 móil. 509 wóil. 510 L móin móin. 513 wóivʊ+r. 514 óis. 515 wóiz. 516 wizdʊm. 517 jîu.

O- 519 L ɔvʊ. 520 boo. 521 fûʊl. 522 op'n [?(ap'n)], H ɔp'n. 523 hûʊp. 524 wald.

O: 526 kɔf k$u_1$f [see 333]. 527 bɑat. 528 thɑat thoot. 529 brɑat. 531 dɑatʊ, L daatʊ. 532 kûʊl. 533 d$u_1$l. 534 hûʊl. 536 gûʊld. 537 mɑ'ʊld. 538 w$u_1$d. 539 bûʊl. 542 boot. 547 bûʊd. 549 hɑad. 550 wad. 551 stɑam. 554 hɑan. — hɔs [horse, not (ɑɑs)]. 554 krɔs. — fɔks [fox, (hiidhʊ) male, see No. 704].

O'- 555 shuu. 557 tuu. 558 luuuk. — L fodhʊd [fothered]. 559 m$u_1$dhʊ. 562 mûʊn. 563 m$u_1$ndi. 564 sûʊn. 565 nûʊz. 566 $u_1$dhʊ.

O': 569 buuk. 570 t$u_1$k [never (tuuk)]. 571 g$u_1$d. 572 bl$u_1$d. 573 flûd. 574 brûʊd. 576 wɛd'nzdi. 577 bɛ'u. 578 plɛ'u. 579 n$u_1$f. 580 t$u_1$f. 582 kûʊl. 584 stûʊl. 585 brûʊm. 586 duu. 587 d$u_1$n. 588 nûʊn. 589 spûʊn. 590 flûʊ. 591 mûʊ. 593 m$u_1$st m$u_1$t. 594 buut. 596 ruut. 597 s$u_1$t. 598 sûʊth.

U- 599 ʊb$u_1$v. 600 l$u_1$v, L luuv. 601 fɛ'ʊl. 602 sɛ'u. 603 k$u_1$m kuum, L k$u_1$min. 605 sù$_1$n [see 629, the difference not quite certain]. 606 dûʊ+r. 607 b$u_1$tʊ.

U: 608 $u_1$gli. 609 f$u_1$l. 610 w$u_1$l. 611 b$u_1$lʊk. 612 s$u_1$m. 613 dr$u_1$qk. 614 ɛ'ʊnd. 615 pɛ'und. 616 grɛ'und. 617 sɛ'ʊnd. 618 wɛ'ʊnd. 619 fɛ'ʊnd. 620 grɛ'ʊnd. 622 $u_1$ndʊ. 625 t$u_1$q. 626 h$u_1$qgʊ. 628 n$u_1$n. 629 s$u_1$n [see 605]. 630 w$u_1$n. 631 thɑsdi. 632 $u_1$p, L $u_1$p. 633 k$u_1$p. — L $u_1$pʊn [up-]. 634 thrɑf. 635 w$u_1$th. 636 f$u_1$dhʊ f$u_1$dʊ. 639 d$u_1$st.

U'- 640 kɛ'u. 641 hɛ'u. 642 dhɛ'u. 643 nɛ'u. 645 d$u_1$v, L d$u_1$v. 646 bɛ'u. 647 ɛ'ʊl. 648 ɛ'ʊʊ+r. 649 thɛ'uzʊnd. 653 b$u_1$t.

U': 654 srɛ'ʊd. 655 fɛ'ʊl. 656 rûʊm. 657 brɛ'ʊn. 658 dɛ'ʊm. 659 tɛ'ʊn. 660 bɛ'ʊʊ+r. 661 shɛ'ʊʊ+r. 662 $u_1$z. 663 hɛ'ʊs [pl. hɛ'ʊz'nz)]. 664 lɛ'ʊs. 665 mɛ'ʊs. 666 h$u_1$zbʊnd. 667 ɛ'ʊt. 668 prɛ'ʊd. 670 búʊdh. 671 mɛ'ʊth. 672 sɛ'ʊth.

Y- 673 m$u_1$tj. 676 lái. 677 drái. 678 din. 679 tjɑtj. 680 biz'i. 682 lit'l [(ʊ lit'lʊn) a little one, suspend (t')].

Y: 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bái. — H m$u_1$k [muck]. 687 flóit. 689

bild bîuld. — ku₁mli [comely]. 690 káind. 691 máind. 693 sin. 696 bɛth [rh. with *death*]. 697 bɛri. 698 mɛth. 699 ráit. 700 wɑs. 701 fɑst. 704 fɔks shiidhʊ [(hiidhʊ, shiidhʊ) are applied to the genders of animals].

Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 thɑttiin. 708 háiʊ.

Y': 709 fáiʊ. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. English.

A. 717 dɹéʊd. 718 trêʊd. 719 ta'dpúʊl. 722 drîʊn. 723 dîʊri. 725 séʊl. 729 frêʊm. 733 skaa. 737 méʊt [common]. 740 wêʊv [Mr. B. considers that all such words involve *r*, but his *r* is simply (ʊ)]. E. 743 skríʊm. 744 mɛz'lz. 745 tɹíʊt. 746 bríʊdh. 748 flɛgd. 750 bɛg. I. *and* Y. 753 tit'l. 756 srimp. 757 táini. 758 gɛl. 761 láʊd. 762 úʊkʊm. 763 rúʊm. 768 kúʊk. 769 múʊl [see 114]. 774 púʊni. U. 792 skʍa'b'l. 793 hu₁g. 794 dɹu₁g. 799 sku₁l. 800 sku₁l. 801 ru₁m. 803 dɹu₁mp. 805 kɑdz, kru₁dz. 806 fu₁s. 807 pu₁s. 808 pu₁t.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 êʊb'l. 810 fêʊs. 811 plêʊs [pl. (plêʊz'nz)]. 812 lêʊs. 813 bêʊk'n, H bɛ'ʊk'n. 814 mêʊs'n. 816 fêʊd. 817 rɛdísh. 818 êʊdɹ. 819 rêʊdɹ. 822 mêʊ. 823 bêʊ. 824 tɹíʊ. 828 hévgʊ. 829 gêʊn. 830 trêʊn. 831 distrêʊn. 833 pêʊ. 834 shêʊ. 835 rîʊz'n. 836 sîʊz'n. 838 trîʊt. 840 tɹêʊmbʊ. 845 éʊnshʊnt. 847 déʊndɹʊ. 849 sfréʊndɹʊ. 851 a'nt [same as *ant*, for which *pismire* is used only by old people]. 852 êʊpʊn. 853 baagin. 857 kéʊs. 858 bréʊs, L embréʊsez [embraces]. 859 tɹéʊs. 860 péʊst. 861 téʊst, L téʊst. 862 séʊf. 863 tɹéʊf. 864 bikɔz. 865 fɔlt foot.

E·· 867 tii. 868 dɹəʊ. 869 vîʊl. 870 bíʊti. 871 ʊgrii. 872 tɹíʊf. 874 réʊn ríʊn. 875 fêʊnt. 876 déʊnti. 878 sa'lʊri. 879 fii·méʊ·l. 884 prɛntis [in the v. to (prɛntis) always; in the noun (ʊprɛntis) occ.]. 887 klɑdɹi. 888 saatin. 889 sîʊs. 890 bíʊst, H bíʊs' [com.]. 891 fíʊst. 893 nɛfi. 894 disíʊv. 895 risîʊv. 896 bíʊvʊ.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 dilóit. 898 náis. 899 nîʊs. 900 prêʊ. 901 fáin. 902 máin. 903 dáin. 904 vóilet. 908 ʊdváis. 909 bríʊz. 912 ráis.

O·· 913 kûʊtɹ. 914 brûʊtɹ. 915 stu₁f. 916 u₁nʊn. 917 rûʊg. 918 fîʊb'l. 919 óintment. 920 póint. 921 ʊkʍêʊnt. 922 bu₁sh'l. 925 L vóis. 926 L spóil. 929 kɑ'ʍkʊmbʊ [heard, but (ku₁qgʊ) most common]. 930 lóin. 937 kok. 939 klɑs. — L rôʊz. 940 kûʊt, H kúʊt. 941 fûʊl. 943 tu₁tɹ. 948 bɛ'ʍl. 952 kúʊrs. 953 ku₁z'n. 955 dɛ'ut.

U·· 960 kíʊ. 961 gríʊʊl. 963 kʍóiʊt. 964 síʊit. 969 shûʊ.

## Var. ii. Mid Lincolnshire Form.

Great interest attaches to the pronunciation about Somerby (13 nw. Wainfleet) as the birthplace of Lord Tennyson, whence he derived the dialect in which he has written OS. = Northern Farmer Old Style (in the vol. containing the 'Enoch Arden,' 1864), NS. = Northern Farmer New Style (in the vol. containing the 'Holy Grail,' 1870), NC. = Northern Cobbler, and VW. = 'The Village Wife or the Entail' (both in the vol. of 'Ballads and other Poems,' 1880), and SS. = The Spinster's Sweet-arts (in the volume containing 'Tiresias,' 1885).

In view of the present work Lord Tennyson (then untitled, to whom I shall refer as T. simply) did me the favour to give me an interview lasting 1h. 40m. on 23 Mar. 1881, in which he kindly read over to me most of OS. and some of NS., referring me for other information to Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Raunsley, late rector of Halton Holegate (8 nw. Wainfleet), who he said had much more recent knowledge of the dialect than he had.

The information which this lady kindly gave me in two long interviews will be added hereafter. On account of the copyright, it is not possible to transcribe any one of T.'s five Li. poems at length; but I am permitted to give short extracts, and I prefix certain notes and observations which I made at the time and extended immediately afterwards. The poems are referred to by the above initials, the stanza and line of the stanza.

OS.=Northern Farmer Old Style.

T. pronounced the diphthong written *oi* not quite as (ʌ'*i*), but rather as (*ái*); Mrs. D. A.'s sound was much finer, rather (*ái*, á¹*i*). All the long *i* in the poems are (*ái*, *âi*, *áai*).

T. pron. the diphthong *ow* as (ɜ'*u*) in *nowt* OS. ii. 1, x. 3, *mowt* vi. 2, xiii. 2, *yows*=ewes x. 4 (the *cow*, *now* x. 1, 2, xiii. 3, *'ow* xiv. 1, were errors for *coo*, *noo*, *'oo*), *plow* xi. 2, *thowt*, *owt* v. 4, *howd* xv. 2, *owd* xvii. 2. Possibly this was a Southernism, as T. has lived so long in the S. div. It varied at times to (*áu*), but this he repudiated. In NS. all his *ow* were (ɜ'*u*). Mrs. D. A. used (*áu*) as (náu háus) now house.

The *un* used for *im* in OS. iii. 4, v. 2, vi. 4, viii. 2, 3, 4, ix. 1, 3, etc., is a Southernism, which, as T. pointed out to me, should be corrected. Similarly *thof* iv. 3 T. said should be *tho* (dh*oo*), but Mr. Peacock gives *thoff* in his Glossary for n Li., and Mr. Blasson gave (dhɜf), p. 301, No. 357, in s.Li.

Throughout, *ä* is used for diphthongising (ʊ) as OS i. 1 *beän meä aloän*, viii. 3 *moäst* (bîʊn mîʊ ʊlôʊn môʊst), in such words as *saäy awaäy laäid* v. 3, 4, vi. 1, *naäil* ix. 3, the *ä* is pron. last (sêʊ ʊwêʊ lêʊd neʊl). But *looäk* x. 1 (which should have been *looök*, compare *booök* in VW. xi. 1 and elsewhere) only means that the *oo* in both words is to be pron. long, as (luuk buuk), or possibly very long (luuuk buuuk), and not with a short vowel as in rs., nor as (l*u*₁k b*u*₁k). But *oä* and *aw* are used in the same sense (óʊ, ôʊ), and not (ʌʌ), hence OS. i. 3, *says that I moänt 'a naw moor yaäle* (which should have been *aàl*, T. said, as in VW., and in the same way *yeäd* v. 2 should be *eäd*) means (séʊz dhʊt *ái* môʊnt ʊ nôʊ mûʊ éʊl).

The short *u* in these poems was always (*u*₁), much thicker than (*u*) in T.'s speech, as also in Mrs. D. A.'s.

The fracture (*i*₁ʊ) began with so deep an (*i*₁), as in *seäd* (s*i*₁ʊd), that I often mistook it for (*e*), and in the case of unfractured (m*ii*₁ s*ii*₁) me see, NS. xiv. 3, 4, I quite did so.

The *h* was generally omitted, but introduced emphatically in the wrong place. In the 1864 ed. of OS. xiv. 3, 4, we have '*All all* rhyming; in the new ed., as T. pointed out, it is '*All hall*, meaning *Hall all*, the last emphatic.

As for final *r* not before a vowel, I heard no trace of it either in T. or Mrs. D. A., but T. thought he heard or felt a trace of it in OS. iv. 1, 2 *larn barn* (laa⌊r₀n baa⌊r₀n), certainly with no trill, but this seemed merely an orthographical suggestion, and at most

resulted in (láavn báavn). Mrs. D. A. says that (bêvn) and not (baan) is the word.

OS. was originally written with *ow* for all the U′ words, the custom of T.'s own district from Horncastle to Spilsby being to use (ɜ′*u*, áu), but T. said that a friend (not named) persuaded him to change *ow* into *oo* as giving the poem a more antique and northern flavour. Unfortunately the change was not made consistently, as T. himself pointed out to me. Thus we have *oo* in aboot, oot viii. 3, 4, doon ix. 2, x. 4, doot xiv. 2; but *ow* in cow, now x. 1, 2, now, cows plow xiii. 3, 4, where observe plow is not (pluu) but (plíu) in n.Li.

T. said he did not know the dialect of n.Li., but, as we shall see, except as respects U′ words, which have (uu) in the n., the pron. is practically the same.

The peasants speak slowly, and T. read vi. 3, 4 very slowly, with lengthened final consonants.

(*s*ivvr *ái* kɜp *i*m, *ái* kɜp *i*m, m*ái* las', dhv m*u*₁n *u*₁ndvst*a*nd,
*ái* d*u*₁n m*ái* díut*i* b*ái* ·*i*m—vz *ái*—v d*u*₁n'—b*ái* dhv l*a*n'd.)

[however I kept him, I kept him, my lass, thou must understand,
I done [have done, did] my duty by him, as I have done by the land.]

ix. 2. *enemies* was a joke of T.'s, and should have been *emenies*= *anemones*.

ix. 3. (:nôvks v :thimb'lb*i*—*too*nvr vd shot *i*m vz d*i*₁vd vz v nê₁vl); meaning: Nokes or Thimbleby, *toner*=one or the other, had shot him as dead as a nail.

x. 4. (su₁m on *i*t duun in s*i*₁vd), some of it down in clover.

xii. 1. (duu :godvm*ái*·ti nôv wot v)z duu*i*n vtêv·k*i*n v m*î*₁v), does God Almighty know that he's doing a taking of me? This was actually said by an old bailiff.

xiii. 2. (vr v mɜ′*u*t v tévk'n :rob*i*nz—v n*i*vv MENDED v FENS), or he might have taken Robins, he never mended a fence. This was actually said.

xiv. 1–4. (luuk u k*w*olvt*i* sm*ái*lz WEN dhe s*ii*₁z mv v pas*i*n b*ái*,
SEZ tv dhvSEN nóv duut 'wot v man v b*i*₁ s*íu*vl*ái*· !'
fvr dhe nôvz wot *ái* b*i*₁n tv :sk*w*áiv s*i*n f*u*₁st v k*u*₁md tv dhv AAl,
*ái* d*u*₁n m*ái* díut*i* b*ái* :skw*ái*v, vn—*ái* d*u*₁n—m*ái* díut*i*—b*ái* HHAAl !)

[look how quality smiles, when they sees me a passing by,
says to themselves no doubt, 'what a man he be sure-ly!'
for they knows what I (have) been to Squire since first he came to the Hall,
I (have) done my duty by Squire, and—I (have) done—my duty—by all!]

xv. 4. *noither a moänt*, now altered to *noä*, *nor a moänt*=no, nor he mustn't.

## NS.=Northern Farmer New Style.

In 1871 Mr. Bogg, a surgeon, native of and at that time resident at Louth, assisted by his brother, who had studied the

pron. of a labourer from Donnington-upon-Bain (5 wsw.Louth), had the kindness not only to write me out the pron. of NS. in glossic, but to answer a long string of questions upon it. From this I obtained a very correct conception of m.Li. speech, but as I have since had the advantage of referring all doubtful points to Lord Tennyson himself, I give the notes I made on reading portions of this poem with him.

i. 1, 2. (du$_1$z'nt dhɜ'*u* *î*$_1$ʊ m*ái* əəsez lɛgz ʊz dhe kantʊr ʊwɛɛ'ʊ?
prop*u*$_1$t*i*, prop*u*$_1$t*i*, prop*u*$_1$t*i*! dhat)s wot *ái* *î*$_1$ʊz ʊm sɛɛ'ʊ.)

Doesn't thou hear my horses legs as they canter away?
Property, property, property! that's what I hear them say.

T. had actually heard a Li. farmer make this comparison between the sounds of his horses feet and word 'property.' T. used (o) always and not (ɔ) as far as I could hear, but he made no statement concerning it. The word *horse* T. writes *'erse*, there is no trilled (r) or buzzed (r$_o$) in his pron., but to my ear only the long vowel, which was fine like (əəs) and not coarse like (ɜɜs). The sound in other words, however, varies.

vi. 2. *laaïd by* (léeʊd, léʊd, lɛ'ʊd), the length and quality of the first element was very variable.

vi. 4. *a lass as 'ant nowt* (ʊ la's' ʊz aant nɜ'*u*t), (aant) means *has* not, (*ee*nt) *is* not.

vii. 1, 2 (paas'nz la's' aant nɜ'*u*t, ʊn sh*i*$_1$ w*i*$_1$ʊnt ʊ nɜ'ut wɛn *i*)z d*i*$_1$ʊd,
m*u*$_1$n bi ʊ g*u*$_1$vnes, lad, ʊ s*u*$_1$mʊt, ʊn ad'l ʊ br*i*$_1$ʊd.)

Parson's lass has not nought, and she won't have nought when he's dead,
Must be a governess, lad, or something, and earn her bread.

(sh*î*$_1$ʊ) is more common than (sh*î*) for *she*. T. never said pure (shii), though he thought he did.

vii. 3, 4. (w*ái*? fʊr *i*)z nobʊt ʊ k*i*uret, ʊn w*i*ʊnt n*i*vʊ g*i*t noo *áiʊ*,
ʊn *i* mɛ'ʊd dhʊ bɛd ʊz *i* l*i*gz on ʊf*ûʊ* *i* k*u*$_1$md tʊ dhʊ sh*áiʊ*.)

Why? for he's nought but a curate, and won't never get no higher,
And he made the bed as he lies on afore he came to the shire.

I asked T. whether the people of Li. ever said (sháiʊ), he said he hoped so, for the sake of the rhyme, but admitted that only the educated would say so, and he uses the right sound (sh*î*$_1$ʊ) spelled *shere* in VW. iv. 6:

(ʊn *ái* ôʊps ʊz *i* b*i*$_1$ʊnt buuk-laand, b*u*$_1$t *i* d*u*$_1$z'nt k*u*$_1$m fr*o* dhʊ sh*î*$_1$ʊ,
wè)d ʊn*i*u ʊ dhat w*i* dhʊ :skw*ái*ʊr, ʊn wi hévʊts buuklaan*i*n *î*$_1$ʊ.)

And I hopes as he be-not book-learned, but he does not come from the shire,
We'd enow of that with the Squire, and we hates book-learning here.

And SS. iv. 3, 4, where it is also spelled *shere*:

(ɟ*i*s dhóʊ dhe kaad m*i*$_1$ ʊz prɛt*i* ʊz ɔn*i* la's *i* dhʊ sh*î*ʊ,
ʊn dhɜ'*u* bi ʊz prɛt*i* ʊ :tab*i*, b*u*$_1$d :rɔb*i* *ái* s*ii*$_1$d thr*u*$_1$f ɟʊ dhîʊ.)

Yes, though thou called me as pretty as any lass in the shire,
And thou be as pretty a Tabby, but Robby I see'd through you there.

The pron. (sh*áiv*) is very recent; before Shire Lane by Temple Bar (now the "Griffin") was pulled down for the new Law Courts, it was always called (:sh*îv* :*leen*). The usual indistinct (-shv) -shire, derives from (sh*îv*) not (sh*áiv*).

viii. 2. (vn *i* aant got sh*u*ᵢt on vm JEt), and he has not got shot—quit—of them yet, which should be (J*i*ᵢt) for the dialect.

viii. 4. (w*u*ᵢs' nvr v faa·wElted) or (fa'uwElted Ja'*u*), worse than a capsised ewe, lying on its back in a furrow and unable to rise. I could not determine whether T. said (JE'*u*) or (J*ó*u).

x. 1, 2. ('*ee*, vn dh*ái* m*u*ᵢdhv sEz dha'*u* wants tv mar*i* dhv laˡs, k*u*ᵢmz vv v dJEnt'lmvn baaᵘn, vn w*i* bôvth on *u*ᵢs thiqks dhv vn aˡs.)

Ay, and thy mother says thou wants to marry the lass,
Comes of a gentleman born, and we both on us thinks thee an ass.

*born.* The writing (baaᵘn) should imply that the sound was chiefly (aa), but that there was a tinge of (u) running through it, but I could not properly imitate the vowel; it would require a prolonged study, and the hearing of it from many people to do so. Similarly (maaᵘn) morn (NC. viii. 4), but I appreciated (m*ú*ᵢvn*i*n) morning from Mrs. D. A. in NC. vii. 1. T. writes all these words with (ur), burn, murnin, thurn (NC. viii. 3, VW. xiii. 1)=born, morning, thorn.

x. 4. (dhv biiz *iz* vz fEl vz a'*u*t), the flies are as fierce as anything; *flies* are always called *bees*, and *rooks* are called *crows*, so the *crows* fly from a *rookery* in Lockesley Hall, v. 68.

xii. 2. *regular*, so written for the metre is called (rEglv).

xiii. 3. (*fee*dhvr vd o·mvst na'*u*t) father had almost nothing.

xiii. 4. *tued* sounded very like (tyyᵢd) or (ty'ᵢvd) at times, but never (tíud).

xiv. 3, 4. *see, thee* (s*ii*ᵢ, dh*ii*ᵢ), almost (see, dhee), and quite distinct from (sii, dhii).

xv. 3, 4. (k*u*ᵢm *up*, prop*u*ᵢ*ti*, kantvr vn kantvr vwee'v) come up, property, canter and canter away.

These notes and extracts contain everything of interest in Lord Tennyson's own pron. The difficulties of NC. and VW. I inquired of Mrs. D. A., but they are all included in the above. The SS. was not then published. Instead, then, of going further into T.'s poems, I proceed to the special information obligingly communicated by Mrs. D. A.

## Halton Holegate (1 e.Spilsby) dt.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the late rector, who had paid great attention to the dialect and made many notes before she had married. Her dialect had the true 'ring' in it.

1. sóv âi sév, mévts, JV sîv náu dhat ái)m reet vbáut Jon l*i*t'l gel k*u*ᵢm*i*n frv dhv skuul Jondv.

2. shi)z gu·in dáun dhi rûʊd dhîʊ, thru₁f dhʊ rɛd géʊt on dhʊ left and sáid dhʊ wéʊ.

3. shúuʊr [síuʊr] ʊnu₁f dhʊ bêʊn ʊz gon stréʊt u₁p tʊ dhʊ dûʊr ʊ dhʊ roq háus.

4. wîʊ me)bi shii)l fâind [me hap tʊ fâind, tʊ láit on] dhat dru₁qk'n dɛf wiz'nd ood tʒap ʊ dhʊ néʊm ʊ :tu₁mʊs.

5. wi AAl nAAz im rîʊl wɛl.

6. wîʊnt dhʊ ood tʒap [man] suun laan ʊ not tʊ gu dhîʊr ʊgɛn, pûʊ thiq!

7. luuk! eent it truu?

*Notes.*

1. *see.* All the (éʊ, éʊ, ía) were decidedly less broad than Lord Tennyson's, which seem to have been rather strained.—*mates*, a common word.—*now* varied as (náu, náu, nɑ'u), but was not not (nóu).—*right*, probably (réit), see cwl. p. 309, No. 459, but I first wrote (reet) and then (reet) without any (i).—*yonder*, more common than *that*.—*going*. Mrs. D. A. said (go, gu, góʊ, gúʊ) at different times, apparently according to construction.—*hand*, the (h) is pretty correctly inserted except from nervousness.

3. *sure*, (shûʊr) was dict. with (shû), but subsequently the word cropped up with distinct (síu). This seemed to depend on the position of the word.—*enough*, (ʊnáu) was known, but not any distinction of sg. *enough*, pl. *enow*.

4. *shrivelled* was not known, but (shr-) initial falls into (sr-) generally, as (srimp) shrimp.

5. *we knows*, in conjugating the verb the 2nd pers. sg. ends in (st) and the rest in (s, z). T. uses (st) or (s) in *'asta*=hast thou or has thou, with (th) assimilated to (t) after (s), OS. i. 1, but he has *thoort*=thou art OS. i. 2; *tha knaws*=thou knowest OS. vi. 1; *d'ya moind*=do you remember OS. viii. 1; *what atta stannin' theer for and doesn bring ma the aäl*=what art thou standing there for and dost not bring me the ale OS. xvii. 1; *dosn't thou 'ear*=dost not thou hear NS. i. 1; *thou's an ass*=thou art an ass NS. i. 3; *thou'll*=thou wilt NS. ii. 3, xiv. 3; *thou thinks*=thou thinkest NS. iv. 2; *thou can luuv*=thou canst love NS. ix. 1; *thou wants*=thou wantest NS. x. 1; *wiltha*=wilt thou NS. x. 4; *tha sees* = thou see'st NS. xiii. 1; *if thou marries*=if thou marriest NS. xv. 2; *if tha seeäs 'im an' smells 'im* =if thou see'st him and smellest him NC. xi. 6; *if tha wants*=if thou wantest NC. xx. 3; *tha dosn' know*= thou dost not know VW. iii. 1; *thou knaws*=thou knowest, VW. v. 4. It is evident therefore that T. does not follow Mrs. D. A.'s rule for the 2nd pers. sg. — *real well*, the common affirmative adverb, (névshʊn) damnation is also used, but *very* is not common.

6. *learn* (laan), I could hear no (r) or even ($r_o$).

## Test Sentences.

1. (lévʊ dhʊ fáulz dáun if jáu plîʊz), lay the fowls down if you please, emphatic (jáu), enclitic (jʊ, ʊ).
2. (shîʊ)z dhîʊ! wîʊ?), she's there! where?
3. (dJʊ sîʊ áuʊ thrîʊ trîʊz?), do you see our three trees?
4. (ái bi ood ʊn lêʊm, téʊk mi hôʊm), I be old and lame, take me home; the last word is pron. in several ways, but (hóʊm) is most common. *I be, I am* are used indifferently, but *I am* seems most common. T. uses *beänt* freely, but that, like *un* (acc. *hine* for *him*), may be a Southernism.
5. (ái sêʊ, ladz, ru₁n ʊwêʊ ʊn plêʊ), I say, lads, run away and play.

6. (wîʊv got'n nu₁n, áiʊv du₁n, wii mʊs gôʊ), we have gotten none, I have done, we must go; should it not be (wii mʊn) or (mu₁n)? see 8.
7. (hi ka'nt ʊn sha'nt, ái wîʊnt tʊnáit, ái dú₁ʊnt máind), he can't and shan't, I won't to-night, I don't mind (remember).
8. (hî mu₁n dái [dói] tʊdêʊ, so dhe sêʊ), he must die to-day, so they say.

Fragments of Spilsby talk from Mrs. D. A.'s note book, pal. from her dict. by AJE.

1. Chasing the Sun.

A book called "Chasing the Sun, or a Voyage due West," had been lent to an old woman by Mrs. D. A.'s sister, and this was the comment:

(ái did'nt láik dhat buuk ʊtûʊl ʊz jûʊ sistʊ broot míʊ. it wʊs 'tʒêʊsin dhʊ su₁n,' ʊn ái doont thiqk nu₁thiqk tu tʒêʊsin dhʊ su₁n. tʒêʊsin dhʊ su₁n, indiid! ái thiqk :godʊmái·ti ʊl suun lɛt fooks nôʊ ʊz tʒivʊz im. hiil bi téʊkin ʊn pu₁tin it su₁mwîʊr ɛls, ái rɛk'n. tʒêʊsin dhʊ su₁n, indiid! ái doont láik sitʒ wêʊz.)

I did not like that book at all as your sister brought me. It was 'Chasing the Sun,' and I don't think nothing to [have no good opinion of] chasing the sun. Chasing the sun, indeed! I think God Almighty will soon let folks know as chivies [chases] him. He'll be taking and putting it somewhere else, I reckon. Chasing the sun, indeed! I don't like such ways.

2. Two old crones meet.

(1. sôʊ pûʊ :dáinʊ)z dîʊd. 2. jis, ʊn ái)v djist ku₁md frʊ ligin on ʊr áut, ʊn dhʊ)z nobu₁t wu₁n thi₁q mûʊr, ʊn ·dhat :mr. :raansli wil duu fʊr)ʊr. hii)l djist hap ʊr u₁p.)

1. So poor Dinah's dead. 2. Yes, and I've just come from laying her out, and there's nought but one thing more, and that Mr. Raunsley [the rector] will do for her. He'll just heap her up [bury her].

3. For the Baby.

(if dhʊ ka'nt kari nʊ mûʊ dhisɛn, dháu máit tlam ood on ʊ pîʊs fʊ dhʊ bévbi, ái tɛl jʊ.)

If thou can'st carry no more thyself, thou might clam [seize, snatch] hold on a piece for the baby, I tell you.

4. Independence.

(nee, áiv noo kaal to bi bihoold'n tu fooks, ái)d reedhʊ kamp in dhʊ pinfôəld, sivʊ.)

Nay, I've no call [desire] to be beholden to folk, I'd rather camp [lodge] in the pindfold, howsoever. The last word is constantly added, as *whatever* is by Welsh speakers, as it were, 'at any rate, in any case.' The 'pindfold' is the village *pound* (pind), under the charge of the pinder.

5. Nervous as a Cat.

(áim so naavʊs! git ʊwêʊ wi jʊ! ka'nt ʊbîʊ jʊ. shii)z ʊz naavʊs ʊz ʊn oold kat.)

I'm so nervous! get away with you! I can't abear [abide] you. She's as nervous as an old cat.

6. A butter-woman says of a customer:

(shi)z fit fʊ noot bu₁t misin ʊ dɛts. shiz dhʊ haakʊdest, haatiest, haaf'lest wu₁mʊn in dhʊ táun, ku₁min ʊn fliqin dhi bu₁tʊr ʊbáut mái shop biko·z ái wu₁d'nt téʊk it bak wɛn ʊ nasti béʊnz ʊd bin hu₁gin on it. dhɛn héʊf ʊn áuʊr aftʊ, shi ku₁mz minsin ʊn grêʊsin láik ʊ hêʊndʒ'l fʊr enu₁dhʊ heef páund.

She is fit for nothing but missing of debts [? not paying them]. She's the awkwardest, haughtiest, awfulest woman in the town, coming and flinging the butter about my shop, because I would not take it back when her nasty bairns [not (baanz), as T. said] had been carrying of it. Then half an hour later she comes mincing and gracing like an angel for another half pound.

7. Old epigram on Boston, Li.

(oo! :bos'n, :bos'n, dháu)z nóʊt tʊ boost ən
bu₁t ʊ gràn slûʊs ʊn ʊ hái stìʊp'l,
ʊn ʊ kûʊst ʊz sóuʊlz ʊ lost ʊn.)

Oh! Boston, Boston, thou hast nought to boast on [of]
But a grand sluice and a high steeple
And a coast as souls are lost on.

## Mid Lincolnshire cwl.

wn. in 1878 by TH. from Rev. William Jackson, native of Spilsby (14 sse. Louth), Principal of Didsbury College (4 s.Manchester), and three students from Sleaford (16 sse.Lincoln), Lincoln and Louth [:láuʊth]. There was a fourth student from Brigg, but his special words are omitted. The informants all spoke rec. English, and hence the dialect was a reminiscence. TH. wrote the equivalent of ($u_o$), which may have been due to Manchester. I change it to ($u_1$) to agree with my own observations.

TH. marked in the (r) final constantly, but it is certainly not pron. in Li., and hence has been omitted.

*Phrases.* (i)z tɛ'ʊn is'ɛn' əf), he-has taken himself off; (i)z gən rêʊvin mad'), he's gone raving mad.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- — tɛ'ʊn [ta'en, taken]. 19 têʊl. A: *or* O: 60 ləq. 61 ʊmɔq. 62 strɔq. A'- 86 wats. 91 moo. 92 naa. A': 104 róʊd róʊd. 110 nóut' [nought, ? (nɛ'ut)]. 124 stóʊn. — róʊp'.

Æ- 138 féʊdhʊ+r fadhʊ+r. Æ: 156 dlad'. 160 ɛg'. 161 dee dee. 172 gras'. — kar$_o$t kât'. 178 nat'. Æ': 208 ivʊ. 209 nivʊ. 210 tlee. 218 shîp. E- 241 rɛ''ʊn. 251 mîʊt.

EA- 320 kjécʊ. EA: 324 éit' ɛ'it'. 326 óùd. 328 kóùd. 331 sóùd. 332 tɛld. 338 kaal. EA'- 347 ívd. EA': — kreem [cream]. — íʊp' (heap). 366 gríʊt. EO- 386 joo. EO'- 411 thrii. 419 jâʊ jàr$_o$ [your]. EO': 422 sik'.

I- 445 i[(dhi ʊwee mʊn) hie thee away man]. I: — tha'r$_o$d [(thaad) third]. 458 nît. 459 réit. — driqk [drink]. I'- 494 táim. I': — dɛ'ik [dyke]. 517 íù.

O- — stoon [stolen]. O: — sru₁b [shrub]. 527 bóut'. 528 thóut'. 538 wu₁d. — tóul [toll]. 550 wa'r$_o$d [(waad) "with a little rounding"]. — ma'r$_o$nin. — əsiz [horses]. O'- 559 madhʊ+r. 562 muun. O': 588 nuun. 595 fût'.

U: ku₁p. U'- 648 âuʊ+r. 650 ʊbóut. U': 658 dóun. 663 óus. 667 óut. Y: — mu₁ki [mucky].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — téutiz [potatoes]. I. *and* Y. 756 srimp. O. — dɔg'. U. — *tu*b *tu*$_1$b [tub]. — manɐ [manure].

III. ROMANCE.

A·· — pêɐd [paid]. 830 tr*ee*n. 851 ant. — gàr$_o$d'n [gaad'n]. E·· — íɐb [herb]. O·· — bîɐf [beef]. — dɪA"*i*nɐ+r [joiner]. 939 tlóɐziz [closes, fields]. — róɐziz [roses]. — br*u*$_1$shiz [brushes]. 947 bA"il. — [between] tɑɑn toon [written between (tɑ'rn tòrn) turn]. U·· — wE"ɐtɐd. 965 A"il. 969 síuɐ+r. — míuzik.

## VAR. iii. n.LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

This is well marked by lying to the n. of the s. *hoose* line 6, which was traced with great care with the help of numerous clergymen, as already described (p. 19). But the change of (ɑ'*u*) or (*áu*) into (uu) does not affect the dialect in other respects; the nature and multiplicity of the fractures is not at all changed. The inference from this is that the dialect was established before the change of (uu) into (a'u), and that this n.Li. variety is a nearer approach to the old speech. Hence I have been forced, here, as also on the w. of England, to disregard this line for divisions of districts, as I did also the n. *sum* line 1 through Np. and the s. *sŏŏm* line 2. They shew how far the change of (U' U) from (uu u) to (a'u ə) has proceeded northward, leaving the dialect otherwise unchanged. Unfortunately Gill, though a Li. man, is of little or no assistance. The only examples of his northern dialects which refer especially to Li. (suprà Part IV. p. 1250) are (tóaz hóaz), meaning probably (tôɐz hôɐz) toes hose, indicating an existing fracture. His other northern words are not necessarily Li., but his (dhó*u* ɟó*u*) thou you, may refer to it, and if so would indicate that the (ɑ'u) diphthong was fully in use in his time. But he may be referring to Nf., and his (gyyd kyyk) good cook may belong to that locality, as well as (paa saa) for (pá*i* sá*i*) pay say. Sir T. Smith (suprà Part I. p. 121b) says that (paa daa waa maa laa) pay day way may lay, were used by the Scotch and those living beyond the Trent. I have only once got (paa) pay from Nf., and never heard of the other words either in Li. or Nf.

As the pron. (uu) for *ow* would naturally lead to the supposition that the n.Li. variety was more related to the N. div., and hence to class it under that rather than the M. div., the following comparison between Brigg in n.Li., D 20, and Holderness in s.Yo., D 30, where the speech is also full of fractures, will shew the striking difference of the dialects. It must be recollected that the broad Humber rolls between them, with no possible bridge.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A- | | *made* | *tale* | *thaw* | | | |
| | *Brigg.* | méɐd | téɐl | thoo | | | |
| | *Holderness.* | míɐd | tíɐl | thó*u* | | | |
| A' | | *no* | *toe* | *so* | *stroke* | *oak* | *home* |
| | *Brigg.* | nóɐ | tôɐ | sóɐ | st$_t$rôɐk | ôɐk | ôɐm |
| | *Holderness.* | níɐ | tíɐ | síɐ | sthrúɐk | ɟak | wom |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| O- | *foal* | *hope* | *nose* |
| *Brigg.* | fóvl | óup | nóvz |
| *Holderness.* | fúvl | wop | núvz |
| O′ | *book* | *took* | *foot* |
| *Brigg.* | buuk | tuuk | fuut |
| *Holderness.* | bívk | tívk | fívt |

Brigg has, with no great certainty, (t,r-, d,r-). Holderness has (thr- dhr-).
Brigg uses (dhv) generally for the def. article, and (t') rarely by assimilation. Holderness generally omits the def. art. altogether, or at most uses (t').
Brigg has always *I am* (a)m). Holderness always *I is* (a)z).

Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., of Bottesford Manor, Brigg, the author of the Glossary of Manley and Corringham Wapentakes, Li., has fully illustrated the n. Li. form, and he and his daughter also most kindly went vv. through a wl. for me, and furnished me with a dt. Miss Mabel Peacock has subsequently published "North Lincolnshire Dialect: Tales and Rhymes in the Lindsey Folk-speech," 1886.

In Mr. Peacock's Glossary, first ed. 1877 (the second was announced but not published when this was printed), a large number of words are spelled with *ou*, *ow*, apparently directing them to be pronounced with (ɑ′*u*), and in several instances this pronunciation was added in glossic by Prof. Skeat. I therefore took the trouble of extracting all such words as were not derived from *-ol*, *-ough*, etc., and sent them to Mr. Peacock, who kindly marked them for me, and at the same time said that they had been so written inadvertently. But as the pronunciation (ɑ′*u*) or (*óu*) or (*áu*, *áu*) is prevalent over the greater part of Li., that is, s. of the s. *hoose* line 6 which cuts off only a small portion of n.Li., it is very necessary to bear the distinction carefully in mind, and persons who consulted the glossary might consider that the cwl. here given is incorrect. The following is the result:

1. ($u_1$) written *oo* in flood, hood.

2. (uu) written *oo* in coo [cow], cool [a lump on the head], coop, coot, crook, crookled, croon [crown], croopy, dogmooth [dogmouth = snapdragon], doot [doubt], floor, foot, hoos [house], to hooze [to house], i'noo [just now], loonging [should have been *loongin'* = lounging], moo [bellow as a cow], moon, moose [mouse], mooth [mouth], moozles [stupid] noodle, nook, oot [out], hoors [hours], shoot, smook [smoke], smoor [smother], to smooth, smooting and smoochin [narrow passage between houses], soot, stooks [sheaves of corn], stool, tooken [taken], tool, tooth, tooth-houd [(tuuth ɑ′*u*d) = tooth-hold = something to bite], toozle [touzle], Wroot [in Isle of Axholme (8 e.Doncaster, Yo.)].

3. (uu) written *ou*, *ow* in benow, be out, bouncing, bounder, bow, breast plough [pluu *e*pliu], brown [clock, linnet, study], to butter down, by now, a or to clout, clout-nails, count, countess-closes, court, to cow, cow-cotton, cow-gate, cow-grass, cow-lady, cow-lick [observe a *cow* is spelled *coo*], cowl [for chimneys], crowle [crawl], crown [also written *croon*], crownation, crowner, dogmouth [also written *-mooth*], to do out [to clean out], to doubt [= to fear], to dout [extinguish], dowel [an iron pin, and also with (ɑ′u)], down [ill], downcome, downfall, downligging, down to the ground [completely], :dowsabell, dowse, to drownd, drownded, enow [just now, also written *i' noo*], flout, flowter [flutter], foul, foul-tongued [these were marked as both (fɑ′*u*l, fuul)], hound, house, house-boot, house-row, housen, how, howerly [dirty, muddy, indecent], lout, louting, 'lowance [allowance, and also with (ɑ′*u*)], nows and thens, out and out, outcasts, outing, at outs, outwen [backwater], to owse [to bail water], to plough (ploo, pliu), powse [(pɑ′uz, puuz) rubbish], proud, round, rousin, rout [noise], rout about, scour, shroud, souter-hole, a sow, to towel [to beat], a towil [a troublesome boy], a town.

4. (*oo*) written *ou*, *ow* in bout [a struggle], bowk [the belly], fower [four], goule [outfall of a drain], gowl [lump or swelling on the body], grout [thin mortar for concrete], growsome [fit for growing], growze [to eat noisily], howle [wooden water tunnel], howler [the alder tree], howmswever [howsoever], insouling [outfall

of a ditch], knowl [toll a bell], koush [=kewse=hemlock], loup [leap], to low [blaze], and adj. low [both also (AA)], lowse [loose], nowstril [nostril, a blow on the head], owen [over], ower [over], overalls [overalls], owertaken [overtaken], owler [alder tree, also written *howler*], powl [pole], rowl [a roll of paper], rowler [a roller for crushing], rowly powly pudding, a snowler [something large and powerful], soughing [noise of the wind], to sowle [to assail], stour and daub [also stud and mud, building of laths, wattles and mud], stowp [post], to thow [thaw], i' tow, a yow [ewe].

5. (AA) written *ow* in know, to low [and also with (*oo*)], to own, throw.

6. ($u_1$) written *ou* in double rough (r$u_1$f).

7. (ɑ'u) written *ou* or *ow* in bouge out [bulge], bough-pot, boulder [a bolder], coulter, dowdy, dowly [weak], to dowk [duck], dowel [an iron pin, and also with (uu)], Howbeck dale [probably], 'lowance [allowance, both (ɑ'*u*) and (uu)], a power, to power [to pour], a rowel, sour [said of hay and clover], souse, towze, to yowl [howl], yowls [lands in certain parishes].

8. (ɔ) written *ow* in knowledge-box.

## North Lincolnshire dt.

Manley Wapentake, about Brigg (24 nne.Lincoln).

Written by E. Peacock, Esq., of Bottesford Manor, Brigg, and pal. by AJE. from his indications and vv. wl.

1. sóʊ áɪ sêʊ, mêʊts, ɹʊ síʊ nuu, dhʊt áɪ)m réɪt ʊbuut dha't lɪt'l la's k$u_1$mɪn fra t' skuul ɹondʊ.

2. shii)z ʊgo·ɪn duun dhʊ róʊd dhîʊ thrɪf ɹon rɛd ɹéʊt ʊ)dhʊ left and sáɪd ʊ)dhʊ wêʊ.

3. síuʊr ʊnɪf dhʊ bêʊn ʊz gôʊn stréɪt $u_1$p tʊ)dhʊ dûʊr ʊ)dhʊ rɔq uus,

4. wîʊ shi)l tɹantɹ fɪnd dhat dhʊ dr$u_1$qk'n dîʊf wɪz'nd fɛlʊ kaad :tɔmɔs.

5. wi aal naa ɪm vɛrɪ wɛl.

6. wîʊnt dh)ɑ'*u*d tɹap suun laan)ʊ nɔt tʊ duu dhat ʊgîʊn, pûʊ thɪq!

7. luuk, ɪz'nt ɪt tríu?

*Notes to n.Li.* dt.

1. *I* (âɪ) apt to run to (*áɪ* ɑ'ɪ).—*I am*, "is, are, be, not used," but (bêʊnt) be not seems to be occasionally used.—*from the*, the (t') is very doubtful, and (dhʊ) is more probable.—*yon* (ɹon) is commonly used for *that*, *yonder* is not so common.

2. *through*, this form is also given in Mr. P.'s Glossary, Brogden gives (thr$u_1$f).—*hand*, in his wl. Mr. P. always inserted (h), here he notes "(h) never used, but in anger." Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, a native of n.Li., always omitted (h) in dialect.

4. *chance*, *maybe* would be more usual.—*called* more usual than (ʊ)dhʊ nêʊm ʊ) of the name of.

5. *very*, also called (varɪ).

## Winterton (22 wnw.Gt. Grimsby) cs.

written by Rev. J. J. Fowler, sometime curate of Winterton, and corrected from his dict. in 1873 by AJE.

This cs. was also read to me by the daughter of a labourer from Epworth (9 nnw.Gainsborough), who was servant at Mr. Spencer's Hotel, King's Cross, London, a Lincolnshire house. The servant had been a year only in London, but her dialect was not certain and was confused, partly apparently from original

proximity to Doncaster (14 w.Epworth), which probably affects the whole of the Isle of Axholme, partly from London speech, and greatly from inability to understand what was wanted. Hence I subsequently felt that her version was not sufficiently trustworthy. Mr. Fowler himself was not always quite certain. Under these circumstances I give only an abridged form of Mr. Fowler's version.

1. wEl, névbv, JUU vn ii mv bóvth laf. ûv kêvz?
2. dhat shvl bi tríu. *it iz*'nt v var*i* lá*i*kl*i* th*i*q, JUU mv pEnd.
3. dJEst dhuu od dh*i* d*i*n, mvn, wá*i*l a)m vtE·l*i*n dhv.
4. a)m síuv á*i* ìvd vm sêv—dhat a d*i*d, síuvr en*i*f—
5. vt-t'-J*u*$_1$qgest s*u*$_1$n *iz*SE·n, v grívt lad v nái*n* JÍvr *oo*d, níu *iz* févdhvz t*u*$_1$q tvrEkl*i* [directly], vn á*i*)d tr*u*$_1$st ·*im* tv spévk tríuth on*i* d*ee*, éi, dhat wod)*i*.
6. vn dh)*oo*d w*u*$_1$mvn vse·n 'l tvl on*i* on JV, *if* JV)l nobvt aks)v, é*i* ·dhat shv wil,
7. tuu v thrii tá*i*mz ovvr vn AAl.
8. uu *it* WAZ vn wîvr *it* WAZ vn WEn *it* WAZ vt shv f*u*$_1$n dhat dhîv dr*u*$_1$qk'n bívst vz shv KAAlz vr *u*$_1$zbvn.
9. shv siid)*im* w*i* vr AAn iiz, l*i*g*i*n u$_1$p)v)dhv gr*u*$_1$nd *i iz* g*u*$_1$d s*u*$_1$ndv kúvt, klúvs vgívn dhv dúv st*i*vd, duun b*i*)dh KAAnvr vt Jon dhív lévn End.
11. *it* waz dJEst vz dhv :b*i*l wá*i*f vn EE WVZ v k*u*$_1$m*i*n uut *o*)dh tévt*i* gath [potato yard] frv *iq*in uut t' klóvz,—dhv)d dJEst b*i*n duu·*in* v b*i*t v WEsh*i*n, vn vd aadl*i*nz gEt'n dhvr anz uut v dh WEsh t*u*$_1$b,
12. vn)dh kEt'l waz bó*i*l*i*n, vn dhv WVZ dJEst v go·*in* tv EV v k*u*$_1$p v tîv.
13. vn *if* JUU)l bvlii·v ·mii, a n*i*vv nAAd n*oo* móvr, nv dæ·z'nt want tu nêvdhvr, sóv nuu JV nAA.
14. a m*u*$_1$n vwee· ôvm tv g*i*t v b*i*t v s*u*$_1$pvr A*j*·vv, sôv a m*u*$_1$n bi w*i*sh*i*n JV g*u*$_1$d niit.

## North Lincolnshire cwl.

written by Mr. Peacock, and corrected from his dict. in 1877 by AJE. Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, also gave me a wl. for Scotter (19 nnw. Lincoln), which I corrected vv., and when the pron. differed from or supplemented Mr. Peacock's, the words are here annexed with F. prefixed.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 ta'k tévk. 5 ma'k mévk. 6 mévd. 7 sa'k sévk. 8 hEV. 9 bih*ee*v. 10 hAA [no tendency to euphonic (r)]. 12 sAA. 13 nAA. 14 drAA. 17 lAA. 18 k*ee*vk. 19 tévl. 20 lévm. 21 névm. 22 tévm. 23 sévm. 24 shévm. 25 mévn. 27 F névv. 31 lévt. 32 bévdh. 33 *ee*dhv raadhvr. 36 thoo. A: 39 kom k*u*$_1$m. 41 thEqk [occ. probably a modern vulgarism]. 43 ha'nd. 44 la'nd. 46 ka'n'l. 51 ma'n. 56 WEsh. A: *or* O: 58 fra'. 60 loq. 61 vmoqst. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 65 soq.

A'- 67 góv. 69 nóv. 70 tóv. 71 wóv. 72 uu. 73 sóv. 74 tuu$_1$, F tóv. 75 s$_1$t$_1$róvk. 76 t*u*$_1$vd, F tóvd. 78 AA, v AAVZ mv [he owes me]. 79 AAn. 81 levn. 82 [no (w*u*$_1$nst) is heard]. 83 móvn. 84 móv+r. 85 sóv+r. 86 óvts wots. 87 tlóvz [(tl) for (kl) initial, always]. 89 bóvth. 90 blAA. 91 mAA. 92 nAA. 93 snAA. 94 krAA. 95 thrAA. 96 sAA. 99 thrAAn. 100 sAAn. A': 101 óvk. 102 aks. 104 róvd. 105 róvd. 106 bróvd. 109

IAA. 111 ɜ'*ut*. 113 *ôul*. 115 *ôum*. 118 *bôun*. 121 *gôun*. 122 *nôun*. 123 F nɜ'*ut*. 124 *stôun*. 126 F *ôu*. 127 [(u *ôust*) a cough]. 128 *dhôuz*. 129 *gôust*. 130 *bôut*. 131 *gôut*. 133 *root reet*. 134 F *ôuth*.

Æ- 138 *feedhu*+r *féudhu*+r. 139 *dréu*. 140 *éul* [ale, ail pron. in same way]. 141 *néul*. 142 *sniil snéul*. 143 *téul*. 144 F *ugéun*. 145 *sléun*. 146 F *méun*. 147 F *bréun*. — a'nt [(*pismáiu*+r) more common]. 149 F *bléuz*. 152 wa'tur. 153 SEtur*di*. Æ: 155 *tha'k*. 158 EFtu+r. 161 *déu*. 164 F *méu*. 166 *méud*. 168 ta'lu. 169 wa'n. 172 GTES. 173 WAA+r. 174 ESh. 179 wa't. 181 pa'd. Æ'- 182 F *sîu*. 183 *tîutj*. 191 *îul*. 192 *mîun*. 194 EN*i*. 195 MEN*i*. 199 *blîut*. 200 *wîut*. Æ': 205 *thrîud*. 210 *tlêu*. 213 *éudhu*+r. 215 F TAAT. 216 *dîul*. 226 *môust*. 227 *wiit*. 228 *swîut*.

E- 232 *bríuk*. 233 *spíuk*. 234 *níud*. 240 *lêun*. 241 *rêun*. 242 F *twêun*. 243 *plêu*. 247 F *wîun*. 249 *wîu*+r. 250 *swîu*+r. 251 *mîut*. E: 260 F *lêu*. 262 *wêu*. 265 *street*. 267 JIild. 270 BEləs. 274 *bintj*. 284 THESh. E': 314 *hîud*. EA- 319 *géup*. — *kéu*+r. EA: 321 [(*sid*) used]. 323 la'f. 323 *fa'ut*. 326 *ood*. 327 *bood*. 328 *kood*. 330 *ood*. 331 SEld. 332 TEld. 333 kaaf, F KAAF. 334 *éuf*. 335 AAl. 340 F JAad. 343 waa'm. 345 daa+r. 346 *Jéut*. EA'- 347 *hîud*. EA': 350 *dîud*. 351 *lîud*. 354 *shîuf*. 355 *dîuf*. 356 *lîuf*. 357 *dhôu*. 361 *bîun*. 362 *slêu*. 363 *tjîup*. 366 *grîut*. 367 *thrîut*. 368 *dîuth*. 369 SLAA. 371 *strôu*, F STRAA'u. EI- 372 *ái*, *ee*. 373 F *dhéu*. 374 F *néu*. 376 BE'uk. EI: 377 STE'uk. 378 WE'uk. EO- 384 HEV'n. 385 biniin. 386 *Joo*. 387 *níu*. EO: 388 *milk*. 390 sh*u*ıd. 397 *swóud*. 399 *bráit*. 402 laan. 405 aath. 406 *íuth*. 407 faad'n. EO'- 413 *div'l*. 414 *flii*. 421 *fóti*. EO': 423 *thii*. 426 F *féit*. 430 FREND. 432 *fóut*. 434 BET. EY- 438 *dii*.

I- 442 *áivin*. 444 *stiil*, F *stáil*. 446 *náin*. I: 452 *ái* [(u) unemphatic]. 455 *lig*. 458 *niit*. 459 *réit*. 461 *vliit*. 462 *siit*. 465 *sitj*. 466 tj*ái*ld [but (b'EUN) bairn, used]. 468 tj*ilde*+r. 471 *tim*ıbu+r. 472 *sriqk*. 473 *blind*. 475 *wáind*. 476 *bind*. 477 *find*. 478 *gráind*. 479 tu *wind*. 486 *iust* [F (baam) used]. 487 *Jistudi*. 488 F *Jit*. I'- 491 F *sái*. 493 F *dráiv*. 494 F *táim*. 496 *áiun*. 468 F *ráit*. I': 500 F *láik*. 501 F *wáid*. 502 F *fáiv*. 504 F *náif*. 505 F *wáif* [occ. (*wáif* wA'*if*)]. 506 w*u*ımun. 507 *wimin*. 508 *máil*. 511 *wáin*. 512 F *spáiu*+r. 515 *wáiz*.

O- 520 bə'*u*. 521 *fóul*. 522 ɔp'n. 523 *hóup*. 524 *wóuld* waald [first commonest]. O: 526 kɔf. 527 bɜ'*ut*. 528 thɜ'*ut*. 529 brɜ'*ut*. 530 rɜ'*ut*. 531 dɜ'*ut*u+r. 532 *kóul*. 534 *hóul*. 536 gɜ'*ud*, F guuld. 537 mɜ'*ud*, F muuld. 538 w*u*ıd. 539 buul. 540 F *oli*. 542 bɜ'ut. 550 wod. O'- 558 luuk. 563 F m*u*ı*ndi*. 565 *nôuz*. 566 F *u*ıdhu+r. O': 569 buuk. 570 tuuk. 571 F g*u*ıd. 572 F bl*u*ıd. 573 fl*u*ıd. 575 stuud. 576 wenzd*i*. 577 *bíu*. 578 *pliu* [always, never (*plei*)]. 579 *uni·f* [sg.], *uníu* [pl.]. 580 tɔf. 581 sɜ'*ut*. 587 d*u*ın. 592 SWAA'u. 594 buut. 595 fuut. 597 suut.

U- 599 *ubuun*. 600 F l*u*ıv. 601 fuul. 602 suu. 603 k*u*ım. 605 s*u*ın. 607 b*u*ıtu+r. U: 608 F *u*ıgli. 612 s*u*ım. 613 dr*u*ıqk. 615 p*u*ınd. 616 gr*u*ın. 618 wɜ'*und*. 619 f*u*ın. 621 w*u*ın. 625 t*u*ıq. 629 s*u*ın. 631 thozd*i*. 632 *u*ıp. 633 k*u*ıp. 634 thr*if*, F thr*u*ıf. 635 wɔth. 636 fɜadu+r. U'- 643 kuu. 641 F huu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 646 buu. 649 thuuzund. 652 k*u*ıd. 653 b*u*ıt. U': 654 shruud. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 662 F *u*ız. 663 huus. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 677 F *drái*. 679 TJETJ. Y: 685 *rig*. 686 F *bái*. 689 biild [rarely, and (byld)]. 690 *máind*. 691 *káind*. Y: 700 WOS. 701 fɔst. Y'- 705 *skái*. 706 *wái*. 707 F thɔttiin. 708 *háiu*+r. Y': 709 *fáiu*+r. 711 *láis*. 712 *máis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 F bad. 714 F lad. 717 d*jéud*. 718 *tréud*. 719 [(b*u*ılhed) used]. 722 *dríun*, F *dréun*. 723 F *déuri*. 725 *séul*. 729 *fréum*. 733 F *skéu*+r. 735 F SMESh. 737 F *méut*. 738 F *préut*. 742 F *léuzi*. E. 743 *skríum*. 744 MEslinz. 745 tj*íut*. 748 *u*ınfligd [unfledged]. 751 *piut*. I. *and* Y. 756 simp [occ.]. 758 gEl [(WENTJ) much used]. O. 761 *lóud*. 763 F *róum*. 768 *kóuk*.

769 mɑ'*u*diwaap, mɑ'*u*d. 772 *boo*nfáiʊ+r. 773 [F only (dɹak-as) jack-ass used]. 774 póʊni. 778 ʊfóʊd. 779 F ɔts [usually (liʊvínz)]. 780 F dɹɔs'l. 783 p*u*₁ltr*i*. 784 F b*u*₁ns. 786 F duus. 787 F suus. 789 F ráu. 790 guun [(d) never added], F gá*u*n. — druund, druundʊd [drown, drowned]. U. 792 F skwab'l. 793 F *u*₁g. 794 F dj*u*₁g. 795 F sr*u*₁g. 801 F r*u*₁m. 802 F r*u*₁m. 803 F dj*u*₁mp. 805 F kr*u*₁dz. 806 F f*u*₁s. 807 F p*u*₁s. 808 p*u*₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 810 F *fé*ʊs. 811 F pl*é*ʊs. 812 F l*é*ʊs. 813 F b*é*ʊk'n. 814 F m*é*ʊs'n. 815 F fa¹ks. 816 *fee*d. 817 ʀɛdish. 827 F *ee*gʊ+r. 828 F *ee*gʊ. 834 sh*ee*z. 838 tr*é*ʊt. 839 b*é*ʊl. 840 tjaambʊ+r, F tj*é*ʊmbʊ+r. 852 a¹pʊn. 853 baagzn. 857 F k*é*ʊs. 858 F br*é*ʊs. 859 F tj*é*ʊs. 860 p*ê*ʊst [used for dough]. 861 t*ê*ʊst. 864 b*i*kɔs. 865 fɔlt. E·· 874 ʀɛ'ʊn. 875 f*é*ʊnt. 876 d*é*ʊnt*i*. 878 sa¹lʊr*i*. 887 tlaadj*i*. 888 saat*i*n. 892 nɛʊ*i*. 893 flúʊʊ+r. I·· *and* Y·· 898 náist. 899 niis. 904 F vâilet. 910 djâist, F djáis. 911 sɛstʊn. O·· 913 k*ó*ʊtj. 914 br*ó*ʊtj. 915 F st*u*₁f. 922 F b*u*₁shʊl. 927 F tr*u*₁qk. 928 *u*₁ns. 929 F kuukɛmʊ+r, kɑ'*u*·. 931 dj*u*₁glʊ+r. 935 F kuuntr*i*. 939 tl*ó*ʊs. 940 k*ó*ʊt. 942 b*u*₁tjʊ+r. 943 t*u*₁tj. 944 F ʊluu·. 950 F s*u*₁pʊ+r. 951 k*u*₁pl. 952 k*ó*ʊs. 953 F k*u*₁z'n. 954 F k*u*₁shʊn. 955 duut. 956 F k*u*₁vʊ+r. U·· 963 k*u*âiʊt. 966 F fruut. 967 F suut. 969 s*ú*ʊʀ. 970 F dj*u*₁st. 971 F fluut.

## D 21 = s.NM. = southern North Midland.

*Boundaries.* Begin at the confluence of the Irwell with the Mersey, then go n. over Chat Moss just e. of Astley and Tyldesley, through Peel (3 s.Bolton). Turn ne. and pass se. of Bolton, nw. of Bury and se. of Bacup to the b. of La. at Todmorden. Then go s. along the e. b. of La. to Ch. just n. to Mosley. Turn across Leatherbed Moss, Ch., to the ne. b. of Db., and pursue the e. b. of Db. to Stanedge or Stanage. Go. w. to the s. of Bamford and Hope, but n. of Castleton, and by Back Tor to Man Tor. Here turn s. along the e. b. of Peak Forest liberty to Hay Dale, and then w. to Black Edge (1½ n.Buxton). [This b. from Stanedge to Black Edge is also the b. between (d,r, t,r) on the n., and (dr, tr) on the s.] Go nw. over Combs Moss to its nw. point; then just w. of Chapel-en-le-Frith, and keeping n. of Combs Edge township go nw. to the b. of Db. at Whaley Bridge (9 se. Stockport). Pursue the w. b. of Db. to the ne. horn of Ch., just at the junction of the Etherow and the Goyt near Marple, Ch. Then cross the ne. horn of Ch. to just w. of Stockport joining the Mersey and pursuing it to the starting-point at the affluence of the Irwell.

*Area.* The se. corner of La., the ne. horn of Ch., the High Peak or the nw. of Db. The s. slopes of the Peak are in D 26.

*Authorities.* See County List under the following names, where * indicates vv. per AJE., † per TH., ° in io.

*Ch.* † Stockport, partly in La., † Stalybridge, partly in La., and incidentally with † Glossop Db. are given Woodhead, Tintwhistle, Hollingworth, Hattersley, etc. to Compstall.

*Db.* † Chapel-en-le-Frith, † Edale, † Glossop (including Hadfield, Padfield, etc.), † Hope Woodlands, † Peak Forest.

*La.* † Ashton-under-Lyne, * Bury, † Failsworth, °Manchester (twice), °Moston, † Oldham, † Patricroft, † Rochdale, † Rayton, † Stalybridge, partly in Ch. It will thus be seen that practically I am almost entirely indebted to TH. for information on this district, and he is the only informant who was capable of giving the necessary minute information.

*Character.* This district lies in the middle between the NM. group, D 20 to D 24, and the MM. group, D 25 to D 27. It is not itself perfectly homogeneous, but very nearly so. Two principal varieties may be distinguished. Var. i. the La. Form which

prevails in La., Ch., and the s. bank of the Etherow, and Var. ii. the Peak Form. Var. i. is strongly distinguished from the surrounding districts, by the use of (æ'u) for U' in place of (aa¹) in D 22, the great variety of sounds for U' in D 24, and the use of (*ái*) for U' in D 25. Var. ii. is not so strongly distinguished as Var. i., because it uses (*áu*) for U', which is not an unfrequent variety of (æ'*u*) everywhere, and as already shewn (p. 293) is really on the way to (aa) and (*ái*) through (*áu*). In the present participle Var. i. uses (-*i*,qk), a very characteristic La. form, but Var. ii. has (*i*,n), for the usual form (-*i*q). In the three interlinear cs. given presently it will be seen that these are practically the only points of difference.

For the meaning of (*u*$_o$), which is here universal, see p. 291, and for (æ'u) see p. 292. Both are here pure, and as D 21 is TH.'s native district, his pron. of these sounds must be received as normal. On (r), which must be considered in the illustrations to represent (ɹ), following TH.'s writing, see p. 293. On (h) see p. 295. The final -*ng* becomes generally (-qg), except in participles, where it is usually (n) in Db. as in most places, but occ. becomes (-qk) in the La. and Ch. portions of D 21.

The following peculiarities of TH.'s notation, but not his (*i*$_o$u), have been strictly observed in this his native district:

1. TH. has been very particular in marking *the medial length of vowels* as distinguished from long or short, both when occurring independently and as the last element of a diphthong. But this is by no means a peculiarity of any particular district, as appears from his continually marking the same kind of prolongation in every place which he visits. It is very rarely that I find any inducement to make this distinction in my own writing, but, except in the final element of diphthongs, which is frequently prolonged at pleasure, I follow his orthography when quoting him. TH. is very anxious to have it understood that the medial lengths he marks are strictly dialectal, and that to use either short or long quantities in their place would be inaccurate. Old John Hart, 1569, considered the second element of all diphthongs long, as (*áii áuu*), and certainly whenever a diphthong is much prolonged or emphasized, the second element is necessarily lengthened, an elocutionary device by which its character is not altered, whereas its character is always much changed by more or less lengthening the first element, as (*âi âai*, *âu âau*). Hence I mark initial but do not mark final lengthening of the final element of a diphthong, just as I do not mark elocutionary devices in general.

2. TH. much insists on his *notation of unaccented* (*i*), as I write it, which he considers should be (*i*,) or retracted (*i*), especially in final syllables. Thus he would write *infinity* as (*infin·i,ti*,). Here I do not follow him, but write (*infin·iti*), considering that any difference of sound is an accidental, neither intentional nor invariable, effect of the absence of accent, which always obscures the sound and makes it difficult to appreciate. At first I thought it was a local peculiarity, but when I found that TH. recognised it from all speakers, peasant or educated, local or general, and in myself also, where I failed to perceive it, I concluded that it was a mere difference of appreciation and ceased to use (*i*,), which as contrasted with my own habits of writing would have produced the impression of a difference of pron. which did not really exist. A glance at the following cs. will shew the undesirability of such a notation.

3. TH. not only marks the medial length of vowels, but the *prolongation of final consonants*, especially "(1) in the pause after short and sometimes medial vowels, and diphthongs having both elements short, and (2) occasionally in connected speech." In the case of (f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, r, l, m, n, q) of course they can be prolonged and often are prolonged even in received speech, especially in the pause or when dictating isolated words and aiming at distinctness, as (*looth'*) loth, (*loodh'*, *loodh'th'*) loathe, but this is elocutionary and not dialectal or permanent, that is, the consonant is not invariably so prolonged whenever the word is used. Again in the case of mutes as (p, t, k), which of course having no

sound cannot have their sound prolonged, the configuration may be suspended and released on flatus, thus (*noot*' t') note, for which (*noot*') would be written. [The French release on voice as (not').] But this again is elocutionary, not permanent, and its more or less frequent use does not belong to any special dialect. In noting down a person's pron. it is unobjectionable to mark it, as well as other passing usages, but in printing dialectal specimens it would be misleading, because it would acquire the appearance of permanence, which it does not really possess. Hence, as a rule, I omit them altogether. Of course TH. holds a different opinion and says that in all cases where he marks this prolongation of consonants, the phonetic representation of the dialect would be imperfect if they were not prolonged. Nevertheless I prefer not marking prolongation, but leaving it optional.

For a specimen of TH.'s complete style of writing palaeotype, which I do not find it right or convenient to adopt generally, see the Chapel-en-le-Frith dt. and cwl., pp. 322-329, which being written by himself after consultation with his friends there resident, is worth preserving as a portrait. I have also used his marks of prolongation and retraction in the three interlinear cs. here given, in the eight interlinear cs. of D 26, and the Combs Valley dt. in the four interlinear dt. in D 25, so that the full effect of these (to my mind individual and not dialectal) prolongations and suspensions may be readily seen. But beyond the particular specimens named, I shall omit them.

The suspension of consonants, however, is quite different from the *suspended* (t') for the definite article, which here occurs sparingly, but is universal in D 24, 30, 31. The mode in which it makes its presence felt is peculiar. When it is possible it hangs on by a glide to the preceding vowel or consonant, as (inɟt' kart) in the cart, but in (t')kart)s ku̥min) the cart is coming, this is impossible. It then modifies the position of the organs for (k), so that the glide on to (aa) in (t')kaa) is quite different from that in simple (kaa). Before (t, d) as (t' tu̥q, t' dɑg) it intensifies the (t, d) in a remarkable manner. It never properly runs on to the following vowel, (t' óud tɟap) the old chap, and (tóud t' tɟap) told the chap, have different effects as well as meanings. The (t'óu) then more nearly resembles (t'tóu), but is not so intense. In no case must voice or flatus intervene. To say (t'dɑg, t'túʊd, t'kaat) the dog, the toad, the cart, with introduced (') or (t'), would be quite wrong. It is almost hopeless to understand (t') without studying its effect from native lips.

## Three Interlinear cs.

S Stalybridge, Var. i. pal. by TH. in 1876 from the dictation of John Marsland, Esq., J.P., b. 1817, cotton spinner, native and resident.

G Glossop, Var. i. pal. by TH. in 1874 from the dictation Mr. Samuel Lyne, native of Hollingworth, Ch. (4 wnw.Glossop), b. about 1808, who has resided in the neighbourhood all his life, lodge-keeper at a large cotton-mill. Woodhead, Tintwhistle, Hollingworth, Mottram, Hattersley, etc., to Compstall, in the ne. horn of Ch., and Hadfield, Padfield, etc., on the Db. side of the Etherow Valley, have all the same peasant speech.

C Chapel-en-le-Frith (5 n. Buxton, Var. ii. pal. by TH., native, from personal knowledge. In this version the roman superiors [a, b, c, etc.], refer to the variants for Combs Valley and Dale of Goyt, which are also given in D 25 as variants from Pott Shrigley; they consist chiefly in the use of (ái) for (áu). The italic superiors [a, b, c,] give the variants for Edale, Hope Woodlands, etc., on the Peak. For both see notes, p. 321.

0. S *Stalybridge.* wái :dɟɔn)z nò dɑ'uts.
G *Glossop.* wái :dɟɔn(z nœ'u dɑ'uts.
C *Chapel-en-le-Frith.* wái :dɟɔn)z nœ'u [a]dáuts.

1. S wɛ'l, mʌ'n, búʊdh im u̥n dhì mi, laf ʊt wɔt ʌ)m
G wɛ'l, mɔ'n, dhái ʊn im mʊ búʊdh laf ʊt wɔt ʌ)m
C wɛ'l, lâd, ɟoo ʊn im mʊ [b]buudh laf ʊd dhiz ní,ùz

S tɛlíqk)jʊ. A du$_{o}$nʊ kjɛɛr. dhat ma̗tʊ̗r)z nó$_{1}$ut̗.
G bɜ'un)t̗ tɛl)jʊ. úʊ kjɛɛrz ? dhat)s noodhʊr íʊr nʊr dhívr.
C ʊ)máin. $^{c}$uu kjɛɛrz ? dhat)s noodhʊr íʊr nʊr dhívr.

2. S dhʊr)z nɔ mɔni, fɔ̀k̗ díin bi,kooz dhʊ)r laft àt, wi,(noon,
G dhʊr iz)nʊ mɔni, ʊz díin bi,kooz dhʊ)r laft àt, wi,)noon,
C dhʊr iz)nʊ mɔni, ʊz díin bi,kooz dhʊ)r laft àt, wi,)noon,

S du$_{o}$)nʊ wi, ? wɔt shu$_{o}$d mak)ʊm ? it)s noon sʊ láikli,,
G du$_{o}$)nʊ wi, ? wɔt shu$_{o}$d mak)ʊm ? it iz)nʊ vɛri, láikli,,
C $^{a}$du$_{o}$)nt ʊz ? wɔt shʊd mak)ʊm ? it iz)nʊ vɛri, láikli,,

S iz)i,t ?
G iz)i,t ?
C iz)i,t ?

3. S shu$_{o}$z) ɜ'u it)wʊr ʊ)dhis'n. sʊ dʒu$_{o}$st ó$_{1}$ud
G ʊt ani, reet it)wʊr ʊ)dhis'n. sʊ dʒu$_{o}$st ɜ'ud
C ʊt ani, reet dhíiz ʊr th)faks ʊ)th kjees. sʊ dʒu$_{o}$st ɜ'ud

S dhi, nó$_{1}$iz, mA̗'n, u$_{o}$n shu$_{o}$t̗ dhi, mɜ'uth wáil A)v dù$_{o}$n.
G dhi, dìn, mɔ̗'n, ʊn bi, kwáivt tin A)v dù$_{o}$n.
C jʊr $^{b}$nɛ'iz, mʊn, ʊn bi, kwáivt til A)v $^{c}$dæ'un.

S jɛ̗'r)dhi, ?
G íʊr)dhi, ? [jɛɛr)dhi, ?]
C íʊr)jʊ ?

4. S A̗')m shúu$^{5}$ʊr A jɛ̗'rd su$_{o}$m ʊ dhúu$^{5}$z fɔ̀k̗ ʊt
G A̗')m sàrti,n A íʊrd ʊm see—A míʊn su$_{o}$m ʊ dhæ'uz fɔ̀k̗ ʊz
C A̗')m sàrti,n A íʊrd ʊm see—A $^{d}$miin su$_{o}$m ʊ dhæ'uz fɔ̀k̗ ʊz

S rɛk'nt t̗ noo ɔ ʊbɜ'ùt i,t see—
G wɛnt thræ'u th)wu$_{o}$l kʊnsàrn fʊr th)fast dhʊrsɛlz—dhat A
C wɛnt thræ'u th)wu$_{o}$l kʊnsàrn $^{d}$frʊ th)fast dhʊrsɛlz—dhat A

S
G dìd shæ'uʊr ʊnu$_{o}$f̗
C dìd shæ'uʊr ʊnu$_{o}$f̗

5. S u$_{o}$t th)ju$_{o}$qkst làd i,ssɛ·l̗ ʊ big̗ làd ʊ náin, nood i,s
G ʊs th)ju$_{o}$qgi,st làd i,ssɛl̗ ʊ big̗ làd náin íʊr ɜ'ùd, nood i,s
C ʊs th)ju$_{o}$qgi,st làd $^{e}$i,ssɛl̗ ʊ big̗ làd náin íʊr ɜ'ùd, nood i,s

S feedhʊrz vó$_{1}$is̗ in ʊ krak̗, fʊr oo it wʊr sʊ kwívr u$_{o}$n
G feedhʊrz vɛ'is̗ ʊs sæ'un ʊz ii íʊrd i,t, ʊv it wɜr kwévr ʊn
C feedhʊrz $^{f}$vɛ'is̗ di,rɛkli,, ʊv it ·wɜr sʊ kwívr ʊn

S skwèk̗'i,qk, u$_{o}$n A noo th)làd ʊd AAlʊs tɛl t̗ t,rúu$^{5}$th,
G skwívk̗'i,qk, ʊn A)m shæ'uʊr ii)l tɛl t̗ t,ræ'uth,
C $^{e}$skwìk̗'i,n, ʊn A)d t,ru$_{o}$st ·ìm t̗ tɛl t̗ t,ræ'uth,

S A)m shúu⁵r.
G ani, táim.
C ani, táim, ·dhat A wù₀d.

6. S u₀n th)ó₁ud wu₀mvn vrsel` vl tel` ani, on jv u₀t)s laf`i,qk,
G vn th)ɑ'ud wu₀mvn ɑrsel` vl tel ani, on jv vt vr laf`i,qk,
C vn th)ɑ'ud wu₀mvn ᵉvrsel` vl tel ani, on jv vz laf`ᵛn naa,

S u₀n s`t`re'it` ɑ'ut`, vn oo, bɑ'ùt ani, bodhvr, iv jɑ)n
G vn tel jv s`t`re'it` ɑ'ut`, tæ'u, bɑ'ùt mitj bodhvr, vv jɑ)n
C vn tel jv s`t`re'it` forvt, tæ'u, ᶠbáùt mitj bodhvr, vv jo)n

S nɑbvr aks vr, oo! wi)nt úu⁵?
G nɑbvr aks vr, oo! wi)nvt æ'u?
C oonli, aks vr, oo! wi)nvt v?

7. S shu₀z) ɑ'u, úu tó₁ùd mì wen A aks`t)v`r, mɔni, v
G vt ani, reet, æ'u tɑ'ùd i,t mii wen A aks`t)v`r, tæ'ù vr thrìl
C vt ani, reet, æ'u tɑ'ùd i,t mii wen A aks`t)v`r, tæ'ù vr thrìl

S táim, u₀n úu)d nɔ)bi, ru₀qg v dhat pó₁int A)rek'n,
G táimz óvr, vn æ'u shu₀d)nv bi, raqk vbɑ'ùd
C táimz óvr, vn æ'u du₀z)nv ɑ'ut t` bi, ru₀qg ᵍvbáùt sitj

S wɔ)d'n ·jɑ thiqk?
G dhis`, wɔd du₀n jv thiqk?
C v thiqg vz dhis`, wɔd du₀n jv thiqk?

8. S we`l, vz A wvr se`i,qk úu⁵)d tel jv, ɑ'u wívr u₀n
G we`l, vz A wvr see·i,qk æ'u)d tel jv búvdh ɑ'u vn wívr vn
C we`l, vz A wvr see·i,n æ'u)d tel jv ʰbuudh áu vn wívr vn

S wen` úu⁵ fu₀n` t` d`ru₀qk'n bívst úu⁵ kooz vr)u₀zbvnt.
G wen` æ'u fu₀n t` d`ru₀qk'n slɔtj vz æ'u kooz vr u₀zbvnt.
C wen` æ'u fu₀n t` d`ru₀qk'n slɔtj vz æ'u kaaz vr u₀zbvnt.

9. S úu⁵ sweer úu⁵ siid i,m wi, vr oon iin, fu₀l leqkth
G æ'u sweer æ'u síid i,m vrsel`, lái·i,qk ɔ vv v leqkth
C æ'u sweer æ'u síid i,m wi, vr oon íin, lái·i,n A` i,z leqkth

S ɔn th) flúu⁵vr in i,z gù₀d a·lvdi, kúvt, tlɔs` bi,)th
G u₀pv th) grɑ'und in i,z su₀ndi, kúvt, tloos vt)i,z
C u₀pv th ⁱʰgráund, in i,z gù₀d su₀ndi, ʲkuut, tloos bi,)th

S ɑ'us` dɑ`r, dɑùn bi,)th karnvr v)th loon.
G oon dɑ`r, dɑ'ùn vt th) karnvr v)th loon.
C ᵏáuz dɑ`r, ˡdáùn vt th) karnvr v ᶠjɔnd loon.

10. S úu⁵ sed ì wvr maki,qk v dìn, fvr oo th)weld
G íi wvr maki,qk v dìn, æ'u se`d, fvr oo th)weld
C íi wvr maki,n v dìn, æ'u se`d, fvr aa th)ʲweld

S lái̯k ʊ púʊrli̯, tʒái̯lt, ʊr lái̯k ʊ lit'l wɛntʒ frɛt'i̯qk.
G lái̯k ʊ badli̯, tʒái̯lt, ʊr ʊ lit'l wɛntʒ krái̯·i̯n.
C lái̯k ʊ badli̯, tʒái̯lt, ʊr ʊ lit'l wɛntʒ krái̯·i̯n.

11. S u₀n dhat wɛ̀r, ʊz úu⁵ ʊn ʊr dó₁u̯t'ʊ̀r i̯n lɑɑ kúu⁵m
G ʊn dhat wɛ̀r, ʊz ɛ̀r ʊn ʊr dɛ'u̯t'ʊ̀r i̯n lɑɑ kœ'um
C ʊn dhat ap'nt, ʊz ɛ̀r ʊn ʊr dɛ'u̯t'ʊ̀r i̯n lɑɑ kœ'um

S thrúu⁵ th)bak' jàrd frʊ aqgi̯qk th)wìt' tlúʊz
G thrœ'u th)bak' jàrd af̀tʊ̀r ɛqgi̯qk t')tlúʊz
C thrœ'u th)bak' jàrt wɛn dhi̯)d bin iqgi̯n th)wíit ᵐtluuz

S ɛ'ut' ʊ)th wɛ'ish'i̯qk dee
G ɛ'ut' ʊ)th wɛsh'i̯qk dee
C áut' t')ᵏdrɛ'ì ʊv ʊ wɛsh'i̯n dee

12. S wái̯l th)tee kjɛt'l wʊr bó₁i̯li̯qk wɔn
G wái̯l th) kjɛt'l wʊr bɛ'i̯li̯qk fʊr th)bag'i̯qk wɔn
C wái̯l th) kjɛt'l wʊr 'bɛ'ili̯n fʊr th)ᵐtee, wɔn

S fái̯n brìt' su₀mʊr af̀tʊ̀rnúu⁵n, nɛbʊr ʊ wìk'
G su₀nshɛ'ini̯, af̀tʊ̀rnœ'un, nɛbʊr ʊ wíik
C fái̯n bríit af̀tʊ̀rnœ'un i̯, su₀mʊr, ʊn it'l oonli̯, bi ʊ ᵐwíik

S sin' t' nɛks thɛrzdi̯.
G sin' t' nɛks thɛrzdi̯.
C sin' t' nɛks thɛrzdi̯.

13. S u₀n du₀n)jʊ noo? ʊsh) shúu⁵ʊr ʊz ɑ')m kood :djak'
G ʊn du₀n)jʊ noo? ʊsh shœ'uʊr ʊz ɑ'm íʊr,
C ʊn du₀n)jʊ noo? ʊsh shœ'uʊr ʊz mái̯ neem)z :djon

S :shɛpʊrt, ɑ jɛ'rd nó₁ut' nʊ múʊr ʊbɛ'ut i̯t
G ɑ nɛvʊr íʊrd nɛ'ut' abɛ'ùt i̯t sin'
C :shɛpʊrt, ɑ nivʊr gjɛt t' noo nʊ múʊr ʊ dhat kʊnsàrn tʊ

S u₀p tʊ nɛ'u, u₀n ɑ du₀)nʊ want t' dúu⁵ noodhʊr, næ)dhɛn'!
G ʊn ɑ du₀)nʊ want noodhʊr, nɛ)dhɛn'!
C dhiz dee, ʊn ɑ du₀)nʊ want noodhʊr, nà)dhɛn'!

14. S u₀n sʊ)nɛ'u ɑ)m gu·i̯qk) k' mi̯, bag'i̯qk. gu₀d nìt',
G ʊn nɛ'u ɑ)m gu·i̯qk wɛ'm)p' mi̯, su₀pʊr. gu₀d náit',
C ʊn naa ɑ)m gu·i̯n wɛ'm tʊ mi̯, su₀pʊr. gu₀d náit',

S u₀n du₀)nʊ bi sʊ rɛdi̯, t' kroo óʊr anibɔdi̯, ʊgɛɛn, wɛn
G ʊn du₀)nʊ kroo óʊr nu₀bdi̯, ʊgjɛɛn, wɛn
C ʊn du₀)nʊ bi sʊ rɛdi̯, t' kroo óʊr ani̯bɔdi̯, ʊgjɛ'n, wɛn

S dhʊ)r tɑ'ki̯qk ʊbɛ'ut ó₁ut'.
G dhi̯, tɑɑk'n ʊbɛ'ùt ɛ'ut'.
C dhi̯, tɑɑk'n ᵐʊbɑ̀'ut ɛ'ut'.

15. S ì)z nəbʊr ʊ fúù[5] ʊt tʌʌks bɑ'ut sens. sʊ nɑ'u A
G íi iz ʊ soft fœ'u ʊt preets bɑ'ut sens. A)s)se)nʊ
C ít)s ʊ "wèk fœ'u ʊz preets °báut riiz'n. ʊn dhat)s mi,

S dù$_o$n. gu$_o$d nìt'.
G múʊr ʊbɑ'ùt i,t. gu$_o$d níit'.
C last wɑ'rd. gu$_o$d níit'.

*Notes to Stalybridge* cs., p. 317.

1. *man* or (:tu$_o$m', :bil'), etc.—*thee*, the 2nd pers. sg. is employed in the usual way. TH. writes (dhì), but says, "In this and other words in which (ì ii) occur, the sound, when not a pure vowel, is a slight fracture nearly = (i,i)." This is in other cases written (íi) or (i,i); but I here retain TH.'s notation. —*telling*. "The termination (iqk) is, in the town, restricted to *elderly* people. It was generally used about 1836-46. Mr. Marsland's father (d. 1864) invariably said (iqk)." He also said (ru$_o$kh) rough, (láɪkh) laugh.

3. *choose how*, a common phrase, for 'at any rate, take it as you like.'—*shut thy mouth*, or (shar u$_o$p') or (shu$_o$r u$_o$p') shut up, the final (t) before a vowel becoming (r), as very frequently here and elsewhere, see par. 12 (nəbʊr ʊ wìk) nought-but a week.

4. *sure*, the [5] in (œ'u[5]) merely means "with protruded lips," as near Oldham, only not quite so much protruded.

6. *you will-en* (ɹɑ)n), the *will* is lost and only the *you-n* remains.

9. *by the house* or (ʊsáid ʊ)th-), aside of the-.—*corner of the lane* or (loon karnʊr) lane corner.

14. *going to my* (gu·i,qk)k' mi), (k') is *to*, assimilated to preceding (qk). — *tea*, bagging. Most work-people have tea at six, which they call *bagging*, and have no supper. This word is used also over D 31. At the printers' of this book, in Hertford, a similar word, *packing*, is used for dinner.

*Notes to Glossop* cs., p. 317.

1. *man* or Tom, Bill, etc.—*thee* used for *thou*, as at Stalybridge.
3. *until I've done*, (tin) is a Ch. word.
4. *certain* or (shœ'uʊr) sure.
5. *if* (i.e. although) *it were queer*.
6. *nought-but* or (oonli,) only.
7. *two or three* or (tœ'uthri).—*wrong* or (ru$_o$qg).
8. *slotch*, sottish, or besotted fellow.
14. *I'm going home to my supper*, the (p') is (t') *to*, assimilated to preceding m.
15. *I shall say no more*, the (s) is (sh) for *shall*, assimilated to the following (s).

*Notes to Chapel-en-le-Frith* cs., p. 317.

Variants for Combs Valley and Dale of Goyt, which properly belong to D 25:
[a] dáits. [b] búʊdh. [c] úʊ. [d] míʊn. [e] skwíʊk'i,n. [f] báit. [g] ʊbáit. [h] búʊdh ái. [i] gráind. [j] kúʊt. [k] áiz. [l] dáin. [m] tlúʊz ait. [n] ʊbáit. [o] báit ríʊz'n.
Variants for Edale, Hope Woodlands, etc.:
[a] du$_o$)nʊ wi,? [b] din. [c] dù$_o$n. [d] frʊ th)farst dhʊrsenz. [e] i,ssen'. [f] vdis'. [g] ʊrsen'. [h] ilʊk [*hillock*]. [i] ɹond, ɹon,dʊ,r. [j] warld. [k] d,ráɪ. [l] báili,n. [m] tii. [n] wik'.

General Notes.

1. *lad*. The contracted Christian name is generally used, as *Tom*, *Tommy*.
—*you* or (dhíi) thee; used as before.
3. *these are the facts of the case*, or (it wʊr ʊ dhis'n) it was of this fashion. —*your*, or familiarly (dhi,) thy.
4. *from the first*, or (bi,gi·n'i,n) beginning.
5. *youngest*, or (ɹu$_o$qst).—*directly*, or (in a mini,t) in a minute, or (ʊs sœ'un ʊz íi ɹerd i,t) as soon as he heard it.
6. *laugh-en*, or (lafs) laughs.—*too*, or (ʊn AA) and all.
10. *crying*, or (rúʊri,n) roaring.
11. *yard*, or (ɹA'rt).
13. *do you know?* pl., if sing. (du$_o$s)t noo) dost thou know.—*John* or (:dɹak') Jack.

## Chapel-en-le-Frith dt.

pal. from personal knowledge by TH. 14 April, 1888, and checked on the spot the next day with a cousin, about 60 years of age, a farmer, who has resided in the immediate district all his life. On (ˌúₒu) for (æ'u) see p. 324, No. 1.

1. A SE', ladz [tɟaps], JO síin naa ʊz A)m ríit' ʊbâu·t dhat lit'l WENTɟ kɛmiˌn frʊ)s')skˌúₒù JOnd.
2. ˌúₒu)z gu·iˌn dâun th)rood dhîʊr thrˌúₒu th)rɛd' JeeT, uₒpʊ th)líft ond sâid ʊ)th)rood.
3. síi Jʊ! th)tɟdílt)s gA'n sˌtˌrɛ'it' uₒp' tʊ th)ruₒq' dɑ'r [ruₒqg áus'].
4. wíʊr ˌúₒu)l ap'n fáind dhat ˌdruₒqk'n dif' wiz'nt fɛlʊ ʊz dhiˌ kAAn ɑ'ud :tuₒm'.
5. wi [wiˌ] AA noon ìm 'VERiˌ wâll.
6. wi)nʊ th)ɑ'ud tɟap' sˌúₒun táitɟ)ʊr nAn fʊr t')dˌúₒu iˌt ʊgjɛ'n, pûʊr thíqk!
7. luₒk' Jʊ! iz)'nt iˌt ˌtˌrˌúₒù?

*Notes with the pronunciation of words omitted from the* dt.

1. *so* (sˌúₒu).—*mates* (mèts, meets). —*girl* (gjɛl'), half refined.
2. *hand* (ont) in pause.—*way* (wee).
3. *sure* (shˌúₒuʊr).—*enough* (ʊnuₒf').
—*wrong*. Observe (ruₒq) before (d), and (ruₒqg before áu).
4. *chance* (tɟans).—*shrivelled*, not used [*shr* = (sr); *shrimp* (srimp)].—*name* (neem).

## South-East La. and North-West Db., cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. in

R Rochdale (:ratɟdʊ :ratɟit) and adjacent villages, La.
O Oldham, La. Ex. youth looking at a picture of a wolf pursued by dogs: (it iz)nʊ ʊ fɔks, shuₒz ɑ'u, A kɔn)ʊ gAAm it, wɔt it iz) it is not a fox, choose how [=at any rate,] I cannot understand it, what it is.
P Patricroft (5 w.Manchester), La. Ex. (suₒm fòk SE'n, dhi)n gɔn t' bakʊrt rood sʊ luₒqg) some folk say-en, they have-n gone the backward road so long.
H Hope Woodlands (10 ese.Glossop), Db.
E Edale (7 se.Glossop), Db.
F Peak Forest (5 ne.Buxton), Db., collected in 1865.
S Stalybridge and G Glossop are prefixed to a few words from the three interlinear cs. on p. 317–321. The Chapel-en-le-Frith words are given separately in the next cwl.

The principal phonetic difference between Oldham neighbourhood and Stalybridge, Gorton (3 ese.Manchester), Openshaw (2 e.Manchester), consists in the abnormal protrusion of the lips at Oldham in (ôu⁵) in bold, cold, etc., (úu⁵) in moon, noon, that is, in EAL and O'- words.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 23 O seem. — O stéʊr [to stare]. A: 43 R á¹inz [hands]. 44 F lɔnd. — E gɔnʊr [gander]. 51 O mɔ'n. 56 RS WE'ish, G WESh. A: *or* O: 60 P luₒqg. 64 SG ruₒqg, G raqk. A'- 67 R gu·in [going], F guu. 69 R nA'u, nA'ə, O nA'o. 74 O tæ'u⁵. 81 EFSG loon [F giving place to leen]. 84 O múʊr. 87 SG tlúʊz. 89 SG búʊdh. A': 104 RP rood. 106 F brood.

115 ORF wɑ'm, OR wA'm. 117 R wA'n, t' *toon* [the one]. 118 E *boon*. 122 RO *noon*, S nò, G nœ'u. 124 E *stoon*, F stuun. — F rùp' [rope]. 137 G *noodhur*. Æ- 138 SG *feedhur*. — P síut [seat]. Æ: 154 R bak. 158 R à'fthur, à'f,tu,r. 161 F *dee*. 172 R graa's. 177 PE dhat ["demonstrative pronoun final, characteristic of E, F, etc." TH.]. Æ'- 187 E liiv. 200 E wiit. Æ': 218 F shíip. 224 RSG, wíur. 226 O múist.

E- — O w*i* *eet*'n [we eat]. E: 261 P SEE. — R bèd [bed]. 265 SG s,t,rE'*it*. — F fE'ilt [field]. 279 R wE'*int*. E'- 291 F dhE'*i*. 292 R m*i*i. 301 R A JEr')ur [I hear her], S JE'r, G íur. E': 312 F E'ıur. 314 R JERd. EA: 322 E lakjh [said in 1873 by an old woman]. 326 R ɑ'*ud*, O *óu*⁵d, S *ó*,*ud*, G ɑ'*ud*. 328 F kɑ'*ud*. 330 S *ó*,*ud*, G ɑ'*ud*. 332 R tóù⁵d. 333 R kA'f. 334 R *eepni* [halfpenny]. 335 RO *oo*. 338 RSG k*oo*. — R shaR' *it* [share it]. 345 R darnt [dare not]. EA'- 347 R JED. EA': 360 R tíum. 366 R gr*eet*, F griit. EI: 382 O dhíur. EO: 394 R Jond. 395 R J*u*°qg. 399 E brí*it*. EO'- 410 RF œ'u [nearly (uu)]. — F ,t,rí*i* [tree]. 420 O fôur. EO': 424 E r*u*°kh [old]. 426 R fE'*it*'. 428 S sE'·*iq*k, G SEE·*iq*k [seeing]. 437 S t,r*ú*u⁵th, G ,t,rœ'uth.

I- 440 E wíik'. 444 R stiil. 449 P gjEt, O giit [got]. I: 458 R ní'it, [nearly] nit, OE ní*it*. 459 R rí'it. 469 F w*u*°l [will]. 479 R WAAnd. 485 HEF fis'l. 487 R J*u*°s,t,rnit [yesternight]. 488 R JE'*it*. I'- 492 R *saad*, P *sáid*. 494 R tAAm *taam*. — R *paap* [pipe, normal, deviating in dir. of (PAAP), this sound for I' occurs also in D 22, Prescot, Samlesbury, West Houghton, Wigan, but is rare out of Yo.]. 498 R *raat*. I': 502 R FAAV *faav*. 505 R [between] WAAf, w*aaf*. 510 R [between] MAAN, m*aan*.

O- — R brɔk'n [broken]. — H smɑkt [smoked, old], F smɔ̀k [smoke]. 518 E an*i*badi. O: 525 OR A'f [off]. 527 R bA't. 528 R thA't, O thóu⁵t. 529 R brA't. 531 S dó,u,t'u,r, G dɑ'*u*,t'u,r. 535 P fôk. 538 E wɑ'*u*ld [formerly taught by a schoolmaster]. O'- 555 F shœ'un [shoes]. 557 O *túu*⁵. 558 F lœ'uk. 559 R m*u*°dhur. 560 R sk*ú*ù, skuu. 562 E mœ'un. 566 P *u*°dhur. O': 569 O *búu*⁵k, F bœ'uk. 571 O g*ú*°d. 586 R *dáu*, O *dáu*⁵. 587 RSG dù°n. 588 R nœ'u⁵n. 589 O spuun, sp*áu*⁵n. 594 E bœ'uts.

U- 603 R k*u*°m, kamin [coming], F kam. 606 OR dɑ'r. U: — E pɔ'*u* [pull]. 612 P s*u*°m-, F s*u*°m'. 615 O pɑ'*u*nd. 616 G grɑ'*u*nd. — R *u*°n,du,r,d [hundred]. 632 R *u*°p'. 634 S thr*ú*u, G thrœ'u. U'- 641 SG ɑ'*u*. 642 O dha [unemphatic]. 643 RO nɑ'*u*. 652 E kɑ'*u*ld [formerly taught by a schoolmaster]. U': 658 R dɑ'*u*n daa'n, E dâ*u*n [with elongated horizontal opening to lips]. 659 R tɑ'*u*n. 663 RS ɑ'*us*, E â*us*. 667 PROSG ɑ'*ut*.

Y: 686 R b*aa* [(A)st b*aa* *noon*), I shall buy none], F b*ái*. 701 RE farst. Y'- 706 SG w*ái*.

## II. English.

A. 714 F làr [more frequent] là'r [in salutation]. — HF plɔd [a plaid, the same at Chapel-en-le-Frith]. O. — R dɑg [dog]. — E t*lu*°kh [clough, old]. U. 804 E ,d,r*u*°qk'n. 808 R p*u*°t.

## III. Romance.

A·· 810 O *feez*. 811 E plès. 830 R thr*een* ,t,r*een*. — R vaR'*i* [from boys reading inscription on Tim Bobbin's tomb, where it rhymes to (:mɑ'R'*i*) Mary, obs. reverted (R)]. E·· 867 OR *tee*, F tii. — E lE,t'u,r [letter]. I·· *and* Y·· 898 O nA'is. O·· 939 E tlòs. 940 F kuut, SG kúut. 941 S f*ú*u⁵. 947 S b*ó*,il, G bE'il. — H dJA'rn*i* [journey, it is (ar) in D 22, 24, and in most of D 21]. 955 SG dɑ'*ut*, R dáu*t*. U·· 965 *ó*il [in the mill any one saying (*ó*il) would be charged with 'talking fine'], E *ó*il. 969 G shœ'uur.

## Chapel-en-le-Frith (5 n.Buxton) cwl.

Applying also to the township of Bowden Edge, e. and n. of Chapel-en-le-Frith. TH., who was born in Dec. 1819 at Raglow (1½ e.Chapel), wrote this cwl. especially to show the peculiarities of notation which he prefers, many of

which have already been indicated. As one to whom I am so much indebted for assistance in the M. counties and those bordering upon them to the South, it seemed right for him to shew, in recording his own native pron., the full forms that he advocates. But it would be evidently impossible for me to alter the whole of my book in accordance with them, even if I desired to do so. I have in the introduction to the M. div. (pp. 291-4), and especially to this district (p. 316), indicated the reasons of my dissent. Here it is necessary that the reader should bear in mind the following among TH.'s special habits of palaeotyping.

1. (ˌú₀u) is written for my (æ'u). The sound intended to be conveyed is identical in both notations, namely, (uu) commenced with too open a mouth, which rapidly closes to the proper position. But in (ˌu₀) the tongue is supposed to be slightly more advanced than for (uu), and the mouth is supposed to be open at first only so wide as for (o). The ultimate effect is very like (ə'u). See suprà p. 292.

2. (iˌ) represents (i) with a slightly retracted tongue, and is insisted on by TH. in all unaccented syllables where I write (i). See p. 316. I have elsewhere sometimes written the result (iˌ). But in truth I do not hear this difference of unaccented syllables from myself or any other speaker, whereas TH. hears it from all speakers.

3. TH.'s extensive use of the notation for medial vowels I find mostly unnecessary, and the intended effect would often be more intelligibly rendered by long vowels. But when a writer has once got the habit of using medial vowel signs, the long vowel mark seems to indicate for him altogether an abnormal lengthening which he shrinks from using. At any rate I found that effect on myself when for a time I gave in to their employment.

4. The lengthened or suspended final consonants, as (bak' dlad'), see p. 316.

5. The treatment of *r*, using (r) simply, without any indication that TH. does not mean the genuine trill, but rather (ɾ), see p. 293.

Bearing these points in mind, the reader will appreciate the minute care and unceasing search after phonetic accuracy which characterise all TH.'s palaeotypic writing, and are very conspicuous in the cwl., a work of immense labour, scrupulously checked in every point, and hence of great value.

*** The hyphen (-) after a word, as in Nos. 4 and 5, shews that this form is used only in connected speech when another word immediately follows.

† before a number in the cwl. shews that the word having that number is not used in the dialect. In this case the word used is frequently added; and even when a phrase would be required, it is occasionally given.

## I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 1 sˌú₀u. 3 beek. 4 tak- tàk- [generally]; tee- te'- [sometimes]. 5 mak- màk- [generally]; mee- me'- [sometimes]. 6 meed. 7 seek. 8 av- àv-. 9 biˌ-ee·v. 10 eeg. †11 [(krəp') used]. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 dˌraa. †15 [(aafʊl) occ., (tɛrʊb'l) often]. †16 [sb. (brɛk' ʊ)dee) break of day, used]. 17 laa. 18 kjeek. 19 teel. 20 leem. 21 neem. 22 teem. 23 seem. 24 sheem. 25 meen. †26 [the moon's (past t' fu₀l', gu·iˌn lɛs') past the full, going less, used]. 27 neev. 28 eer. 29 a'r. 30 kjeer. 31 leet. 32 beedh. 33 ree·dhʊr. 34 last. 35 aal. 36 thoo. 37 tlaa.

A: 38 àz, ʊz. 39 kˌú₀u'm. 40 kam'. 41 thaqk. 42 ʊn [(d) always omitted]. 43 ɔnt [(lift ɔnd sáid)]. 44 lɔnd. 46 kja·nd'l. 47 wanˌdʊˌr. 48 su₀qlg. 49 aq'lg [to execute by hanging], iqlg [to hang, or to hang up clothes, etc.]. 50 tu₀q'z. 51 mA'n. 53 kjan'. 54 want. 55 es'. 56 wesh. 57 as'.

A: *or* O: 58 frʊ- [generally], frˌú₀u [in pause]. 59 lam'. 60 lu₀qlg. 61 ʊ·mu₀qlg. 62 sˌtˌru₀qlg. 63 thru₀qk [adj.]. 64 ru₀qlg [sometimes (raqk)]. 65 su₀qlg. 66 [(lɛ·dhʊr le's, lash), leather lace, or leather lash of whip, used].

A'- 67 guu. 69 nɛ'ù. 70 tuu. †71 [(sɔrʊ, su₀fʊriˌn) sorrow, suffering, used]. 72 uu. 73 sˌú₀u sˌú₀u. 74 tˌú₀u' [quite distinct from 70]. 75 sˌtˌrook. 76 tuud. 77 la'rd. 78 oon. 79 oon. 80 a·lʊdiˌ. 81 loon. 82 wu₀nst. 83 muun. 84 mûʊr. 85 sûʊrliˌ [sorely]. 86 wu₀ts ùts. 87 tluuz. 88 tloodh. 89 buudh. 90 bloo. 91 moo. 92 noo. 93 snoo. 94 kroo. 95 throo. 96 soo. 97 sɛ'ùl. 98 noon. 99 throon. †100 [(sood) used].

A': 101 ȯk'. 102 aks. 103 akst. 104 *rood*. 105 rȯd. 106 br*oo*d. 107 lȯf'. 108 dȯf'. 109 *loo*. 110 i. nɛ'*ut*'; ii. [generally (nʊ) unaccented, and preceded by can, have, must, shall, will, etc. (kɔnʊ, a·nʊ avnʊ, mu̯ʊnʊ, shɔnʊ, winʊ), etc.]. 111 ɑ'*ut*'. 113 wu̯ʊl. 114 muul. 115 wa'm. †116 [(uu) the nominative, used]. 117 wa'n. 118 buun. 119 guu gù gu-. 120 [(sin') = since, used]. 121 ga'n. 122 i. na'n; ii. n,ú̯ʊu-. 123 nu̯ʊthi,n. 124 stuun. 125 *oonli*,. 126 *ʊ́*ʊr. 127 ùs'. 128 dh,ú̯ʊùz [those gen., (dhɛ'm) occ.]. 129. *goost*. 130 bȯt'. 131 gȯt'. 132 wat'. 133 rit-. 134 ȯth'. 135 tlɔth. 136 i. *oo*dhʊr; ii. ʊr- [generally unaccented]. 137 i. *noo*dhʊr; ii. nʊr-.

Æ- 138 *fee*dhʊr. †139 [(wag*i*n) used]. 140 *eel*. 141 n*eel*. 142 sn*eel*. 143 t*eel*. 144 ʊgjɛ'n. †145 [(kjɪlt) used]. 146 m*een* [principal adj.]. 147 br*een*. 148 fɛɛr. 149 bl*eez*. 150 list liist. 152 wee,tʊ,r. 153 sɛ,tʊ,rdi,.

Æ: 154 bak'. 155 thatɟ. 156 dlad' [frequently (*feen*) fain]. 157 r*eev*'n. 158 af,tʊ,r. 159 az-, àz. 160 ɛg'. 161 d*ee*. 162 tʊ-d*ee*. 163 líi. 164 mɛ- [(mɛɛ) in pause]. 165 sɛ'd. 166 m*eed* [meaning gen. a maid servant or young single woman]. 167 d*eel*. 168 talʊ. 169 wɛn'. 170 arʊst [old form], àrvi,st [modern form; but the forms hay-time (*ee-táim*) and corn-time (kA'rn-*táim*) are gen. used]. 171 bàrli,. 172 grɛs'. †173 [(wa'r) emph., (wʊr) unemph. both sg. and pl., used]. 174 ash. 175 fast. 176 at-, àt [emph.], ʊt-. [unemph.]. 177 dhat-, dhàt [in pause]. 178 nat'. 179 wat-, wa't [in pause]. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 *see*. 183 *táitɟ* [(lɛ'rn) also used]. 184 liid. 185 *ríid*. 186 bratth. 187 liiv. 188 [(*wini*,) whinney used]. 189 wɛ'*i*. 190 kj*ee*. 191 iil *u̯ʊ*p'. 192 miin. 193 tliin. 194 *ani*,. 195 *máini*,. 196 wa'r [emph.], wʊr [unemph.]. 197 tjiiz. 198 lɛr [gen. before: 'im = him, 'em = them, it], lɛ,t [gen. before- 'er = her], lɛ- [gen. before- me]. 199 bl*eet*. 200 wiit. 201 *íidh*'n. 202 iit.

Æ': 203 sp*ítiɟ*. 204 dîd. 205 thrîd. 206 rɛd'. 207 *níild*. 208 *i*vʊr. 209 nivʊr. 210 t*lee*. 211 gr*ee*. 212 w*ee*. †213, †214 [the forms 136, 137 gen.]. 215 [(*táitɟt*) and sometimes (lɛrnt) used]. 216 diil. 217 ɛ'itɟ [rare, gen. (ʊp*ís*', aa ɔn ʊm, *i*vʊr*i*, wan ɔn ʊm) apiece, all of them, every one of them, used]. 218 shìp'. 219 sl*íip*'. 220 shɛpʊrt. 221 fîʊr. 222 îʊr. 223 dhîʊr. 224 wîʊr. 225 flesh. 226 mùst muust. 227 *wáit*'. 228 swat' [sb.]. 229 briith [occ., but (*wáind*) wind, is gen. used]. 230 fat'.

E- 231 th- [gen. form; (t') as (ɔn t'tɔp') = on the top; also various forms of assimilation to a following consonant, as (s'*seem*) = the same]. 232 br*eek*. 233 sp*eek*. 234 n*eed*. 235 w*eev*. 236 f*eev*ʊr. †237 [(kj*áibz*) kibes, *plur*. used]. 238 ɛdɟ. 239 s*eel*. 240 *láin*. 241 *reen*. 243 pl*ee*. 244 w*íil*[ = 266]. 245 m*eel*. 246 i. kw*íin*. 247 w*een*. 248 mɛɛr. 249 wɛɛr. 250 swɛɛr. 251 m*eet*. 252 kjɛt'l. 253 nɛt'l. 254 lɛdhʊr. 255 wɛdhʊr.

E: 256 s,t,rɛtɟ [also (ratɟ)]. 257 ɛdɟ. 259 wɛdɟ. 260 l*ee*. 261 sɛɛ. 262 w*ee*. 263 ʊw*ee*. 264 *eel*. 265 s,t,rɛ'it'. 266 w*íil*[ = 244]. 267 *jíld* jiild iild. 268 [(a'*udi*,st) used]. 269 [(sɛl') used, plur. (sɛlz)]. 270 i. bal*i*,z, ii. bal*i*,. 271 tɛl- tɛl'. 272 ɛlm. 273 mɛ'n. 274 bɛntɟ. †275 [(stiqk) = stink, used]. 276 thiqk. †277 [(*sook*) soak, used]. 278 wɛntɟ. 279 wɛnt. 280 ʊlɛv'n. 281 lɛnqth. 282 s,t,rɛqth. 283 mɛr*i*,. 284 thrɛsh. 285 krɛs'. 286 arʊ. 287 *bíizum*. 288 lɛr lɛ,t- lɛ- [see 198]. — sɛt-, sɛr- [set as sheaves of corn into *kivers* of 12 sheaves or *riders* of 10].

E'- †289 [*you* 435 used] 290 *íi*. 291 dh*íi*, dh*i*, [unem.]. 292 m*íi* [unemph.] m*i*,. 293 wii [em.] wi w*i*, [unem.]. 294 *fíid*. 295 brɛd'. 296 bi,*líiv*. 297 fɛlʊ. 298 *fíil*. 299 gr*íin*. 300 kjiip. 301 îʊr. 302 *máit*. 303 sw*áit*'. †304 [(mɛl*i*,t), mallet, used].

E': 305 *íi*. 306 ɛ'it'. 307 *níi*. 308 *níid*. 309 sp*íid*. 310 *íil*. 311 tɛ'n. 312 îʊr. 313 àrk'n. 314 îʊrd. 315 *fíit*'. 316 nɛkst.

EA- 317 *flíi*. 318 laft. 319 gj*eep*. 320 kjɛɛr.

EA: †321 [(*síid*) used]. 322 laf'. 323 fa'*ut*'. 324 ɛ'it'. 325 wa'k'. 326 ɑ'ùd. 327 ba'*ùd*. 328 ka'*ùd*. 329 fa'*ùd*. 330 ɑ'*ùd*. 331 sa'*ùd*. 332 ta'*ùd*. 333 kaav. 334 aav. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. 338 kaa. 339 àm [em.] )m [unem.]. 340 i. jàrd. 341 marʊ. 342 àrm. 343 wàrm. †344 [never used]. 345 dàr. 346 *jeet* [for a garden, field, etc.].

EA'- 347 JE'd. 348 *íì* [pl. (*íìn*)]. 349 f*i*,ù [rare (t,*ú*ₒuthr*i*,) *toothry* gen. used as (t,*ú*ₒuthr*i*, brəth) a few = some broth, too few = not enough (ən,*ú*ₒù)].

EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 RED'. 353 BRE'd. 354 shif'. 355 dif'. 356 lif'. 357 dh*oo* [rare and half refined, gen. (fər AA) for all, (*iv*) if, used]. 358 *níì*. 359 n*eeb*ər. 360 tiim. 361 biin. †362 [(kjil) used]. 363 tjip'. 364 tjap'. 365 nar' [nearer]. 366 GRE't- GRED- [often (GRED big')]. 368 dith. 369 sl*oo*. 370 R*oo*. 371 s,t,r*ee*.

EI- 372 aa. 373 dh*ee* [em.] dh*i*, [unem.]. 374 n*ee*. 375 r*eez*. 376 bèt'.

EI: 377 st*eek*. 378 wèk'. 379 *eel*. 380 dhE'm [em.] əm [unem.]. †381 382 dhEER [em.] dh'r [unem.].

EO- 383 SEV'n. 384 EV'n. 385 [(*u*ₒn,dər) or (b*i*,l*oo*·) used]. 386 JÍ,ù [used e. of Chapel and in Peak Forest, but (JA'*ù*) in Combs Valley, Dale of Goyt, etc.]. 387 n*i*,uu n*i*,n-.

EO: 388 milk. 389 JÒk'. 390 shù,d sh*u*ₒd- [em.] shəd sh'd [unem.]. 391 àm [em.] )m [unem.]. 392 JOnd. 393 b*i*,JOn·d. 394 JOn,d. 395 J*u*ₒq[g. 396 WARK. 397 sô[ərd. 398 stàrv. 399 brʌit'. 400 ERn*i*,st. †401 [(l*u*ₒq' IA'r) long for, used]. 402 lE'rn. 403 fàr. 404 star'. 405 aastən [hearthstone, hearth not used without stone]. 406 JATH [old for the earth, (WALD) world, gen. used, (ETHl*i*,) earthly as opposed to heavenly, half refined]. 407 fàrdh,n. †408 [(n*ood*) used].

EO'- 409 bíì. 410 ,*ú*ₒu. 411 thríì. †412 [410 alone used]. 413 div'l dEV'l. 414 flíì. 415 *lâì lâì*. 416 i. and ii. dîər [*adj.* and *sb.*]. 417 tj*i*,uu. 418 br,*ú*ₒuu. 419 JÔ[ər [em.] J'r [unem.]. 420 fô[ər. 421 FARt*i*, fA'rt*i*,.

EO': sik' [about or inclined to vomit, or vomiting, (badl*i*,) is used for ill, unwell]. 423 thíii. 424 r*u*ₒf'. 425 líit'. 426 fE'it'. 427 bíi [em.] bi,- [unem.]. 428 síi. 429 f*i*nd. 430 FREnd. 431 bîər. 432 fô[ərt. 433 BREST. 434 biit. 435 J*oo* [em.] JU [unem.]. 436 ,t,r,*ú*ₒù. 437 ,t,r,*ú*ₒuth.

EY- 438 díì. EY: 439 ,t,r*u*ₒst.

I- 440 wík'. 441 siv' [also (*sâì*) for milk]. 442 *ivi*,n. 443 :fr*âì*d'i,. 444 st*íì*l. 445 *âì*, *âì* [(*âì* dh*i*,) hie thee, occ., but (mak *èst*) make haste, occ.]. 446 n*âì*n n*âì*n. 447 ə'r [em.] ər [unem.]. 448 dhîz. 449 gjE't [in pause], gjER gjET. 450 t*í*uzd*i*,. 451 s*oo*.

I: 452 AA, A' [em.] A [unem.]. 453 wik'. 454 witJ. 455 l*ee* [reflexive, as, lay me, thee, him, etc., down]. 456 əv. 457 m*âì*t'. 458 n*âì*t'. 459 r*âì*t'. 460 WE'*it*'. 461 líit' [anything thrown or falling 'lights on the ground, but they (gjER of) get off a horse, and (gjER *âut*) get out of a vehicle]. 462 s*âì*t'. 463 ti,l ti,n. 464 witJ. 465 sitJ. 466 tj*âì*lt tj*âì*lt. 467 w*âì*ld w*âì*ld. 468 tj,l,dər. 469 wìl wil [em.], )l [unem.]. 470 im [em.], i,m [unem.]. 471 timbər. †472 [(r*u*ₒn' *u*ₒp'] run up, or (r*u*ₒn' *in*') run in, used of flannel, etc.; (skrindJ) as from a hot poker; to be (TERəbli, fîərt v) terribly afraid of]. 473 bl*âì*nd bl*âì*nd. †474 [they use (sô[ərt) Ws. *sweard*, the sward of bacon; (pil') peel, of oranges, potatoes, etc.; (kr*u*ₒst) crust of cheese, etc.]. 475 w*âì*nd w*âì*nd. 476 b*âì*nd b*âì*nd. 477 f*âì*nd f*âì*nd. 478 gr*âì*nd gr*âì*nd. 479 w*âì*nd w*âì*nd. 480 thiqk [gen.; plur. (thiqz)]. 481 fiqgər. 482 iz [em.] )s, )z, i,s, i,z [unem., viz.: (s) after words ending in *p*, *t*, *k*, *f*; (z) after vowels and voiced consonants except *z*, and *zh*; (i,s) after *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*, *x*, *x* (gz) and before unvoiced consonants; and (i,z) after *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*, *x*, *x* (gz), and before vowels and voiced consonants]. 483 iz-iz' [em.], i,z [unem.]. 484 dhis' dhis- dhiz- [em.], dhi,s- dhi,z- [unem.]. 485 fis'l. †486 [(bàrm) = barm used]. 487 JIS,tə,rd*ee*. 488 JIt'. 489 it [em.], i,t [unem.].

I'- 490 [(tlòs' b*âì*) = close by; (nû) = nigh *or* near; (vs' s*âì*d v) = at the side of; by, for the instrument, is (wi,) with, as (kjilt wi, líit'ni,n, ET'n wi, v t*âì*gər) killed by lightning, eaten by a tiger; but (bi,) used in: by daylight, by moonlight, etc., as (dh*e*- dh*i*,- pl*ee*d vt f,*ú*ₒutbAA bi, m,*ú*ₒunlíit') they played at football by moonlight]. 491 s*âì*k'. 492 s*âì*d s*âì*d. 493 ,d,rE'iv. 494 t*âì*m t*âì*m. †495 [a dog (wiz'nz), a man (muunz, gruunz) moans groans]. 496 E'iərn. †497 [(gjET *u*ₒp) or (gjER *u*ₒp) = get up used]. 498 r*âì*t.

I': 500 l*âì*k l*âì*k. 501 w*âì*d w*âì*d. 502 f*âì*v f*âì*v. 503 l*âì*f' l*âì*f'. 504 n*âì*f' n*âì*f'. 505 w*âì*f' w*âì*f'. 506 w*u*ₒmən. 507 wimi,n. 508 m*âì*l m*âì*l. 509 w*âì*l w*âì*l. 510 m*âì*n m*âì*n; m*âì* m*âì* [em.], mi, [unem.]. 511 w*âì*n

wáin. 512 spáiur. 513 wáiur. 514 áist. 515 wâiz wáiz. 516 wizdum [if used]. 517 vi,ù-t,rii.

O- 518 bædi,. 519 ô[ur. 520 boo. 521 fool. 522 op'n. 523 oop. 524 wald. O: 525 i. u [gen.; but (on) is used in phrases like "enough of (on) it; I heard of (on) it"]; ii. of'. 526 kæf'. 527 bæ'ut'. 528 thæ'ut'. 529 bræ'ut'. †530 [(warkt) used]. 531 dæu,t'u,r. 532 koolz, kool. 533 du,l'. 534 ool. 535 fôk'. 536 gæ'ùd. 537 máuli,, máult [mouldy, become moulded, said of the mould fungus on cheese, fruit, etc.]. 538 wù,d [em.] )d [unem.]. 539 bæ'ùd. 540 oli,n. 541 winu. 542 bæ'ut'. 543 on' [em.] u [unem.]. 544 i. ti,n dhun [the first gen., the second occ.]; ii. dhun'. 545 op'. 546 fʌ'r [em.], fur [unem.]. 547 bûurt. †548. †549 [(ò,d,du,r u,p') to hoard, used]. 550 wæ'rd. 551 stʌ'rm. 552 kʌ'rn. 553 ʌ'rn. 554 kros'.

O'- 555 shu,f' [old], sh,ú,uu [*plur.* (sh,ú,ùn)]. 556 t,ú,u [em.] tu t' [unem.]. 557 t,ú,u. 558 l,ú,uuk. 559 mædhur. 560 sk,ú,uu. 561 bl,ú,uum. 562 m,ú,uun. 563 :mu,ndi,. 564 s,ú,ùn. 565 nooz. 566 u,dhur. 567 t'u,dhur. 568 bru,dhur.

O': 569 b,ú,uk'. 570 t,ú,ùk. 571 gù,d. 572 blù,d. 573 flu,d'. †574 [(atɟ) hatch, used, that is, birds hatched at once]. 575 stù,d st,ú,ùd. 576 wed'nzdi,. 577 b,ú,ù. 578 pl,ú,ù, [old (plu,f')]. 579 unu,f' [plural (un,ú,uu)]. 580 tæf'. 581 [(sûitɟt) searched used]. 582 k,ú,uul. 583 t,ú,uul. 584 st,ú,u. 585 br,ú,uum. 586 d,ú,u. 587 d,ú,uun. 588 n,ú,uun. 589 sp,ú,uun. 590 fl,ú,uur. 591 mûur. 592 sweer swiur. †593 [(mù,n) used, (mu,nu) must not]. 594 b,ú,ut'. 595 f,ú,ut'. 596 r,ú,ut'. 597 s,ú,ut'. †598

U- 599 ubù,v. 600 læ'v. 601 fâul fáùl. 602 sâu sáuu. 603 kæ'm [em.], kum kum [unem.]. 604 su,mur. 605 sù,n. 606 dæ'r. 607 bu,t'u,r.

U: 608 u,gli, [but (fáuu) foul 655 gen. used]. 609 fù,l. 610 wu,l'. 611 bu,luk. 612 sù,m. 613 ,d,ru,qk'n. 614 áund [this and the next four (áu) or (âu)]. 615 páund. 616 gráund. 617 sáund. 618 wáund. 619 fu,n'. 620 gru,n'. 621 wu,n'. 622 u,n,du,r. 623 fu,n'. 624 gru,n'. 625 tu,qlg. †626 [(u,qgur), if used; but the adj. (u,qgri,) would gen. be made use of in the construction]. 627 :su,ndi,. 628 nu,n'. 629 su,n'. 630 wu,n'. 631 :thæzdi,. 632 u,p'. 633 ku,p'. 634 thr,ú,ù. 635 wæth. 636 fæ'r. 637 tu,sh. †638. 639 du,st.

U'- 640 kjáu kjâu. 641 âu âu. 642 dhaa [em.] dha [unem.: affirmatively, as (dha)rt leet) = *thou* art late; but (t) interrogatively, as (wil)t guu?) = wilt thou go?]. 643 naa nà. 644 su,k'. 645 doov. 646 bâù. 647 âùl. 648 aar àr [em.] ur [unem.]. 649 thâuzent. 650 ubâùt. 651 wi,dhâùt. 652 kù,d ku,d- [em.] kud [unem.]. 653 bur [this form always used, as (AA bur im, bur mái) all but him, but me; (næ'ut bur, nebur) nought but, the first occ., the second gen., in Peak Forest (neper)].

U': 654 srâùd srâùd. 654* ru,f'. 655 fáuu [meaning ugly, as in 608; not used for dirty]. 656 râùm. 657 brâùn. 658 dâùn. 659 tâùn. †660. 661 sháuur. 662 u,z [em.] uz [unem.]. 663 âus'. 664 lâus'. 665 mâus'. 666 u,zbunt. 667 âut'. 668 prâùd. †669. 670 b,ú,ùdh. 671 mâuth. 672 sâuth.

Y- 673 mitɟ. 674 did did-. 675 ,d,re'i. 676 lái lâi. 677 ,d,re'i. 678 din. 679 tɟartɟ. 680 bizi,. 681 biz'nz. 682 lit'l.

Y: †683 [(nat') gnat, used]. 684 bridɟ. 685 ridɟ. 686 be'i. †687. 688 bild. 689 intɟ. †690 [they use (só[urt) sort; (bríid) breed]. 691 máind. 692 ju,qgi,st. 693 sin'. 694 wark. 695 àrk'n. 696 beth. 697 beri,. 698 meth. 699 [only in composition, as (wíil-ríit') wheel-wright]. 700 was' [and] war'. 701 fast. 702 wii [in pause]; widh [gen. before a vowel]; wi wi, [before a consonant]. 703 pit'. 704 viks'n [used by a few in scolding a girl; perhaps half refined; may be used for a bitch-fox].

Y'- 705 skjái skái. 706 wái. 707 thartíìn. 708 e'iur.

Y': 709 fe'iur. 710 àrk'n. 711 le'is'. 712 me'is'.

## II. English.

A. 713 bad'. 714 làd. 715 pad'. 716 ad'l [*adj.* occ. *vb.*, to earn]. 717 djeed. 718 ,t,reed. †719 [(bu,lje'd) bullhead, used). †720. 721 fag' [to

weary]. 722 ˌdˌreen [gen. (su$_o$f') = sough]. 723 DEERi,. 724 BAAd. 725 seel. 726 TAAK. †727 [(puzàrv) preserve used; to jam (djam')]. 728 sham'. 729 freem. 730 kjáumˌtuˌr. †731. 732 ap'n. 733 [in Chapel to (fîur) gen., (frûit'n) occ., both to frighten; in Peak Forest (skar')]. 734 dE'rn. 735 smash. †736 [(WENTJ) = wench used]. †737 [(bu$_o$ti,) butty used]. 738 preet. 740 weev. 742 leezi [seldom, gen. (dîd'l) idle].

E. 743 skriim [(skráik) shriek, often]. 744 miiz'lz máiz'lz. 745 tjît'. 746 briidh. †747 indee·vur [half refined, usually to (ˌtˌrâi, ɔs') try, oss or offer]. †748 [fledged and unfledged not used, but stages of growth distinguished by different words, as: 1. (oonli, doon ɔn') only down on; 2. (FEDHURZ AAV groon) feathers half grown; 3. (fu$_o$l-FEDHURT) full-feathered]. 749 líit [hand]. 750 BEG'.

I. *and* Y. 753 tik'l. 754 pig'. 755 fílburt. 756 srimp. 757 táini,. 758 gjEl' [half refined, (WENTJ) gen.]. 759 fit' [*adj.* suitable]. †760 [(wiz'nt) *wizened*, or (riqk'lt) wrinkled, used].

O. 761 luud. 762 *oo*kum. †763 [(roov) = rove used]. 764 kɔd'l. 765 :djA'n. 766 mE'iˌduˌrt mE'dhurt. 767 NE'iz. 768 ka'nk' [gen. in pl. (ka'uks)]. †769 [(mˌúˌudiˌwàrp) *mouldy-warp* used]. 770 :tu$_o$mUZ. 771 fond. 772 bu$_o$n·fE'ıur. 773 dɔqki, [(djak-às') jack-ass gen. used]. 774 poonˌi,. 775 bˌúˌubi, [if used]. 776 gu$_o$d bâi [now partially used for a long parting, gen. (gu$_o$d-dee, gu$_o$d·nîit') good-day and good-night, and when people take leave for a considerable time (FEER dhi, WE'l) fare thee well, or (FEER JU WE'l) fare you well, used]. 777 shop'. 778 ufóˌurd. 779 A'ts. 780 djɔs'l. 781 bɔdhur. 782 pu$_o$dhur. 783 pa'udˌtˌri,. 784 báums. †785 [(lol, sâid'l), loll, sidle, used]. 786 dáuz. 787 sâus'. 789 ra'ú. 790 gjâùn gjâùm. 791 bâi [half refined, (làd) used].

U. 792 skwab'l. 793 u$_o$g' [to carry with some inconvenience, to squeeze or cuddle]. 794 dju$_o$g'. †795 [(u$_o$tJ u$_o$p') hutch up the shoulders, used]. 796 blˌíˌuu blˌúˌuu. 797 skwìk'iˌn. 798 kwîur. 799 sku$_o$l'. 801 ru$_o$m'. 802 ru$_o$m'. 803 dju$_o$mp. 804 ˌdˌru$_o$qk'n. 805 kru$_o$dz. 806 fu$_o$s'. 807 pu$_o$s'. 808 pu$_o$t-.

## III. ROMANCE.

A·· 809 eeb'l. 810 fès'. 811 plès' plees' [occ. for a situation for a servant, etc.]. 812 lès'. 813 beek'n. 814 mees'n. 816 feed. 817 REdiˌtJ. 818 eedJ. †819 [(pashun) passion gen. used]. 820 gjee [possibly, applied to dress]. †821. 822 :mee. 824 tJîur. 826 iig'l. †827. 828 eegi,. 829 gjeen. 830 ˌtˌreen [of railway carriages]. 831 sˌtˌreen [di- omitted]. 832 MEER. 833 PEER. 834 sheez. 835 riiz'n. 836 siiz'n. 838 ˌtˌrît'. 839 i. beel [if used], ii. BAA. 840 tJeembur. 841 tJans. 842 plaqk. 843 brantJ. 844 ˌtˌrentJ. 845 eentJent. 846 talu-tJandlur [= tallow-chandler]. 847 deendJur. 848 tJeendJ. 849 sˌtˌreendJur. 850 dans. 851 eent. 852 apurn. 853 bàrgiˌn. 854 bariˌl. 855 kjarut. 856 pàrt. 857 kjès'. 858 brès'. 859 tJès'. 860 pèst. 861 tèst. 862 sèf. †863. 864 biˌkooz. 865 fôt'. 866 pûur.

E·· 867 tee. 868 dJee. 869 viil. 870 bíˌutiˌ [biˌutiˌful]. 871 ugrû. 872 tJúfliˌ [occ. = gen., mostly]. †873. 874 reeniˌ [pl. (reeniˌz) reins]. 876 deentiˌ. 877 EER. 878 saluriˌ. 879 fee·meel [unfrequent]. 880 EGza·mp'l. 881 SENS. 882 panziˌ. 883 da·ndiˌláiˌun. 884 PRENTiˌz. 885 VERiˌ. 886 fráiˌur [if used]. †887. 888 sàrtiˌn. †889. 890 bìst. 891 fist. 892 NEfiˌ. 893 flâuur. 894 diˌseev. 895 riˌseev.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 diˌláit' [as (ú teez u diˌláit' iˌ dˌu$_o$u·iˌn mistJúif') he takes a delight in doing mischief]. 898 náis'. 899 náis'. 900 pree. 901 fâin fâin. 902 máin mâin. 903 †i.; ii. dinur. 904 vâilut. †905. †906. †907. 908 advái·s'. 909 briiz. 910 djE'is'. 911 SESˌtuˌrn. 912 ráis'.

O·· 913 kootJ. 914 brootJ. 915 stu$_o$f'. 916 u$_o$niˌun. 917 roog. †918 [(wèk') weak used]. 919 E'intment [or (SAAV) salve]. 920 pE'int. 921 ukwE'int [half refined]. †922 [(sˌtˌráik') = strike = 4 pecks, used]. 923 sˌtˌret'. †923. †923*. 924 tJE'is'. 925 VE'is'. 926 spE'il. †927. 928 áums. 929 kja'·ku$_o$mbur. 930 lE'in. 931 dju$_o$g'lur. 933 fru$_o$nt. 935 ku$_o$nˌtˌriˌ. 937 kɔk'. 938 kA'rnur. 939 i. and ii. tlo's'. 940 kuut. 941 fˌúˌuu. 942 bu$_o$tJur. 943 tu$_o$tJ. 944 [see 198]. 945 váuu [sb.] [for the vb. (SWEER) used]. †946.

947 bɛ'iil. 948 bâ*uu*l. 949 mæ'*u*ld [*or* ?] mæ'*uu*d m,*ú*ₒuud. 950 s*u*ₒpɛr. 951 k*u*ₒp'l. 952 i. k*ù*s'; ii. kòs'. 953 k*u*ₒz'n. 954 k*u*ₒshɛn. 955 dâ*ù*t dâ*u*t. 956 k*u*ₒvɛr. †959.

U·· 960 kj*ee*. 961 gr,*ú*ₒu*i*,l. 963 k*wái*·ɛt. 964 sh,*ú*ₒu·*i*,t. 965 ɛ'il. 966 fr,*ú*ₒut'. 967 sh,*ú*ₒut' [a suit of clothes]. 968 *dis*,tɛ,r. 969 sh,*ú*ₒuɛr. 670 dj*u*ₒst. 971 fl,*ú*ₒut' fl*i*,ut'.

## *Principal Variants for Combs Valley.*

Combs Valley (se. of Chapel-en-le-Frith) properly belongs to D 25, Var. iv, where a dt. will be found in the same peculiar notation as this cwl. But as it is in the parish of Chapel, and differs from it chiefly in three points, TH. has here furnished a list of the principal variants. Ch. = Chapel-en-le-Frith; C. = Combs Valley.

*First point.* Ch. (uu, ù) become C. (ûɛ), rarely permissibly (úɛ).

A'- 76 tûɛd. 86 ûɛts. 87 tlûɛz. 89 bûɛdh. A': 118 bûɛn. 124 stûɛn. 127 ûɛs'. Æ': 226 múɛst. O. 761 lûɛd. O··940 kûɛt. 952 i. kûɛs'.

*Second point.* Ch. (ii, ì) become C. (îɛ), rarely permissibly (íɛ).

Æ- 150 lîɛst. Æ'- 184 lîɛd. 186 brîɛd. 187 lîɛv. 191 îɛl. 192 mîɛn. 193 tlîɛn. 200 wîɛt. 202 îɛt. Æ': 216 díɛl. E: 267 îɛld. EA': 350 dîɛd. 351 lîɛd. 354 shîɛf'. 355 dîɛf'. 356 lîɛf'. 360 tîɛm. 361 bîɛn. 363 tj,îɛp'. 368 dîɛth. EO': 434 bîɛt. E. 743 skrîɛm. 745 tj,îɛt'. 746 brîɛdh. U. 793 [(skwîɛz) used]. 797 skwîɛk'*i*,n. A·· 835 rîɛz'n. 836 sîɛz'n. 838 ,t,rîɛt'. E·· 869 vîɛl. 890 bîɛst. 891 fîɛst.

*Third point.* Ch. (â*u*, á*ù*, á*u*) become C. (â*i*, á*i*, á*i*) respectively.

U- 601 fâ*i*l. 602 sâ*i*. U: 614 á*i*nd. 615 pá*i*nd. 616 grá*i*nd. 617 sá*i*nd. 618 wá*i*nd. U'- 640 kjâ*i*. 641 á*i* â*i*. 647 â*i*l. 649 thâ*i*zɛnt. 650 ɛbâ*i*t. 651 w*i*,-dâ*i*t. U': 654 srâ*i*d srá*i*d. 656 rà*i*m. 657 brâ*i*n. 658 dâ*i*n. 659 tâ*i*n. 663 â*i*s'. 664 lâ*i*s'. 665 mâ*i*s'. 667 â*i*t'. 668 prâ*i*d. 671 má*i*th. 672 sâ*i*th. A. 730 kjâ*i*n,tɛ,r. O. 784 bá*i*ns. 786 dá*i*z. 787 sá*i*s'. O·· 928 á*i*ns. 948 bá*i*l. 955 da'*i*t.

Also EO- 386 Ch. (ɹ*i*,ù) is C. (ɹæ'ù).

# D 22 = w.NM. = western North Midland.

*Boundaries.* Begin w. at the mouth of the Ribble and go up it to the ne. as far as its junction with the Hodder on the b. of Yo., just s. of Great Mitton. Then proceed along the b. of La., going first e. and then s. to Todmorden. Then turn sw. along the nw. b. of D 21, se. of Bacup, nw. of Bury and se. of Bolton, w. of Peel and e. of Tyldesley and Astley, and then turn s. over Chat Moss to the junction of the Irwell and Mersey. Go down the Mersey to the sea, and take the coast round to the mouth of the Ribble.

It has been thought advisable to pursue the La. b. against Yo., but it will be seen that the neighbouring D 24 greatly resembles D 22 on its w. side, and I formerly attempted to include Halifax, Huddersfield, Marsden, and Saddleworth with the e. parts of D 22. But on further examination these have been included as a variety of D 24.

*Area.* The whole of s.La., s. of the Ribble, with the exception of the se. portion in D 21.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List under the following places, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in systematic spelling, ° in io.

°† Blackburn, °† Bolton, °† Burnley, † Chorley, ° Clitheroe, † Cliviger Valley, ° Colne, † Earlstown, † Farrington, † Halliwell, † Haslingden, ° Higham, † Hoddlesden, ° Leigh, °† Leyland, * Mellor, † Newton-le-Willows, † Ormskirk, † Penwortham, † Prescot, ° Sabden, ° Samlesbury, † Skelmersdale, † Walton-le-Dale, † Warrington, † Westhoughton, ° Whalley, °† Wigan, † Worsthorn.

These notes have superseded the numerous printed books, which were neither local enough nor precise enough for my purposes.

*Character.* There is a very fair amount of uniformity, but in such an extensive tract of country with large towns and outlying manufacturing districts, many varieties may be expected, and I have been induced to consider six, Var. i. Ormskirk, Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan, Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland, Var. iv. Blackburn, Var. v. Burnley, Var. vi. Old Colne Valley. The differences are often very minute, and they are here illustrated by a cwl. for each separate variety, by four interlinear versions for Var. i, ii, iii, v, by two interlinear dt. for Var. iv, and by a dt. for Var. vi.

The general character for the whole district is as follows:

A- generally (*ee*) as (n*ee*m) name.

A′ normally (úʊ) as (rúʊd) road, occ. (*oo*), and the adv. *no* is often (nɜ′*u*).

E- often (ɛ′*i*) as (spɛ′ik) speak.

E′- (ii) or (*ii*) and occ. (ɛ′*i*).

I generally (*i*), but occ. treated as I′. In the unemphatic pronoun I the sound is regularly (ʌ).

I′ normally (*ái*), usually assumed as (ɔ′*i*), but not unfrequently (aa) in Var. i, ii, iv, and in Var. iv. both (*ái*) and (aa) are used.

O often becomes (ó*i*) in Var. iv, v, as in D 24.

O′ seems naturally inclined to (uu) in the form (*œ*′u), but occ. becomes (ó*i*), probably as a variant of (úʊ).

U is regularly (*u*₀), see p. 291, but in a few words, as (kɜm) come, reaches (ɜ), a sound otherwise well known in the district for (dɜg tlag fɜg) dog clog fog.

U′ becomes generally (aa aa¹); the transitional form from (á*u*) in D 21 was evidently (áɜ), which occurs in Var. v, vi, with the first element thinned in Var. iv, as (á¹ɜt) and even (éɜt) out, and from Haslingden, Var. iv, I obtained (t*éeu*n d*éeu*n) town down. But the regular sound in this part of La. is (aa), as it is in D 24, 26, or its refinements (aa¹, ææ). It is this sound which is meant by the La. spelling *eaw*, invented by Collier (*Tim Bobbin*), and used by all La. dialect writers, whatever be the pronunciation of their district. In Collier's district at Rochdale, D 21, people now say (ɜ′*u*t). The forms (ɜ′*u* ó*u*) are in D 22 reserved for EAL and OH words, as (ɜ′*u*d ó*u*ld, bó*u*t), old, bought, and are never confused with (aa). In spelling, dialect writers use *ow* for this sound, in contradistinction to *eaw*.

Among consonants -ˌtˌr -ˌdˌr -ˌtʊˌr -ˌdʊˌr) are used as in D 21, which may be considered as containing those legitimate forms throughout that have been degraded and altered in D 22. Otherwise (r) has the same values as in D 21, that is, (ʳ), p. 293. It decidedly affects the preceding vowel, as (dɜr) door. The *r* is also at least occasionally reverted to (ʀ) in the words our Mary vary cares queer share, and even sometimes there where.

In the w. parts of D 22 (q) final becomes (qg) as (r*u*₀qg), but this seems to die out eastwards.

The gutturals (kh kjh) were common in Var. vi. in 1840. Cases still occur in other parts of D 22, where old people use (kh) in rough tough (r*u*₀kh t*u*₀kh), but as a rule it is lost, though *Leigh* (5 se.Wigan) is stated to be pronounced as (:lɛ′*i*kjh).

The definite article seems to be normally (th), but (dh) occurs before vowels, and even (dhʊ) is heard. The article is frequently assimilated, and becomes (t′, s′, k′, p′). The form (t′) is much more common than I had anticipated, and will be found in all the illustrations. But it is decidedly not the normal form here as it is in D 24. The final (s, f, t) frequently become (z, v, d), as (dhiz rúad, ʊ kʌʌv, nɔd), this road, a calf, not, but I do not know the law of change.

Medial or final (l) is sometimes omitted, as in (ó*u*d fœ′u skœ′u) old fool school.

There is a large number of very characteristic words, which are not within the scope of this investigation, but may be seen (mixed with those of m. and n.La.) in Nodal and Milner's Glossary, where also a list of numerous printed works in the dialect is given.

The speech of this district is sufficiently homogeneous to render

it difficult to formulate the differences of pronunciation which determine a variety. Of course those dialect-connoisseurs by whom a man from each of the five modern varieties is immediately distinguished, rely on much beside pron. They are guided by intonation, and the use of certain words and peculiar constructions, none of which can here be considered.

Var. i. Ormskirk has a fine (aa¹, ææ) for U′, as (daa¹n dææn) down, (daan) at Skelmersdale, and a broader sound (*aa*) or occasionally (aa) for I′ in (*taam*, faav) time, five. The O′ words have (*úu*) as (d*úu*) do, and the O ··, OU ·· words are treated in the same way.

Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan have generally only the finest (ææ) for U′ words as (dææn) down, and often the broad (aa) or broadest (AA) in the I′ words, as (taam tAAm) time. The O′ words are uncertainly treated with (uu, *œ*′u) as (stuu, d*œ*′un) stool, done, and if it has been rightly appreciated, (dæarnt) don't, TH. feels certain of the (r). The French O ·· is (ûʊ) in (kúʊt) coat.

Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland is more distinct. The U′ words have the form (á¹ɐ) as (dá¹ɐn), which on trial will be found to be a transitional pron. from (dá¹ʊn) to (daa¹n). The I′ words have the distinct form (*ái*) as (t*ái*m) time, continually conceived as (to′*im*). The O′ and Fr. O ·· words as before.

Var. iv. Blackburn. Here the U′ words pass back to (aa¹) through (á¹ʊ) as (dá¹ʊn daa¹n), but the (*ái*) remains or at most becomes (âə) as in (s*ái*d, sâəd) side. The O′ words vary as (uu, *œ*′u), as (skuu, sk*œ*′u) school, the French O ·· in (kúʊt) remains.

Var. v. Burnley. The U′ words have (á¹ɐ) again as (dá¹ɐn), and the I′ words continue to have (*ái*), as (t*ái*m) time. The O′ words are variously treated as (uu, *úu*), but also most peculiarly as (nó*in*, spó*in*) noon, spoon, which appears for O: as (ó*i*l) hole, and for French O ·· as (kó*i*t, tló*i*s) coat, close. This form seems an alteration of (ûʊ) through (óʊ). We shall find it very distinctive in D 24.

Var. vi. The old Colne Valley pron. is mainly distinguished by the constant use of the guttural (kh) as shewn below.

The extreme difficulty in finding phonetic differences, and the fading of the slightly different forms into one another, shew the propriety of considering these forms of speech as insignificant varieties of one main dialect. I have selected above merely those forms which shew some difference, the other forms are practically identical throughout, as the following examples and cwl. will shew.

*Illustrations.* Through the labours of TH., continued for many years, I am able to give satisfactory illustrations of the first five varieties in the following interlinear cs. and dt. Only those who have tried to represent dialectal pron. with accuracy can sufficiently appreciate the difficulty of procuring and writing such specimens as are here given, and the long time and attention that they have demanded. The interlinear representation will enable the differences in the varieties to be more easily perceived. The notes shew variants or explain differences. For the old Colne Valley Var. vi. I am indebted to a correspondent who himself spoke the dialect in his youth, and witnessed the loss of (kh) and the substitution of (ó*u*) for (okh). The five cwl. which follow have been chiefly drawn up from wn. by TH., without introducing words from the cs. They are all necessarily incomplete, because they contain words actually heard and noted at the time, and speakers frequently did not make use of such words as it would have been desirable to register, and constantly repeated other words, or made use of new words comparatively unimportant for our purpose. In Var. ii. I had valuable assistance from Bolton, and in Var. iv. from Samlesbury by other informants, but the want of TH.'s accuracy and phonetic

knowledge was much felt. Precise indications are given in the heading to each cwl.

## Four Interlinear cs.

Four versions of the cs. obtained and written from dictation by TH.

S. Skelmersdale (:skjɛ·mʊrzdəl) (7 n-by-w.St. Helens, 4 ese.Ormskirk and 12 ne.Liverpool), representing Ormskirk or sw.La. speech, taken in June, 1878, from dictation of Silvester Pye, joiner, native, b. 1823, and his wife. This illustrates Var. i.

W. Westhoughton (4 wsw.Bolton and 11 e.Skelmersdale), and representing that speech, except for I′ Y′ words taken in July, 1876, from dictation of W. Winward, formerly a mill-hand, then a clerk, native, b. 1846, assisted by his mother and sister. Westhoughton is called (:ɜ′*u*f''n), the (f) replacing the old guttural, and in refined form is (:ɜ′*u*t''n). This illustrates Var. ii.

L. Leyland (5 s.Preston) written in 1887 from dict. of Miss Susan Maria Ffarington, of Worden in Leyland, born 1807, and since deceased, an extensive landed proprietor, who took great interest in the language of the people, and endeavoured to give the speech as she knew it in her youth. The omitted words and phrases are given at the end of the notes. TH. subsequently read his version to natives of Farrington (2 n.Leyland), referred to as T and E, and one who had been long resident at Leyland, but himself a native of Ambleside, We., a working man, b. about 1827, referred to as W. Their suggestions will appear in the notes. This illustrates Var. iii.

B. Burnley (20 ene.Leyland), written in 1875-6 from dictation of James Fielding, cotton operative, b. about 1845, native, speaking the dialect ordinarily. This illustrates Var. v.

The correctness of (*ú*u) for (*æ*′u) in S was ascertained by TH. in special visits in 1888. Westhoughton had both (*ú*u, *æ*′u).

0. Var. i. *Skelmersdale.* w*ái* :dɟʌ`n ɛz n*o* daats.
Var. ii. *Westhoughton.* waa :dɟɔn)z n*oo* dæ`ts.
Var. iii. *Leyland.* w*ái* :dɟʌ`n àz n*o* dá¹ɜts.
Var. v. *Burnley.* wá*i* :dɟɔn [:dɟʌ`n] az núʊ dá¹ɜts.

1. S wɛ`l, làd, dh*i*i ʊn ìm mʊ búʊth laaf ʊt wɔt
W wɛ`l, :t*u*$_o$m, ìm ʊn dhii m*e* búʊdh lɜ′*u*f ʊt dh*i*z
L wɛ`l, óùd tɟap`, ɟɔ̀ ʊn ìm mʊ búʊth laf` ʊt) t*i*s
B wìl, :dɟak`, ìm ʊn dh*i*i mʊ búʊdh laf` ʊt wɔt

S ʌ)m gu·*i*n tʊ tɛl)ɟʊ. úʊ kjə`rz? dhat)s n*oo*dhʊr íʊr nʊr
W n*i*ùz ʊ maan. úʊ kjɜr`z? dhat)s n*oo*dhʊr íʊr nʊr
L n*i*ùz ʊ m*ái*n. b*u*$_o$d dhad)z n*oo*dhʊr íʊr nʊr
B ʌ)m bá¹ɜm tʊ *see*. bʊr ʌ kj*é*ʊr nó*ut*` ʊbá¹ɜt *it*. dhat)s

S dhíʊr.
W dhíʊr.
L dhíʊr.
B n*oo*dhʊr íʊr nʊr dhíʊr.

2. S dhʊr)z nɔd sʊ mɔn*i* ʊz diiz w*i* bì·*i*n laaft àt, w*i*
W dhʊr)z nɔt sʊ mɔni f*ó*k` d*ii*z thr*æ*′u bì·*i*n lɜ′*u*ft àt, w*i*
L varʊ f*i*ù` f*ó*ks diin k*oo*z dhʊ)r laft àt,
B dhʊr)z núʊn sʊ mɔni d*ii*z b*i*kɜz dhʊ)r laft àt, w*i*

S noon, dònt wi? wot shʊd meek ʊm?
W noon dhàt, du₀nʊt wi? ææ ·ku₀d dhi dii wi bì·in lɜ'uft àt?
L wot sʊd meek ʊm?
B noon, dúʊnt wi nái'ɜ? wot shu₀d dhi dii fɜ'r?

S it iz'nt vɛri láikli iz)it?
W it)s not ʊ laakli thiqg, iz)it?
L id)z nod varʊ láikli, iz)id?
B it iz'nt láikli, iz it?

3. S ʊt ani reet it wʊz ʊ dhiz rood, sʊ dʒu₀st óud
W æ'ɛvʊr it wʊr dʒu₀st ʊ dhis'n, sʊ dʒu₀st ɜ'ùd
L á'ɜsʊmɛvʊr dhiiz is f'faks ʊ)th ká'ɜs', sʊ óùd
B a'ɛvʊr dhis iz wot ɜ)m bá'ɜn tʊ see, sʊ dʒu₀st old

S dhi náiz, mɜ'n, ʊn bi kwáiʊt dhʊn ɜ)v dù₀n.
W dhi nɛ'iz, mɜ'n, ʊn bi kwaat tin aa)v dù₀n. dʒu₀st
L ɹʊr dìn ʊn bi kwáiʊt dhʊn ái)n dù₀n.
B dhi dìn', mɜ'n, ʊn bi kwáit til ɜ')v dù₀n. ná'ɜ

S ə[ʀk'n!
W aa'rk'n)dhi!
L
B àrk'n.

4. S ɜ)m sɛrtin a íʊrd ʊm see—su₀m ʊ dhúuz fook ʊz
W aa)m sɛrtin a jɛrd əm t' see—su₀m ʊ dhœ'uz fòk oz
L ái)m sart'n ái íʊrd ʊm see—su₀m ʊ dhɛm ʊz
B ɜ' noo vari wíil ɜ jɛrd ʊm see—su₀m ʊ dhɛm ʊz

S wɛnt thrúu th)wool thiq[g frʊ)th)fɔst dhʊrsɛlz—dhat ɜ
W wɛnt thrœ'u aa)t thiq dhʊrsɛl fru₀)t'—
L nood it oo frʊ)t' fɔst dhʊrsɛlz—
B wɛnt thrúu t' wùl dʒɔb frʊ)t' farst dhʊrsɛlz—

S dìd, seef ʊnu₀f.
W bígin'in tʊ)th iind.
L
B

5. S ʊs)s) ɹu₀qgist lad issɛl', ʊ grɛ'id lad náin íʊr óud,
W ʊs t' ɹu₀qgist sù₀n issɛl', ʊ grɛ'id làd ʊ naan ɹir ɜ'ud,
L dhʊt t' ɹu₀qst sù₀n issɛl', ʊ big làd ʊ náin
B dhʊt th) ɹu₀qkst làd issɛl', ʊ gart làd náin ɹʊr óud, íi

S nood is feedhʊrz váis in ʊ minʊt, ʊv it wu₀s sʊ
W nood is feedhʊrz vɛ'is in ʊ minit, fʊr aa ʊz it wʊr sʊ
L nood is feedhʊrz voìs ʊt wɔnst, dhò it wʊr sʊ
B nood is feedhʊrz vóis ʊt wu₀ns, dho it wɜ'r sʊ

S kwəə˽ʀ ʊn skwaakin, ʊn a kʊd ˌtˌruₒst ìm tʊ spɛ'ik
W rææsti ʊn kwəə˽ʀ, ən a bìliiv ʊz ii)d spɛ'ik
L kwíʊr ʊn skweekin, ʊn ái)ˌd ˌtˌruₒst ɹən làd tʊ spɛ'ik
B kwéʊr ʊn sʊ skweekin, ʊn ʌ kʊd ˌtˌruₒst ìm tʊ spɛ'ik

S ˌtˋ ˌtˌrúuth ani dee, dhat ʌ kùₒd.
W ˌtˋ ˌtˌræ'uth ani dee, dhat a dù.
L ˌtˋ ˌtˌrúuth əni dee.
B ˌtˋ ˌtˌríuth əni dee, ái, ʌ ·kùₒd dhat.

6. S ʊn th)óud wuₒmʊn ʊrsɛl ʊl tɛl ani ən ɹʊ ʊz laafs,
W ʊn tth)ɑ'ud wuₒmʊn ʊrsɛl ʊl tɛl ani ən ɹʊ əz iz lɑ'uf'in
L ʊn dh)óùd wuₒmʊn ʊrsɛl 'l tɛl əni ʊ ɹʊ
B ʊn th)óud wuₒmʊn ʊrsɛl ʊl tɛ'l əni ʊ ɹoo ʊt)s laf'in

S ʊn sˌtˌrɛ'it fərʊd, ʊn ʌʌ, baat mitɟ bədhʊr, iv ɹo)l
W sʊ mitɟ, ʊn ùl tɛl)ɹʊ rìt ʊwee baa¹t ani bədhʊr, ʊv ɹʊ)l
L sˌtˌrɛ'it əf, bá¹ɑt əni bədhʊr, if ɹʊ
B ná¹ɑ, ʊn tɛl ɹʊ sˌtˌrɛ'it fərʊd, túu⁵, bá¹ɑt əni bədhʊr, if ɹò)d

S bəd aks ʊr, weent úu?
W dɟuₒst aks ʊr, a noo ù wil.
L aks'n ʊr.
B ònli aks)ʊr, wuₒd'nt úu⁵?

7. S ʊt líʊst úu tóùd ·mì wɛn ʌ aksˌt)ʊˌr oodhʊr túu ʊr
W əz ææ)t ìz ù tɑ'ùd ·mii wɛn a aksˌt ʊˌr tuu ʊr
L dɟuₒst ʊz ù tóùd mii tuuthri táimz óʊr,
B ʊt líʊst úu⁵ tɛld ·mii wɛn ʌˋ aksˌt)ʊˌr ʊ túʊthri

S thrii táimz óʊr, ʊn ·úu did'n óut tʊ bi ruₒqg
W thrii taamz óʊr, ʊn ·uu ɑ'ut tˋ noo,
L ʊn ·uu shuₒd'nt bi ruₒqg
B táimz óʊr, úu⁵ did, ʊn úu óut tʊ noo

S ʊ sitɟ ʊ thiqg ʊz dhisˋ, wəd'n ɹoo thiqk?
W wəd'n ɹoo thiqk?
L thiqk ɹʊ, ʊbá¹ɑt suₒtɟ ʊ thiqg ʊz dhìz.
B ʌˋl ʊbá¹ɑt it, wət thiqks)tá¹ɑ?

8. S wɛˋl ʊz ʌ wʊs sɛˋ)in, ·úu)d tɛl)ɹʊ wəˋ˽ʀ ʊn wɛn úu
W wɛˋl ʊz à wʊr see)in, ·uu)l tɛl)ɹʊ ææ wíʊr ʊn wɛn ù
L wɛˋl ʊz ái wʊr see)in, ·uu ʊd tɛl)ɹʊ wíʊr ù
B wɛˋl ʊz ʌ wʊr see)in, ·úu⁵)d tɛl)ɹʊ ʌˋl ʊbá¹ɑt wíʊr úu

S fənd ˌtˋ ˌdˌruₒqk'n thiqg, ʊz úu kʌʌz ʊr uₒzbʊnt.
W fuₒn ˌtˋ ˌdˌruₒqk'n pigˋ ʊz ù kʌʌz ʊr uₒzbʊnt.
L fuₒn ˌtˋ ˌdˌruₒqk'n bíʊst ʊz ù kooz ʊr uₒzbʊn.
B fuₒn dhaˌt ˌdˌruₒkh'n bɛgʊr [á¹ənd] ʊt úu⁵ kʌʌlz ʊr fɛli.

9. S *ú*u swóʊr *ú*u sii *i*m w*i*dh ʊr *oo*n *í*in s‿t‿rɛtɟt aa t'
W ù swóʊr ù siid *i*m w*i* ʊr *oo*n iin l*ái*)*i*n s‿t‿rɛtɟt
L ù swóʊr ù siid *i*m w*i* ʊr *oo*n iin l*ái*)*i*n s‿t‿rɛtɟt
B *ú*u[5] swóʊr *ú*u[5] s*i*i *i*m wi ʊr *oo*n iin l*ái*)*i*n l*u*₀q)

S lɛqth ən th)fl*ú*uʊr, *i*n *i*z bɛst kúʊt, tlòs
W ʊl*u*₀qk *u*₀pʊ t' græænd, *i*n *i*z gù₀d s*u*₀nd*i* kúʊt, tlòs
L [l*ee*d] u₀pʊ th)grá¹and *i*n *i*z g*u*₀d s*u*₀ndʊ kúʊt, tlòs
B lɛqkth ən)t' grá¹and, *i*n *i*z gù₀d s*u*₀nd*i* kó*i*t, tló*i*s

S b*i* t' door, daan ʊt t' kɑ'rnʊr ʊ
W b*i*)t th)ææz dɑ'r, dææn ʊt t' kɑ'rnʊr ʊ)t'
L b*i* t' dúʊr ʊ)th á¹ɛs, dá¹an ʊt t' kɑ'rnʊr ʊ
B tu *i*z *oo*n dɑ'r, dá¹an ʊt t' kɑ'rnʊr ʊ)t'

S jən l*oo*n.
W l*oo*n jən'.
L jən lúʊn.
B ló*i*n.

10. S *í*i wʊz rówʊ*i*n ʊn bɛl'*i*n
W ì wʊr m*ee*k*i*n ʊ nɛ'*i*z ən míʊn*i*n *i*ssɛl, ù sɛ'd, fʊr aa)t'
L ì wʊr w*ái*n*i*n ʊw*ee*, ù sɛ'z, fʊr *oo*)th
B ii wʊr mîʊn*i*n *i*ssɛl

S l*ái*k ʊ grɛ'*i*t soft kaav.
W wɑrld laak ʊ tɟàlt ʊz *i*z púʊrl*i*, ʊr ʊ l*i*tl wɛntɟ ʊz *i*z p*u*₀t æ't
L wɑ'rld l*ái*k ʊ badl*i* tɟ*ái*lt, ʊr ʊ l*i*tl wɛnsh *i*n ʊ frɛt'.
B l*ái*k ʊ l*i*t'l tɟ*ái*ld ʊt wʊr púʊrl*i*, ʊr ʊ l*i*t'l la¹s' ʊt wʊr mà⌊rd.

S
W ʊ)t' r*oo*d w*i* s*u*₀mʊt.
L
B

11. S ʊn dhat ap'nt ʊ)th wash'*i*n d*ee*, ʊz *ú*u ʊn ʊr
W ən aa dhat ap'nt, ə)t' wɑ¹*i*sh'*i*n d*ee*, ʊz ɜ'r ʊn ʊr
L ʊn dhat ap'nd ʊz ù ʊn ʊr
B ʊn aal dh*i*s ap'nd ʊz ɜ'r ʊn ʊr

S dó*u*‿t'ʊ‿r)*i*n)laa k*ú*um thr*ú*u t' bak' jə'rd, wɛn
W dɑ'u‿t'ʊ‿r)*i*n)laa kuum thruu t' bak' jɑ'rt, dɟ*u*₀st ʊz
L dó*u*‿tʊ‿r *i* l*oo* kuum thruu t' bak' fóùd, frʊ
B ladz w*ái*f k*ú*um thr*ú*u t' bak jà⌊rd frʊ

S dh*i*)d b*i*n *i*qg*i*n th)tlúʊz àt,
W dh*i*)d b*i*n ɛqg*i*n t' tlúʊz æ't fʊ ‿t' ‿d‿rɛ'*i*,
L *i*qg*i*n á¹at t' wìt tlúʊz tʊ ‿d‿r*ái*ì on(t' wɛsh'*i*n d*ee*,
B *i*q*i*n t' tló*i*z á¹at ʊt' wɛsh'*i*n d*ee*,

12. S wáil t' kɛt'l wʊz báilin fʊr tee, wʌ'n fáin
W waal t' kɛt'l wʊr bɛ'ilin fʊr t' bagin, wʌ'n greedli
L wáil [t'] kjɛt'l wʊr ʊ bóilin fʊr [t'] tee, ɔn a brìt
B wɔl t' kɛt'l wʊr bóilin fʊr t' tee, wɔn rɛ'it

S aftʊrnúun i) su$_{o}$mʊr, oonli ʊ wìik' t' nɛks
W faan su$_{o}$mʊr af‚tʊ‚rnuun, nɑ'ubʊt ʊ wik' sin t' nɛks
L fáin su$_{o}$mʊr af‚tʊ‚rnuun, nɛbʊt ʊ wik' sin t' neks⌊t
B fáin af'tʊ‚r‚núun i sumʊr táim, nɛbʊt ʊ wìk sin t' nɛks

S thʌ'rzdʊ.
W thɛrzdi.
L thʌ'rzdʊ.
B thɛrzdi.

13. S ʊn, dɔ̀nt jʊ noo? A nivʊr íʊrd nʊ múʊr ʊbaat it tʊ
W ɔn dù$_{o}$n joo noo? a nɛvʊr lɛ'rnt nɔ̀ múʊr tin dhis
L ʊn ìʊrn jʊ? ái nɛvʊr íʊrd ɔni múʊr ʊ dhiz
B ʊn du$_{o}$n jʊ noo? a nɛvʊr jɛrd núʊ múʊr ɔn it frʊ

S dhiz dee, ʊsh shúuʊr ʊz
W ʊbææd dhad bizniz fro dhad dee t' dhis', ɔsh shæ'uʊr ʊz
L biznʊz u$_{o}$p tʊ tʊdee, ʊsh shúʊr)z
B dhat dee tʊ dhis', ʊsh shúuʊr ʊz

S mái neem)z wɔt it iz, ʊn A dɔ̀nt kjéʊr ʊbaat it,
W maa neem)z :dʒak :shɛpʊrd, ɔn a dɔ̀nt want t' dæ'u
L mi neem)z :dʒʌ'n :wʌ't''n, ʊn ái dɔ̀nt want noodhʊr,
B mʌʌ neem)z :dʒak, ʊn A dúʊnt wa'nt tʊ dáu

S du$_{o}$n)jʊ noo?
W noodhʊr, su$_{o}$ nææ jo an it.
L dhíʊr- naa!
B noodhʊr, su$_{o}$ naa dhen'.

14. S ʊn naa A)m gu·in woom tʊ)mi)su$_{o}$pʊr. gu$_{o}$d
W a)m gu·in wù$_{o}$m)p' mi su$_{o}$pʊr nææ. gu$_{o}$d
L ʊn su ái)m gu·in úʊm tʊ mi su$_{o}$pʊr. gu$_{o}$d
B ʊn ná'ɑ A)l bi páikin ɔf' wɑ'm tʊ mi su$_{o}$pʊr. su$_{o}$ gu$_{o}$d

S nìt, ʊn dɔ̀nt bi sʊ rɛdi tʊ kroo ó⌊ʊr anibɔdi
W nit, ɔn du$_{o}$)nʊt bi sʊ shæ'rp ɔt' kroo·in óʊr ʊ tʃap
L nìt, ʊn du$_{o}$)nʊt bi sʊ kwik tʊ kroo óʊr ʊ bɔdi
B nìt, ʊn dúʊnt bi sʊ rɛdi ʊgíʊn ʊt takin fòk ɔf,

S ʊgjɛ'n, wɛn ái)z tʌʌkin ʊbaat óut.
W t' nɛks taam ʊz iz tʌʌkin ʊbææt ɑ'ut.
L ʊgjɛ'n, wɛn i tɔ̀ks ʊ wɔd i nooz ɔn.
B wɛn dhʊ)r tʌʌkin ʊbá'ɑt óut.

15. S ii wu$_o$d bi ʊ soft fúu ʊs tàkt baat ani reez'n. ʊn
W dhʊ)r wèk fæ'uz ʊs preets bææt SENS. ʊn
L id)z wèk fuu ʊs prèts bá¹ɐt reez'n. ʊn
B i)z nɐbʊt ʊ gɐrt fúul ʊt tAAks bá¹ɐt SENS. ʊn

S dhat)s AA ʊz A' EV tʊ SEE ʊbaat it. so gu$_o$d nìt.
W dhat)s AA ʊz à av fʊr t' si. gu$_o$d nìt.
L dhad)z mi last WA'rd. gu$_o$d nit.
B dhat)s AAl ʊt AA)v tʊ see ʊbá¹ɐt it. su$_o$ gu$_o$d nìt.

*Notes to Skelmersdale* cs., p. 332.

1. *lad* or (:tu$_o$m), etc.
4. *safe* or (shúuʊr) sure.
5. *that the youngest*, there is an assimilation of (th) to (s).—*queer* or (kwɐɐ[R), observe reverted (R).—*trust*, observe dentality.
6. *without much bother* or (widhaat ani bɔdhʊr).
8. *as I was saying*, or (ʊz A SE'd) as I said.—*thing* or (og') hog, pig.
9. *best* or (su$_o$ndʊ) Sunday.—*door* or (dAAr).
11. *daughter-in-law* or (dhEEr :djak's wáif) their Jack's wife.—*yard*, possibly with (R).
13. *to this day* or (sin) since.—*as sure as my name's what it is*, or (ʊsh shúuʊr ʊs tu$_o$p)s mu$_o$t'n) as sure as tup, i.e. ram, is mutton, or (ʊsh shúuʊr ʊz mái neem)z :djak :shEpʊrd) as sure as my name's Jack Shepherd.
14. *I am going home*, or (A)l gu woom) I'll go home.

*Notes to West Houghton* cs., p. 332.

0. *why*, at Westhoughton (waa), but at Bolton generally (wái), and so for other long I', Y' words.
1. *Tom*, (:djak) Jack, etc., represent the plainest peasant speech, (:tu$_o$mi, :djɔni) Tommy, Johnny, etc., used to children and youths; adults in 'quiet and homely' speech say (:tu$_o$mʊz, :wil·ʊm, :djeemz) Thomas, William, not (:wil·JʊM), James, etc.—*thee*. Children and young people *thou* each other generally, and adults *thou* children, parents *thou* their children of all ages, husbands and wives and older people who have been familiar from youth, *thou* each other; to *thou* a senior would be an offence. This is a general custom in the NM. group.—*laugh*, more rudely (ló¹uf).—*cares*, or (kjéɐRz). TH. says W. gave the latter and his sister the one in the text, and that he also wrote (kje'RZ) and found it the most difficult word to analyse.
2. *there's not so many folk dies*, or (dhʊr)z ʊ VERi tuth·ri fòk' ʊz dñz) there is a very two-three [small number of] folk as dies. *How could they die.*
4. *all the thing*, or (th)wool thiq) the whole thing.
5. *rusty*, between (ræsti) and (raa¹sti), it stands for the dialectal form *rousty*.
7. *as how it is hoo told*, observe (ù, uu) for hoo = she.
10. *he were making a noise and moaning himself.*
11. *yard*, also (JæRd).
13. *till this*, sometimes (tEn).—*so now you have-n it.*
14. *aught*, or (anithin) anything.
15. *say*, here (si) but (*see*) in par. 4.

*Notes to Leyland* cs., p. 332.

0. *doubts*, (á¹ɐ) appears to be the normal form for U' and *ou-* words, but in L. and Farington villages TH. observed several examples with the (ɐ) very faint, and in two or three heard (aa¹) only.
1. *you*, (dhi) is the ordinary form used as in Chapel, D 21.—*him*, Miss Ff gave (i), but both T and E believe (im) to be the normal form, and also TH. thinks the proper form of *both* is (búʊdh).
2. *die-n*, Miss Ff said (dáin) in error, probably both (diiz, diin) are used.—*laughed at*, Miss Ff wrote and said (laf'n)).—*what*, Miss Ff had (wat).—

*make*, TH. says (mak) most probably, W adds 'by elderly people.'

3. *howsoever*, Miss Ff had (á'asʊmnɛvʊr) corrected by T.—*the facts*, (th) assimilated to (f), inserted by TH.—*your*, (dhi) is the ordinary form.—*until I have done*, for (*ái*)n), W would write (*ái*)v). Can (*ai*)n) be an alteration of (*ái*)m), the (m) assimilated before (d)? 'I'm done' for 'I've done' is not unfrequently heard.

4. *certain* (sərt'n), generally.—*I heard*, unemphatic. *I* is oftener (A) than (*ái*); all "(*oo*) certainly," TH.; (AA) Miss Ff.—*first* (fəst), T.

5. *fathers*, (feedhʊrz) T., (fadherz) Miss Ff.—*voice*, (*váis*) Miss Ff.—*I'd* better (A)d).—*squeaking*, (skʊàkin) T and W, or (skriitin) W.—*speak*, (spɛ'ik) T, (speek) Miss Ff.

6. *if you ask-en her*, or (if JO aks ʊr), or (*iv* Jʊ nóʊt bʊd aks,t ʊ,r) T, if you nought but asked her.

7. *wrong*, (rəqg) Miss Ff, (rʊ̊qg, raqg) W.—*such*, TH. thinks that probably (sitɟ) is the normal sound, and says that he has heard (mitɟ) twice.

8. *as I*, or (ʊz A).—*beast* (bíʊst) is sg. Miss Ff said (bíʊs), which is plural.

9. *eyes* (iin) E, (*áiz*) Miss Ff.—*stretched laid upon the ground*, or (ʊt fʊ̊l IEqkth ont' grá'and) E.—*Sunday*, this is E's reading, (best sʊ̊ndʊ kúʊt) is also used, W; (sʊ̊ndi) Miss Ff.—*close by the door*, or (tlòs tʊ)t' dúʊr) E.

10. *whining* or (bɛl'in) bellowing, W.—*world* (wA'rld) E; (wàrld) Miss Ff.—*badly*, E's reading; (sik) Miss Ff.—*little wench in a fret*, (nóʊti WENsh) naughty wench is much more idiomatic, E.

11. *happend*, (ap'nd) E; (ap'nt) Miss Ff.—*her daughter-in-law*, or (ar :dɟimz wáif) E.—*came* (kʊ̊m) Miss Ff.; (kuum) E.—*clothes*, (tlúʊz) E; tlóiz) Miss Ff, which seems impossible.—*dry*, (,d,rii) Miss Ff; (,d,rái) E, who prefers the following rendering of the end of this paragraph, (*fro iqgin t'* tlúʊz á'at ʊ)th WESh'in *dee*), from hanging the clothes out on the washing day.

12. *boiling* (bóilin) E; báilin Miss Ff.—*tea*, also (bag'in, ,d,riqkin) used at farms W.—*bright*, (*o ʊ* bráit') Miss Ff; (ɔn ʊ brit') E.—*nobbut* = only, (nabʊt) E; (nɔbʊt) Miss Ff.—*thursday*, (thArzdi) Miss Ff; (thA'rzdʊ) E.

13. *hear-en*, by elderly people.—*I never, I don't*, (A) is more usual than (*ái*).—*sure*, (shúʊr) W.—*John want*, Miss Ff. adds (tu) to, which E excides.

14. *so I am*, (su (*ái*)m) E, (*so ái*)z), Miss Ff, which is n.La.—*home* (úʊm), E.—*do)not*, (darnd) E, where (r) seems an error if pronounced.—*quick*, (shərp, REdi) E.—*again*, (ʊgíʊn) E, but W confirms the text for Leyland. E would render par. 14 thus, (ʊn naa A)m gʊ̊'in úʊm tʊ mi sʊ̊pʊr. gʊ̊d nit, ʊn darnd [(r) distinct] bi sʊ REdi tʊ kroo óʊr ʊ bɔdi ʊgíʊn, WEN i tòks ʊ wɔd i nooz sʊ̊mʊt ʊbá'at).

15. *it is*, (it)s) Miss Ff. E would render the paragraph thus: (id)z nóʊt bʊd ʊ fuu ʊs prets bá'at SENS. bʊd A')l SE nóʊt nʊ múʊr. súʊ gʊ̊d nit).

Omitted Words.

As will be seen in the version Miss Ff omitted many words and phrases in the cs. TH. questioned her and obtained the following results.

1. *neighbour*, (nɛbʊr) "used by elderly people, W" or (niibʊr), which TH. thinks should be (nɛebʊr).—*who cares?* (woo kjeARz?), T says (úʊ).

2. *men*, mɛ'n.—*we know, don't we?* (wi noon, dʊ̊nʊ wi?).

3. *hold*, (óùd) Ff and W.—*noise*, (nóiz) Ff and W.—*friend* (frend).

4. *folks* (fòks).

5. *great boy* (greet bái).—*aye, I would* (ái, ái wʊ̊t). W corrects to (wʊ̊d).

6. *too* (tuu).—*only* (oonli).—*oh! won't she?* (oo! winʊt uu?).—*much*, (mitɟ) W.

7. *leastways* (liist weez).—*when I asked her* (WEN ái aks,t)ʊ,r).—*did she* (did uu).—*ought not* (óʊt'nt).—*point* (póint).—*what do you think?* (wɔd)'n JOO thiqk?).

8. *how* (á'E).—*when* (WEN').

9. *at full length* (ʊt fʊ̊l IEqth), "sometimes (lEnth)," but this TH. doubts.

10. *girl* (garl).

11. *yard* (JàRd).

12. *one* (wA'n).—*only*, see 6.—*come* (kʊ̊m).

13. *do you know?* (dʊ̊n Jʊ noo?)—*learned* (làrnd).—*Shepherd*, (:shEpʊrt) Miss Ff; (:shEpʊrd) T.—*either* (oodhʊr).

14. *this, that, t'other* (dhis, dhàt, tʊ̊dhʊr).

15. *goodbye* (gʊ̊d bái), used only for a long leavetaking.

Miss Ffarington also gave the following account of an Easter "lifting," as overheard by herself between 1827 and 1837 from an eyewitness, probably a servant or labourer, speaking in the Leyland dialect, and written down by her at the time.

wɛn :dʒeemz ɐn :tu₀mɐz ɐn :dʒak' ɐn
when James and Thomas and Jack and

:pii,tɐ,r ku₀m tɐ lift :ɛlin, ù pu₀nsht
Peter came to lift Ellen, she punched

ɐn ù skrìt' ɐn ù nipt ɐn ù
and she shricked and she nipped and she

skrat' ; ɐn ù kjikt :dʒeemz, ɐn ù
scratched; and she kicked James, and she

bèstɐd :pii,tɐ,r, ɐn ù lu₀gd :tu₀mɐz, ɐn
basted Peter, and she lugged Thomas, and

ù stampt u₀pɐ)th' flúɐr, ɐn ù skrìt
she stamped upon the floor, and she shricked

mɑ'rdhɐr !
murther!

Here *basted* means beat violently, *lugged* pulled by the hair. This specimen was said by W to be (greedli :mɔs), that is, exactly in the Leyland Moss dialect.

*Notes to Burnley* cs., p. 332.

1. *Jack, thee,* salutations and address as in the other places.—*him and thee,* the fracture (*ii*) is said to be not so marked as in Ch. D 25, (*i*) being nearer (i), perhaps (*i*'i) may be meant, most persons would hear simple (ii).—*but I care nought about it,* the (*t*) of *but* becoming a (r) as very usual.

3. *I'm boun to say,* meaning am going to say.

4. *through,* the sound has now been ascertained to be (*ú*u) not (*æ*'u). In many words the lips are rather pouted or projected for the (u) in this fracture, thus (*ú*u⁵), but not so much as at Oldham, see par. 6, tuu, hoo (*tú*u⁵, *ú*u⁵) etc.

8. *beggar* or *hound—fellow.*

9. *coat, close, lane,* the last taken as *lone*; these (*ói*) forms will be found again in D 24.

10. *lass that were marred,* i.e. a spoiled child.

11. *and her lad's wife,* or (ɐn dhéɐr :dʒim wáif) and their Jim's wife, the 's omitted.

13. *as my name's Jack,* or (ɐz ɑɑ)m íɐr) as I'm here.

14. *piking off,* stealing off, going away quietly.—*taking folk off,* mocking people, or in the sg. (takin ɐ tʒap ɔf, wɛn *i*)z tɑɑkin ɐbá'at *óut*) taking a chap off when he's talking about anything.

## Two Interlinear dt.

illustrating Var. iv. Blackburn, both pal. in 1879 by TH. from dictation.

B Blackburn, from a moulder, a native, b. 1850.
H Hoddlesden (4 se. Blackburn, 2 ese. Over Darwen station), from a collier, a native, b. 1858.

1. B sd, ɑ see, ladz, jo sii naa' ɑ)m rɛ'it ɐbaa't dhat lit'l
H súɐ, ɑ see, ladz, jɐ sì ná'ə dhɐt ɑ)m rìt ɐbá'ət dhat lit'l

B las ku₀min frɐm)s skuu jɔnd.
H las ku₀min frɐ)t' skúu jɔnd.

2. B ù)z gu)in daa'n th) rúɐd dhíɐr thruu)t' rɛd gjeet ɔn)t' lɛft
H ù)z gu)in dá'ən)t' rúɐd dhíɐr thruu)t' rɛd gjeet ɔn)t' lift

B and sáid.
H ant sâɐd ɐ)t' rú-ɐd.

3. B sii)ɹʊ, th)tɹáilt)s gɔn [gʌ`n] s‸tɹɛ'it u₀p tʊ)t` dúʊr ʊ)t`
H sii)ɹʊ, th)tɹâ⌊ɜld)z gúʊn s‸tɹɛ'it u₀p` tʊ)t` dúʊr ʊ)t`

B ru₀q à'ɜs.
H raq á'ɜs.

4. B wíʊr ù)l ap'n fáind dhat ‸dɹu₀qk'n dɛf` fɜlʊ ʊt)s páinin
H wíʊr ù)l ap'n fâ⌊ɜnd dhat ‸dɹu₀qk'n díʊf wiz'nd fɛlʊ

B ʊwee; iz neem)z :tɔm.
H ʊz dhi koon :tu₀m.

5. B wi oo noo im vɛri wiil.
H wi oo noon im varʊ wiil.

6. B weent th)óud tɹap suun tɛ'itɹt ʊr nɔt tʊ du it ʊgíʊn,
H wɜrnt dh)óud tɹap suun tɛ'itɹ ʊr nɔt tʊ du it ʊgíʊn,

B púʊr thiq!
H púʊr thiq!

7. B sii)ɹʊ! is'nt-it tráu?
H sii)ɹʊ! iz'nt it ‸tɹáù wɔd ʌ bin tɛlin ɹʊ?

## Var. vi. Old Colne Valley.

Colne (:kóum) (6 nne.Burnley) has now practically the same speech as Burnley, but in 1840 it was different. The district considered extends through Colne from Pendle Hill (:pɛn'l :il) to Boulsworth Hill. My informant, Mr. Hartley Stuttard, was in 1878 national schoolmaster at Plympton, Dv. (4 e.Plymouth). He was a native of Pendle Hill, and states that when a boy he had "special opportunities of hearing the hand-loom weavers who lived in the small farm cottages in the hill-side in what was known in old times as Pendle and Trawden (2 se.Colne) Forests. During the 20 years he had been away the dialect had completely changed and become a bastard Yo., from the mechanics who were engaged fitting the mill machinery and from the 'hands' who cross and recross the Pennine chain."

The following table shews the pronunciation of a few words in 1840 when Mr. Stuttard was a child, and in 1855 when he left the place. He says that in 1877, when he revisited the place, he was able to speak the dialect of 1855, which his brother who had remained there all the time hardly recognised, and also found many words extinct which he remembered in use. I am indebted to Mr. John Shelly of Plymouth (see D 11, p. 162) for obtaining this interesting information from Mr. Stuttard.

## Colne Valley Pronunciation.

| in 1840. | in 1855. | rec. spelling. |
|---|---|---|
| fɔt | fɔtɟ | fetch |
| thɔkht | thóut | thought |
| nikjht | niit | night |
| rɛkjht | rɛ'it | right |
| rɔkht | rɛ'ikt | reached |
| bɔkht | bóut | bought |
| sikjh | sái | sigh |
| sɔkht | sóut | sought |
| sɔkh | suᵢkh | sough |
| shuukh | shuᵢf | shoe |
| tróukh | drɔkh | trough |
| róukh | rɔkh | rough |
| tóukh | tɔkh | tough |

## Colne Valley dt. 1840 pron.

Mr. Stuttard wrote the following dt., in his own orthography, to represent the 1840 pron., and gave such ample explanations, that I think my interpretation gives a very fair representation of the sounds he meant to convey.

1. sú$_o$ʊ ʌ sɛ tɟaps ɟo sì naa'ɜ ʊt ʌ)m rɛ'ikjht ʊbá'ɜt dhat lit'l la's ʊt wʊr kɜmin frʊ)t` skúil ɟɔndhʊr.
2. uu)z bá'ɜn dá'ɜn t` lóin dhíʊr thruu t` red ɟeet ʊ)t` lɛft and sɛ'id ʊ)t` rúʊd.
3. síuʊr ʊnɔkh t` tɟáild)z gúʊn rɛ'ikht u$_o$p tʊ t` dɜr ʊ)t` raq á'ɜs.
4. wíʊr uu)l apʊn fáind dhat dhru$_o$khʊn díʊf wíz'nd fɛli kauld :tu$_o$mʊs.
5. ʌʌl ɔn u$_o$s noon im wiil ʊnɔkh.
6. wíʊnt dh)óud tɟap súin laarn ʊr tʊ núʊn duu)t ʊgíʊn, púʊr thiq!
7. sii ɟo! did'nt ʌ tɛl súʊ?

### *Notes to Colne Valley* dt.

1. *so*, the vowel here written (u$_o$) is said to be "a cross" between (uu) and (*u*).—*say*, with *e* in *leg*, which in these regions I interpret as (ɛ).—*mates*, recently come into use; chaps, lads, lasses, folk, were common.—*you*, (*ɟoo*) plural only, (ɟaa) was equally common in 1840, but was generally used for the singular. There was the customary use of *thou* and *you*.—*see*, (si) "shorter than *ee* but longer than *i* in *pin*."—*now*, "long *a* as in *land*" followed by (ɜ).—*right*, "*r* as in Scotch."—*from the school*. Mr. Stuttard writes the equivalent of (frʊt' t' skúuil), saying "*the* becomes (t') suspended from the last word, but there is also added a very slightly-sounded and almost indistinguishable (t) to the next word," see p. 317. As (t') represents that the position of the tongue for (t) is undisturbed till the next word begins, I have not written the (t) twice over.—*yonder*, the (dhʊr) was possibly Mr. Stuttard's interpretation of dental (ˌdʊˌr).

2. *she)s*, (uu) "like the *oo* in *fool*, *h* is used when emphatic." In the emphatic form (*iz*), similarly (ʌ am, ʌ wɜr, ʌ ɛv bin, ʌ ɛd bin, ʌ sɔl bi, ʌ sɔl ʊv bin).—*there*, "*the-ur* would rhyme with *see-ur* not *see-er*," this distinction I do not understand.—*through the red*, "with a slight aspirate before *r*," which I do not hear of elsewhere, possibly (ˌrhrɛd).—*gate*, (ɟeet) was the common form.—*on the*, (ʊ)t') with the *n* omitted and the (t') suspended.—*hand*, the aspirate generally omitted

and rarely inserted.—*side*, "a very pure and fine long *i*, obtained by drawing back the corners of the *lip*, not as in Yo., where the word becomes *si-id*." I have endeavoured to represent this, probably unsuccessfully, by the form (E'i), but elsewhere in La. it is (*ái*) in this word.—*road*, with a slight sound of *w* after *r*, possibly (r[wúvd). It may be merely that the (u) begins before the (r) ceases.

3. *sure*, (s) very sibilant, not (sh).—*enough*, "like *ou* in *tough*, which is pronounced *toch* like *loch*."—*right* or *straight* (sthrE'it).—*up*, "Lancashire *u*."—*door*, "rhyming with *cur*."—*wrong*, "w suppressed," but he does not hint at (raqg) or (ru̯qg).

4. *chance*, (apvn) happen is given as the common word, but (tjons, ɔmvr, pon), chance, hammer, pan, as the pron. "on the skirts of the district; on the other hand, within the district *tongs*, *long*, *prong*, are called" (taqz, laq, praq).—*find*, "like *fined*, p.t. *fand*, pp. *fun*" (fáind, fand, fu̯n).—*drunken*, with (kh) as in L., "*drunk* is not used, but *I have drunken*, *they are drunken*."—*wizzened*, (sr-) not (shr-) used, *shrimps* = (srimps).—*called*, "*name* is a new word in the district, pronounced" (neem).

5. *him*, the (*i*) never omitted (A tɛld im) sg., (A tɛld vm) pl.—*well enough* or *very well* (vari wiil).

6. *won't*, (winvt) is as common as (wívnt).—*teach* is (tE'itj), but (laarn) is commoner.—*her*, "*r* not trilled." I write (*r*) final as explained on p. 294, l. 1, but, as there shewn, believe the sound is at most (ɾ) or some form of (ɪ̯).—*not to do it* is rendered *to none do it*.

7 *look* is (luuk) with long (uu).—*isn't it true* (inut it thríu ?).

## Var. i. Ormskirk cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. for

O Ormskirk (7 se.Southport). In 1888 TH. found (*ú*u) to be normal.

Ex. (it A'lvz du̯z júuz weetin v dhat ˌtˌreen), it always does use waiting of [to wait for] that train.

S Skelmersdale (7 nnw.St. Helens), see also the Interlinear cs. p. 332.

Ex. (dha mA'nt sit sv níur t' WAA vr dha)l djóù dhi JED vgjen t' WAA wi páu)in vt dhæt tu̯f [tof'] bíif), thou mustn't sit so near the wall or thou'lt jolt thy head against the wall with pulling at that tough beef.

P Prescot (4 wsw.St. Helens). (tr dr) not (ˌtˌr ˌdˌr) probably through influence of Liverpool.

Ex. (ì SEZ dha)r gu)in t' plee su̯m klag soolz tvmorv), he says thou-art going to play some clogsoles [do work] to-morrow.—(*oo o*! kA'rn gjer vm strE'it vt AA), o-oh! can't [(r) certain to TH.] get them straight at all.—(so)vn JO tu), so have-n you too.

N Newton (4 e.St. Helens), the dialect was reported by a railway porter (from St. H.) to have altered considerably since he came there 13 or 14 years before 1874.

W Warrington, generally (ˌtˌr), but occasionally (tr). It was stated that the se. and ne. suburb varied in speech, thus se. (dáùn dog' boon bá'il), ne. (taa'nz iind daa'n dag' búvn bE'il) town's end down dog bone boil, confirmed in 1888.

Ex. (it WA'ks on it JEED, vn it WA'ks on it teel, vn AA), it walks on its head, and it walks on its tail, and all.—(kam on, dha)l síi'), come along, thou'lt see.—(*ii* NEER wil bíi, vz lu̯qg vz dhaa)l kiip im fvr thartíiin shilin v wik), he never will be, as long as thou'lt keep him for thirteen shillings a week.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 19 O *teel*. A: 43 P onz [hands]. 55 O th)ES')*ool* [the ash hole]. A: *or* O: 60 S lu̯qg. 61 S sˌtˌru̯qg. 64 W ru̯q. A'- 67 N gúu, S gúv. 69 S na'u. 72 OP úv. 74 OS túu. 76 SP túvd. 81 S *loon*. 84 O múvr. 87 O tlúvz klúvz. A': 107 W lòf. 115 O wòm, ON wa'm, S woom, W wA'm. 118 S búvn. 122 S noon. 124 OSP *stoon*. 137 P *noodhvr*.

Æ'- — O rɛ'itʃ [to reach]. 190 O kjɛ'i. Æ': 209 O níər, nɛvər. 213 P *ee*dhər. 214 P *ee*dhər. 224 S ɛniwɜ˩r. 227 S wíit.
E- 232 S brɛ'ik. 233 O spɛ'ik. 235 S wɛ'iv. 243 P pl*ee*. — OPW ɛ'it [to eat]. 251 OP mɛ'it. E: 261 P *see*. 262 W w*ee*. — P t*u*₀p*u*₀ns siksp*u*₀ns [twopence sixpence, last (*u*₀) distinct]. E'- 290 S *íi*. 292 P m*íi*. E': 305 S *íi*. 306 S ɛ'it. 312 P íər.
EA- 320 O kjɜr'. EA: 324 O ɛ'it. 325 O wàk. 326 O ɜ'*u*d, P ó*u*d. 334 O *ee*pn*i* [halfpenny]. 342 S ə'˩rm. 343 S wə'˩rm. EA'- 347 SP jɛd. EA': 350 S díəd. — O bíəm [a beam]. 360 OS tíəm. 366 S grɛ'it. — S dɜ'*u* [dew].
EI- 372 P aa[1] [inclining to (ææ)]. EO: 395 P j*u*₀qg. 419 P jòr [your]. EO'- 410 W *úu*. 411 P thr*íi*. — S ˌtˌr*íi* [tree]. — O sh*úu*t [to shoot]. EO': 423 S th*íi*. 425 W líit. 426 SP fɛ'it'. 428 S s*íi*. 434 O bjɛt. 435 P jò.
I- 442 S iv*i*n. 444 S stiil. 446 P n*aa*n [inclining to (naan)]. I: 458 O nɛ'it n*úi*t, OS nit. 459 S rit'. 461 W lɛt [(ɛv jʊ lɛt'n ɔn *i*m, *íi*)l st*i*k t*úu* jʊ aa n*íi*t) if you light on = meet with him he'll stick to you all night, that is, till you go home]. I'- — P r*aa*d [to ride]. 492 P s*aa*d [inclining to (saad)]. 494 OW [between] t*aa*m taam. — O w*aa*p [to wipe]. — P thɜrt*i*. I': 500 O l*à*˩ik, P l*aa*k. 502 P f*aa*v. 508 P m*ái*l [probably refined for (m*aa*l)]. 509 O w*aa*l. 510 OP m*aa*n.
O- 522 SW ɔp'n. O: 550 S wʌ'rd. O'- 558 P l*úu*k. 559 P m*u*₀dhər. 560 SPW sk*úu*. 564 P s*úu*n. 567 P t't*ù*₀dhər. O': 569 P b*úu*k. 580 S t*u*₀f. 584 S st*úu*. 586 P d*úu*[5]. 595 S f*úu*t.
U- 603 O kɜm, W k*u*₀min. 606 W d*úu*ər. 607 W b*u*₀tʊˌr. U: 615 OS paa[1]nd. 632 W *u*₀p U'- 640 S kjaa [pl. (kjaaz)]. 643 O naa[1] nææ. 650 OSP ʊbaa[1]t. U': 658 OP daa n, S daan, N daa[1]n d*áu*n [a youth said colliers and country people at N. say (daa[1]n), and so for the U' words, but village people say (d*áu*n); to TH. in 1874 the boys and youths of the village seemed generally to use (ɜ'*u*) or a sound between that and (áu), but that (aa[1] a[1]) cropped up occasionally and unconsciously, and was the normal sound]. 659 O tæænz. 663 O æ's [as in (wɛsh)æ's, *eel*)æ's) washhouse, alehouse], N áus, W ɜ'*u*s. 667 O æ't.
Y- 682 S l*ái*t [a few, a small quantity of]. Y: 691 OP m*aa*nd. 701 O f*u*₀st. Y': 709 O fɛ'iər.

II. English.

O. — P fag [fog]. — SP dag [dog]. — SP tlag [clog]. 766 S m*ái*ˌdʊˌrˌd. — O shaa[1]t [to shout]. U. 805 S kr*u*₀dz.

III. Romance.

A·· 830 O thr*ee*n [rather than (ˌtˌr*ee*n)], W tr*ee*n ˌtˌr*ee*n. 839 P bʌʌ [ball]. 851 S ant [(*ee*nt) old]. E·· 867 SP t*ee*. — S :níubrɛf fɜ˩r [Newborough fair, 2½ n. S]. 890 P bíəs [cows, the sg. is (kjaa[1])]. I·· *and* Y·· — P s*ai*r [sirrah]. — P raa[1]nd [round]. — P m*u*₀nʊ [money]. 947 P b*ái*l. 948 S ba'u, P bó*u*. — W kraan [a crown]. U·· 963 W k*w*aat. 965 P *ái*l.

## Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan cwl.

B Bolton (:bó*u*t'n), from the wl. in io. furnished by Mr. Charles Rothwell, surgeon; conjecturally pal. by AJE. with the help of Bh and W below. The (*æ*'u, *ii*), if they occur, have been confounded with (uu, ii).

Bh Bolton from wn. by TH.

W Wigan (:w*i*g*i*n), from wn. by TH. (n) frequent and of medial length, but not so specially marked.

Ex. (ʌ)shʊd)ʊ bin tii·t*oo*·tʊl naa[1], ʊv *it* ad)nʊ bin fʊr :an, *úu*)z sʊ shʌ'rt), I should have been teetotal now, if it hadn't been for Ann, she's so short [hasty-tempered]—(wi)n gjɛt'n ʊ vɛri g*u*₀d stʌnt), we have-n gotten a very good start.—(*it* fʌvərz s*u*₀mər wɛl*i*), it favours [= resembles] summer well-nigh.

Wh Westhoughton (4 wsw. Bolton), wn. by TH., see also the interlinear cs. p. 332.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 B *teek*, tak. 5 B *meek*, mak. 16 B *doon*. — Wh ʊgj*eet* [agate, going on]. 20 B *loom* [rare]. 21 BW *neem*. 23 B *soom*. 24 B sh*oom*. 32 B bath [same as noun]. 33 B *reedhʊr*. 36 B th*oo*. A: 39 B kuum. 40 BWh kɔm. 41 B thɛqk. 43 B ɔnt, Wh ɔnt ɔnd. 44 B lɔnd lɔnt. 47 B wan,dʊ,r. 50 Bh t*u*ₒqz. — Wh kʌ[rnt [cannot]. 51 B mɔn, fɛli. 54 B Wh want. 55 B th)ɛs. 56 B wɛsh. A: *or* O: 60 B l*u*ₒqg. 61 B ʊm*u*ₒqg ʊm*u*ₒqk. 62 B s,t,r*u*ₒqg. 63 BBh thr*u*ₒqg. 64 B r*u*ₒqg. 65 B s*u*ₒqg.

A'- 67 Bh gu, B gúʊ. 69 BW nɑ'u. 76 B túʊd. 83 B míʊn. 84 B múʊr. 86 B *oots*. 87 B klúʊz. 89 B búʊth. 95 B thr*oo*. 99 B thr*u*ₒt. A'- 102 B aks. 104 B *rood*. 106 BW br*ood*. 108 B dɑ'*u*f. 111 BWh ɑ'ut. 113 B w*u*ₒl. 115 B w*u*ₒm, W wɑ'm woom. 122 B *noon*. 123 B nɑut, Wh naqk [obs. expression for (nathiqk) nothing, with its correlative (aqk) anything]. 124 Wh st*oon*. 128 B dhuuz. 135 Wh tlʌ'th. 136 B *oodhʊr*.

Æ- BBh *feedhʊr*. 140 B *eel*. 141 B *neel*. 142 B sn*eel*. 144 B ʊgɛn. 150 B líʊst. 152 B wa,tʊ,r. 153 B sa,tʊ,rdi. Æ: 155 B thɛtj. 160 B hɛg. 161 BBh d*ee*. 172 B graas. 174 ɛsh. 175 B faast. 179 wɔr is)t? [what is it?]. Æ'- 182 B sɛ'i, Wh s*ee*. 183 B tɛ'itj. 187 líʊv. 190 B kɛ'i. 192 B míʊn. 194 B ɔni. 195 B mɔni. 202 B jɛt. Æ': 215 B tóʊt. 216 BWh díʊl. — Wh mɛ'il [a meal]. 223 B dhíʊr ["a rarer form, used when a job is completed satisfactorily," (dhɛ'ijʊr, ·dhat)'l duu), there, that will do, (dhʊr) unaccented]. 224 BBh wíʊr. 225 W flɛ'ish. 226 B múʊst, W múist. 227 Bh wɛt.

E- 231 Bh tth [often, ?(,tth)]. 232 B brɛ'ik. 233 BWhW spɛ'ik. 234 B nɛ'id. 235 B wɛ'iv. 236 B *feeve*ʊr. 245 Wh mɛ'il. 247 B w*een*. — Wh ɛ'it [eat]. 251 B mɛ'it. E: — W ɛ'iv [heave, raise]. 261 B s*ee*. 262 B w*ee*. 266 Wh wiil. 269 W mi*s*ɛ·l [myself]. 270 Wh i. bali*z*, ii. bali. E'- 301 B jɛr)im [hear him]. E': 305 B hɛ'i, Wh ii. 306 BWh ɛ'it. 312 Bh íɛr.

EA- 317 B flii. 320 B kɛɛr, Bh kjɛɛr. EA: 322 B lɑ'uf. 323 B fɑ'ut. 324 Bh ɛ'itpʊns [eightpence], Wh ɛ'it. 326 BWh ɑ'ud. 327 Wh bɑ'ud. 328 BBh kɑ'ud. 329 B fɑ'ud. 330 BBh ɑ'ud. 331 B sɑ'ud. 332 BW tɑ'ud. 333 B kaaf. 334 B aav, Bh *ee*pni [halfpenny]. 335 BW aa, *oo*. 336 BW faa f*oo*. 337 BW waa w*oo*. 338 WhBhW kaa. 340 B jɛrd. 342 B arm [(ar) in 340, 342, 343 is conjectural, the sound is written *er* and thus described "a slightly extra stress on the vowel, a prolongation of sound as though the voice had to reach the saddle *e* from the horse-block *a*, a touch with one boot-toe and you are on, viz. *ₐerm*, yet they are one sound." I get (ar) at Blackburn]. 343 B warm. 345 B daar dɛɛr. EA'- 347 BWh jɛd [the informant at Wh noticed that there was a habit of prefixing (j) to words beginning with a vowel in singing]. EA': 350 B díʊd. 353 B brɛd br*eed*. 354 B shíʊf. 355 B díʊf. 356 B líʊf. 357 B dho dhó*u*f. 359 B niibʊr. 360 BW tíʊm. 361 BWh bíʊn. 366 BW grɛ'it. 368 B díʊth. 371 B str*oo*. EI- 372 B aa, Wh ái. EI: 378 B w*eek*. EO: 393 B bijɔnt. — dæ'rk [dark]. 396 Bh waark. 399 B briit. — Wh br*u*ₒn [burn]. 403 Bh fɑ'r. 405 B aarth. 407 B faardhin. EO'- 410 B uu, Bh ú*u*[5], W ù. 411 Bh thrii. 413 B div'l. 414 B flii. 417 B tjuu. EO': 423 B thii. 424 B ruuf. 425 B liit. 426 B fɛ'it. 434 B bɪɛt. 435 B *joo*. EY- 438 B dii.

I- 440 BBh wik. — Bh gjiv [give]. 444 B stiil. 446 B nɔ'in. 449 Wh gjɛt'n [gotten]. I: 452 B a. 458 BBh niit, BhW nìt níit. 459 B riit. 462 B siit. 465 B sitj. 468 B tjildʊr. 473 B blint. 475 B th)wint. 487 B jɛs,tʊ,rdi. I'- 492 B sá'id, Bh *sáid*, W saad. 493 B drɛ'iv. 494 B taam, W taam. 496 B ɛ'iʊrn. I': 500 B laak, W laak [inclining to (*laak*)]. 502 BW *faav*. 503 Wh laaf. 504 B naaf, Bh naaf. 505 B wʌ'if waaf, W waaf w*áif*. 508 B maal. 509 B waal. 511 B wɔ'in. 515 B wɔ'iz.

O- — Wh œ'un [oven]. 522 B ɔp'n. 524 B wɔrlt. O: — Wh fag [fog]. 526 B kɑ'*u*f. 527 BWh bɑ'*u*t. 528 BWh W tha*u*t. 529 BWh bra*u*t. 531 B dɑ*u*,tʊ,r. 536 B gɑ'*u*d. — W tɑ'*u* [toll]. 539 B [not used, always basin, jug, or pot]. 542 B bɑ'*u*t. 547 B búʊrt. — Wh ʌ's [horse]. O'- 555 B shuuf. 564 W sœ'un, B suun sanner [in sense of lief, liefer]. 566 B *oodhʊr*. — gríù)in [growing]. O': 569 Bh bœ'uk. 571 Bh g*u*ₒd b*ui*

[good bye]. 579 B ʊnuuf, Bh ʊnæ'uf, W ʊnu̯f. 580 B tɑ'uf. 581 B sɑ'ut. 584 B stuu. 586 Bh dɑarnt [do not, distinct (r)]. 587 dù̯n. 590 B flúuʊr, W flæ'uʊr. 593 B [(mu̯n) used, occ. (mu̯t), (mɛt) might, is common].

U- 599 B ʊbu̯v. 600 B lu̯v. 605 B su̯n. 607 B bu̯tʊr. U: 608 B u̯gli. 612 B su̯m. 613 B dru̯qk. 615 Bh pæænd paa'nd. 617 B sæænd. 618 B wɑ'und. 621 B wu̯n. 622 B u̯ndʊr. 625 B tu̯q. 626 B u̯qgʊr. 629 B su̯n. 630 B wu̯n. 632 B u̯p. 633 B ku̯p. 634 B thruu. 639 B du̯st. U'- 640 B kææ. 641 B hææ, Bh ææ. 642 B dhææ. 643 BBh nææ. 645 B du̯v. — Wh kjæær [cower, (kjæær dhi dææn) sit thee down]. 648 B ææ'ʊr. 649 B thææzʊnd. 650 Wh ʊbææt. 651 W baa't. U': 657 B trɑæn. 658 BhB dææn. 659 B tææn. 661 B shææʊr. 662 B u̯s. 663 BWhBh ææs. 665 B mææs. 666 B u̯zbʊnd. 667 B ææt, WhBh æ't, Bh æ'ʊt, W aa't. 668 B prææd. 671 B mææth. 672 B sææth.

Y- 673 B mitɪ, Bh mu̯tɪ. 677 B drɛ'i. Y: 686 B bɛ'i. 691 B maand. 699 B riit. — Wh spɑ[ʀ [to speer, inquire]. Y'- — Wh kjâit [a kite]. Y': 709 B fɛ'iʊr.

II. English.

A. — W mɛrkit [market]. O. 761 B lúʊd. 767 Bh nɛ'iz. — Wh kjɛ'it [quoit]. U. 796 Wh blæ'u [old people say (blíù)]. — Wh tɪæ'un [a tune]. — W ɔri [hurry]. — ɹuur [hair, old *hure* head covering, uncertain origin]. 808 B par it dææn [put it down], par)im [kick him].

III. Romance.

A·· — W pl*ee*n [plain]. 830 W ˌt*ee*n. — Wh tɪíʊn [chain]. 850 B d*oo*ns. E·· 867 BWh t*ee*. 874 B rɛ'ininz [almost always in pl.]. 890 Wh bíʊs [pl. for cows]. 893 B flææʊr. I·· *and* Y·· 898 W n*á*is. 901 Bh f*á*in, Wh faan. O·· 924 tɪ*á*is, tɪɛ'*is*. 925 Wh vɛ'*is*. 932 B ʊmæænt. 934 B bæænt*i*. 939 B kluus. 947 BWhW bɛ'ɪl. 948 B bɑ'ulz [for the game only, a ball is (bɑɑ)]. — Wh rɑ'*u* [a roll or pad], rɑ'*u*lar [a roller]. 955 B dææt. U·· 963 Wh k*w*aat. 965 BW ɛ'il, B [also] *á*il. 968 B *á*istʊr. 971 Wh flæ'ut' [old people say (flíut')].

## Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. in

C Chorley (10 ne.Bolton).

L Leyland (:l*ee*lʊn) village. The dialect of L. Moss is said to be much 'broader,' see also the third interlinear cs., p. 332.

F Farrington (2 n.Leyland). Differences said to exist between L and F—

1. (aled*i* kúʊt, su̯ndʊ kúʊt), both at F, second only at L.
2. (*ee*lstúʊ·nin) hailstoning F, (*ee*lin) L.
3. (ɑ)m nɔt ʊz wɔs ʊz dhii) F, I am not as worse (ill) as thou, (badl*i*) L.
4. (ɑ)v wɛlt it) F, (wild) L, I have wheeled it.
5. (ʊgíʊn) F, (agjɛ'n) L, again.
6. (rɛ'it) F, (rit) L, right.

W Higher Walton (2 se.Preston).

Ex. *man* (ʊt :darʊn dhʊr)z n*oo*dhʊr mɛ'n nʊr ɑ's'ʊz), at Darwen there's neither men nor horses. *wife* (nɑ'*u*, bʊr dhʊr)s fɛlʊz ʊn *tits*), no, but there's fellows and tits, a very common word for small horses, properly small birds.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A: 54 L want. 55 W as. A'- 74 C t*oo*thr*i* [two or three, a few]. 76 L túʊd. 81 F lúʊn. 84 L múʊr. 85 súʊr. A': 101 L ò̀k'. 104 L rúʊd. 106 C bro*o*dʊr [broader], L br*oo*d. 110 L nó*u*t'. 115 F úʊm. 118 L búʊn. 130 L búʊt. 131 L gúʊt.

Æ- — L stərz [stairs]. Æ: 177 C ʊdha·tnu$_o$s [in that way]. Æ'- 186 F brêid brɛ'id. 192 F míʊn. 193 C tliin, ? tlíʊn. 198 C lìit. 200 F wíʊt. Æ': 211 L *gree*. 216 W díʊl.

E- 233 CL spɛ'ik. 235 C wɛ'ivər [weaver]. — LF ɛ'it. 251 CF mɛ'it. — F ma'uər [mere, lake]. E: 261 C sɛ'. 265 F s,t,rɛ'it.

EA: 328 L kóud. 336 L fò. EA'- 349 L fíu. EA': 350 L déʊd. — W kríum [cream]. — W stíʊm [steam]. 365 W nàr [nearer]. 366 L grɛ'it grɛt. 368 L díʊth. — L da'u [dew, this should give (fa'u) for 349]. EI- 372 C aa' âa'ʊ. EO: 392 C jɔnd, du$_o$s)tʊ liv jɔnd rood ɔn [dost thou live along that road ?]. 394 CL jɔnd. 399 F brit. EO': 426 C fɛ'it.

I- 440 C wik. 449 F gʊit [got], L gjɛt'n [gotten]. I: 458 L nit. 459 L rit. 466 C tjáilt. I'- 494 F táim.

O- — C brɔk'n [broken]. — L uun [oven]. O: 527 L bóut. 528 C thɑ'ut, L thóut. 531 F dóu$_o$t'ʊ,r. 544 LF dhʊn [for until (ù livd wi u$_o$z dhʊn ù wɛnt tʊ :prɛst'n), she lived with us till she went to Preston]. — W tʊmA'rn [to-morrow]. O'- 555 L shuun [shoes]. 558 L lúukìn. 559 L mu$_o$dhər. 560 L skúu. 564 L suun. O': 569 L bùk. 587 L du$_o$n. 590 C flúʊər.

U- 599 F ʊbuun. 606 C da'r. U: 636 C for' [(táu máil fər' nər wíʊr ·AA lìv) two miles further than where I live]. U'- 650 C ʊbâ'ʊt. U': 655 C fâ'ʊ [ugly]. 657 C braa'n. 658 CF daa'n. 663 L â'ʊs. 667 L â'at.

Y- 673 L mitj. 681 F bíznʊz. 682 C láit' [few]. Y: 700 L wɔs'. Y': 709 C fáiʊr [(A kɔrn bit t' fáiʊr) I can't beat, i.e. light, the fire, (r) "quite prominent" in (kɔrn)], L fɛ'iʊr.

II. English.

A. — C stʊrt [to start]. O. 761 L lúʊd. — F dʊgz [dogs]. U. 798 C kwɛɛr. — CL ɔri [hurry].

III. Romance.

A·· — C t,reel [trail]. E·· 885 L varʊ. O·· — C sáil [soil]. — C raa'nd [round]. — F súʊrt [sort]. 940 L kúʊt. 947 C báil, bó,il. — C ta'rn [turn].

## Var. iv. Blackburn cwl.

B Blackburn (:blɛgbʊrn), wn. by TH. in 1878-9, see also dt., p. 339.

Ex. (*it*)s sitj ʊ lit'l too, *iz* dhat ʊ) :samz), it's such a little taw, is that of Sam's.—(aa, bʊt jʊ ka'rnt), aye, but you can't.—(*ii* kúum à't wi ɛ'it'ín sandwitjʊz, wan *in iz* and), he came out with eighteen sandwiches, one in his hand.—(i)z smak'·in *iz* líps at ʊm naa', làd), he's smacking his lips at them now, lad.

Bf. Blackburn, according to Fielding, given in io.

Hs. Haslingden (7 se.Blackburn), wn. by TH.

Ex. (:djaan ʊ :tu$_o$mz ʊ :dìks ʊ t' :túʊd :óil), John of Thomas's of Richard's of the Toad Hole farm.—(gu t' rúʊd ʊt' kroo)z flɑ'ukh'n), go the road that the crow has flown.

Hd. Hoddlesden (4 sse.Blackburn), see also dt., p. 339.

S Samlesbury (:samzbʊri) (6 w-by-n.Blackburn), complete wl. in io. by Wm. Harrison, Esq., F.S.A., native, which I have rendered into pal. with the help of B. and Hd., omitting medial lengths and the use of (*ii* *œ*'u) which will be replaced by (ii, uu), and also not marking any dental (,t,r ,d,r), for these points were of course not indicated.

W Whalley (3 ssw.Clitheroe). A few variants for this place furnished by S.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 S *beek*. 4 B *teek*, S tɛk. 5 S mɛk. 6 S mɛd. 7 S *seek*. 8 S ɛv. 9 S bi*jeev*. 10 S ag, *heeg* *héeʊg*. 11 S maa. 12 S *séeʊg*. 13 S *néeʊg*

[common]. 14 S drAA. 17 S lAA. 19 S *teel*. 20 S *leem*. 21 S *neem*. 22 S *teem*. 23 S *seem*. 24 S *sheem*. 25 S *meen*. 26 S [(*wiz*'n, gɛd lɛs ʊn lɛs) used]. 27 S *neev* [(wastrəl, póus) wastrel, pouse, used]. 28 S ɛ'ʊr. 31 S lat. 32 S bath [to foment]. 33 S *reedhʊr* [usually (liifʊr)]. 34 S la¹st. 35 S AAl. 36 S thAA. 87 S klAA.

A: 39 S kuum. 40 S kɔm. 41 S thɛqk. 43 S and. 44 S land. 46 S kand'l. 47 S wandʊr [(ra¹mb'l) ramble is most used]. 48 S [not used]. 50 S tɔqz. — Hs kɔn)tʊ [can'st thou]. 51 S mɔn. 52 S [not used]. 54 BS want. 55 S a¹s. 56 HsS wɛsh. 57 S a¹s.

A: *or* O: 58 B fʊr íʊr [from here], S fr*ee*. 59 S la¹m. 60 S lɔqg [(*u*ₒqg) rather than (ɔqg, aqg) was expected]. 61 S ʊmaqg. 62 S strɔqg [(varʊ *eeb*'l, varʊ kant) often used]. 63 S [(thraqg, kraad) used for a throng]. 64 S raqg. 65 S sɔqg. 66 S thɔqg [(lash) often used].

A'- 67 BS gúʊ, Hs gu*ɹ*in [going], dhi g*u*ₒn [they go]. 69 B nAA, HdS nó*u*. 70 S túʊ. 71 S w*oo*. 72 BS úʊ. 73 S súʊ. 74 S tuu. 75 S strúʊk. 76 S túʊd. 77 S lɔrd. 79 S *oo*n. 80 S a·lʊdʊ. 81 BfS lóin. 83 S múʊn. 84 S múʊr. 85 S súʊr. 86 Hs úʊts. 87 S klúʊz. 88 S [(drɛs, dən *iz* klúʊz) used]. 89 S búʊdh. 90 S bl*oo*. 91 S m*oo*. 92 S n*oo*. 93 S sn*oo* [(daan f*oo*) down fall, often used]. 94 S kr*oo*. 95 S thr*oo* [(thr*u*ₒt) often used]. 96 S [(sɛt) used]. 97 S s*oo*l. 98 S n*oo*n. 99 S thr*u*ₒt. 100 S [(sɛt) used].

A': 101 S úʊk. 103 S a¹ks [but see speer, after 699]. 104 BS rúʊd. 105 S rúʊd. 106 S brúʊd br*ee*d. 107 S lúʊf. 108 S dúʊf. 110 BS nó*u*t [nought], S nod [not]. 111 S ó*u*t. 112 S [(kant) often used]. 115 B *oo*m, BS úʊm. 116 S úʊ. 117 B wA'n, d*u*₁)t' túʊn [do the t'one]. 118 S búʊn. 121 S gúʊn. 122 BS núʊn. 124 S stúʊn. 125 S *oo*nli [(nɔbʊt) often used]. 127 S úʊs. 128 HdS dhuuz. 129 S gúʊst [(bɔgʊrt) often used]. 130 S búʊt. 131 S gúʊt. 132 S ɔt. 133 S rúʊt. 134 S úʊth. 135 S klúʊth. 136 S *oo*dhʊr.

Æ- 138 HdS *feedhʊr*. 139 S dr*ee*. 140 S th)*eel*. 141 S n*eel*. 142 S sn*eel*. 143 S t*eel*. 144 BS ʊgíʊn. 145 S sl*een*. 146 S m*een*. 147 S br*een*. 148 B fa[ʌ]r. 150 BS líʊst. 152 B wa[tʊ]r, S w*eetʊr*. 153 S sʌtʊrdi.

Æ: 154 B báik', bak. 155 S thak. 157 S r*eev*'n. 158 S aftʊr. 160 S ɛg. 161 BS d*ee*. 163 S [(i wɔr kr*u*ₒd'ld daan) he was laid down]. 164 S m*ee*. 165 S sɛd. 166 S m*eed* [(las) often used]. 167 S d*eel* [(kl*u*ₒf) clough, often used]. 168 S ta¹lʊ. 169 S wɛn. 170 S a¹rʊst. 171 S baarl*i*. 172 BS grɛs. 173 S [(wɔr) used]. 174 S ɛsh. 175 S fast. 178 S nat. 179 S wɔd. 180 S bath [as also 32]. 181 S pad.

Æ'- 182 HdS síʊ. 183 S tɛ'itɟ. 184 S líʊd. 185 S riid. — B sprɛ'id [spread]. 186 S brɛ'id. 187 S líʊv. 188 S n*ee* [(wíni) much used]. 189 S w*ee*. 190 S kɛ'i. 191 S íʊl *u*ₒp. 192 S míʊn. 193 B tlɛ'in, S klɛ'in. 194 S ɔni. 195 B mɔn*i*. 197 S tɟiiz. 199 S bl*eet*. 200 S wíʊt. 201 S iidh'n. 202 S íʊt.

Æ': 203 S spiitɟ. 204 S diid. 205 S thrɛd, [to thread (thríʊd)]. 206 S rɛd. 207 S niid'l. 209 B nɛvʊr. 210 S kl*ee*. 211 S gr*ee*. 212 S wɛg. 215 S tó*u*t. 217 S iitɟ. 218 HsS shiip. 219 S sliip. 221 S fíʊr. 222 S [íʊʊr ? (jóʊr), rhymed to (óʊr) over, by Waugh is used, from old *hure*, head-covering, not related to hair]. 223 B dhíʊr dhɛ'iiɹʊr [see p. 344, No. 223], S dhíʊr. 224 B wa[ʌ]r, HsS wíʊr. 225 S flɛsh. 226 S múʊst. 227 S wiit. 228 S swíʊt. 229 S brɛth. 230 S fat.

E- 232 BS brɛ'ik. 233 S spɛ'ik. 234 S nɛ'iʊd. 235 S wɛ'iv. 236 S f*eeʊr*. 238 S ɛdɟ. 239 S s*eel*. 241 S r*een*. 242 S tw*een*. 243 S pl*ee*. 244 B wiil. 246 i. S kwiin. 247 S wéʊn. 248 S m*éeʊr*. 249 S wíʊr. 250 S [(kɔs) curse used]. 251 S mɛ'it. 252 S kɛt'l. 253 S nɛt'l. 254 S lɛdhʊr. 255 S wɛdhʊr.

E: — BHs fɔtɟ [fetch]. 258 S sɛdɟ. 259 S wɛdɟ. 261 S s*ee*. 362 BS w*ee*. 264 S [(*is* il, *is* badl*i*, varʊ bad) used]. 265 B s*t*ɹɛ'it. 267 S [(gɛv in, giv *u*ₒp) used]. 268 S [(ó*u*dʊst) oldest used]. 270 S i. bɛlʊs, ii. bal*i*. 272 S ɛlm. 273 S mɛn [(felʊz) much used]. 274 S bɛntɟ. 276 S thiqk. 277 S dríʊntɟ. 278 S wɛntɟ. 280 S ilɛv'n. 281 S lɛqkth. 282 S strɛqkth. 283 S mɛri. 284 S thrɛsh. — Hs baa¹rn [barn]. 285 S krɛs. 286 S arʊ. 287 S bɛz'm.

E'- 289 S *joo*. 290 S ii. 291 S dhii. 292 B m*ii*, S mii. 293 Bf wéi, S wii. 294 S fiid. 296 S biliiv. 298 S fiil. 299 S griin. 300 BS kiip.

301 S JƏr. 303 S swiit. E': 305 S E'i. 306 S E'it. 307 S [not used, replaced by (naar)]. 308 S niid. 309 S spiid [(bat) much used]. 310 S iil. 311 S tEn. 312 Hs íivr. 314 S íurd. 315 S fiit. 316 S nEkst.

EA- 317 S flee. 318 S gaap geep. 320 S kívr [(tEnt) much used].

EA: 321 S saa. 322 Hd lakjh [said by a man who died about 1873], S lakh. 325 S waak. 326 S óud. 327 S bóud. 328 S kóud. 329 S [(lap) used]. 330 BSHs óud. 331 S sóud. 332 BS tôud. 333 S kaaf. 334 S aaf. 335 BS oo aa. 336 S foo. 337 S woo. 338 Hd koo. 340 S JƏrd. 343 BS warm. — B shaˌrp [sharp]. 345 S dàr. — BHs pà'rk [park]. 346 S JEt.

EA'- — HdHs Jaa, Hd aa [yea]. 347 B E'id, S ívd. 348 S ii. 349 S fíu.

EA': 350 BS dívd. 351 S lívd. 352 S rEd. 353 S brívd. 354 S shívf. 355 S dívf. 356 S lívf. 357 S dhoo. 359 S niibvr. 360 S tívm. 361 S bívn. 362 S slee. 363 S tJívp tJEp. 365 S naar. 366 S grEt. 367 S thrívt. 368 S dívth. 369 S sloo. 370 S raa. 371 S straa.

EI- 373 S dhee. 374 S nee. 375 S reez. 376 S beet. EI: 377 S steek. 378 S week. 379 S [(hE'i) often used]. 381 S sween. 382 S dhər.

EO- 383 S sEv'n. 384 S Ev'n. 385 S biniith [(uₒndvr) is often used]. 386 S JíU. 387 S níu [(bran níu) often used].

EO: 388 BS milk. 389 S JúUk. 390 S shuₒd. 393 S biJənd [(faar) for far often used]. 394 B Jənd. 396 S waark. 397 S súurd. 399 B brit, S briit. 400 S íurnust. 402 S laarn. 403 S for. 405 S aarth. 406 S íurth. 407 S faard'n.

EO'- 409 S bii. 410 Hs úu⁵, S uu. 411 B thrii, S thrii. 412 S shuu. — Bf kraa'd [to crowd]. 413 S dev'l [th)a'ud lad]. 414 BfS flii. 415 S lái. 416 S dívr daar. — B shúu⁵t [shoot]. 417 S tJíu. 418 S bríu. 420 S foor. 421 S foorti.

EO': 423 S thii. 424 Hd ruₒkh [said by a man who died about 1873], S ruₒf. 425 HsS liit. 426 S fEˌit. 428 S sii. 429 S fiind. 430 S frend. 431 S bívr. 432 S foort. 433 S brest. 434 S bEt. 435 BfS Joo. 436 S tríu. 437 S tríuth.

EY- 438 BfS dii. EY: 439 S truₒst.

I- 440 S wik. 441 S siv [(sáil) used]. 442 S dívi. 443 S fráidv. 444 S stiil. 446 Bf nə'in, S náin. 449 B gJEt'n [gotten], S gEd. 450 S tíuzdv. 451 S [(stitJ) stitch used].

I: 452 S ə'i. 454 S witJ. 455 S [(kaar) cower used]. 457 S muₒt. 458 B nit, S niit. 459 S riit. 460 S wE'it. 461 S [(giit daan) used]. 462 HsS siit. 464 S witJ. 465 B suₒtJ, BS sitJ. 466 Hd tJâˌald, S tJáild. 467 S wald. 468 HsS tJilˌdvˌr. 471 S timbvr [(wuₒd) often used]. 472 S shríqk [(wiz'n, ratJin) sometimes used]. 473 S bláind. 474 S [(t' pil'n) the peel, used]. 475 S t' wand. 476 S báind. 477 Hd fâˌand, S fáind. 478 S gráind. 479 S óist. 481 S fiqgvr. 482 B iz. 484 S dhis. 485 S this'l. 486 S JEst [(béevrm) much used]. 487 S juₒstvrdv. 488 BS JEt.

I'- 490 S [(naar) used]. 492 B sáid, Hd sâad. 493 S draav. 494 B táim, Bf tóim, S taam. 496 S divern. 497 S vráiz [(gEd uₒp) used]. 498 S ráit. 499 S [(klok) used].

I': 500 S laak. 501 S waad. 502 Bf fə'iv, S faav. 503 B vlâiv [alive], S laaf. 504 Hd nâaf, S naaf. 505 S waaf. 506 S wuₒmvn. 507 S wimin. 508 S maal. 509 S waal. 510 Bf mə'in. 511 S waan. 513 S wáivr. 514 S áis. 515 S waaz. 516 S wizdvm. 517 B JiuˌtˌrIi, S víu.

O- 520 S boo. 521 S fóil. 522 BS op'n, Hd op'n. 523 S úvp. — B vfúvr [afore]. 524 S waarld.

O: 526 S kaaf. 527 S bóut. 528 B thóut. 529 S bróut. 530 S róut. 531 B dóuˌt'vˌr i loo [daughter-in-law], HsS da'uˌt'vˌr, S dóutvr. 532 BS kóil. 533 S duₒl [(gaamles) used]. 534 BS óil. 536 S góud. 537 S muud. 538 S wəd, B wədn't [would not]. 539 S bool. 540 S əli. 542 S bóut. 545 S op. — B skúvr [a score]. 547 S búurd. 548 S fúurd. 549 S úurd. 550 S waard. — B madhurd [murdered]. 551 S staarm [(bluₒsturi bluₒsturds) stormy]. 552 HsS kaarn. 553 S aarn. 554 S kraas [for the adj. (kaqkurd) cankered is sometimes used].

O'- 555 Hd shuu⁵n, S shuₒf. 557 S tuu. 558 B lùk, S luₒk. 559 BHdS

m*u*ₒdhʊr. 561 S bluum. 562 S muun. 563 S m*u*ₒndʊ. 564 BHs s*ú*un, S suun. 565 S núʊz. 566 B ʊn*u*ₒdhʊr, S *u*ₒdhʊr. — B gro*o*n [grown].

O': 569 S b*u*ₒk. 570 S t*u*ₒk. 571 S g*u*ₒd. 572 S bl*u*ₒd. 573 S fl*u*ₒd. 574 S bruud. 575 S st*u*ₒd. 576 S wɛdʊnsdʊ. 577 S buu. 578 S pluu. 579 Hs ʊn*ú*ʊ', S ʊnuu. — Hs flɑ'ukh'n [flown]. 580 Hd tɑkh [said by a man who died about 1873], S tɔf. 581 S s*ó*ut. 582 S [not used]. 583 S tuul. 584 S stuu. 585 S bruum. 586 S duu. 587 S d*u*ₒn. 588 S nuun. 589 S spuun. 590 S flúʊr. 591 S múʊr. 592 S swúʊr. 593 S [(mɔn) used]. 594 B bùt, S buut. 595 S f*u*ₒt. 596 S ruut. 597 S s*u*ₒt. 598 S suuth.

U- 599 S ʊbuun. 600 S lov. 601 S faal. 602 S suu. 603 B k*u*ₒm kɑm, S kɑm. 605 S s*u*ₒn. 606 S dɑɑr dúʊr. 607 S b*u*ₒtʊr.

U: 609 S f*u*ₒl. 610 S w*u*ₒl. 611 S b*u*ₒlʊk. 612 S s*u*ₒm. 613 S dr*u*ₒqk. 614 S aand. 915 S paand. 616 S graand. 617 S saand. 618 S waand. 619 Hd f*u*ₒn, S f*u*ₒn. — Hs. bâ'ʊn [boun, going]. 620 S gr*u*ₒn. 621 S w*u*ₒn. 622 S *u*ₒndʊr. 625 S t*u*ₒqg. 626 S *u*ₒqgʊr. 628 S n*u*ₒn. 629 S s*u*ₒn. 630 S w*u*ₒn. 631 S thɔrzdʊ. 632 BHsS *u*ₒp. 633 S k*u*ₒp. 634 S thruu. 635 S wɔth. 636 S fɑɑr. 637 S t*u*ₒsh. 638 S b*u*ₒsk. 639 S d*u*ₒst.

U'- 640 Bf kéʊ kjaa, S kaa. 641 S aa. 642 S dhaa. 643 B naa', S naa. 644 S duu. 646 S b*oo*. 647 S *u*ₒlɛt. 648 Bf aa'r, S aar. 649 S thaazʊnd. 652 S k*u*ₒd. 653 S b*u*ₒd.

U': 655 S faa. 656 S raam [following the regular analogy, and not (ruum)]. 657 S braan. 658 B daa'n, S daan. 659 Hs tâ'ʊn, S taan. 660 S baar. 661 S shaar. 662 S *u*ₒz. 663 B ɑ̂'ɔs à's éʊs, S aas. 664 S laas. 665 S maas. 666 S *u*ₒzbʊnt. 667 B à't'. Bf. 669 S *u*ₒnk*u*ₒth. 670 S buudh. 671 S maath. 672 S saath.

Y- 673 B m*u*ₒtɟ, S mitɟ. 675 S dr*ái*. 676 S l*ái*. 678 S d*i*n. 679 S tɟ*óo*ʊrtɟ. 680 S bíz*i*. 681 B bízʊnʊz. 682 S lit'l, sm*oo*.

Y: 683 S m*i*dɟ. 684 S br*i*dɟ. 686 S b*ái*. 677 S flaat. 689 S bild. 690 S kaand. 691 S maand. 693 S s*i*n. 694 Bf wartɟ [to ache]. 696 S bɑrth. 697 S bɛr*i*. 698 S mɑrth. 699 S riit. — S spar spíiʊr [speer, used for ask]. 700 S wɔr. 701 BHdS fɔst. 703 S p*i*t. Y'- 705 S sk*ái*. 706 S w*ái*.

Y': 709 BS fɛ'*i*ʊr. 711 S l*ái*s [(tɪks) more common]. 712 S m*ái*s.

## II. English.

A. 713 S bad [(nó*u*t) often used]. — Hs bɑqk [bank]. 733 S sk*ee*r [(friit'n) used]. 734 S daarn [oftener (mɛnd)]. — B stɔrt [start]. 737 S m*ee*t [(komrʊd, b*u*ₒtɪ) used]. 740 S w*ee*v. 742 S l*ee*z*i* [(lidhʊr) frequently used]. E. 743 S skriim [(skr*ái*k) often used)]. 746 S briidh. 747 S end*ee*vʊr. I. *and* Y. 757 S tiin*i*. 758 S garl [(las) often used]. O. 761 S lúʊd. — HsHd dog [dog]. 767 Hs n*ó*iz. 768 S kúʊk. 769 S [(muudʊwarp), used]. 772 S b*u*ₒnfaar. 778 S ʊfúʊrd. — B lóiz [lose]. 780 S [(dɟ*ó*ul), jolt used]. 783 S paaltr*i*. 785 S laandɟ. 787 S saas. 788 S flaat. 790 S gaan. U. 805 S kr*u*ₒdz. 808 Hs p*u*ₒt, S p*u*ₒd.

## III. Romance.

A·· 810 S fees, W fíʊs. 811 S pl*ee*s, W plíʊs. 814 S m*ee*s'n, W míʊs'n. 816 S f*ee*d [dikl*ái*n wiz'n wídhʊr]. 819 S r*ee*dɟ [(tantrʊmz) occ. used]. 824 S tɟiiʊr. 826 S *ee*g'l. 827 S *ee*gʊr. 834 S sh*ee*. 835 S ríʊz'n. 836 S síʊz'n. 837 S líʊsh. 838 S tríʊt. 840 S tɟ*ee*mbʊr [(raam) room often used]. 850 S dɔns. 851 S ant. 852 S [(brat) used]. — B rɑ[ʀ. 853 S baarg*i*n. 859 S tɟ*ee*s, W tjíʊs. 860 S p*ee*st, W píʊst. 861 S t*ee*st, W tíʊst. 863 S tɟɑɑf tɟɑɑv. 864 S bik*ee*z. 865 S fɑɑt. 866 S púʊr.

E·· 867 HdS t*ee*. 869 S víʊl. 874 S r*ee*n. 878 S salʊr*i*. 881 S sɛns [also (g*u*ₒmshʊn)]. 884 S aprɛntʊs. 888 S saart*i*n. 889 S [(stɔp) used]. 890 S bíʊst [(pl. (bíʊs)]. 891 S fíʊst. 892 S nɛv*i*. 893 S flaar [(púʊs) for posy, often used]. — Bf àr [hour]. 894 S d*i*s*ee*v. 895 S r*i*s*ee*v.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 S dilaat. 898 B n*ái*s, Hd nâ[ʀs, S naas. 901 S faan. 902 S maan. 904 S v*ái*lʊt. 905 S raat. 906 S vaapʊr. 908 S advaas. 909 briiz. 910 S dɟ*ái*st. 911 S sɛstʊrn.

O·· 913 S kúvtɟ. 914 S bróitɟ. 916 S $u_{\circ}$nɟvn. 917 S rúng. 918 S [(*week*) weak used]. 919 S ó*n*tmvnt [(SAAV) often used]. 920 S póint. 925 Hs vó*s*. 928 S aans. 929 S kaakvmbvr. 932 S vmaant. 934 S baant*i*. 939 S klúvs. 940 BHdS kúvt. 941 S fuu. 944 S alaad [allowed]. 946 S mAAl. 948 S *bool* [? (bɑ'*ul*)]. 949 S maald. — Hs tA'rn [turn]. — B dɟA'rn*i* [journey]. 952 S kúvrs. 954 S k$u_{\circ}$shvn. 955 B daa'l, S daat. 956 S k$u_{\circ}$vvr. 959 S [(tɛk) take used].

U·· 963 S k*weet*. 970 B dɟ$u_{\circ}$st.

## VAR. v. BURNLEY CWL.

From the following sources:

B Burnley (:bɑrnli), wn. by TH. especially from the family of Fielding, who dictated the Burnley cs., p. 332.

Ex. (wo,t)e,r),tv adlin ?), what art thou earning ?—(á'ʀ l$u_{\circ}$q vr)tv l*ee*kin fA'r ?), how long are you playing [out of work] for ?—(A kilz vm AAl wi ,t,rɛ'idin on vm), I kill them all with treading on them.—(A)m bá'ɑn tv gu vn gjɛt sh*ee*vd), I am boun [starting] to go and get shaved.—(A sii,d)v,r i)k' krɔft dhis mA'rnin vsáid v a'r fúvks), I saw her in the croft this morning, aside of our folks.—In reply to asking the way to a certain street, (*jo*)n fáind it t' g$u_{\circ}$ dá'[ɑn dhis fɑrst opnin, vn dhɛn g$u_{\circ}$ s,t,rɛ'it daa'n), you will-en find it to go down this first opening, and then go straight down.—(not ka'm wáil náin vtlɔk'), not come while [ =until] nine o'clock.

B′ Burnley, from a wl. in io. by Mr. Healey, native, only a few supplementary words are given.

C Cliviger (:tlivitɟvr) and occ. (:tlividɟvr) Valley (2 se.Burnley) and extending to Holme (4 se. Burnley), wn. by TH.

Ex. Mother to child, (dha)d ɛ'it ·mii vv A wvr m*ee*d v spáis), thou wouldest eat me if I were made of spice.—(uu)z brA't vz v s$u_{\circ}$p v)th bɛ,tv,r súvrt), she's brought us a sup of the better sort.—(ù tlapt vr tl*oo*k dá'ɑn vn ù nɛvvr jɛrd on)t frv dhad d*ee* tv dhis), she clapped her cloak down and she never heard of-it from that day to this.

W Worsthorn (:warsthA'rn) (2 e.Burnley), wn. by TH. from a native b. 1818.

Ex. (*ii* ɛd vz vgj*eet* v dig'in), he had us agate [astir] of digging.

### I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — W aa' [A letter]. 4 B t*ee*n [taken], B′ tak. 8 B ɛ'v [have, emphatic]. 10 B *eeg* [obs. g]. 12 B′ [occ.] *seeg*. 21 B n*eem*. A: 39 B k$u_{\circ}$m k*ú*u⁵m. 40 B′ kúvm. 50 B′ taqz. 51 W má'[in. 54 B want. 55 B′ as. 56 B wɛsh. A: *or* O: 63 B′ thraq. 64 B′ raq. A′- 67 B gúv. 69 B nó*u*. 70 B′ túv. 73 B súv. 76 B′ túvd. 81 B lóin. 83 B′ múvn. 84 BW múvr. 85 B′ súvr. · 86 B′ úvts. 87 BB′ tlóiz. 89 B′ búvth. 91 B′ mAA. 93 B′ snAA. 94 B′ nAA. 95 B′ thrAA. 97 B′ só*ul*. A′: 101 B′ úvk. 104 BB′ rúvd. 106 B′ brúvd. 107 B′ lúvf. 108 B′ dúvf. 113 B′ w$u_{\circ}$l. 115 B′ wom, W woom. 118 B′W búvn. 121 B′ gúvn. 122 B n*oo*n, B′ núvn. 124 W stúvn. 127 B′ úvs. 128 B′ dhúvz. 129 B′ gúvst. 130 B′ búvt. 131 B′ góit. 133 B′ rúvt. 136 B *oo*dhvr. 137 B n*oo*dhvr.

Æ- 144 W vgívn. 150 B′ livst. 152 B wa,tv,r. Æ: 161 B d*ee*. 172 B gars. — B lat [late]. 181 B′ pad. Æ′- 182 BB′ sív. 183 B′ tɛ'itɟ. 184 B′ livd. 187 B′ lívv. 190 BB′ kjɛ'i. 191 B′ jɛl. 192 B′ mívn. 193 B′ klívn. 194 B′ on*i*. 195 B a)mn*i* [how many?], B′ mon*i*. 200 B′ wívt. 202 B′ jɛt. 205 B′ thriid. 216 B′ dívl. 223 B′ dhívr. 224 B′ wívr. 226 B′ múvst. 228 B′ swívt. 229 B′ brívth.

E- 231 B t'th [as] gi m*i*)t' th)or*i*ndɟ. 232 B′ brɛ'ik. 233 B spɛ'ik. 234 B′ nɛ'id [(pɔd'n) kneaded]. 235 BB′ wɛ'iv. 238 B′ ɛdɟ. 247 B′ w*ee*n. 249 B′ wívr. 250 B′ swívr. — B ɛ'it [eat]. 251 B′ mɛ'it. E: — W

fɔtɟ [fetch]. 265 B s,t,rɛit. 270 B′ i. balis, ii. bali. 284 B′ thrɛsh. E′- — W ii [letter E]. 290 B ii. 296 B biliiv. 300 B kiip. 301 BB′ ɟɑr. E′: 305 BB′ ɛ′i. 306 B′ ɛ′it.

EA- — B sheev [shave]. 317 B′ flii [(flee) means frighten, properly to put to flight]. EA: 324 B [from elderly people] ɛkht. 326 B′ kóud. 328 B′ kóud. 330 B óud, old. 333 B′ kaav. 334 B′ aav. 345 B′ daar. 346 B gjeet [older pron. (jeet)], B′ jeet EA′- — BW íu [yea]. 347 B íud ɛ′id, BB′ jɛ′d. EA′: 350 B′ díud. 351 B′ líud. 353 B′ briud. — W krium [cream]. 360 W tíum. 361 B′W bíun. 363 B′ tɟɛp. 365 C níur. 366 BW gart, B′ grɛt. 368 B′ díuth. EI: 378 B′ week. EO- 384 B′ ɛv′n. EO: 389 B′ júuk. 395 B ju₀q. 396 B′ waark 397 B′ súurd. 402 B′ laarn. 405 B′ aarstúun [hearthstone]. EO′- 410 B′ uu. 413 B′ dɛv′l. 414 B′ flii. 420 B fóuur. EO′: 423 B′ thii. 424 B [from elderly people] ru₀kh. 425 B′ liit. 437 B′ t,ríuth. EY- 438 B′ dii.

I- 444 B stiil. 446 B náin. 448 B′ dhíuz. I: 452 B a [mostly], a. 458 B′ niit. 459 BB′ rɛ′it. 462 B sìt. 475 B wind. — W máisti [misty]. I′- — B lɪkund [liked, desired, also] láik. 494 B táim.

O- — B uun [oven, as (sin,dɛ,r-óunz, pɔt-óunz, pɔt-óunz) cinder or coke ovens, pottery ovens]. O: — B fag [fog]. 531 B dóu,t′u,r. 534 B ód. 535 B fúuk. 544 B dhɛ′in, dhɛn. — B A′s [horse]. O′- 558 B luuk. 559 BB′ mu₀dhur. 560 B skúu′l [only half pouted] skuul. 562 B′ muun. 563 B′ mɔndi. 565 B′ núuz. O′: 569 B báu′k. 571 B′ gu₀d. 572 B′ blu₀d. 573 B′ flu₀d. 577 B′ buu. 580 B′ tɔf. 586 B dúunt [don't]. 588 B nóin, B′ nuun. 589 B spóin, B′ spuun. 591 W múur.

U- 603 BW kam [pp. (kam)]. 606 B′ dar. 607 B′ bu₀thur. U: 615 B pæ′and, pá′and. 616 B′ pá′und, B′ grá′und. — W bâ′an [boun, going]. 619 B′ fu₀n. 620 B′ gru₀n. 634 B thruu. U′- 643 B nâ′, BW ná′ɑ. 650 C ubá′at U′: 658 B dá′an. 667 B â′at′ éat. 671 B má′ath.

Y- 673 B′ mitɟ. 677 C ,d,rái. Y: 684 B′ brɪg. 691 B máind. 694 B′ wark. 700 B′ waar. 701 B farst.

II. English.

A. 714 W lá′t,id. E. 749 B lɛft. I. *and* Y. 757 B′ tiini. O. 761 B′ lúud. — B tlag [clog]. — B dag [dog]. 767 B nóiz. — B spúurt [sport]. — C shá at [shout]. U. 804 B ,d,ru₀qkh′n [very often with (kh)].

III. Romance.

E·· 867 B tee. 885 B vari. — W sàrmun [sermon]. — W sàrvunt [servant]. 890 B′ bíust [pl. (bíus)]. 891 B′ fíust. 893 B flá′ar. — B â′ar [hour]. O·· 913 B′ kúutɟ. 914 B′ bróitɟ. — B dɟɛ′in [join]. 935 B ku₀ntri. — B A′dhur [order]. 939 B tlóis. — B rúust [roast]. — B túust [toast]. 940 B′ kóit. U·· 963 B′ kwáit.

## D 23 = n.NM. = northern North Midland.

This forms the borderland at the extreme n. of the M. div., adjoining the N. div. in La., but preserving much of the character of D 22. This applies to the mainland district. But the Celtic Isle of Man seems to have acquired its English chiefly from La., and hence I include it under D 23, making the mainland Var i. and the island Var. ii. Of course the English of the Isle of Man is not an independent English dialect. It is entirely imported and indeed recently acquired, the Celtic Manx not having entirely died out. But I could find no better place for it than this.

## Var. i. The Fylde, La.

*Boundaries.* Begin at Cockerham (8 ene.Fleetwood) on the n. coast of La., and go ne. and e., passing just n. of Wyersdale (6 sse.Lancaster) and Abbeystead (2 e.Wyersdale) to the b. of La., and then follow this b. to the Hodder and pursue that river to the Ribble, which follow to the sea, and then go n. round by Fleetwood to Cockerham.

The n. b. from Cockerham is rather conjectural, as I have no information immediately n. of it, but it cannot be very far from right, and it is only a little to the n. of the boundary of Amounderness and Lonsdale hundreds. At Wyersdale the pron belongs rather to D 23 than D 31, that is, is rather m. than n.La. It cannot be supposed that pron. follows the co b. precisely, but in the absence of direct information I am obliged to assume that it does.

*Area.* m.La. being the whole of the hundred of Amounderness, with a small portion of the s. of Lonsdale s. of the Sands, and that part of the hundred of Blackburn which lies n. of the Ribble. The last portion is doubtful from want of information. Mr. Bellows, writing to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, says, on the one hand "the Fell dialect," that is, the N. dialect, extends as far s. as Longridge Fell (11 ne.Preston), and on the other hand that "the Fylde dialect covers all the country between the Wyre and the Ribble, and up to the Cocker as far e. as the railway," we shall see that it is quite distinct at Goosenargh (6 n.Preston), which is 3 miles e. of the railway, "and then, modified, right to the foot of Longridge Fell, Goosenargh, and Claughton" (:tl*ái*t''n) (8 n.Preston, and about one mile e. of the railway). Mr. Bellows also says, "s. of Chipping (10 ne. Preston) comes in the low Lancashire dialect (Blackburn, Bolton, etc.)." This is not distinct, and in the absence of better information, I think the area I have assigned the most probable.

*Authorities.*—See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ systematic, ° informants' orthography.

*La.* † Abbeystead, ° Blackpool, † Cockerham, ° Fylde district, † Garstang, † Goosenargh, † Kirkham, † Poulton, † Preston, † Wyersdale.

*Character.* Var. i. This m.La. district is a transition from the M. to the N. div. Much of D 22 has disappeared. The exceedingly characteristic verbal pl. in *-en* is generally supposed, even by dialect speakers, to be lost, and certainly seems to exist only in some common phrases. But it will be found in the Poulton cs. below, par. 2 (d*u*$_{o}$n dhʊ ?) do-n they, par. 7 (wɔt)ʊn ·ɹaa th*i*qk ?) what)do-n ·you think ? par. 13 (d*u*$_{o}$n ɹʊ n*oo* ?) do-n you know ? And in the Goosenargh cs. par. 2 (w*i*)n núʊn ɔn)ʊz fʊrgjɛt'n) we have-n none of us forgotten ; par. 7 (d*u*$_{o}$n ɹʊ th*i*qk ?) do-n you think ? par. 13 (d*u*$_{o}$n ɹaa n*oo* ?) do you know ? Also in the Poulton phrases 17 (an ɹʊ b*i*n) have-n you been, and 19*a* (ɹa n*oo*n) you know-en, with Mr. Lawrenson's attempt to account for the double use of (n*oo*n, n*oo*) p. 358, No. 19. These shew that the verbal pl. in *-en* still exists in an almost evanescent and not very recognisable form. TH. heard one example from a Wyersdale farmer at Lancaster: (w*i*n dhʊ lɛt dhʊ gu *i*ntʊ :wái·ʊrzd'l), will-en they let thee go into Wyersdale ?

The chief mark of distinction between D 23 and D 22 to the feeling of the natives of the Fylde is the treatment of the U' words, as shewn in Poulton phrases

5, p. 357. That is, in D 23 the normal form is (áu), as in Chapel-en-le-Frith D 21, avoiding the (aa aa¹ ææ áɐ) of D 22. But this is also the same as about Lancaster, and characterises Lonsdale s. of the Sands. It is therefore here a transitional form.

But TH. finds (AA¹) to be "a distinctive sound in the Fylde." Writing in 1876 he says: "At present I hear it as a higher position upon the normal (A)." He states that at that time he had known the sound for 16 or 18 years from natives of the Fylde, but had not previously analysed it. In connection with this there is another sound he hears in this district which he writes ($o_1$) in the cs., in ($ó_1$ùd tó$_1$ùd) old told, that is, EAL words like those in which (AA¹) occurs in (AA¹l ʃAA¹l kAA¹l) all fall call. The ($ó_1u$) diphthong is also written in ($ó_1ut$ dó$_1u$ˌtɐˌr) ought daughter, and the (AA¹) in (lAA¹) law. Now it is difficult to conceive that (a¹ $o_1$) should differ materially from each other or from (o), and probably I should have appreciated both sounds as (o) and written (óud tóud óut dóuˌtɐˌr ool fool kool loo). What the real sounds were which had the effect of higher (A) and lower ($o$) to TH. it is impossible to say. I have, however, followed his writing. But I would call attention to the Leyland (koo) call, (fò) fall, (kóud) cold, p. 346, and to the Blackburn (oo), p. 348, all given on TH.'s authority in D 22, and to a similar treatment of (AA) in Hexham, Nb. It is sometimes very difficult for an Englishman to distinguish (oo, AA), and Prince L.-L. Bonaparte (supra Pt. IV. p. 1303, col. 1) appreciates the Italian *o aperto* as ($o_1$) when accented and (o) when unaccented, shewing the very slight difference which he attributed to the signs. This ($o_1$) occurs also in D 23 in the forms (fó$_1$il kó$_1$il) foal coal, p. 359, which in D 22, Blackburn variety, appear as (fóil kóil) and similarly (óil) hole, p. 348. These examples tend to confirm my suspicions. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte also for a long time did not distinguish ($o_1$ o). It is much a matter of appreciation.

The fractures (æ'u) or (íu) and (íi) so common in D 21, 22, 25, are here written simply (uu ii), though TH. is careful to say that there generally is a slight initial fracture, see notes to Poulton cs. pars. 1 and 4, p. 356. It is to be observed that (úu íi) or (ú$_1$u í$_1$i) occur in the N div. D 31, and that the form of the fracture in D 23 may be an intermediate one.

The (r) when not before a vowel again occasions difficulty. TH. notes that it was decidedly 'strong' at Poulton. The precise meaning he attached to this term is not clear, but his remarks in Poulton cs. notes to par. 1, *cares*, shew that it was not a degree of strength of trill, but of a buzz similar to those of (r, R r$_ɔ$). It is therefore possibly (ṛ), p. 293.

There is a remarkable form (dù$_ɔ$d) for *did*, see Poulton cs. notes par. 4, p. 356, and also (sɐ'uɐr) sure, and (dɐ'u) dew. The guttural (kh) is still found among old people, but is fast perishing.

The characters generally are:

A = (*ee*) as (*neem seem*) name same.
A' = (úɐ) as (túɐd úɐk) toad oak.
ÆG, EG = (*ee*) as (d*ee* w*ee*) day way.
Æ' = (íɐ) as (líɐd íɐt) to lead, heat.
E = (E) or (E'*i*) as (spE'ik) speak.
E' = (ii) or nearly (*ii*) as (griin) green.
EAL = (AA¹) or perhaps (oo).
I' = (*ái*) as (*sái*d) side, never (aa).
O = (ó$_1$*i*) or perhaps (ó*i*), a form of (úɐ), but O: is generally (ɔ).
O' = (uu) or an unknown approach to (*ú*u), written (ú$_1$u).
U = ($u_ɔ$) as in D 22.
U' = (*ú*u) as (dâuɐn) down.

This really differs from D 22 only in the treatment of U' and occ. I'. For particulars see illustrations.

*Illustrations.* Mr. Bellows, the printer, of Gloucester, first wrote out a cs. for Poulton from Mr. Lawrenson, to send to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, but as Mr. B. had not a sufficient knowledge of phonetic writing, I prevailed upon TH. to see Mr. Lawrenson himself. The

result was all that could be wished, and the palaeotypic transcript of the cs. is given below. TH. also stayed some time with the Lawrensons, and thus obtained from them a set of phrases, see p. 357, and words, now put into a cwl., p. 358. The same year, 1876, he was also fortunate enough to obtain a cs. for Goosnargh, which for easy comparison is given below in double columns with the Poulton version. This shews that in the e. of Amounderness hundred the dialect was identical with that in the w. Mr. Kirk (who dictated the Goosnargh version) also furnished a considerable list of words. These, exclusive of the cs., are recorded in the cwl. together with some wn. by TH. at Kirkham. The hundred of Amounderness is thus well represented, and as already stated the small portion of the hundred of Blackburn n. of the Ribble is here assumed to be practically the same, as an inference from Mr. Bellows's remarks.

### Two cs. in Parallel Columns.

1. Poulton-in-the-Fylde (:pú₁ut'n *i*)th :*fái*ld) (13 wnw. Preston), pal. in 1876 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. T. Lawrenson (:la·rens'n), b. in 1833, general dealer, of that place, native, and accustomed to use the dialect daily with his customers.
2. Goosnargh (:*gáu*znər) (5 nne. Preston), pal. in 1876 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Edward Kirk, editor of the *Eccles Advertiser*, Manchester, b. 1832, native, who spoke the dialect till 1858, and was closely connected with the district till 1863. Mr. Kirk has so much altered the cs. that it was impossible to give the two versions interlinearly, and hence they have been arranged paragraph by paragraph in parallel columns.

On the (r) see Poulton, notes, par. 1, p. 356.

| Poulton. | Goosnargh. |
|---|---|
| 0. wá*i* :dʒon)z nə)dá*u*ts. | 0. w*ái* :dʒon)z n*o* dá*u*ts. |
| 1. wɛ'l, *i*m ən dhii mə búədh laf əd dh*i*z n*i*uz ə m*ái*n. úə kj*i*ərz ? dhat)s n*oo*·dhər íər nər dhíər. | 1. w*ái*, mʌ'n, dha mə gr*i*n' əz àrd ən əz ləq əs tə l*ái*ks, ən búədh ən)jə puu[5] jər fèsəz əz ləq əz ə bàrn dúər ɛk' ət wət *ái*)v to₁*u*d jə, fr)o₁*u*t)s *ái* kjɛɛr. *i*t)s ʌʌ[1] nó₁*u*t tə mì n*ee*dhər w*ee* jàr gr*i*n'*i*n. |
| 2. nat mon*i* mɛn dii fər bì)*i*n laf't àt, d*u*₀n dhə ? wət shəd mɛk)əm ? *i*t)s nat varə l*ái*kl*i*, *i*z)*i*d ? | 2. dhíər)z nɛbət ə varə túəthr*i* fúək dii w*i* bì)*i*n gr*i*nd àt. *ái*)st th*i*qk w*i*)n núən ən)əz fərgjɛt'n th)o₁*u*d w*u*₀mən ət :blɛgbrən əz wər laft àt, ən l*i*vd mon*i* ə jíər ət af₁tər. díər)a mii ! wət)s dhər *i* laf'*i*n tə mɛk fúək dii th*i*qks)tə ? d*u*₀s)t th*i*qk ó₁*u*t ə)th súərt)s l*ái*kl*i* tə ⌊hap'n *i* dh*ái* t*ái*m ? |
| 3. əd on*i* r*ee*t dh*i*s *i*s)f fakt ə)th ma₁tər, su o₁*u*d dh*i* nó₁*i*z, ən b*i* k*w*aat dhən *ái*)v dù₀n. àrk'n. | 3. b*i*liiv m*i* ər b*i*liiv m*i* nʌ't, *i*t)s ə fakt wət *a*[1])v tó₁*u*d jə, súə əd dhi dìn ən b*i* k*w*aa't t*i*n *a*[1] tɛl)*i*t dh*i* ʌʌ[1]. l*u*₀)dhə. |

4. *ái*)m sàrt'n *ái* íɐrd)ɐm *see* —*su*$_o$m ɐ)th fúɐk ɐz WEnt thrù A$^1$)th th*i*q frɐ)th fArst dhɐrsElz —dhat *ái* dù$_o$d sA'*u*ɐr ɐn*u*$_o$f.

5. dhɐd)th J*u*$_o$qkst làd *i*ssEl, ɐ grEt làd n*ái*n JíɐR ó$_1$*u*d, n*i*ú *i*s fa,dɐ,rz t*u*$_o$q ɐs suun ɐz *ii* íɐrd *i*m spE'*i*k, dh*o* *i*d wɐs sɐ k*wí*ɐr ɐn sk*wí*ɐk'*i*n, ɐn *ái*)d ,t,r*i*st *i*m tɐ tEl)th ,t,ruuth ɔn*i* d*ee*, ái wA'd.

6. ɐn)dh ó$_1$*u*d w*u*$_o$mɐn ɐrsEl ɐl tEl ɔn*i* ɔn Jɐ ɐz lafs, ɐn tEl Jɐ s,t,rE'*i*t ɔf tù,w*i*dh*áu*t ɔn*i* bɔdhɐr, *i*v Jɐ)l nAbɐt ash ɐr, ·dhat ù w*i*l.

7. ɐd ɔn*i* r*ee*t ù tó$_1$*u*d it mì WEn ái ash,t)ɐ,r, túɐthr*i* t*ái*mz úɐr, ù dù$_o$d, ɐn ù ó$_1$*u*t nat tɐ b*i* raq ɔn sitJ ɐ pó$_1$int ɐz dh*i*s, wɔt)ɐn ·Jaa th*i*qk ?

8. ɐz *ái* wɐs *see*)*i*n, ù)d tEl)Jɐ búɐdh *áu*, wíɐr ɐn WEn ù f*u*$_o$n)th ,d,r*u*$_o$qk'n p*i*g *u*$_o$z ɐ kAA$^1$z ɐr *u*$_o$zbɐn.

9. ù swíɐr ù sì *i*m wi ɐr *oo*n iin, l*ái*)*i*n s,t,rEtJt ɐt)th f*u*$_o$l leqkth ɐ)dh gr*áu*nd, *i*n *i*z g*u*$_o$d s*u*$_o$ndɐ kúɐt, tlɔs ɐs*ái*d ɐ)dh *áu*s dúɐr, d*áu*n ɐt)th kA'·rnɐr ɐ JɔnD lúɐn.

10. ì wɐz w*ái*n*i*n ɐw*ee*, ù sE'z, fɐr AA$^1$)th wA'rld l*ái*k ɐ mart tJ*ái*ld, ɐr ɐ l*i*t'l las frEt'*i*n.

11. ɐn dhat ap'nd ɐz A'r ɐn ɐr dó$_1$*u*,tɐ,r *i* lAA$^1$ k*u*$_o$m thruu)th bak JàRd frɐ *i*qin th)wlt tlúɐz *áu*t tɐ ,d,r*ái* ɔn ɐ wEsh'*i*n d*ee*,

12. w*ái*l)th kEt'l wɐr bó$_1$*i*l*i*n, wɔn f*ái*n s*u*$_o$mɐr af,tɐ,rnuun, nAbɐd ɐ wìk)s'n k*u*$_o$m thA'rzdɐ.

13. ɐn d*u*$_o$n) Jɐ n*oo* ? *ái* nEvɐr gìt tɐ n*oo* ɔn*i* múɐr dhɐn dh*i*s ɐ dhat b*i*znɐz *u*$_o$p tɐ tɐd*ee*, ɐs sA'uɐr ɐz m*ái* n*ee*m)z :dJak

4. *ái*)m sàrt*i*n ɐn sA'*u*ɐr *ái* íɐrd ɐm *see*—dhat)s s*u*$_o$m ɐ)th fúɐk, *ái* míɐn, ɐz WEnt thruu AA$^1$)th bɔz'lgjaq ɔn)t dhɐrsElz, dhat *a*$^1$ dù$_o$d ɐs *see*f ɐz Egz *i*z Egz.

5. ɐs)th J*u*$_o$qkst sù$_o$n *i*ssE·l, ɐ b*i*g'*i*sh mak ɐv)ɐ làd n*ái*n JíɐR ó$_1$*u*d, n*i*ú *i*s fadh'ɐrz vó$_1$*i*s *i*n ɐ krak, *i*v *i*t WA'r sɐ k*w*EEr ɐn sk*wí*ɐk'*i*n, ɐn *a*$^1$ dàr ,t,r*u*$_o$st *i*m tɐ spE'*i*k)th ,t,ruuth ɔn*i* d*ee*, ·dhat *ái* dàr.

6. ɐn)th o$_1$*u*d w*u*$_o$mɐn ɐrsEl, uu)l tEl)Jɐ dJ*u*$_o$st mlt)th bEst on Jɐ ɐz *i*z laf'*i*n, ɐn w*ee*nt ù tEl Jɐ s,t,rE'*i*t ɐn AA$^1$. dhɐ[r)z nɔ tuu w*ee*z ɐbáut·A'r: JaaAbɐt aks)ɐr, w*ee*nt ù tEl Jɐ ?

7. ·ɔn*i*w*ee* ù lìt m*i* Ev *i*t rlt ɐn*u*$_o$f tù ɐr thrii t*ái*mz óɐr ù dù$_o$d dhàt, ɐn ù ó$_1$*u*t'n)tɐ b*i* fàr raq ɐ sitJ ɐ pó$_1$int ɐz *i*t, d*u*$_o$n)Jɐ th*i*qk ù shù$_o$d ?

8. wE'l ɐz *ái*)r *see*)*i*n, ·uu)d tEl)Jɐ, WEn ɐn wíɐr ɐn *áu* ɐn AA$^1$, ù f*u*$_o$n)th ó$_1$ùd swalɐk*i*n th*i*q ɐv)ɐ *u*$_o$zbɐn ɐv A'rz.

9. ù swíɐr ù sì *i*m w*i* ɐr *oo*n iin, l*ái*)*i*n ɐ)th fù$_o$l ratJ ɐ)th griin swàrd, *i*n *i*z s*u*$_o$ndɐ kúɐt, níɐrl*i* óɐrn*i*·nst th)áus dúɐr, d*áu*n ɐt)th bEnd ɐ)th lúɐn JɔN.

10. ì wɐr fr*ái*n*i*n ɐn w*ái*n*i*n, ù sE'z, ɐz níɐr ɐz nó$_1$*u*t l*ái*k ɐ màrd tJ*ái*ld ɐz *i*z badl*i* ɐ b*i*t, ɐr)ɐ l*i*t'l las *i*)th pEt.

11. ɔn AA$^1$ dh*i*s' ap'nd ɐ)th wEsh'*i*n d*ee* ɐz ù ɐn dhEEr :dJEmz w*ái*f wɐr k*u*$_o$m*i*n thrù)th bak fó$_1$*u*d fr*e* *i*q*i*n th)tlúɐz *áu*t,

12. w*ái*l)th t*ee*kEt'l wɐr bó$_1$*i*l*i*n fɐr)th af,tɐ,rnuunz ,d,r*i*qk*i*n, wɔn gr*ee*dl*i* f*ái*n s*u*$_o$mɐrz af,tɐ,r-nuun—lEt)s sì, *i*tJ'l b*i* dJ*u*$_o$st ɐ wìk sEn' ɐ thA'rzdɐ.

13. ɔn d*u*$_o$n JAA n*oo* ? *ái* nEvɐr làrnt ɐn*u*$_o$dhɐr wA'rd ɔn)t fr*e* dhat d*ee* tɐ dh*i*s', ɐs sA'*u*ɐr ɐz m*ái* n*ee*m)z :dJak :shEpɐrd, ɐn *ái*)l

:shɛpʊrd, ʊn *ái* dȯ)nt want tʊ n*oo* n*oo*dhʊr, nà dhɛn!

14. ʊn su *ái*)m gu)*in* úʊm tʊ m*i* s*u*$_{o}$pʊr, g*u*$_{o}$d nìt, ʊn dȯ)nt bi sʊ shàrp tʊ kr*oo* úʊr ʊ bȯd*i* ʊgjé$_{1}$*in*, wɛn *i* tʌʌ$^{1}$ks ʊ dh*is* dhàt ʊn)dh *u*$_{o}$dhʊr.

15. ì)z ʊ wèk fuul ʊz pr*ee*ts w*i*dháut ríʊz'n. ʊn dhat)s m*i* last wʌ'rd. g*u*$_{o}$d nìt.

b*i* haqd *iv* *a*$^{1}$ kjɛɛr *ee*dhʊr, sʊ náu!

14. *ái*)l b*i* p*ái*k*in* of' úʊm náu tʊ m*i* s*u*$_{o}$pʊr. sʊ g*u*$_{o}$d nìt, ʊn nɛvʊr dhii bì *in* ʊ ori ʊgé$_{1}$*in* tʊ tȯl dʊ r óʊr ʊ tjap, wɛn ì)z tɛl*in* *is* t*ee*l.

15. ii)z nɛbʊt ʊ varʊ shalʊ fuu$^{5}$ ʊs pr*ee*ts báut ì n*oo*z wȯt fʌ'r. dhat)s ʌʌ$^{1}$. g*u*$_{o}$d nìt'.

*Notes to Poulton* cs.

1. *well*, omitting neighbour, which Mr. L. says is not used after *well* in addresses, nor, so he said, would the Christian name or other familiar word, as (mʌ'n, làd). But TH. observed when familiar acquaintances came into Mr. L.'s shop, he would say: (wɛ'l, :t*u*$_{o}$mʊz; wɛ'l, :rȯbʊrt), etc.—*thee*, there is the usual employment of *thou*, as on p. 337. As to the vowel, it is "very nearly pure (ii)." There is sometimes a slight fracture, but it does not reach (*ii*) as in D 21. It might be (i$_{1}$i) or (*i*$^{1}$i), but as TH. is contented with writing (ii) after making the above remark, I follow him.—*cares*, (r) generally when not before a vowel, is "moderately strong, but in *cares prayer*, etc., it is considerably stronger," says TH., "the end of the tongue being somewhat retracted, and approaching, but not reaching, the cerebral (ʀ) of the sw. of England." This would give (r$_{,}$, r$_{o,}$), and this must be borne in mind, though only (r) is written, see D 21.

2.—*not* (nat), less frequently (nȯt), not many, or lyte (láit) = few.—*die* (dii) or (di$_{1}$i).—*do they*, the (du$_{o}$n) is an example of the verbal pl. in *-en*, which is nearly extinct in this district.

3. *at* (ʊd).—*this is the fact*, (f) for *the* assimilated to the following (f).—*quiet*, observe (aa) as in D 22, Bolton.—*till* (dhʊn), possibly an alteration of (t*in*) rather than of *then*.

4. *through*, TH. says that the sound is not quite pure (uu, ù), but might be written (ú$_{1}$u) and might reach (*ú*u). He, however, contents himself with this note, and writes (uu), saying "sometimes there is a slight fracture," the lips being "rather opener in the first element, and closing to the normal (u) in the second."—*did*, the form (dù$_{o}$d) here, and in Goosnargh, is remarkable, it recalls the old *lust* list lest, *suster* sister, *gult* guilt, *hulles* hills, *put* pit, etc., see suprà Part I. p. 298.—*sure*, the form (sa'ʊr) is strange.

6. *and the old*, (dh) is used for the definite article as well as (th), with the general rule, (th) before consonants and (dh) before vowels or silent *h*. But this rule is not exact, as shewn by (ʊ)dh gráʊnd) in par. 9, and by numerous (th) before vowels in the G. version.—*ask*, or (aks).

7. *asked*, or less frequently (aks,t).—*onght not to be wrong*, or (ó$_{1}$ùt' tʊ bi rìt) ought to be right.—*what do-n you think*, another instance of the verbal plural in *-en*.

8. *pig*, sometimes (bíʊst).—*husband*, the (n) was lengthened, but is weaker than in an accented syllable; this is not written.

9. *lane*, (lúʊn) would descend from either Ws. form *láne lone*.

10. *a marred child*, that is, a spoiled child.

13. *do-n you know*, another example of the verbal pl. in *-en*.—*want*, or (wȯnt).—*neither* or (*oo*dhʊr) either.

*Notes to Goosnargh* cs.

1. *man*, *thou*, greetings and use of *thou* as on p. 337.—*pull*, perceptibly, but not much protruded lips.—*pull your faces as long as a barn 'heck,'* or weather-board at a barn door to keep out the rain.—*for aught as I care—all nought*, the vowels (*o*$_{1}$, ʌ$^{1}$), which are practically identical and probably = (o), have been considered on p. 353.—*neither* (n*oo*dhʊr) also used.

2. *two or three*, few. *we have-n none of us*, instance of verbal pl. in *-en*. *Blackburn* (:blɛgbrʊn).—*afterwards*, perhaps literally *that after* = *after that*.

3. *quiet* (kwaa¹t), obs. (aa¹).—*till* (tin).—*look thou!*

4. *maze*, or gypsy-track, see Peacock's n.Li. glossary under Boswell.

5. *father*, either (fadh'ʊr) or (fa¹ˌd'ʊr).—*squeaking* or (skweekin).

6. *just meet the best of you, meet* means precisely, exactly.—*ask*, (ash) used by elderly people.

7. *do-n you think*, an example of verbal plural in *-en*.

8. *I was*, the (*ái*)r) stands for *I wor* (*ái* wʊr).—*and all*, too, also.—*swallowing*, the form (swalɛkin) seems to preserve the original guttural ags. *swolgen*.

9. *reach* (ratʒ), hence stretch.—*green sward*, called (griin súʊrd) by elderly people.—*Sunday coat* or (tu₀dhʊr kúʊt) the other coat, a workman being supposed to have only two, working and bettermost.

10. *frining and whining*, whimpering and whining.—*badly*, ill.

11. *their Jim's wife*, Mr. Kirk says *daughter-in-law* is not used, but Mr. L. at P. uses it.—*fold*, courtyard.

12. *gradely*, very, truly, properly, completely.

13. *from that day to this*, or (fre dhɛn' tʊ náu) from then to now.—*Jack* or (:djən) John.—*either*, or *oo*dhʊr.

14. *piking off*, taking myself off.—*to tolder over*, this word is not in the glossaries, but its meaning "to crow over" is clear.

## Poulton Phrases.

from Mr. Lawrenson's family, noted by TH.; those marked * were taken from the aunt, b. 1797.

1. (ʌ d*o*)nt fiil *i* gù₀d fɛt'l), I don't feel well.
2. (uu)z varʊ kant), she's very well and lively, used of old people only.
3. (ar)tʊ gu*j*in tʊ ívt dh)uun tʊd*ee*?), art thou going to heat the oven to-day?
4. (bri*q*)th ka₍dʊ₎r ívr), bring the cradle here [the common word, but (krɛd'l) is also used].
5. (*ái*)m báun dáun)th táun, tʊ b*ái* ʊ ráund páund ʊ bu₀₍tʊ₎r, ʊn fɔtʒ ʊ ku₀pfʊ ʊ sʌ¹t wa₍tʊ₎r), I am boun (i.e. going) down the town to buy a round pound of butter, and fetch a cupful of salt water. [This is a sentence concocted by Fylde (:fáild) people and pronounced by them as above, to laugh at the s.La. people who come to Blackpool, and who are accused of sayin (ʌ)m gu)*in* daan t' taan, tʊ b*ái* ʊ raand paand ʊ bu₀₍tʊ₎r, ʊn fɛtʒ ʊ ku₀pfʊ ʊ sʌ't wee₍tʊ₎r).]
6. (ì)z ʊ gr*ee*dl*i* gu₀d mʌ'n, ʊn dhat)s ʊ gr*ee*dl*i* bad ʊn, gr*ee*dl*i* *i*l), he's a really good man and that's a really bad one, really ill.
7. (dɔf' dh*i* tlúʊz,—kúʊt), do-off [=take off] thy clothes,—coat, not applied to shoes.
8. (ì)z gjɛt'n dh)ʌʌmz ʊn dh)ɔr*i*ndʒ), he has got the alms and the orange.
9. (*i*m ʊs kìps ʊ shɔp ʊnìnst m*ái*n), he that keeps a shop over-against mine.
10. (as)tʊ ɛd dh*i* brɛ'*i*kfʊst), hast thou had thy breakfast [for (ɛd) over the Wyre, at Pilling (6 nnw.Poulton), they use (ɛn)].
11. (*iv*)*it* [? th k*oo*sʊ] gjɛts ʊw*ee* frʊm)f fru₀nt ʊ)dh áʊs, *i*t)s *i*)th rúʊd), if it [? the causeway, paved space] gets away from the front of the house, it's [said to be] in the road.
12. *(*ái*)m bɔd m*i*dl*i*n), I'm but middling, in health.

13. *(ʒa)r ʊ vast grɛt wáil ʊfúʊr ʒáu kɛ'm), you're a vast great while afore you come. [Observe (kɛm) not (ku̯m).]
14. *(th) kùth s,trúʊk mi), the cold struck me [the (th) not quite certain].
15. *(it)s vast plɛzʊnt if fòk bi wiil), it [the weather] is [vastly] very pleasant if folk be well. [Obs. subj. mood.]
16. *(ái sàrft t' pigz ʊn sàrft t' kaavz), I served [regular word for attended to, applied to domestic animals] the pigs and served the calves.
17. (an ʒʊ bin badli aa dee dhɛn' ?), have you been ill all day then? [Obs. (an) verbal pl. in *-en*.]
18. (wɔ)dʊn ʒʊ want ?), what do-en you want ? [Obs. verbal pl. in *-en*.]
19. *a.* (ʒa noon dhi)z dhɛm u̯dhʊr thiqz), you know-en there's those other things [something rather remote, pointed out by (noon), Mr. L. thinks]. *b.* (wɛl ʒa noo a)m láik tʊ gu tʊ)th tʒɛrtʒ), well, you know [something present, and hence (noo) not (noon)], I'm like [am obliged] to go to the church. [It is not at all likely that Mr. L.'s opinion about this distinction is well founded. The verbal pl. in *-en* had, he thought, died out, and he was probably endeavouring to account for a particular case.]

## Wyersdale, La. (6 se.Lancaster), dt.

pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of Mr. John Gornal, Border Side Farm.

1. náu ʒʊ sì, tʒaps, ái)m rɛ'it ʊbáut dhat lit'l las ku̯min frʊ th skuul.
2. shu)z gu·in dáun t' rûʊd dhíiʊr, thrúu t' rod geet, on t' lɛft and sáid.
3. kɔnsàrn it ! it)s gA'n s,tɛ'iit u̯p tʊ)t rɔq dúuʊr.
4. wîʊr shʊ)l ap'n fáind dhat ,dru̯qk'n dîʊf wiz'nd fɛlʊ kaad :tɔm.
5. wi aa' noo im varʊ wíil.
6. mái wòrd ! bʊt wènt th óud tʒap suun làrn ʊr nɔt tʊ du it ʊgjeen, pûʊr dhiq'.
7. sì ʒʊ ! íz'nt it ,trúu ?

*Notes to Wyersdale* dt.

1. *school*, or (ʒɔn skuul).
3. *it's gone*, or (tʒáild)z gɔ'n), child has gone.—*wrong door*, or (rɔq' áus).
4. *happen*, or (tɛn tʊ wA'n), or (varʊ láik).

## The Fylde (:fáild), La., cwl.

From the following sources.

P Poulton, wn. by TH. in 1876, from the family of Mr. T. Lawrenson, of Poulton, and a visitor there, a working man, b. 1821. Those marked * were from an aunt, b. 1797, and illiterate. The (uu, ii) were not quite pure, see notes to Poulton cs. p. 356.

K Kirkham (:kjərkʊm), (8 w-by-n.Preston), wn. by TH.
G Goosnargh (5 nne.Preston), wn. by TH. from dictation of Mr. E. Kirk, see also cs. p. 354. Garstang (:gjaa·stin) is said to have the same pron.
W Wyersdale, wn. by Mr. TH. in 1881 added here for comparison. The preceding dt. shews that (*ái*)m) and not (*ái*)z) is used, and that (th) occurs for the def. art. These keep the dial. away from D 31.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 P ɛv. 14 G drʌʌ¹. 18 P pɔnkeeks [pancakes]. 19 G *teel*. 21 W n*eem*. 23 K *seem*. A: 40 G kɔm'. 43 P and wɪdáut dh) ètɹ [hand without the H]. 44 G land. 51 P mʌ'n [used for husband, see 297], W màn. 54 P want, wɔnt. — G kjat [cat]. A: *or* O: 64 W roq raq.

A'- 67 G gu*jin* [going]. 69 W n*oo*. 76 G túʊd. 81 W lûʊn. 82 G wɔnst. — G súʊp [soap]. — G rúʊp [rope]. 86 W ûʊts. A': 101 P úʊk. 104 PG rúʊd. 106 P brúʊd. 107 PG lúʊf. 109 [W older speech (lâʊr lʌ'khʊr) lower]. — G dɑ'*ùl* [a dole]. — G fúʊm [foam]. 115 GW úʊm. 117 K wʌ'n, G ʊlúʊn [alone]. 118 G búʊn. 122 W núʊ, núʊn. 124 GW stûʊn.

Æ- 138 W fadhʊr fa,dʊ,r. — G ladhʊr [ladder]. 140 G *eel*. 144 *P ʊgjé,in. 146 G m*een* [see 457]. Æ: 161 GW d*ee*. 172 W grɔs. — K kà'rt, kæ'rt. 181 P pad. Æ'- 182 P síʊ. 184 W líʊd. 185 P riid. 192 K míʊn. — míʊn [mean adj.]. 194 *P ɔni. 200 W wîʊt. 202 P íʊt. 210 G tl*ee*. 211 G gr*ee*. 221 P fíʊr. 222 G íʊr [this is probably not the same word as hair, written *hure* and various other ways in Prompt. Parv. p. 249 and 252, meaning 'head covering,' or 'cap,' ags. húfa, and is probably only the hair of the head, not horsehair for ex.]. 223 K dhíʊr, W dhíʊr. 224 W wîʊr.

E- 231 P th dh t', G th t' [no (dh)]. 233 W spɛ'ɪk. — P ɛ'it [eat]. E: — K rɛ'ítɹ [reach]. 261 W *see*. 262 GW w*ee*. 270 ii P bɛli. 274 G bɛnsh. 277 G ,d,rɛnsh. 278 G [not used, replaced by (las')]. E'- 290 W ì. 297 P fɛli [used also for husband, see 51]. 299 G griin, W gr*ii*n. E': — P brîʊr [briar]. 314 W îʊrd. — G *táit* [tight, (tii *it* *táit*) tie it tight].

EA: 322 W laf. 326 K ɛ'*ud*, PW *óud*. 328 *P th)kùth [the cold sub.]. 335 PG ʌʌ¹. 336 PG fʌʌ¹. — P ʌmɛst [almost]. 338 PG kʌʌ¹. — P sʌ't [salt]. EA'- 347 P ɛ'id, W ɛ''id. — líʊp [leap]. EA': 350 W díʊd. 355 P díʊf. 359 KG nɛbʊr. 360 P tíʊm. 361 P bíʊn. 363 P tɹíʊp. 366 P grɛt, W gɔrt. — dɑ'*u* [dew]. 370 G r*oo*. EI- 372 *P *ái*. EO- 387 G *nuu*. EO: 392 K ɹan. 396 GW wàrk [sb. see 694]. — kjàrv (carve). 398 G stàrv. 399 G brìt. 402 W làrn. 403 K fà'r, fæ'r. EO'- — G ,t,rì [tree]. — PG tɹúʊk [choke]. 417 G tɹɑ'*u*. EO': 423 K thíii thí,i. 424 W [older speech] rú,kh. 425 G lit. 435 *P ɹa jâ*u*. 437 W ,t,rúuth. EY- 438 W dii dii.

I- 446 G n*ái*n. 448 P dhíʊrz. I: — P bɔrd [bird]. 457 G mìt ʊn m*ee*n [might and main]. 458 GW nìt. 459 P rit, W rɛ'it. 462 G sìt. — G bi*jind* [behind]. 487 W ɹu$_o$s,tʊ,r,dʊ. I'- 492 G s*ái*d. 494 W t*ái*m. I': 501 G w*ái*d. 506 P wu$_o$mɛn. 513 G w*ái*ʊr. 517 G víuu.

O- — PG smùk [smoke]. 518 G bɔdi. — P uun [oven]. 521 P fó,il. — P ʊfúʊr [afore] — P kúʊt [a cote, as a dovecote]. O: — P frɔg [frog], G frɔg. — G fɔg [fog]. 529 P bró,ut. 531 W dóu,t'ʊ,r. 532 G kó,il. 541 W wènt. — PW skúʊr [score]. 550 PG wʌ'rd. — G mʌ'r,dʊr [murder]. — P tʊmʌ'rn [to-morrow, TH. noticed the (r) as 'rather strong']. O'- 555 W shúu. — GW fɔdhʊr [fodder]. 559 W mu$_o$dhʊr. 560 K skuu. 562 G mu$_o$nth [month]. 565 G núʊz. O': 575 K stù$_o$d. 579 W ʊnu$_o$f. — P puu [pool, nearly pure (uu)]. 587 GW dù$_o$n. 588 W nuun.

U- 600 G lù$_o$v. 603 *P kʌ'm, K kamin, G ku$_o$min, kù$_o$m. 605 KGW sù$_o$n. 606 W dûʊr. U: — K puu⁵ [pull, inclined to (p*áu*⁵)]. 612 G sù$_o$m. — G wu$_o$n,dʊ,r. U'- 640 W [pl.] k*ái*. 645 *P ʊbuun. U': 658 P d*áu*n. 663 W á*us*.

Y- 674 W dù$_o$d. Y: 686 P b*ái*. — P shùf [shelf]. 694 P wark, wartɹ [in sense of ache], G wark [verb, see 396]. — G war*i* [worry]. — G wʌ'rm [worm]. Y': 709 G f*ái*ʊr. 712 G m*ái*s.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 W làd. 718 K ˌtˌreed. 736 W las. I. *and* Y. 758 W gərl. O. 763 G *room*. — PG dɑg [dog], G (dɔg). — GP tlɑg [clog], G (tlɔg'). — P mu$_o$qki [monkey]. U. — P tíun [a tune]. — G kʌ'r [a cur]. — G ɔri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 *P plè$_1$s [TH. asks whether the vowel were formerly deeper (è$_1$) than now (è)]. — G p*ee* [pay]. 824 W tɹéɐr tɹîɐr. 830 K ˌtˌr*ee*n. 841 W tɹans. — G sl*ee*t [slate]. — G pl*ee*t [plate]. — P k*oo*sɐ [causeway]. E.. 867 PK t*ee*. 890 W bîɐs [pl. cows]. I.. *and* Y.. 901 G f*áí*n. O.. — PG rúɐst [roast]. — PG túɐst [toast]. — G rúɐz [rose]. 940 P kúɐt. 941 P fuul [nearly pure]. 947 P bó$_1$il. — fʌ'r, fʌr [fur]. — P tʌʌ'rn [turn]. 954 *P w*u*$_o$shɐn. U.. 965 P ó$_1$il. — PG ʌ'rt [hurt].

## VAR. ii. THE ISLE OF MAN.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County Lists, under the following names, where † means obtained by TH.

*Ma.* †Kirk Christ Lazayre, †Kirk Christ Rushen, †Kirk Patrick, †Peel.

*Area.* In March, 1879, the Rev. W. Drury, vicar of Kirk Braddan (2 w.Douglas, Ma.), wrote to me: "The Manx peasantry are remarkable for their good English. Indeed, it has often been observed by Englishmen resident in the island, that their accent is much more correct than that of the English peasantry generally. The Manx language is fast getting out of use, but still in many parts it is very generally spoken. It will not be what we call extinct, for two or three generations yet." The English, therefore, extends over the whole Isle, but it is an English spoken by foreigners, and, as is the case with Welsh-English, is not entirely book-learned, but more or less tinctured with the neighbouring dialect.

*Character.* The dialect is mixed. It is by no means the remarkably "good," that is, "received," speech, which Mr. Drury seems to imagine, possibly from intercourse with the better educated. The use of *I am* in the form (a)m) separates it from D 31, which uses (a)z) *I is*. The use of *the* (dhɐ) as the def. art. again separates it from D 31, which uses (t'), but also separates it from D 23, Var. i., which uses (th) and occasionally (dh) before a vowel. This *the* is, however, almost the only important mark distinguishing Var. ii. from Var. i., and the use of (dhɐ) is of course strictly inculcated in the schools, so that it was to be expected. The U′ words have one of the diphthongs (ə'*u*, ɜ'*u*, ó*u*, á$^1$*u*), at any rate it varied in the pron. of the informants examined, but there was no approach to the (*ú*$_1$u) of part of D 31 lying to the n. of s. *hoos* line 6, and though the small part of D 31 s. of this line uses (ó*u*) in Lonsdale n. of the Sands and (*áu*) in Lonsdale s. of the Sands, the Isle of Man, or D 23, Var. ii., is separated from both by *I am* and *the* for *I is* and *t'*. Var. i., however, has (*áu*), which is nearly reached in the (á$^1$*u*) of Var. ii. There is no approach to the peculiar sw.La. (aa$^1$, ææ) for U′. I′ words have (*ái*, *ái*) in both Vars. i. and ii. The words

with A-, A:, A′, Æ, Æ′, E, E′, EA, EA′, EO, EO′, and probably U, are treated substantially alike in both varieties. TH. appreciated and wrote ($u_o$), but the palaeotyping was done in Manchester, where ($u_o$) is general, and most of the persons interviewed had been in Manchester some time. Hence the Manx sound may be ($u$), although ($u_o$) is here recorded. Hence phonetically it is impossible to regard the speech of the Isle of Man as anything but a variety of m.La., having numerous points of agreement and only one point of real difference—the treatment of the def. art. *the*; for the absence of the verbal plural in *-en*, already nearly extinct in Var. i., can scarcely be considered in Var. ii.

*Illustrations.* Mrs. Roscoe, of Kensington, a native of the Isle of Man, having given me an introduction to Miss Cannell in Manchester, TH., who lives there, very carefully pal. her version of the dt., and subsequently he discovered other natives of the island, residing in Manchester, whose account of the pron. at home, assisted by that of friends who came over, he was also enabled to pal. Thus I have obtained three dt. and several wn. from the n. m. and s. of the island, shewing slight differences, but substantial agreement. As the speech is no true dialect, the localisation of the differences has no dialectal value, and the interlinear presentment of the three dt. points them out at a glance. But the occasional use of (ˌt) for (th) especially before (r) in the n. and m. of the island, and the regular (th) in the s., should be noted. Thus in the n. and m. we have (ˌtroon ˌtrɛ'd ˌtrɛt ˌtrii ˌtruu) thrown thread threat three through, and in the n. (ˌtik ˌtiq ˌtartiin) thick thing thirteen. This is in some respects comparable with Orkney and Shetland habits.

### Three Interlinear dt.

L. *Kirk Christ Lazayre* (2 w.Ramsey, on the ne. of the I. of Man), dictated by Mr. T. Curphey, joiner, b. 1853, who was brought up there, but had resided several years in Manchester, when this was pal. in 1881, and revised three times in 1884 by TH.

P. *Peel*, above the middle of the island on the west coast, dictated in 1881 by Mr. F. Kaye, joiner, native, b. 1853; having resided several years in Manchester, he took the opportunity of having it revised by his sister, about 25, and a friend of hers, about 19, residents in Peel, who came to Manchester for a few days in 1884, and the dt. given, as thus revised, was pal. by TH.

R. *Rushen* (:ru$_o$shun), the most s. parish in Man, dictated to TH. (in Sept. 1881, and revised March, 1882) by Miss Cannell, head schoolmistress at St. Margaret's Day School for Girls, Whalley Range, Manchester, then about 27, and Miss Cubbin, also a schoolmistress in Manchester, then about 30, both natives.

1. *Lazayre.* nâ'*u* *ái* *see*, bôiz, ɹu sì nâ'*u* dhʊt *áim* rə'*it* ʊbə'*ut*
*Peel.* wɛl, bôiz, ɹu sì dhʊr ʌ)m rə'*it* ʊbə'*ut*
*Rushen* wɛ'l, bôiz, ɹʊ sii dhʊr *a*)m rə'*it* nə'*u* ʊbə'*ut*

L dhat l*i*l gjèl komʊn frʊm)dhʊ)skuul ɹonˌdʊˌr.
P dhat l*i*l gjèl komʊn ɹanˌdʊˌr frʊm skuul.
R dhat l*i*l gjê⌊ʊl ɹanˌdʊr komʊn frʊm skuul.

2. L shi)z gòʊn dəˈʌn dhʊ)rôʊd dhîʊr ˌtruu dhʊ)rɛd
P shi)z gòʊn dəˈʌn dhʊ)rood dhêʊr ˌtruu dhʊ)rɛd
R dhéʊr shi is goon dəʌn dhʊ)rood, thruu dhʊ)rɛd

L gjêʊt, ɔn dhʊ)lɛf and sáid ʊf)dhʊ)rôʊd.
P gjeet, ɔn dhʊ)lɛf an səˈid ʊv)dhʊ)rood.
R gjèt ɔn dhʊ)lɛf nɑˈn səˈid.

3. L lùk, bôiz, dhʊ)tʒâil ʊz)gɑˈn rəˈit u₀p tʊ)dhʊ)rɔq
P wɛˈl shúʊr ʊnu₀f, dhʊ)tʒəˈil ʊz gɑˈn sˌtrɛˈit u₀pˈ tʊ)dhʊ)rɔqˈ
R aa shûʊr ɔnu₀fˈ dhʊ tʒəˈil ʊ gɑ̀nˈ sthrɛˈit u₀pˈ tʊ)dhʊ)dóʊr

L dæˈuʊr.
P ˌhəˈus.
R ʊ)dhʊ)rɔq həˈusˈ.

4. L whîʊr shi)l meebi fâin dhat ˌdˌru₀qkʊn dèf
P kwíʊr ʌ)m thiqkʊn shi)l)ap'n fâin dhat ˌdˌru₀qkʊn dèf
R anˈ mèvi shi)l fâin dhat dèf ˌdˌru₀qkʊn

L pûʊr lùkʊn fɛlʊr ʊf)ʊ :tɔmaˈs.
P ôul kreeˌtʊˌr :tɔmi.
R blə'i ɔv)ʊ :tɔmʊs.

5. L wì ʌʌl noo ˌhim vɛri wɛˈl.
P wì ʌʌl noo)ʊm wɛˈl ʊnu₀f.
R wi ʌʌl noo him wɛˈl ʊnu₀fˈ.

6. L wɔ̀nt dhʊ)áˈul fɛlʊ suun làrn)ʊr nɔt tʊ)du)ʊt ʊgjeen, pûʊr
P wɔ̀nt dhʊ)ôul fɛlʊ làrn)ʊr nɔt tʊ)du)ʊt ʊgjeen, pûʊr
R wɔ̀nt dhi əˈul fɛlʊ làrn)ʊr nɔt tʊ)du)ʊt agjeen, dhʊ

L ˌtiq !
P tʒəˈil !
R bɑˈkh !

7. L sì ! iz'nt)ʊt rəˈit wɔt ʌ)wʊs)seeʊn ?
P wɛˈl nəˈu ! iz'n)ʊt ˌtrœˈu ?
R lukˈ ! iznʊt ˌtˌrœˈù nə ?

*Notes to Lazayre* dt.

1. *about*, or (ʊbɛˈut).—*little* or (litˈl).
3. *right*, sometimes (sˌtˌrɛˈit).—*door* or (nóˌus).
4. *maybe* or (praps) perhaps.
6. *learn* = teach, or (tɛl ʊr) tell her. —*thing*, or (tʒâil) child.
7. *what I was saying*, or (wɔt ʌ)tâˈul ʒʊ) what I told you.

*Notes to Peel* dt.

1. *that*, the form (dhʊt) converted into (dhʊr) before a vowel.
4. *happen*, or (praps, meevi) perhaps, maybe.

*Notes to Rushen* dt.

1. *that*, see note to Peel.—*boys*, mates not used in the dialect.
2. *gone*, or (gòn).
4. *bly*, a good-for-nothing, lazy, do-less, etc., creature, or (wès,t,rul) waistrel, apparently a Manx word.
6. *the bach*, the little thing, apparently a Manx word. *bach* = little in Welsh.

## Isle of Man cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Mr. T. Curphey, who dictated the Lazayre dt., and his wife, who was born and lived chiefly near Peel; from Mr. F. and Miss Kaye and Miss Leece for Peel; and Miss Cannell and Miss Cubbin for Rushen, in addition to the words in the dt.

L Lazayre (:lvzéevr). P Peel. R Rushen (:ru₀sh·en).

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 21 L nêvm, P neem nee¹m, R neem. A: 43 P han an. 46 P kjand'l. 51 R mæ'n. A'- 73 P soo. 86 L ôvts. 87 L klooz. 99 P ,t,roon. A': 104 L rôvd. 115 L ôvm. 117 P wA'n. 124 L stoon.
Æ- 138 LR faadhvr [when used, generally (dee) dad]. 148 P fîvr. — P hervn [herring]. 152 L waa,tv,r, P wAA,tv,r. Æ: 161 LR dee. 172 P grES. 179 P kwAt. Æ'- 182 P see. 183 PR teetj. — P stîvrz [stairs]. 200 L whîvt whêvt, P wheet kweet, PR whèt. Æ': 205 P ,t,rE'd. 222 P hîvr. 223 P dhêvr. 224 P whîvr, R whêv.
E- 233 L speek. — P eet. 252 L kjEd'l kjEt'l. E: 261 P see. 262 LP wee. 265 L s,t,rE'it. — P fiil [field]. E'- 290 R hi. 299 LR grìn. E': 312 P hîvr. 314 PR hàrd.
EA: 322 R làf. 326 L á¹ul. 328 L kâ¹ul. 331 L sâ¹ul. 332 LP tá¹ul, P tə'ul. 334 P èpni [halfpenny]. 336 P fAAl. EA'- 347 L ,hE'd, R hèd. EA': 361 L beenz. 364 R tjap. 366 L grêvt, R greet. 367 L ,t,rEt.
EO: 394 L jon,dv,r, P jandhvr. 402 P làrn. — L sis,tv,r, P sisthv,r. EO'- 411 LP ,t,rii. — LP ,t,rii [tree]. EO': 436 R ,t,rœ'u. 437 R ,t,rœ'uth. EY'- 438 LR dái.
I- 440 L wik'. 442 P ibvn. I: — L ,tik [thick]. 458 P nə'it. 464 P kwitj. 466 L tjáil, P tjæ''il. 480 L ,tiq, P thìq. 487 P jisthvrde. I'- 492 L sáid. 494 LPR táim. 498 L rə'it. I': 504 L nə'if. 505 LP wə'if. 514 P áis.
O- — P shu₁f'l [shovel]. — P ,t,root [throat]. O: — R shru₀b. 531 R dAA,tv,r. 540 P holvn. O'- 555 P shuu. 562 L muun. 568 L brodhvr. O': 571 P gu₀d. 584 L stuul, P stùd'l [little stool]. 587 LP dù₀n. 588 R nuun. 590 L flæ'uvr.
U- 605 LR sù₀n. 606 L dæ'uvr, P dûvr. 607 P bu₀,tv,r. U: 612 R su₀m. 613 L ,d,ru₀qkvn. U'- 634 L ,t,ruu. 640 L ka'u. 641 L áu. 650 LP ubə'ut. U': 654 P shrə'ud. 657 L brɑ'um. 658 P dæ''um. 659 L tə'um, P tæ''um. 663 L ,hæ'us hóus. 667 P ə'ut. 668 L prâ¹ud.
Y- 677 L ,d,râi. 682 P lil. Y: 691 L máind. Y'- 707 L ,tæ,r,tiin.

### II. English.

A. 714 L là¹,r. — L prirezs, P pridvzs [potatoes]. I. *and* Y. — P whip kwip'. O. 791 LP bôi boh. U. — P lu₀mp [lump].

### III. Romance.

A·· 811 L plêvs. 824 L tjêvr, P tjîvr. 830 P ,t,reen. 841 P tjans, R tjans tjans. — L pagvd [packet]. E·· 867 LP tee. — P la',tv,r [letter]. — P sàrv [serve]. — P perikvt [petticoat]. I·· *and* Y·· 898 P nə'is nə'is. 901 L fáin. O·· — P ,t,roon [throne]. 935 P ku₀n,t,ri. 939 L klòs. 950 L su₀bvr. U·· 970 LP dju₀s.

# D 24 = e.NM. = eastern North Midland.

*Boundaries.* Begin on the n. at the b. of La., at a point 4 ne.Colne, La., and following the s. *tee* line 5 go across the deanery of Craven, Yo., between Skipton in Mid Craven and Keighley in South Craven, keeping nearly due e. to about Burley (8 n.Bradford), where the n. *theeth* line 5 joins the s. *hoose* line 6. Turn along this line 6, following the Wharfe to Harewood (7 nne.Leeds), and then deflecting to the se. pass e. of Thorner (6 ne.Leeds), Aberford (8 ene.Leeds), Sherburn (11 e.Leeds), and Gateford (14 e.-by-s.Leeds), where the line turns nearly s., through Haddesley (15 ese.Leeds), w. of Snaith (11 e.Pontefract) and w. of Thorne (8 ne.Doncaster), and e. of Doncaster to the n. point of Nt. Then follow the b. of Yo. past Nt., Db., La., till reaching the starting-point near Colne, La.

*Area.* The whole of the s.Yo., comprising the great industrial centres of Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Sheffield, and Rotherham on the w. and s., with the country towns of Wakefield, Pontefract and Doncaster on the e. A most diversified country. The w. parts inhabited by a great manufacturing population, rejoicing in their dialect. The e. parts populous, but not manufacturing.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ per JGG., § per CCR., ‖ systematic, ° io.

*Yo.* ‖Armitage Bridge, °Barnborough, †Barnsley, †Birkenshaw, §†Bradford, °Brotherton, †Calverley, °Campsall, °§Dewsbury, *†Doncaster, °East Hardwick, †Elland, §†Halifax, †Haworth, °Holmfirth, °§‖Huddersfield, °†‡§Keighley, §Leeds, †Manningham, °†Marsden, †Osset, †Ripponden, °Rossington, §Rotherham, ‖Roundhay, °Saddleworth, ‖†Sheffield, †South Owram, †Thornton, °†Tickhill, †Upper Cumberworth, †Wakefield.

*Characters.* In such a wide and varied region there must necessarily be considerable differences. I have found it best to distinguish nine varieties. The Western Group containing Var. i. Huddersfield, and Var. ii. Halifax, in many respects greatly resembles the adjoining parts of La., and has particularly the verbal pl. in *-en*, mildly but clearly developed, the article (th) occ., and (uu) hoo=she, more or less used, (shuu) the general s.Yo. form for *she*, also occurring. The North Central Group consists of Var. iii. Keighley, Var. iv. Bradford, Var. v. Leeds, Var. vi. Dewsbury, in which the peculiar character of the district is most developed, but there are diversities, and Dewsbury has affinities with Halifax as well as Keighley and Bradford. These names of large manufacturing towns are used, but of course the real dialect is heard in the surrounding villages. The South Central Group, containing Var. vii. Rotherham and Var. viii. Sheffield, is distinctly related to the adjacent Db., D 26, and has evident traces of the verbal pl. in *-en*, of which there are none in the n. central group. The Eastern Group consists of Var. ix. Doncaster and the whole e. slip, has Nt. affinities, evinced by a great absence of fractures, the (*áu*) treatment of U′, and the absence of (shuu) she.

The particulars of each of these groups are given further on. The main character of the whole group centres at Leeds, and

reducing it to the smallest and most distinctive elements, we may take

O, O′=(ói, úi) as in (óil, spúin) hole, spoon.
U′=(éu, aa) as in (éus, aas) house.

Somewhere in D 24 the use of ($u_o$), which is a mere transitional sound between (ɑ) and ($u$) (see p. 292), ceases, and ($u$) alone is used, and of course for some intermediate distance between the borders of the ($u_o$) and the ($u$) regions there is a mixed region in which both may be heard. The difference between ($u_o$, $u$) has escaped most observers, and I am obliged to take the authority of TH. exclusively. CCR. probably was quite unaware of ($u_o$) as distinct from ($u$), and hence gives ($u$) only. TH. made several journeys on purpose to discover where the change occurred and where the mixed forms prevailed, but his observations were necessarily incomplete, because he was able neither to examine places enough, nor people enough in each place, to determine with any amount of certainty what was the prevalent usage. Still his observations, as I have stated, are my only guide, and hence the following results obtained from his note-books are valuable. I make 4 classes.

1. only ($u$) heard at Skipton, D 31, and in D 24 at Keighley, Haworth, Thornton, Bradford, Calverley, Halifax, South Owram, Elland, Ripponden, Osset, Sheffield.
2. prevailing ($u$) but some ($u_o$) noticed at Wakefield, Doncaster, Tickhill, Finningley, Nt. (but half in Yo.), and even in D 30 at Hull and Hornsea.
3. prevailing ($u_o$) but some ($u$) at Marsden, Upper Cumberworth, and Barnsley.
4. only ($u_o$) heard at Manningham (close by Bradford in the midst of an ($u$) region, and hence possibly because too few people were observed, see p. 389, l. 18), and Thorne in D 30.

My own information derived from other sources gives ($u$) only and entirely ignores ($u_o$). It is as follows:

CCR. Skipton, Keighley, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, including Barnsley, where TH. found prevailing ($u_o$), and Rotherham.
Mr. Stead, Hull and Hornsea in D 30.
Dr. J. Wright, Windhill (2 n.Bradford).
Dr. Sykes, Doncaster.
Prof. Parkes, Sheffield.

Where this information conflicts with TH.'s it only shews that both ($u_o$, $u$) are heard or that my informants did not discriminate them. But the exclusive hearing of ($u_o$) at Manningham, almost a part of Bradford and surrounded by Shipley, Idle, Calverley, Bradford, Thornton, where ($u$) alone is heard, shews that TH. was unfortunate in the persons observed, and that at any rate his observations were not extensive enough. Marsden (between Huddersfield and Oldham, La., and hence in an ($u_o$) region), which has altogether a La. character, seemed at first to have exclusively ($u_o$), but TH. on making a second special visit, found that while ($u_o$) was almost universally used, cases of transition from ($u$) to ($u_o$) occurred in old speakers, and occasionally ($u$) itself remained, shewing that ($u_o$) was a recent development.

Under these circumstances I shall assume that ($u$) is used in all D 24, but that there is frequently an intrusive ($u_o$) on the borders

of La., Db. and Nt. This practically assumes the b. of Yo. as the s. b. of (*u*), but does not assume any n. b. for ($u_o$), that is, it assigns no precise area to the mixed use of (*u*, $u_o$). It is quite possible that the sound of ($u_o$) in the s., as in D 28, 29, may in future years pass over into (ɜ), and that the ($u_o$) in the n., as in D 21, 22, may spread even into Yo., preparing it for a similar change of (*u*) through ($u_o$) into (ɜ). The spread of education and the (at least attempted) inculcation of rec. pron. in schools may produce even greater changes within a century. Here, however, we have only to discover so far as possible existing habits, and must leave the future to take care of itself.

*Illustrations.* Through the kindness of CCR., author of the *Leeds* and *Mid Yorkshire Glossaries*, I obtained eight glossic versions of my cs. for this neighbourhood. These when written were very carefully considered by me, and all points of doubt were queried, giving rise to many interesting communications from CCR. For better comparison I give seven of these cs. interlinearly, so that the eye can at once observe the differences. The eighth, which gave the refined town speech of petty traders at Leeds, I have reduced elsewhere to a comparison with received speech, but I have added a new eighth, given me by Prof. Parkes, for Sheffield. These interlinear versions are placed first. Afterwards I consider each variety separately, giving first an introduction containing some dt. which I have recently obtained and a portion of a cs. from TH. and also a dt. from Dr. J. Wright, which are important checks on CCR.'s work. These relate to Upper Cumberworth Var. i., Elland Var. ii., Keighley Var. iii., Windhill and Calverley Var. iv., and Barnsley Var. vi. Then the notes on the corresponding cs. and dt., and finally a cwl. made up from the lw. and wl. that may have been furnished me by CCR. or other informants for further illustration of the variety in the neighbourhood of the chief centre. In the case of Leeds itself I give a remarkably complete cwl., carefully written in glossic by CCR. himself, with some wn. by TH. from Calverley, near Leeds. I give also an incomplete wl. compiled from Mr. Banks's Wakefield Glossary. The last variety, Doncaster, is illustrated by a tolerably full cwl. pal. by me from the dict. of Dr. Sykes, of Doncaster, who paid me two visits for the purpose. The numerous comic publications, such as the *Bairnsla Foaks' Annual* (published at Leeds) and the *Saunterer's Satchel* and *West Riding Almanac* (published at Bradford) are neither accurate nor local enough to be of any service in such an investigation as the present. But the account of the pronunciation prevalent at the borders of these unexplored regions shews within narrow limits what the pronunciation within them must be.

## Eight Interlinear cs.

These cs. have been arranged interlinearly for ready comparison, forming a conspectus of pron. in D 24. The side numbers indicate the numbers of the varieties already explained. The notes for each version are given subsequently. As Mr. Robinson in his desire to record idioms has sometimes dealt very freely with the text, the lines do not exactly correspond, but sufficiently so to make reference from one to the other easy and rapid. The following is the meaning of the numbers of the lines.

i Huddersfield (:*u*dhʊzf*i*l), or, according to TH., (:*u*ₒdhʊrsf*i*ld), and adjoining villages. See also the cwl. for Var. i. including Holmfirth, Marsden, Saddleworth, and Upper Cumberworth.

ii Halifax (:*é*ʊl*i*feks) and adjoining villages, as Ripponden. See also the parable of the Prodigal Son in the Halifax dialect in Part IV. p. 1400, in which some of the palaeotype forms are now superseded by those here used, but this will occasion no difficulty to the reader.

iii Keighley (:kiithlʊ) or Lower Craven. Mid and Upper Craven belong to the N. div.

iv Bradford (:bradfʊth) and adjoining villages.

v Leeds and its district already described, country speech.

vi Dewsbury and its neighbourhood, excluding Wakefield, but including Barnsley.

vii Rotherham.

The above seven were written by CCR in Glossic.

viii Sheffield, written in 1875 by Mr. D. Parker, formerly President of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and Prof. of Hebrew at the Wesley College, both of Sheffield, who had been well acquainted with the dialect for 60 years, and had lectured upon it before his Society, in a systematic orthography, supplemented by notes and correspondence. Nevertheless in many common unaccented words there is an element of uncertainty in this conjectural pal. translation.

Of the Doncaster variety I can only give a cwl.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0. | i | *Huddersfield.* | wôi | :dʒɔn*i* | az | n*o* | daats. |
| | ii | *Halifax.* | wat | fɔr :dʒɔn*i* | az | n*o* | dévts. |
| | iii | *Keighley.* | wat | fɔr :dʒ*ú*ʊn | ez | n*ú*ʊ | daats. |
| | iv | *Bradford.* | wat | fɔr :dʒɔn*i* | ez | n*ú*ʊ | daat. |
| | v | *Leeds.* | wat | fóʊ :dʒɔn*i* | ez | n*ú*ʊ | daats. |
| | vi | *Dewsbury.* | wɔt | fɔr :dʒɔni | ʊz | n*óo*ʊ | dévts. |
| | vii | *Rotherham.* | wó*i* | :dʒɔnʊ | ez | n*ú*ʊ | daats. |
| | viii | *Sheffield.* | wɔ'*i* | :dʒɔn | az)'nt | nʊ | daats. |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | i | wiil, | neebʊr, | ʒoo | ʊn | *i*m | mʊ | b*ú*ʊth)ʊn)ʒo | | lef |
| | ii | wiil, | neebʊr, | ʒoo | ʊn | *i*m | mʊ | b*ú*ʊth ʊ | ʒo | léeʊf |
| | iii | wiil, | néʊbʊr, | ʒaa | ʊn | *i*m | mʊ | b*ú*ʊth ʊn | ʒo | laaf |
| | iv | wiil, | néeʊbʊr, | ʒii | ʊn | *i*m, | t*í*u, mʊ | b*ú*ʊth ʊ | ʒʊ | laaf |
| | v | wiil, | néeʊbʊr, | ʒii | ʊn | *i*m | ʊ óʊl, ʒ*i* mʊ | b*ú*ʊth ɔn | ʒʊ | laf |
| | vi | wiil, | neebʊr, | ʒoo | ʊn | *i*m | mʊ | b*ú*ʊth o | ʒo | leef |
| | vii | will, | neebʊr, | ʒo | ʊn | *i*m | ʊn *oo*l | ʒon b*oo*th mʊ | | laf |
| | viii | w*ee*, | n*ee*bʊr, | ʒ*oo* | ʊn | ii | mʊ | b*ú*ʊth | | laf |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | | ʊt dh*i*s n*í*uz | ʊ m*ó*in. | w*ú*ʊ | k*é*ʊz ? | dhat dh*í*ʊ)z |
| ii | | ʊt dh*i*s nɛ'uz | ʊ m*i* oon. | w*ú*ʊ | k*é*eʊz ? | dhet dh*i*ʊ)z |
| iii | | ʊt dh*i*s n*í*uz | ʊ m*ó*in. | w*ú*ʊ | k*é*eʊz ? | dhat)s |
| iv | l*â*i*k*, | ʊt dh*i*s n*é*eʊz | ʊ m*i* ôʊn. | w*ú*ʊ | k*é*eʊz ? | dhat)s |
| v | l*â*i*k*, | ʊt dh*i*s n*é*eʊz | ʊ m*i* óʊn. | *ú*uʊ)s)t | k*é*eʊ ? | dhat dh*i*ʊ)z |
| vi | | ʊt dh*i*s n*í*uz | ʊ m*á*in. | w*ú*ʊ | k*é*eʊrz ? | dhet)s |
| vii | | at dh*i*s n*i*uz | ʊ m*ó*in. | w*ú*uʊ | k*é*eʊrz ? | dhat)s |
| viii | | ʊt dh*i*s n*í*uz | ʊ mɔ'in. | w*ú*ʊ | k*é*eʊrz ? | dhat)s |

i nodhʊr *ɪʊ* nʊ dh*ɪʊ*.
ii nodhʊr *ɪɪʊ* nʊ dh*ɪɪʊ*.
iii n*ú*ʊdhʊr *ɪɪʊ* nʊ dh*ɪʊ*.
iv n*ó*ʊdhʊr *ɪɪʊ* nʊ dh*ɪɪʊ*.
v noodhʊr *ɪɪʊ* nʊ dh*ɪɪʊ*.
vi noodhʊr *ɪɪʊ* nʊ dh*ɪɪʊ*r.
vii n*oo*dhʊr *ɪɪʊ* nʊ dh*ɪɪʊ*.
viii n*oo*dhʊr *ɪɪʊ* nʊ dh*ɪɪʊ*r.

2. i mon, *ɪ*t)s nobʊt ʊ f*ɪ*u ʊ men ʊt diiz
ii əz nooz *ɪ*t)s nobʊt ʊ fɛ'u ʊ men ʊt diiz
iii *ɪ*t)s nobʊd ʊ f*ɪ*u, wət diiz
iv m*u*n, *ɪ*t)s nobʊt ʊ fée*u* ʊ men ʊt g*ú*ʊz ʊn diiz
v m*u*n, *ɪ*t)s nəbʊt ʊ fée*u* ʊ men, ʊt g*úu*ʊz ʊn diiz
vi mon *ɪ*t)s nəbʊd ʊ f*ɪu* ʊ meen wət g*óo*ʊz ʊn diiz
vii əz n*oo*z *ɪ*t)s nəbʊr ʊ f*ɪu* wət g*oo*ʊz ʊn diiz
viii fíu men dii

i biko·s dhʊ)r left ət, w*ɪ*n noon dhat, d*u*)nʊt wi?
ii kos dhʊ)r léeʊft ʊt, dont əz?
iii kos dhʊ)r laaft at, w*ɪ*n nóoʊ, d*u*)nʊt wʊ?
iv kəs dhʊ)r gəənd at, əz núʊn)z baat nóoʊ*ɪ*n dhat?
v fə)bikəs dhʊ' gəənd at, adʊnt ʊz s*ɪu*ʊr ʊ dhat na?
vi dʒ*u*st ʊko·s dhe laft at, dhat uz nooz, d*u*)nʊt ʊz, n*ee*?
vii bikəs dhʊ' laft ʊt, d*oo*nt ʊz?
viii bikəs dhʊ)r laft ʊt, wi n*oo*, dúʊnt w*ɪ*?

i wat sʊd mak ʊm? *ɪ*t)s nət var*ɪ*
ii wat sʊd mak ʊm? *ɪ*t)s net var*ɪ*
iii wət sʊd mak ʊm? *ɪ*t)s n*u*t var*ɪ*
iv wat sʊd mak ʊm, naa? *ɪ*t)s n*u*t var*ɪ*
v pre)dhʊ na wut sʊd mak ʊm? *ɪ*t)s n*u*t var*ɪ*
vi wət s*u*d mak ʊm du)t, préeʊ? *ɪ*t)s n*u*t var*ɪ*
vii wət shʊd mak ʊm? *ɪ*t)s nət var*ɪ*
viii wət shʊd mak ʊm? *ɪ*t)s nət var*ɪ*

i lóɪkl*ɪ*, *ɪ*z *ɪ*t?
ii láɪkl*ɪ*, *ɪ*z *ɪ*t néeʊ?
iii lôɪk, *ɪ*z *ɪ*t naa?
iv láɪ]kl*ɪ*, iz)t naa?
v lâɪkl*ɪ*nz, *ɪ*s)t na?
vi láɪkl*ɪ*, *ɪ*z *ɪ*t n*ee*?
vii láɪklʊ, *ɪ*z *ɪ*t?
viii lɔ'ɪkl*ɪ*, *ɪ*z *ɪ*t?

3. i ɟee)a·vur dhiz iz th)matuz u)th tríuth u)th
ii aa)i·var, dhíiuz iz th)matuz u)th tríuth u)th
iii amsumi·vur, dhíiuz iz)t' faks u)th
iv aai·vur, dhíiuz iz)t' réeits u)t'
v amsumi·vu, dhíiuz íiu)z)t' féeur ɔdmunts u)t' tréeuth u)t'
vi ee)iv·ur dhíiuz iz tríudh un)t' matuz u)t'
vii oo)a·vu dhíiuz iz)t' matuz u)t' trooth u)t'
viii aa·sumi·vur dhíiuz iz)t' faks u)t'

i kéus, súu dɟust ɔd ɟóu din, frend,
ii kees, súu dɟust óud ɟor din, frend,
iii kéeus súu dɟust dhii óud tu din, frend,
iv kéeus, súu naa dhen aa)tu baan tu ɔd dhi din, frend,
v kéeus, súuu dɟust dhi ɔd dhi din widh dhu, if
vi keez un ool ubéeut konsaa·n, thru)t' thrid tu)l)t' niid'l, súu
vii kees, soo dɟust óud dhu nóiz, frend,
viii kees, súu dɟust óud ɟur nɔ'iz, frend,

i un bi kwóit wol o)v dun. éuk ɟo na!
ii un bi kwáiut wol o)v don. éeukun néeu!
iii un bi kwéut wal o dun. aakun naa!
iv un dɟus wish tu wɔl o dúin. naa aakun!
v dha kans)tu lâik, un wisht wa a dun. íiuz tu budz na!
vi dɟust ɟo óud ɟou nóoiz frend un wisht néu wóul ev dun. néeu dhen íiu ɟo!
vii un bi gwóit wol oo)v dun. íuz)ta naa!
viii un bi kwɔ'i)ut wɔ'il aa)v dun. aark!

4. i o)m saatun ói ɟíud dhum see —sum u dhéi fúuk ut
ii óu)m síur o ɟíud um see —sum u dhem fóuk ut
iii o)m síur ut o ɟíud um séeu—sum u dhem fúuuks ut
iv óu)m síur ut a íiud um séeu—sum u dhéum fóuk ut
v ái)m séeur ut a íiud um séeu—sum u dhem fóuk ut
vi ee)m siur e íiud um see —sum u dhem fúuks wot
vii ói)m saatun o íiud um sen —sum u dhem fúuuks ut
viii aa)m saartun ut a íiud um see —sum u dhem fúuks ut

i góud thru th)wol thiq fro th)fɔst u dhuse·lnz —dhat
ii went thru th)wúul thiq thro th)fɔst dhuse·lnz —dhat
iii went thru)t' wúul thiq fréu)t' fɔst u dhurse·lnz—dhat
iv went thriu)t' úuul thiq fru)t' fɔst dhuse·lnz —dhat
v went thru)t' úul thiq thru)t' fɔst u dhuse·nz —dhat
vi went thru)t' úul thiq thróu)t' fɔst dhuseenz —dhat
vii good thro)t' wúul thiq thru)t' fɔst dhusenz —dhat
viii went thru ool t' thiq thru)t' fɔrst dhusenz —dhat

i ói did seef ɐnu·f—
ii did o seef ɐnuf—
iii o did síur inif—
iv i did, síur inif, om i—
v did)i síuɐrlinz inif—
vi e did síur inif—
vii o did, om) shíur ɐnuf—
viii ʌ did, shíur ɐnuf—

5. i ɐt th) ɹuqis sun izse·ln, ɐ gret led ɐ nóin,
ii ɐ)th ɹóɐqis sun izse·ln, ɐ gət led ɐ náin,
iii ɐ)th ɹuqis suun, ɐ gəət lad ɐ nóin,
iv ɐt)t' ɹuqis sun izse·n, ɐ gət lad ɐ nâin,
v ɐt)t' ɹuqis sun izse·n, ɐt)s ɐ gət lad ɐ náin,
vi ɐt)t' ɹoqist sun izseen, ɐ gríɐt led ɐ nâin,
vii ɐt)t' ɹuqist sun izsen, ɐ gret lad ɐ nôin,
viii ɐt)t' ɹuqest sun izsen, ɐ gret lad nə'in ɹiir óud,

i nood iz fadhɐ vóis ɐt wons, dhoo it ·wor
ii nɐ'u iz fee·dhɐr vóis ɐt wons, dhoo it wor
iii níu iz fadhɐr vóis ɐt wuns, dhoo it ·wor
iv néeu)t' fadhɐ vóois dhʌʌ it ·wor
v néeu)t' fadhɐ vóis, ɐt wuns, let ɐlúuɐn it ·wóoɐ
vi nood iz feedhɐr vóis ɐt wuns, dho it ·wor
vii nood iz fadhɐ vóis ɐt wons, dho it ·wor
viii nood iz fadhɐrz vóis direktli, dho it ·wor

i sikɐn ɐ kwiɐr skweekin ɐn, ɐn ói)d trust ·im tɐ
ii sitɹɐn ɐ kwiiɐr skweekin ɐn, ɐn o)d trost ·im tɐ
iii sitɹɐn ɐ kwiiɐr skwiɐkin ɐn, ɐn o)d trust ·im tɐ
iv sitɹ ɐ kwiiɐ skwéɐkin ɐn, ɐn o)st trust ·im tɐ
v sitɹɐn ɐ kwiiɐ skwéikin ɐn, ɐn a)d trust ·im fɐ)tɐ
vi sitɹɐn ɐ kwiiɐ skweekin ɐn, ɐn o)d trust ·im tɐ
vii sɐ kwiiɐ ɐn skweekin, ɐn o)d trost im tɐ
viii sɐ kwiiɐ ɐn skwiikin, an ʌ)d trust im tɐ

i spéik th)tríuth oni dee, ɹee, ói ·wod.
ii speek th)tríuth oni dee, iɐ, o ·wod [·wuold].
iii spéik)t' tríuth oni déeɐ, iiɐ, o ·wod.
iv spéik tríuth oni déeɐ, ee, a ·wod.
v spéik)t' tréeuth oni déeɐ, ái, a ·wod.
vi spéik tríuth oni dee o ·wood.
vii speek)t' trooth oni dee, aa marɐ o ·wod.
viii spéik)t' truuth oni dee, dhat ʌ ·wud.

6. i ɐn th)*óud* w*u*mɐn ɐse ln ɐl tel on*i* o ɟon ɐt lefs n*íiv*,
ii ɐn th)*óud* w*u*mɐn ɐse·ln ɐl tel on*i* o ɟoo ɔt léeɐfs n*ee*,
iii ɐn th)*óud* w*u*mɐn ɐse·ln ɐl tel on*i* o ɟoo ɐt lafs naa,
iv ɐn)t' *óud* w*u*mɐn ɐse·n ɐl tel on*i* o ɟɐ ɐt lafs naa,
v ɐn)t' *óud* w*u*mɐn ɐse·n ɐl tel ɔn*i* ɔn ɟɐ ɐt lafs naa,
vi ɐn)t' *óud* w*u*mɐn ɐsee·n ɐl tel ɔn*i* o ɟo wɔt lefs nee,
vii ɐn)t' *óud* w*u*mɐn ɐsen ɐl tel onɐ o ɟo ɐt lafs naa,
viii ɐn)t' *óud* w*u*mɐn ɐrse·n ɐl tel ɔn*i* ɔn *ɟo* ɐt laf naa,

i ɐn telɐn ɟon stré*i*t of, tu, b*ii*ɐt
ii ɐn tel ɟoo street of, tu, béeɐt
iii ɐn tel yo stré*i*t of, t*oo*, béɐt
iv ɐn tel)t ɟɐ ré*i*t stré*i*t ɔf, t*iu*, fúɐr *óut*)s lat baat
v ɐn tel ɟɐ stré*i*t ɔf, t*iu*, dhaatɐn
vi ɐn tel ɟo ré*i*t of ɐn ool, w*i*dheeɐt
vii ɐn tel ɟo stré*i*t ɔf, ɐn ool, w*i*dhaat
viii ɐn tel ɟo stré*i*t aat ɐn *oo*l, w*i*dhaat

i m*i*tɟ bodhɐ, *i*f ɟon ɐl nobɐt aksɐn ɐ, *oo*! w*i*l)ɐnt uu?
ii m*i*tɟ bɔdhɐr, *i*f ɟoo)l nɔbɐt aks ɐr, ɑɑ! w*i*)nɐt sho?
iii m*i*tɟ bɔdhɐr, *i*f ɟol nɔbɐt aks ɐr, *oo*! w*i*)nt shɐ?
iv m*i*tɟ bɔdhɐ, *i*f ɟ*i*)l nɔbad aks ɐr, ɑɑ! w*ii*ɐ)nt shu?
v m*i*tɟ bɔdhɐr, ɐn)ɟ*i*)d nɔbɐd as ɐ, uu! w*ii*ɐnt shɐ?
vi m*i*tɟ bodhɐr, *i*f ɟo)l nɔbɐd eks *ɐr*, oo! w*i*l)ɐt shuu?
vii m*i*tɟ bodhɐ, *i*f ɟ*o*)n nɔbɐr aks ɐr, *oo*! weent shɐ?
viii m*i*tɟ bɔdhɐr, *i*f ɟ*o*)l nɔbɐt aks ɐr, ɔ'*i*! wíɐ)nt shu?

7. i l*ii*vstɐz ·uu teld *i*t ·mii wen ó*i* akst ɐ,
ii ɔn*i*geets u t*ó*ud ·mii *i*t, wen o akst ɐr,
iii ɔn*i*r*ú*ɐd sho teld ·mii *i*t, wen a akst ɐr,
iv ɔn*i* r*ú*ɐd sh*u* telt ·mii wen *ái* akst ɐr, ɐ
v l*ii*vsl*i*nz sh*o* teld ·mii ɐbaa·tɐn)t, wen a aast ɐ,
vi ɔn*i* r*oo*dz shu teld ·mii *i*t wen e ekst *ɐr*,
vii onɐ rɔdz shu teld ·mii wen *o* akst ɐ,
viii ɐt ɔn*i* r*ee*t, shu teld *i*t ·mii wen ɑ akst ɐr,

i ɐn ·uu
ii t*oo*thr*i* téeɐmz ɔvɐr, u d*i*d, ɐn o konsee·ts ·shuu
iii t*ú*ɐthri tóimz *ó*ɐr, sho d*i*d, ɐn ·shuu
iv t*ú*ɐthri tâ*i*mz *ó*ɐr, sh*u* d*i*d, ɐn shuu
v t*ú*ɐthr*i* tâ*i*mz *ó*ɐɐ, d*i*d shɐ, ɐn a konséɐt ·shuu
vi t*ú*ɐthrɐ tâ*i*mz ɔvɐr, shu did, ɐn ·shuu
vii t*ú*ɐthr*i* tô*i*mz *ó*ɐr, d*i*d shɐ, ɐn ·shuu
viii tuu or thrii tɔ'*i*mz *ó*ɐr, shu did, ɐn ·shuu

i óut nət tə bi raq ə sikən ə póint əz dhis, wat)ən
ii óut net tə bi req ə sitʒən ə póint əz dhis, wat)ən
iii óut net tə bi raq ə sitʒən ə póint əz dhis, wat də
iv óut nut tə bi req ə sitʒ ə póint əz dhis, st)
v óudənt tə bi req ə sitʒən ə póint əz dhis, aa)s)t
vi óut nət tə bi raq ə sitʒən ə póoint əz dhis, wət də
vii óut nət tə bi raq ə sitʒən ə póint əz dhis, wət)ən
viii óut nət tə bi raq upə sitʒ ə pɔ́int əz dhis, wət dən

i ·ʒoo thiqkən ?
ii ʒo thiqk ?
iii ʒoo thiqk ?
iv ·ʒii thiqk, naa ?
v ʒə thiqk ?
vi ʒo thiqk ?
vii ʒo thiqk ?
viii ʒo thiqk ?

8. i wiil, əz ói wər see)in, ·uu)d telən ʒo ool bíiət it,
ii wel', əz o wər see)in, ·shuu)d tel ʒo ool bécət it,
iii wiil, əz a wər see)in, ·shuu)d tel ʒo óoə bét it,
iv wiil, əz o wər see)in, ·shuu)d tel ʒə óoəl bat,
v wilz, əz a wə see)in, ·shuu)d tel ʒə ət óoəl enz,
vi weel, əz o wo see)in, ·shuu)d tel ʒo ool beet
vii wiil, əz o wər see)in, ·shuu)d tel ʒo)t úuəl istrə
viii wee, əz A wər see)in, ·shuu)d tel ʒo

i əz tə ʒéeə, wiiər, ən wen uu
ii ee, ən wiiər, ən wen u
iii st aa, ən wiiər, ən wen it wər ət sho
iv báuth áaə, ən wen, ən wiiər it tʒonst ət shu
v báuth aa, ən wiiər, ən wen it tʒonst ət sho
vi konsee·n, ən ee, ən wiiər ən wèn it wóoər ət shu
vii əs)t aa ən wiiər ən wen it wor ət sho
viii aa, wen, ən wíiər, shu

i fan th)drufən biiəs ət uu koolz ər uzbən,
ii fan th)drufən biiəs ət u koolz ər uzbən,
iii fan)t' drukən biiəs ət shu kooz ər uzbən, ən óoə)t'
iv fan)t' drukən biiəs ət shu kóoəlz ə uzbən ən,
v fan)t' drukən biiəs ət shə kóoəlz ə uzbən,
vi fan)t' drufən biiəs ət sho koolz ur uzbən on,
vii fan)t' drukən biiəst at shə koolz ər uzbən,
viii fan)t' druqkən biiəst ət shu koolz ər uzbənd,

i —u wil, ói bun fo)t!
ii —o)m béeund u wil!
iii rigmuróul,—âi)z bi bun fu)t shu wil.
iv —a)l bi bun on)t, shu wil.
v
vi —ái, e)m bun fo)t, shu wil.
vii — o)m bun fo)t sho wil!
viii

9. i uu thrept u soo im wi ur oon iin,
ii u thrept u soo im wi ur oon iin,
iii sho thríupt ut sho soo im wi ur óoun iin,
iv shu thrept ut shu SAA im wi ur óoun iin,
v sho thrept un went at it, ut shu sid)im wi ur óoun iin,
vi sho thrept ut shu siid im, wi ur oon iin
vii shu swéeur ut sho siid im wi ur oon in
viii shu swóour ut aa shu siid im wi ur óun iin,

i ligin stretjt Jéeut ut wol leqth, up u)dh gríiund,
ii ligin stretjt ut wúul leqth, up u)t' gréeund,
iii ligin stretjt aat oo iz buk un leqth, utop u)t' grund,
iv ligin stretjt slap óoul iz leqth, u)t' gréeund,
v ligin stretjt endleq utə·p un)t' grund,
vi ligin stretjt eet)t' úul un iz leqth, utə·p u)t' greend,
vii ligin stretjt ut wúuul leqth upu)t' graand,
viii ligin stretjt aat ut ful lenth upu)t' graand,

i i iz góid sundu kóit, tlóis bi)th iius dúur óil,
ii in iz góid sundu kóit, tlóis bi)th éeus dúur óil,
iii i iz góid sundu kóit, tlóis bi)t' éeus dúur óil,
iv dond i iz sundu kóit, tlóis bi)t' éus dúur óil,
v dond i iz gúid sundur kóit, tlóiz bi)t' aas dúuur óil,
vi dond i iz good sundu kóoit, tlóis bi)t' éeus dúuu stéid,
vii dond i iz good sundu kóoit, tlóis bi)t' aas dúu stiiud,
viii i iz gud sundu kúuut, djust bi)t' aas dúu

i u)th kóounu u JOn leen.
ii déeun u)th kóounu u JOn leen.
iii déun u)t' kóounur u JOnd lóin.
iv daan ut bodhum u JOn lóin.
v daan u)t' kóounur u JOn lóin.
vi deen ut)t' koonu u JOn leen.
vii daan ut')kóounu u JOn leen.
viii daan ut)t' kornur u dhat leen.

10. i ii wər əgee·t ə wóinin, u sez, fər ool)th wəld
ii ii wər əgeet ə wáinin, u *see·z*, fər ool)t' wəld
iii ii wər gévt ə wóinin, shu sez, fər óoə)t' wəld
iv i wər əgéeət ə wâinin, sh*u* sez, fər óoəl)t' wəld
v i wər əgéeət ə wáinin, sh*o* sez, fər óoəl)t' waald
vi i w*ur* əgeet ə wáinin, seez sho, fər óol w*uu*rld
vii i wər əgeet ə wóinin, shə seez, fər *oo*l wəld
viii i wər wo'inin əw*ee*, sez shu, fər *oo*l w*u*rld

i lóik ə badl*i* tɟóil, ər ə let·əl las *i* ə ɟíumə.
ii láik ə béeədl*i* baan, ər ə let·əl las *i* ə ɟíumə.
iii lóikən ə badl*i* baan, ər ə l*i*təl las *i* ə móoək.
iv séeəm əz ə badl*i* baan, ər ə l*i*təl las *i* ə môəndɟ.
v lá*i*kən ə badl*i* baan, ər ə l*i*təl las *in* ə môəndɟ.
vi lá*i*k ə bedl*i* béeən, *ur* ə l*i*təl lees *in* ə ɟ*iu*mər.
vii lóik ə badl*i* tɟóild, ər ə l*i*təl las *i* ə ɟ*iu*mər.
viii lə'ik ə badl*i* tɟə'ild, ər ə l*i*təl las ə fret*i*n.

11. i ən dhat apənd əz ·uu ən)th d*ó*ut*ə*r)*i*)loo
ii ən dhet apənd əz ·uu ən)th d*ó*ut*ə*r)*i*)loo
iii ən dhat dh*ii*ər apənd əz)th d*ó*ut*ə*r)*i*)loo ən ərse·ln
iv ən dhat apənd əz shuu ən)t' d*ó*ut*ə*r)*i*)lóoə
v ən dhat apənd əz ·shuu ən)t' d*ó*ut*ə*r)*i*)lóoə
vi ən dhat epənd əz ·shuu ən)t' d*ó*ut*ə*r)*i*)loo
vii ən dhat apənd əz ·shuu ən)t' d*ó*ut*ə*r)*i*)loo
viii ən dhat apənd əz ·shuu ən ər d*ó*ut*ə*r)*i*)l*oo*

i k*u*m thr*o*)th bak ɟərd fr*o* aq*i*n th)wet tl*ú*əz
ii kuum thru)th bak ɟéeəd thr*u* eq*i*n th)wet tl*ú*əz
iii kuum thr*u*)t' bak ɟévd free eq*i*n t')wet tl*ú*əz
iv k*u*m thr*iu*)t' bak ɟaad fr*u* b*i*n eq*i*n t')wiit tl*ú*əz
v kam thr*u*)t' bak ɟaad thr*u* *i*q*i*n t')wit tl*ú*əəz
vi k*u*m thr*u*)t' bak ɟəəd, thru eq*i*n t')wit tl*ú*əz
vii k*u*m thr*u*)t' bak ɟard, thr*o* aq*i*n t')wet tl*ú*əz
viii k*ee*m thru)t' bak ɟard, wen shu)d *u*q t')wet tl*ú*əz

i ɟévt tə dr*ó*i on ə wesh*i*n dee,
ii éeət tə dr*á*i on ə wesh*i*n d*ee*,
iii aat fə tə dr*á*i on ə wesh*i*n déeə,
iv tə dr*á*i əv ə wesh*i*n déeə,
v aat fo)tə dr*á*i on ə wesh*i*n déeə,
vi eet tə dr*â*i on ə wesh*i*n dee,
vii aat tə dr*ô*i on ə wesh'n dee,
viii aat tə drə'i ət)t' wesh*i*n d*ee*,

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. | i | wóil)th | ketəl | wə | | bóilin | fo)th | tee, | |
| | ii | wol)th | ketəl | wər | əgee·t | bóilin | fə)th | tee, | |
| | iii | wal)th | ketəl | wər | | bóilin | fər)t' | driqkin, | ə |
| | iv | wol | ketəl | wər | gévt ə | bôilin | fə)t' | driqkin, | ə |
| | v | wal)t' | ketəl | wər | əgéevt ə | bóilin | fə)t' | driqkin, | ə |
| | vi | wol)t' | ketəl | wɔ | | bóilin | fɔ)t' | driqkin | ə |
| | vii | wóil)t' | ketəl | wə | | bóilin | fə)t' | tee driqkin, | |
| | viii | wɔ'il)t' | ketəl | wər i | | bɔ'ilin | fə)t' | tii | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | wən | fóin | bróit | aftənóin | i | sumər | nobət | ə | wiik |
| ii | wən | fâin | briit | aftənóin | i | somər | nobət | ə | wik |
| iii | wən | fóin | briit | afternóin | i | sumər | nobət sə | latli ə | wik |
| iv | wən | | | aftənóin | i | sumər | tâim, | ə | wik |
| v | wən | fâin | briit | aftənúuin | i | sumər, | nəbəd | ə | wiik |
| vi | wən | fáin | briit | aftənóoin | i | sumər, | jit nəbəd | ə | wik |
| vii | wən | fóin | bróit | aftənóin | i | sumə, | nəbər | ə | wik |
| viii | wən | sunshɔ'ini | | aftənoon | i | sumər, | nəbət | ə | wik |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | sen | kum)th | nekst | thərsdə. |
| ii | sen | kuum)th | nekst | thozdə. |
| iii | sin | kuum)t' | nekst | thuzdə. |
| iv | sin | nəbət kum)t' | nekst | thuzdə. |
| v | sin | kum)t' | nekst | thəəzdər. |
| vi | sin | kum)t' | nekst | thuzdə. |
| vii | sin | kum)t' | nekst | thəəzdə. |
| viii | sin | kum | nekst | thəəzdə. |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | i | ən, | dun | jo | noo·? | ói | nivər | laant | oni | múvər |
| | ii | ən, | doo | jo | noo? | o | nivər | laant | oni | múvr |
| | iii | ən, | nóoəz)tə | | nəbət? | o | nivə | líənd | oni | múvr |
| | iv | ən | st)nóoə | | naa, ət | a | nivə | iiəd | nóut | nə múvr |
| | v | ən | dus)tə | | nóoə, na? | a | niivr | liiənt | nóut | nə múvə |
| | vi | ən | dus)tə | | noo, | o | nivər | laand | nóut | nə múvr |
| | vii | ən | dun | jo | nooə? | o | nivə | laand | onə | múvər |
| | viii | ən | dun | jo | noo? | A | nivər | laarnd | núə | múvr |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | ən | dhis | ə | dhat | bizniis | up | tun | tə dee, |
| ii | ət | ívd | ə | dhət | beznis | up | təl | tə dee, |
| iii | dhen | dhis | ə | dhət mak ə | biznəs | up | tə | tədéeə, |
| iv | ə dhat | dhiiə | | déeu | | up | təv | tədéeə, |
| v | dhen | dhis | ə | dhat díu | | up | təl | tədéeə, |
| vi | ən | dhis | ə | dhet | biznəs | til | wol | tədee nee, |
| vii | ən | dhis | ɔ | dhat | bizənəs | up | wóil | tədee, |
| viii | dhen | dhis | əbaat | dhat | biznis | up | tə | tədee, |

i ɐz shuur ɐz mói neem)z :dʒoni :shepɐrd, ɐn ói du)nɐt
ii ɐz siúr ɐz mi neem)z :dʒoni :shepɐd, ɐn o dú)ɐnt
iii ɐz siúɐr ɐz mi néɐɐm)z :dʒúɐn :shepɐd, ɐn o du)nɐt
iv ɐz síuɐr ɐz mi néɐɐm)z :dʒoni :shepɐd, nər nôɐdhɐr
v ɐz síuɐlinz ɐz mi néɐɐm)z :dʒoni :shepɐd, ɐn a dúɐ)nt
vi ɐz shíur ɐz mi néɐɐm)z :dʒoni :shepɐd, ɐn nóɐdhɐr
vii ɐz shíur ɐz mo néem)z :dʒonɐ :shepɐd, ɐn o dont
viii ɐz shíur ɐz mA neem)z :dʒak :shepɐd, ɐn A dúɐnt

i want tɐ duu oodhɐr, dhíi·ɐr níiɐ-na!
ii want tɐ duu nodhɐr dhíɐ dhen, néeɐ.
iii want tɐ díu óɐdhɐr, dhíiɐ budz naa!
iv díu i want, naas tɐ!
v want fɐ tɐ diu nóoɐdhɐ, naa mɐn!
vi duu i want tɐ du, nee dhen.
vii want tɐ doo nodhɐr dhíɐ)z tɐ dhen!
viii wɐnt noodhɐr dhíɐr naa!

14. i ɐn súɐɐ ói)m go·in ɐgee·tɐdz wúɐm tɐ
ii ɐn súɐɐ o)m been úɐɐm tɐ
iii ɐn súɐɐ âi)z béɐn ɐgéeɐtɐdz úɐɐm naa tɐ get
iv ɐn súɐ o)mɐn bi béɐn ûɐm naa, lâik, tɐl
v ɐn súɐɐ a)mɐn fúɐst tɐ gúɐ úɐɐm
vi ɐ soo o)m been úɐɐm láik tɐ
vii ɐn soo o)m goo)in úɐɐm tɐ
viii ɐn súɐ A)m gu)in úɐm tɐ

i mi supɐr. góid niit,
ii mi supɐr. góid niit,
iii mi supɐr, lóik. gôid niit tɐ dhɐ,
iv mi supɐr. góid niit tɐ dhɐ,
v mi supɐr, naa láik. gúid niit tɐ dhɐ, ɐ pre)dhɐ máinds tɐ,
vi mi supɐr. góid niit tɐ JOO,
vii mo supɐr. god nit tɐ dhɐ,
viii mi supɐr. gud niit,

i ɐn du)nɐt bi sɐ shaap tɐ kroo ovɐr ɐ bodi ɐgíiɐn
ii ɐn duɐ)nt bi sɐ shaap fɐ tɐ kroo ɔvɐr ɐ bɔdi ɐgen,
iii ɐn du)nɐt bi sɐ shaarp tɐ kroo óur ɐ bɔdi ɐgíiɐn, s)t)íiɐ
iv ɐn dúɐ)nt bi sɐ shaap tɐ kroo óur ɐ bɔdi ɐgíiɐn
v ɐn dúɐnt bi sɐ kin fɐ tɐ króoɐ óuɐr ɐ bɔdi ɐgíiɐn
vi ɐ dúɐ)nt bi sɐ shaap tɐ kroo ɔvɐr ɐ bɔdi ɐgíiɐn
vii ɐn dont bi sɐ shaap tɐ kroo óur ɐ bɔdɐ ɐgíiɐn
viii ɐn dúɐnt bi sɐ shaarp tɐ kroo óoɐr ɐ bɔdi ɐgíɐn

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | wen *i* *too*ks | ʊ t)*oo*n | ʊn | t)*u*dhʊr | th*i*q. |
| ii | wen *i* *too*ks | ʊ t)*oo*n | ʊn | t)odhʊ | th*i*q. |
| iii | na ?—wen *i* tóoʊks | ʊ t)*úu*ʊn | | t)*u*dhʊ | th*i*q. |
| iv | wen *i* tóoʊks | ʊ t)*ú*ʊn | | t)*u*dhʊ | th*i*q. |
| v | wen i tóoʊks | ʊ t*úu*ʊn | ʊn | t)*u*dhʊ | th*i*q. |
| vi | wen *i* tooks | ʊ *too*n | ʊn | t)*u*dhʊr | th*i*q. |
| vii | wen *i* *too*ks | o *too*n | ʊn | t)odhʊ | th*i*q. |
| viii | wen *i* *too*ks | ʊ dh*i*s dhat | ʊn)t' | t*u*dhʊ. | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. i | *i*t)s ʊ week | fó*i*l | ʊt | preets | b*i*ʊt | reezʊn, | | |
| ii | *i*t)s ʊ w*ee*k | fó*i*l | ʊt | pr*ee*ts | béeʊt | r*ee*zʊn, | | |
| iii | *i*t)s ʊ wéʊk | fó*i*l | wɔt | préʊts | béeʊt | r*i*ʊzʊn, | dhaa)t | s*i*ʊʊr, |
| iv | *i*t)s ʊ wéeʊk | fó*i*l | ʊt | prats | dhaat | r*i*ʊzʊn, | dhaa)t | n*ú*ʊn |
| v | *i*t)s ʊ wéʊk | fú*i*l | ʊt | préʊts | bidhaat | r*i*ʊzʊn, | | |
| vi | *i*t)s ʊ week | f*oo*il | wot | preets | w*i*dheet | reezʊn, | | |
| vii | *i*t)s ʊ week | fó*i*l | ʊt | preets | ʊdhaat | reezʊn, | | |
| viii | *i*t)s ʊ w*ee*k | fú*i*l | ʊt | preets | widhaat | ríʊzʊn, | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | | ʊn | s*úu*ʊ | dhat)s m*ó*i | last |
| ii | | ʊn | s*úu*ʊ | dhet)s m*i* | last |
| iii | | ʊn | súuʊ | dhat)s mi | last |
| iv | baat góʊm*i*n ·dhat, à)tʊ ? | | súʊ naa dhen, | dhat)s mi | last |
| v | | | s*ú*ʊ naa dhen, | dhat)s mi | last |
| vi | | ʊn | soo | dhet)s mi | lèst |
| vii | | ʊn | s*oo* | dhat)s mo | last |
| viii | | ʊn | | dhat)s mʌ | last |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | wɔd. | g*ó*i*d* | bó*i*, | led. |
| ii | wɔd. | g*ó*i*d* | bá*i*, | led. |
| iii | wod. | g*ó*i*d* | bá*i* tʊ dhʊ, | lad. |
| iv | wɔd. | féʊ | tʊ wiil, | lad. |
| v | wɔd. | féʊ | dhʊ wilst, | lad. |
| vi | wurd, ʊn o)l see, | g*ó*i*d* | bâ*i* tʊ | ɟoo. |
| vii | wɔd. | g*o*d | bó*oi*, | lad. |
| viii | wɔd. | g*u*d | bɔ'*i*. | |

*** The *Notes* to these different cs. are given under the separate varieties below.

### Var. i. Huddersfield and Neighbourhood.

Comprising the country to the sw. up to the La. b., Golcar (:g*ó*ʊkʊr), Slaithwaite (:sl*áu*ʊt), Marsden, and then (separated by Diggle Edge) Saddleworth, Holmfirth (in a neighbouring valley), and Upper Cumberworth. The speech is well illustrated by CCR.'s cs. for Huddersfield, a dt. for Upper Cumberworth, and a rather complex cwl. for Huddersfield, Holmfirth, Upper Cumberworth, Marsden (as obs. by TH.), and a few words from Saddleworth, which to a considerable extent agrees with Marsden.

Huddersfield is a large town, and necessarily contains speakers of various shades of dialect. Hence anything like perfect agreement in the several accounts of its

speech which I have collected was not to be expected. While, therefore, there is a great practical unanimity, there is considerable diversity of opinion. On referring to the cwl., which contains details, it will be seen that from A- to EY there is not much diversity of appreciation, and at the same time great resemblance to D 22. The chief differences relate to I′, O′, U′, and the short I, O, U, in the cases where they are usually treated as long.

I′ is always represented by (ói) in CCR.'s cs., although he admits the form (óʊ), thus, (tóim tóʊm). Now the relation between these sounds is close. In the E. div. we found (léim) lame as a result from (léʊm). The Ch. (ái), D 25, seems to be the sharper sound of (áʊ, áɪ) for (áu) in U′ words. But when the form with (ʊ) is once reached, the way is opened for numerous other changes and especially for its omission, thus, (tóʊm, toom), whence (tʌʌm) is an immediate alteration involving also (taam). CCR. is, indeed, of opinion that (aa) for I′ "is foreign to the genius of town dialect," and thinks that it does not "occur at all in (daan) dialects, but only in (duun) dialects." Of course in no dialect are we likely to hear (daan) pure and simple, for both *down* and *dine*. There is a change of vowel, a mere shadowing, which is sufficient in speech, (daa¹n, dææn) for one and (daan, d*aa*n) for the other. This we have already met with in D 22.

O′ is always very variably treated. CCR. has (góid) good, which would make his O′ and I′ clash. Miss Hibbard has (gúid, stúil, búit) good, stool, boot, and agrees with Messrs. Dowce and Tomlinson in (spûin, fûit, rûit, súɪt) spoon, foot, root, soot. However, for *hole* Miss Hibbard agrees with both CCR. and TH. at Marsden in giving (ói̇l, ôil). But for *book, took*, Miss H. has simple (buuk, tuuk), with a long or medial vowel. We shall find similar treatment of O′ in other varieties of D 24, as we have already done in D 22.

U′ is also variably treated, see notes to Huddersfield cs. par. 3. CCR. considers (*iiʊ*) to be the distinctive sound in this variety, but he also occasionally uses (aa, ee). Miss Hibbard has generally (éʊ), which CCR. says he has heard in common speech, but had been led to disregard. Now at Burnley D 22, Var. v., this was an alternative form to (â¹ɑ), and curiously TH. got (â¹ə, â¹ʊ, â¹ʊ) at Marsden, which would readily give (éʊ) or (aa), and other Marsden information gives in fact both. Upon the whole I should say the (éʊ) was the most prevalent form in this variety, that (*iiʊ*) was antiquated, and (aa) occasional.

*Notes to the Huddersfield* cs., No. i on p. 367.

0. *why* (wói). CCR. says such a word as *time* would be pronounced both (tóim) and (tóʊm). This is instructive as to the interchange of fractural (ʊ) with (i), as afterwards in (kói̇l) from (kóʊl) coal. Of my other correspondents, Mr. Dowse writes *oi, woife, toim, loike*, indicating (ɔ'i). Mr. Tomlinson has *worle, morle, lorfe, worde*, while mile, life, wide, indicating (ʌʌ), and shewing that *r* was considered merely a means of affecting the meaning of the preceding letter, and similarly he has *skŏr, whŏr*, sky, why, but suddenly changes to *au* in *faur, lauce, mauce*, fire, lice, mice, with no *r*. Miss Hibbard indicates (*aa*) in all cases, in her numbered word-list. These last two seem to approach CCR.'s (óʊ). See Var. ii. Halifax. CCR. says, "The town of Huddersfield has progressed at a very rapid rate, and there has been an influx of people from neighbouring districts. My renderings reproduce the pronunciation of people who and whose ancestors had always lived in the district, and whose forms of speech never varied."—*you*, CCR. allows (o) generally, but finds (ɔ) sometimes necessary, and very prominent at Leeds. The (o) in this cs. was specially written by him as a correction of (ɔ).

1. *laugh* (lef). In transliterating CCR.'s glossic, I have rendered glossic *e* by (e), which sound it was originally meant to symbolize, while *ae* represented (ɛ), which CCR. uses occasionally. It is most probable that TH. would have heard (ɛ) in all these cases, being his usual vowel.—*cares* (kéeʊz), that is, the *r* is fully vocalised. This will be found the general writing, but CCR. sometimes admits Glossic *r*, evidently considering it more than a mere vocalisation, perhaps as Midland (ɾ), and sometimes writes Glossic *r*', which means decidedly trilled (r). Curiously enough the Glossic *r* occurs chiefly, not always, at the end of words. It will be sufficient to write (r) as in D

22, bearing in mind that it is possibly (r) when not before a vowel. But the (r) will be omitted or vocalised when CCR. so writes.

2. *we do know that, don't we?* (win noon) we do-en know-en, not only the verbal plural in *-en*, but the infinitive in *-en;* the last is very doubtful. The verbal pl. in *-en* is much more certain. We have it here (wi)n) for (wi dun); in par. 7 (wat)ɐn joo) what do-en you? and CCR. says the deliberate form (wat dun jo) may also be used. This greatly increases the M. character of Huddersfield speech.

3. *how-ever,* (éeɐ) would have been the expected form for the first syllable, then (jéeɐ) with the common prefixed (j), and finally the clipped form (jee). The representation of U' and the corresponding lengthened U and French *ou* seems to vary. We have (0. daats, 3. jee naa, 6. níiɐ bíiɐt, 9. gríɐnd íiɐs), doubts, how, now, now, without, ground, house, and (13. níiɐ-naa) in the reduplication now-now. Of my other Huddersfield informants, Mr. Dowse is indistinct, writing *naaw, caaw, haase, maas,* which may possibly all point to (éɐ); Mr. Tomlinson gives *äance, käącumber,* ounce, cucumber, which also point to (éɐ); and Miss Hibbard has (ja¹, ta¹, néɐ na¹, kéɐ, ja¹r), how, thou, now, cow, our, and (éɐ) in other U' words. CCR. considers (*iiɐ*) typical of Huddersfield and (éɐ) of Halifax.—*the matters,* the use of (th) for the def. art. as in La. seems prevalent in this variety, though (t') is most common to the e.—*hark you, now.*

5. *youngest,* sometimes (joqis).—*father's,* obs. the omission of sign of the possessive.—*trust,* the dental (t d) were designedly omitted by CCR., who says "they are not a characteristic feature." But TH. heard them at Marsden, and so still in most words.

6. *she,* (uu) and not (shuu) as is used further to the e.

11. *yard* (jərd), CCR. writes glossic *yur'd,* indicating a fully-trilled (r).

12. *thursday,* (thərsdɐ) or (thorsdɐ). CCR. writes the first with the same fully-trilled *r'* as in *yur'd,* but the second as untrilled *aor.* I cannot lay much store by the treatment of *r,* finding it so difficult to elicit.

14. *I'm going agatewards home.*

## Marsden (7 sw. Huddersfield) dt.

pal. by TH. in 1888 from the dict. of Mr. John Schofield (:skúɐfil), b. 1804, native and life-long resident, woollen weaver, then postman till 1888, and then retired; assisted by his sister, Mrs. Hill.

1. A)se', ladz, jo síin nâ¹ɐ ɐt A)m re'it ɐbâ¹ɐt dhat lit'l las komin thrɐ)s' skú₁il jən dɐ.r.

2. úu)z [ù)z] gu·in dâ¹¹ɐn th)rûɐd dhiɐr thrú₁uu dhat red jeet ən th)left and saad ɐ)th rûɐd.

3. sii jɐ, th)tjaald)z gù·ɐn s.t.re'it $u_o$p tɐ)th raq â¹ɐs [â¹as].

4. wiɐr úu)l ap'n faand dhat d.r$u_o$q.k'n díɐf wiz'nd fɛlɐ ɐt dhe kaa¹l óud :tom.

5. wi aa¹l noon im vari wíil.

6. wil'nt óud :tom sóin líɐrn ɐr tɐ maand bɛt'ɐr th)nɛ'ist taam, púɐr las!

7. lúuk! it)s dj$u_o$st ɐz a thóut it wad bii.

*Notes to Marsden* dt.

1. *school,* the vowel written ($u_1$) was marked as between (*u, o*).

2. *down,* the first element of the diphthong in (dâ¹¹ɐn) was marked as lying between (a¹, e) or doubly high (a).

3. *wrong house* or *door* (da¹r, da₁¹r), where (a₁) lies between (a, o).

Omitted words: 1. *so* su- súɐ *way* wee. 3. *sure enough* sí.u·ɐr inu₁kh, [($u_1$) between ($u_o$, *o*)]. 4. *name* neem. 6. *teach* tɛ'itj.—*again* ɐgjɛ'n.

## Upper Cumberworth (6 se.Huddersfield) dt.

pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of Mrs. Ann Littlewood, b. 1824, native, and 26 years resident; here ($u_o$) and (u) were both heard.

1. A *see*, ladz, ɹɐ siin nâ'ɐ A)m réit ɐbâ'ɐt dhat lit'l las k$u_o$min thrɐ)s)skóil ɹandɐr.
2. shu)z gu)ɐn dâ'ɐn)t' rûɐd dhîɐr thruu)t' rɛd' gj*ee*t ɔn)t' lɛft and saad ɐ)t' rûɐd.
3. luuk! [sii!] t' tɹaald)z gu)ɐn strɛ'it $u_o$p tɐ)t' raq â'ɐs,
4. wíɐr shu)l ap'n faand dhat druqk'n dîɐf wiz'nd ôud fɛli ɐt dhe kaal :tɔm.
5. wi aal n*oo*n ìm vári wiil.
6. wil'nt t' óud tɹap sóɪn téitɹ ɐr nɔt tɐ du it ɐgîɐn, pûɐr thiq!
7. luuk! iz'nt it tríuu?

*Note.* Words omitted: 2. *way* (wee).—3. *door* (dæ'uɐr).

## Huddersfield and Neighbourhood cwl.

For comparison characteristic words are here given for the following forms.

R CCR.'s cs. for Huddersfield, merely a few principal words.
D Words from the Huddersfield wl. of Mr. Dowse, who had been 10 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as they could be interpreted.
T Words from the Huddersfield wl. of Mr. Tomlinson.
H Words from the carefully numbered Huddersfield wl. by Miss Mercy Hibbard, who had lived there the first 18 years of her life.
B Holmfirth (5 s.Huddersfield) numbered wl. by Mr. Beardsell, 40 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as the words could be interpreted, but the meaning of the numbers was probably not always rightly seized.
Mh Marsden (7 sw.Huddersfield) wn. by TH. in a special visit. The verbal pl. in -en frequent, and also in a printed specimen. Here ($u_o$) was heard.
Mb Marsden words from a wl. by the vicar, assisted by the schoolmaster, Mr. R. Bamford, here ($u$) is assumed.
S Saddleworth words from a wl. by Mr. G. H. Adshead, 40 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as they could be interpreted. As Saddleworth lies between Marsden and La., I have assumed the use of ($u_o$).
C Upper Cumberworth (6 se.Huddersfield) wn. by TH., here ($u_o$) was heard.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 D béɐk. 4 HT tak. 5 HT mak. 7 H sak. 10 Mb eg [this in La.]. 12 B sag [this is quite La.]. 14 H dr*oo*. 16 H d*oo*n. 19 Mh t*ee*l. 20 DS léɐm, Mb. l*ee*m, S l*oo*m. 21 R neem, D néɐm. 23 D séɐm, Mb s*ee*m. 24 Mb sh*ee*m. 31 Mb lat. 32 Mb bad [especially in (went ɐ bad*i*n) went a bathing]. 35 H *oo*l. 37 H kl*oo*. A: 39 R k*u*m, T kam. 40 H kúɐm. 42 Mh $u_o$n [unaccented, said three times by the same informant]. 49 R aq. 51 Mh mà'n, S mɔn. 54 T want. 56 RTS wesh. A: *or* O: 58 MhC thrɐ. 60 HS l*u*q. 61 TMh ɐmaq, S ɐm$u_o$q. 62 Mh s,t,rɔq. 64 RDHT raq.

A'- 69 T nóɐ, Mh n*ee*, H n*áu*. 70 H táu. 72 H w*oo*. 73 RH s*úu*ɐ, T sóɐ. 76 DT túɐd. 77 H lúɐrd. 80 Mh a·lɐd*i*. 81 R leen, DHTB lɔ'in, C lôin. 84 HTC múɐr. 85 HB súɐr. 87 R tlúɐz, T klaaz. 88 HT klúɐdh. 89 RH b*ú*ɐth 92 R noo. 97 H s*áu*l.

A': 101 HMb úɐk. 102 R aks. 104 H rúɐd, Mh r*ú*ɐd. 106 HT br*oo*d, C brûɐd. 107 HB lúɐf. 108 HT d*oo*f, Mb dúɐɐf. 111 H *oo*t. 113 R wol, Mb wəl. 115 R wúɐm, HT wɔm, C wòm. 117 Mh wA'n wòn. 118 TMb

búvn. 121 T gúvn. 122 TMb núvn. 129 T gúvst. 130 T búvt. 131 H gúvt. 132 Mh wat'. 135 Mh tləth. 136 D AADhv. 137 R nodhvr, C *noo*dhvr.

Æ- 138 R faadhv, T fadhvr. 144 RDT vg*íi*vn, Mh vgɛ'in. 150 H lívst. 152 T watvr, Mh wa˛tv˛r. Æ: 156 Mh dlad. 158 T eftvr. 161 R dee [in a printed Marsden specimen constantly *dee* (dii)]. 164 Mb mee. 172 T gəəs. Æ'- 182 BMhMbC sív. 183 H *tee*tj, B téitj. 184 B lívd. 185 H ríVd. 187 HB lívv. 190 D *kéi*, H k*ee*. 191 B ívl. 192 HB mívn. 193 HB klívn. 194 RHT on*i*, T ɔn*i*. 195 DHTMh mən*i*. 197 H tjívz, Mh tjiiz. 200 DH wívt. 201 B ívdh'n. 202 HB ívt. Æ': 216 Mh dîvl. 218 C shìp. — Mh vr A)m bak' [ere I'm back]. 223 RT dh*íi*v. 224 RT w*íi*v. 228 DH swívt.

E- 231 R th, Mh th, [and assimilate (s-*see*m) the same, (A màrkt t' mi˛d'l) I marked the middle, the (i˛) was nearly (i), (vt t' təp') at the top]. 232 T bréik. 233 RHT spéik. 234 T néid. 235 HTB wéiv. 236 HT féivvr. 241 Mh *ree*n. 244 R wiil. 247 H wívn. 249 T wíivr. 250 T swíivr. 251 TBMb méit, C mɛ'it. E: — C rɛ'ik [reach]. 261 R see. 262 C w*ee*. 269 R -se·ln. 271 CMh tɛl. E'- 291 R ii. 301 HT jəə. E': 305 T hé*i*, H h*ee*. 306 H *eet*. 311 Mh tɛ'in. 312 R ív. 314 T jəəd.

EA- 317 Mb flii [to skin; but (*flee*) frighten]. 320 R kév. EA: 321 H s*oo*. 322 R lef, D laf. 323 T f*ó*ut. 326 RHT *ó*ud, Mh ɔld. 328 HTMb k*ó*ud. 332 C tɛld. 333 Mb k*oo*f. 334 Mb *oo*f. 335 HTMb *oo*l. 336 HT f*oo*l. 337 HT w*oo*l. 338 RH k*oo*l. 340 H jéVd, MhMb jɛ'rd. 342 T évrm, H a'rm. 343 TMb waarm, H waàrm. 345 HTMb daar. 346 D jat. EA'- — Mh jAA [yea]. 347 HT jed. 348 D ii. 349 RH fíu, C fa'*uu*. EA': 350 HT dívd, Mh dîvd. 351 T lívd. 353 HTC brîvd. 355 HT dívf. 359 R neebvr. — Mh bívm [beam]. 360 Mh tívm. 361 T bívn. 363 T tjívp. 366 RH gret, T gəət. 367 H thrívt. 368 HT dívth. 370 H r*oo*, B r*ee*. 371 B strívv.

EI- 372 Mh â˛*i*. EO- 387 R níu. EO: 388 C mílk. 392 R jon. 394 Mh jɔn˛dv˛r. 396 T waak. 397 T súvrd. 399 R bróit, T briit. 402 HTB lívrn. 405 Mb aarstvn [hearthstone]. EO'- 410 RS uu, D huu shuu. 412 DH shuu. 417 H tjiú. 420 H fâ*ur*, Mh fô˛vr. H fɔt*i*. EO': 424 H r*uf*. 425 DHTB liit. 426 DTB féit. 435 RD joo. 436 H tríu. EY- 438 RDH dii. EY: 439 R tr*ust*.

I- 444 HT stiil [and] st*aa*l. 446 R nóin, H n*aa*n. — C *ju*$_o$s' [yes] — C pɛ'iz [pease]. 449 Mh gjɛr)*u*$_o$p' [get up]. 451 H sé*u*. I: 452 D ɔ'*i*, H a, Mb A. 457 T maat. 458 DHTMhMb niit. 459 D raat, T réit, H r*ee*t, Mh rɛ'it. 461 Mh liit [in the sense of meet with]. 462 TMb siit, H s*aa*t. 465 C sitj. 466 TMb tjaald, H tjald. 467 H wald. 468 M tjil˛dv˛r. 475 T waand, H w*aa*nd. 479 TMb waand. — Mh r*u*$_o$n [run]. 487 *ju*stvdv, C *ju*$_o$s˛tv˛rd*i*. — Mh ma'ist ma''ist*i* [mist, misty]. I'- — Mh baad [bide]. 492 Mh saad. 493 T draav. 494 R tóim tóvm, D tɔ'im. TMh taam, H t*aa*m, C taam. 495 R wó*i*n. — raaz [to rise]. I': 500 R lóik, T laak, H l*aa*k. 501 T waad, H w*aa*d. 502 TMh faav. 504 T naaf, B nɔ'vf. 505 D wɔ'if. 506 R w*u*mvn. 508 T maal, H m*aa*l, B mɔ'vl. 509 TMb waal, H w*aa*l, B wɔ'vl. 510 R móin, Mh maan. 517 H jíu.

O- 522 H əp'n. 523 H wəp. O: — Mh fag [fog]. 527 HB ba'*ut*. 528 H tha'*ut*. 529 HB bra'*ut*. 531 RDB d*ó*utvr, H da'utvr, Mh dó*u*˛t'v˛r. 532 H kó*i*l. 533 H d*u*l. 534 RH ó*i*l, Mh ôil. 538 H wɔd. 547 H búvd, Mh bûvrdz. 550 R wəd. O'- 558 H luuk. 559 H m*u*dvr. 562 DH mú*i*n, Mh mûin. 564 HMh sûin [B, by some error probably, writes (sy'in), and so for 571, 588, 589, etc.]. 565 H núvz. 566 H *u*dhv, Mh *u*$_o$dhvr. O': 569 H buuk. 570 H tuuk. 571 R gó*i*d, H gúid. 578 H plév. 579 R v*u*f. 581 HB sa'*ut*. 584 H stúil. 586 Mh d*u*$_o$n [=do-en, v. pl. in -*en*]. 587 RH d*u*n. 588 DHT nú*i*n, C nôin. 589 DHT spú*i*n. 590 H flúvr. 593 [Mh (m*u*$_o$n) used]. 594 H bûit. 595 DH fúit. 596 DHT rúit. 597 DH súit.

U- 599 vbuun. 600 HB l*u*v. 601 D févl. 602 H sévv. 603 H k*u*m, Mh kamn [past part.]. 604 R s*u*mer. 605 RH s*u*n. 606 RH dúvr, C dæ'uvr. 607 H ba˛tvr, C b*u*$_o$t'ɪr. U: 608 H *u*gl*i*. — C shùldvr [shoulder]. 612 H s*u*m, Mh s*u*$_o$m. 613 H dr*u*qk. 614 H évnd. 615 H pévnd. 616 R gr*íi*vnd,

DH grévnd. 617 H sévnd. — Mh bâən [boun = going to; (bâin), a regular alteration of (bâən), was got from Stainland (4 s-by-w. Halifax), as also (kjâi) cow]. 619 H *f*un. 622 H *u*ndvr. 629 H s*u*n. 632 R *u*p, Mh *u*ᵒp. 634 R thr*o*. 639 H d*u*st. U'- [U', C = âᵗv]. 641 H ɹaᵗ. 642 H taᵗ, Mh dha. 643 R naa n*i*iv, D naa nev, H nev naᵗ. 645 H d*u*v. 648 H ɹaᵗvr, Mh ɹaar [(vz n*ee*mz) our names], C ɹĭar. 650 Mh vbâᵗət. 651 R b*ii*vt, Mh bâᵗvt. U': 655 H févl. 657 H brévn. 658 R d*ii*vn, H dévn, S díun [? see 659]. 659 H tévn, S tíun [? TH. heard (tɑ'*u*n), and says Saddleworth resembles Stalybridge, p. 317]. 661 HMb shévr. 663 R *ii*vs, DH évs, Mh âᵗəzvz [houses], Mb évs [in Mb U' is always (évv)], S évs, C ɹĭaᵗs. 664 H lévs. 665 DH mévs. 666 H *u*sbvnd. 667 H évt, Mb ɹévt [printed specimen has (ɹaat)]. 668 H prévd. 671 H mévth. 672 H sévth.

Y- TC m*i*tɟ. 675 R dr*ó*i. 676 T lii. 677 T drɹɹ. 679 H kəətɟ. 682 Mh lâ*i*t [a few], C laat. Y: 685 T br*i*g. 686 T bɹɹ. 690 TMb kɹɹnd. 691 TMb mɹɹnd. — C sh*u*ᵒt [shut]. Y'- 705 T skɹɹ, B skɔ'v. 706 R w*ó*i, T wɹɹ. Y': 709 T fɹɹr. 711 T lɹɹs. 712 T mɹɹs.

II. English.

A. 724 H bold. 726 R t*oo*k. — C pvt*ee*tiz [potatoes]. E. 743 H skríum. 744 H mas'lz. 745 H tjívt. I. *and* Y. 756 Mh sri,mp. 758 Mh gɛrl [but (wɛnsh) used]. O. 761 DH lúvd. 785 H lévndɟ. 790 H gévn. 791 Mh bô*i*. U. 794 H dj*u*g. 797 sk*w*eek*i*n. 798 R k*w*ívr. 803 H dj*u*mp. 804 R dr*u*fvn. 806 H f*u*s. 807 H p*u*s. 808 H p*u*t.

III. Romance.

A·· 811 Mh pl*è*s. 813 C b*ee*k'n. 835 R reez'n. 836 Mh síuzvn. 840 Mh tj*ee*mbvr. 864 R biko·s. 865 H folt. E·· 867 HMh tívr. 885 Mh vɛr*i* var*i*. 888 R saatvn. 889 H sívs. 890 T bívs. 891 HT fívst. 892 H nef*i*. 894 H d*i*sívv. I·· *and* Y·· 897 H dil*aa*t. 898 H n*aa*s. 901† R f*ó*in, H f*aa*n. 902 H m*aa*n. 903 H d*aa*n. 905 H r*aa*t. 908 H vdv*aa*s. 909 H brívz. 912 H raaz. O·· 913 H kúvtɟ. — C b*ii*f [beef]. 915 H st*u*f. 917 H rúvg. 920 R p*ó*int. 923* Mh m*ó*ist. 928 T évns. 929 HT kévk*u*mbvr. 938 R kóovnv. 939 RC tl*ó*is, H klúvs. — Mh rɹɹst [roast], C rɔst. — Mh túvst [toast]. 940 HT kɔ'*i*t. 941 HR f*ó*il, DHT fúil. 943 H t*u*tɟ. — Mh tòrn tɹ"orn [turn]. 952 H kúvs. 955 R daat, H dévt. 956 H k*u*vv. U·· 961 H gríuvl. 963 H k*w*aat. 969 H síuvr. 970 H djuust.

## Var. ii. Halifax and Neighbourhood.

An examination of the interlinear cs. (pp. 367–377) will shew that the difference between Var. i. and ii. is very small, and this difference is rendered smaller by CCR.'s statement that there are two varieties at Halifax, the one given in the cs. and the other with (*i*u) for U', as (*i*u, vb*i*ut, d*i*un, *i*ut, r*i*und, b*i*un, *i*us, f*i*ul, fl*i*uvz, s*i*und, th*i*uzvn, th*i*u, kr*i*ud), how, about, down, out, round Fr., boun = going, house, foul, flowers Fr., sound, thousand, though (EA'), crowd (EO'), and even (k*i*u) cow. CCR. finds the same in Lower Nidderdale, Yo. (N. div.), but there it does not extend to *cow*. Now this (*i*u), in the form (*i*v), was taken by CCR. as the principal characteristic of Huddersfield, where we found Miss Hibbard recognised (évv) only. That is, the same two forms of U', (*i*u) with (*i*v), and (évv), itself a form of (é*u*), occur both in Huddersfield and Halifax, and in both places (*i*v) or (*i*u) is supposed to be the older, while in both places (évv) is the present dominant form. CCR., however, says he has "often listened to the well-mouthed distinctions" (*i*v) Huddersfield, (évv) Halifax, "in the company of clothiers from the respective

districts." TH., in the Elland dt. on p. 384, has (naa, ʊbaat, daan), now, about, down, but (*saa*d, *faa*nd), side, find.

In Halifax, however, this (éʊ) often sinks to (*ee*), as (*bee*n) boun, going, a usage according to CCR. occ. at Keighley, but prevalent at Halifax and Dewsbury, and also at Barnsley, hence it is chiefly a difference from Huddersfield and a very slight one. On the other hand, (éʊ) appears in many places where it would not have been expected, especially in I′, (téeʊmz) times, which, however, CCR. says varies with the Huddersfield (tóumz); but the Fr. fine becomes (fâin) apparently, and from Ripponden (5 sw. Halifax) TH. got (*fáiv máil*) five mile. We have also EA (léʊf) laugh, and (béʊdl*i*) badly, a Celtic word.

On the differences of (o, *o*) it is needless to dwell, they may be merely an accident of writing or memory. But the important point is, according to CCR., the absence of the verbal pl. in *-en*, which, however, appears, possibly in error, p. 372, l. 2 (wat)ʊn), see notes. Though the expression *yau naun*, you know, which occurs in the letter of 1759 cited below, may shew that it formerly existed. The definite article in this cs. varies as (th, t'), but (t') is rare and (th) the usual form.

The feminine *she* is always rendered (uu) by CCR. in Huddersfield, where Miss Hibbard only recognises (shuu), which in Halifax CCR. allows to alternate with (uu). The form (uu) is certainly dying out, and (shuu), which is characteristic of D 24, is becoming prevalent.

Mr. J. C. Clough, formerly of Aspatria, Cu., lent me some extracts from J. Crabtree's "History of Halifax," 1836, in which are two letters in the Halifax dialect, the first dated 14 Mar. 1759, and the second supposed to be in answer to it. The spelling by no means gives the sound with certainty, but from it I have made a short cwl., giving the original spelling in italics, words in the second letter having * prefixed, and then my interpretation in pal.

## Halifax cwl. from Crabtree.

A′- 81 *loin* lóin. 92 *nau* noo. Æ- 143 *teil* téil. Æ′- 194 *onne* oni. 195 *monne* moni. 198 *laate* léʊt. Æ′: *deol* díʊl. 223 *aaeto* éʊrtuu· [thereto, in addition]. E- *sware* sweer. E: 261 *sei* séi. 263 *awei* wéi. E′: 316 **neist* néist. EA- 317 *fleid* fléid [frightened]. EA′ 366 *grut* grat. EO: 396 *wurk* wark. EO′: 435 *yaw* joo. I′- 440 *wik* wik. 459 *reight* réit. 465 *sitch* sitj. 477 *foend* fóʊnd. I′- 492 *besaed* bisévd [beside]. I′: 500 *laek* léʊk. 505 *woef* wóʊf. 509 *whoel* wóʊl. O- 518 *bodde* bodi. — *coyt* kóit [cote, shed]. O: 538 *wold* wuld. O′- 564 **soyn* sóin. O′: 571 *gooid* gúid. 586 *doo* duu. U: 614 *haaend* évnd. U′- 648 *aaer* éʊr. 650 *abaet* ʊbéʊt, **abewt* ʊbíut. U′: 657 *braaen* bréʊn. 663 **hews* híus. 667 *aaet* éʊt, **ewt* íut. Y- 673 *mitch* mitj. Y′- — *praed* préʊd [pride]. O. — *loize* lóiz, *laaeze* léʊs [lose]. E·· 885 *vorre* vari. — *porson* paas'n [parson]. — *aares* éʊrz [hours]. I·· — *cro* kroo [cry, for (krôʊ)]. — *obleege* oblii·dj. O·· *fooil* fúil.

If my interpretation is correct, these letters confirm CCR.'s account of the pronunciation with (iu) as an older form of (éʊ).

With regard to the relationship between Halifax speech and Friesian, as intimated in the couplet prevalent at Halifax, which has its counterpart in the Friesian districts of Holland, see Part IV. pp. 1397–1405, where it is fully exemplified.

It is seen that the difference between Halifax and Huddersfield, and between both and the e. parts of D 22, especially when the (uu) she and verbal pl. in *-en* are admitted, is extremely minute. There may be more difference in vocabulary and intonation, which I have not investigated, and as CCR considers Halifax to be independent of, although much resembling Huddersfield, and to have influenced Var. iv. Bradford, and Var. vi. Dewsbury, it seems better to retain it as a separate variety. But for some time I included both Huddersfield and Halifax in the e. of D 22.

## Elland (3 sse. Halifax) dt.

pal. 1887 by TH. from J. T. Lee, 11, Almshouses, Halifax.

1. A' s*ee*, làdz, ɹʊ sii naa ʊt A)m ɹɛ'*it* ʊbaat dhat lit'l las kom*i*n thrʊ)t skû*i*l ɹondʊr.
2. shu)z gù*i*n daan t' rû*u*d, thruu t')red g*ee*ₗt, ɔn)t' lɛft and s*aa*d ʊ th) w*ee*ₗ.
3. sii ɹondʊr, t')l*i*t'l th*i*q)z gA'n strɛ'*it* *u*p tʊ)t' raq dûʊr.
4. wîʊr shù m*ee*)b*i* f*aa*nd dhat dr*u*k'n dîʊf *i*l'-thr*i*v'n fɛlʊ ʊt dh*e* kAAl :tɔm.
5. wì AAl n*oo* *i*m wɛ'l.
6. w*i*l'nt t')ô'*u*d màn sû*i*n tɛ'*it*ɟ ʊr nɔt tʊ du)*it* ʊgîʊn, pûʊr las!
7. luuk! *iz*'nt *it* tr*i*ₗuu?

Words omitted: 3. *inuf*, tɹ*aa*ld, *ôus*. 4. tɹans, n*eem*.

*Notes to Halifax* cs., No. ii on p. 367.

2. *should*, the forms, emphatic (w*u*ld s*u*ld k*u*ld) and unemphatic (wʊld, sʊld, kʊld), are, says CCR., "mostly employed in the populous old clothing villages between Halifax and Keighley."—*is it now?*

3. *matters*, when *fact* is used, it is called (fɛ́ɛʊkt).

4. *through—from*, the word (thr*u*, thrʊ) seems used in both senses; in par. 11 it is (thr*u*) for from; probably the exact vowel varies at different times, without distinguishing the meaning except by the context.

7. *what* (ɔt) used as relative, CCR supposes the common relative (ʊt) to be an unemphatic form of *what*.—*she*, (shuu) the common s.Yo. form, see p. 296.—*about* (bɛ́ɛʊt) which is used for *without* in par. 6 and 15, pp. 371, 377.

7. *I conceit*, imagine.—*wrong*, (req) or (raq').—*what do-n you think*, as this is the only instance given of the verbal pl. in *-en* in this Halifax cs., it may have been a slip of CCR.'s, who may have intended (wat)ʊ ɹo th*i*qk?) what do you think?

13. *at* (*or under*) *the head of that business*, concerning it.

## Var. iii. Keighley.

This differs materially from the last two. *She* is now represented by (shuu) emphatic, and (shu, sho, shʊ) unemphatic, (uu) has quite disappeared. There is no verbal pl. in *-en*. The definite article

is still occasionally (th), which CCR. has traced even into the N. div., but so sparingly that it is not generally acknowledged in print. The prevailing and only recognised form is (t'). Another N. sign, if CCR. has remembered correctly, is *I is*, not exclusively, but mingled with *I am*. I′ is usually (*ói*), but (*ái*) is also heard. O′ is very frequently (*úi*), but a sound which JGG., writing from Mrs. Foster's dictation, records as (*éù*) or ($i_1$ù) in cwl. p. 388, Nos. 558, 570, may be meant for the (*æ*′u) of D 21, 22, 25. JGG. also occasionally hears ($u_1$u) (ibid. No. 569), so that the representation of O′ is uncertain. U′ is chiefly (aa), but CCR. heard especially (déun, éeus) down, house, where JGG. got (dá¹*un*, á¹*us*). Mr. Brigg gives (aa) in many cases, and in others contents himself by saying 'not (uu),' thus separating it from the N. Riding of Yo. JGG.'s (á¹*u*), obtained through Mrs. Foster, a native, is distinctly an approach to the pron. of m.Craven (Skipton, etc.), where (*áu*) prevails. This is the first form in which we become independent of La.; but it is not till Var. iv. is reached, that we obtain genuine s.Yo. culminating in Var. v. Leeds.

CCR. does not notice dental (ṭṛ), but JGG. heard it from Mrs. F., who, however, might have acquired it during her n. residence, to which also her ($e_1$, $i_1$i, $u_1$u) may be attributed. JGG. heard U: as ($o^1$), which differs scarcely perceptibly from ($u_1$). As for the differences (AA oo, o ɔ, oo *oo*) I lay very little store by them. In no case are they consistently carried out, and in no case can I feel sure of the correctness of appreciation, which is at all times very difficult, and which it generally requires a very careful study of native dialect speakers to determine at all.

TH. obtained in 1887 some fragments of a cs. from a native of Keighley, a machine fitter, b. 1859. As this is quite independent of CCR., I annex it here interlinearly with CCR.'s writing of the same passages.

TH (4) A)m *sí*,uer ut A ie⌊rd um see —dhat A d*i*d s*í*,uer *i*n*i*f.
CCR o)m s*i*ur ut o J*i*₁ud um séeu—dhat o d*i*d s*i*ur *i*n*i*f.

TH (6) ut t' *ó*ud w*u*mun ursE·ln teld Ju (7) t*ú*uthr*i* t*ái*mz óuer
CCR ut th)*ó*ud w*u*mun usE·ln teld Ju t*ú*uthr*i* t*ói*mz *ó*uer

TH (8) ut shu fan' d,r*u*k'n bîust, (7) wat du Ju th*i*qk? (9) shu
CCR ut sho f*u*n)t' dr*u*k'n bíius wat du Joo thiqk? sho

TH SAA *i*m w*i*dh ur AAn iin l*i*g*i*n daan on t' gr*u*nd tl*ó*is b*i*)t' aas'
CCR soo *i*m w*i* ur óoun iin l*i*gɪn déun u)t' gr*u*nd tl*ó*is b*i*)t' éus

TH dûur ô*i*l. (13) un du Ju nAA? (11) dhat dhîur ap'nd
CCR d*ú*ur *ó*ɪl. un nóouz)tu nɔbut? dhat dh*ii*ur apund

TH us)t' *ó*ud w*u*mun un ur d*ó*utur *i* IAA k*u*m thruu)t' bak JÀ⌊rd
CCR uz)th d*ó*utur *i* loo un ursɛln kuum thr*u*)t' bak J*é*ud

TH frʊ *i*q*i*n)t' wɛt tlûʊz aat tʊ dr*ái* ɔn t' wɛsh*i*n dêʊ. (1) ûʊ
CCR free eq*i*n)t' wìt tlûʊz aat fʊ tʊ drá*i* on ʊ wɛsh*i*n déeʊ. wúʊ

TH kjɛ^ʊ[rz? (14) A)m baan ó*i*ʊm tʊ m*i* *su*pʊr.
CCR kéeʊz? â*i*)z béʊn ʊgéeʊtʊdz *ú*uʊm tʊ get m*i* *su*pʊr,

TH gùd nʌ́it.
CCR ló*i*k, gó*i*d niit.

*Notes to Keighley* cs. on p. 367.

2. *we-do-en know* (w*i*)n nóoʊ), if this is correct, it implies the expiring use of the verbal pl. in *-en*: it is probably a mere slip for (w*i* nóoʊ) we know.—*like*, the pron. (lâ*i*k) is also prevalent, and CCR. so wrote it at first, here, but not in par. 10.

3. *hold thou* (óʊds)tʊ), literally holdest thou.—*while*, for *until*, as usual in the N., though used properly in the S. sense in par. 12.

8. *as to how* (s)t)aa.—*beast* (b*i*ʊs), this is usually the plural form.—*I shall be bound* (â*i*)z bi), this is common in the regions of *I'm*, and it could not here stand for *I is*, the common N. form, but see below, par. 14.

9. *threaped*, CCR. in his Leeds Glossary makes this word entirely equivalent to *swore*, as in the phrase (ii)z AAlʊs thr*ii*ʊpin ʊg*i*ʊn t)*oo*n ʊ t)*u*dhʊr ən ʊm), he's always swearing against the one or the other of them; but Wright gives two words, *threpe*, to speak, to shout, to maintain in contradiction to another, and *threap* to urge, to beat, to cozen or cheat. It is often used for 'to talk down,' to asseverate. —*bulk* (b*u*[k), even in the S. (b*u*lk), may be heard.—*good coat* (g*ó*id kó*i*t), the latter originally written (kAA'*i*t).—*house, door, hole, down*, observe (éeʊs, déʊn), where (aas daan) is given by Mr. Brigg (see cwl.). CCR. says that he never heard anything else but (éeʊs, déʊn) from the lips of old clothiers, but that these forms are not invariable. An observant native, who is not a dialect speaker, would, says CCR., from hearing, write such words as down, town, how, house, ground, time, no, as *dahn, tahn, haa, haase, grund, time, noa*, meaning (daan, taan, éeʊ, gr*u*nd, tá*i*m, nâ*u*ʊ); in *time* he would have no appreciation of the diphthong. CCR. thinks (éeʊ) its most characteristic form, and says it was in general use at Keighley within his own knowledge. TH. (see p. 385, l. 6 from bottom) heard (daan).

10. *in awk*, "peevish state of temper," also a "maggot," in rec. sp. *maggot* is used as a whim or caprice.

11. *yard* (jéʊd), CCR. says that this (éʊ) in *yard, day, name, prate*, being also used for U', does indeed conflict to the eye, but nothing more. "A Keighley man could not utter the words indicated, bereft of his (éeʊ, éʊ)." But TH. heard (Jaa[rd).— *to dry*, this particular word as (â*i*) and not (ô*i*). CCR. says this exceptional sound has often arrested his attention.

12. *so lately a week*, for 'so lately *as* a week,' a local idiom.

13. *mak*, make or kind—*there but-as now*, a peculiar local expression.

14. *I is boun*, I am going. The peculiarity is in the use of *I is* (â*i*)z, which generally occurs only and regularly in the N. div. in place of I am. CCR. here mixes *I am, I is*, in the same border dialect, and he does so likewise at Skipton, in Mid Craven, which is quite in the N. div. He says that he has "repeatedly heard these forms and seen them in the dialect tracts which some years ago were issued by the local press," and that he has subsequently verified their existence with an intelligent young farmer. —*doest thou hear* (s)t *i*iʊ), a mere colloquial contraction.

15. *thou art* (dha)t), contracted with the vowel short.

## Keighley cwl.

made up from

R CCR.'s cs., only a few words being extracted.

F Mrs. Foster's wl. as pal. from dict. by JGG. Mrs. Foster was a native who had known the dialect 40 years, but at the time the wl. was taken down, had been living some years in Cu. and We. She used no (h) or (wh), but her (r) was distinct where written. There are several small niceties that CCR does not note, such as ($e_1$) nearly (E) for *e*, occasional ($i_1$i) for (ii) and dental (,t,r, ,d,r). This wl. comprised only the first division or Ws. words.

B Mr. B. Septimus Brigg's wl. Mr. B. is a native, and sent me a complete wl. in his own orthography, which I interpret as I best can. His information applies to the town of Keighley and valley of the Aire as far as Bradford.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 B *beek* béuk. 4 B tak. 5 RB mak, F ma$_1$k. 7 B *seek* séuk. 10 F eeg, B *eeg*. 12 B *seeg*. 13 B *neeg*. 17 R loo, F laa. 19 FB *teel*. 20 F leem, B *leem*. 21 R néeum, F néum, B *neem*. 24 F shee$_1$m, B *sheem*. 31 B lat. 32 B *beed*. 33 B *reedhur*. 36 F thaa. A: 39 B kom. 49 R eq. 51 F ma$_1$n. 54 RFB want. 56 RB wesh, F wa'sh we$_1$sh. A: *or* O: 58 R free free, F *free*, B *fre*. 60 FB loq. 61 B umoq. 64 R raq, F ra$_1$q, B req. A'- 67 F *goo*. 69 FB nóu. 70 F *too*. 72 R wúu, F uu. 73 R *súuu*, F *soo*. 74 F *tii*$_1$u. 77 F lòrd. 79 R óoun. 81 RB lóin. 82 R wu$_1$ns. 83 F *moon*. 85 F sóur. 86 FB óouts. 87 R *thiuuz*, F *klóouz* [B (dadz) used]. 89 R *biuth*, F *bóouth*. 91 F *moo*. 92 R nóou, B naa'u. 93 F *snoo*. 94 B kraa. 95 B thraa. 98 B naa'un. A': 101 F *ook*, B óuk. 104 FB *róoud*. 105 F *ree*$_1$d. 106 B *bróoud*. 107 F *loof*, B *lóuf*. 108 *doof*. 111 FB *óut*. 112 B *ool*. 113 R wúul, F *oool*. 115 R *iuum*, F *oom*, B *óoum*. 118 F *boon*, B bóun. 122 F *noon*, B nóun [and (noon) when meaning *not*]. 124 F *stoon*, B stóun. 127 F óous. 130 B *bóout*. 131 B *góout*. 137 R núudhur.

Æ- 138 F fa,du,r, B fadhur. 140 B *eel*. 141 B *néeil*. 142 F sn*ee*$_1$ul, B sn*éeil*. 143 F *tee*$_1$ul, B *téeil*. 147 B *bréein*. 150 B *líust*. 152 F wa,tu,r, B watur. Æ: 158 F af,tu,r. 160 F eg. 161 R déeu, F *dee*$_1$. 164 F m*ee*$_1$. 172 F gœors. 174 B esh. 180 B băth [(ă) very short]. 181 B păth [(ă) very short]. Æ'- 182 F *sii*'u, B siiu. 183 F tiiutɟ, B *téitɟ*. 184 B *líud*. 185 F *ri*$_1$id. 187 B *líuv*. 189 F *wée*$_1$*i*, B *kéi*. 193 F kl*ii*'un, B kl*iun*. 194 B oni. 195 FB mon*i*. 197 F tɟéiiz. 199 B bl*iiut*. Æ': 210 F kl*ee*$_1$, B kl*éeu*. 213 F *ee*$_1$dhur. 216 B *díul*. 223 RB dh*iur*. 224 RB w*iiur*. 227 F wet. 229 B br*iiuth*.

E- 233 R spéik, F sp*ée*$_1$*ik*. 235 B wéiv. 236 B féivur. 239 B *séeil*. 241 B *réein*. 243 [B (*leek*) used]. 248 B *miiur*. 249 B *wiiur*. 250 B sw*iiur*. 251 B *miut*. E: 265 R stréit. 284 B thresh. E': 306 B *éit*. 314 R *siiud*, B *iiurd*. 315 B *fit*.

EA- 320 F *kee*$_1$ur. EA: 322 RFB laf. 323 FB *fóut*. 324 F *ée*$_1$*it*. 326 R *óud*, FB *óud*. 327 F bóuld, B *bóuld*. 328 FB kóud. 330 F od. 333 F kaaf, B kaav. 334 F aa'f, B aav. 335 R óou, F aal. 337 F waal. 340 R jéud, F jœ'rd. 342 F aarm. 343 F waarm. 345 FB ,daar. 346 F iiut *géeut*, B géut. EA'- 347 B *iiud*. 348 B ii. EA': 350 B *diiud*. 351 B *líiud*. 352 B *riiud*. 353 B *briiud*. 355 B *díuf*. 360 B *tiium*. 361 B *biun*. 363 B tɟ*iup*. 366 R gəət. 367 B *thriut*. 368 B *déuth*. EI: 377 B stéuk. 378 F w*ee*$_1$k.

EO- 387 F néuu. EO: 395 R *juq*. 396 B waark. 397 F *sû*$_1$urd. 399 B briit. 402 RB *lí*un. 405 B aarth. EO'- 412 R shuu shu sho shu [the first emphatic, the others unemphatic], B shuu. 413 B *diuil*. 420 B *fóuur*. EO': 423 B thii. 424 B *ruf*. 425 F *léiit*, B liit. 426 F fæ'rt, B *féit*. 432 B *fóurth*. 433 B *brist*. 434 B *bíiut*. EY- 438 RFB dii. EY: 439 R tr*ust*, F ,t,r*u*$_1$st.

I- 440 B *wik*. 444 B stiil. 446 R nóin, F náain. 451 F sœ'uu.

I: 452 R o, a [interchangeably]. 458 RB niit. 459 F ræ'it, B réit. 461 B lit. 462 B siit. 465 R sitɹɐn, B sitj. 473 B blind [the short (i) in these and following words is quite N.] 474 B rind. 475 B wind. 477 B find. 479 B wind. 485 B thisɐl. I'- 498 B róit. I': 500 RB lôik. 501 B wóid. 508 F máail, B móil. 509 R wal, B wóil. 510 R móoin.

O- 522 B ɔp'n. O: 527 F bóut. 528 F thóut. 529 F bróut. 531 R dóutɐr. 532 FB kóil. 534 RB óil. 541 R wi)nt. 553 F oorɐn. O'- 555 F shuu [pl. (shuuz)], B [pl. shuun]. 558 F léik, B lúik. 560 F skúil. 562 FB múin. 563 F mòndɐ. 564 FB súin. O': 569 F búɹuk. 570 F tíɹuuk, B túik. 571 R gôid, B gúid. 572 FB blúid. 573 F flúid. 574 FB brúid. 575 F stúɹud. 577 F bóu, B buu. 578 B pluu. 579 RB ini·f. 580 B tɔf. 581 F sóut. 582 B kúil. 583 F túil tuul. 584 FB stúl. 588 R nóin, FB núin. 589 FB spúin. 590 F flúɹuɐr. 594 FB búit. 595 FB fúit. 596 FB rúit. 597 FB súit.

U- 600 B luuv. 606 F dúɹuɐr. U: 610 B wul. 612 F suɹm. 616 RB grund. 635 F wɔɔrth. U'- 641 R aa. 642 F dhâ'u. 643 R naa, F nâ'u. 645 F duɹv. 648 F óur á'ur. 650 R bévt. 651 R bévt [obs. this is the same as 650]. U': 656 B raam. 657 B braan. 658 R déɐn, F dâ'un, B daan. 659 B taan. 663 R éɐs, F â'us, B aas. 664 B laas. 667 RB aat. 672 F sâ'uth.

Y- 673 RB mitj. 675 R dráai. 682 R litɐl. Y: 684 B brig. 685 B rig. 688 F biiɹld. 700 B waar. 701 F fɔɔrst. Y'- 705 B skii, skói.

II. English.

A. 722 B dréein. 730 B kɔntɐr. 742 B leezi. O. 761 F láuɹɐd, B lóovd. 767 [B uses (din)]. 769 B móudiwaarp. U. 804 R druk'n.

III. Romance.

A·· 810 B fees. 811 B plees. 813 B beek'n. 817 B redish. 824 B tjíiɐr. 838 B tríɐt. 841 B tjons. 847 B deendjɐr. 848 B tjeendj. 849 B streendjɐr. 850 B dons. 852 B aprɐn. 857 R kéɐs. 860 B peest. 863 B tjaaf. E·· 867 F tíi'ɐ, B tiiɐ. 869 B víɐl. 885 R vari. I·· *and* Y·· 901 R fóin. 902 B móin. O·· 920 R póint. 925 R vóis. 939 R tlóis, B klóis. 940 RB kóit. 941 R fóil, B fúil. 947 R bóilin. 953 B kuzin. 954 B wishɐn. 955 R daat. U·· 963 R kwévt.

## Var. iv. Bradford.

There is a decided difficulty is assigning the phonetic characteristics of this variety, as distinct from the preceding or following. U' according to CCR. has two distinct sounds, never confused, (aa, éɐ), but the last in only a limited set of words, which he does not give; in the cs., however, I find (daat naa daan baat), doubt Fr. now down without, and (gréɐnd béɐn éɐs), ground U, boun= going, house.

Now B. Preston, the Bradford poet, uses *daht abaht ar aght abaght* doubt about our out about, but *aance baancing taan haase maase graand daan* ounce bouncing town house mouse ground down, and he makes *shaat abaght* shout about rhyme, and also *abaght aht aat* about out. CCR. wrote to him to know if he meant different sounds by *ah agh aa*. In reply, in March, 1882, he wrote: "There are I think no rules for the guidance of dialect writers. Each one does what seems good in his own eyes. Take for instance the two words *grand* and *sand*," meaning (grand sand), not the London (grænd sænd), "and by lengthening the sound of the vowel as in the interjection *oh !* you get the two dialect words for *ground* and *sound*." That is (graand saand). "This long sound of the vowel occurs in *aht* and *abaght*, and we sometimes introduce the *h* and at other times double the *a*, but in either case the sound is the same." In this case U' is

always (aa), and there is no recognition of a peculiar set of words with (éeɐ) as CCR. believes. But Mr. Preston sometimes uses *aa* for (éeɐ), as in *faas* (féeɐs) face, *laakin* (léeɐkin) playing, *staat* (stéeɐt) state, *fraam* (fréeɐm) frame, *saam* (séeɐm) seam.

From the notes it will be seen that there are some turns of phrase, and probably words, which are peculiar to this variety, but phonetically I am unable to separate it from Vars. iii. and v.

Subsequently I was fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of Dr. J. Wright (now of the Taylorian Institute, Oxford), a native of Windhill in the township of Idle and parish of Shipley, lying between Shipley and Bradford, who spoke the dialect in his youth and is still remarkably well up to it, while his philological knowledge, acquired during a long residence in Germany, gives him great advantages in such studies. His dialect is only a variety of that of Bradford, but there are a few slight differences.

With regard to the vexed question of the representation of U, he was absolutely unacquainted with ($u_o$) and his ($u$) was at times very deep, like ($u_1$, $o^1$). He thinks there must be a mistake in assigning to Manningham (p. 365, No. 4) any other form but ($u$). His short *o* was distinctly (ɔ), not (o). He dictated to me a dt. and the greater part of a cwl. The words of the latter have been annexed to the Bradford words of B. Preston below, the dt. follows. The vowel system which he recognised is given at the end of the notes on his dt., p. 390.

## Windhill (3 n.Bradford) dt.

pal. in 1888 by AJE. from the dict. of Dr. Joseph Wright, native. Windhill is a hamlet in the township of Idle and parish of Calverley.

1. *súɐ* *ái* *séɐ*, *méɐts*, ɹɐ *sii* naa, ɐt *i*)m *i*)t' *réit* ɐbaat dhàt *lit*'l las, k*umin* frɐ)t' sk*úil* ɔondɐr.
2. shuu)z g*u·in* daan)t' *rúɐd* dh*íɐr* thr*iu*)t' red *géɐt* ɐ)t' left and *sáid* ɐ)t' *wéɐ*.
3. s*iɐɐr* *inif* t' baarn)z ɐ *gúɐn* str*éit* *up* tɐ)t' ɹeq aas,
4. w*íɐr* sh*u*)l tɟɔns tɐ *find* dhat dr*uk*'n *díɐf* w*iz*'nd fɛlɐ ɐ)t' *néɐm* ɐ :tɔmɐs.
5. w*i* *óɐl* *nóɐ* *im* var*i* wiil.
6. w*iɐnt* t' *óoud* tɟap *súin* teetɟ ɐr nɐt tɐ d*iu*)t ɐg*iɐn*, *púɐr* th*iq* !
7. l*iuk* ! *iz*'nt *it* tr*iu* ?

### *Notes to Windhill* dt.

1. *so*, in all the (*úɐ*) fractures the (*u*) was deep.—*I* (*ái*) accented, (a, *i*) unaccented, the (*i*) considered as (i).—*say*, in all the (*êɐ*) fractures the (e) was deep, but not equal to (ɛ), so I have left (e).—*mates*, the word is common.—*that I'm in the right*, this is the phrase, not *I'm right*. Obs. the (*i*) unaccented form.—*coming* always with (*u*) and not (ʌ) in this word.—*yonder*, no dental (ˌdɐˌr).

2. *road there*, the *r* is gentle, apparently (r), but sensible even when final.—*red*, I have left (e) as I could not hear (ɛ) with any certainty.—*way*, might be used here.

3. *enough*, 'enow' is not known.—*up*, here, perhaps owing to the (p), the (*u*) was very deep, quite ($u_1$p).—*wrong*, here I think the (e) became quite (ɛ); it appears that (-ɔq) becomes regularly (-ɛq).

4. *chance*, and similarly (dɔns) dance. —*wizened*, initial (shr-) is used, but not the word 'shrivelled.'

5. *all*, possibly (ʌ'ʊl), but I thought (óʊl) was nearest, Dr. W. recognised (ɔ'ʊl).—*know him* (nó)*im*), the (ʊ) omitted when the two words are spoken close together.

6. *old*, possibly (óʊd) only, the first element probably lengthened in dictating, Dr. W. recognised (ɔ'ʊd), and generally used (ɔ) when I thought he said (o).

Dr. W. recognised in his dialect 6 *short vowels* in wick (=quick, alive), get, late, frozen, kiss, but (wik, get, lat, frɔz'n, kus, bʊd), the last word only unemphatic; 4 *long vowels* in night, house, above, grin (niit, aas, ʊbuun, gaan), of these (uu) occurs only in above, shovel, wool (ʊbuun, shuul, wuul), not in 'gum' of the teeth see p. 393 after No. 560; and 12 *diphthongs* including fractures in head, name, eat, mine, old, talk, home, barn, dew, do doom, foot, coal (íʊd, néʊm, éit, máin, ɔ'ʊd, tɔ'ʊk, óʊm, báʊn, da'u, díu díum, fóit, kɔ'il), corresponding to Ws. EA'-, A-, E-, I', EAL, A', EA, EA'W, O', O respectively. These relations are best shewn in the following Bradford and Windhill cwl., p. 391.

## Calverley (:kʌ'vʊlʊ) (4 ne.Bradford and 6 wnw.Leeds) dt.

pal. in 1887 by TH. from B. Hall, newsagent, b. 1845, absent from Calverley for 4 years only. This should be specially compared with the Windhill dt., p. 389.

1. *ái* see, ladz, ɪʊ sii naa ʊt *ái*)m rɛ'*it* ʊbaat dhat lit'l las kumin thrʊ)t' skúil ɪɔn,dʊ,r.

2. shu)z gùin daan t' róʊd dhîʊr thrau)t' rɛd gjêʊt ɔn)t' left and sáid.

3. *ái*)l bi ɛqd, t' bàrn)z góʊn s,t,rɛ'*it* up tʊ)t' ra'q dûʊr [às],

4. wíʊr shu)l ap'n find dhat ,drik'n dîʊf ʌf'ld óʊd tjap, ʊt dhe kʌʌl :tɔm.

5. wi ʌʌl nʌʌ im vari wíil.

6. wíʊnt [wil·ʊt] t' ôʊd [tjap] sôin tɛ'itj ʊr nɔt tʊ díu it ʊgîʊn, pûʊr bàrn!

7. la'uk! izn't it tra°'u?

### *Notes to Calverley* dt.

1. *school*, but *hole, coal, coat* (ôil, kôil, kôit), and (skóil) was also heard.

2. *down*, also *room* (raam), the U' asserting itself. — *way* is (wêʊ). — *through*, the (a'u) inclined to (óu).

3. *I'll be hanged* for *sure enough* (siʊr inif').

4. *shrivelled* not used, but (shr-) pron. as (shrimps, shróud), the last probably an error for (shraad).

6. *soon*, at another time it was dictated (sûin), the long O' becoming (ûi), the short O becoming (ôi).

7. *look*, the (a'u) inclined to (óu).

### *Notes to Bradford* cs., p. 367.

0. *no*, two forms of the negative (núʊ, nóu) occur systematically in this variety, and are casually heard in the neighbouring localities and up to Dewsbury, Var. vi.

1. *too* (tiu). — *like*=as it were, a constant qualification of any statement. —*news* (néʊz), CCR. first wrote (nɛ'u) here, and in par. 2 *few*, and seems to think it more correct for Bradford.

2. *few*, see par. 1, *new*.—*they are grinned at*, CCR. omitted (r) here.—*we are not, without knowing that*, a singular phrase, *us* for *we*, with the verb in the sing., and applied either to sg. or pl., (ʊz núʊn)z) us none)is; (baat) without, as usual.

3. *so now then art thou bound to hold thy din, friend, and just whish-thou until I* [have] *done*. CCR. says this peculiar construction is only heard at Bradford; another example is (ser)it

tə daan), set it thou down. He also cites (goo ə tə)t baan lâik) go if thou)art boun [going] like, as a peculiar Bradford version of 'go if you're going.'

4. *am I*, the unaccented pronoun, pronounced (*i*).

5. *great* (gət) for the usual (gəət).—*father's voice*, observe short vowel in *father* and absence of possessive *'s*.—*I shall trust*, Dr. Gill 1621 (suprà part IV. p. 1250*b*) interprets (âʌst) as I will and (dhóust) as thou wilt, (hiist, jóust, dhéist) he you they shall, calling it the sign of the future, but gives no explanation; *is to* seems possible.

6. *before aught is late*, that is, immediately; the word (lat) is "a peculiarity chiefly of the Bradford district, as (dha)t óu·ər lat tə lévk), thou)art over late to play, (dha)l bi lat təv)t' mɪln) thou'lt be late to the mill." Obs. a manufacturing *mill* is always (mɪln). TH. found (lat) at Marsden and elsewhere.

7. *how)is)it ye think now?* This gives my own conjectural interpretation of the (st), which CCR. cannot explain, though he says it is common.

8. *all about*, the use of (bat) with a short vowel, and the absence of the object of *about*, are, says CCR., common peculiarities. Similarly (lat) for *late*, par. 6.—*found* (fan) or (fun).—*beast*, I think (bíivəst) with (t) is the usual singular form.—*she*, unemphatic, is (shu, shu, sho), see (shu) immediately.

9. *slap*, having fallen slap down, and so stretched to the uttermost.—*ground* or (plat) plot, here CCR. inserted the phrase (*in* mʌk ən miit) in muck and might, as he rendered it. But he withdrew it, wishing, however, to note the pron. (miit) in this and the neighbouring districts among broad dialect speakers, but the meaning of this *might* is not clear in connection with *muck*.

10. *maunge*, a fit of ill-humour; 'maungy' is explained in the Leeds Glossary as 'ill-natured, ill-tempered, and peevish,' applied to children.

11. *happened* or (tjonst) chanced.—*daughter*, (dóuthər) also, this should imply that the other form is (dóu,tə,r).—*yard*, occ. (jévd).—*from* [having] *been hanging*.

12. *while* [*the*] *kettle were*; obs. the omission of the def. art. Similarly (aa)l set dhə ketəl on if tə)l stéə ən ev dhi driqkin), I'll set thee [the] kettle on, if thou)lt stay and have thy drinking. Observe that (dhə) could not be the def. art. which is never used in this form. Here (dhə) means *thee*, and the def. art. is omitted.—*afternoon*, a second form (afthənôin), possibly (-núin), probably shews that there had been a dental (,t).

13. *dost)thou know*, the *s* and *t* are pronounced rapidly, and *dost thou* is represented by a passing hiss.—*do* or business, the pron. (déeu) is very singular.—*up to today*, in the rural part of the district (təv) is heard, but this is impossible in the town.—*now hearest thou*, here (st) has another interpretation, suggested by CCR.

14. *good night*, this (góid) seems to be an error for (gúid).—*again*, both (əgíiən, əge·n) are used.

15. *without*, here (dhaat) is used instead of (baat), which is employed in the next line.—*thou'rt not without gauming* [understanding] *that*

## Bradford and Windhill cwl.

Unmarked words deduced from B. Preston's *Dialect Poems*, which are generally praised for their dialectal accuracy; the original spelling in italics followed by my interpretation in pal. is annexed: mere dialect words are disregarded. Mr. Preston's orthography is on the whole very careful, and I have seldom been at a loss for the interpretation, but see p. 388. It will be found that this cwl. in the main agrees with CCR.'s es.

W marks words pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Dr. J. Wright, of Windhill; at the end of Preston's words, '& W' means that Wright used the same form.

C Calverley (:kaa·vələ) (6 wnw.Leeds) words pal. by TH. from a newsagent, native, b. 1845; '& C' after Preston's and Wright's words means having the same sound.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 1 W sáv. 3 W béək. 4 W tak. 5 *mak* mak, W mak. 8 *ev* ev. 12 W séəg. 17 W [not used]. 18 W kéək [wheaten bread, (bríəd) being used for

oat bread]. 19 W téʊl. 20 W léʊm. 21 W néʊm. 24 W shéʊm. 31 *lat* lat & W. 33 *rayther* reedhʊr, W réʊdhʊr.

A: 39 W kɔm kam. 41 W theqk'n. 43 W and & C. 44 W land. 45 W [not used]. 49 *hing* iq, C ɛq. 56 *wesh* wesh, W wesh. 57 W [not used]. — *gate* gat geet [gat, got]. Á: *or* O: 58 W frʊ, C thrʊ. 59 W lam. 60 W lɛq. 63 *threng* threq. 64 *wreng* req, W rɛq, C raq. 65 *seng* seq.

A'- 67 W gu·ʊn [going], C gù·in. 69 W nés, adv. 70 *toa* tʊ́ʊ. 72 W ʊ́ʊ. 73 *soa* sʊ́ʊ & W. 74 W tʊ́ʊ. 76 W tʊ́ʊd. 82 W [not used]. 84 *moar* mʊ́ʊr & W. 86 W ʊ́ʊts. 87 W klʊ́ʊz. 89 *boeth* búʊth. 92 *knaw* noo, W nóʊ [may be (nA'ʊ)], C nAA.

A': 101 W ú₁ʊk. 102 W aks, as [pt. (ast)]. 104 W rú₁ʊd, C rôʊd. 105 W réʊd. 106 W bréʊd. 108 W dú₁ʊf. 110 *nut* nʊt, C nət. 111 *owt* óʊt. 113 W ʊ́ʊl. 115 *hoam* ʊ́ʊm, W óʊm ú₁ʊm. 118 W bú₁ʊn. 119 C gôʊn. 122 i. *noan* nʊ́ʊn, ii. *noa* nʊ́ʊ, W nú₁ʊ. 124 *stoan* stú₁ʊn, W stú₁ʊn. 127 W [not used]. 133 W réʊt. 136 W AAdhʊr.

Æ- 138 W faadhʊr. 140 W éʊl. 141 W néʊl. 142 W snéʊl. 143 W téʊl. 144 C ʊgîʊn. 146 W méʊn. 147 W bréʊn. 148 W féʊr [& also used for fair = a market]. 149 bléʊz. 152 *watter* watʊr, W wotʊr. 153 W setʊrdʊ.

Æ: 154 W bak. 158 W aftʊr. 161 W déʊ. 162 W [not used]. 164 W méʊ. 165 W sed. 166 W [not used]. — *dlass* dlas [glass]. 177 *at* ʊt, C ʊt [conjunction], dhat [pronoun].

Æ'- 182 W sʊ́ʊ. — *reycht* reitɪt [reached]. 183 C tɛ'itɪ. 184 W lʊ́ʊd. 187 W lʊ́ʊv. 189 W wéi. 190 W kéi. 194 W ɔni [(ev ɔni ɔn)i ɔni ɔn)i ?) have any of you any on you ?]. 195 *mony* mɔni & W. 197 W tɪiiz. 202 W ʊ́ʊt.

Æ': 203 W [not used]. 205 W thrʊ́ʊd. 208 *ivver* ivʊr. 209 *nivver* nivʊr, 210 *tlay* tlee, W klêʊ. 211 W grêʊ. 223 *thear* dhʊ́ʊr & W, C dhîʊr. 224 W wʊ́ʊr & C. 226 W mʊ́ʊst.

E- 231 *t* t' & C. 232 *brek* brek & W. 233 *speyk* spéik & W. 236 W fêʊvʊr. 238 W ɛdɪ [as 257]. 239 W séʊl. 241 W réʊn. 242 W [not used]. 243 W plêʊ [the regular word is (léʊk)]. — *beer* bʊ́ʊr [bear endure]. 247 W gaʊn [grin]. 248 W mʊ́ʊr. 250 *sweear* swʊ́ʊr & W. — *heytin* éitin [eating], W éit [eat]. 251 *meyt* méit.

E: 257 ɛdɪ [as 238]. 260 *lig* lig [used], W léʊ [of hens]. 261 W séʊ, C see. 262 W weʊ, C wêʊ. 263 W ʊwéʊ. 265 *streyt* stréit & W, C s,t,rɛ'it. 266 *weel* wiil & W, C wʊ́il. 269 *mesen* misin [myself]. 286 W arʊ. 287 W biiz'm.

E'- 289 Jʊ. 290 i ʊ. 292 mi mʊ. 293 C wi [unaccented], we wʊ. 294 fiid [I did not record whether (ii) here and below is pure, probably not]. 298 W fiil. 299 W griin. 300 W kiip.

E': 305 *hey* héi, W éi. 306 W éit. 307 néi. 308 W niid. 311 W ten. 312 W ʊ́ʊr. 314 *eard* ʊ́ʊrd & W. 315 *fit* fɪt & W.

EA- — *shap* shap [shape]. 320 W kéʊr.

EA: 321 W sɔ'ʊ. 322 W lăf. 323 W féʊt. 324 W ɛ'it. — *'se* sh'l [shall]. 326 *owd* ôʊd & C, W ɔ'ʊd [I heard (óʊʊd)]. 328 *cowd* kóʊd, W kóʊʊd kɔ'ʊd. 330 *hod* ɔd & W. 332 W [(tɛld) used]. 333 W kɔ'ʊf. 334 *awf* oof, W ɔ'ʊf. 335 C AAl, W ɔ'ʊl. 336 W fɔ'ʊl. 338 C kAAl, W kɔ'ʊl. — *aad hard* aad [hard]. 342 W aarm [or (áaʊm)]. 343 W waarm [or (wâaʊm)]. 344 C bàrn, W báaʊn [occ.]. 346 C gjêʊt, W gʊ́ʊt.

EA'- 347 *heead* iʊd & W. 348 *ee* ii. 349 W fɛ'u [I was not quite satisfied with this analysis, it was often like (fɔ'u,u); he considered *dew* = (dɛ'u)], C fɛ''u.

EA': 350 *deead* dʊ́ʊd & W. 351 W lʊ́ʊd. 352 W red, C rɛd. 353 *breead* brʊ́ʊd & W [but for oaten bread only, see No. 18]. 355 W dʊ́ʊf, C dîʊf. 357 *thau* dhoo [W not used]. 359 W néʊbʊr. 360 W tʊ́ʊm. 361 W bʊ́ʊn. 363 W tɪʊ́ʊp. — *lowse* lóʊs [loose]. 366 W gɛɛt. 368 W dʊ́ʊth. 371 W strA'ʊ.

EI- 372 W ái. 373 W dhéʊ dhʊ, C dhe. 374 W néʊ.

EI: 377 W stéʊk. 378 *wake* week wéik, W wéʊk. 380 *thame* dheem dhéim.

EO- 383 W sev'n. 384 W ev'n. 386 W ɛ'u [rhymes to 349, and no (J) prefixed]. 387 W nʊ́u.

EO: 388 W milk. 390 *sud* sʊd sʊd. 392 W JɔnD. 396 W waark. 397 W sʊ́ʊrd [present form, an older one is (sward)]. 402 W lʊ́ʊn [no (r) heard]. 406 W ʊ́ʊth.

EO'- 409 W bii. 410 W [not used]. 411 W thrii. 412 W shuu. 414 W flii. 420 W fo'uʊr.

EO': 423 W thii. 425 *leet* liit & W. 426 *feyt* féit & W. 427 C bíi. 428 C síi. 430 W frend. 433 W brest. 435 C ɹʊ [unacc.]. 436 W tríu.

EY'- 438 *dee* dii & W. EY: 439 tr*u*st.

I- 440 W wiik. 444 W stii-ɔ'il [ladder-hole]. 446 W náin. 447 W ʊr [unacc.] & C. 449 W gɛt. I: 452 *ah* aa, W ái, a, i [see dt., p. 389], C *ái*. 453 W wik. 457 *meet* miit & W. 458 *neet* niit & W. 459 *reyt* rèit & W, C rɛ'it. 465 W sitɹ. 466 W [not used]. 468 W tɹildʊr. 472 W shriqk. 473 *blynd* blind. 475 W wind. 476 W bind. 477 *fynd* fáind [past tense *fan* fan], W find & C. 479 W wind. 482 C *iz*. 485 W thıs'l. 489 C *it*.

I'- 490 *be* bi. 492 W sáid, C sáid. 494 W táim. 496 W âiʊrn. I': W láik. 503 W láif. 504 W náif. 505 W wáif. 506 W w*u*mʊn. 511 W wáin.

O- — W shuul [shovel]. 519 *uvvor lip* ʊvʊr *lip* [over or upper lip]. 521 W fɔ'il. 522 *oppen* ɔp'n & W. 523 *hoap* úʊp. — *afoar* ʊfúʊr [afore]. 524 *wurld* warld, W waald.

O: 526 *coff* kɔf. 527 *bowt* bóʊt & W. 528 *thowt* thóʊt & W. 529 *browt* bróʊt & W. 530 *rowt* róʊt & W. 531 W dóʊtʊr. 532 *koil* kɔ'il & W. 534 *hoil* ɔ'il & W [used for prison]. 535 *fowk* fóʊk. 536 W góʊd. 541 C wîʊnt wilʊt. 543 C ɔn. 547 W búʊrd. 548 W [not used]. 549 W [not used]. 552 W kóʊrn [or (kaa'ʊrn)]. 553 W óʊrn [or (aaʊrn)]. — W k*u*s [kiss].

O'- 555 W sh*iu*. 556 C tʊ [unemph.]. 557 W t*iu*. 558 *lewk luke* líuk & W, C la'uk. 560 *skooil* skúil & W & C. — *goom* [Dr. Wright says that Preston pronounces (g*iu*m), as also (d*iu*m) doom]. 562 *mooin* máin & W. 564 *sooin* súin & W, C sôin súin. 565 *noas* náʊz & W. 566 *uther* ʊdlhʊr.

O': 569 W b*iu*k. 570 *tuk* tuk, W t*iu*k. 571 *gooid* gúid & W. 572 W blúid. 579 *eniff* inif & W [W the form *enow* is not known]. 582 kúil. 583 W túil. 584 W stúil. 586 *dew* d*iu* & W. 587 *doin* dúin, W du̯n. 588 *noin* núin. 589 W spúin. 591 W múʊr. 593 [W (mʊn mʊd) used]. — *tooith* tuıth. 594 *boit* búit. 595 *fooit* fúit & W. 596 *rooit* rúit & W. 597 *sooit* súit & W.

U- 599 *aboon* ʊbuun & W. 601 W faal. 602 W saa. 603 *cum* kʊm & W & C. 605 W sʊn [not distinguished from 629]. 606 *doar* dúʊr, C dûʊr, W díʊr.

U: — *baan* baan [going]. — *pool* puul [pull]. 610 W wuul [with a long vowel]. 612 *sum* sʊm & W. 614 *haand* aand & W [in W not used for a dog, except as by way of insult]. 615 *paand* paand & W [=20*s.*], W pʊnd [=16 *oz.*]. 616 *graand* graand [CCR. has gréeʊnd]. 619 W fʊn. 620 W grʊn. 625 *tung* tuq & W. 626 W *u*qʊr. 629 W sʊn. 632 W *up* [almost (*u*̯p) see dt.], C *up*. 633 W k*u*p. 634 W thr*iu*, C thra'u. 639 W d*u*st.

U'- 640 W kaa. 641 *hah* aa & W. 642 *thagh thaa* dhaa. 643 *nah* naa. 647 W aal. 648 [emphatic] *are ar* aar, [unemphatic] *wur* wʊr, *wee'se hate warsen we all wur meet* wii)z *eet* wʊrse·n wi ool wʊr miit [(we)should hate ourselves with all our might]. 650 *abaht abaght* ʊbaat, C ʊbaat [see p. 388, l. 2 from bottom]. 651 W baat. 653 *bud* bʊd & W, bʊd [unaccented] W.

U': 654 *shraad* shraad. 655 W faal. 656 *raam* raam & W & C. 658 *dahn* daan & W & C. 659 *taan* taan & W. 663 *haase* aas & W [CCR. has (éʊs)]. 665 *maas* maas & W. 667 *aht aat aght* aat & W. 671 W maath.

Y- 673 *mich* mitɹ & W. 674 W did [never (dìd)]. 679 W tɹaatɹ. 682 C lit'l. Y: 684 W brig. 685 W rig [a man's back]. 694 W wark. 697 *berry* beri. 699 W riit [distinct from 459]. 700 W waar. 701 W farst. Y'- 705 W skii. 706 W wái [(wɔt fa) more used]. Y': 709 W fáir. 712 W máis.

II. English.

A. 714 C lad. 722 W dréʊn. 726 *tauk* took, W tɔ'ʊk. 728 W sham. 732 C ap'n. E. 745 W tɹiʊt. I. *and* Y. 756 W shrimp & C. 758 W [not used]. O. 761 W lúʊd. 766 W mɔ'idʊrd [much used]. 769 W mánldwarp. — *poyt* póıt [a pot, pusher, poker]. 783 W [not used]. 788 W [not used]. 789 W [(noreeshʊn) used]. 790 *gaan* gaan. — *draand* draand

[drown]. U. 793 W *ug* [to carry in the arms]. 794 W dɹ*ug*. 799 W sk*ul*. 804 C ˌdˌr*u*k'n. 807 W p*us*. 808 W p*ut*.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 810 *it faas i*)t' févs [in the face], W févs. 811 W plévs. 813 W bévk'n. 820 W gév. 822 W mév. 830 W trévn. 835 W ríuz'n. 836 W síuz'n. 840 W tɹévmɐr. 841 W tɹons. 842 W plɔqk. 847 W dévndɹɐr. 849 W strévndɹɐr. 850 W dons. 852 W aprɐn. 860 W pévst. 861 W tévst. 865 *fawt* foot. 866 W pívr, C pûvr. — *favvur* fávɐr [favour, resemble].

E·· 867 W *tiv*. 869 W *vivl*. 874 W *reen*. 875 W févnt. 877 W évr. 885 *varry* vari & W & C. — *earbs* ívrbz jaabz. 888 W saart*in*. 890 W bívst [pl. (bívsts), not (bívs), and used for cows]. 893 W flaar. 895 W risívv.

I·· *and* Y·· 898 W náis. 901 W fáin. 903 W dɪnɐr. 910 W [not known]. 912 W ráis.

O·· W kúvtɹ. 916 W *un*jɐn. 917 *roag* rúvg. 918 W fívb'l. 920 W póint. 923* W mɔ'ist. 924 W tɹɔ'is. 925 vɔ'is. 926 W spɔ'il. — *saand* saand [a sound]. 928 *aance* aans. 929 W kaakɐmɐr. 939 W klɔ'is [and also sb.]. 940 *coyt* kóit & W. 941 *fooil* fúil & W. 942 W b*u*tɹɐr. 943 W t*u*tɹ. 945 W vaa [used only as threaten]. 950 W *su*pɐr. 952 i. W kaars, ii. W kúvrs [as a race course]. 953 W k*u*z'n. — *pesht* pesht [pushed]. 954 W wíshin. 955 *daht* daat & W.

U·· 965 W ɔ'il. 968 W ɔ'istɐr. 969 *suar* síuvr & W.

## VAR. V. LEEDS AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

CCR. being a native of Leeds, familiar with and speaking the dialect from infancy, his account of it is of great interest. Of course it is in the villages and not in the town that peasant speech is heard. In the town a peculiar attempt to speak rs. is made by the smaller tradesmen, of which an account will be given on p. 396.

The Leeds variety, which is the most important and characteristic, extends over all the ne. part of D 24. It reaches on the w. to Churwell (3 ssw.Leeds) and Kirkstall (3 nw.), but not to Pudsey (5 w-by-s. Leeds), which belongs to Bradford, but the pronunciation scarcely differs perceptibly from Leeds. On the e. it includes Aberford (8 ene.Leeds) and Sherburn (12 e.Leeds). On the s. it extends to Wakefield, with numerous but unimportant differences, as is shown in a special cwl. Pontefract is similar to Wakefield, U′ being generally (aa), but often becoming (â*u*). In Variety ix. Doncaster, for which a separate cwl. will be given, (á*u*) is the regular form. Although Dewsbury is only 5 w.Wakefield, it speaks differently, see Var. vi.

This variety is well illustrated, not only by the interlinear cs. which shew how little Leeds differs from Bradford, but by an almost complete cwl. kindly filled in by CCR. in glossic, here transliterated. This cwl. will have to be compared with a similarly extensive cwl. for Mid Yorkshire, with which CCR. was equally familiar from childhood. In transliterating CCR.'s Glossic, I have retained *u* and also used (e) for the glossic [e], where probably I should now hear (ɐ). But CCR. occ. distinguishes gl. [e, ae]= (e, ɐ), which shews his own feeling. The fractures (*éev*, *íiv*, *óov*, *úuv*, *úui*) seem to have superfluous length in their first element, but as CCR. sometimes distinguishes the length of their first

element, I have felt bound to follow his indications. Here, however, in stating the characters, I shall use a short first element for convenience. For minute particulars reference must be made to the cwl.

A- generally (éʊ), as (néʊm) name, a following G or W induce (óʊ) as (sóʊ) a saw.

A: is generally (a), in a few cases (e), as (theqk) thank. The A: or O: words in NG have all (eq), as (leq) long.

A′- and A′: have regularly (úʊ), as (ûʊts) oats, but a following G and W induce (óʊ), as (óʊn) own, (króʊ) to crow, and sometimes (ó*u*), as (ô*u*) to owe, (ló*u*) low.

Æ- is generally (éʊ), especially where followed by G, as (snéʊl) snail, for which (sniil) is also used, but in (fadhʊ watʊ) father water it becomes (a).

Æ: is generally (a), but followed by G is (éʊ), as (aftʊ déʊ) after day.

Æ′- as a rule gives (é*i*), as (téitɨ) teach, but varies as (íʊ, ii), as (s*íi*ʊ) sea, (tɨiiz) cheese, and we have even (ɔnɪ) any.

Æ′: is also variable within generally the same limits.

E- is often (é*i*), as (né*i*d) knead, (éʊ), as (réʊn) rain, and (íʊ), as (w*íi*ʊ) to wear, but sometimes remains (e), as (brek ledhʊ) break leather.

E: is regularly (e, ɛ) and has few variants.

E′-, E′: are regularly (ii).

EA- has (éʊ).

EAL as usual has peculiar forms implying an original form AL, as (ó*u*d) old, (óʊl) all.

EA′ has generally (íʊ), as (l*ii*·ʊd) lead metal, but a following W induces (óʊ), as (stróʊ) straw.

EI is generally (éʊ), as (éeʊl) to hail a person.

EO as usual varies much, but (l*ii*ʊn j*ii*ʊn) learn yearn are uncommon; EOR is generally (aa).

EO′ is mostly (ii, íʊ), but varies a good deal. The form (shuu) she is said to be derived from Ws. *seó*, but may after all come from Ws. *heó*.

I- is generally treated as I′.

I: is generally (*i*) even in blind, rind, to wind, bind, find, but singularly enough *grind* becomes (gr*u*nd).

I′ is regularly (â*i* â*i*), not (*ai*).

O is regularly (ɔ), but foal, coal, hole, have (ó*i*); a following H or L induces (ó*u*) in (thó*u*t) thought, (bó*u*lt) bolt.

O′ changes regularly into (*úui*) as (k*úui*l) cool.

U becomes regularly (*u*) even in pound ground, but is (aa) in hound, sound = healthy, a wound.

U′ is regularly (aa), as (daan) down.

Y before R gives rise to (ə, ä) in (bəth bəri məth fəst) birth bury mirth first.

For consonants initial *h* vanishes, and *r* not before a vowel also generally vanishes or can scarcely be recognised: *t*, *d* preceding a vowel and after a short vowel becomes very vulgarly (r), see notes to cwl., p. 400, No. 449. With this compare the use of (r) for (d) in (ʜar, ʜare) hadde in Low German, see first line of examples 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, etc., in Part IV. pp. 1378 1380, and in numerous other places. The final *-ture* has its older form *-tur* (-tʊr, -tʊ), and not the modern S.-*chur* (-tɨʊɹ), as (p*i*ktʊr), not p*i*ktɨʊr) picture.

On comparing the Varieties iv. and v., Bradford and Leeds, the differences are scarcely perceptible. The following may be noted:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B | d*ú*in | óe)m | s*iu*r | thr*iu* | fr*u* | dhʊse·lnz | sk*w*éʊk | tr*iu*th | aks | áaʊ |
| L | dʊn | âɪ)m | síeʊr | thr*u* | thr*u* | dhʊse·nz | sk*w*éik | tréeʊth | aś | aa |
| | *done* | *I'm* | *sure* | *through* | *from* | *themselves* | *squeak* | *truth* | *ask* | *how* |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B | gréeʊnd | wəld | dóʊtʊr | k*u*ɹm | eqin | wiit | wol | fóin | déeʊ | fôil. |
| L | gr*u*nd | waald | dóoʊtʊr | kam | iqin | wit | wal | fâin | d*iu* | f*ú*il. |
| | *ground* | *world* | *daughter* | *came* | *hanging* | *wet* | *while* | *fine* | *do* | *fool.* |

These differences are of no account whatever. The reasons for separating iv. and v. must therefore be sought in the different use they make of certain words and phrases, of which some specimens are given in the cs., but which otherwise lie beyond the scope of this investigation.

## Leeds Refined Form.

The petty shopkeepers of Leeds speak a refined form of speech, which cannot properly be called a dialect, but is an attempt to speak rs., continually frustrated by dialectal tendencies and youthful habits. CCR. was so good as to translate the cs. into this town speech. It is so far from being a genuine dialect that I do not think it right to print it, but it may be worth while to note the dialectal remnants it contains.

The U′ and I′ words have (âu, âi), the short U remains (u), the (r) final disappears, *she* is (shʊ ·shəə), (t′) remains for *the*, (h) disappears, (wh) becomes w. And in addition the following pronunciations are used, each referred to its paragraph in the cs.

0. (wat) what.—1. (both laf) both laugh, short (o) being common, (oo níʊdhʊ) who neither.—2. (noo óʊnli dont méeʊk nʊt) know only don't make not.—3. (âusume·vʊ dhéʊz óʊd) however these hold.—4. (əd foks thru a) heard folks through =from I.—5. (juqist gríʊt spíʊk) youngest great speak.—6. (óʊd ool ʊdhâʊt óʊnli) old all without only.—7. (líʊstweez tóud ast táʊthri óʊvʊ ·shəə) leastways told asked two or three over ·she.—8. (wíʊr a)l fə)t) where I'll for't.—9. (lee)in fuul kóʊt tlóʊz dóʊstʊn) lying full coat close door-stone.—10. (wəld, póʊli) world poorly.—11. (dóʊtʊr kêʊm) daughter came.—12. (tíʊ) tea.—13. (lənt shóʊr dont want) learned sure don't want.—14. (took) talk.—15. (ful wəd) fool [and observe (fuul) full in 9] word.

I have received specimens of refined speech for York also, but the above specimen is probably enough.

*Notes to Leeds* cs., p. 367.

1. *and all*, merely equivalent to also, or, etc.—*is to*, seems the proper interpretation of (st) here.

2. *few*, (fêeu néeu) are used here as at Bradford.—*for because they're grinned at.—had'nt us sure of that now*, the grammar is shaky; CCR considers (ad'nt) to represent (art not), but *art not us* seems impossible; and *hadn't* seems inexplicable. CCR says the phrase is more common in Bradford than in Leeds.—*likely*, CCR introduces this adv. in *lins* several times as here, par. 4 and 13 (síʊlinz), 7 (líʊslinz).

3. *oddments* or items.—*so just thee hold thy din with thee, if thou canst, thou like and whiskt until I (have) done*, peculiar idiomatic phraseology according to CCR, but not in frequent use.—*hearest thou but)as now, buts* seems to be *but as*, and to mean *only*. See cs. to Var. iii. end of par. 13, p. 376, and note, p. 386.

4. *through* used for *from*, the form (fru) is considered childish at Leeds, but is heard at Bradford, (frʊm) would not be understood, but (fruum) is possible; there is here an attempt to use (thru) for through and (thru) for from, but (thru) is used in both senses in par. 11, p. 374, so that this breaks down.—*did I*, obs. enclitic form (i) for *I*.

5. *great*, the short (gət, gat) in this sense is not so frequent as the long (gəət) taken as (gərt)—*father voice*, the possessive *father's* is little used, observe short (a).

6. *without* (dhaatʊn), the (ʊn) as in Ws. wiþútan, compare par. 7, p. 371, (ʊbaaten).—*ask her*.

7. *how is it you think?*

8. *at all ends*, in every particular.

9. *Sunday*, although final (r) is generally omitted in Leeds, it seems to be added with a real trill to week-day names, see *Thursday*, par. 12, p. 375.

10. *world*, (waald wəld) are both used.—*maunge*, see Var. iv. notes, p. 391.

13. *do* (d*íu*), business or concern.

14. *and so I must forced to go*, the construction is difficult, meaning 'I must go, I am forced to go.'—*keen*, with short perhaps medial (i), or (shéep) sharp.

15. *without reason*, or, to use a common expression, (bidhaat góoumin óout) without understanding aught.

## Leeds and Neighbourhood cwl.

written in glossic by CCR., transliterated by AJE.

* before any number of a word refers to a following note, pp. 400-1.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 béuk. 4 tak. 5 mak. 6 méeud. 7 séeuk. 8 ev. 9 bijéeuv. 10 óou. 11 móou. 12 sóou. 13 nóou. 14 dróou. 15 óou [awful]. 16 dóoun. 17 lóou. 18 kéeuk. 19 téeul. 20 léeum. 21 néeum. 22 téeum. 23 séeum. 24 shéeum. 25 méeun. 26 wéeun. 27 néeuv. *28 éeuɪ. 32 béeudh. 33 reeu·dhuɪ reeuduɪ. 34 last. 35 óoul. 36 thó*u* thóou. 37 tlóou.

A: 39 kam. 40 k*úu*um. 41 theqk. 43 and. 44 land. — wand [he wound]. 46 kanul. 47 wandu. 48 saq. 50 teqz. 51 man. 53 kan. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh. 57 as.

A: *or* O: 58 [replaced by through (thr*u*), see notes to cs., p. 396]. 59 lam. 60 leq. 61 umeq. 62 streq. 63 threq. 64 req. 65 seq. 66 theq.

A'- 67 g*úu*u. 69 n*úu*u. 70 t*úu*u. 71 w*úu*u. 72 w*úu*u. 73 s*úu*u. 74 tuu. 75 str*úu*uk. 76 t*úu*ud. 77 lóoud. 78 ô*u*. 79 óoun. 80 alidu. 81 lóin. 83 m*úu*un. 84 m*úu*uɪ. 85 s*úu*uɪ. 86 *ú*uts w*ú*uts. 87 tl*úu*uz. 88 tl*úu*udh. 89 b*úu*uth. 90 blóou. 91 móou. 92 nóou. 94 króou. 95 thróou. 96 sóou. 97 só*u*l [sóoul has been heard from individual old people]. 98 nóoun. 99 thróoun. 100 sóoun.

A': 101 *úu*uk. 102 as aks. 104 r*úu*ud. 105 réeud. 106 br*úu*ud. 107 l*úu*uf. 108 d*úu*uf. 109 ló*u*. 110 nut. 111 ó*u*t. 112 éeul. 113 *úu*ul. 114 m*uu*ul. 115 *úu*um. 116 *úu*um [seldom used]. 118 b*úu*un. 121 g*úu*un. 122 n*úu*un. 123 nó*u*t. 124 st*úu*un. 125 [used only in refined speech and then called] *úu*unli, [in dialect they use] nobut. 126 *úu*uɪ. 127 *úu*ust *úu*us [seldom]. 128 [used only in refined speech, otherwise (dhem)]. 129 g*úu*ust. 130 b*úu*ut. 131 g*úu*ut. 132 *úu*ut. 133 réeut. 134 *ú*uth. 135 tlaat [used, but this is clout, from Ws. clút]. 136 ó*u*dhuɪ ôudhuɪ ó*u*duɪ ôuduɪ.

Æ- 138 fadhuɪ faduɪ féeudhuɪ féeuduɪ. 139 dréeu. 140 éeul. 141 néeul. 142 sniil snéeul. 143 téeul. 144 ugíiun ugéeun. 145 sléeun. 146 méeun. 147 bréeun. 148 féeuɪ. 149 bléeuz. 150 líiust [often without (t)]. 151 [not used]. 152 watuɪ. 153 setudu.

Æ: 155 thatɟ. 157 réeuvun. 158 aftu. 161 déeu. 163 léeud. 164 méeu. 165 sed. 166 méeud. 167 déeul. 168 talu. 169 wen. 170 éuvist aavist. 171 baal*i*. 172 gras ges gəəs. 173 woɪ [used, generally written (wʌɪ)]. 174 esh. 175 fast. 178 nat. 179 wat. *189 béeud. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 s*íi*u. 183 téitɟ têitɟ. 184 l*íi*ud léid lêid. 185 riid. 186 br*íi*udh breed brâid. 187 l*íi*uv [sb. (lêiv)]. 188 nêi. 189 wêi. 190 kêi. 191 *íi*ul. 192 m*íi*un. 193 tléin [vb. (tl*íi*un)]. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 woɪ. 197 tɟiiz. 199 bl*íi*ut. 200 w*íi*ut w*íi*ut w*íi*ut [the last rare]. 201 *íi*udhun. 202 *íi*ut.

Æ': 203 spiitɟ. 204 did diid. 205 thriid. 206 red. 207 niid'l. 210 tléeu. 211 gréeu. 212 wêi. 213 éeudhuɪ éeuduɪ. 215 tó*u*t. 216 d*íi*ul [the v. is (dêil)]. 217 *íi*utɟ [in refined speech, but seldom used]. 218 ship shiip. 219 slip sliip. 221 f*íi*u. 222 éeu. 223 dh*íi*u. 224 w*íi*u. 225 flesh. 226 m*úu*ust. 227 wit wet. 228 sw*íi*ut swîut w*íi*ut [the last rare]. 229 br*íi*uth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brek. 233 spéik spêik. 234 nêid néeid. 235 wéiv. 236 f*íi*uvu.

237 tjílbléeun. 238 edj. 239 séeul. 240 léeun. 241 réeun. 242 twéeun [when read, not used]. 243 pléeu [when read, otherwise (léeuk) lake used]. 246 kwiin [queen], kwíiun [quean]. 247 wíiun. 248 méeu. 249 wíiu. 250 swíiu. 251 mêit mêit. 252 ketul. 253 netul. 254 ledhu. 255 wedhu.

E: 257 eg. 258 seg sedj. 259 wedj. 260 lig. 261 séeu. 262 wéeu. 264 éeul. 265 stréit. 267 jild. 268 [not used, (ôudis) oldest, said]. 270 belus beli. 272 elm. 273 men. 274 beqk biqk. 275 [replaced by (stiqk)]. 276 thiqk. 277 drensh. 278 wensh. 280 elevun. 281 leqth. 282 streqth. 283 mari. 284 thresh. 285 kres. 286 aru. 287 biizum. 288 let [otten (léur) before a vowel].

E'- 289 jii. 290 ii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fiid. 295 bred. 296 bíliiv. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 kip kiip. 301 íiuj. 302 mit miit. 303 swit swiit.

E': 305 êi. 306 éit êit. 307 nii [only used by "old-charactered people"]. 308 niid ñéid. 309 spiid. 310 il. 311 ten. 312 íiu. 313 aakun éukeu. 314 íiud. 315 fit fiit. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 fléeu. 319 géeup. 320 kéeuj.

EA: 321 sóou sid. 322 laf. 323 fóut. 324 êit. 325 wóouk. 326 ôud óud. 327 bôuld bóud. 328 kôud. 329 fóuld fóud. 330 od. 331 seld. 332 teld. 333 kóouf. 334 óouf éeuf. 335 óoul. 336 fóoul. 337 wóoul. 340 jéud jéeud jaad. 342 éum éeum. 343 waam. 345 daj. 346 géeut.

EA'- 347 íiud. 348 ii [(iin) pl. and also sg.]. 349 fééu.

EA': 350 díiud. 351 líiud. 352 red. 353 bríiud [(bréid) is dialectally vulgar and rare]. 354 shíiuf shéif. 355 díiuf. 356 líiuf. 357 dhíu [rare]. 359 néeubuj. 360 tíium téim. 361 bíiun. 362 slóeu. 363 tjíup tjíiup. 365 níiu. 366 got [(gríiut) refined]. 367 thríiut. 368 díiuth. 369 slóou. 370 róou. 371 stróou.

EI- 372 áai. 373 dhéeu. 374 néeu. 375 réeuz. 376 béeut.

EI: 377 stéeuk. 378 wéeuk. 379 éeul. 381 swéeun. 382 dhéeuj.

EO- 383 sevun. 384 evun. 385 binéeidh [considered affected, and (uudunéidh) gen. used]. 386 jóu. 387 néu nîu.

EO: 388 milk. 389 jíuk. 390 sud. 393 bijond. 396 waak. 397 súued. 398 staav. 399 briit. 400 íiunist. 401 jíiun. 402 líiun. 403 faaj. 405 aath [some old people (éuth)]. 406 íiuth. 407 faadin. 408 néeu [refined (níiu)].

EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii. 412 shuu shu sho shu shəə. 413 divul. 414 flii. 415 lâi. 416 díiu. 417 tjéu tjo'u. 418 bréeu [refined (bríiu)]. 419 jâuur. 420 fóuu. 421 foti.

EO': 423 thii. 424 ruf. 425 lit [short (i), not (i)]. 426 féit [short diphthong]. 427 bii. 428 sii. 429 fiind. 430 frend. 431 bíiu. 432 fóuut. 433 bríiust. 434 bet. 435 jii [in gen. use, (juu) refined, used in addressing superiors]. 436 tréeu [refined (tríiu)]. 437 tréeuth [refined (tríiuth)].

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 trust.

I- 440 wik [(i) not (i)]. 441 siv. 442 áivin. *443 fráidu. 444 stâil. 445 éei. 446 nâin. 448 dhíiuz. *449 get. 450 têuzdu tîuzdu. 451 sêu sóu sôu.

I: 452 áai aaji. 454 witj. 455 lig. 457 máit [generally, (miit) by individual old people]. 458 niit. 459 réit. 460 wéit wêit. 461 liit. 462 siit. 464 witj. 465 sitj. 466 tjâild [when read, the spoken word is (baan)]. 467 wâild. 468 tjildrin [when read, the spoken word is (baanz)]. 471 timuj. 472 shriqk. 473 blind. 474 rind. 475 wind. 476 bind. 477 find. 478 grund. 479 wind. 481 fiqu. 484 dhis. 485 thisul. 486 jíiust jəst. 487 jəstudu. 488 jət.

I'- 490 bâi bâai. 491 sâi [some old people say (sii)]. 493 dráiv. 494 táim. 496 âiurun. 497 râiz. 498 râit. 499 biit'l [in fine reading, (bla·k klək) in dialect].

I': 500 lâik. 501 wâid. 502 fâiv. 503 lâif. 504 nâif. 505 wâif. 506 wumun. 507 wimin. 508 mâil. 509 wal. 511 wâin. 512 spâiu [(stiip'l) often used]. 513 wâiu. 514 âis. 515 wâiz. 516 wizdum. 517 jéu.

O- 520 baa. 521 fôil. 522 opun. 523 úuup. 524 wəl waald [both equally used].

O: 526 kɔf. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut brôut [also (bruq braq)]. 530 róut. 531 dóutɐɹ. 532 kôɹl kóoil kóil. 533 dul. 534 ôil. 536 gôud. 537 móud maald. 538 wɔd. 539 bôul. 540 olin. 542 bóult bôult. 545 ɔp. 547 búuɐd. 548 fúuɐd. 549 úuɐd. 550 wəd wə'd wəəd. 551 stóoɐm. 552 kóoɐn. 553 óoɐn. 554 kros.

O'- 556 shuu [pl. (shúuin)]. 556 túuɐ [but (tul) most usual]. 557 tiu. 558 líuk. 559 mudhɐɹ. 561 bluum. 562 múuin. 563 mundɐ. 564 súuin. 565 núuɐz. 566 udhɐɹ.

O': 569 búik. 570 tíuk. 571 gúid. 572 blúid. 573 flúid. 574 brúid. 575 stúid. 576 wedɐnzdɐ. 577 baa. 578 plaa. 581 sóut. 582 kúuil. 583 túuil. 584 stúuil. 585 bruum [the broom brush is (biizɐm), No. 287]. 587 dun. 588 núuin. 589 spúuin. 590 flúuɐɹ. 591 múuɐɹ. 592 swéɐɹ [used, but it is a different form]. 593 mun [is the form used]. 594 búut. 595 fúuit. 596 rúuit. 597 súuit. 598 súuidh.

U- 599 ɐbuun. 600 luv. 601 faal. 602 saa. 603 kum. 605 sun. 606 dúuɐ. 607 butɐ.

U: 608 ugli. 609 ful. 610 wul. 611 bulɐk. 612 sum. 613 druqk. 614 aand. 615 pund. 616 grund. 617 saand. 618 waand. 619 fun fan. 620 gruon grund grundid. 622 undɐɹ. 625 tuq. 626 uqɐ. 628 nun. 629 sun. 630 wun wan. 631 thəzdɐ. 632 up. 633 kup. 634 thruu. 635 wəth. 636 faadhɐɹ faa·dɐɹ [but this is another word]. 637 tusk. 638 busk. 639 dust.

U'- 640 kaa. 641 aa. 642 dhaa. 645 duv. 646 bóu [subst. (baa)]. 647 aal. 648 aa aaɹ. 649 thaazɐn. 652 kud. 653 bud bɐd but bɐt.

U': 654 shraad. 655 faal. 656 râum [(raam) is less used]. 657 braan. 658 dàan [and also down, the feather]. 659 taan. 660 báaɹ [r very often dropped]. 661 shaaɹ. 663 aas. 664 laas. 665 maas. 666 uzbɐn. 667 aat. 668 praad. 669 unkaa·th. 670 búuidh búidh. 671 maath. 672 saath.

Y- 673 mitɟ. 674 did. 675 drâi. 676 láai. 678 din. 679 tɟətɟ. 680 bizi [if read, but (threq) No. 63 regularly used]. 682 litɐl.

Y: 683 midɟ. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bâi báai. 687 fláait [seldom used, *flite* to scold, also so, but often (flit)]. 689 bild. 690 kâind. 691 mâind. 693 sin. 696 bɔth. 697 bəri. 698 mɔth [very often short, and a mere snap]. 699 riit. 700 waas. 701 fəst. 703 pit. 704 viksɐn.

Y'- 705 skâi skáai. 706 [never used, replaced by (wɔt fɔɐ)]. 707 thətii·n. 708 âiɐ. Y': 709 fâiɐ. 711 lâis. 712 mâis.

II. English.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad. 715 pad. 716 ad'l. 717 dɟee·ɐd. 718 tréeɐd. 719 tadpóul. 720 feg. 721 feg. 722 dréeɐn. 723 déeɐɹi. 724 bóoɐld. 725 séeɐl. 727 dɟam. 728 sham. 729 fréeɐm. 730 kantɐ. 731 wantɐn. 733 skéeɐɹ. 734 daan. 736 las'. 737 méeɐt. 738 préeɐt. 739 [not used]. 740 wéeɐv. 741 méeɐz. 742 léeɐzi.

E. 743 skríiɐm. 744 mez'lz. 745 tɟéit tɟêit. 746 bríiɐdh. 747 indeɐɐ [little used]. 748 unflɐgd [unfledged]. 750 beg. 751 píiɐt.

I. *and* Y. 753 tik'l. 754 pig. 755 filbɐt. 756 shrimp. 757 tâini. 758 [replaced by (las)]. 759 fit.

O. 761 lúuɐd. 762 úuɐkɐm. 763 rúuɐm. 764 kod'l. 766 môidɐd. 767 nôiz. 768 kóuk. 771 fond. 772 bɔn·fâiɹ. 773 dɔqki. 774 púuɐni. 775 buubi. 777 shɔp. 778 ɐfúuɐd. 779 óoɐts. 780 dɟɔs'l. 781 bɔdhɐ. 782 pɔdhɐ [rare]. 783 paaltri. 784 baans. 785 laandɟ. 786 daas. 787 saas. 788 flaat. 789 raa. 790 gaan.

U. 792 skwab'l. 793 ug. 794 dɟug. 795 shrug. 799 skul. 800 skul. 801 rum. 802 rum. 803 dɟump. 805 krudz. 806 fus. 807 pus. 808 put [varies to (pur) before a vowel].

III. Romance.

A·· 809 éeɐbɐl. 811 pléeɐs. 812 léeɐs. 813 béeɐkɐn. 814 méeɐsɐn. 815 faks. 816 féeɐd. 817 redish. 818 éeɐdɟ. 819 réeɐdɟ. 821 diléeɐ.

822 méeɐ. 823 béeɐ. 824 tɟéeɐɪ. 825 wéeɐf. 826 *íi*ɐgɐl. 827 *íi*ɐgɐɪ. 828 éeɐg*iu*. 829 géeɐn. 830 tréeɐn. 831 distréeɐn. 832 méeɐɪ. 833 péeɐɪ. 834 shéeɐz. 835 r*íi*ɐzɐn. 836 s*íi*ɐzɐn. 837 l*íi*ɐsh. 838 tréit tr*íi*ɐt. 839 béeɐl. 840 tɟéeɐmɐr. 841 tɟons. 842 pleqk. 843 bransh. 844 trensh. 845 éeɐnshɐnt. 846 tɟenlɐ. 847 déeɐndɟɐ. 848 tɟéeɐndɟ. 849 stréeɐndɟɐ. 850 dons. 851 ont. 852 aprɐn. 853 baagɐn. 855 karit. 856 péeɐt. 857 keeɐs. 858 bréeɐs. 860 péeɐst. 861 téeɐst. 862 séeɐf. 863 tɟéeɐf. 864 bikos. 865 folt. 866 p*áu*ɐɪ.

E·· 867 t*iiɐ*. 868 dɟéeɐ. 869 v*íi*ɐl v*éi*l. 870 b*íi*ɐt*i*. 871 ɐgrii. 873 fréeɐ. 874 rêin. 875 féeɐnt. 876 déeɐnt*i*. 877 éeɐɪ. 878 salɐrɪ. 879 fiiméeɐl. 880 egzamp'l. 881 sens. 882 panz*i*. 883 dandilâ*i*ɐn. 884 prent*i*s. 886 frâ*i*ɐ. 887 klaadɟ*i*. 888 saatɐn. 889 s*íi*ɐs. 890 bíiɐs [often so used in the singular] b*íi*ɐst. 891 f*íi*ɐst. 892 nev*i*. 893 flaaɪ. 894 dis*íi*ɐv. 895 ris*íi*ɐv. 896 [not used].

I·· *and* Y·· 897 d*i*lit. 898 nâ*i*s. 899 nis [short (i), not (*i*)]. 900 préeɐ. 901 fâ*i*n. 902 mâ*i*n. 903 dâ*i*n [not used in conversation]. 904 vâ*i*ɐlɐt. 905 râ*i*)ɐt. 906 vâ*i*pɐr. 907 [not used]. 908 advâ*i*s. 909 briiz. 910 dɟâ*i*s dɟâ*i*sín. 911 s*i*strɐn. 912 râ*i*s.

O·· 913 k*áu*ɐtɟ. 914 br*áu*ɐtɟ. 915 st*u*f. 916 *u*nɟɐn. 917 r*áu*ɐg. 918 fiibɐl. 919 ôintment. 920 pôint. 921 ɐk*w*éeɐnt. 922 b*u*shil. 923 môist. 924 tɟôis. 925 vôɪs. 926 spôil. 927 tr*u*qk. 928 aans. 929 kaak*u*mɐ. 930 lóoin. 931 dɟ*u*glɐ. 932 ɐmaant. 933 fr*u*nt. 934 baant*i*. 935 k*u*ntr*i*. 936 faant. 937 kok. 938 kôɐnɐ. 939 tlôis. 940 kóit kôit. 941 f*áu*l. 942 b*u*tɟɐ. 943 t*u*tɟ. 944 ɐlaa. 945 vaa. 946 móoil. 947 bôil. 950 s*u*pɐ. 951 k*u*p'l. 952 kóɐɐs. 953 k*u*zɐn. 954 k*u*shin. 955 daat. 956 k*u*vɐ. 957 *i*mplôi. 958 fréeɐ. 959 konvéeɐ.

U·· 960 k*w*éeɐ [only used in the name of the place, Bridlington Quay (:bəəlintɐn :k*w*éeɐ)]. 961 gr*iu*il. 962 m*é*nz. 963 k*w*ái)ɐt. 964 s*iu*it. 965 ôil. 966 fr*iu*t [(fr*éu*t) old people]. 967 s*iu*t [(s*éu*t) old people]. 968 ôistɐ. 969 s*iu*ɐ. 970 dɟ*u*st. 971 fl*iu*t [(fl*éu*t) old people].

*Notes to Leeds* cwl. p. 397.

Referred to in the wl. by * before the number of the word.

No. 28. On final r, CCR. says, "Though permissible, yet, in all cases, the (r) is discarded to a far greater extent in Leeds than in the Mid Yo. dialect." Hence in this cwl. it is represented by (ɪ), the permissive (r); but whether when heard it is the real trilled (r) or the M. (r), I do not know. I suspect the latter.

180. *bath* is used only in fine speech; *bath*, the utensil, would not be thought of in connection with (tɐ ev ɐ béeɐd) to take a bath, but would be associated with washing.

443. *Friday*, "in all the days of the week *r* is often heard as an additional letter; some speakers habitually employ the *r* in this way."

449. *get*, the (t) becomes (r) before a vowel, and the (g) is strongly post-aspirated, as (gɪéeɐr *u*p). CCR. finds this peculiarity in the following words:

1. in *at*, sat, chat, what, spat, cat, hat [past tense of hit].

2. in *et*, let, get, set, met, wet, et [past tense of eat, as, he eat it, ate it, is called (éeɐt)], (i her)*it*).

3. in *it*, hit, sit, flit, split, little (lɪir'l), bit.

4. in *ot*, got, sot, shot, blot, spot, slot.

5. in *ut* and *oot*, but, stut, mutty (mɪ*u*ri) = calf, glutton (glɪ*u*rɐn), foot, shut.

This change also takes place with words in d.

6. in *ad*, glad, swaddy (swɪari) = soldier, bad, shadow (shɪarɐ), dad, mad.

7. in *ed*, wed, led, bled, shed, fled, sled = a slipper.

8. in *id*, lid, slid, bid, hiddy (h*i*ri) = to hide, smiddy (smɪ*i*ri) = a smithy, did.

9. in *od*, ho'd (hɔr) = hold, sod, nod, plod, shod, modern (mɪɔrɐn).

10. in *ud* and *ood*, mud (mɪ*u*r) = might vb., good (gɪ*u*r), stood, huddle (h*u*rɐl), budding (bɪ*u*rin), sud (sɪ*u*r), should.

CCR. considers these forms to be

the product of lazy, corrupt habits [the post-aspiration is anything but lazy]. They are, he says, the vulgar of the vulgar who chiefly resort to them. Compare the hearing of *potatoes* in D 10, p. 147, as (téɐʀiz).

To this list CCR. adds another of words in *-ture*, usually pronounced with (tɟʊɹ) in rs., all of which end in (-tʊɹ) or rather (-tʊ) at Leeds, such as (kʌltʊ, ventʊ, kaptʊ, pastʊ, dɟestʊ, fíʌtʊ), etc., culture, venture, capture, pasture, gesture, future, etc.; and similarly (síivʊ séizʊ) seizure.

## Wakefield cwl.

Compiled from Mr. William Stott Banks's *List of Provincial Words in use at Wakefield*, 1865. Mr. B. uses a tolerably systematic orthography, from which, with the help of previous investigations, I have been able to give an approximative pal. representation of the pron. as gathered rather from his examples than his headwords, which may be compared with the Leeds cwl. I have retained (r) final as it is not marked to be silent by Mr. Banks, and TH. says that he heard it as a decided consonant in all cases, presumably (r). Of course this cwl. is very incomplete, but it suffices to shew that, if I have rightly interpreted, there are a number of minute differences between Leeds and Wakefield, quite as much as between Rotherham and Sheffield, although the general character remains identical. The author's orthography is prefixed in *Italics*, with Roman letters to represent his Italics, as *reight*, shewing generally by *h* a written unspoken *h*, by *eigh* (ɛ'*i*), by *ow* (ó*u*), etc. H wn. by TH. from which I extract a few differences.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 *baak* béɐk. 4 *ta tee.* 5 *maa mak* méɐ mak. 6 *maad* méɐd. 10 *haag* ag. 13 *naag* néɐg. 18 *caake* kéɐk. 19 *taale* téɐl. — *gam* gam [game *gam'leg* game leg]. A: 55 *ass* as. A: *or* O: 61 *ameng* ɐmɛq. A'- 67 *goa* góɐ. 69 *noa* nóɐ, H n*oo*. 71 [*wae worth theh* (wɛɛ warth dhɐ) woe be to thee]. 74 *toathre* tóɐthri [two or three], *tup'nce* (tʌp'ns), "we say *thrip'nce, fip'nce*, and so on"]. 76 *tooad* túɐd. 89 *boath* bóɐth. 92 *knaw* nAA. A': 102 *aks* aks. 103 *akst* akst. 104 *rooad* rúɐd. 106 *brooad* brúɐd. — *laady* léɐdi [lady]. 108 *doaf* dóɐf. — *frowt* fróut [for aught]. 115 *hoam* óɐm, H ûɐm. 121 *goan* góɐn. 122 *noan* nóɐn. 124 *stoans* stóɐnz. 125 *o'nly* oonli [meaning lonely, otherwise (nɔbɐt)]. 130 *bo-at* bóɐt. 136 *awther* AAdhɐr [more frequent than 213]. 137 *nawther* nAAdhɐr [more frequent than 214].

Æ- 138 *fa-a'ther* féɐdhɐr, H fadhɐr. 145 [*slafterhahse* slaftɐr aas]. 152 *watter* watɐr. Æ: 161 *daah* déɐ [*daahtalwark* (déɐ·tɐlwaark) day-work]. 174 *esh* esh. Æ'- — *reich* réitɟ *rack* rak [reach]. 183 *teich* téitɟ. — *lean* líɐn [lean]. Æ': 209 *nivver* nivɐr. 213 *aather eedhɐr* [see 136]. 214 *naather* néɐdhɐr [see 137]. 223 *thear* dhíɐr. — *heeath* íɐth [heath].

E- 233 *speik* spéik. 237 *blaan* bléɐn. 241 *raan* réɐn. — *steil* stéil [steal]. 245 méil. — *eit* éit [eat]. 251 *meit* méit. E: 256 *ratch* ratɟ. 269 *sen* sɛn. 285 *cresh* kresh. E'- 289 *ye yeh* jii jɐ ["*eh*, this sign is to be sounded like *er* in serv'd"]. 290 ii ɐ. 291 *theh thee* dhɐ dhii. 293 *weh we* wɐ wii [*we'me bahn* (wii)m baan) we are going]. E': 306 *heit* hɛ'it.

EA: 323 *fowt* fóut. 326 *owd* óud. 330 *hod* ɔd. 324 *hawf* AAf. 338 *caw-el* kA'ɐl, H kAAl. 344 *barn* barn. 345 [*athersaah* (a)dhɐr)saa) I dare say]. 346 *gaate yate* géɐt jeet. EA'- 347 *heead* íɐd. 348 [pl. *een* iin]. 349 *faew* fɛ'u. EA': 353 *breead* bríɐd. 355 *deeaf* diɐf. — *lowse* lóus [loose]. 366 *gert* gart, *greeat* gríɐt.

EI- 372 *aye* ["sounded *I*, yes, our commonest affirmative"] *ei* ái ɛ'*i*.

EO: 394 *yonder* jɔndɐr [a word often used for a place understood, *are yeh goin up yonder?*]. 396 *wahrk* waark, *wahterdehs* waa·tɐrdɐz [working-days]. 402 *lahrn* laarn [to teach]. 405 *harston* aar)stɐn [hearthstone]. 406 *eearth* íɐrth. EO'- 412 *shoo sheh* shu shɐ. 414 *flee* flii [fleas are called *lops* = jumps]. 417 *chavlin* tɟavlin [as horses do oats]. EO': 425 *leet* liit. 435 *yer yahr* jɐr jaar [your]. EY- 438 *dee* dii.

I- 442 *ivin* áivin, H *ivin* [?]. 444 *stee* stii [ladder]. I: 452 *I ah* ái a, [*i* in *pit*], *i*. 458 *neet* niit. 459 *reight* rɛ'it. 461 *leet on* liit ɔn [to meet with]. 468 tɟldʊr. 469 *witteh ?* wi)tʊ ? [wilt thou ?]. 477 *finn'd* find. 488 *yit* ɟit. I'- 496 *i-eron* áivrʊn. I': — *likken* lik'n [liken, probably happen]. 207 *haah mow* éʊ muu [the pile of hay put in the hay chamber]. 509 *whal* wal [until]. 510 *mine* máin.

O- — *shool* shuul [shovel]. 519 *ovver* ɔvʊr. — *afoar* vfóʊr [afore]. — *throit* thróit [throat]. O: 528 *thowt* thóut. 532 *coil* kóil. 534 *hoil* óil. 537 *mahldy* maaldi [mouldy]. 541 *weeant* wívnt. O'- 555 *shummakker* shum·akʊr. 559 *muther* mudhʊr. 560 *schooil* skúil. 562 *moo-in* múin. 564 *soo-in* súin. — *smooithnin iron* smúidhnin áivrn [smoothing iron]. 566 *uther* udhʊr. 567 *tuther* tudhʊr. O': 578 *ploo stots* pluu stɔts [farm servants begging on Plough Monday]. 579 *enif* vnif [but (vnif) more commonly; pl. *enew* (vníu)]. 584 *stooil* stúil. 588 *nooin* núin. 593 [*mun* (mun) used]. 594 *booits* búits. 595 *fooit* fúit. 596 rúit. 597 *sooit* súit.

U- 599 *aboon* vbuun. 602 *sew sah* siu saa. 606 *doar* dóʊr, H dûʊr [*doarsteid stoans* (dóurstɛ'id stóunz) doorway-stones in front]. U: — baan [boun going]. — *bahnd bun* baand bʊn [bound]. 619 *fun* fun. 623 *fun'* fun. U'- 641 *hah* aa. 642 *thah theh* dhaa dhʊ. 643 *naa* naa, *enah* v)naa· [the now]. 647 *ullot ulut* [howlet]. 648 *ahr wer ehz*, aar wʊr vz [*ehzse'nz* (vzsenz) ourselves]. 650 *abaht* vbaat. 651 *baht* baat. U': 655 *fahl* faal [ugly]. 658 *dahn* daan. 663 *hahse* aas. 665 *mahs* maas. 667 *aht* aat. — *claht* klaat [clout]. 668 *prahde* praad. 671 *mahth* maath.

Y- 673 *mich* mitɟ. Y: 683 *midge* midɟ [a gnat]. 684 *brig* brig. 685 *rig* rig [a man's back]. 689 *beeld* bild. 694 *wark* waark [ache or work said of head, belly, or tooth (túith)]. 699 *reet* riit [a wheelwright only, see 459]. 700 *war warse* waar waars. 702 *wee* [emphatic, when not] *wi* [*i* as in *bit*] wii wi [*sahnt goa wee him, thah wor wi meh* (saant góʊ wii im, dhaa ·wɔr wi)mʊ) shan't go with him, thou wast with me]. Y'- 706 *wah* waa [term of doubt, not interrogative].

## II. English.

A. 729 *fraame* frévm [to set about doing a thing]. E. 748 *flig'd* fligd. O. 768 *cowke* kóuk. 769 *mouldewarp* môuldiwaarp. — *soil* sóil [sole of the foot]. — *draand* dréund [drown]. U. 793 *hug ug* [to carry]. 804 *drukken* druk'n.

## III. Romance.

A·· 810 *faace* févs. 812 *laace* lévs [to beat, hide]. 840 *cha'mer* tɟaamʊr. 841 *chonce* tɟɔns. 850 *donce* dɔns. 852 *raare* révr [very much, great]. E·· — *yarbs* jaarbz [herbs]. 890 *beeas* bívs [pl. horned cattle]. 893 *flahr* flaar. I·· *and* Y·· 910 *jyst* dɟúist. O·· 929 *cahcummer* kaakumʊr. — *rahn'd* raand [round]. 939 *cloise* klóis [sb. field]. 944 *lahnce* laans [allowance]. 956 *kivʊr* [a set of corn sheaves built up in the field to dry].

## Var. vi. Dewsbury.

Dewsbury is only five miles w. of Wakefield, yet the dialect differs much. Dewsbury is a manufacturing town, and has a special trade connecting it with Halifax, Bradford, and Leeds. Wakefield is like a county town, with no manufacture, and, as we have seen, has practically Leeds pron. CCR. says Dewsbury is most nearly related to Halifax, but has several distinctive elements characteristic of Rotherham. And hence its position among the varieties.

The main phonetic difference from Leeds is in the treatment of I' and U'. In the cs. (máin láik náin táim wáin drâi bái) mine, like, nine, time, whine, dry, b'ye, are treated like as at Leeds. But CCR. says the dialect is most characterised

in the neighbouring villages, and there I′ is but 'casually' (*âi*), and 'commonly' (*ôi*), the length of the first element varying in each case. "Thus the name of one of the chief villages, *Heckmondwike*, is (:e·kʊnwóoik), or to a native with a habit of contraction to (:e·kʊnwook), which is the form usually employed." Hence he adds, "It is a difficult thing for a Leeds person to follow a Heckmondwike speaker, the long (oo) [almost (AA)] so transforms the words. The two varieties v and vi are in excessive contrast to the ear, and the Leeds native is prone to pity and be amused at the loud more uncouth speech in which the Heckmondwike native indulges." Although CCR. generally retains Leeds (*âi*), in the cs. he has (wóʊl wol) while, and the personal pronoun *I* is sometimes (o, e) in (o)m, e)m) I'm.

But the treatment of U′ and its congeners is entirely different from that at Leeds, as shewn in (déʊts, nee, widheet, eet, greend, éeʊs, deen, been) doubts, now, without, out, ground, house, down, boun (going). This deviation from the uniform Leeds and Wakefield (aa) must needs tend to render the Heckmondwike speaker still more unintelligible. In this respect Dewsbury resembles Halifax and Bradford. On account of my surprise at the great difference of treatment of U′ in the contiguous towns of Wakefield and Dewsbury, CCR. wrote to a printer at Wakefield to give him the pron. of half a dozen words at these two places. I give the result in the printer's orthography with CCR.'s interpretation (translated from glossic into pal.) to shew the exceeding difficulty of understanding local spellings, which are read off at once by natives. See also Mr. Banks's Wakefield spellings, in the cwl. p. 401.

| COMMON SPELLING. | WAKEFIELD. = PAL. | | DEWSBURY. = PAL. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| down | *dahn* | daan | *dāān* | déeʊn |
| town | *tahn* | taan | *taahn* | téeʊn |
| house | *hahse* | aas | *haahse* | éeʊs |
| ground | *grahnd* | graand | *graahnd* | gréeʊnd |
| time | *time* | tâim | *tahm* | tóoʊm [1] |
| no | *noh* | *noo* | *noah* | núuʊ [2] |

[1] not (*taam*), CCR. [2] quite as frequently without the (ʊ), CCR.

Mr. Ridgway, who had resided at Dewsbury 37 years, sent a cs. in io. to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which, as interpreted by CCR., gave similar results in most cases.

The other differences need no particular observations. They will be clear from the interlinear cs.

## BARNSLEY dt.

As CCR. included Barnsley in Var. vi. (see p. 367), I annex a dt. obtained from Mr. Widdop, a native, b. 1816, by TH. in 1887, in which observe the use of ($u_o$) in (k$u_o$min $u_o$p dr$u_o$qkʊn).

1. A sè, ladz, JOO sâi naa ʊt A)m rɛ′it ʊbaat dhat lit′l las k$u_o$min thrʊ)t skûil JondʊR.

2. shu)z gûin daan)t′ rôʊd dhîʊr ɔn)t′ left and sâid ʊ)t′ rôʊd.

3. sâi JʊR ! t′ tjâild)z gɔn strɛ′it $u_o$p tʊ)t′ raq′ dûʊr, [aas].

4. wíʊr shu)l ap′n fâind dhat dr$u_o$qkʊn dîʊf wiz′nd fɛlʊ, ʊz dh*e* k*aa*l :tɔmi.

5. wi AAl n*oo* ìm var*i* wâiil.

6. wíʊnt t′ óʊd tjap sûin tɛ′itJ [làrn] ʊr nɔt tʊ du)it ʊgîʊn, pûʊr thiq !

7. sii JʊR ! izʊnt it tríuu ?

*Notes to Dewsbury* cs. p. 367.

0. *what for.* There is a form why, (wee) at Dewsbury and Halifax, (woo) at Bradford, but generally (waa) in the s. varieties; this, however, is used like *well*, (waa, dhaa siiz a wʊr fúʊst tʊ gúuʊ), why, thou seest I was forced to go, (wi)tʊ kʊm? waa)wilt thou come? well. The rural form is (wâaiʊ), the (ʊ) very distinct.—*doubts*, see introductory remarks p. 403.

2. *they are laughed at*, there is no *are* in the dialect.—*we know don't we*; the dialect is here remarkable.—*should*, (shʊd, sʊd) and other forms used.—*not*, both (nʊt, nɔt).

3. *however*, (ɛmsʊmi·vʊr) also used. —*these are*, the (dh) initial is sometimes omitted, etc., more frequently at Leeds. —*all about the concern from the thread to the needle*, a common phrase in the neighbourhood introduced by CCR.

5. *great* or (gəət).—*father*, the possessive *'s* sometimes inserted.

7. *two or three* also (túʊthrʊ).

8. *concern* also (konsaa·n).—*aye*, either (oo, ee).—*I am bound for it*, the short (a) is used for the pron. *I*, but it does not extend beyond Dewsbury. The Barnsley dialect literature has it, but it is really quite unknown there, says CCR. Yet in TH.'s Barnsley dt. p. 403 (A) occurs for I.

9. *stretched* or (reekt)=reached.—*ground* also (grʊnd), which is the normal form.—*Sunday* or (be·tʊmi) bettermost.

10. *in a humour* or (in ʊ fratɹ [thratɹ] wi ʊsee·n) in a quarrel with herself.

11. *hanging* or (iqin).—*to dry* or (fɔ drʊftin).

13. *until* (til wol), till while, and (u·ntʊl) also used.

14. *t' other thing*, here CCR. inserts the phrase, for which there was no room in the 8 cs. (t' best kʊmz lat ʊt)s nʊt wantʊd), the best, or most welcome, come late who are not wanted [the sense is not very clear]; obs. the last syllable of (wantʊd); this pron. is quite unknown at Leeds, but becomes prominent in conversation from Dewsbury to Rotherham, remarks CCR.

## Var. vii. Rotherham and Surrounding Villages.

This form differs materially from the last. The I′ is generally (*ói*) and the U′ (aa), while O′ is not so frequently (*ói ói úi*). The great difference consists in remnants of the verbal plural in *-en* and a suspicion of the inf. in *-en*, see cs. notes, par. 1. The appearance of (*oo*) in many words is also remarkable as (n*oo*dhʊr, n*oo*, *oo*)ʊ·vʊ, tr*oo*th, thr*o*, k*oo*l, *oo*l, t*oo*lk), neither, know, however, truth, through, call, all, talk. It reminds one of the difference between Hexham and Newcastle, Nb.

CCR. says he considered the Rotherham purer than the Sheffield form of the dialect, and hence selected it.

*Notes to Rotherham* cs., p. 367.

1. *who cares?* this might have been rendered (wɔt)s əz kéeʊr) what does us [=do we] care.

2. *make* (meen) is also used and (mee) before vowels; in this case (meen) would be an infinitive in *-en*. CCR. says, "I used frequently to hear the infinitive in *-n* in the Rotherham district. I found the dialect, as usual, in greatest character in outlying villages, and there I familiarised myself with the dialect of the inhabitants of Rawmarsh (2 n-by-e. Rotherham). The verbal plural in *-n* I often heard." I think that the supposed hearing of the inf. in *-n*, of which I have got no confirmation, may have arisen from some confusion, see p. 379, par. 2. The occurrence of the verbal pl. in *-en* on the La. and Db. borders is very remarkable in connection with its practical absence elsewhere. See introductory remarks to D 24, p. 364.

3. *the matters of the truth*, (fakt) fact is used, but is commonly avoided in conversation.—*hearest thou now?*

4. *I heard them say*, another instance of the inf. in *-n*, and in this case any action of the verbal pl. in *-n* seems out of the question.

5. *youngest*, or (ɹoqis), according to CCR. short (*o*, i) in closed accented syllables; generally rare, not unfrequently occur in this variety. Perhaps, however, they may be medial (ȯ, ì).—*trust*, (trɔst) is also used.—*Marry !* (marɛ) this is a singular usage, it is also found at Wakefield.

6. *if you will only ask her*, (ɹo)n) for (ɹo wilɛn) is another instance of the verbal plural in *-n*, but see par. 13.

7. *what do you think*, here in (wɔt)ɛn) for what (*doon* d*u*n) we have another verbal plural in *-n*, but it is not in this case followed by the inf. in *-n*.

8. *the whole history as to*, as (ɛs)t) is interpreted by CCR.

13 *do you know*, here (d*u*n) is the verbal pl., and (n*oo*n) the inf., both in *-n*. In the text (n*oo*n) is misprinted (n*oo*u) p. 375.

## Var. viii. Sheffield and Neighbourhood.

This is practically identical with Var. vii. The little differences between CCR.'s Rotherham and Prof. Parkes's Sheffield (p. 367) probably arise from my having, in the latter case, to interpret an orthography which, although systematic generally, left many words in the ordinary spelling. Prof. Parkes obligingly answered numerous questions, but unfortunately several little points were left unexplained, and the spelling of the unaccented and common words and syllables and the use of the (r) is open to doubt. TH. heard "consonantal *r*" always.

The dialectal short *a* in *man*, Prof. Parkes stated to be "not like Fr. ch*a*tte, but exactly like *a* in m*a*n," which he said "is certainly pronounced by speakers of the Sheffield dialect as in English proper," adding that "in Db. even within a few miles of Sheffield, *man* is pronounced *mon*, the *o* like *o* in *not*, and cannot, cŏnnă." It seems to me that the Sheffield sound was an error of appreciation, as the presumed Db. sounds certainly are. Hence, on the authority of CCR., who was often in Sheffield, I have used (a) throughout, and not (æ). TH. heard chiefly (a), but occ. ($a^1$), and once even (æ).

Then I′ he heard "nearly like *aw* in *caw*, and *ee* in *seen* conjoined," and I have therefore rendered his long *i* by (ɔ′*i*), which is after all possibly an error for (*ái*) or (*ói*). TH. generally heard (ʌ′*i*, ʌ^*i*).

Prof. Parkes admits the verbal pl. in *-en* in (wɔt d*u*n ɹo th*i*qk? d*u*n ɹo n*oo*?). I have found this construction also in "The Sheffield Dialect in conversation, 'uppa are hull arston' [upon our grinding room hearthstone, by the fire in our grinding room], written be a Shevvild chap," 1834, as "wee*n* hed enuff o this; ha*n* yo heeard? wee*n* letten [we have lighted] uz poips;' wee*n* hed a vara foine swatch [sample] at march o intellect; wee*n* ole been sca'rd hate on uz wits [we have all been scared out of our wits]; wee*n* had a noist [nice] mess." But neither Prof. Parkes nor the other writer have the inf. in *-en*.

## Var. ix. Doncaster.

On comparing the Leeds and Doncaster cwl., it will be found at first sight that they are considerably different, although CCR. considered the Leeds dialect to stretch down as far as Doncaster with some modification. The main distinction is in the U′ words, which have (*áu*) at Doncaster, and (aa) at Leeds. But CCR. admits that at Pontefract (*áu*) is heard, although I obtained (aa) from East Hardwick (2 s.Pontefract). Dr. Sykes says that the frontier of (aa, *áu*) occurs about Conisbrough (5 sw.Doncaster), nearly half way between Doncaster and Rotherham, and 14 sse.Pontefract.

It would appear then that this usage occurs in a narrow slip to the e. of D 24, running 6 or 8 miles w. of its e. b. Dr. Sykes says (*áu*) is heard at Arnthorpe (3 e.Doncaster), though 4 m. further to the e. we come upon (uu). The (*áu*) also runs s. into the n. of Nt., see D 27. It is very difficult to place this (*áu*) region, but it is most convenient to consider it as a variety in D 24, of which it retains some peculiarities.

For example, the O words, *hole, coal*, are called (hó*i*l, kó*i*l) with a secondary, probably original form (kúʊl), with which (fúʊl) foal may be compared. All these words have (*ói*, *úi*) or thereabouts in the other varieties. But the O′ words, which have elsewhere also the same form, here are simple (uu) or (*u*), as (g*u*d buuk) good book. In this respect they resemble Nt. D 27, from which this variety may have sprung, but at any rate it has been long affected by D 24, of which it is locally part.

A comparison of the D(oncaster) and L(eeds) words gives us roughly the following results:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A- | D. (*ee*), L. (éeʊ). | EOR | D. (aa), L. (*iiʊ*), both omitting (r). |
| A: O: | D. (oq), L. (eq). | EO′ | D. (shii), L. (shuu). This is a difference in a cardinal point. |
| A′ | D. & L. gen. (úʊ). | I′ | D. & L. practically the same. |
| Æ | D. & L. practically the same. | O | D. & L. in some words (*ói*, *úi*). |
| Æ′ | D. (ii), L. (*iiʊ*). | O′ | D. (uu), L *úui*). |
| E- | D. (*ee*), L. (éʊ ê*i*). | U | D. & L. alike (*u*). |
| E′ | D. & L. practically the same. | U′ | D. (*áu*), L. (aa). |
| EA | D. & L. much the same. | | |
| EA′ | D. (ii) gen. with few (*iiʊ*), L. gen. (*iiʊ*). | | |

Of course there are numerous individual exceptions to these general statements. The similarity is therefore confined to the treatment of A′, Æ, E′, EA, I′, U, and part of O; the differences appear in A-, Æ′, E, EA′, O part, O′ arising principally from Doncaster mostly rejecting fractures, and also especially U′, where the fracture is in Doncaster, while L. is simple. If we suppose that the few existing fractures had been acquired by contact with the other varieties, the resemblance to n.Nt., and in fact to D 27 generally, would be much closer.

## Doncaster cwl.

from a wl. pal. in 1877 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. John Sykes, M.D., who had been acquainted with the dialect since 1841, but was not a native. The aspirate is quite lost. Dr. Sykes could not be depended on to distinguish (*u*₀ *u*) and is credited here with (*u*). He seemed to use (ʊ) and not (e). When not before a vowel, (r) is omitted very much, and here I have omitted it regularly, but before a vowel it is 'rough' from Wakefield to Skipton, and of course the omitted (r) reappears before a following vowel, as (múʊ, múʊr ʊv)*it*). This cwl. has such a refined look in many parts, that I particularly inquired, and was assured that the pronunciation was that of the poorer peasant people, but possibly they may have refined it in conversing with their doctor.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 b*ee*k. 4 tak. 5 mak. 7 s*ee*k. 8 av. 9 bi*jee*v. 12 saa. 14 dr*oo*

[occ.]. 15 AA. 17 lAA. 21 *nee*m. 22 *tee*m. 24 sham. 34 last. 35 AAl. 36 th*oo*. A: 39 kom. 40 kom. 43 and. 46 kan'l. 47 wandʊ. 50 toqz. 51 man. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh. 57 as. A: *or* O: 58 thru thr*e*. 59 lam. 60 loq. 61 ʊmoq. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 66 saq soq. A'- 67 gúʊ. 70 túʊ. 72 w*oo*. 73 súʊ. 74 tuu. 75 str*oo*k. 76 túʊd. 78 AA. 79 AAn. 80 al*idee*. 84 múʊr. 85 súʊ. 86 wots. 89 búʊth. 90 blAA. 91 mAA. 92 nAA. 93 snAA. 94 krAA. 95 thrAA. 96 SAA. 98 nAAn. 99 thrAAn. 100 SAAn. A': 101 *oo*k. 102 aks. 105 rúʊd. 106 brood. 107 lúʊf. 108 dof [? at Doncaster]. 110 not nó*ut* [nought]. 111 *out*. 115 wom. 118 búʊn. 122 núʊn. 124 stúʊn. 125 [(nobʊt) used]. 127 úʊst. 128 dhóʊz. 130 búʊt. 132 ot. 136 AAdhʊ.

Æ- 138 f*ee*dhʊ. 144 ʊgíʊn. 150 *lí*ʊst. 152 wa,tʊ,r. 153 setʊdʊ. Æ: 158 eftʊ [but (at aftʊ)]. 160 eg. 163 l*ee*. 168 talʊ. 171 baal*i*. 172 gres. 173 was. 174 esh. 175 fest fes'n [fasten]. 179 wat. 181 path. Æ'- 182 sii. 183 t*ee*tj. 184 l*ee*d. 185 riid. 186 brɛdth [(d) heard]. 187 liiv. 188 [(w*ini*) whinney, used]. 189 wee [not (wéei)]. 190 kéei. 191 iil. 192 miin. 193 kliin. 194 en*i* on*i*. 197 tjiiz. 200 wíʊt. 202 iit. Æ': 204 diid. 205 thred. 206 red. 207 niid'l. 210 kl*ee*. 211 gré*i*. 215 t*oo*t. 216 diil. 218 shiip [not (sh*i*p)]. 221 fiiʊ. 222 éeʊ. 223 dhíiʊ. 224 waa. 225 flesh. 226 móʊst. 228 swet. 229 bríʊth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brek [(briik) supposed to be correct, p.p. (br*a*k)]. 233 sp*ee*k [occ.]. 237 bl*ee*n. 238 edj. 239 s*ee*l. 240 l*ee*n. 241 r*ee*n. 243 pl*ee*. 246 k*w*iin. 247 wiin. 249 *wíiʊ*. 250 swíiʊ. 252 ket'l. 254 ledhʊ. 255 wedhʊ. E: 257 edj. 258 sedj. 259 wedj. 260 l*ee*. 261 s*ee*. 262 w*ee*. 264 *eel*. 265 str*ee*t. 268 eldist. 270 belos. 272 el'm. 273 men. 280 ílev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 284 thresh. 287 biiz'm. 288 let. E'- 289 jii [even when addressing a single person]. 290 ii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fiid. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 kiip. 301 íiʊ. 302 miit. 303 swiit. E': 305 *ái*. 306 *áit*. 308 niid. 309 spiid. 310 iil. 312 íiʊ. 314 íiʊd. 315 fiit.

EA: 321 [(siid) used]. 322 laf. 323 f*ó*ut. 326 *oo*d. 330 od. 331 [(sɛld) used]. 332 [(tɛld) used]. 333 kAAf. 334 AAf AApn*i* [halfpenny]. 335 AAl. 345 daa)nt [dare not]. 346 jeet. EA'- 347 íʊd. 348 ái. EA': 350 ded. 351 led. 352 red. 354 shiif. 356 liif. 359 n*ee*bʊ. 361 bíʊn. 363 tjíʊp. 366 grət grit. 368 dɛth. 369 slAA. 370 rAA. 371 strAA. EI- 372 *éei*. 374 n*éei*. EI: 378 w*ee*k. 382 dh*éeʊ*. EO- 386 *joo*. 387 níu. EO: 390 sh*ud*. 393 bijont. 397 súʊd. 399 bráit. 402 laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 406 aath. 407 faadin. 408 [(nAAd) used]. EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii. 412 shii. 413 divil. 414 fiii. 416 diiʊ. 417 tj*ó*u. 418 bríu. 421 fɔti. EO': 423 th*éi*. 424 r*uf*. 425 liit. 426 f*éi*t. 427 bii. 428 sii. 430 frend. 431 bíiʊ. 436 tríu. 437 tr*i*uth. EY- 438 dái.

I- 440 w*i*ik. 442 áivin. 443 fráidʊ. 444 stáil. 448 dhiúnz [?]. 450 tíuzdʊ. I: 452 a, *i*. 454 witj. 455 lig. 457 máit. 458 náit. 459 réit. 460 w*éei*t. 462 sáit. 464 witj. 465 sitj. 468 tjildʊ. 471 timbʊ [(b) pronounced]. 472 sriqk. 475 wáind. 477 fáind. 481 fíqgʊ. 486 jist. 487 jistʊdʊ. 488 jit. I'- 491 sái. 496 áirʊn [(r) distinct]. 497 ʊráis. I': 500 láik. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 504 náif. 505 wáif. 506 w*á*mʊn. 507 wimin. 508 máil. 509 wáil. 511 wáin. 513 wáiʊ. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdʊm.

O- 520 b*oo*. 521 fúʊl. 522 op'n. 523 úʊp. O: 526 kof. 527 bó*ut*. 528 th*ó*ut. 529 bró*ut*. 530 r*ó*ut. 531 d*ó*utʊ. 532 kúʊl kó*i*l. 534 ó*i*l. 536 g*oo*ld. 538 w*u*d. 540 olin. 545 op. 550 wod. 551 stAAm. 552 kAAn. 553 AAn. O'- 555 shuu. 557 tuu. 559 m*u*dhʊ. 563 m*u*ndʊ. 565 núʊz. 566 *u*dhʊ. O': 569 buuk. 570 tuuk. 571 g*u*d. 572 bl*u*d. 573 fluud. 575 stuud. 576 wed'nzdʊ. 577 buu. 578 plíu [vb.], pluu [sb.]. 579 ʊn*u*f. 580 t*u*f. 581 s*ó*ut. 582 kuul. 583 tuul. 584 stuul. 585 bruum. 586 duu. 587 d*u*n. 590 flúuʊ. 591 múuʊ. 592 súuʊ. 594 buut. 595 f*u*t. 596 ruut. 597 s*u*t.

U- 599 ʊbʊv. 600 l*u*v. 601 f*á*ul. 603 k*u*m. 605 s*u*n. 606 dúuʊ. 607 bʊthʊ. U: 608 *u*gli. 609 f*u*l. 610 w*u*l. 612 s*u*m. 613 dr*u*qk. 614 *á*und. 615 p*u*nd. 616 gr*u*nd. 617 s*á*und. 618 w*á*und. 619 f*u*n. 620 gr*u*n.

621 wáund. 622 undu. 625 tuq. 626 uqgu. 628 nun. 629 sum. 630 wun. 631 thəəzdu. 632 up. 633 kup. 634 thruf. 637 tusk. 638 busk. 639 dust. U'- 640 káu. 641 áu. 642 dháu. 643 náu. 645 duv. 647 ául. 648 áuv. 649 tháuzvnd. 652 kud. 653 but. U': 655 fául. 656 ráum. 657 bráun. 658 dáun. 659 táun. 660 báuv. 661 sháuv. 662 uz. 663 áus. 664 láus. 665 máus. 667 áut. 668 práud. 670 buudh. 671 máuth. 672 sáuth.

Y- 673 mutɟ. 676 lái. 679 tɟetɟ. 680 bizi. Y: 683 midɟ. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bái. 689 biild [pp. (bɛlt, bíult)]. 690 káind. 691 máind. 697 bɛri. 701 fost. Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 thəətii·n. 708 áiv. Y': 709 fáiv. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. English.

A. 724 bɑAld. 733 skáav. 737 meet. 740 weev. E. 743 skrívm. 746 brívdh. 751 pívt. I. *and* Y. 756 srimp. O. 761 lúued. 762 okum. 768 kóuk. 769 modi. 778 efúud. 782 pudhu. U. 792 skwab'l. 799 skul. 802 rum. 803 dɟump. 805 krudz. 808 put.

III. Romance.

A·· 828 eegi. 840 tɟeemur. 845 eenshunt. 846 tɟanlu. 847 deendɟu. 852 apurun. 864 kos. 865 fɑat. E·· 878 salvri. 886 fríiv. 890 bívst. 891 fívst. 892 nɛvi. I·· *and* Y·· 898 náist. 910 dɟáist [the verb (tu dɟáist) to put cattle out to feed]. 911 sɛstrun. O·· kúutɟ. 916 onɟun. 917 rúug. 921 ukwent. 922 bushil. 925 vɑ'is. 926 spɔ'il. 929 káukumbu. 931 dɟuglu. 933 frunt. 940 kúut. 942 butɟu. 943 tutɟ. 944 vlái. 947 bɔ'il. 950 supur. 952 kúus. 955 dóut. 956 kuvu. 957 emplɔ'i. U·· 961 gríu·el. 963 kwâit. 964 síuɟit. 965 ɔ'il. 966 fríut. 967 síut. 969 síuu. 970 dɟust. 971 flíut.

## D 25 = wMM. = Western Mid Midland.

*Boundaries.* Begin at the mouth of the Mersey, and pursue that river to just w. of Stockport, then cross the ne. horn of Ch. to the confluence of the Etherow and the Goyt, at nw. corner of Db., and continue along the b. of Db. to Whaley Bridge, then entering Db. proceed se. over Horwich, keeping n. of Combs Edge township, and just sw. of Chapel-en-le-Frith. Then pass along the summits of Combs Moss, Long Hill, and Burbage Edge (lying n. and w. of Buxton, Db.) to Moss House on the b. of Ch., and enter St. at Quarnford between Flash and Leek Frith, passing over the hills called the Roaches (:rœ'utɟuz), and, sweeping on the w. of Butterton and Wetton, e. of Grindon and through Blore e. of Stanton and Ellastone, and so pass sw. to Rocester. Then go w. along the s. *teeth* line 4 to the Dee, first passing wsw. to n. of Leigh, which has (áu), and probably through Hilderstone to Stone. Then pass just w. of Norton-in-Hales (ái) in the ne. horn of Sh., and go nearly n. by the n. of Audlem (áu), to the b. of Ch. s. of Burley Dam (just s. of Combermere Park). Then keep s. of Marbury, w. of Malpas, and Broxton, and e. of Farndon to the Dee about Aldford, and follow this river and the sea round to the mouth of the Mersey. The part of the nw. horn of Ch. which lies n. of Bebington, Higher and Lower (3 s. Birkenhead), is affected by Liverpool and Birkenhead influence, that is, it has no dialect proper, but is included in D 25 for geographical reasons, just as Scilly and w.Co. in D 12 were considered to belong to the S. div. For the whole description of this boundary I am indebted to the personal observations of TH., confirmed in part by Mr. T. Darlington.

*Area.* Nearly the whole of Ch. (except its ne. horn, and a narrow strip at the sw.) with a small strip on the nw. of Db., and most of St. lying n. of a line drawn nearly e. and w. through Stone, including "the Potteries," with the exception of the narrow slip adjoining Db.

*Authorities.* See County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ systematic orthography, ° io.

*Ch.* ‖Altrincham, †Alvanley, †Audlem, †Beeston, *Bickley, †Bowdon, †Broxton, †Buerton, †Congleton, †Great Neston, †Hatton Heath, †Helsby, †Knutsford, †Lymm, †Malpas, †Marbury, †Middlewich, °Mobberly, †Mouldsworth, †Nantwich, †Northenden, †Northwich, †Pott Shrigley, †Sandbach, †Stockport, †Tarporley, †Waverton.

*Db.* †Combs Valley, †Fernilee.

*Sh.* †Norton-in-Hales, †Pipe Gate.

*St.* °Audley, °Betley, °Biddulph, †Blythe Marsh, †Burslem, °Cheadle, †Froghall, †Leek, †Leek Frith, †Longport, †Madeley, †Oakamoor, †Rocester, °Shelton, †Stoke-upon-Trent, †Stake Gutter Farm, †Stone, †Tunstall, °Wolstanton.

*Character.* The general and most striking characters to a stranger are the treatment of

U′ in (*áis dáin táin*) house down town.

I′ in (*táim*) varying to (tA′*im*) time, and always distinct from the last, with (E′*i*) in a few words, as (wE′*i* bE′*il*) why boil.

E′, as (m*ii*) me, varying to (*éi*), especially in m.Ch., and to (E′*i*) in St.

A- in (tiil) tale, except in ne.Ch. and St., where it is (*teel*).

ÆG and EG (tiil wii) tail way, becoming (*teel* w*ee*) in ne.Ch. and part of St.

O′, most frequently (*æ*′u), as (mæ′un), varying as (mæ′*un*) in St.

These may be taken as the great characteristics, of which (*ái*) for U′ is chief.

We may consider that there are three varieties in Ch. and one in St., but the differences are very minute. TH. draws two lines through Ch., (1) from opposite Warrington, La., w. of Knutsford and e. of Northwich, just w. of Siddington (5 wsw. Macclesfield), and e. of Lower Withington (1 sw. of Siddington) and n. of Bosley (5 s.Macclesfield); and (2) from Frodsham (4 s.Runcorn on the Mersey) through Delamere Forest, e. of Tarporley and Calverley, and w. of Wettenhall, to 2 n.Nantwich, and then e. by Crewe to Church Lawton (5 ssw. Congleton). All e. of (1) may be termed e.Ch., and uses (d*ee*, *teel*) day, tail and tale, and (m*ii*, *ii*, dh*iiz*) me, he, these; all w. and s. of (2) may be termed w.Ch.; and the part between (1) and (2) m.Ch. In the s. parts of w. and m.Ch. they say (m*éi*, *éi*, dh*éiz*), and in n.St. these are (mE′*i*, E′*i*, dhE′*iz*), but in the n. parts of w. and m.Ch. these become (m*ii*, *ii*, dh*iiz*), as in e.Ch.

TH. has made a thorough examination of the pronunciation of received long *ā* (*ee*, *ee*′j) in these districts, and gives the words he actually heard used. These words are very varied in origin, and it is best perhaps to leave them in TH.'s order, marking only the Ws. or Norse forms; the rest, the majority, being English or Romance.

Var. i. wCh. The following words had (ii): (1) bacon, conversation, Æ-father, newspaper, relations, station, 'tatoes, Æ- water, Waverton; (2) cane, crate, escaped, estate, face, facing, female, A- game, A′ lane, A- late, lately, A- name, often (*neem*), place, plate, sale, mostly (*seel*), A same, A- take, taken, wake, often (w*eek*), Wales; (3) entertaining, explain, fail, faint, laid, ÆG nail, paint, plain, EG rain, EI raise, EG sails, train, wait; (4) EG away, ÆG day, Æ′G gray, I′G hay, jay, lay, leastways, May, Naylor, pay, EG play, EG say, stay, EG way. TH. also remarks that *tr-*, *dr-*, or *-ter*, *-der* become (ˌtˌr, ˌdˌr) or (-ˌtuˌr, -ˌdur) in e.Ch., and are ordinary English (tr-, dr-) elsewhere.

Var. ii. m.Ch. The following words were heard with (*ee*): Æ- father, station, 'tatoes, EA: gate, A′ lane, A- make.

But *all* the following had (ii): (1) baby, bacon, A- baking, crazy, Davenham,

father [which had both (*ee*) and (ii)], grandfather, potato [also (*ee*)], Ravenscroft (:riinzkrɔft), station [also (*ee*)], Æ: wakened, Æ- water; (2) agate, Bates, A- cake, change, crape, A- game, A'- lane [also (*ee*)], A- late, A- made, A- name, place, plate, platelayers, safe, A- stake, trapes; (3) drain, EG laid, paid, plain, EG rain, ÆG tail, train, wait; (4) EG away, Æ'G clay, ÆG day, Æ'G grey, I'G hay, hayfield, ÆG may, pay, platelayers, EG play, EG say, EG way. TH. says that the words in (1) and (2) have (*ee*) in the s. of m. Ch. at Congleton, Sandbach, and Lower Withington and neighbourhood.

Var. iii. e.Ch. With very few exceptions all rec. (*ee*) remain (*ee*), and do not become (*ee*'j) or (ĉi).

Var. iv. n.St. Here the change is slightly more considerable. A- is (*ee*), A' commonly (uu) or (*oo*), Æ- (*ee*) in father, water, but ÆG (ii), Æ' generally (ii), EG is (ii), long E'- is (ɛ'*i*), apt to sound to a Londoner as his *ā*, thus *green grain* pron. (grɛ'in griin) sounds nearer to *grain green*, the words being just reversed. This belongs also to m.Ch., but it is more marked in n.St.; long EO'- is also pron. (ɛ'*i*) in three, tree, etc. I' becomes almost (ʌ'*i*) though intended only for (*ái*). O' is still occasionally (*ɑ*'u), but this passes into (ĭu), as (dĭu) do, on the one hand, and (ɜ'*u*), as (mɜ'*u*n) moon, on the other, shewing clearly the instability of the combination (*ɑ*'u) and its aptitude to generate (y, a'u) forms, by a direct process, which must have played a great part in the history of language. Of course U is (*u*$_o$), but *come* is singularly enough (kam), elsewhere also it is often an exception. U' is (ái), but Y' becomes (ɛ'*i*) the same as E, hence we have *mouse, mice* (máis, mɛ'*i*s), which has a singular effect.

In all these varieties there is a peculiar form of the negative auxiliary verb, as (kɔnʊ, k*u*$_o$dnʊ, aznʊ, m*u*$_o$nʊ, shanʊ, shatnʊ, *w*inʊ, w*u*$_o$nʊ, w*u*$_o$dnʊ) can't, couldn't, has'n't, mus'n't, sha'n't, shall not, won't, wouldn't, all of which receive a euphonic (r) when a vowel follows, according to the observations of TH. He has also pointed out the singular omission of the preposition *to* in Ch., which extends also to n.St., thus in sentences actually heard, (g*u*$_o$ bɛ'd) go *to* bed, (*ii*)l kam ar áis) he'll come *to* our house, (ʊv ʌ gu :kr*ɑ*'u) if I go *to* Crewe, (fast ʊz ʌ kam wark *i*ʊr) first as I came *to* work here, (art dhʊ g*ɑ*'u*i*n *i*ʊr :kri*s*tis tʊn*i*t') art thou going *to* hear Christies (the Christy Minstrels) to-night? Even in the common, though not at present literary, form *for to*, the *to* is omitted, thus (fʊr gu ʊn-) for *to* go, and, (ka'rn fʊr k*u*$_o$t JET) corn for *to* cut yet, (*i* was fʊr s*i*i) he was for *to* see [all over the forest, as steward of the Crown], (*i*v an*i* bʌd*i* kamz fʊr b*ái*), if anybody comes for *to* buy, (w*i* ad fʊr gu r*ái*nd) we had for *to* go round.

*Illustrations.* First, four dt. from Bickley, w.Ch., Sandbach, m.Ch., and Leek, St., all obtained from dict. of natives, and from Combs and Fernilee, Db., from the personal knowledge of TH. Next, five cs. placed interlinearly in order to make the minute distinctions of the varieties more distinct. As they were obtained at different times, and from different people, there are little discrepancies in the versions, but there is a surprising agreement of pronunciation. Tarporley illustrates Var. i. w.Ch.; Middlewich, Var. ii. m.Ch.; Pott-Shrigley, Var. iii. e.Ch.; while the Dale of Goyt variants shew the very slight differences in the Db. strip (which is also shewn in the Combs dt.), and the Burslem illustrates Var. iv. n.St. Also cwl. are appended from w.Ch. and n.St. The differences in m. and e. Ch. being regular, no cwl. have been made for them. I am also able to give a very complete cwl. for the neighbourhood of Bickley, s.Ch., arranged from Mr. Darlington's *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, communicated to me in MS. In the L. div. I also give the first chapter of Ruth, written in glossic by Mr. T. Darlington, and transliterated into pal. by AJE. It is given there in connection with three L. and one S. version of the same chapter. I wish here to express my obligations to Mr.

T. Darlington, and to refer the reader to his excellent Folk-speech of s.Ch. printed by the English Dialect Society, with its numerous examples in Glossic, and its prefixed essays on Grammar and Pronunciation.

## Four Interlinear dt.

B. Var. i. *Bickley* township, Ch. (5 nnw.Whitchurch, Sh.), pal. in June and July, 1886, by AJE. from the dictation of T. Darlington, Esq., native of Burland (3 wnw.Nantwich), who was perfectly familiar with Bickley sp.

S. Var. ii. *Sandbach* (4 ne.Crewe), m.Ch., pal. in 1881 by TH. from dict. of J. Capper, native, b. 1823, boot and shoemaker, his sister and her family.

L. Var. iv. *Leek*, St., pal. in 1880 by TH. from dict. of Mr. V. Daniels, native, b. about 1835.

C. Var. iv. also, *Combs* and Fernilee, especially the Db. valley s. of Chapel-en-le-Frith and n. of Buxton, written 1882 in pal. by TH. from his own knowledge and consultation vv. with his relatives there, see also D 21, p. 321, l. 15 from bottom. In this case I have deviated from the usual plan here pursued (see p. 317, l. 16), and have inserted suspended consonants, and TH.'s own form (ˌiₒu) for my (æ'u), and retracted (iˌ), but no peculiar mark for (r), as this specimen represents his own personal observations upon himself and relatives.

1. *Bickley.* sò *a* sii, mèts, ɹʊ séin [siin] nái, ʊz *ái*)m réit [riit]
*Sandbach.* A sii, tɟaps, ɹo séin naa, ʊz A)m réit
*Leek.* A sii, tɟaps, ɹʊ séin naa, A)m rɛ'it
*Combs.* A)sɛ', ladz, ɹo)sɛ́in naa, ʊz A)m rɛ́it'

B ʊbáit dhat lit'l wɛnsh kuₒmiₙn frʊm)th skæ'u ɹandʊ⌊rₒ.
S ʊbáit dhat lit'l wɛntɟ komin frʊm)s skĭæ'u ɹondʊr.
L ʊbáit dhat lit'l wɛntɟ kamin frem ɹondʊr skjɑ'ù.
C ʊbâit dhat lit'l wɛntɟ kamin fʊr)s')skₙúₒù ɹond.

2. B æ'u)z gæ'u·in dáin th)rood dhíʊ⌊rₒ, thræ'u th)rɛd gi*i*t
S æ'u)z gæ'u·in dáin th)leen dhiʊr thrə'u th)rɛd atɟ
L ɑr)z gu·in dâin dh)rood dhîʊ thrɑ'u dh)rɛd ɹeet
C ₙúₒu)z gu·iₙn dâiᵊn th)rood dhîʊr thrₙúₒu th)rɛd' ɹeet

B ʊ)dhʊ)lift and sáid ʊ)dh wii.
S on)th lift and sáid ʊ)dh leen.
L on dh)lift ond sʌ^n'id ʊ)dh rood.
C uₒpʊ th)lift ond sâid ʊ)th rood.

3. B shæ'ur ʊnuₒf th)tɟáilt)s gon strɛ'it uₒp tʊ)th dæ'uʊr
S luₒk)ɹʊ! th)tɟáilt)s gʌ'n strɛ'it' uₒp tʊ)th ruₒqg
L luₒk)ɹʊ! th)tɟʌ^'il)z gʌ'n strɛ'it uₒp tʊ)dh ruₒqg
C sii)ɹʊ ladz! th)tɟáilt)s gʌ'n sₙtₙrɛ'it' uₒp' tʊ)th raq'

B ʊ)th raqg áis.
S dæ'uʊr [áis].
L dɑ'r.
C dɑ'r [áis'].

4. B wíiv⌊r₀ œ'u)l mii)bi fáind dhat dru₀qk'n dʒɛf dráid
S wíiur œ'u)l mii)béi fáind dhat dru₀qk'n dɛf widhurd
L wîur ur)l ap'n fʌ'ind dhat dru₀qk'n dîf widhurd
C wíur ˌú₀u)l ap'n sái dhat ˌdˌru₀qk'n dîuf wiz'nt

B u₀p tʒǐap u)th niim u :tu₀mus.
S ɐ'ud mʌ'n us dhi kaan :tu₀m'.
L ɐ'ud tʒap' uz dhi kaan ɐ'ud :tu₀m'.
C fɛlu uz dhi, kaan :tu₀m'.

5. B wéi a noon im vɛri wɛl.
S wi aa noon im wɛl unu₀f.
L wɛ'i aa noon im
C wi [wi,] aa noon im vɛri, wîil.

6. B wu₀)nu dh)ɐ'ud tʒǐap sœ'un táitʒ u⌊r₀ nu)tu
S wu₀nur éi sœ'un táitʒ ur not fur
L wu₀nu dh)ɐ'ud tʒap sɐ'ùn shíft ur ? ɛ'i)l stop)ur frum
C winu th)ɐ'ud tʒap' sˌú₀un táitʒ)ur non)t'

B dœ'u it ugɛn, pœ'uu⌊r₀ thiqg !
S dœ'u it ugjɛ'n, pœ'uur thiqg !
L gu·in dhîur ugjɛ'n, pûu thiqg !
C dˌu₀u)i,t ugjɛ'n, pûur thiqk !

7. B lǔ₀k ju ! iz)nu it trœ'u ?
S lu₀k ju ! inur it trœ'uu ?
L lu₀k ju ! a tɐ'ud ju.
C lˌú₀uk ! it)s ˌtˌrˌú₀u, sái ju !

*Notes to Bickley* dt.

1. *mate*, butty (bu₀ti), is frequent, but not in addresses, (mèts, miits, miits) are all said, the last rare, the regular form is (là'dz).—*about* (ubáut), is also heard.—*school*, the (l) is not always omitted.—*yonder*, they sometimes say 'yonder school,' but not 'yon school.' The final (r) was felt by Mr. D., but not by me. It was not at all trilled, and I could not myself hear it. Hence I mark it as a faint (⌊r₀).

2. *she*, (œ'u) hoo, is the regular form.—*going*, in very rapid utterance, is heard as (gy₁·in), not quite (y) as it struck me; this change does not seem to occur otherwise, but it points to the origin of the change from (uu) to (y) through (œ'u).—*gate*, for a large field gate, *hatch* for a small garden gate; the sound of (giit) is mostly natural at Bickley, but at Nantwich (:na·ntwɛ'itʒ) this and other long *a* are pure (ii), as in the phrase invented there to shew it, (tu jɛt tiitez un biik'n of u blœ'u ɛdʒd pliit) to eat potatoes and bacon off a blue-edged plate; this is comparable to Gloucester habits.—*hand*, (hɔnd, hɔnt) are 'traditional' forms, they seem to have been used by the ancestors of the present generation, and old people if asked will give them as the sound, but Mr. D. has not observed them in actual use; *hand* is most commonly used at any rate, (h) is frequently omitted.—*side*, observe the difference of the diphthong in (nái) now, (sáid) side, which approaches (sɔ'id), and is often written *oi*.—*way*, this would not be used here, they would repeat *road*; observe the sound in the pause is (wii), but the (i) was short and slightly touched.

3. *door* (dɔo'⌊r₀), like (hɔnd), is a traditional sound, no longer used.—

*wrong*, (raq) is the usual, (ru$_o$q) a traditional form, Mr. D. could almost name the few families who still use it, (-qg) occurs in the pause.

4. *where*, also, but less commonly, (wéev⌊r$_o$).—*deaf* (dɪɛf), the alterations of *ea* are as in Sh.—*shrivelled* is not used, (shr-) not used, shrub = (sru$_o$b).—*name*, both (niim, neem) are used, but (niim) is commonest.

5. *we*, this is a rapid unaccented form, the emphatic form is (wi$_1$).—*know*, the verbal plural in *-en* is used regularly in *present* tenses, except in can, may, mun (obliged to), must (which is rare); but verbs in *-st*, *-ct*, lose the *t* always; in the past tense the *-en* is only used by old people, the younger have lost it.

6. *will not*, sometimes (wu$_o$nʊt), and rarely (wu$_o$nʊd), where it is affected by Sh.—*teach*, learn (laa⌊r$_o$n) is also used; the master of a school is termed the (skæ'ugafʊ⌊r$_o$), (tiitɪʊ⌊r$_o$) may be used for Sunday-school teacher, but it is not common.—*not to* (nʊ)tʊ), or (na⌊r$_o$)tʊ, na)tʊ, nat)tʊ). The use of *to* is unexpected, see the Sandbach dt.

7. *look you!* (lʊ̆$_o$k)ɪʊ) has an exceptionally short vowel, but this is only used in this phrase, to look is (læ'uk).—*see thee* (si$_1$ dhi) might be used, but not in such a connection, it is rather "do you understand," or "mark my words," not "look in that direction." *Thou* is always used to the very young, between brother and sister, from parent to child (not conversely), between husband and wife, used from master to inferior servants, by fellow-servants, School Board children generally thou one another, the usage varies in different districts.

*Notes to Sandbach* dt.

1. *coming*, the vowel seemed to lie between (o) and (u$_o$).

2. *through*, the diphthong seemed to lie between (ə'u) and (æ'u).—*hatch*, a small garden gate.

*Notes to Combs* dt.

1. *so* (s,ú$_o$u) = (sæ'u) omitted.—*lads*, *mates*, is not used in direct address, workmen sometimes say 'my mate' (mái meet), but (bu$_o$ti,) is generally used in this sense.—*wench*, usual word, *girl* (gjɛl') is used in half-refined speech.—*road* used twice, *way* would not be used here, but in which way is he gone (witɪ wee iz i, gʌ'n?).

3. *see you lads*, sure enough when used would be (sh,ú$_o$uʊr ʊnu$_o$f').

4. *happen*, *chance* would not be used here, but they say 'a good chance' (ʊ)gu$_o$d tɪans).—*wizzend*, shrivelled is not used, and *shr-* becomes (sr-) as (srimps) shrimps.

*Observe* that generally in transliterating TH.'s pal. into AJE.'s, (i, æ'u) are used for (i,, ,ú$_o$u), the final lengthening of consonants, and generally of the second element of diphthongs and fractures are omitted, as explained on pp. 292, 317, 324, for the reasons there given, and they are used in this example as a specimen only.

## Four Interlinear cs. with Variants in a Fifth.

T for Tarporley (9 ese.Chester), Var. i., pal. in 1877 by TH., from the dictation of Mr. John Clarke, b. 1848, native of Burland (3 wnw.Nantwich), whence he removed when 13, having since lived at Tarporley, and of his wife, then 26, a native of Tarporley.

M Middlewich (9 nne.Nantwich), Var. ii., pal. in June 1878 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Thos. Nightingale, b. 1832, joiner, native, and (except for 2 years) constant resident; paragraphs 1 to 9 had been first dictated by Mr. T. Whittaker, then 60, sawyer, and Mr. John Hutchinson, then 35, slater, both natives, and the result supervised by Mr. Nightingale.

S Pott-Shrigley (4 nne.Macclesfield), Var. iii., pal. about 1874 by TH. from dict. of Mr. John Jackson, native, b. 1833.

G Variants from Pott-Shrigley in the Dale of Goyt, Db.

B Burslem (3 nnw. Stoke-upon-Trent), Var. iv., pal. in Oct. 1877 by TH., from the dict. of Mr. W. Latimer, b. 1831, potter, native, perused and variants added by Mr. J. Bolland, parish clerk, resident about 40 years.

These four versions cannot be accurately compared word by word, on account of slight differences in the rendering, but they are given interlinearly for facility of reference, and to shew the substantial resemblance, T, M, S represent the three principal forms of Ch. pron., the w. and s., the m., and the n. and e., while B represents Potteries of n. Staffordshire.

0. *Tarporley* wE'*i* :dʒA'n az)nʊ dá*i*ts.
*Middlewich* wE'*i* :dʒA'n az nœ'u da*i*ts.
*Shrigley* wE'*i* :dʒɔn)z nœ'u dá*i*ts.
*Goyt* w*ái*
*Burslem* wE'*i* :dʒA'n)z nœ'u dâ*i*ts.

1. T wEl, làd, A rEk'n ʒii)n bœ'uʊth laf' ʊt wɔt
M wE'l, làd, dh*i*i ʊn *i*m mʊ bœ'uʊth ɔn ʒʊ laf' ʊt wɔt
S wE'l, làd, dh*i*i ʊn *i*m mʊ)búʊdh laf' ʊd)dh*i*z
G
B wE'l, làd, dhE'*i* ʊn *i*m kʊn bùth laf' ʊt)th

T A)m gœ'u·*i*n sii; bʊr)œ'uʊ kjEEr z? dhat)s
M A)m gœ'u·*i*n t' tEl)ʒʊ; bʊr)œ'uʊ kjEE·rz? dhat)s
S ní,ùz ʊ m*ái*n; úʊ kjEEr z? dhat)s
G
B n*i*ùz ʊz A)m tEl*i*n ʒʊ; uu kjEEr z? dhat)s

T nʊ matʊr ʊ m*ái*n.
M niidhʊr íʊr nʊr dh*i*ʊr.
S noodhʊr íʊr nʊr)dhíʊr.
G
B niidhʊr íʊr nʊr dhíʊr.

2. T ʒʊ d*u*$_o$nʊ ɔf'n *i*ʊr ʊv)ʊ mA'n d*i*i·*i*n b*i*kjès *i*i)z laft àt.
M dhʊr *iz*)nʊ mEn*i* ʊz d*i*in b*i*kɔs dhʊ)r laft àt.
S dhʊr *iz* nʊ mɔn*i* ʊz d*i*in b*i*k*oo*z dhʊ)r laft àt.
G
B dhʊr *iz* nʊ mEn*i* mEn ʊz ʊd dE'*ii* b*i*kA"*uz* dhʊ)r laft àt.

T wE'*i* sh*u*$_o$d dh*i*? *i*t)s nɪ
M wE'*i* sh*u*$_o$d dh*i*? *i*t)s nA
S w*i* n*oo*n, d*u*$_o$nʊ w*i*? wɔt sh*u*$_o$d mak)ʊm? *i*t)*iz*)nʊ
G d*u*$_o$nt)ʊz?
B wE'*i* n*oo*n, d*u*$_o$nʊr)ʊz? wɔt shʊd m*ee*k ʊm? *i*t *i*nʊ

T vEr*i* l*ái*kl*i*, *iz*)*i*t nâ*i*?
M l*ái*kl*i*, *iz* *i*t?
S vEr*i* l*ái*kl*i*, *iz*)*i*t [*i*s)t]?
G
B vEr*i* l*ái*kl*i*, *iz*)*i*t?

3. T bʊr)*ái*)ɛv·ʊr dh*i*s *iz* *ái* *it* wɑ'z, sʊ
M *ái*)ɛv·ʊr dh*i*s *iz* *ái* *it* wɑ'z, su
S aavʊr [ʊt ani *reet*] dh*i*s *iz* *ái* *it* wɑ'r, sʊ
G ʊt an*i* *reet* *it* wʊr ʊdh*i*s'n,
B a)aa·vʊr dhɛ'*iz* ʊr th)faks ʊ)th kj*è*s, su

T dj*u*₀st ɑ'*u*d dh*i* n*ái*z ʊ b*i*t, ʊn b*i* k*wí*it t*i*l ɑ)v tɑ'*u*d dh*i*
M dj*u*₀st ɑ'*u*d dh*i* n*ái*z, ʊn b*i* k*wí*it t*i*n ʌ)v d*ù*₀n, ʊn
S dj*u*₀st ɑ'*u*d dh*i* nɛ'*iz*, mʊn, ʊn b*i*)k*w*ɛ'*i*ʊt t*i*n)ʌ)v d*ù*₀n,
G k*wái*ʊt t*i*l ʌ)v d*æ*'ùn.
B dj*u*₀st ɑ'*u*d dh*i* n*ái*z, mʊn, ʊn b*i* k*wéi*t, t*i*l ʌ')v d*ù*₀n.

T ʌʌ ʊb*ái*t *it*.
M dhɛn dha)l n*oo*.
S íʊr dh*i* !
G
B àrk'n.

4. T ʌ)m vɛr*i* sàrt*i*n ʌ íʊrd ʊm sii — s*u*₀m ʊ dhɛm
M ʌ)m sàrt*i*n ʌ íʊrd ʊm sii — s*u*₀m ʊ dhɛm
S ʌ)m sàrt*i*n ʌ íʊrd ʊm sɛɛ—ʌ)míʊn s*u*₀m ʊ dh*æ*'ùz
G ʌ')m
B ʌ)m sàrt*i*n ʌ íʊrd ʊm sii — s*u*₀m ʊ th)

T fɔ̀k ʊz wɛnt thr*æ*'u dh)*æ*'uʊl th*i*qg frʊm fɔst dhʊrsɛlz
M fɔ̀ks ʊz wɛnt thr*æ*'u ʌʌ)th kʊnsàrn dhʊmsɛlz
S fɔ̀k ʊz wɛnt thr*æ*'ù th)w*ù*₀l kʊnsàrn frʊ)th)fɑst dhʊrsɛlz
G fʊr
B fɔ̀ks ʊz wɛnt thrɑ''*ù* th)w*oo*l th*i*qg frʊm th)fɔst dhʊmsɛl'z

T —dhat ɑ d*i*d sh*æ*'uʊr ʊn*u*₀f.
M —dhat ʌ d*i*d sh*æ*'uʊr ʊn*u*₀f.
S —dhat ʌ d*i*d sh*æ*'uʊr [sɛ́f'] ʊn*u*₀f'.
G
B —dhat ʌ d*i*d sɛ́f ʊn*u*₀f.

5. T ʊz)dh ɟ*u*₀qg*i*st làd *i*mɛsɛl', gjɛr*i*n ɔn' fʊr n*ái*n, n*oo*d
M ʊs th)ɟ*u*₀qg*i*st làd *i*mɛsɛl', gjɛr*i*n ɔn' fʊr n*ái*n — *i* n*oo*d
S ʊs)th ɟ*u*₀qkst làd *i*ssɛl', ʊ b*i*g' làd n*ái*n íʊr ɑ'*u*d, n*oo*d
G ʊz ɟ*u*₀qg*i*st
B ʊz)dh ɟ*u*₀qg*i*st làd *i*mɛsɛl', ʊ b*i*g làd n*ái*n íʊr ɑ'*u*d, n*oo*d

T *i*s fii·dhʊrz vɛ'*i*s *i*n ʊ m*i*·n*i*t, ʊv *i*t ·wɑ'r sʊ k*wí*ʊr ʊn
M *i*s fii·dhʊrz v*ái*s *i*n a m*i*n*i*t, ʊv *i*t ·wɑ'z ·sʊ k*wí*ʊr ʊn
S *i*s)f*ee*dhʊrz v*ái*s *i*n ʊ m*i*n*i*t ʊv)*i*t ·wʊr sʊ)k*wí*ʊr ʊn
G vɛ'*i*s
B *i*s f*ee*dhʊrz v*ái*s ʊt w*u*₀nst fʊr ʌʌ *i*t wʊs sʊ k*wí*ʊr ʊn

T skwàk'in, ʊn ɜ)d tru$_o$st ·dhat làd t' spiik t' trœ'uth
M skwaakin, ʊn ʌ)d tru$_o$st ·im fʊr tɛl)th trœ'uth
S skwívk'iqk, ʊn ʌ)m shœ'uʊr ii)d tɛl [speek] ,t')ˌtˌrœ'uth
G skwívk'in, ʌ)d ˌtˌru$_o$st ·im t' tɛl ˌt' ˌtˌrœ'uth
B skwìkin, ʊn ʌ)d tru$_o$st ·im fʊr spiik)th trœ'uth

T ani dii, âi ·dhat ɜ wù$_o$d.
M ani dii, ·dhat ʌ wù$_o$d.
S ani táim [dee] ·dhat ii wù$_o$d.
G ʌ
B ani dii, ·dhat ʌ wù$_o$d.

6. T ʊn dh)ɜ'ud wu$_o$mʊn ʊrsɛl ʊl tɛl ani ɔn)ɹʊ ʊz laf''n,
M ʊn th)ɜ'ud wu$_o$mʊn ʊrsɛl ʊl tɛl ani ɔn)ɹʊ ʊz laf''n,
S ʊn th)ɜ'ud wu$_o$mʊn ʊrsɛl ʊl tɛl ani ɔn)ɹʊ ʊz)laf''n naa,
G
B ʊn dh)ɜ'ud wu$_o$mʊn ʊrsɛl ʊd [ʊl] tɛl ani ɔn)ɹʊ ʊz lafs naa,

T ʊn prati strɛ'it fɔrʊt tœ'u, ʊn widháit mu$_o$tɟ bɔdhʊr
M ʊn strɛ'it fɜrʊd tœ'u, báit mu$_o$tɟ bɔdhʊr,
S ʊn tɛl ɹʊ sˌtˌrɛ'itfɔrʊt tœ'u, báit mitɟ bɔdhʊr,
G [ʊn ʌʌ]
B ʊn tɛl)ɹʊ strɛ'it fɜret tɜ''u widháit ani bɔdhʊr,

T ʊn ʌʌ, ʊv ɹii)n oonli aks)ʊr—aa bʊr œ'u wù$_o$l.
M ʊv ɹo)n ooni aks ʊr.
S ʊv)ɹo)n oonli aks)ʊr, oo! winʊt œ'u?
G winʊt ʊ?
B if ɹʊ)n ooni aks)ʊr, wu$_o$nʊr)ʊr?

7. T aniâi ·œ'u tɜ'ud)mi wɛn ɜ ast ʊr, tœ'u ʊr
M aniâi œ'u tɜ'ud ·méi[mii] wɛn ʌ akst ʊr, tœ'u ʊr
S ʊt ani reet œ'u tɜ'ud it ·mii wɛn ʌ aksˌt ʊr, tœ'u ʊr
G
B aniâi ·ɜr tɜ'ud mɛ'i wɛn ʌ akst ʊr tíu ʊr

T thrii táimz ó⌊ʊr, ʊn ·œ'u did)nʊ ɜ'ut t' bi
M thréi [thrii] táimz ó⌊ʊr, ʊn ·œ'u ɜ'utnʊ bi
S thrii táimz óʊr, ʊn)·œ'u du$_o$z)nʊ ɜ'ut)t')bi
G
B thrɛ'i táimz óʊr, ɜr did, ʊn ɜ'r du$_o$nʊr ʌ't' t' bi

T ru$_o$qg i sitɟ ʊ thiqg ʊz dhis, wɔt)n ·ɹoo thiqk?
M ru$_o$qg i sitɟ ʊ thiqg ʊz dhis, wɔt)n ·ɹoo thiqk?
S ru$_o$qg ʊbáit sitɟ ʊ)thiqg ʊz dhis, wɔd du$_o$n ɹʊ thiqk?
G
B ru$_o$qg u$_o$pʊ sitɟ ʊ pɛ'int ʊz dhis, wɔt du$_o$n ɹʊ thiqk?

8. T wɛ'l bʊr ʊz ʌ wʊr sii·in, ·æ'u)d tɛl)ɹʊ bæ'uʊth ái
M wɛl ʊz ʌ wʊs sii·in, ·æ'u)d tɛl)ɹʊ bæ'uʊth wíiʊr
S wɛ'l ʊz)ʌ')wʊr sɛ'iqk, ·æ'u)d tɛl)ɹʊ búʊdh âi ʊn)wíʊr
G sɛɛ)in aa
B wɛ'l ʊz ái wʊs sii·in, ɜ'r)d tɛl)ɹʊ bùth âi wíʊr

T ʊn wíiʊr æ'u fu$_{o}$nd t' dru$_{o}$qk'n bíiʊst ʊz æ'u
M ʊn wɛn' æ'u fu$_{o}$nd t' dru$_{o}$qk'n pig' [slɔtɟ] ʊz æ'u
S ʊn wɛn' æ'u fu$_{o}$n t')d,ru$_{o}$qk'n bíʊst ʊz)æ'u
G slɔtɟ
B ʊn wɛn' ɜr fu$_{o}$nd [fu$_{o}$n] t' dru$_{o}$qk'n talʊk ʊz ɜr

T kʌʌz ʊr u$_{o}$zbʊnt.
M kʌʌz ʊr u$_{o}$zbʊnt.
S kʌʌz ʊr)u$_{o}$zbʊnt.
G
B kʌʌz ʊr u$_{o}$zbʊnt.

9. T æ'u swóʊr æ'u síid im widh ʊr oon áiz.
M æ'u swó[ʊr æ'u síid im wi ʊr oon áiz, lái·in
S æ'u swóʊr æ'u síid im wi)ʊr oon íiin, lái·iqk
G sweer lái·in
B ɜ'r swóʊr ɜr sɛ'id im wíi ʊr oon áiz lái·in strɛtɟt

T ʌʌ fu$_{o}$l lɛqkth ɔn)th gráind, in iz gu$_{o}$d su$_{o}$ndi
M ʊ)th fu$_{o}$l rɛtɟ ɔn)t' gráind, in iz gu$_{o}$d su$_{o}$ndi
S ʌ' ʊv)ʊ) lɛqth u$_{o}$pʊ)th)gráind, in iz gu$_{o}$d su$_{o}$ndi
G ʌ' iz
B ʊt th)fu$_{o}$l lɛqth ɔn)dh gráind, widh iz bɛst [su$_{o}$ndi]

T kæ'uʊt, tlæ'us' ʊ)sáid ʊ)dh áis dæ'uʊr, dáin bi)th
M kæ'uʊt, tlæ'us' ʊ)sáid ʊ)th áis dæ'uʊr, dáin ʊt t'
S dɟakit [kûʊt], tlɔ̀s' bi)th áis dɜ'r, dáin ʊt)th)
G kúʊt tʊ)th áiz
B kuut ɔn', tlɔ̀s' bi)dh áis dûʊr, dâin ʊt)th

T kʌ'rnʊr ʊ ɹɔndʊr leen
M kʌ'rnʊr ʊ ɹɔndʊr leen
S kʌ'rnʊr ʊ)ɹɔnd loon
G kʌ'rnʊr
B kʌ'rnʊr ʊ)dh leen

10. T íi wʊz bɛldʊrin ʊwii·, fʊr ʌʌ)th wɜrld lái k ʊ
M íi wʊz blaatin fʊr ʌʌ)dh wɔld lái k ʊ
S íi wʊr makiqk ʊ nɛ'iz, æ'u sɛ'd, tʊ)ʌʌ)th)wɜld lái k ʊ
G makin dìn fʊr
B ɛ'i wʊz ró[ʊrin ʊwii fʊr ʌʌ)dh wɔld lái k

T tɟáilt.
M kA'f, ʊn rɜ'ulin ʊbâit láik ʊ pig' in ʊ fit.
S badli tɟáilt, ʊr)ʊ)lit'l WENtɟ skráik'iqk.
G krái·in [rúʊrin].
B dh)ɜ'ud greendɟ bù₀l.

11. T ʊn dhat ap'nt ʊz ɜ'r ʊn dhEER:dɟaks
M ʊn AA dhis ap'nt ʊ)dh WEShin dii, ʊz ɜ'r ʊn ʊr dɜ'ut'ʊr
S ʊn dhat ap'nt, ʊz ɜ'r ʊn)ʊr)dɜ'u₁t'ʊ₁r
G
B ʊn dhat ap'nd ɔn)dh WEShin dii, ʊz ɜ'r ʊn ʊr dA'u₁tʊr)

T WE'if kɜm thræ'u)th bak ɟà⌊rd — dhi)d bin EqgIn
M in lAA kɜm thræ'u th)bak' ɟàrd WEn dhi)d bin EqgIn
S in lAA kæ'um thræ'u th)bak ɟàrd, WEn)dhi)d bin)aqg'qk
G ɟàrt iqgin
B i)lA''u kɜm thrɜ''u dh)bak ɟàrd frʊm iqgin

T áit' th)tlæ'uʊz ɔn)th WEShin dii.
M th)tlæ'uʊz áit fʊr drái.
S ait th)tlúʊz fʊr)t')d₁rE'i ʊ)th)WEsh'iqk dee.
G t' tlúʊz áit)t')d₁rE'i WEsh'in
B dh)WEt tluuz áit' fʊr drái.

12. T WE'il th)kEt'l wʊz bE'ilin fʊr tii, WA'n náis
M WE'il th)kjEt'l wʊz báilin fʊr tii, WA'n fáin
S WE'il th)kjEt'l wʊr)bE'iliqk fʊr)th bag'iqk [tee], won bríit
G wáil wʊr bE'ilin bag'in [tee] fáin bríit
B WE'il th)tii kEt'l wʊz bE'ilin, WAn fáin

T afterɜnæ'un i)th su₀mʊr, oonli ʊ wik' sin'
M afterɜnæ'un i su₀mʊr, ooni ʊ wik' sin
S af₁tʊ₁rnæ'un i)th su₀mʊr, ʊn)it)'l oonli bi)ʊ wik' sin'
G i wiik
B afterɜn''un i)th su₀mʊr, ooni ʊ wik' sin'

T t' nEks thɜrzdi.
M ʊ thɜrzdi.
S t')nEks thɜrzdi.
G
B nEks thɜrzdi.

13. T ʊn du₀n)ɟʊ noo? A nEvʊr íiʊ⌊rd nʊ mæ'uʊr ʊ dhat
M ʊn du₀n)ɟʊ noo? A nEEr íiʊrd ani mæ'uʊr ʊ dhis
S ʊn du₀n)ɟʊ noo? A nEvʊr íʊrd nʊ múʊr ʊbáit it
G nivʊr ʊ dhat
B ʊn du₀n)ɟʊ noo? A' nivʊr îʊrd næ'u múʊr ʊbáit it

T frɐm dhat dii tɐ dhis, ɐsh shæ'uɐr ɐz
M dʒɔb', ɐn A du$_o$nɐ want t' dæ'u, esh shæ'uɐr ɐz
S sin' [frɐm dhad dee tɐ dhis], ɐsh shæ'uɐr ɐz
G kɐnsàrn tɐ dhiz dee
B frɐm dhat dii tɐ dhis, ɐsh shæ'uɐr ɐz

T mái niim)z wɔt it iz, ɐn A du$_o$nɐ want t' noo
M mái niim)z :dʒak' :shEpɐrd.
S mi)neem)z :dʒak' :shEpɐrt, ɐn)A)du$_o$)nɐ want
G A)m íɐr t' dæ'u
B mái neem)z wɔt it iz, ɐn A du$_o$nɐ want

T niidhɐr, ɐn dhat)s fE'r)Jɐ!
M
S noodhɐr, naa dhEn'!
G
B niidhɐr, ɐn Joo)n gɔt)it dʒu$_o$st ɐz A')v gɔt it.

14. T ɐn sɐ nâ[i A)l gu wA'm tɐ mi su$_o$pɐr.
M ɐn)naa A)m gæ'uin wA'm tɐ mi su$_o$pɐr.
S ɐn)naa A)m gu·iqk wE'm tɐ)mi)su$_o$pɐr.
G gu·in wɐ'm)p')mi
B ɐn A')m gu·in woom—mái su$_o$pɐr)z wiitin on mi.

T gu$_o$d náit', ɐn du$_o$nɐ bi sɐ shàrp fɐr kroo ɔ́ɐr
M gu$_o$d néit', ɐn du$_o$nɐ bíi sɐ rEdi ɐ kroo·in ɔ[ɐr
S gu$_o$d náit', ɐn du$_o$)nɐ bi)sɐ)rEdi fɐr)t)mee gjam ɐbáit
G nE'it' t' mag)gjam ɐ
B gu$_o$d nE'it' ɐn du$_o$nɐ bE'i sɐ shàrp ɐt kroo·in ɔ́ɐr

T ɐ bodi ɐgjE'n, wEn dhi tAAk'n ɐ dhis dhàt ɐn dh)u$_o$dhɐr.
M ɐ bodi ɐgjE'n, wEn i tA'ks ɐbâit ɑ'ut.
S wɔ'n ɐgjE'n, wEn dhi)teln ɐbáit anithiqk.
G ani bɐdi ɐgjE'n, tAAk'n ɑ'ut.
B ani bodi ɐgjE'n, wEn E'i)z tAAkin ɐbáit anithiqk.

15. T it)s ɐ pæ'uɐr fæ'ù ɐs tàks widháit sEns.
M íi)z ɐ kriizi fɐ'ù ɐz tA'ks bâit sEns.
S it)s ɐ)sɔft fæ'ù ɐz)tAAks báit sEns.
G prèts ríɐz'n.
B it)s ɐ wìk' [sɔft] fúu ɐs tA'ks [prèts] widháit sens.

T dhat)s wɔt ·A' thiqk ɐbáit it.
M ɐn dhat)s AA ɐz A')v gjEt'n t' sii ɐbâit it.
S ɐn)dhat)s AA ɐz)A)v gjEt'n t' sEE.
G av [(gjɐt'n) omitted].
B ɐn dhat)s wɔt A')v gɔt [gɔt'n] fɐr sii ɐbáit it nâi.

T sʊ gu$_o$d nʌ́it.
M gu$_o$d nʌ́it [nʌ́it].
S gu$_o$d nʌ́it.
G làd.
B su gu$_o$d nɛ'it tʊ ʃoo fooks.

*Notes to Var. i. Tarporley* cs., p. 414.

1. *you will-en*, (ʃii)n) or (ʃii)n.—*going to say*, the *to* idiomatically omitted. —*but*, in all M.English there is a great tendency to alter *t* into (r) under such circumstances, as (gjɛrin on) getting on, par. 5, p. 415.

2. *they*, shortened to (dhi) unaccented, in the same way as *thee* is thus shortened in par 3, p. 415.

4. *from the first*, the def. art. omitted. —*that I did*, the unaccented *I* becomes (ɐ) or (o) uncertain, here and often.

5. *though it were*, the (ɐv) is intended for *if*.

6. *and all*=also or too, a common addition in several dialects.

7. *any how she*, for *she*, *hoo* is employed, which always becomes (œ'u) in this dialect.—*what do-en you think*, only the *n* of *do-en* remains.

8. *found the drunken*, the *the* assimilated to suspended (t'), only the silent position being suspended and not the voiced (d') continued, although it occurs between two (d). Hence the (-d t' d-) shew a continuous position, first with voice, secondly without, and thirdly with voice again, and the effect of the (t') is very clear.

9. *good Sunday coat* or (bɛst kœ'uʊt). —*close*, with initial (tl) for (kl) as usual. —*lane*, although this word is A'- it generally follows the analogy of A-, and hence we should have expected (liin) instead of (*leen*), which is found in T, M, B. S has (*loon*) from the ags. lone, another form of *lane*.

10. *beldering* or (wiznin) *whizzening*, seem to be local words. Holland's Ch. Glossary has *bedderin*, bellowing, heard at Macclesfield, Darlington has *belder*.

12. *while*, *boiling*, observe the (ɛ'i) and compare (vɛ'is'), par. 5, p. 415, and (wɛ'i), par. 0, p. 414; in the case of *while*, (wáil) would have been anticipated.

14. *for to crow* with the *to* omitted as usual.

*Notes to Var. ii. Middlewich* cs., p. 414.

3. *tin*, a regular Ch. form of *till*.—*thou wilt*, here (dha) where (dhâi) would have been expected.

5. *any day that I would*, or (ʌʌ noo) I know with *I* emphatic, given as a variant.

6. *if you will-en only ask her*, the informant gave as a variant (ɛn ɐv jʊ [ʃo] wu$_o$nɐ biléiv méi [bilʌ́iv mʌ́i], gu ɐn aks ·ɐ'r), and if you won't believe me, go and ask ·her. The double forms (*i*i, *éi*) are both in use, and the former often becoming (*i*$_1$i) at Bickley, is then difficult to distinguish from the latter.

7. *ought not to be wrong* with the *to* suppressed.

9. *retch*, reach or stretch, dialect word.

11. *for dry*, that is, to dry, Ch. idiom.

12. *a week since on Thursday*, or (ɐ wik sin' t' nɛks thɐrzdi), a week since the next Thursday, to express future time definitely.

14. *night* or (nʌ́it).

*Notes to Var. iii. Pott-Shrigley* cs., p. 414.

1. *lad* or (:tu$_o$mɐz, :tu$_o$m, sɐri) Thomas, Tom, Sirrah.—*thee*, the emphatic form of *you* is (*ʃoo*, *ʃò*), whether used as singular or plural. Children and young people generally *thou* each other whether familiar or not; older people only when familiar from youth; but adults *thou* children, and parents their own children of all ages; husbands and wives generally thou each other. To *thou* a senior is an offence.

5. *in a minute*, or (ɐs) sœ'un)ɐz i)ívrd)it) as soon as he heard it.

7. *two or three*, or (tœ'uthri) two-three.

14. *home*, the words (wɛ'm, kɛ'm) home come, are peculiar, they approximate at first to (wɛ'm kɛ'm) "the vowel, however," says TH., "is slightly on the way from (ɛ') to (ə'), and these words have the same pron. at Poynton, Norbury, and Disley, Ch."

*Notes to Var. iv. Burslem* cs., p. 414.

2. *because* or (bikôuz, bikas, bikos). —*do not*, the (r) euphonic.—*is not*, or (izne).—*likely* or (lA^ikli), and generally the diphthong printed (*âi*) shades into (A^i), and would be so heard by many.

4. *through*, the form assigned is probably a mere individuality for the usual (thræ'u).—*safe* or (shœ'uer).

6. *too*, or (tœ'u), the other must have been an individuality.—*ask*, (eks) newer form.

7. *asked*, (ekst) newer form.—*two* or (tæ'u).

8. *beast*, or (bist), the word (talek) is explained by Darlington as "a good-for-nothing idle person, a ragamuffin."

10. *world*, (warld) new form.—*the old Grange bull*, refers to a local history of a dangerous bull kept at the Grange farm near Burslem.

11. *daughter*, the form here given must be individual.—*dry*, here and in many other cases not noted (*âi*), as already stated, par. 2, shades into (A^i).

12. *fine*, or (bre'it) bright.

13. *you*, or (joo).—*and you*)*have-n got it just as I've got it.*

14. *home*.—*my supper's waiting on* [*for*] *me.*

## West and South Cheshire cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Alvanley (:aav'nli), Ashton, Beeston, Broxton, Churton, Great Neston, Hatton Heath, Helsby, Nantwich, Tarporley, Waverton. The places are not distinguished. See also the cwl. for Bickley on next page.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- letter A (aa). — tiin [ta'en, taken]. 21 niim. 23 siim. — giim [game]. 31 liitli [lately]. A: 54 want. 56 wesh. A: *or* O: 64 ru₀qg. A'- 67 goz gA'z gœ'uin. 72 œ'u œ'ue. 74 tœ'ù. 76 tœ'ued. 81 *leen*. 84 mœ'uer. 86 wu₀ts. 87 tlœ'uez. 89 bœ'ueth. 92 *noo*. A': 105 ròd. 113 œ'uel. 115 wA'm. 118 *boon*. 122 nœ'u. 124 *stoon*. 125 *oonli*.

Æ- 138 fiidher. 152 wiiter. Æ: 161 dii. Æ'- 194 ani. 197 tjiiz. Æ': 214 niidher. 216 dîiel. 223 dhîier. 224 wîier.

E- letter E (ii). 232 briik. 233 spiik. E: 261 sii. 262 wii. 263 swii. 265 strE'it. — fîild [field]. 269 -sel. E'- 290 *ii* E'*i*. 292 mE'*i*. 293 wii. 301 *iier*. E': 305 A^*i* *âi*. 312 *iier*. 316 neks+t [in pause].

EA- 320 kjeep. EA: 326 æ'ud. 330 æ'ud. 332 tæ'ud. 334 iiv. 338 kaa. EA'- 348 *âiz*. 349 *fiæ'u*. EA': 359 niiber. EI- 373 dh*i* [unemphatic]. EO: 399 brâit brîit. EO'- 411 thrîi. 412 [hoo (œ'u) used]. EO': 425 lîit. 426 fE'it. 427 bîi. 428 sîin [seen]. 435 *joo*. 437 tœ'uth. EY- 438 dîi·in [dying]. EY: 439 tru₀st.

I- 446 nâin. I: 458 niit nîit nâit. 459 rîit. 465 sitj. 466 tjâilt. 480 thigg. I'- 494 tâimz. — bâit bA'it [bite]. I': 500 lâik. 502 fâiv. 505 wE'if. 506 wu₀men. 510 mA'in mâin. — swE'in [swine].

O: 528 thæ'ut. 535 fòk. — mA'uernin [morning, from Huxley Green]. O'- 557 tœ'u. 558 lœ'uk. 559 mu₀dher. 560 skîù skœ'ù. O': — kœ'uk [cook]. 579 enu₀f. 586 dœ'u. 588 næ'un. 594 bœ'ut.

U- 603 kæ'm. 604 su₀mer. 606 dœ'uer. U: 609 fu₀l. 616 grâind. 619 fu₀nd. 634 thrœ'ù. U'- 641 âi. 643 naa nâi. 650 ebâit. 651 wîdhâit. U': 658 dâin. 663 âis. 666 u₀zbent.

Y- 673 mu₀tj. Y: 701 fest fast. Y'- 706 wE'i.

### II. English.

O. 761 luud. 767 nâiz. U. 797 skuàk'in.

### III. Romance.

A·· 810 fiis. 811 pliis. 813 biik'n. — siidj [sage]. — tlîier [clear]. — kiin [cane]. — sliit [slate]. — pliit [plate]. — stiishen [at Mouldsworth]. — reliishen. 866 pœ'uer. E·· 867 tii. 890 bîiest. I·· *and* Y·· 898 nâis. O·· — bîif [beef]. 925 vE'is. 938 kA'rner. 939 tlòs. 940 kœ'uet. 941 fœ'ù. 947 bE'il. 950 su₀per. 955 dâits. U·· — trœ'uent [truant]. 963 kwîit. 969 shœ'uer.

## North Staffordshire cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Burslem, Froghall, Leek, Leek Frith, Longport, Rocester, Tunstall. The places are not distinguished.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 5 *meek*. 17 lA'*u*. 21 *neem*. 22 *teem*. 23 *seem*. A: 40 kom. 56 wesh. A: *or* O: 60 l*u*$_{o}$qg. 64 r*u*$_{o}$qg. A'- 70 tuu. 72 uu. 73 suu. 74 *tíù*. 81 *leen*. 82 w*u*$_{o}$nst. 84 múvr mæ'*u*vr. 87 tluuz. 89 *bùth*. 92 n*oo*. A': 104 *rood*. 111 A't. 113 *wool*. 115 woom wA'm wæ'm. 117 wan- [connected], wA'n [in pause]. 122 n*œ*'u. 124 stuun.

Æ- 138 *feedhvr*. 152 *weetvr*. Æ: 161 dii. Æ'- 183 tE'itj. 195 menì. 197 tjE'*íz* [(tj*íiz*) at Leek Frith]. 200 wiit. Æ': 210 tlii. 214 niidhvr. 223 dhívr. 224 wívr.

E- 233 spiik. 241 riin. 244 wE'l. 251 miit. E: 261 sii. 262 wii. 263 vwii. 265 strE'*it*. — fE·ild [field]. 287 bE'*izvmz*. E'- 290 E'*i*. 291 dhE'*i*. 292 mE'*i*. 293 wE'*i*. 299 grE'*in*. E': 312 ívr.

EA- — shiik [shake]. EA: 326 æ'*ud*. 328 kjæ'*ud*. 331 sæ'*ud*. 332 tæ'ud. 334 aapvth [halfp'orth old, new (*ee*pvth)]. 338 kaa. 346 *seet*. EA'- 347 jE'd. 348 *âiz*. EA': 350 djE'd. 359 niibvr. — ívr [year]. 366 griit. 371 straa. EO: — br*u*$_{o}$nt [burnt]. EO'- 411 thrE'*i*. 412 [(æ'r) her used]. EO': 426 fE'*it*. 427 bE'*i*. 428 sE'*id* [see'd=saw]. 437 trœ'uth. EY- 438 dE'ii. EY: 439 tr*u*$_{o}$st.

I- letter I (A'*i*). 440 wík. 446 n*âin*. 448 dhE'*iz*. I: 452 *âi*, A-. — br*id* [bird]. 458 nE'*it*. 459 rE'*it*. 467 wE'ild. 480 thiqg. I'- 492 sA'*id*. I': 500 l*áik*. 505 wE'*if*. 509 wE'*il*. 513 wE'*ivr*. — wE'*it* [white].

O- 524 wold. O: — sr*u*$_{o}$b [shrub]. 531 dA'*ut*'vr [Burslem], dæ'*ut*vr [Leek], dæ'*ut*'vr [Froghall]. 535 fòks. 537 mœ'ud. 552 kaan. O'- 555 shœ'u. 558 læ'*uk*. 559 mædhvr [Leek Frith], mədhvr [Rocester], mA'dhvr [Longton]. 560 skæ'*ul* skïæ'*ul* skíuu. 562 mæ'un [Rocester]. O': 569 bə$^{1}$*uk*. — kæ'*uk* [cook]. 579 vn*u*$_{o}$f. 583 tæ$^{1}$ul. 586 díu. 587 d*ù*$_{o}$n. 588 næ$^{1}$*un* næ'*un*. 591 múvr [by Mr. Daniels, of Leek, who called more (mæ'uvr)].

U- 603 kam. 604 s*u*$_{o}$mvr. 605 s*ù*$_{o}$n. 606 dæar, dæ'r [an old form at Leek]. U: 616 gráind. — b*u*$_{o}$n [bound, as a book]. 623 f*u*$_{o}$nd. 634 thræ$^{1}$*u*. U'- 640 kjâi. 641 âi. 643 naa nâi. 650 vbâit. 651 widhâit. U': 658 dâin. 663 áis. 665 máis. 667 âit.

Y- 674 did. 675 dr*ái*. Y'- 706 wE'i. Y': 712 mE'is.

### II. English.

A. 714 làd. I. *and* Y. 756 srimp. O. 761 luud. 767 n*âiz*. U. 797 skwìkin. 798 k*wí*vr. — ori [hurry].

### III. Romance.

A·· 811 pl*eez*'n [places]. 824 tj*í*vr. — tiilvr [tailor]. — griin [grain]. 851 ànt aant. 857 kj*è*s. 862 sèf. E·· 867 tii. 890 bìs [beasts=cows]. I·· *and* Y·· — mishE'in [=machine]. O·· 920 pE'int. 925 v*ái*s. 939 tlòs. 940 kuut. 947 bE'*ilin*. 955 dâits. U·· — wiit [wait, at Burslem]. 963 k*wéit*. 964 shœ'u·*it*. 965 E'il. 969 shœ'uvr.

## South Cheshire or Bickley cwl.

by Mr. Darlington, of Bickley, written in glossic for his Folkspeech of s.Ch., pp. 15–29, and here transliterated and rearranged by permission.

A- 3 biik. 4 tak *tee*. — wak'n [to make awake, get up]. 5 mak m*ee*. 14 draa. 15 aa. 20 liim. 21 niim. — skraap [scrape]. 28 *eer*. — skitvr [scatter]. 33 riidhvr reedhvr. 35 naal. 36 *foo*. A: — om [ham]. 39 kœ'um. 41 thEqk. 43 ont Eqkitj [handkerchief]. 44 land. — stond [stand].

46 kand'l. — gondər [gander]. 47 wandər. 48 su̯q. 49 ɛq. 50 tu̯qz. — kon [can]. 51 mon. 52 ween. — pon [a pan]. 54 want. 55 ɛs. 56 wɛsh. A: *or* O: 58 from. 59 lam. 60 lu̯q. 61 vmu̯q. 62 stru̯q. 64 rang ru̯q. 65 su̯q. 66 thu̯qk. A'- 69 nɑ'u. 70 too. 72 œ'uə. 76 tœ'uəd. 81 liin. 83 moon. 84 mœ'uər. 85 soor. 87 klœ'uəz. 89 bœ'uəth. 91 moo. A': 101 ook. 104 rood. 106 brood. 108 dof. 111 ɑ'ut. 112 œ'ul. — aaf [an oaf]. 115 wom. 117 vlœ'uən [alone]. 122 nœ'u. 124 ston. — 134 loth [loath]. 135 kloth.

Æ- 138 fiidhər feedhər. 141 niil. 143 tiil. 146 miin. — tɛ'iəm [teem, pour out, empty]. 150 lɛ'iəst. 152 wiitər watər [as a vb.] waater [as a sb.] weetur. 153 sɛtərdi. — prati [pretty]. Æ: 154 bak. 155 thɛtɟ. — atɟərn [acorn]. — sheed [a shade]. 156 ɛdhər [an adder]. — gɛdhər [gather]. 161 dii. 163 lɛ'i. 166 miid'n. — baarfət [barefoot]. — əwaa·r [aware]. 172 grɛs. — rot [a rat]. 180 bath. Æ'- 184 lɛ'iəd. 185 rɛ'id. — spriid [spread]. 187 lɛ'iəv. 188 nii. 189 wɛ'i. 192 mɛ'iən. 194 ani. 195 meni. 196 won [=(wor-en)]. 199 blaat. 202 jɛt. Æ': 204 dɛ'id. 205 thrid. 207 nɛ'id'l. 210 klii. 212 wii. 216 dɛl dɟel dɛ'iəl. 217 ɛ'itɟ. 218 shɛ'ip. 219 slɛ'ip. 221 fɛ'iər. 222 jœ'uər [see No. 222, p. 347]. 223 dhɛ'iər. 224 wɛ'iər. 226 mœ'uəst. — rəs'l [wrestle]. 228 swat swiit. — jɛth [heath]. — shɛth [sheath]. 230 fat.

E- 232 briik. 234 need. — triid [tread]. — stid [stead]. 235 wɛ'iəv. 237 bliin. 239 siil. 247 ween. — ɛt'n [eaten]. — fidhər [feather]. E: — fatɟ [fetch]. 260 lii. 261 sii. 262 wii. 264 iil. 265 strɛ'it. 267 jild. 269 sɛl. 270, ii, bali. 278 wɛnsh. 284 thrɛsh. 287 bɛ'izəm. E'- 289 jee. 290 ɛ'i. 291 dhɛ'i. 294 fɛ'id. — stɛ'il [steel]. 299 grɛ'in. 300 kiip. — shɛ'it [sheet]. E': 305 hái. 306 ɛ'it. 307 nái. 308 nɛ'id. 310 ɛ'il. 312 ɛ'iər.

EA- 317 flɛ'i. 319 gaap. EA: 323 fɛt'n fɑ'ut'n. 324 ɛ'it. 328 kɑ'ud. 330 ɑ'ud. 331 sɑ'ud. 332 tɑ'ud. 333 kaaf. 334 eef iif. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. — ɑ'up [holp=helped]. 340 joord. — soord [sward, rind]. 343 waarm. 345 daar. — joorn [yarn]. 346 giit. EA'- — shad'n [past part., shed], shɛ'id. 347 jɛd. 348 ái [pl. (ɛ'in)]. — lɛ'iəp [leap]. — jɑ'u [hew]. 349 fiɑ'u. EA': 350 dɟɛd. 354 shof. 355 dɟɛf. 356 lɛ'iəf. 359 niibər. — shɛm [seam]. 360 tɟɛm tɑ'im. — bɛ'iəm. 361 bɛ'iən. 363 tɟɛp. — stɛ'ip [steep]. — loos [loose]. 365 naar. 366 griit. 368 dɟɛth. — dɟɑ'u [dew]. 371 strii. EI- 374 nii. 375 riiz. 376 biit. EI: 379 iil. EO- 386 jɑ'u. 387 nœ'u. EO: 390 shu̯d. 394 jandər. 395 ju̯q. 399 brɛ'it. — baarm [barm, yeast]. 402 laarn. EO'- 409 bɛ'i. 410 œ'u. 411 thrɛ'i. 413 div'l. 414 flɛ'i. 415 lig. — ɛp [hip berry]. 416 dɛ'iər. 417 tjœ'u. 418 brœ'u. 419 joor. EO': 423 thái. 425 lɛ'it. 426 fɛ'it. 427 bɛ'i. 431 bɛ'iər. 434 bɛt. 435 joo joor [your]. 436 trœ'u. 437 trœ'uth. EY- 438 dɛ'i. EY: 439 tru̯st.

I- 440 wik. 442 ivi. 443 fráidi. 444 stɛ'il. 446 náin. — sɛnə [sinew]. 447 ər. — sheer. 448 dhɛ'iz. I: 452 ái. 453 skwatɟ [cowitch grass]. 454 witɟ. 455 lái. 458 nɛ'it. 459 rɛ'it. 460 wɛ'it. 462 sɛ'it. 465 sitɟ. 466 tɟáilt. 467 wɛ'ild. 469 willan [to will], wu̯l. 473 bláind. 475 wɛ'ind. 477 fáind. — bɛ'jhint [behind]. 478 gráind. 485 fis'l. 487 ɟ'stərdii. 488 jat. I'- 491 sáik. 494 táim. 498 ráit. 499 bɛt'l. I': — dɛ'itɟ [ditch]. 500 láik. — wɛ'itɟ [-wich in names of towns, as Nantwich]. 501 wɛ'id. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 505 wɛ'if. 507 wu̯mən. 508 máil. 509 wɛ'il. 510 máin. 511 wɛ'in. 512 spáiər. 513 weer. 514 ais. 515 wɛ'iz.

O- [Here Ch. almost universally follows the standard English and only exceptions are marked.] — brok [broke]. — shɑ'uv [shove]. — stɑ'un stœ'ul'n stoon [stolen]. O: [Only exceptional pronunciations noted.] — kraft [croft]. 526 [(œ'us) is used, Ws. hwósta]. 528 thɑ'ut. 529 brɑ'ut. 531 dɑ'utər. 536 gœ'uld. 538 wu̯d. 539 bɑ'u. — swœ'ul'n [swollen]. — ɑ'up'n [holpen, helped]. 542 bɑ'ut. — krap [crop]. 546 far. 547 bœ'uərd. — tharn [thorn]. — əs [horse]. — grɛsflat [grassplot]. — gəth [girth]. O'- 555 shœ'u. 559 mu̯dhər. 560 skœ'u. — gɑ'um [gum of a tooth]. 563 mu̯ndi. 566 u̯dhər. O': 569 bœ'uk. 570 tœ'uk. 571 gu̯d. 572 blu̯d.

575 st*u*$_o$d. 577 bœ'u bɑ'u. 578 plœ'u. 579 *u*nœ'u. — pœ'u [pool]. 584 stœ'u [stool]. 587 d*u*$_o$n. 595 fœ'ut. 596 rœ'ut. 597 s*u*$_o$t.

U- 599 *u*bu$_o$v. 600 l*u*$_o$v. 601 fɑ'*u*l. 602 sâ*i*. — thom [thumb]. 603 k*u*$_o$m. 606 dar dœ'uər. 607 b*u*$_o$tər. U: 609 f*u*$_o$l. — pœ'u [pull, same as for pool, top line above]. 614 â*i*nd. 616 grâ*i*nd. 617 sâ*i*nd. 619 f*u*$_o$nd. 620 gr*u*$_o$n. 621 w*u*$_o$n. — *oo*ndər [undern]. — bərə [borough]. 634 thrœ'u. — kəs [curse]. 635 wəth. — rɑ́*i*st, rɑ'*u*st [rust]. 639 d*u*$_o$st. U'- 640 kâ*i*. 642 dhâ*i*. 644 s*u*$_o$k [suck]. 645 d*u*$_o$v. 646 bɑ'*u*. — stœ'up [stoop]. 648 aar. 650 *u*bâ*i*t *u*bɑ'*u*t. U': — bɑ'*u*k [bucket]. 655 fâ*i*, fɑ'*u* [ugly]. 656 rɑ'um. 657 brâ*i*n brɑ'*u*n. 658 dâ*i*n. 661 shâ*u*ər. 662 *u*$_o$z. 663 â*i*s. 665 mâ*i*s mɑ'*u*s. — klâ*i*t [a clout]. 671 mâ*i*th mɑ'*u*th.

Y- 676 l*â*i lig. 677 dr*â*i. 680 bi*z*i. — d*u*$_o$*z*i [dizzy]. Y: 686 bâ*i*. 688 sitɟ. — shilf [shelf]. 690 kɛ'ind. 691 m*â*ind. — dɛnt [dint or blow]. 700 wəs. 701 fəst. Y'- — kjɛ'*i* [ky, kine = cows]. 705 sk*â*i. 706 wɛ'*i*. 707 thartɛ'in. 708 *â*iər. Y': 709 f*â*iər. — pismâ*u*ər [pismire]. 711 lɛ'is. 712 mɛ'is.

II. English.

A. — m*ee*·gət [maggot]. 723 diir*i*. 733 skjaarkr*oo* [scarecrow]. — skɛ'it [skate]. 741 maaz*i*. E. 743 skr*ii*əm. — taligraft [telegraph]. I. *and* Y. — skr*â*ik [shriek]. — lembər [limber, limp ?]. — splɛnt [splint]. 757 tiin*i*. — stɛrəp. O. 761 lœ'uəd. 763 raam. — s*u*$_o$k [sock, a ploughshare; either Fr. soc. or Welsh swch]. — n*u*$_o$d [nod]. 766 mɛ'idhərd. — rɑ'*u*l [to roll]. 771 fand'l [fondle]. — lɑ'*u*p [loop]. — fl*u*$_o$p [flop]. — l*oo*z [lose]. — gɛslin [gosling]. — natɟ [notch, a cog]. — p*â*u*u*ər pɑ'uər [pour]. 790 bɛdgin [bedgown]. U. — dɑ'uk [to duck, bend down]. 797 sk*w*aak [squeak]. — trind'l [trundle]. — paansh [paunch]. — aansh, aanzh [hunch]. 805 kr*u*$_o$dz. — ər*i* [hurry]. — skər*i*. — *is*'l [to move along the ground, to hustle ?].

III. Romance.

Generally only irregular words are given.

A·· — kɛtɟ [catch]. 824 tɟɛ'iər tɟiiər. — maa [a mall]. — mɛstər [master]. 852 apərn. 866 pœ'uər. E·· 868 djii. — pil [peel]. — rikempɛns [recompense]. 871 ɛgrɛ'*i*. 878 salər*i*. — jaarb [herb]. — rifə·r [refer]. 887 klaardji. — jaarn [heron]. — m*i*zər [measure]. 893 flâ*u*ər. I·· *and* Y·· 898 nɛ'is. — sɛqg'l [single]. — rɛns [to rinse]. 909 brɛ'iz. 911 sɛstərn. O·· — pɛ'*u*tɟ [to poach]. 920 pɛint. 921 ɛkwɛ'int. 924 tɟɛ'is. 926 spɛ'il. — kɑ'*u*mfərt. 929 kâ*i*·k*u*$_o$mbər. — k*oo*rd [cord]. 939 klœ'us. 940 kœ'uət. 941 fœ'u. — ɑ'*u* [a hoe]. 944 ɛlâ*i*. 945 vɑ'u. 949 mɑ'*u*ld. 952 kœ'uərs. 955 dâ*i*t. — râ*i*t [route, which many people call (ra'ut) in rec. sp.]. U·· 963 k*wee*·ət, k*weet*. 966 frœ'ut. — pilpit [pulpit]. — sk*w*ɛril [squirrel]. — sk*weer* [a squire].

## D 26 = e.MM. = eastern Mid Midland.

*Boundaries.* Begin on Combs Moss, opposite Black Edge (1½ n.Buxton, Db.), and pass s. along the summits of Long Hill and Burbage Edge to Moss House on b. of Ch. Here go ssw., taking in a small strip of Ch., and enter St. about Quarnford between Flash and Leek Frith. Pass over the hills called the Roaches (:rœ'utɟəz), and sweep se. on w. of Butterton, e. of Grindon, and through Blore. Then turn s. to the e. of Stanton and Ellastone, and proceed sw. to Rocester (:*roo*stər), through St.: this is the e. b. of D 25. Then follow the Db. b. along the Trent to Repton, just s. of the river, and then probably (but not with absolute certainty) across the s. peninsula of Db. to the Trent again, where it forms the b. of Db., and pursue this border e. and n. round to Stanedge. Then turn w. passing over Bamford Edge, s. of Hope, but n. of Castleton, and by Back Tor to Mam Tor [misprinted Man Tor on p. 315], where turn s. along the e. b. of Peak Forest Liberty to Hay Dale, and then to the starting-point. From Stanedge this is the s. b. of D 21. This minute description is due to TH.

The s. part of this b. from Repton across the Db. peninsula is uncertain, the country not having been well explored. But the dialect has a s.Db. or Le. character.

*Area.* This district comprises all Db. s. of the line which divides the North from the South Peak, with the exception of the peninsula between St. and Le., and contains also a narrow slip to the e. of St.

*Authorities.* See County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ so., ° io.

*Db.* †Alvaston, †Ashbourne, †Ashford and Bakewell, †Ashover, †Bamford, † Barlborough, † Belper, † Bolsover, † Bradwell, † Brailsford, °†Brampton, †Castleton, †Chellaston, †Chesterfield, °Codnor, †Codnor Park, †Combs Valley, †Crich, †Cromford, *†Derby, †Doe Hill, †Dronfield, †Eckington, †Eyam, †Foolow, †Great Hucklow, †Hathersage, †‖Heanor, †Higham, †Idridgehay, †Ilkeston, †Little Hucklow, †Matlock Bath, †Middleton by Wirksworth, †Middleton by Youlgrave, †Milford, †Morton, °Norton, †Quarndon, °†Repton, †Ripley, †Sandiacre, †South Wingfield, †Stenson, †Stretton, †Sutton, †Taddington, †Tideswell, †Twyford, †Unstone, †West Hallam, †Whittington, †Winster, °†Wirksworth.

*St.* †Alstonefield, †Flash, †Rocester, †Stake Gutter Farm.

It will be seen that the whole of my information for this district comes through TH., who is a native of Db., and has frequently travelled over the country on foot and by rail during many years for the purpose of examining the dialect. In fact I am able to give only a very small part of his collections.

*Character.* As a whole the character of this dialect may be given as: A- (*ee*), A′ (úʊ, uu, *oo*), E′ (ɛ′*i*), I′ (*ái*), O′ (ɜ′*u*) most distinctive, and U′ (aa[1], aa). But there are many slight differences. It seems best to distinguish at least four varieties, though the distinctions are neither strong nor always consistently marked, Var. i. northern, or the South Peak, Var. ii. western, Var. iii. eastern, and Var. iv. southern.

Var. i. The Northern, or the South Peak form (the n. Peak is part of D 21), generally has (dii) and not (d*ee*) day. O′ is regularly (ɜ′*u*), though (*œ*′u), which probably generated (ɜ′*u*), is still heard. U′ is occ. (*áu*), but regularly (aa[1]). This dialect extends over all the s. and sw. slopes of the Peak as far s. as Winster.

Var. ii. The Western has regularly (dii, sii) day, say. O′ is regularly (ɜ′*u*), but occ. (*œ*′u). U′ is regularly (aa[1]), but occ. (*âu*) in Db., and regularly (*au*) in St.

The (kh) was heard here from the fathers and grandfathers of living people. The dental (t̪r̪-, d̪r̪) has also been heard here sporadically. This variety extends from Winster to Ashbourne, and over the small slip of St.

Var. iii. The Eastern shades off to D 24 and 27. In the n. part (d*ee*) is regular, though (dii) is found, but at Ashover and further s. (dii) becomes regular. I′ seems to be regularly (ɔ′*i*), a degeneration of (*ái*). Singularly enough U′ becomes (*ai*) in a few places, as in D 25, and (*â*[1]ə) has been heard, which is intermediate between (*ai*, *âa*), and is found also in D 27. But (*âu*, *ai*) are exceptions, and (aa) is the general form. This variety extends from the n. b. on the e. of the ridge of hills which runs down the middle of Db., as far s. as Ilkeston, but the separation of (d*ee*, dii) indicates a difference at a few miles s. of Chesterfield. There is another ridge passing n. to s. through Bolsover, and to the e. of this the verbal pl. in *-en* does not extend. It is doubtful whether that portion of D b. should not rather be included in Nt. D 27, as the configuration of the country also suggests, but in the absence of sufficient information the county b. has been followed. Northward, Chesterfield, Unstone, Dronfield, and Norton approach very closely to D 24, which at Rotherham and Sheffield has the verbal pl. in *-en*. The chief distinction is therefore in the treatment of O′ as (ɔ′*i*) in D 24, and its treatment as (ɜ′*u*) in D 26. Though in deference to the feeling of the inhabitants that their speech differs materially from Yo., I now include the whole of this region in D 26, I at one time included

Dronfield and Chesterfield in the same district with Rotherham and Sheffield. As far as pron. and grammar are concerned, the distinction seems to be very slight.

Var. iv. Southern. There are only two points in which this variety is clearly distinguished from the others. O′ is regularly (*í*u, *i*₁u), and U′ regularly (*ĕáu*, *ĭáu*), a triphthong arising out of (*âu*), according to TH.'s observations, by lengthening the transverse opening of the mouth, which action in my own speech leads rather to (*â*¹*u*, E′u). The triphthong is very neatly uttered, the first element being remarkably short, so that (dĕ*ĭ*un) down approaches (djáun). The (*í*u) is another derivative from (*æ*′u), such as we have in D 19, and hence can only be regarded as a variety like (ɜ′*u*) itself, neither (*í*u) nor (ɜ′*u*), having entirely displaced (*æ*′u). But for some time I was inclined to make the part of Db. s. of Quarndon (3 nnw.Derby), at which the s. character seems to commence, a part of what is now D 29.

Throughout all these varieties, except perhaps to the c. of Bolsover, the verbal pl. in *-en* is heard, the definite article is (th), sometimes (dh) before vowels and voiced consonants and (s, f, t') by assimilation, but in the n. parts of Var. iii. (t') seems to be used exclusively, as it is in most of D 24.

*Illustrations.* TH. had with great pains and trouble obtained for me eight cs. and six dt. to illustrate this s. and m. part of his native county, as a contrast to his native region Chapel-en-le-Frith, in the North Peak, D 21. These I give first, arranged so as to bring their resemblances and differences prominently forward. And I adopt for this purpose most of TH.'s minute distinctions. These shew the relations of the four varieties very clearly. But I have added also seven dt. similarly arranged bringing out the character of Var. iii. in especial. Then follow some specimens chiefly for Var. ii. and the Bolsover form of Var. iii. Finally I add a cwl. for each variety arranged from the wn. by TH. at the places mentioned.

## Eight Interlinear Derbyshire cs.

The following eight cs. were written in pal. by TH., mostly from direct dictation. In conjunction with the following dt. they illustrate the principal varieties of Db. pron.

Var. i. South Peak.

1. *Bradwell* (:bradʊ) (9 ne.Buxton), lying almost immediately south of the n. b. of D 26. This was pal. in 1876 from the dict. of S. Dakin, b. 1831, assisted by his father and brother, all shoemakers, natives and residents. This is the only place in the district which calls wait day pay (*weet dee pee*) in place of (wiit dii pii), etc.

2. *Taddington* (:tad'ntɛn) (6 ese.Buxton), pal. by TH. from his own knowledge, but corrected by Mr. T. Oldfield, native, resident in Manchester.

3. *Ashford* (:ashfʊrt, :ashfʊd) (9 ese.Buxton), pal. in 1874 5 from dictation of Mr. Joshua Birley of that place.

4. *Winster* (4 nw.Matlock Bath), pal. in 1874 from his own knowledge by TH., and submitted twice to Mr. Wm. Rains, native, resident in Manchester 25 years, his cousin, Mr. W. Foxlow, grocer, b. 1830, and Foxlow's assistant, b. 1850, the last two of whom had only just moved from Winster to Manchester, and spoke the dialect purely.

Var. ii. Western Db.

5. *Ashbourn* (:ashbʊrn, :ashbʊn) (10 sw.Matlock Bath), first version pal. in 1874, from dict. of B. Plant, sexton and native.

6. *Ashbourn*, second version pal. in 1876 from dict. of J. Coxon, b. 1800, then a farm-labourer, and his wife, b. 1819, both natives and constant residents.

Var. iii. EASTERN DB.

7. *Brampton* (Old 3 w., New 1½ sw.Chesterfield), pal. 1873 from dict. of Mrs. Bennett, b. about 1825, and her husband, b. 1823, both natives of New Brampton, who resided there and spoke the dialect till 1848, visiting the place frequently afterwards. The dt. was subsequently corrected where necessary from inquiries made by TH. at New Brampton in 1873. This specimen is peculiar in using (ái) for U′, found in very few places. But TH. informs me that in 1883 he found (ái, âi) for U′ at Dore (3 nw.Dronfield), Totley (3 wnw.Dronfield), Holmsfield (2 wsw.Dronfield), Dronfield Woodhouse (6 nw.Chesterfield), Chesterfield (from an elderly man), Old Brampton, and Brampton Moor, and also, together with (aa, aa¹), at Ashover. This shows a small district near Chesterfield in which this peculiarity occurs.

Var. iv. SOUTHERN DB.

8. *Repton* (:REP'n) (7 ssw.Db.), pal. in 1876 by TH. from dictation of Mr. G. Smedley, native, once overseer and relieving officer, and always a constant resident, b. 1808. Smedley gave the refined form (áu) to U′, but TH. has used (ĕáu), the common form in the neighbourhood.

*** To shew the great resemblance between the several cs. here considered, when a word is *exactly* repeated in a following line, it is represented by (,,) only. Hence whenever the reader sees (,,), he must take the next printed word above it. Sometimes the passage has been altered, so that there are no corresponding words, and some lines or parts of lines are therefore entirely blank. But this will occasion no difficulty. The seven dt. which follow are treated in the same way. In these two sets of illustrations all TH.'s suspended final consonants are inserted, and the (,,) is not used if two words differ in this respect.

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0. | 1 | *Bradwell.* | wái | :dʒən)z | | nɜ′u | daats. | | | | |
| | 2 | *Taddington.* | ,, | ,, | | nǽ′u | dáuts. | | | | |
| | 3 | *Ashford.* | waa | ,, | | nɜ′u | daa¹ts. | | | | |
| | 4 | *Winster.* | wái | ,, | | ,, | daats. | | | | |
| | 5 | *Ashbourne* i. | ,, | ,, | | ,, | dà¹ts. | | | | |
| | 6 | *Ashbourne* ii. | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | | | | |
| | 7 | *Brampton.* | wə′i | ,, | | no | dáits. | | | | |
| | 8 | *Repton.* | wái | ,, | | no | dĕáuts. | | | | |
| 1. | 1 | WE'l, | làr, | JƏ | | mʊ | buudh | | laf | ʊz | JƏ)n |
| | 2 | ,, | :tu$_o$mʊz, | JOO | ʊn | ìm | ,, | | ,, | ʊd | dhiz |
| | 3 | ,, | :tu$_o$m', | dhEE | ,, | ,, | buuth | | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 4 | ,, | ,, | dhE′i | ,, | ,, | buudh | ən Jʊ | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 5 | ,, | meet, | dhE′i | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | lƏf | ʊt | wƏt |
| | 6 | ,, | :dʒim, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 7 | ,, | :tƏmʊz, | JOO | ,, | ,, | búʊdh | | laf | ʊd | dhiz |
| | 8 | ,, | :dʒim, | JO' | ,, | ,, | buudh | | lƏf | ʊt | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊ | máind, | | | A | du$_o$)nʊ | kéʊr | fʊr | dhat'. |
| 2 | | niùz | ʊ | máin. | uu | | kjEERz ? | | |
| 3 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | | |
| 4 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | kjéʊrz ? | | |
| 5 | A)m | gu)in) | t' | tEl)JʊR. | ,, | | ,, | | |
| 6 | ,, | | | tElin Jʊ. | ,, | | kjEERz ? | | |
| 7 | | náiz | ʊ | mə′in. | úʊ | | ,, | | |
| 8 | | ,, | ,, | máin. | uu | | ,, | | |

1 dhat)s n*oo*dhʊr E'*i*ʊr nʊr dhíʊr.
2 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
3 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
4 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
5 ,, niidhʊr íʊr ,, ,,
6
7 ,, n*oo*dhʊr ,, ,, ,,
8 ,, niidhʊr ,, ,, ,,

2. 1 nɔbd*i* dɪ̀iz thrɐ'u bì)*i*n laft àt.
2 dhʊr *i*z nʊ mɔn*i* ʊz dɪ̀in b*i*kaaz dhʊ)r ,, ,, dhat
3 ,, ) z na'n ,, ,, dɛ'ɪ̀z kaaz ,, ,, ,,
4 ,, *i*z)nʊ ,, dhʊt ,, b*i*kaaz ,, ,, ,, dhat
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ʊz dɪ̀iz ,, ,, lɔft ,,
6 ,, ,, ,, ,, mɛn dɛ'ɪ̀z b*i*kɔs ,, ,, ,,
7 ,, ,, ,, ,, ʊz dɪ̀in kaaz ,, laft ,,
8 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, dɪ̀iz b*i*kaaz ,, loft ,,

1 wɔt shʊd mak)ʊm? *i*t)s nɔn
2 w*i* n*oo*n, d*u*$_o$)nt)ʊz? ,, sh*u*$_o$d ,, ,, *i*z nʊr
3 wɛ'*i* ,, ,, w*i*? ,, ,, ,, ,, )s nɔn
4 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *i*z)nʊ
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
6 ,, ,, dhat'. ,, shʊd ,, ,, ,, ,,
7 w*i* ,, d*u*$_o$)nʊ ,, ,, sh*u*$_o$d ,, ,, ,, ,,
8 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, shʊd m*ee*k)ʊm? ,, ,, nʊr

1 ʊ l*á*ikl*i* th*i*qg ʊt aa.
2 vɛr*i* l*á*ikl*i* *i*z *i*t?
3 ,, ,, ,, ,,
4 ,, ,, ,, ,,
5 ,, ,, ,, ,,
6 ,, ,, *i*s)t?
7 ,, lɔ'*i*kl*i* *i*z *i*t?
8 ,, l*á*ikl*i* ,, ,,

3. 1 wɛ'l bʊr lɛ)m*i* tɛl)dh*i*
2 ʊt ɔn*i* r*ee*t *i*t wʊr ʊ dh*i*s'n, sʊ dʒ*u*$_o$st ɐ'*u*d ɹʊr
3 a)aa'vʊr ,, ,, ,, ,, suu ,, ɐ'ù̀d dh*i*
4 aasʊmíʊr ,, ,, ,, ,, sʊ ,, ɐ'*u*d ,,
5 ʊt ɔn*i* r*ee*t ,, ,, ,, ,, sù ,, ,,
6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, su ɐ'ù̀d ,,
7 ,, ,, ,, ,, ap'nt ,, ,, sʊ ,, ɐ'*u*d ɹʊr
8 ĕáúsʊm*i*vʊr dh*i*s *i*s f' fakt ,,)th matʊr, su ,, ɐ'ù̀d ,,

1 weet ti'l)i)v dɜ'ùn.
2 nàiz, mɐn, ɐn bi kwáiɐt ,, ,, ,, íɐr Jɐ.
3 ,, ,, ,, ,, kwáit ,, ,, dù$_o$n. àrk dhi!
4 ,, ,, ,, ,, kwáiɐt ,, i dɜ'ùn. àrk'n!
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, kwáiɐt ,, i)v dù$_o$n. ,,
6 ,, làd, ,, A)v tɜ'ùd dhi. àrk-dhi!
7 nɛ'iz, mɐn ,, ,, kwɔ'iɐt ,, ,, dù$_o$n. ,, Jɐ!
8 náiz, ,, ,, ,, kwáiɐt ,, ái)n ,, du$_o$n Jɐ íɐr!

4. 1 A)m shœ'uɐr A íɐrd em see—
2 'A')m sàrtin A) ,, ,, sii—A)miin su$_o$m ɐn ɐm ɐz
3 'à)m ,, a ,, ,, ,, — ,, ɐ dhɛ'iz fɔ́k's ,,
4 A')m shœ'uɐr A) ,, ,, ,, —A) ,, ,, ɐ dhœ'uz ,, ,,
5 ,, sàrtin ,, ,, ,, ,, —,, ,, ,, ɐ dhɜ'uz ,, ,,
6 A)m ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, —,, ,, ,, ɐ dhɛm fɔ́k' ,,
7 A')m ,, ,, ,, ,, see— ,, ɐ)t' ,, ,,
8 A)m ,, ,, ,, ,, sii— ,, ɐ dhooz fɔ́ks ,,

1 dhɜ'ùz ɐt nood AA ɐbaat it— aa! ɐsh
2 wɛnt thrœ'u th)wu$_o$l kɐnsàrn frɐ)th fɜrst dhɐrsɛl'z,—
3 ,, thrɜ'u th)uul thiqg ,, ,, ,, dhɐrsɛn'z—
4 ,, ,, th wu$_o$l ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, —
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, kɐnsàrn frɐm)th fɜrst ,, —
6 ,, thrœ'u dh)wu$_o$l thiqg ,, frɐm
7 ,, ,, t' wù$_o$l kɐnsàrn ,, )t' ,, ,, —
8 ,, ,, th ,, thiqg ,, )th fɜrst ,, —

1 shœ'uɐr ɐz A')m wik'.
2 dhat)i dìd shœ'uɐr ɐnu$_o$f.
3 ,, )a ,, ,, inu$_o$f.
4 ,, )i ,, ,, ɐnu$_o$f.
5 ,, A ,, ,, ,,
6 fɜrst tɐ last.
7 dhat A dìd seef ,,
8 ,, ,, ,, séf' ,,

5. 1 ɐt)th Ju$_o$qkst lad issɛn', ɐ griit)ɐn ɐ náin íɐr ɜ'ùd, nood
2 ɐz) ,, Ju$_o$qgist làd issɛl', ,, big' làd nâin íɐr ,, ,,
3 ,, ,, ,, ,, issɛn', ,, griit ,, náin ,, ,, ,,
4 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, big' ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
6 ɐs) ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
7 ɐz)t' ,, ,, ,, ,, grɛt)ɐn no'in ,, ,, ,,
8 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, big' làd náin ,, ,, ,,

1 *is* *fee*dhʊr tu$_{\circ}$qg *in* ʊ m*in*it,
2 ,, *fee*dhʊrz v*ái*s d*i*rɛkl*i*, ʊv *it* ·wɜr sʊ
3 ,, ,, ,, ʊs sɜ'*u*n ʊz ɛ'*i* íʊrd *it*, ,, ,, wɜr ,,
4 ,, ,, ,, *in* ʊ m*in*it, ,, ,, ·wɜr ,,
5 ,, ,, v*ái*s' ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, wɜr ,,
6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *iv* ,, wA`r ,,
7 ,, ,, vɔ'*i*s` ʊs sœ'un ʊz *íi* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
8 ,, ,, v*ái*s` in ʊ m*in*it ,, ,, ·wA`r ,,

1 k*wí*ʊr ʊz *it* *iz*, ʊn A)m shœ'uʊr ·ɛ'*i*d spe*e*k)t` tr*í*uth
2 ,, ʊn sk*w*ìk`*in*, ʊn A)d tru$_{\circ}$st ·*i*m t`)tɛl),, ,,
3 ,, ,, sk*w*A`k`*in*, ,, a)d ,, ,, fʊ)t spiik),, trœ'uth
4 ,, ,, skwìk`*in*, ,, A)d ,, ,, t` tɛl),, ,,
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, bak` ,, fʊr tɛl*in*),, ,,
6 ,, ,, ,, ,, A kʊd tru$_{\circ}$st ,, t` spiik)th tr*í*uth
7 ,, ,, sk*wí*ʊk*in* ,, ,,)d ,, ,, tʊ tɛl)t' trœ'uth
8 ,, ,, sk*w*ìk`*in* ,, ,,)d ,, ,, fʊr)t` spiik)th ,,

1 ɔn*i* aa, ·dhat *i* wù$_{\circ}$d.
2 ,, dii ,, ),,) ,,
3 ,, ,, dhat a ,,
4 ,, ,, A ,, dhat`.
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, dhàt.
6 ,, ,, ,, ,, kù$_{\circ}$d.
7 ,, d*ee* ·dhat ,, wù$_{\circ}$d.
8 ,, dii ,, ,, ,,

6. 1 ɹɔ̀ m*i* laf', bʊr)th ɜ'ù̀d wu$_{\circ}$man ʊrsɛn' ʊl tɛl ɹʊ,
2 ʊn)th ,, ,, ʊrsɛl' ,, ,, ɔn*i*
3 ,, ,, ,, ʊrsɛn' ʊd ,, ,,
4 ,, ,, ,, ,, ɜ'ù)l ,, ɹʊ, ,,
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ɜr)d ,, ɹʊr, ,,
6 ʊn)dh ,, ,, ,, ʊl ,, ,,
7 ʊn)t' ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
8 ʊn)dh ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

1 dju$_{\circ}$s' s *see*m,
2 ɔn ɹʊ ʊz laf's naa, ʊn tɛl ɹʊ strɛ'*i*tfɔrʊt, tɜ'*u*,
3 ,, ,, ,, *iz* laf'*in* naa[1], ,, ,, ,, rɛ'*i*t à[1]t, ʊn AA,
4 ,, ,, ,, laf's naa, ,, ,, ,, strɛ'*i*t aat tɜ'*u*,
5 ,, ɹʊr ,, lɔf's naa[1], ,, ,, ,, ,, à[1]t` ,,
6 ,, ɹʊ dhʊt ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
7 ,, ,, ʊz laf'n naa, ,, ,, ,, ,, á*i*t tœ'u
8 ,, ,, ,, lɔf's nĕá*u*, ,, ,, ,, ,, ɔf' t*í*u

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | | iv | ɹʊ)n | gu ʊn | aks)ʊr | — |
| 2 | báùt | mitɟ | bodhʊr, | ʊv | ɹo)n | oonli | ,, | — oo! |
| 3 | widhaa'l't | oni | ʊdɜɜ, | iv | ɹo)l | ,, | ,, | — a)m |
| 4 | widhaat | ,, | bodhʊr, | ʊv | ,, | ,, | ,, | — oo! |
| 5 | widhaa'l't | ,, | ,, | ,, | ɹo)d | ,, | Eks)ʊr | — ,, |
| 6 | ,, | mitɟ | ʊdɜ'u, | if | ɹo)n | ʊ máind t' | ,, | — ,, |
| 7 | widháìt | mu$_o$tɟ | bodhʊr, | iv | ,, | nobʊt | aks ʊr | — ,, |
| 8 | widhĕáút | oni | ,, | if | ɹo)l | oonli | ,, ,, | — ,, |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | | |
| 2 | | wu$_o$nt | ʊr? | |
| 3 | shæ'uʊr ɜ'u | wu$_o$l, | wu$_o$)nt | ,, ? |
| 4 | | ,, | ʊ? | |
| 5 | | ,, | ʊr? | |
| 6 | | ,, | ʊ? | |
| 7 | | wi)nʊt | ,, | |
| 8 | | wu$_o$nt | ʊr? | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | 1 | ʊt | o'ni | reet, | ɜ'u | tɜ'ùd | | 'mɛ'i | | wɜm | A | akst)ʊr |
| | 2 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | it | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 3 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | 'mɛɛ | on)t | ,, | a | ,, ,, |
| | 4 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | 'mɛ'i | | ,, | A | ,, ,, |
| | 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | | ,, | ,, | Ekst)ʊr |
| | 6 | aa'l'ivʊr | | | ɜ'r | ,, | | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 7 | ʊt | ,, | ,, | æ'u | ,, | ,, | 'mii | | ,, | ,, | akst)ʊr |
| | 8 | ĕáu)ivʊr | | | ɜ'r | ,, | | 'mɛi | | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | tɜ'uthri | táìmz | óʊr, | | ʊn | 'ɜ'u | fAAz)t' | |
| 2 | tɜ'u ʊr | thrɛ'ì | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | shu$_o$d)nʊr | |
| 3 | tɜ'uthri | ,, | óʊr, | ɜ'u dìd, | ,, | ,, | ɜ'ut)nʊ | |
| 4 | tɜ'u ʊr | thrɛ'ì | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | wu$_o$)nʊ | |
| 5 | ,, ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ɜ'r | shu$_o$d)nʊ | |
| 6 | ,, ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | 'ɜ'r | ,, | |
| 7 | tæ'ù ,, | thríì | to'imz | ,, | ,, | 'æ'u | ,, | |
| 8 | tíuthri | táimz | ,, | | ,, | 'ɜ'r | Ed)nʊ | à't' tʊ |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | noo | iv | oníbodi | dɜ'ùz, | | | | | wod)'n | ɹoo |
| 2 | bi | ru$_o$qg | i | sitɟ | ʊ | thiqg | ʊz | dhis', | ,, | du$_o$n ɹʊ |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | ʊbaa'l't | su$_o$tɟ | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | wot | |
| 4 | ,, | ,, | i | sitɟ | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | wu$_o$t)'n | ɹʊ |
| 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | wod | du$_o$n ,, |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | óʊr | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | shu$_o$d-ʊ? | |
| 7 | ,, | rɔqg | ʊbáìt | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | wod | du$_o$n ɹʊ |
| 8 | ,, | ru$_o$qg | on | su$_o$tɟ | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | wot | ,, ,, |

1 thiqk ?
2 ,,
3 thiqk'n ɹʊ ?
4 thiqk ?
5 ,,
6
7 ,,
8 ,,

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. 1 | wA` | ʊz | A` | wʊr | tɛlin | ɹʊ, | ɜ'u)d | tɛl | ɹʊ | | | wíʊr |
| 2 | wɛ`l | ,, | A | ,, | sì)in, | ,, | ,, | ,, | buudh | áu | ʊn | ,, |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | a | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | aa[1] | ,, | wîʊr |
| 4 | ,, | ,, | A | ,, | sii)in | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | aa | ,, | wíʊr |
| 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ɜ`r)d | ,, | ,, | ,, | aa[1] | ,, | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | see)in, | æ'u)d | ,, | ,, | búʊdh | aa | ,, | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ái | wʊs | ,, | ɜ`r)d | ,, | ɹʊr | | ěáu | | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | ɜ'u | fu$_o$n` | im | dru$_o$qk | ʊz | mu$_o$k`. | | | |
| 2 | ʊn | wɛn` | ,, | fu$_o$nd | t` | dru$_o$qk'n | slɔtɟ | ,, | ʊ | kAAz | ʊr |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | ,, | fu$_o$n` | ,, | ,, | bìst | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | biist | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | ,, | ɜ`r | fu$_o$nd) | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | pig` | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | ,, | æ'u | fu$_o$n`) | ,, | ,, | div'l | ,, | æ'u | kooz | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ɜ`r | fu$_o$n)th | | ,, | bìst | ,, | ɜ`r | kAAlz | ,, |

1
2 u$_o$zbʊnt.
3 u$_o$zbʊnd.
4 ,,
5 ,,
6 ,,
7 u$_o$zbʊnd.
8 u$_o$zbʊnd.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. 1 | ɜ'u | di)tléʊrt | ɜ'u | sɛ'id | im | wi | ʊr | oon | ɛ'in, | ʊn | ɛ'i | wʊr | lái)in |
| 2 | ,, | swEEr | ,, | ,, | ,, | widh | ,, | ,, | ,, | | | | ,, |
| 3 | ,, | swóʊr | ,, | ,, | ,, | wi | ,, | ,, | áiz, | | | | liid, |
| 4 | ,, | swóʊr | ,, | ,, | ,, | widh | ,, | ,, | ,, | | | | lái)in |
| 5 | ɜ`r | ,, | ʊz | ɜr | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | | ɜr | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | | ,, |
| 7 | æ'u | ,, | | æ'u | síid | ,, | wi | ,, | ,, | ɔ'iz, | | | lig`in |
| 8 | ɜ`r | ,, | | ɜ`r | sɛ'id | ,, | widh | ,, | ,, | áiz, | | | lái)in |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | AA ʊv | *i*z | lɛqkth | *i*)th | rood, | *i*n | *i*z | gù$_o$d | su$_o$ndi |
| 2 | A` | ,, | ,, | u$_o$pʊ)th | gráund, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 3 | AA | ,, | ,, | ɔn)th | graa$^l$nd | wi | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | A` | ,, | ,, | ɔn)t` | graand | *i*n | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | u$_o$pʊ)th | graa$^l$nd | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 6 | strɛtɟt AA)z | | ,, | ɔn)th | ,, | ,, | )z | bɛst | |
| 7 | *oo* | ,, | ,, | ,, )t` | gráind | wi | *i*z | ,, | ,, |
| 8 | strɛtɟt AAl | ,, | ,, | ,, )th | grĕáund | *i*n | ,, | gù$_o$d | ,, |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | kuut | tlùs | ʊt)t` | dɛ`r, | daan | ʊt)t` |
| 2 | ,, | tlùs` | ʊ)s)s*ái*d | ʊ)th áùz | ,, | dáùn ,,)th |
| 3 | ,, ɔn`, | tlùs)tu | ʊr *oo*n | dûʊr | stuun, | daa$^l$n ,, ,, |
| 4 | ,, | tlùs` | tʊ)th | aaz dúʊr, | | daan ,, ,, |
| 5 | tluuz, | ,, | tʊ)th | aa$^l$s` dóʊr, | | daa$^l$n ,, ,, |
| 6 | kuut, | ,, | ʊgjɛ`n)dh | à$^l$s` dúʊr, | | ,, ,, ,, |
| 7 | kúʊt ɔn`, | | agjɛn)t` | áis` dóʊr, | | dáin ,,)t` |
| 8 | kuut, | ,, | b*i*)dh | ĕáus` dúʊr, | | dĕáun ,,)th |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | bɔtʊm | ʊ)th | *loo*n. |
| 2 | kɔrnʊr | ,, jɔndʊr | *lee*n. |
| 3 | kA`rnʊr | ,, jɔnz | ,, |
| 4 | kArnʊr | ,, jɔndʊr | ,, |
| 5 | bɔtʊm | ,,)th | ,, |
| 6 | kA`rnʊr | ,,)th | ,, |
| 7 | kɔrnʊr | ,, jɔnd | ,, |
| 8 | bɔt'm | ,,)th | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. 1 | E'*i* | wʊr | rúʊr*i*n | ʊn | bɛl'*i*n | | | | | |
| 2 | ,, | ,, | mak*i*n | ʊ | n*ái*z, | ɛ'*u* | sɛ`d, | | fʊr AA | th) |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | frɛt`*i*n | | ʊwii, | ,, | sɛ`z, | *i* su$_o$tɟ ʊ wii | | |
| 4 | ,, | ,, | mak*i*n | ʊ | n*ái*z | ,, | sɛ`d, | | ,, ,, | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ɛr | ,, | | | |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | gruun*i*n | | ʊwii | | | | ,, ,, | dh |
| 7 | *i*i | ,, | mak*i*n | ,, | nE'*i*z | | | | ,, | *óo*)t` |
| 8 | E'*i* | ,, | w*ái*n*i*n | | ʊwii | ,, | ,, | | ,, | AAl)th |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | l*ái*k | ʊ | griit | sɔft | kA`f. | | | | |
| 2 | wɔrld | ,, | ,, | badl*i* | tɟ*ái*lt, | ʊr | ʊ | l*i*t'l | wɛntɟ | kr*ái*)*i*n. |
| 3 | dɟu$_o$st | l*ái*k | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | wɔrld | l*ái*k | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | skriim*i*n |
| 5 | | ,, | ,, | bù$_o$l. | | | | | | |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | p*i*g` | [swá*i*n]. | | | | | |
| 7 | wɔld | lɔ'*i*k | ,, | badl*i* | tɟɔ'*i*ld, | ,, | ,, | ,, | las` | krɔ`*i*)*i*n. |
| 8 | ,, | l*ái*k | ,, | ,, | tɟ*ái*ld, | ,, | ,, | ,, | wentɟ in ʊ tɛmpʊr. | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | 1 | ɐn | *i*t | wɐr | dʒ*u*₀st | | ɐs)th | ɑ'*ù*d | w*u*₀mɐn | ɐn ɐr dɑ'*u*t'ɐr) |
| | 2 | ,, | dhat | | | ap'nt, | ɐz | | ɑ'r | ,, ,, ,, |
| | 3 | ,, | *i*t | dʒ*u*₀st | suu | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| | 4 | ,, | dhat | | | ,, | ,, | buudh | ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| | 5 | ,, | ,, | | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| | 6 | ,, | ,, | | | wʌ'r, | ,, | | ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| | 7 | ,, | ,, | | | ap'nt, | ,, | | ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| | 8 | ,, | ,, | | | ap'nd | ,, | | ,, | ,, ,, ,, |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *i*)lɑɑ | kjɑ'*ù*m | thrɑ'*ù*)th | bak' | fɐ'*ù*d, | | frɐ | *i*qg*i*n |
| 2 | ,, | kɑ'*u*m | thrɑ'u),, | bak | ʒàrt | wɐn | dh*i*)d | b*i*n ,, |
| 3 | ,, | kɑ'*ù*m | thrɑ'*ù*),, | bak' | ʒàrd | | frɐ | ,, |
| 4 | ,, | kj*ee*m | thrɑ'*u*),, | ,, | ,, | | frɐm | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | kɑ'm | thrɑ'*ù*),, | ,, | ,, | ,, | dh*i*)d | b*i*n ,, |
| 6 | *i*n,, | ,, | thrɑ'*u*),, | ,, | ,, | | frɐm | ,, |
| 7 | *i* ,, | kɑmd | thrɑ'u)t' | ,, | ,, | | ,, | aqg*i*n |
| 8 | ,, ,, | kɑ'm | ,, )th | ,, | ,, | | ,, | *i*qg*i*n |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | th) | tluuz | àt' | | wɐn | dh*i*)d | wɐsht | ɐm. |
| 2 | ,,)w*i*it | ,, | á*u*t | t' | drá*i* | ɐ)th | wɐsh'*i*n | dii. |
| 3 | ,,)wɐt | ,, | à¹t | fɐ)t | ,, | on),, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | aat t' | ,, | | fɐ)t' | ,, | ɐ) ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 5 | th) | ,, | à¹t' | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | t' | ,, | ɐ)dh | wɐsh' | ,, |
| 7 | t' wɐt | tlúɐz | á*i*t | tɐ | drɔ'*i* | on)t' | wɐsh'*i*n | d*ee*. |
| 8 | th) ,, | tluuz | | ,, | drá*i* | on ɐ | wɐsh' | dii. |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. | 1 | w*á*il)th | | kjɐt'l | wɐr | bɑ'*i*l*i*n | fɐr)th | dr*i*qk*i*n, | wɐn | f*á*i*n* |
| | 2 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | b*á*il*i*n | ,, ,, | tii, | ,, | |
| | 3 | w*á*il),, | | ,, | ,, | b*á*il*i*n | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 4 | w*á*il),, | | ,, | ,, | b*á*il*i*n | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 6 | ,, | ,, | tii- | ,, | b*á*il*i*d, | | | wʌ'n | |
| | 7 | wɔ'*i*l)t' | | | ,, | ,, | bɔ'*i*l*i*n | ,, | ,, | wɐn |
| | 8 | w*á*il)th | ,, | ,, | wɐz | b*á*il*i*n | | | wʌ'n | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | s*u*₀mɐr | d*ee* | *i*)th | afɐrnɑ'*ù*n, | ɐn | *i*t)'l | | bi ɐ |
| 2 | br*i*it | afɐrnɑ'*u*n | | *i* | s*u*₀mɐr, | ,, | ,, | *oo*nl*i* | ,, ,, |
| 3 | brɐ'*i*t' | s*u*₀mɐr | | | afɐrnɑ *ù*n, | | | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | | s*u*₀mɐrz | | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| 5 | | afɐrnɑ'*u*n | | ,, | s*u*₀mɐr, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| 6 | brɐ'*i*t' | s*u*₀mɐrz | | | afɐrnɑ'*ù*n, | | | ,, | ,, |
| 7 | brɔ'*i*t (br*i*it) | afɐnæ'un | | ,, | s*u*₀mɐr | | | ,, | ,, |
| 8 | | s*u*₀mɐr | | | afɐnæ'ùn | | | ,, | ,, |

1 wɛ'*i*k' s*i*n' t' nɛkṡ thərzd*i*.
2 wɛ'*i*k ,, ,, ,, ,,
3 wɛ'*i*k' ,, ,, ,,
4 ,, ,, ,, ,,
5 w*i*k' ,, ,, ,, ,,
6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
7 w*í*ik ,, kæ'm ,, ,,
8 w*í*ik' ,, t' ,, ,,

13. 1 ʊn ɹo n*oo*n, ʌ n*i*vʊr *í*ʊrd nɜ'*u*t' ʊbaat it s*i*n'.
2 ,, d*u*$_{\circ}$n ɹʊ n*oo*? ,, ,, ,, nɜ'*u* múʊr ʊ dhat
3 ,, d*u*$_{\circ}$nt ,, sɛɛ? a n*í*ʊr lərnt ɔn*i* mûʊr abaa[1]t ,,
4 ,, d*u*$_{\circ}$st dhɛ'*i* n*oo*? ʌ n*i*vʊr *í*ʊrd nɜ'*u* múʊr ɔn)t
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
6 ,, d*u*$_{\circ}$n ɹʊ ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
7 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, nʊ ,, ʊ ,,
8 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ɔn)t

1 ʊsh shæ'uʊr ʊz m*ái* n*ee*m)z wɔt *i*t
2 kʊnsàrn tʊ dh*i*z dii, ,, ,, ,, m*i* ,, :dɹɔn
3 b*i*zn*i*z *u*$_{\circ}$p' t*i*l tʊdii, ,, ,, ,, maa ,, :dɹak'
4 frʊm dhad dii tʊ dh*i*s', ,, ,, ,, m*ái* ,, ,,
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, wɔt *i*t
6 t*i*l tʊdii, ,, ,, ,, ʌ')m *í*ʊr
7 kʊnsàrn tʊ dh*i*z d*ee*, ,, ,, ,, mɔ'*i* n*ee*m)z :dɹak'
8 frʊm dhàt dii tʊ dh*i*s' ,, ,, ,, m*ái* ,, ,,

1 *i*z, ʊn ʌ d*u*$_{\circ}$)nʊ n*oo*, ʊn ʌ d*u*$_{\circ}$nʊ kj*e*ʊr nɜ'*u*t' nʊ
2 :shɛpʊrt, ,, ,, ,, want n*oo*dhʊr, naa dhɛn'!
3 :shɛpʊd, ,, a ,, )nʊr ,, fʊ)t dɜɜ n*oo*dhʊr, dhat)s
4 ,, ,, ,, ,, )nʊ ,, t' dɜ'*u* ,, , naa dhɛn'!
5 *i*z, ,, ʌ ,, ,, wɔnt niidhʊr, naa[1] ,,
6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
7 :shɛpʊrd, ,, ,, d*o*)nt want n*oo*dhʊr, dhɛ'ʊr
8 ,, ,, ,, d*u*$_{\circ}$nʊ wɔnt niidhʊr, ʌ')m

1 múʊr ʊbaat *i*t.
2
3 sàrt*i*n.
4
5
6
7 naa!
8 shæ'uʊr.

14. 1 ʊn naa A)m gu)in wòm)p')mi su$_{\circ}$pʊr. gu$_{\circ}$d nɛ'it',
2 ,, ,, A)m ,, wɜ'm)p')mi ,, ,, ,,
3 a)m ,, wA'm fʊ)t è mi ,, naa[1]. ,, ,,
4 ,, ,, A)m ɔf' tʊ mi ,, ,, nɛ'it',
5 ,, naa[1] ,, gu)in ,, ,, ,, ,, náit',
6 ,, su ,, ɔf' wɜ'm ,, ,, ,, ,, nɛ'it',
7 ,, naa ,, gu)in ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, níit'
8 ,, nĕáu ,, ,, ,, t' ee mi ,, wɛ'l ,, náit',

1 ʊn du$_{\circ}$)nʊ bi sʊ rɛdi t' mag gjam' ʊ ɔnibɔdi
2 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, t' kroo óʊr nœ'ubdi
3 ,, du$_{\circ}$)nʊr ,, ,, kwik' ʊbaa[1]t kroo)in óʊr ,, bɔdi
4 làd, ʊn du$_{\circ}$)nʊ ,, ,, rɛdi t' mag gjam' ,, u$_{\circ}$bdi
5 làd, ʊn ,, ,, ,, ,, ʊ makin gjam' ,, ɔnibɔdi
6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, t' kroo óʊr ,,
7 ,, do)nt ,, ,, shàrp tʊ ,, óʊr wɔ'n
8 ,, du$_{\circ}$)nʊ ,, ,, rɛdi t' ,, óʊr ɔnibɔdi

1 ʊgjɛ'n, wɛn dhi tAAk'n ʊbaat ɜ'ut'.
2 ,, ,, ,, ,, ʊbáùt ,,
3 ʊgjɛɛn, ,, ɛ'i tA'ks ʊbaa[1]t dhis' dhàt ʊn)t' tu$_{\circ}$dhʊr tɜ'ù dhi.
4 ʊgjɛ'n ,, dhi tAAk'n ʊbaat ɜ'ut'.
5 ,, ,, dhi)r tAAkin ʊbaa[1]t ,,
6 ʊgjɛɛn, ,, i)s ,, ,, ,,
7 ʊgjɛ'n, ,, ii tAAks ʊ dhis' ʊr dhàt ʊr)t' tu$_{\circ}$dhʊr.
8 ,, ,, dhʊ tAAk'n ,, ,, ,, ,, tu$_{\circ}$dhʊr.

15. 1 ɛ'i mu$_{\circ}$d bi ʊ ⌊hɔd' ʊt tɜ'ùd su$_{\circ}$mʊt wi
2 it)s ,, kwíʊr fɜ'ùl ʊz preets báùt
3 ɛ'i)z ,, pûʊr wìk' fɜ'ùl ,, ,, widhaa[1]t
4 ,, ,, kwíʊr tɹʊp' ,, tAAks widhaat ɔni
5 ,, ,, sɔft ,, ,, ,, widhaa[1]t ,,
6 ɛ'i iz ,, ,, fɜ'ùl ʊs ,, ,,
7 íi iz ,, ,, fiùl ʊz ,, widháit
8 ɛ'i)z ,, priti ,, ʊs prèts widhĕáut

1 nɜ'u sɛns in)t. A nɜut' nʊ múʊr t)si tɜ'ù jʊ.
2 riiz'n. ʊn dhat)s mi last wɜrd.
3 u$_{\circ}$nbithiqkin issɛn' ʊ bit'. a du$_{\circ}$)nʊr noo ʊz à)v ɜ'ut' mûʊr
4 riiz'n. ʊn dhat)s AA ʊz A av t' sii.
5 ,, ,, A)v nɜ'u múʊr t' sii.
6 sɛns. ,, dhat)s AA ái)v gɔt'n t' sii.
7 ríʊz'n. ,, ,, oo ʊz AA av tʊ see.
8 riiz'n. ,, ,, AAl ái)n gɔt t' sii.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | gu$_{o}$d | nɛ'it`. | |
| 2 | | ,, | ,, | |
| 3 | fə)t sii naa[1]. | su ,, | ,, | tɑ'ù dhi. |
| 4 | | ,, | ,, | làd. |
| 5 | | ,, | nàit`, | ,, |
| 6 | | su ,, | nɛ'it`. | |
| 7 | | ,, | nàit`. | |
| 8 | | ,, | nàit`. | |

*Notes to No.* 1, *Bradwell* cs., p. 426.

0. *no doubts*, the forms here are regular.

1. *lad*, and similarly *but*, par. 3, with (t) changed into (r).—*mind*, (*ái*) or (A'*i*) is the regular long I' form, and hence form of short I Y before (nd).

2. *through*, although not a O' word, is treated as such, and becomes regularly (ɑ'*u*), but see par. 4 in Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, p. 429.

4. *say*, and subsequently *day*, have (*ee*), but the regular form would be (ii).—*sure*, this word is the only word in the cs. which retains (œ'u) instead of using (ɑ'*u*).—*wick*=*quick*, alive.

5. *that*, either (ət) or (əs).—*in a minute*, or (əs sɑ'ùn əz ivər *i* ìərd im) as soon as ever he heard him. —*I'm sure he'd speak the truth any day*, ·*that he would*, or (ən A)m shœ'uər ·ɛ*i*)l nA'n tɛl ə lái, ·dhat *i* wu$_{o}$)nə) and I'm sure he'll not tell a lie, ·that he will)not.

7. *two or three*, or (əbù$_{o}$v wu$_{o}$nst ər twáis') above once or twice.

8. *she found him drunk as muck*, or (ən ɛ'*i* wər əz dru$_{o}$qk əz mu$_{o}$k') and he was as drunk as muck.

9. *declared* (di)tlɛərt).

10. *crying and bellowing*, the par. was translated at Eyam, (ɛ'*i* wər rúərin ən bɛldərin lái̇k ə griit soft kA'f), he was roaring and bellowing like a great soft calf.

12. *drinking* or (tii) tea.

13. *as my name's what it is*, or (əz *i*vər A wər bA'rn) as ever I were born.

14. *I'm going home to my supper*, the (p') represents a (t) for to, assimilated to the two (m) between which it stands; the sound is the same as in 'thump me' (thəmp' mi); there is no voicelessness of the first (m). A variant is (A)m baan t' mi su$_{1}$pər) I'm going to my supper.—*make game*, or (mee gjam').

15. *that*, (əs) as also used.

*Notes to No.* 2, *Taddington* cs., p. 426.

0. *no* (nœ'u) should probably be (nɑ'u).—*doubts*, etc., 9. *ground house down*, etc. The diphthong (áu) for (aa) having created suspicion, TH. especially visited Taddington in Dec. 1875, "and after conversing with and making inquiries from several natives, found that the sound was (áu, áù); among the persons interviewed three were of 50, 70, and 80 years of age." This, therefore, is a similar peculiarity to Chapel-en-le-Frith, D 21, which is only 9 nw. Taddington, but on the other side of the Peak, and differing in many respects. Adjoining Chapel, the Vale of Goyt had (ái), and we shall meet this again in No. 7, Brampton cs. The forms (aa, áu, ái) are strangely mixed in these regions.

1. *Thomas*, the usual address is by name, or *lad*.

2. *is not*, observe the (r) added, although not before a vowel; "euphonic (r) is much used at Taddington, Flag, etc.," TH.

4. *through*, *sure*, these are not O' words, and apparently for this reason have not (ɑ'*u*), but (œ'u), but from the analogy of other words this itself should give (ɑ'*u*).

*Notes to No.* 3, *Ashford* cs., p. 426.

1. *thee* or (joo) you.

2. *don't we* or (du$_{o}$)nə wi ?).—*is it* or (is)t).

3. *of this way* (ə dhis'n)—*thy* or (jər) your.—*done* or (dɑ'*un*).—*thee* or (jə) you.

5. *any day*, or (əs sɑ'*un* əz ɔnibədi) as soon as anybody.

6. *right out* or (strɛ'it ɔf') straight off.—*ado*, this (ədɑə) should analogically be (ədɑ'*u*), as *do*, *done*, are properly (dɑ'*u*, dɑ'*un*), but (dɑə) is used again, par. 13, p. 435.

8. *both how and where and when she found*, or (AA əbaa't aa' ɑ'*u* fu$_{o}$n') all about how she found.

*Notes to No.* 4, *Winster* cs., p. 426.

0. *doubts*, (daats) with distinct (aa) and not (aa¹), and so elsewhere.

3. *hearken, a* before *r* = (*ȧ*) as in yard are part barn garden etc. here, and at Middleton-by-Youlgrave.

4. *say* or (si suu) say so.

7. *what do-en*, the remarkable pron. (w*u*₀t)'n) was originally dictated, and was confirmed by Mr. Rains, p. 426, No. 4, in Sept. 1888.

10. *like a badly child or ā little wench crying*, the simple (láik ʊ t̪áilt skriimin) like a child screaming, would be much more common.

14. *make game*, the (k) of (mak) is altered to (g) by the attraction of the following word.—*anybody*, (*u*₀bdi) seems to have been coined from (n*u*₀bdi) nobody, by omitting the *n*.

15. *chap* or (fɑ'*u*l) fool. With regard to this diphthong, Foxlow and Salt, who were fresh from the spot, said (ɑ'*u*) distinctly in hold, old, told, no, done, too, two, etc., but Rains, who had been absent 25 years, used another form, which TH. first represented by (*ou*) and afterwards by (*ó*₁*u*). As we find (ɑ'*u*) cs., Nos. 2, 3, 6, this (*ó*₁*u*) is evidently not the present pron.; whether it was an older one, or a mere individuality, must remain uncertain.

*Notes to No.* 5, *Ashbourne* cs., p. 426.

0. *doubts*, for U', OU·· etc., the regular form is (aa¹) or (aah), as TH. wrote it, or as I appreciated his own pron. (ææ). In one case at Ashbourne he heard (*âu*) as (bráȧn) brown, but (braan) also occurred.

6. *any of you as laughs*, the (jʊ) for *you* has the euphonic (r) before the following vowel (jʊr ʊz), and this is regular in the district. The (r) not before a vowel is constantly marked, and has the usual M. sound, probably (r).

## Seven Interlinear Derbyshire dt.

These were all pal. from dict. by TH. The first five specially illustrate Var. iii, e.Db., which is not adequately represented in the eight cs., by No. 7, Brampton, for it has the peculiarity found only in a few places near Brampton of (*ái*) for U'.

Var. iii.

1. *Eckington* (6 nne.Chesterfield), pal. 1880 by TH. from dict. of J. Antcliffe, b. 1805, native, wheelwright.

2. *Barlborough* (7 ne.Chesterfield), pal. 1880 by TH. from dict. of A. Cooper, fitter at iron-works, b. 1832, and his elder brother, both natives. This is almost identical with the preceding.

3. *Bolsover* (:bɑ'*u*zʊr) (6 e.Chesterfield, on high ground), pal. 1880 by TH. from G. Shacklock, b. 1820, native. This scarcely differs from the preceding, but has (dâən), which approaches D 27. The absence of the v. pl. in *-en* is remarkable in these three.

4. *South Wingfield* (5 nne.Belper), pal. 1883 by TH. from dict. of G. Hawksley, b. 1810, native, parish clerk. The v. pl. in *-en* appears in this and the two following.

5. *West Hallam* (6 ne.Derby), pal. 1880 by TH. from another Thomas Hallam, b. 1809, native, collier. There is rather a remarkable coincidence of names here.

Var. iv.

6. *Brailsford* (7 nw.Derby), pal. 1880 by TH. from J. Hancock, b. 1835, native, small grocer and letter-carrier, assisted by another native, a farm-labourer.

Var. ii.

7. *Flash* (:flas') (7 nne.Leek, St.), pal. 1880 by TH. from the dict. of J. S. Coates, b. 1843, native, small farmer, who used (ˌt̪r-, ˌd̪r-), which was not heard from others in the same place, and hence is omitted in this transcript. As this is the only St. specimen, it has been placed last, although belonging to Var. ii; it also bears a very close resemblance to No. 6, Brailsford.

*** The (,,) shews that the word is the same as in the preceding line.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. 1 | *Eckington.* | A)*see*, meets, | | JU)sii | naa | | ʊt |
| 2 | *Barlborough.* | d*i*dn't A tEl)JU *soo*? | | *Jo*)sl | ·· | | |
| 3 | *Bolsover.* | A)*see*, tɟaps, [ladz] | | ,, ),, | naa | | |
| 4 | *South Wingfield.* | ,,)sii, ladz, | | ,, )sE'*i*n | naa [nâ*u*] | | |
| 5 | *West Hallam.* | ,,) ,, tɟaps | | JU)sE'*i* | nâ¹ə | | ʊz |
| 6 | *Brailsford.* | ,,) ,, ,, | | *Jo*)sE'*i*n | naa¹ | | ,, |
| 7 | *Flash.* | ,,) ,, ,, | | ,,) ,, | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | A)m)rE'*i*t' | ʊbaat | | dhat | l*i*t'l | las' | k*u*₀m*i*n | frʊm)s' |
| 2 | ,, ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| 3 | ,, ,, | ,, | [ʊbâət] | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | frʊ ,, |
| 4 | ,, ,, | ʊbaa¹t | | ,, | ,, | wEntɟ | kʌm*i*n | frʊm)t' |
| 5 | ,, ,, | ʊbá¹ət | | ,, | ,, | wEnsh | ,, | ,, )s' |
| 6 | ,, ,, | ʊbaa¹t | | ,, | ,, | wEntɟ | k*u*₀m*i*n | ,, ,, |
| 7 | ,, ,, | ʊbâ*u*t | | ,, | ,, | ,, | kom*i*n | ,, ,, |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | skuul JondʊR. |
| 2 | ,, ,, |
| 3 | ,, JondʊR. |
| 4 | skjA'*u*l ,, |
| 5 | skA'*u*l JondʊR. |
| 6 | skjA'*u*l ,, |
| 7 | skə'*u*l ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. 1 | shʊ)z)gu·*i*n | daan | t')rûʊd | dhîʊ | thruu | t')rED | gj*ee*t | ən)t' | | | |
| 2 | sh*i* ,, ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | | | |
| 3 | shu ,, ,, | dâən | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, rED' | J*ee*t | ,, ,, | | | |
| 4 | A'*u* ,, ,, | daan | ,, r*oo*d | ,, | thrA'*u* | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | | | |
| 5 | ,, ,, ,, | dâ¹ən | dh) ,, | dhíʊ | ,, | dh)rED | ,, | ,, th | | | |
| 6 | ,, ,, ,, | daa¹n | ,, ,, | dhîʊ | ,, | dhat ,, | gj*ee*t | ,, )dh | | | |
| 7 | ,, ,, ,, | dá*u*n | ,, ,, | dhîʊr | ,, | dh)rED' | J*ee*t | ,, ,, | | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | lEft and sâ*i*d ʊ)t' rûʊd. |
| 2 | ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, |
| 3 | ,, ,, sA^*i*d ,, ,, ,, |
| 4 | l*i*ft ,, sâ*i*d ,, ,, r*oo*d. |
| 5 | lEft ,, sâ*i*d ,, ,, |
| 6 | l*i*ft ,, sâ*i*d ʊ)dh) ,, |
| 7 | ,, ənd ,, ,, ,, ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. 1 | l*u*₀k)JU! | t')tɟâ*i*ld) | z | gA'n | | *u*₀p' | tʊ)t' | | | |
| 2 | ,, ,, | ,, tɟâ*i*l | ,, | ,, | strE'*i*t | ,, | ,, ,, | | | |
| 3 | ,, ,, | ,, tJA^*i*l⌊d | ,, | ,, | ,, | *u*₀p | ,, ,, | | | |
| 4 | lA'*u*k ladz! | ,, tɟâ*i*lt)s | | ,, | ,, | *u*₀p' | ,, ,, | r*u*₀q' | | |
| 5 | l*u*₀k) JU dhíʊ⌊r! | th) ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, )dh | r*u*₀q | | |
| 6 | ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, dh | r*u*₀q' | | |
| 7 | ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | strE'*i*t' | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | | |

1 dûʊr ʊ)t' raq às.
2 ,, ,, ru$_{\circ}$q âəs.
3 ,, ,, ,, ,,
4 dûʊ.
5 â¹əs ,,
6 dóʊ.
7 dɑ'r.

4. 1 wíʊr shù)l ap'n fáind dhat dru$_{\circ}$qk'n dìʊf wiz'nd tɟap
2 wîʊ shi)l ,, ,, ,, ,, dɛf' ,, fɛlʊ
3 wíʊ shu)l ,, fʌ''ind ,, ,, dìʊf ,, ,,
4 wíʊr ɑ'u)l ,, fáind ,, ,, dìf' ,, ,,
5 wîʊr ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
6 wíʊr ʊ)l ,, ,, ,, ,, dɛf' ,, mʌ'n
7 whîʊr ɑ'u)l ,, ,, ,, ,, dìf' widhʊrt fɛlʊ, ìm

1 ʊt dhi kʌʌl :təm'.
2 ʊz dhʊ ,, ,,
3 ,, dhe ,, ,,
4 ,, dhi kʌʌn ɑ'ud :təmi.
5 ,, ,, ,, :tə m'.
6 ,, ,, ,, :tu$_{\circ}$m'.
7 ,, ,, ,, ,,

5. 1 wi)ʌʌl noo ìm vɛri wɛ'l.
2 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
3 jo) ,, ,, ,, dònt)jʊ ,, ,,
4 wɛ'i ʌʌ noon ,, ,, ,,
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, wɛl ʊv)ɑ'ùd.
6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, wɛ'l.
7 ,, ,, ,, ím ,, ,,

6. 1 weent t')ɑ'ud tɟap' suun tɛ'itɟ)ʊr nət tʊ)du)it
2 wu$_{\circ}$d'nt ,, ,, ,, [fɛlʊ] ,, tìtɟ ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
3 wéint ,, ,, ,, tɛl ,, su$_{\circ}$mʊt,
4 winʊ ,, ,, ,, sɑ'un tìtɟ ,, nət tʊ)dɑ'u)t
5 wu$_{\circ}$nʊr dh) ,, ,, sɑ'ùn ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, it
6 wunt th) ,, ,, ,, tɛ'itɟ ,, ,, t' ,, ,,
7 wu$_{\circ}$nʊ dh) ,, ,, sə'un ,, ,, fʊr)t' not də'u ,,

1 ʊgîʊn, pûʊ thìq'!
2 ,, ,, ,,
3 ,, ,,
4 ʊgjɛ'n ,, tɟáilt!
5 ,, ,, thiq'!
6 ,, ,, thiq!
7 ,, púʊr thiqk!

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7. 1 | lu$_{o}$k)ɹɐ ! | iz'nt it | tríù ? |
| 2 | ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, |
| 3 | naa dhɛn ! | ,, ,, | ,, |
| 4 | lɜ'ùk ladz ! | ,, ,, | tr,ú$_{o}$u ? |
| 5 | lu$_{o}$k)ɹɐ dhíɐ ! | ,, ,, | tríù ? |
| 6 | lɜ'ùk ! | ,, ,, | tr,ú$_{o}$ù ? |
| 7 | lu$_{o}$k ɹɐ ! | iz'nt ,, | trœ'$_{1}$ù ? |

*Notes to the Seven* dt.

1. *mates*, No. 1, boys would say in this case *lads*, but addressing one only (sɜri) sirrah !

2. *side*, No. 2 the diphthong is said to lie between (âi) and (ʌ''i)), a mean difficult to hit; and similarly for par. 3, *child*, No. 2.

5. *very*, No. 1, a few say (vari).—*you*, the Bolsover informant has altered the phrase into a question, *you all know him, don't you, very well?* to which he supposed there would be an answer: (aa, s')lʌ''ik wi dœ'u) aye, its like we do.

6. *soon*, No. 7, TH. marked Coates's pron. as lying between (sə'un, sœ'un), another speaker said (sə'un), which I have adopted, as it harmonises with the following də'u.—*thing*, obs. St. (thiqk) in No. 7.

7. *true*. TH. writes the diphthong (i,ù) in Nos. 1 to 3, but makes the first element between (,u$_{o}$, e) in No. 4, and between (i, ə) in No. 5, while in No. 6 and No. 7 he writes his equivalent for my (œ'u), taken with a deeper (œ$_{1}$) in No. 7, though others said (trə'uth). TH. adds that he has often felt in doubt as to the first element, and thinks it must be (ə$^{1}$) or (y$_{1}$) of D 10, p. 146. The diphthong is evidently affected by the preceding (r), which renders (ríu) difficult, but I think the intention is to say (ríu). The *r*, printed (r) in the text, I presume to be TH.'s (r), p. 293, as the true (r) seems to be unknown in these regions.

## *Further Examples;* all observed by TH.

Var. ii. West Derby.

1. *Middleton-by-Wirksworth*, spec. concocted by people of Wirksworth, to shew how much 'broader' the miners at Middleton speak.

(wíɐr ɐrt gu)in, sɜri ? ʌ)m gu)in daa'n tɐ :wɜsɐ fɐr ɐ paa'nd ɐ paa'dɐ), where art going, sirrah ? [a common and not disrespectful address]. I'm going down to Wirksworth for a pound of powder. Compare D 23, Ex. 5, p. 357.

2. *Wirksworth*. (lɛn)z ɜ'ut ɐn)t; if dhi du$_{o}$s')nɐ, ʌ)l tlaa't dhi), lend us hold on it; if thee does not, I'll clout thee. (dha)z jɛt'n ɐ níu pɛɛr ɐ bɜ'uts ɔn), thou hast gotten a new pair of boots on. (dhi kʌʌn it :jùl :blɔk), they callen it Yule Block = log.

3. *Idridgehay* (3 s. Wirksworth). (iz dhat ɜ'r du$_{o}$n ɹɐ thiqk ?), is that her do-en you think ? (nɔn t' bi sɛ'in), none [= not, as often] to be seen. (dhe)n gjan it tɐrɐ ru$_{o}$qg wu$_{o}$mɐn), they have-n given it to [euphonic *r*] a wrong woman.

4. *Flash* (7 nne. Leek, St.) (ɛ'i)z ɐ bad' mʌ'n, ɛ'i wu$_{o}$nst bɔrɐd thru$_{o}$pɐns ʌʌpɐni ɔf' mɛ'i, ɐn ɛ'i)z nívɐr piid mi bak ɐgjɛ'n), he's a bad man, he once borrowed threepence halfpenny off me, and he's never paid me back again.

5. *Alstonefield* (9 e. Leek, St.) (ʌ thɜ'ut ɐ bɛ'i)in in' fɐr ɐ ráid wi :tu$_{o}$m' t' nɛ'it', bɐr ʌ)m disíft), I thought of being in for a ride with Thomas [who has a conveyance] to-night, but I'm deceived.

6. *Hartington* (7 sw. Bakewell, Db.). The following very old joke was told TH. at Ashbourne for Hartington as local, and pal. by him, and then inserted by a friend in conventional spelling in the *Derbyshire Advertiser* and *North Staffordshire Journal* of 16 Dec. 1887, as a dialogue between two old women at Hartington.

(A. *ee*, :pal', aa¹ d*u*ₒst dɑ'*u*, ɐn aa¹ d*u*ₒz dh)ɑ'*u*d mʌ'n dɑ'*u*?—B. *ee*, wá*i* ɛ'*i*)z dɟɛ'd.—A. dɟɛ'd! ɐn prídh*i* aa¹ l*u*ₒqg az *i* bin dɟɛ'd?—B. wá*i*, *if* ɛ'*i*)d livd til tɐmo·rɐ mʌ'rnin, ɛ'*i*)d ɐ bin dɟɛd ɐ fàrtnit.—A. ɐn prídh*i* wɔt dɟɛth did *i* dɛ'*i*?—B. wá*i*, ɛ'*i* sit)im daa'n *i*)th tɑ'*u* àrmt tɟîɐr, ɐn fɛl fast ɐslɛ'ip, ɐn wɛɐn *i* wak'nt, ɛ'*i* wɐr stuun dɟɛ'd.—A. :làrd blɛs ɐs! wɛ'*i*)ɐr ɛ'*i*ɐr tɐdii ɐn gʌ'n ɟistɐrdii.)—A. Eh, Poll, how dost do, and how does the old man do?—B. Eh, why, he's dead.—A. Dead! and prithee how long has he been dead?—B. Why, if he'd lived till to-morrow morning, he'd have been dead a fortnight.—A. And prithee, what death did he die?—B. Why, he sit him down in the two-armed chair and fell fast asleep, and when he wakened, he was stone dead.—A. Lord, bless us! we are here to-day and gone yesterday.

Var. iii.

7. *Bolsover*. (aat *i*)t' *éeɐr*), out in the air. (*i*)t' màrk*it* AAl), in the market hall. (gù b*i*)t' kjar*i*ɐr), go by the carrier. (r*i*id t' p*ee*pɐr), read the paper. (raand t' taan), round the town. (*i*i w*u*ₒd)nt gjɛt *it* w*á*il dh*i*z mɔ'rnin), he would not get it till this morning. (stɔp ɐt wɑɑm), stop at home. (dh*e* wɐr tɛlin ɟɐ, lɔ'ik), they were telling you, like=so to speak. (à d*o*)nt kjɛɛr, as tɐ gjɛt*i*n *it*?), I don't care, hast thou gotten it?

## Var. i. Northern South Peak cwl.

compiled from wn. by TH. from South Peak, exclusive of those marked in the cs.

B Bradwell (:bradɐ) (9 ne.Buxton), pal. 1876.
Bd Bamford (:bʌamfɐrt) (12 ne.Buxton), pal. 1876.
C Castleton (10 ne.Buxton), pal. 1873-9.
H Hathersage (:adhɐrs*i*tɟ) (12 ne.Buxton), pal. in 1876, mostly from very old people, b. about 1810, 1794, 1793, and 1782.
E Eyam (:ii·im) (10 ene.Buxton), pal. 1876.
T Tideswell (:t*i*dzɐ) (6 ene. Buxton), where the dialect has altered within twenty years, pal. 1865–77.

*Notes.*—(dɟavɐrɐr) jabberer, (v) for (b) by a man b. 1810 at Hathersage.—'*s* possessive usually omitted.—(kh) strongly pron. by grandfather of the Castleton informant, and lightly by his father.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 E tak, t*ee*d [took]. 5 B mak, mag, m*ee*, ɛ'*i*)z nɑ'*u*t' t')m*ee* nɑ'*u*t' ɔn' [he's nought to make nought on]. 6 CH m*ee*d. 20 B l*ee*m. 21 C n*ee*m. A: 39 B kɑ'*u*m. 43 B ɔnt and. — B sɔnd [sand]. 51 C mʌ'n. — B pɔn [pan]. 54 B want. 55 B as. A: *or* O: 58 B frɑ'*u*. 60 H l*u*ₒqg. 64 C raqg, E r*u*ₒqg. A'- 67 E guu. 69 HCET nɑ'*u*. 70 C tuu. 73 BT sɑ'*u*. 74 HE t*œ*'ù [from man b. 1782]. 76 BE tuud. 81 BH l*oo*n l*ee*n, C l*oo*n, E l*ee*n. 82 B ʌ wɑnst [at once]. 84 B múɐr. 86 C uuts ùts. 87 T tluuz. 89 B buudh. 97 C sɑ'*u*l. A': 101 H ùk [man of 66]. 104 B ruud [old], T r*oo*d. 106 C brùd'. 107 C lùf [pl. (luuvz)]. 108 C dùf'. 115 B wɑ'm, wʌ'm, H wɑ'm, E wòm. 118 B buun. 122 B nʌ'n [=not]. 124 BHC stuun. — C ruup rùp [rope]. 132 B wɑt, C wɔt. 137 B n*oo*dhɐr.

Æ- 138 C f*ee*dhɐr. 144 H ɐgjɛ'n. 152 BCT w*ee*tɐr watɐr. Æ: 161 BH d*ee*, CE dii. 172 B grɛs. Æ'- 182 B sii. 192 E miin. 197 BE tɟɛ'iz. 200 C wiit. Æ': 207 E nɛ'id'l. 212 E wɛ'*i*. 214 B niidhɐr. 218 E shɛ'ip. 224 H wívɐr. 225 H flɛsh. 228 E swiit.

E- 231 th [generally]. 233 C sp*ee*k. 241 E riin. 243 ET pl*ee*. — B *ee*t [eat]. 251 B m*ee*t, H miit. E: 260 B lii. 261 C s*ee*, E sii. 262 C wii. 263 H ɐwii. — BC fɛ'ilt [field]. 270 E bal*i*z [bellows]. E'- 290 BH ɛ'*i* éi fi. 291 B dhɛɛ, C dhɛ'*i*. 292 B mɛɛ, C mɛ'*i*. 293 E wɛ'*i*. 299 CT grɛ'in. E': 305 B *ái*. 312 BE ɛ'iɐr. 314 C íɐrd.

EA: 322 C laf'. 326 B ɑ'*ud*. 328 BET kjɑ'*ud*. 330 H ɑ'*ud* [the noun is in T (ɑ'*ut*) a hold]. 333 B kʌ'f'. 334 C AAV, ʌ'pni [halfpenny]. 337 E wʌ'*u*. 341 Bd marɐ [in the sense of match, fellow]. EA'- 347 B JE'd. EA': 350 B dɛ'd, C did'. 353 C brɛ'd. 355 E diif. 360 H tiim. 366 C griit.

EO- 387 B n*ú* JɐZ d*ee* [New Year's day]. EO: — B ɑ'm [hem = them]. 394 B JɔndɐR JɔnD. 395 H J*u*ₒqg. 399 ET brɛ'*it*. 402 C lɛ'rn. EO'- 410 BEH ɑ'*u*, H æ'u [man of 82]. 411 BH thrɛ'*i*. — B trɛɛ [tree]. EO': — E kr*áu*d [crowd]. 425 BT lɛ'*it*, H l*ái*t [man of 94]. 427 H bɛ'*i*. 428 E SEE SE'*i*, H SE'*i*, B SE'id [see'd, saw]. 437 C tr*ú*th. EY- 438 BC dɛ'*i*.

I- 440 BH WE'*i*k. — gj*i* [give]. 444 B st*ái*l. I: 458 BCT nɛ'*it*. 459 H r*ái*t [man of 66], rɛ'*it* [man of 82]. 462 T SE'*it*. 468 B tɟ'ldɐr. 469 E w*ù*ₒl w*u*ₒtst [will wilt]. 475 B w*ái*nd I'- 492 H s*ái*d. 494 B t*â*m. I': — C d*ái*tɟ [ditch]. 500 H l*ái*k. 505 B w*ái*f. — BE *ee* [hay].

O- — BC smɑ'*u*k [smoke], smɛ'*i*k [(smɛ'ik) v. applied to a chimney or kiln, (smɑ'uk) to smoke a pipe of tobacco], T sm*oo*k. 519 H ó[ɐr. 522 B ɔp'n. 523 Bd *oo*p. O: — T kjɑ*u*k [cook]. 525 Bd ʌ'f ɔf [off]. 528 H thɑ'*ut*. 531 H dɑ'*ut*'ɐr. 537 B mɑ'*ud*. — B nɑ'*ù* [knoll]. 541 CH w*u*ₒ)nɐ. 544 Bd kam den [come then, speaking to children]. O'- 555 C shœ'u sh*u*ₒf, T shœ'un [shoes]. 556 B tɑ'*u*. 557 H tɑ'*u* [man of 66]. 558 BC lɑ'*u*k. 559 B m*u*ₒdhɐr, C mɑdhar. 560 BTE skjɑ'*u*l. 562 BC mɑ'*u*n, H mœ'un [man of 94], m*i*œ'un [man of 66]. 564 B sɑ'*u*n, E sanɐr [sooner]. O': 569 E bɑ'*u*k. 570 C tɑ'*u*k. 571 H g*ù*ₒd. 579 BE *i*n*u*ₒf. 580 C tɔ[kh [old], tɔkh [older]. 582 E kjɑ*ú*l. 586 BHC dɑ'*u*. 587 C dɑ'*u*n. 588 BCT nɑ'*u*n, H nœ'un [man of 66]. 591 H mûɐr. — T gjɑ'*u*s [goose].

U- 603 BC kam. 606 BC dɑ'r, E dúɐr [at E. (dúɐr) is gen., (dɑ'r) rare]. 607 B b*u*ₒt'ɐ,r [the dentals heard from several old people, but they have gen. died out]. U: — H b*á*un, E baan. 615 BH paand. 619 T f*u*ₒn. 632 B *u*ₒp. 634 H thrœ'u [man of 82]. — C r*á*usti [rusty]. U'- 641 E à. 643 B naa, H n*áu* [men of 66 and 82], E in)n*áu* [e'en now, directly]. 650 E ɐbaat. 651 C b*áu*t. U': — H tl*áu*d [cloud]. 655 C f*áu* [ugly]. 658 BHE daan, CHE d*áù*n. 659 BE taan. — H d*oo*n [down feathers]. 663 HC *áu*s [from men of 66 and 82]. 667 B àt. 671 B maath.

Y- 673 B miɟ. 679 H tɟartɟ. Y: 686 H b*ái*. — E spard [speered, inquired after, here meaning asked in church by banns]. 702 BT wɛ'*i*, widh.

## II. English.

A. 714 C làr. — C bɑqk, bɑqz [bank, banks]. I. *and* Y. — E *ee*lɐk [lilac, *not* (*ee*lɐk), a common older form]. O. 761 H luud, E luud'n [loaded]. — B dag [dog], C dɔg.

## III. Romance.

A·· 811 H plès'ɐz [places, man of 82]. — T kjɛtɟ [in the sentence (dhur)z ɐ trap' dj*u*ₒst ɐf*ô*ɐr, bɐr JOO kɔn)ɐ kjɛtɟ *it*, Jɐ n*oo*n) there's a trap just before, but you can)not catch it, you know-en]. 822 E mii. — CE pii [pay]. 824 T tɟíɐr. 830 T triin. — C tlíɐr tlɛ'ɐr [clear]. 833 E p*ê*ɐr. — B gr*oo*n grɔn [grand, in grandsire (gr*oo*nsɐr), etc.]. 851 B *ee*nt [formerly (n*oo*nt)]. — C s*oo*sɐr [saucer]. 864 T b*i*k*oo*z. — B fʌ's [false]. — H ₜravilin [travelling, the old dental heard from a man of 94]. E·· 867 BHC tii. — Bd fɛɛr [a fair]. I·· *and* Y·· 898 B n*ái*st. O·· 913 C k*u*ₒtɟmɐn [coachman]. — BC bɛ'if [beef]. — H sɑ'*i*l, E s*ái*l [soil]. 925 C v*ái*s. — B s*ú*ɐrt [sort]. 939 H tlùs. — C tuust [toast]. 940 BT kuut. 947 B bɑ'il, E b*ái*l. 955 Bd daa't. U·· — E wiit [wait]. 965 B ɑ'il, E *ái*l. 969 E shœ'uɐr. — H Jœ'ust [used], E dh*i* JùZ'n [they use, man of 84].

## Var. ii. Western Derbyshire and East Staffordshire cwl.

from wn. by TH. at

(1.) w.Db.

Mb Matlock Bath.
C Cromford (1 s.Matlock Bath).
M Middleton-by-Wirksworth (2 sw.Matlock Bath).
W Wirksworth (3 ssw.Matlock Bath).
*W* That part of W. taken in 1876 from S. Simpson, b. 1800.
I Idridgehay (:*idridjee*) (6 ssw.Matlock Bath).

(2.) e.St.

F Flash (7 nne.Leek), wn. 1880 by TH. from Pickford, b. 1835, and family, and Coates, b. 1843, natives.
A Alstonefield (:A'rsfʌld) (9 e.Leek).
R Rocester (:*roo*stʊr) (15 ese.Stoke).

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 F *tee* tak. 8 F *ee*. 19 F *teel*. 21 F *neem*. — W gjam [game]. A: 50 *W* tu$_o$qz. 51 F mA'n. 54 *W* want. 56 *W* F wesh. A: *or* O: 64 FI ru$_o$qg. A'- 69 F nɜ'*u* nɑ'u nô*u*. 74 *W*A tɜ'*u*. 76 F tuud. 82 W wu$_o$ns. — F gruun [groan]. 84 MbF múʊr. 86 F ùts. 87 I tluuz. 89 W buudh. 92 F n*oo*. 93 *W* sn*oo*, F snʌ́ù [old people formerly]. A': 102 R eks. 104 F r*oo*d. 115 W w*oo*m, F wɜ'm ʊ)whɜ'm [at home] wòm. 117 M wɔn, F t)A'n [the one]. 118 *W* F buun. 119 C guu. 122 I (non). 123 R nu$_o$thɪqk. 124 MF stuun. — *W* F ròp [rope]. 131 *W* gòt.

Æ- 138 *W* F *feedh*ʊr. 143 WF tiil. 144 W ʊgjen. 152 F *weet*ʊr. Æ: 161 MbF dii. 172 MbF gres. 173 Mb wɔ'r. Æ'- 189 *W* wʌ́i. 195 Mb mɛ'*ini*, *W* F mɔn*i*. 197 MbFR tɟɛ'*iz*. 200 F wiit. Æ': 207 F nɛ́ld. 210 *W* tlii. 214 WR niidhʊr. 218 *W* shɛ'*ip*. 222 F hîʊr. 223 *W* dhíʊr. 224 M wíʊr, F whíʊr.

E- 233 F spiik. 241 F riin. 243 W plii. — F beer [to bear]. — *W* iit [eat]. 251 *W* miit. E: — MF fatɟ [fetch]. 261 W sii. 262 F wii. 265 W strɛ'*it*. 270 F bal*i*. 287 F bɛ'*iz*ʊmz. E'- 290 MFR ɛ'*i*. 291 WR dhɛ'*i*. 292 WFR mɛ'*i*. 299 F grɛ'*in*. 300 WF kjɛ'ɪp, *W* kɛ'ip'n. E': 312 W ɛ'ʊr. 314 F îʊ$_i$rd. — *W* tɛ'*i*th [teeth].

EA- — W *eel* [ale]. EA: 322 *W* lɔf', F laf' [(lakh) mother and grandfather of Coates]. 328 F kɜ'*u*d. 330 WR ɜ'*u*d [sb. (ɜ'*ut*)]. 333 F kA'f. 334 F aaf. 338 W kaa, F kjɛl (dh*i* wA'n kjɛln ʊv ʊn*u*$_o$dhʊr) they [the children] one call-en of=on another]. — F sA't [salt]. 340 M *jàrd* jA'rd. EA'- 347 Mb jɛ'd, F [(*líit* jhɛdʊd) light-headed]. EA': 350 F dɟɛ'd. 355 F *dii*. 359 *W* niibʊr. 366 F griit. EI- 375 MbA riiz.

EO: 388 W mìlk. 399 F brɛ'*it*. — *W* ban [burn], F br*u*$_o$nt [burned]. EO'- 410 F *æ*'u, ɜ'*u*. — F nhé*i* [knee]. — F flɛkh [flea, mother and grandfather of Coates]. 411 WR thrɛ'*i*. 412 I [(ɜ'r) used]. 415 M *lʌ́i* [a lie]. EO': 424 F r*u*$_o$kh [mother and grandfather of Coates]. 425 F lɛ'*it*. 426 F fɛ'*it*. 428 MbFR sɛ'*i*. 437 F trə'*u*th. EY- 438 F dɛ'*i*.

I- — F w*i*k'. — W gj*i* [give]. 442 F *iviz*. 446 R *náin*. I: 452 M à. — F br*i*d. 458 MF nɛ'*it*, R nA''*it*. 459 FR rɛ'*it*. 461 F *âu* lé*i*tɟ dha kɔnʊ [how lights-it,—happens it,—thou cannot]. 487 F *jistʊrdii*. — *W* dɜt [dirt]. I'- 494 M *tʌ́m*. I': 500 F *lʌ́ik*. 504 F nh*ʌ́i*f. 505 F wɛ'*if*. — F hii [hay]. 508 MR m*ʌ́i*l. 509 F whɛ'*i*l.

O- — W sm*oo*k [smoke, *v*]. O: 526 F kɔkh [mother and grandfather of Coates]. 527 F bɜ'*ut*. 528 F thɜ'*ut*. 531 F dɜ'*ut*ʊr. 532 F *kool*. 535 W *fòk*. — M tɜ'*ul* [toll]. 541 C wu$_o$)nʊ. 544 F t*i*n [(ɟu$_o$qgʊr t*i*n dhàt) younger than that]. — *W* skúʊr [score]. — *W* A's [horse more used than (t*i*t) tit]. O'- 555 F shœ'un [shoon pl.]. 558 I lu$_o$k, F lœ'uk lə'*u*k. 559 W *W* FR mɔdhʊr. 560 *W* skɜ'*ul*, F skə'*ul*. 562 *W* R mɜ'*un*, F mə'*un*. 564 F sɜ'*un*. 567 F t)u$_o$dhʊr. O': 570 F tœ'uk. 584 *W* stɜ'*ul*. 586 F dœ'u dɜ'u. 587 F də'*un*. 588 MR nɜ'*un*. 591 A mɜ'*uʊr*. — *W* tɜ'*uth* [tooth]. 594 *W* bɜ'*ut*, F bə'*ut*.

U- 603 W*W* kam, F kom'n. 605 F sù̯ₒn. 606 MI dúʊr, F dɑ'r. U: 612 F sù̯ₒm. 614 *W* aa'nd, [but] ʊ pak' ʊ áunz [a pack of hounds]. 615 M paa'nd. 616 *W* graa'nd. 632 W *u*ₒp. — *W* fɑr [a fir]. U'- 640 Mb kjáu. 642 W dha. 643 WR naa', R naa. 648 R aa'r. 650 MI ʊbaa t, W ʊbaat. 653 F bʊr. U': 654 F sráud. 655 F fàù. 658 M*W* daa'n, WR [between] daa'n daan, FA dáun, AR daa'n. 663 *W* às, IR à's, F áus. 667 WIR à't, F âut. 671 F máuth.

Y- 677 F drâi. 679 W tɹartɹ. Y: 700 F was'. — *W* shat' [shirt]. 702 M wɛ'i. Y'- 707 *W* thattɛ'in. Y': 709 F fdiʊr.

II. English.

A. — F bɔqk [bank]. E. 749 F lift ont [left hand]. I. *and* Y. 756 F sr*i*mps. O. 761 *W* luud. — *W* dɔg. 767 W náiz. U. 805 F kr*u*ₒd [cheese curd]. — *W* kal [curl].

III. Romance.

A·· 810 W fès. 818 F *ee*dɹ. — F pii [pay]. 824 *W* tɹíʊr. — F tɹiin [chain]. 851 W *ee*nt. — M stii [stay]. E·· 867 MbF tii. — F sàrvunt sàrv*i*[zs [servant service], R sàrv*is*. 890 W bìs [pl. cows]. — F lɛ,t'ʊ,r [letter, Coates, Pickford had no dental]. — F áuʊr [hoar]. 894 A d*i*sift [deceived] I·· *and* Y·· 901 F fdin. — M sar*i* [sirrah, not a term of contempt]. O·· — *W* sá*i*l [soil]. — R bɛ'if [beef]. — A maa'nt [to mount]. 939 *W* tlùs. 940 *W* kùt. — M paa'dʊ [powder]. U·· — WF wiit [wait]. 966 *W* fr*i*ut'. 969 F shœ'uʊr.

## Var. iii. Eastern Derbyshire cwl.

wn. by TH. except when otherwise stated, exclusive of Brampton, which has a cs. The places are arranged in order from n. to s.

N Norton (7 nnw.Chesterfield), from the Vicar.
D Dronfield (5 nnw.Chesterfield).
U Unstone (4 nnw.Chesterfield).
W Whittington (2 n.Chesterfield).
B Bolsover (:bɑ'uzʊr) (3 e.Chesterfield), no verbal plural in *-en*.
Su Sutton (4 ese.Chesterfield).
St Stretton (6 s.Chesterfield).
A Ashover (:ashʊr) (5 ssw.Chesterfield). Beardow, about 55, parish clerk, native, gave (âi) in d*ow*n t*ow*n, and (ái) in r*ou*nd h*ou*se, but his son gave (aa') in r*ou*nd b*ou*n d*ow*n, this is therefore a later form.
M Morton (8 nne.Belper).
Hi Higham (7 s.Chesterfield).
Dh Doehill (7 se.Chesterfield, close to Doehill).
C Codnor (5 ene.Belper), and Cv from the Vicar.
Cp Codnor Park (5 ene.Belper).
R Ripley (3 ne.Belper).
Bp Belper (:bilpʊ).
Mi Milford (2 s.Belper).
H Heanor (5 ese.Belper), dt. from Mrs. Parker.
I Ilkeston (8 ne.Derby) (:ɪls''n), by most working people.

Only a very few words were obtained from each place.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 8 BI ɛ'v. 19 A *tee*l. 33 A rɛɛdhʊr. A: *or* O: 60 I I*u*ₒqg. A'- 67 N gúʊ, B gu*j*in [going]. 70 A tuuz [*toes*]. 72 N w*oo*. 74 A tœ'u, I tɑ'*u*. 84 BR múʊr. 86 N *u*ₒts. 93 I sn*oo*. A': 104 DU rúʊd. 115 N úʊm, BA wɑam, I wam. 117 N won. 118 DU búʊn, R buun. 122 R non [in the sense of *not*]. 124 D stúʊn, R stuun. — A rùp [rope].

Æ- 138 I *fee*dhʊr. 143 A tiil. 152 Cp watʊr. Æ: 161 NDB d*ee*, ACCpRI dii, Dh dii [and (ii) for ÆG in several words]. — D kjàrt. Æ'- 182 DR sii, Cv sɛ'*i* [or (*see*)]. 193 I tliin. 194 BR on*i*. 197 D tɹ*i*iz, I tɹɛ'*iz*.

200 ND wívt, Cv weet, R wiit. Æ': 210 MoCp tlii. 214 A niidhər. 223 A dhívr, Bp dhívr.

E- 231 NDUAB t' [always], Mi th. 233 N spɛ'ik. 241 N reen, A riin. 243 CpMiI plii, I plɛ'i [both (ii, ɛ'i) several times]. — A bɛɛr [a bear]. — Su ɛ'ɪt [eat]. 251 Su mɛ'it. E: 263 Cp wwii. 265 Cp strɛ'ɪt. E'- 290 BpI ɛ'i. 292 IBp mɛ'i. 294 Cv fívd, R fɛ'id. E': 312 Cp ív.

EA: 326 DCpR a'ud. 328 DBAR kɑ'ud. 331 A sɑ'ud. 332 B tɛld. 333 N koof. 335 Cp aa. 338 Cp kaa. 343 A wàrm. 346 Cp gjɛ't. EA'- 348 A ín [eyes]. — N déu [dew]. EA': 360 Cv tívm. 361 Cv bívnz, R biinz. EI- 376 A bìt. EO: 392 Cp jɔnz. — B dàrk [dark]. 396 Cp wak. 399 N brɔ'ɪt, A brdit. EO'- 410 Mi a'u. 411 CpR thrɛ'i. — C trɛ'ɪ [tree]. 412 N shu. — CvR wɛ'id. 415 N lɔ'i. 416 R déər. EO': 425 N liit ? líit, A líit. 426 fɔ'it. 428 RI sii. 431 A bívr.

I- 446 N nɔ'in, Dh nʌ''in. — NDCv pɛ'iz [pease], R piiz. I: 455 N lig. 458 A níit. N niit, ? níit, nɔ'it, HDh nɛ'ɪt, R [between] nâit nʌ''it. 462 N sɔ'it. 466 N tjɔ'ild. 473 N blɔ'ind. 477 N fɔ'ind. 487 A jɪstərdii. 488 B jit. I'- 492 Hi sʌ''id. 496 U ɔ'ɪərn. I': 500 NB lɔ'ɪk, R lái k. 502 N fɔ'iv, A fáiv. 508 U mɔ''ɪl. 509 B wɔ''ɪl wáil. 510 DW mɔ''in.

O- — A smook [smoke]. 519 R avər. O: — DR frag [frog]. — N fəg [fog, between u and o]. 528 B thɑ'ut. 529 B brɑ'ut. — B mɔ'rnin [morning]. O'- 555 B shœ'u. 556 R tə [for the inf. not (t')], I tœ'u. 559 B mu$_o$dhər, I mədhər. 560 R skjɑ'ul, Mi skɑ'ul. 562 N muun [that is, as being rec. pr. no mark was put against, but (mœ'un) would have been treated in the same way], D mœ'ùn, Cv míun, RI mɑ'ùn, etc. 564 Mi sɑ'un. O': 579 N vnu$_o$f. 586 CpR dɑ'u. 588 ACpI nɑ'un, Cv níun, D nœ'ùn.

U- 603 B ku$_o$min [coming], Cp. kap [come up, to a cow]. 605 A sù$_o$n. 606 Cp. dúv. U: — D bàun [boun going, see 658]. 615 N páund, Cp paa'nd, U páind. 616 A gráind. — A wù$_o$ndər [wonder]. 632 Bp u$_o$p. 634 Cp thrœ'u. U'- [R (aa) normal (aa')]. 640 N kâu. 643 NB naa, CpBp naa'. 648 B aar. 650 B vbâ'vt, A vbáit [see 616, only two instances heard], HCpI vbaa't. U': [MoDh rather (aa') than aa)]. 658 D dáun [from people of good education], BW daan, StACpRI daa'n, I dâ'ən, UA dâin. 659 D táun [see 658], BW taan, U táin. 663 N áus, H à's', BBp aa's. 667 B aat, HiBpI à't, U áit. 671 I mà'th.

Y- 679 Cp tjatj. Y: 690 N kɔ'ind. 691 N mɔ'ind, I mâind. 694 Bp wark.

II. English.

O. — D dag [dog]. 767 I nɑ'iz, D nóiz.

III. Romance.

A·· — A teeb'l [table]. 811 A plès. — DB pee [pay], ACvR pii. 866 R púv. E·· 867 Cv tee, I tii. 890 N bívst. 891 N fívst, A fist. — Cp pɛ'ip'l [people]. 893 Cp fláuv, fláav. I·· *and* Y·· — 900 N krɔ'i [cry]. O·· — D bíif [beef], Mi bɛ'if. 920 Cp pɑ'int. — B vkaant [account]. — B raand [round], I raa'nd. — NCv rúvst [roast], AR rùst. — NC túvst [toast], AR tùst. 940 A kuut. 947 R bóil. — B kraan [crown]. U·· 965 DR óil, I ɑ'il. 969 B shœ'uər.

## Var. iv. Southern Derbyshire cwl.

wn. by TH.

Q Quarndon (3 nnw.Derby).
A Alvaston (:aavəstən) (3 ese.Derby), said to be under refining influence of Derby.
C Chellaston (:tjɛlistən) (4 sse.Derby).
S Stenson (4 ssw.Derby).
R Repton (:rɛp'n) (7 sw.Derby), just s. of the Trent.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 8 R è. A'- 76 R tuud. A': 118 S buun. 124 S stuun.

Æ- 138 S feedhʊ. 152 SR weetʊr. Æ: 161 A dee [refined], CSR dii [not refined]. Æ'- 182 S sii. 200 S wiit. Æ': 218 Q shéip, R ship'. — R strɛ'it [street].

E- Q th, A th dh, S th dh [the latter before vowels and perhaps voiced consonants]. 232 R breek. E'- 290 R ɛ'i. 292 R mɛ'i. 294 S fɛ'id. 299 S grɛ'in. 300 S kjɛ'ip. EA- 317 R flii. EA: 322 R lɔf. 326 S ɐ'ud. 328 S kɐ'ud. 330 R [sub. (ɐ'ut)]. 331 S sɐ'ud. 332 SR tɐ'ud. 333 S kʌ'f. EA': 350 R dɹɛ'd. 360 R tiim. 361 S biinz. — R díuu [dew]. EO: — S daa'rk [dark]. 399 S brɛ'it. EO'- — S trɛ'i [tree]. — S wɛ'id [weed]. 417 R tɹíuu. EO': 425 R láit. 426 S fɛ'it. 428 R sɛ'i.

I: 458 S níit, R nɛ́it, R nɛ'it. 462 S síit. I'- [A ɔ'i]. 492 S sɔ'id. I': 503 R láif.

O- — S smòk smùk [smoke]. O'- 556 R tíu. — R fíud [food, from incumbent]. 559 R mɐdhʊr. 562 SR míun. 564 S síun. O': 578 S plɐ'u plóu. 586 R díu. 588 S níun. 589 R spíun. 594 R bíut [from incumbent].

U: 615 R peâɐnd. U'- 640 Q kjáuz. 643 R nĕ̂au [see p. 426]. U': [at A (ĕâ'u)]. 658 SR dĕâ'un, R daa'n. 659 Q tâun, S tâ'un tĕâ'un, R taa'n. 663 S eá'us. 667 R ĕâut.

II. English.

I. *and* Y. — S kiln [they kill-en for meat]. O. — SR dɔg [dog]. U. — S tɐ'un [tune].

III. Romance.

A·· — R pii [pay]. E·· 867 A tii. O·· — Q béif [beef], S bɛ'if. 921 R ɛkwáint. 939 AS tluus. — R tùst [toast]. — R rùst [roast]. 941 S fɐ'ul. — R tru̯b'l [trouble]. 947 S bɔ'il. U·· 965 R díl. 969 S shɐ'uvr. — S mɐ'uzik [music], R míuzik. 971 S flɐ'ut [flute].

## D 27 = EM. = East Midland.

*Boundaries.* Those of Nt. Sufficient is not known to assume any other boundaries, and pronunciation is tolerably homogeneous throughout the county, quite distinct from D 20 to the e., and D 26 to the w., but not sufficiently distinct from D 24 at its extreme n., or from D 29 at its extreme s., to mark a line of separation with any confidence. The resemblance to D 26 was apparently much greater in 1844 than at present. But no other boundaries could be safely assumed.

*Area.* That of Nt.

*Authorities.* See County List under the following names in Nt., where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ so., ° in io.

°Beckingham, *†Bingham, °Blyth, †Bulwell, †East Retford, †Eastwood, °†Finningley, °Gringley, †Kirkby-in-Ashfield, °Laxton, †Mansfield, †Mansfield Woodhouse, °Mattersey, °Misson, °Misterton, †Newark, †North Carlton, °North Wheatley, †Nottingham, °Radcliffe, °Rempstone, †Southwell, °Sutton, °Walesby, †Worksop.

*Characters.* The present pron. must be very modern, and due to education, because it agrees so much with rs. TH. was, however, fortunate enough to find from two families at Bulwell (4 nnw. Nottingham) a direct proof of the change since 1844. He learned that the words *keen*, *feet*, *rain*, *lane*, *night*, which are now there called (kiin, fiit, *kee*n, *lee*n, n*âi*t), that is, practically, in rp., were in

1844 called (kjɛ'*in*, fɛ'*it*, riin, lɛ'*in*, nɛ'*it*'), of which the first three really agree with D 26. It is principally for this reason that I have considered it proper to group this district with D 25, 26. In the same place he also found an instance of the verbal plural in *-en*, (*if* w*i* wɐrn tɑɑk*in* tu ɐ shepɐrd dɑg'), if we were-n talking to a shepherd dog. The speaker was a labourer born in 1801 in the house where he resided in 1879. This was, however, the only instance that TH. heard.

The characteristic pron. is that the U′ words s. of Worksop and East Retford have (âɑ), varying occasionally to (â*u*, a'ᵊə,) and even (aa), but the first element is enunciated in a particular way. According to TH.'s observations, the vertical opening of the lips remains as for (a), but the horizontal length is abnormally increased, and the teeth are quite free from the side walls of the mouth. The effect of this is, he says, to introduce a faint (⌊e) before the (a), thus (d⌊eâɑn) down, and this was probably the sound intended when I appreciated (dɛ'*un*) in Mr. F. Miles' pron. from Bingham. Generally, I apprehend that it is not so much the shape as the area of the opening of the mouth which affects the vowel sound, and I regard TH.'s description as rather that of his own organs when attempting to imitate the sound, than the practice of natives themselves. The effect can certainly be produced without this peculiar mouth opening. North of Worksop and East Retford, U′ seems to be generally (â*u*).

Nt. also lies in *the teeth* region, that is, where the def. art. appears as (dhɐ, t', th), and the (th) is sometimes assimilated to a following (s). The regular usage is (dhɐ), then (th) and its (s) form, and finally (t'). Thus TH. heard at Worksop (ɐ)th r*u*ₒq âɑs) of the wrong house, at Bulwell (A)m th)last âɑt ɐ)th màrk*it*) I'm the last out of the market, and at Kirkby (lɛt m*i* t*ái* th)at ɔn) let me tie the hat on, but (dh) is used occ. before a vowel, as (dh)áa'ɔs) the house, heard at Mansfield. Examples of the assimilated (s) form are, from Mansfield and Worksop (frɐm)s)skuul) from the school, from Bulwell (tɐ's)skuul) to the school, from Mansfield and Worksop (dont tɛk)s)st*u*ₒnt) don't take the stunt, don't be sulky, from Newark (ì)z p*u*ₒl'in)s s*i*gnɐl) he's pulling the signal. Examples of (t') are from Mansfield Woodhouse (t' tj*ái*ld, t*ɐ*)t' dûɐ) the child, to the door, (ɛv t' l*u*ₒgg*i*st d*ee*) have the longest day.

The *r* not before a vowel is practically lost, as TH. was told at Bingham, or vocalised, but TH. very frequently writes it in. Such an (r) is, however, nearly (rₒ) or (r).

The *h* generally disappears.

There are very few peculiar words or expressions, as (-sɛn) for *-self* and *it falls*, probably. Boys (*jo*) you, *i.e.* use you in speaking to each other.

The sp. is therefore like rs. without the vanishes and with (*u*ₒ) for (ɑ). It is almost entirely free from fractures, which abound in the adjoining D 20.

## Nottinghamshire dt.

from Mansfield Woodhouse (2 n.Mansfield), pal. in 1879 by TH. from dict. of a labourer, native, 59, and in all cases of different usage compared with others, also pal. by TH. from dict. of other natives from

B Bulwell (4 nnw.Nottingham), retired labourer, 78.
M Mansfield, patten-maker, 58 to 60.

N Newark, from a butcher.
R East Retford (7 e-by-n.Worksop), from the lock-keeper, 71.
W Worksop (:wəsʊp), from a porter at the canal wharf, 56.

1. [wɛ'l N, náu R] A *see*, tɟaps [ladz R, m*ee*ts M], JO [JʊB] sì nâə dhʊt A)m rɛ'it [r*ái*t BMNR] ʊbâət [abâ*u*t R] dhat l*i*t'l gjɛl [gjɛrl MNW, gje'l B, las R] k*u*₀m*i*n frʊm JɔN skuul [frʊm)s skuul JɔndʊR N].

2. shi)z gu·*i*n dâən [dâ*u*n R] dhʊ r*oo*d dhíʊ [dhé*u*r R, dhêʊ W] thruu dhʊ rɛd gj*ee*t ɔn dhʊ lɛft and s*ái*d ʊ)dh r*oo*d [ʊv dhʊ r*oo*d BM, N and R omit the words ʊv dhʊ w*ái* W].

3. luuk! [A)m shúʊr N, shúʊ ʊn*u*₀f R] t' [dhʊ BWM] tɟ*ái*ld)z gA'n strɛ'*i*t [str*ái*t R] *u*₀p tʊ)t' [tʊ dhʊ BMN, tʊ)th W] dûʊ ʊv dhʊ [dóʊ ʊ)th W] roq [r*u*₀q BW] âəs [inclined to (â*us*)].

4. wíʊ shi)l ap'n [mɛ)bi B] f*ái*nd dhat dr*u*₀qk'n dɛf [dìf B] w*i*z'nd [sloqk*i* N] fɛlʊ kA'ld :tɔm.

5. wi AAl n*oo* *i*m vɛr*i* wɛ'l.

6. wɛ'*i*nt [wɔ̀nt MR] dh*i* ə'*u*d [ə'*u*ld BW] tɟap suun tìtɟ [laan N] ʊr nɔt tʊ du *i*t ʊgjɛ'n, púʊ th*i*q!

7. luuk [l*u*₀k Jʊ N, dɟ*u*₀st luuk W]! *i*z'nt *i*t tr*i*ù [trœ'ù BM, truu R]? ʊ tó*u*d Jʊ shi wʊr r*u*₀q N].

A few insignificant variants have been omitted.
This gives a practical uniformity with only an occasional variety of (â*u*) for (âə) = U'.

## Other Examples Dictated to TH.

1. At Bingham, being an old woman's account of what she said to a clergyman who asked her for subscriptions [(JU sii, SɛR, SɛZ *âi*, *ái*)v ʊn*u*₀f tʊ dù w*i*dh wɔt l*i*t'l *ái* ɛ'v tʊ gj*i*v ʊw*ee*, ʊn A l*ái*k tʊ gì *i*t m*i*sɛ·n, ʊn dhɛn A n*oo* dhʊ)l gjɛt *i*t), you see, sir, says I, I've enough to do with what little I have to give away, and I like to give it myself, and then I know they'll get it.

2. At Mansfield (ì)z gɔt *i*t ɔn *i*m tʊnA''*i*t), he's got it on him—is tipsy—to-night.

## Bingham (7 e.Nottingham).

fragments of the cs. (1) as pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Frank Miles, artist, son of the former rector, marked M, and (2) as pal. in 1879 by TH. from dict. of Mr. Henry Doncaster, a native and retired tradesman, marked D. The numbers in ( ) shew the paragraphs of the cs. where the passages occur.

M (4) á*i*)m saat*i*n á*i* híiʊd ʊm see—dhæt á*i* d*i*d seef ʊn*u*₀f
D á*i*)m saat*i*n shùʊ[r á*i* ìʊd ʊm s*ee*—dhat á*i* dìd sèf' ʊn*u*₀f

M —(6) dhæt dh)*oo*d w*u*₀mʊn ʊsɛ·lf (8) fɛund dhʊ dr*u*qk'n biis.
D — dhʊt dh)ə'*u*d w*u*₀mʊn ʊrsɛn fá'ənd dhʊ dr*u*₀qk'n biis.

M (7) wɔt d)JUU th*i*qk? (9) shi siid *i*m wi hʊr *oo*n ə'*i*z lə'*i*·*i*q
D wAr)ʊ)Jʊ th*i*qk? shi siid *i*m wi ʊr *oo*n â*i*z, dɛ'd

M dɛun ɔn)th grɛ'*u*nd, tloos bɔ'i dhʊ d*ú*uʊr ʊA ʊ hɛus. (13) ʊn
D dr*u*₀qk ɔn dhʊ grá'ənd, ʊgjɛ'n *i*z *oo*n á'əs dûʊ. ʊn

M d)ɹʊ noo? (11) dhat hapt ɔn ʊ wɔshin dee ʊz shii ʊn ʊr
D dhat ap'nd ɔn dh)wɛshin dee, ʊs shii ʊn ʊr

M dɛ'utʊr in lʌʌ kɛm thruu dhʊ bæk ɹaad frʊm iqin ɛ'ut dhʊ wɛt
D dɛ'utʊr in lʌʌ kɛm thruu dhʊ bak' ɹaad frʊm iqin á¹ət dhʊ wɛt

M tlooz tʊ drii. (1) uu kiiʊz [kéeʊz]? (14) ái)m ʊ goo·in hoom
D tluuz tʊ drái. uu kêʊ[rz ʊbá¹ət ɹoo? ʌ)m gu·in òm)

M tʊ supʊ. gud nɔ'it.
D p')mi su₀pʊ[r. gu₀d nʌ^'it [náit].

This shews a few points of difference, principally in the U' and I' words. I am not certain if I appreciated Mr. Miles correctly as (ɛ'u) in place of (á¹ə) for the first, and for the second, which varied from (ái) to (ɔ'i), the (ái) of Doncaster was probably more correct. But under these circumstances I do not consider it advisable to give more of Mr. Miles' version and words, with which he so obligingly furnished me. Transcripts from natural dialect speakers are always more satisfactory than from gentlemen who can only speak from memory, based possibly upon an originally incorrect appreciation.

## Nottinghamshire cwl.

Containing the principal wn. by TH. from natives at Bingham, Nottingham, Bulwell, Mansfield, Mansfield Woodhouse, Newark, Southwell (:su₀dhil), Worksop, and East Retford. The general sameness, as shewn by the dt., renders it unnecessary to distinguish the places.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 tàk. 8 ɛ'v. 18 kjeek. 21 neem. A: — kjat [cat, observe (kàt) cart]. A: *or* O: 60 lu₀q. 64 ru₀q. A'- 67 goo, gu, gu·in. 69 nóò noo. 73 soo. 81 leen. 86 óts, ùts. A': 104 rood. 115 oom òm ɛ'm ûʊm. 117 wʌn wɔn. 118 bôʊn. 123 nu₀thiqk. 124 stóòn stɔ'ʊn.

Æ- 138 faadhʊ feedhʊ. — lɛdhʊ [ladder]. — stéʊz [stairs]. Æ: 159 ɛ'z. 161 dee. — kàt [cart]. Æ'- 193 tliin. 197 tjiiz. Æ': 209 nivʊ. 212 wee. 224 wívʊ.

E- 231 th, dhʊ, dh, t'. 233 spiik speek. 243 plee ple'i. 251 miit.

E: 262 wee. 265 strɛ'it stráit. 278 wɛnsh. E'- 299 griin. E': 312 îʊ. 314 îʊ[rd.

EA: 324 ɛ'it. 326 ɛ'ud. 328 kɛ'ud. 330 óud. 332 tɛ'ud [usually (tɛld)]. 334 ɛ̀pʊth [halfpenny worth]. 335 ʌʌl. 340 ɹaad. 346 gjeet. EA'- 347 ɛ'd. EA': 355 dɛf. 360 tívm. 361 biin, bívn. 366 greet grɛt [usually (big)]. EI- 372 aa. EI: 377 stéik. EO: — ɹalʊ [yellow]. 396 wak. 402 laan. EO'- — trì [tree]. EO': 426 fɛ'it. 435 ɹo ɹoo. 436 tríu, tráu. 437 tráuth. EY- 438 dái dʌ^'i.

I: — bɛd [bird]. 458 náit. 459 ráit rɛ'it. 465 sitɹ. 466 [between] tɹɔ'ild tɹáild. 487 ɹistʊrdee. I'- 492 [between] sʌ'id sáid.

O- 519 ovʊ. O: — traf [water trough]. 528 thɛ'ut. 531 dʌ ʌtʊ. 541 wònt wènt wɛ'int. 550 wɛ'[rd. O'- 555 shuu. 558 luuk. 559 fɔdhʊ [fodder]. 560 skuul. 564 suun. 567 t' tu₀dhʊr. O': 578 plâ¹u [with laterally elongated mouth opening, see p. 448]. 579 ʊnu₀f. 587 dù₀n.

U- 606 dûʊ. 607 bu₀tʊ. U: 612 su₀mʊt [somewhat]. 616 gr[eâund. 629 su₀n. 632 u₀p. U'- 643 nâɹ, [between] nâə ná¹ə [at Bingham], nâu naa nà¹. 650 ʊbaat. U': 658 dâ¹un [mouth as for 578], dáaən d[eâɹn daan. 663 âɹs [as for 578], âus. 667 âət [as for 578], âɹt á¹ət àt.

Y- 679 tjɹatɹ. Y: 694 [between] wokin wɛkin [working]. Y'- 706 wái.

II. ENGLISH.

I. *and* Y. 758 gjɛl [uncommon]. O. 767 nôiz. 789 râu. U. 796 bl*i*u. 805 kardz kr*u*$_o$dz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *fès*. E.. 888 saat*i*n. 890 bívs [pl. cows]. I.. *and* Y.. 898 [between] n*ái*st nɔ'ist. 901 [between] f*ái*n fɔ'in. — sarɛ sar*i* [sirrah]. O.. 947 b*ó*il. 948 bâal. — tan [turn]. U.. 965 *ôi*l. 970 dj*u*$_o$s.

## D 28 = w.SM. = western South Midland.

*Boundaries.* Begin between Flint and Connah's Quay in main Fl., n.Wales, on the river Dee, and follow the CB to Chirk, Dn., on the b. of Sh., and hence pass in Fl. southwards, leaving Northop and Mold on the w. and Hope on the e. Entering Dn., deflect slightly to the se., then, passing through Wrexham, go s. to the e. of Ruabon and w. of Chirk to the b. of Sh. Enter Sh. on the n. *sum* line 1, and go se. between Oswestry on the s. and Ellesmere on the n. Pass through Hordley and w. of Upton Magna till you strike the Severn by Atcham (4se. Shrewsbury). Then probably go n., passing e. of Upton Magna, Wem, Whixall, and Prees, but w. of Hodnet, to Whitchurch, Sh., and Wirwall, Ch. (2 n.Whitchurch). Enter the s. b. of D 25, and proceed along it sw. of Malpas and e. of Farndon to Aldford and Eccleston, and then, avoiding Chester, to the Dee, which pursue till the starting-point is reached nw. of Connah's Quay.

*Area.* This small district comprises the se. of main or Welsh Fl. and ne. of Dn., with the whole of detached or English Fl., a small portion of the n. of Sh. and a still smaller slip to the w. of Ch. It is a district not well known phonetically, but, thanks to the exertions of TH., some very fair conception of its character may be formed.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ so., ° io.

*Wales, Dn.* °Chirk, °†Holt, °†Wrexham.
*England, Ch.* †Churton, †Eccleston, °†Farndon, †Shocklach.
*Wales, Fl. (detached).* †Bettisfield, °†Hanmer.
*Wales, Fl. (main).* †Bretton, °†Hawarden, °Hope, °Northop.
*England, Sh.* †Ellesmere, †Hadnall, °Hordley, °Loppington, °Prees, †Upton Magna, †Welsh Frankton, †Wem, †Whitchurch, °†Whixall, †Yorton.

*Characters.* This small district, composed of five distinct constituents Sh., det. Fl., Ch., Dn., main Fl., is not at all homogeneous; even each constituent is not so. But it is chiefly under the domination of Ch. A comparison of all the information obtained leads to the following as the general characters.

A- (ii *ee*), as (niim n*ee*m) name.
A' (*oo* uu), as (st*oo*n stuun) stone.
E' (ii), as (griin) green, slight leaning to (*íi éi*).
IH (ii E'*i*), as (niit nɛ'*i*t) night, the last chiefly in *good-night*.
I' (ə'*i* ɜ'*i* *ái* A'i), say about (*ái*).
O' (œ'u íu), as (nœ'un níun) noon, the former observed by TH., the latter is felt by others.
U ($u_o$) this is regular.
U' (ə'*u* ɜ'*u* *áu* *óu*), say (*áu*).

The whole of these characters together mark the dialectal pron. The U = ($u_o$) distinguishes it from Sh. on the one hand, the U' = (*áu*) connects it with s.Ch. on the other, and the U' = (ə'u) connects it with Sh. A- = (ii) is a Ch. form. The

IH = (ii) is singular, but occurs in w.Ch. There is most schism about O′, TH. having almost invariably observed (æ′u), as Mr. Darlington does in s.Ch., whereas other informants give (iu), a form we know in s. D 26 and D 29. But (æ′u) is a remarkably unstable combination, as we already know.

The *r* has become Midland, say (r), instead of Welsh, except in most of the Sh. portion. The Welsh rising inflexion is uncertain. As a rule the Midland character prevails. The detached Flint is called English Flint by the Welsh, and, although the names of places are still Welsh, the language has been English for nearly a thousand years.

*Varieties.* There is so much uncertainty of speech everywhere, that it is not possible to define any particular varieties. It has therefore seemed best to make the varieties purely geographical, Var. i. containing the parts of Sh. involved, Var. ii. detached Flint, Var. iii. the small part of w.Ch., and Var. iv. parts of the Welsh counties of Dn. and main Fl. These are easily delimited. The phonetic limits may be taken as U = ($u_o$) from the U = (ə) of Sh., and U′ = (áu ə′u) from the U′ = (ái) of Ch., and English as against Welsh in Dn. and Fl. But the distinctions between the varieties are difficult to seize, if only because of the non-homogeneity of each variety. The e. b. as already mentioned is not certain.

*Illustrations.* The forms of speech in this district are illustrated by four dialect tests, of which two were from dictation. The other two are rather uncertain, though one was written by a native, because of the difficulty in understanding the notation of the writers without personal interviews. These represent varieties i., ii., iii., and are arranged interlinearly. It will be seen that the Ellesmere and Hanmer forms are almost identical. Besides these there are 4 cwl., arranged almost entirely from wn. by TH. from trustworthy sources. So far as they go, they give the best information possible; but they are necessarily defective, because as a general rule the information was obtained as it was offered, and there was no opportunity for systematic investigation. We must rather be surprised at the amount of information obtained, than disappointed by its paucity.

## Four Interlinear Dialect Tests.

These illustrate three out of the four varieties. I was unfortunately unable to interpret the dt. sent me from Hawarden, Fl. Two of these were written from dictation of natives by TH. The other two are my own interpretations of io.

Var. i. North Shropshire.

E. Ellesmere, Sh., pal. in 1882 by TH. from the dict. of the town-crier, Davenport, b. 1809, native, and son and grandson of natives. See also cwl.

W. Whixall, Sh., written in 1879 by the Rev. J. Evans, vicar, not a native, but resident from 1844 (he was still so in 1886), who had much examined the dialect and gave full details respecting the pron., by which the dt. has been pal. by AJE.

Var. ii. Detached or English Flint.

H. Hanmer, written in 1882 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. John Heatley, b. about 1828, bricklayer, of the Arowry, a hamlet of Hanmer. Another dt. given me by Mr. Bateman, of the same place, could not be interpreted. See also cwl.

Var. iii. South Cheshire.

F. Farndon, written in 1879 by Mr. E. French, native, and pal. by AJE.

from his indications and the wl. I have retained his (íu), although he says the sound is *not* that of *u* in *mute*, and TH. heard (æ'u). Mr. F. says that Farndon is not in the slightest degree affected by Dn., but rather the contrary, and thinks that "the first effect that the Welsh influence has on English is to destroy all provincial pron." The pron. of Farndon is perhaps more correctly given in the following cwl.

Var. iv. WELSH FLINT and DENBIGH is illustrated only by the cwl. formed from TH.'s wn.

1. *Ellesmere.* ə'*i* *see*, ladz, JU sii nə'*u* dhʊt ə'*i*)m rìt
*Whixall.* suuʊ *ái* SEZ, tJaps, JU sìn nĭáu ʊz áu *ái*)m riit
*Hanmer.* ə'*i* sii, ladz, JU siin nə'*u* ʊz ə'*i*)m rìt
*Farndon* suu A'*i* sii, miits, JU séi náu dhʊt A*i*)m riit

E ʊbə'ut dhat l*i*t'l WENsh kAm*i*n frʊm dhʊ skuul
W ʊbá*u*t dhat l*i*t'l WENsh ʊz *i*z ʊk*u*$_o$m*i*n frʊ dhʊ ski*u*l
H ʊbə'*u*t dhat lit'l WENsh k*u*$_o$m*i*n frʊm) s) skuul
F ʊbá*u*t dhat lit'l WENsh k*u*$_o$m*i*n frʊm dhʊ ski*u*l

E JandʊR.
W JandʊR.
H JandʊR.
F JondʊR.

2. E AR)z gù*J*in dE'*u*n dhʊ r*oo*d dhîʊR thruu dhʊ REd w*i*k*i*t
W AR)z ʊg*w*iin dĭá*u*n dhʊ lé*u*n dhîʊR thruu dhʊ REd gé*u*t
H AR)z gæ'u*J*in də'*u*n dhʊ rŏ'd dhîʊR thræ'u dhʊ REd w*i*k*i*t
F íu)z gu*J*in dá*u*n dhʊ ruud dhîʊR thríu dhʊ REd giit

E ɔn dhʊ l*i*ft and sə'*i*d ʊ dhʊ r*oo*d.
W *o* dhʊ l*i*ft and s*á*id *o* dhʊ lé*u*n.
H ɔn dhʊ l*i*ft an' sə'*i*d dhʊ rŏ'd.
F ɔn dhʊ lEft and sA'*i*d ʊv dhʊ wii.

3. E sé*f* ʊn*u*$_o$f dhʊ tJe'*i*ld)z gA'n strE'*i*t' *u*$_o$p tʊ dhʊ raq
W sàrt*i*nl*i* ʊnAf dhʊ tJ*á*ild ʊz g*w*ɔn riit *u*$_o$p tʊ dúʊr ʊ
H luk JU! dhʊ tJə'*i*ld)z gA'n strE'*i*t *u*$_o$p tʊ dhʊ rɔq'
F sh*i*ur ʊn*u*$_o$f dhʊ tJA'*i*ld ʊz gɔn stré*i*t *u*$_o$p tʊ dhʊ d*i*ur

E dûʊR.
W dhʊ raq JhÁ*u*s.
H dŏʊR.
F ʊv dhʊ r*u*$_o$q á*u*s.

4. E wàr AR m*ee* fə'*i*nd dhat dr*u*$_o$qk'n dJEf
W wîʊR AR)l mʊ ap f*á*ind dhat dr*u*$_o$qk'n d*ee*f
H m*ee*bii AR)l fə'*i*nd dhat dr*u*$_o$qk'n dJEf th*i*n
F w*i*ʊR *i*u)l tJans tʊ fA'*i*nd dhat dr*u*$_o$qk'n dEf

E A'*u*d tJap kAAld :t*u*$_o$m.
W sr*i*vʊld fElʊR *o* dhʊ néʊm *o* :t*u*$_o$mʊs.
H r*i*qk'ld fElʊ dhîʊR, ʊz dh*e* kA'ln :t*u*$_o$m.
F w*i*z'nd fElʊR ʊ dhʊ niim ʊv :t*u*$_o$mʊs.

5. E wi AAl n*oo* *i*m VEr*i* WEl.
W ɜs AAl n*oo*n *i*m varɐ WEl.
H wi AAl n*oo*n *i*m VEr*i* WE`l.
F wi AA nuu *i*m VEr*i* WEl.

6. E wu$_o$nɐ dhɐ ɜ'*u*d tɟap suun t*è*tɟ ɐr nɔd tɐ du)*i*t
W wu$_o$nɐd dh)ɜ'*u*d tɟap s*í*un l*à*rn ɐr nɔd tɐ d*oo* *i*t
H w*u*$_o$nɐ dhɐ ə'*u*d tɟap s*æ*'un l*à*rn ɐr bEtɐr t*í*l d*æ*'u *i*t
F w*u*$_o$nɐ dhɐ ɜ'*u*d tɟap s*í*un t*ee*tɟ ɐr nɔt tɐ d*í*u *i*t

E ɐgjE`n, pûɐr th*i*q!
W nɔd n*o* móɐr, pûɐr th*i*n!
H ɐgjE`n, p*æ*'uɐr th*i*q!
F ɐgEn, p*í*ur th*i*q!

7. E luk Jɐ! *i*n·ɐd *i*t truu?
W l*í*uk, *i*n·ɐd *i*t dr*í*u?
H luk Jɐ! *i*n·ɐt *i*t tr*æ*'u?
F l*í*uk, *i*zn't *i*t tr*í*u?

*Notes to Ellesmere* dt.

2. *wicket* or (atjɐt) hatch-et, little hatch, common low garden gate.
3. *child* or (Ju$_o$q ɐn) young one.—*door* or (ə'*u*s) house.
5. *we all know him very well*, or (AmɐsT EvɐrI bɔdI n*oo*z *i*m) almost everybody knows him.
*shr-* initial, is replaced by (sr-), as (sr*i*mps sr*u*$_o$bz) shrimps shrubs.

*Notes to Whixall* dt.

1. *chaps*, (ladz), or (Jo félɐz), not *mates*.—*a coming*, with either ($u_o$) or (ɜ).
2. *left* or (laft).
3. *enough*, probably (ɐn*u*$_o$f).—*child* or (brat), which means pinafore, and hence one who wears a pinafore.—*right up to*, occ. (strívt *u*$_o$p til).—*house*, the aspirate was especially said to be used.
4. *may hap to find*, *to* omitted.—*deaf* or (djEf).—*shrivelled*, this word was noted to have been heard.—*name* or (níɐm).
5. *us*, this looks like an error.
6. *learn* or (*ee*tɟ), the (ɐn) for (ɐr) seems to be a mistake.—*do*, as (d*oo*), was marked occ., perhaps (díu) is the usual word.—*thing*, possibly (th*i*n) is an error for (th*i*q).
7. *true*, here (dríu) looks like an error.

*Notes to Hanmer* dt.

1. *lads* or (tɟaps) chaps.—*school* or (skæ'ul).—*wicket* or (atɟ) hatch.
3. *door* or (ə'*u*s) *house*.—*may be*, perhaps.
6. *learn* or (t*è*tɟ) teach.

*Notes to Farndon* dt.

The U' words are altered from (*éu*) to (*âu*). TH. heard (*âu*) generally, and sometimes (*ə'u* ɜ'*u*), but with no approach to (*éu* E'*u*), unlikely sounds in this part of the country. The (*i*u) was almost constantly heard by TH. as (*æ*'u), but the two forms are often confused), see O' words in D 26, s.Db., and D 29, Le. Mr. French was very positive of the (*i*u), though he said it was not *u* in *mute*, and repudiated what he understood by (*æ*'u). The (A'*i*) was heard by TH. as (*ái*); the confusion is common among (*ái* A'*i* ə'*i* ói).
1. *say*, *see*, Mr. F. wrote (s*í* s*é*i), TH. (sii s*í*i) respectively.—*right*, TH. (r*í*it).—*coming*, TH. (kamin) the (ɜ $u_o$) in this is always uncertain in this neighbourhood.—*yonder* should probably be (Jandɐr).
2. *she's* (*i*u)z) should probably be (ɐr)z), the customary form, but TH. heard (*æ*'u) once.—*road*, TH. (r*oo*d).—*gate*, TH. (gjE't).—*way*, TH. had (wii), and F. had (w*í*i).
4. *name*, TH. heard (n*ee*m) twice, and (niim) once; there is much uncertainty of usage here, just as there was a fight between (*ee* ii) in the E, E-, E' words in received English in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.
5. *know*, probably (n*oo*n) would be more correct.

## Var. i. North Shropshire cwl.

E Ellesmere, wn. by TH. Said to have no verbal pl. in *-en*, but (*noo* dhis k*u*ₒntri d*u*ₒn ɹʊ?) know this country, do-en you? was heard. No Welsh *r*; that is to say, (*ɹ*), and not (r), was used when not before a vowel. Negatives, [shanʊ, *bi*nʊ, w*u*ₒnʊ] shan't, ben't, won't.
F Welsh Frankton (3 w. Ellesmere), wn. by TH.
Y Yorton (7 n.Shrewsbury), wn. by TH.
W Wem, wn. by TH. and † from Miss Jackson's Wood-Book.
L Loppington, wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Davis, Vicar.
H Hordley (13 nw. Shrewsbury), wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Moore, Rector.
U Upton Magna (4 e.Shrewsbury), wn. by TH.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 21 EU *ee*m. 25 H maan. 28 ELH aar. 31 U *ee*t. 33 L *ee*dhʊr. A: 50 H t*u*ₒqz. 51 EU mA'n, L mɔn. 56 W wash, L wash, H wesh. A: *or* O: 58 F frʊm. 61 L ʊm*u*ₒqst. 64 E raq, U r*u*ₒq' [occ.] raq. A'- 67 F *goo*, U *gw*iin. 84 E mûʊr. 86 L w*u*ₒts. 90 L blâ*u*. 91 L má*u*. A': 104 YU *oo*d, W† r*u*ₒʊd. 108 H d*u*ₒf. 113 E uul. 115 E *oo*m wòm wə'm, EFU wa'm. 118 U *boo*n. 124 U *stoo*n.

Æ- 138 UE faadhʊr, [occ.] *ee*dhʊr, UFYL *ee*dhʊr. 144 L ʊgen. — E staarz [stairs], F stɛ'rz. 152 E waatʊr, w*ee*-, L w*ee*tʊr. Æ: 158 L aatʊr. 161 E *dee*¹ d*ee*. 172 E gras, EL grɛs. — E rɔt [rat]. 179 W wɔd. Æ'- 183 F tètɟ. 190 E k*ee*, U kj*ee*. 194 L een*i*, U an*i*. 195 L m*ee*n*i*. 196 H waar. 197 H tj*ee*z, U tjiiz. 200 UE w*ee*t, W† w*ee*t, H wíʊt. — W† ɹeth [heath]. Æ': 216 E d*ee*l. 218 L sh*i*p. 219 F sliip. 222 L ɹeer. 223 EU dhîʊr, H dhaar. 224 EU wîʊr, H waar. 228 H sw*ee*t.

E- 232 F br*ee*k. 233 EU sp*ee*k. 248 L maar. 251 U m*ee*t. E: 261 E *see*¹ *see*, U *see*. 262 E w*ee*¹ *wee*, U *wee*. 265 W strɛ'*it*. 270 L bal*i*. 272 L ɛl'm. 278 U wɛnsh. E'- 290 U i. 297 W fɛlʊ. 299 EU griin. 300 U kiip. E': 312 W îʊr. 314 E îʊrd.

EA- 320 WLH kaar. EA: 322 UY làf. 326 EU ə'*u*d, L ʌ*u*ld. 327 L bɛ'*u*ld. 328 EU ka'*u*d. 333 L kaaf. 334 L ɛɛf. 345 L dɛrst [did dare]. 346 E gj*ee*t. EA'- 347 UEY ɹɛ'd. EA': 350 E [between] dɛ'd dèd, LHU dɹɛd. 355 L diif, U dɹɛf. 356 W† lîʊf. 360 L tɹɛm. 366 E gr*ee*t, U grèt. EO- 385 L bin*ee*th. EO: 388 U milk. 395 E ɹoqg, U ɹ*u*ₒq. 402 EYLHU làrn. 404 E staar. 407 L f*ee*dhiq. EO'- 413 H div'l. EO': 437 U trùth. EY- 438 E *dâi*.

I- 442 LH *ivi*. 449 F gjɛt. I: 458 E nɛ'it, FU nə'it, W nìt. 459 E rə'*it*, W [between] ra'*it* rə'*it*, W† rìt. 478 E grə'ind. — E r*u*ₒn [run]. 487 H *istʊrdi*. I'- E [between] ə'*i* *éi* [or] ə'i ɛ'i] *ái*, W â'i *ái*. 494 U [between] tə'im *táim*. I': — da'itɟ [ditch]. 500 H la'ik. 506 H wamɛn. — E *ee* [hay].

O: 526 H kɛuth. 527 E ba'*ut*. 531 EU daatʊr. 552 U ka'rn. — E a'rs, EU a's [horse]. O'- 555 E shœ'u, U shuu. 558 E luk lùk l*u*ₒk. 559 E m*u*ₒdhʊr mə- mɑ-, F mə-. 563 E m*u*ₒndi. 564 E sœ'un, U suun. 566 F *u*ₒdhʊr. 568 E br*u*ₒdhʊr. O': 569 E buk bùk b*u*ₒk. 570 E tuk. 571 F g*u*ₒd. 573 U fl*u*ₒd. 577 H bíu. 579 U in*u*ₒf. 587 EU dù*u*ₒn. 588 E nœ'un, U nuun.

U- 603 E kɔm, U kəmin. 604 U s*u*ₒmʊr. — FYW th*u*ₒndʊr [thunder]. 605 E sòn, U sù*u*ₒn. 606 EU dûʊr, F dôʊr. U: 612 EU sù*u*ₒm. — Y t*u*ₒmb'l [tumble]. 622 U *u*ₒndʊr. 625 U t*u*ₒq. 629 U s*u*ₒn. 632 EFW *u*ₒp. 633 EYW k*u*ₒp, F kop. 636 H fardhʊr. 639 U d*u*ₒst. U'- 641 EU ə'*u*. 643 E nə'u. 645 E ʊbə'ut. 647 E w*u*ₒlet. U': 658 EU də'*u*n, F dâ*u*n. 659 EU tə'un. 663 F ə'*u*s. 665 E mə'us. 666 U *u*ₒzbʊnd. 667 E ə'*ut*.

Y- 673 EY m*u*ₒtɟ. 679 E tjartɟ. Y: 700 L warsʊr, U wərst. Y': 709 E *fáiʊr*.

### II. English.

A. — Y baqk. E. 744 H m*ee*z'lz. 745 H tj*ee*t. 751 H part. I.

*and* Y. 758 H gal. O. 766 H mə'idhured. 767 H na'iz, U [between] nə'iz na'iz. 769 L mæ'ul. U. — E tu₀b [tub]. 794 YW dʒu₀g. 803 YW dʒu₀mp. 804 WU dru₀qk'n. 805 H kru₀dz. 807 W pu₀s. 808 F pət, E pu₀t, [between] pu₀t pət.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 811 U plès. 817 H redish. 824 E tʃîur. 835 H reez'n. 836 H seez'n. 838 H treet. 841 U tʃa'ns. 845 H anshunt. 850 E deens. 851 F nènt [old form], H aant. 852 H apurn.

E·· 867 UY tee. 868 L dʒii. 869 UEH veel. 877 L aar. 878 H salʊri. 887 H klaardʒi. 888 LH sàrtin. 889 H sees. 890 E bèst, H beest. 891 H feest. 894 H diseev. 895 H riseev.

O·· — E bìf [beef]. 916 H u₀nʊrn. 918 H feeb'l. 922 H bæsh'l. 923 H ma'ist. 924 H tʃa'is. 926 H spa'il. 929 H ka'ukʊmbʊr. 942 H bætʃʊr. 947 H ba'il. — Y kolʊr [colour], W ku₀lʊr. 950 F su₀pʊr. 954 H ku₀shin.

U·· 965 H a'il. 968 H a'istʊr. 969 F shœ'uʊr.

## VAR. ii. DETACHED FLINT CWL.

H Hanmer, wn. by TH. from several natives.
B Bettisfield (2½ s.Hanmer), wn. by TH. from a native workman.

*Notes.*

*Construction.* H and B both have verbal pl. in *-en.* B (dhe milk'n, dhe kiip'n; an ʃʊ dù₀n? wu₀n ʃʊ dœ'u it? du₀n ʃʊ noo? ə'u bin ʃʊ?), they milk-en, they keep-en; have-n you done? will-en you do it? do-en you know? how be-n you? H (wi)m ʃu)m) we am, you am.

*Negatives.* (wu₀nʊ konʊ didnʊ shanʊ binʊ du₀nʊ) won't can't didn't sha'nt ben't don't.

*Letter Names.* Old A (aa), E (ii).

*Intonation.* No final rising inflexion.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — B wèk [wake, feast]. 21 H neem nee'm, B nee[ʊm. 33 H reedhʊr. A: — H gondʊr [gander]. A: *or* O: 60 H lu₀q. 64 H rəq, B ru₀qg. A'- 67 ["(gA'z) goes, is a characteristic form in w. and sw.Ch., and in this district."—TH.] H gu)in. 72 H úʊ. 73 H sò. 81 H leen. A': 104 HB rood, H rô'd. 115 H [between] wæ'm wòm, HB wòm, H wA'm.

Æ- 138 HB feedhʊr, [many others said] H faadhʊr fiidhʊr. — H stEERz, B staarz [stairs]. 152 H wiitʊr. Æ: 161 H dii, B dee tʊdee. 172 H grES. Æ'- 183 H tètʃ. 187 H leev. 200 H wívt, B weet. Æ': 216 H dʒE'l. 223 HB dhîʊr. 224 HB wîʊr.

E- 231 HB dhʊ. 233 HB speek. 235 H weev. 241 B reen. 248 H mEER, B maar. — H eet [eat]. E: — B fatʃ [fetch]. 261 H sii see. 262 HB wee, H wee'. 265 HB strE'it. E'- 295 B brEd. 299 HB griin. 300 H kip kiip. E': 307 B nái. 312 HB ívr. 314 B îʊrd. 315 B fît.

EA: 322 HB laf. 326 H ə'ud, B æ'ud. 328 H kæ'ud. 332 H tə'ud. 346 H giit gjeet. EA'- 347 H ʃE'd. EA': 350 HB dʒE'd. 355 H dʒEf. 360 H tʃEm. 361 H báiʊnz. 363 H tʃèp. 366 H greee't, B greet. EO: 394 H Jandʊr. 395 H ʃu₀qg. 398 H stàrvd. 402 HB làrn. 404 B stàrz. EO': 428 H sii. 437 HB trœ'uth. EY- 438 HB dái.

I- 440 H wik. 447 H ʊr [=she]. I: 458 HB nit náit [but in the farewell] gu₀d nE'it. 459 H rìt. 466 B tʃə'ild. 469 H wù₀l [will]. 477 H fə'ind. I'- 492 H sə'id. 494 H táim tâim tə'im, B [between] tə'im tâim tá'im. I': 509 H wə il.

O: 531 HB dAAtʊr. — H kraps [crops]. — H ɔs ɔs'iz, B A's [horse]. 554 H ukras. O'- 555 B shœ'u. 559 H mu₀dhʊr. 560 H skuul skœ'ul. 562 B mœ'un. O': 579 H ʊnu₀f. 586 HB dœ'u. 587 HB dù₀n. 588 HB nœ'un.

U- 603 H ku₀min ku₀mʊn [pres. p.], HB kamin. — B thu₀ndʊr [thunder].

605 HB sù$_{o}$n. 606 HB dôʊr. U: 634 H thræ'u. U'- 640 H kɑ'*u*)ʊs' [cowhouse], B kjáʊz [cows]. 641 H áʊ, B ə'*u*. 643 H nə'*u*. 650 HB ʊbə'ʊt. U': 658 HB də'ʊn, H dáʊn. 663 HB ə'ʊs. Y: — B sh*u*$_{o}$t [shut].

II. English.

A. 737 H m*ee*t [occ.]. E. 749 H lift. I. *and* Y. 756 H srimp. 758 B gərld, H gjɛ'rl [when used]. O. — B frɔk [frock, a woman's gown]. 790 B gɔ'und. U. 804 B dr*u*$_{o}$qk'n. — H b*u*$_{o}$*ti* [butty, mate].

III. Romance.

A·· 811 H plès. 841 B tjans. — B sl*ee*t [slate]. E·· 867 H t*ee*. 885 H vɛr*i*. — B fàr [fair for cattle]. O·· — B bìf [beef]. 947 H bə'il. 950 B s*u*$_{o}$pʊr.

## Var. iii. South Cheshire cwl.

S Shocklach (4 wnw.Malpas), wn. by TH.

*Construction.* (kos') canst thou.

*Negatives.* (w*u*$_{o}$nʊ shanʊ konʊ d*u*$_{o}$nʊ) won't shan't can't don't.

F Farndon (7s.Chester) (:fàrn), wn. by TH., † from W. Gronnow, a native, b. 1797-8, ‡from the same and others also.

*Constructions.* (am ɹʊ) am you? verbal pl. in *-en* (an ɹʊ gɔt'n ʊ baskit lɛnd ʊz?) have you got a basket *to* lend us? Omission of *to* (as in last sentence).

*Negatives.* (anʊ shanʊ d*u*$_{o}$nʊ w*u*$_{o}$nʊ konʊ) haven't shan't don't won't can't.

*Letter Name.* J (djéi djaa).

*Vocabulary.* No *thou*, no (wɛli) well-nigh.

C Churton (1 n.Farndon), wn. by TH.

E Eccleston (:ɛklistʊn) (2 s Chester), wn. by TH. The Duke of Westminster's Eaton Hall is called (:*ee*t'n).

*Constructions.* Verbal pl. in *-en*.

*Negatives.* (konʊ) can't, (ku$_{o}$dnʊ) couldn't.

*Letter Names.* A (aa) originally, altered when the Bishop of St. Asaph's daughters came.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 F tak. 5 S miik, F m*ee*k. 21 SF niim, F† n*ee*m. A: *or* O: 64 F r*u*$_{o}$q rɔqlg. F‡ raq'. A'- 67 F‡ gu*j*in. 69 F‡ n*oo*. 74 E tæ'u. 80 S ɔlʊd*i*. — S sùp [soap]. 86 F wəts, F† w*u*$_{o}$t+miil [oatmeal]. A': 102 S aks. 104 SF r*oo*d, C ruud. 115 S wʌ'm, F *oo*m wʌ'm wòm [and between the two last]. 124 S stuun. — S rùp [rope].

Æ- 138 SF faadhʊr, F†E f*ee*dhʊr. 152 F wiitʊr. Æ: — E gjɛdhʊrd [gathered]. 161 SF dii. 164 F‡ mii. 166 S miid. Æ'- 183 SF tʃitʃ, E tètʃ. 193 E klíiʊn. 194 E an*i*. 197 S tʃéiz. 200 SF wíiʊt, F wîʊt. F† wiit w*ee*t. — S ɹɛth [heath]. Æ': 213 F† niidhʊr. 216 E dɛ'l. 223 F dhîʊr, E dhíiʊr.

E- 233 F†E sp*ee*kin. 241 S riin. 243 S plii. E: — E rètʃ [reach]. 261 F sii. 262 SF‡C wii. E: 278 F† wɛnsh. E'- 290 E ɦi. 299 S grɛ́in, F‡ grɛ́in. 300 F‡ kiip. E': 312 E íʊr. 314 SF‡ íʊrd.

EA: 322 S laf. 325 F wʌ'k. 326 SFE ɑ'ud [they divide (ʊ nɑ'ud) an old]. 328 S kɑ'ʊd. 332 E tɑ'ud. 334 S if. 343 FE wàrm. 346 F gjèt. EA'- 347 SF ɹɛ'd, F† èd. 348 F‡ *áiz*. EA': 355 F dɛf. 359 F† niibʊr. 361 SF bíiʊn, F biin [refined]. 364 F tʃap. 366 S griit, F‡ gr*ee*t. EO: 390 F† shɑ'uld. 394 SF‡ ɹɔndʊr, E ɹan-. 399 F brɔ́it. 402 SF‡E làrn, F lɛ'rn. EO'- 410 SE æ'u. EO': 425 F líit. 428 F sɛ́i. 437 F† tɹæ'uth. EY- 438 F‡ d*ái*.

I: 452 F‡ *ái*. 458 S néit, [between] náit nʌ'it, F nít nɛ́it, F† náit, E níit. 459 F riit. I'- 490 E b*ái*. 494 F† t*ái*m. I': 505 E wɛ'if. 508 F m*ái*l. 509 E wɛ'il.

O- 522 F *oo*p'n. O: — F sr*u*$_{o}$b [shrub]. 531 SF† dʌʌtʊr. 538 F†

wɑ'uld. — E A's [horse]. O'- 555 F†shœ'u. 559 F† mɑdhʊr. 560 F skœ'u skœ'ul. 564 F sœ'un. O': — E bru̯k [brook]. 586 SF† dœ'u. 587 SF† du̯n. 588 F† nœ'un. 594 F† bœ'ut.

U- 603 F‡ kam. 605 SF‡ su̯n. 606 S dûʊr, FE dœ'uʊr. U: — F du̯m [dumb]. 615 F‡ pâund. 636 E fɑrdʊr. U'- 640 F káuz. 643 F‡ nâu. 652 F† kɑ'uld. U': 654 F sráud. 658 F‡ dâum, C dâun. 662 F† u̯z. 663 F† áus' ə'us' E áus'.

II. English.

A. — S biibi [baby]. 726 FE tAAk. — S boqk [bank]. — C atɟiz [hatches, applied to the small gates themselves, and on this occasion to the valves of double iron gates 4 feet wide each]. — S tiitʊz [potatoes]. E. — E eez [ease]. I. *and* Y. 756 F srimp. O. 767 F† nâiz. 770 F :tu̯mʊz. U. 798 E kwûʊr.

III. Romance.

A·· 811 S plis. — C wiidɟiz [wages]. — S niitiv [native]. — C stiishʊn [station]. E·· 867 F tee. — E prètɟ [preach]. — F‡ piin [pain]. — E sàrvizs [service]. I·· *and* Y·· 898 F‡ náis. O·· — S bɛ́if [beef]. — E dɟɛ'inʊr [joiner]. 928 F‡ áums. — E ráund [round]. 939 F‡ tloos. — S tòst [toast]. 940 F kúʊt. 943 F tu̯tɟ.

## Var. iv. Welsh Flint and Denbigh cwl.

H Holt (:ɑ'ut'), Dn., separated from Farndon, Ch., only by a bridge over the Dee, wn. Dec. 1882 by TH. chiefly from Parish Clerk, 58, and wife, 57, both natives.

*Negative.* (wu̯nʊ) won't.

*Peculiar* (qg). (siqgin) singing.

W Wrexham (:riksʊm), Dn., wn. Dec. 1882 by TH.

B Bretton (:brɛt''n), Fl., wn. Jan. 1883 by TH. from S. Mitchell, native.

*Constructions.* Verbal pl. in *-en* (an ɟʊ gɔt *it*?) have-n you got it?

Hw Hawarden (:àrdin), Fl. (5 w-by-s. Chester), wn. Jan. 1883 by TH. The schoolmaster, Mr. Spencer, at the request of Rev. S. Gladstone, wrote a dt., but I have not succeeded in interpreting it, even with the help of this cwl., and a few words given to TH. by Mr. Spencer. † marks words for Buckley [:bu̯kli] (2 wsw.Hw.). Most of the Hw. words were from two old men, b. 1798 and 1802, cutting fire-wood at Hw. Castle, who had been on the estate many years.

*Constructions.* (dhi an ad it) they have-n had it.

*Negative.* Hw (wònt) won't, † (wu̯nʊ kɔnʊ shanʊ mu̯nʊ du̯nʊ) won't can't shan't mustn't don't.

*Letter name.* A (aa).

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 H biik. 21 B niim. — Hw giim [game]. A: — B pɔn [pan]. 44 B land. 51 B mA'n. A: *or* O: 64 H raq, B ru̯qg. A'- 67 H guɟin, B guu. 69 B noo. 72 H wúʊ+r. 74 Hw tœ'u. 86 W wu̯ts. A': 102 W aks. 115 H wɑ'm, B wòm, Hw oom. 118 B boon. 122 B nò. 124 B stoon.

Æ- 138 HB faadhʊr, HwB feedhʊr. 152 HB wiitʊr. Æ: 161 HBHw dii. 172 HB grɛs. Æ'- 193 B kliin. 194 Hw ani. 200 H wíʊt, B wíʊt, Hw weet wívt. Æ': 216 Hw dɛl deel. 223 W dhíʊr, B dhíʊr. 224 HWHw wîʊr, B wíʊr.

E- 233 HHw speek. 241 HBHw riin. 243 H plii. 251 B meet. E: 261 H sii. 262 H wii. 278 H wɛntɟ, B wɛnsh. E'- 290 H íi, BHw éi. 299 H griin, B grûn. E': 312 H íʊr. 314 HBHw íʊrd.

EA: 322 HB laf. 324 Hw ɛ'ɑt. 326 BHw ɑ'ud. 328 B kɑ'ud. 332 Hw tɔ'ud. 333 Hw kA'f. — BHw fìàrn [a fern]. 346 B gìt, Hw giit. EA'- 347 H ɟɛ'd, BHw ɛ'd. EA': 350 Hw† dɟɛ'd. 355 Hw dìf. 360 H tiim tɟɛ'm. 361 H bíʊnz, B bíʊn. 366 H greet, B griit. EO: 395 Hw

ɜu$_{\circ}$q. 402 HB làrn. EO'- 410 HHw æ'u. 416 H dáɪər. 420 Hw fô[ər. EO': 437 B trœ'uth. EY- 438 HB dáì.

I- 449 HHw gjɛt. I: 465 B sitɟ. 466 Hw tɟáild. 469 H wu$_{\circ}$l. — Hw ru$_{\circ}$n [run]. I'- [W (ə'i ɜ'i) from various people]. I': — W dáitɟ [ditch]. 509 H wáil.

O: — BHw kraft [croft, field]. 531 H dAAtər dóut'ər, B dAAtər. — B krap [crop]. 552 B kɜ'rn. O'- 555 H shuu, B shœ'u [pl. (shœ'un)]. 560 BHw skœ'u, Hw skíu. 564 H sœ'un. 566 W u$_{\circ}$dhər. 568 H bru$_{\circ}$dhər, W brədhər. O': 569 H bœ'uk. — W brək [brook]. 571 Hw gù$_{\circ}$d. 578 W [between] plə'u plɜ'u. 586 Hw dœ'u. 587 HHw dŭ$_{\circ}$n. 588 HB nœ'un.

U- 603 H kam. 604 H su$_{\circ}$mər [summer]. — HB thu$_{\circ}$ndər [thunder]. 605 HBHw sù$_{\circ}$n. 606 HB dœ'uər, Hw dûər. 607 W bətə bu$_{\circ}$tər. U: [W, both (ə u$_{\circ}$) used, but mostly (u$_{\circ}$)]. 612 W sù$_{\circ}$m. — Hw su$_{\circ}$mət [somewhat]. 616 Hw grə'und. 629 H su$_{\circ}$n. 632 H u$_{\circ}$p. 633 H ku$_{\circ}$p, W kəp kop. U'- 640 B kjáu [pl. (kjɛ'i) kine]. 641 B âu. 643 Hw náu. U': 658 HBHw dáun, W dóun [various speakers]. 659 H tâun, W tóun [various speakers]. 662 Hw ù$_{\circ}$z. 663 HB áus. 667 H ɜ'ut. Y- 682 B lit'l. Y: 701 Hw fəst.

II. English.

A. 714 B ladz [often, (tɟaps) occ.] — W bɜqk. — 738 H teetəz, W titùz, B pətii·təz. O. — H dog [dog]. U. — W tob [tub]. 794 W dɟog dɟu$_{\circ}$g. 803 W dɟəmp.

III. Romance.

A·· — B teeb'l. 811 H plìs. 835 Hw reez'n. 848 H tɟiindɟ. E·· 867 Hw tee. — B piin [pain]. I·· and Y·· — W lə'inz [lines]. O·· — B pu$_{\circ}$mp [pump]. — W kôərd [cord]. — W soop [a sup]. — H mu$_{\circ}$t'n [mutton].

## D 29 = e.SM. = eastern South Midland.

*Boundaries.* Start from near Atcham on the Severn (4 se.Shrewsbury), and proceed northwards to e. of Upton Magna, of Wem, of Whixall, and of Prees, but w. of Hodnet and just e. of Whitchurch, to the b. of Sh. near Marbury, Ch. (7 sw.Nantwich). Then turn e. and se. along the b. of Sh. to Burley Dam, and, following the s. *teeth* line 4, proceed ne. to n. of Audlem, Ch., round which turn suddenly, re-entering Sh. near Adderley. Cut across the ne. horn of Sh., passing s. of Norton-in-Hales and going ese. by Mucklestone, St., and s. of Ashley and Standon to Stone, and then ene. to Rocester, on b. of Db. Follow the b. of Db. to the s. and e. till just s. of Repton. Cut across the s. tail of Db. to the Trent on the b. of Db. and Le. From this point circumambulate Le., following its b. to the b. of Wa., which pursue till you strike the n. *sum* line 1, where it coincides with the reverted *ur* line 3, and follow it to the w. and sw., passing through Wa. s. of Southam and Warwick, e. of Henley-in-Arden, w. of Solihull. Enter Wo., passing n. of King's Norton and s. of Hales Owen and Stourbridge, but n. of Kidderminster to the Severn, where quit the reverted *ur* line 3, but continue the n. *sum* line 1 and go up the Severn to the starting-point, Atcham.

*Area.* Sh. e. of Wem and the Severn; St. s. of Stone, a slip on n. of Wo., the greater part of Wa., the s. tail of Db., and all Le.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ so., ° io.

*Db.* No authority, but this narrow peninsula is assumed to belong to the same district as m.St. on its w. and Le. on its e., and from the analogy of Repton, Db., D 26, it, as well as the outlying parts of Db., probably resemble Le. more than St., but this little peninsula has not been explored phonetically.

*Le.* †Ansty, †Barlestone, °Barwell, ‖Belgrave, °Birstall, †Blaby, °Cottesbach,

*†Enderby, †Glenfield, °Harby, †Illston-on-the-Hill, *†‖Leicester, †Loughborough, †Market Harborough, †Mount Sorrel, °Normanton, *Syston, †Thurcaston, *Waltham.

*Sh.* †Bolas Magna, †Coalbrookdale, †Crudgington, †Edgmond, †Hodnet, †Ironbridge, †Madeley, †Market Drayton, °Newport (also TH. in Miss Jackson's Sh. Wordbook), †Shifnal, †Wellington.

*St.* *°Barton-under-Needwood, °Bradley, *†°Burton-on-Trent, †Cannock Chase, †Cannock Town, °Codsall, †Darlaston, †Eccleshall, †°Enville, †Hanbury, †Haughton, †Hopwas, †Leigh, †Lichfield, °Newborough, †Stafford, °Stretton, †Tamworth, †Tutbury, °Upper (or Over) Arley, †Uttoxeter, †Walsall, †Wednesbury, †West Bromwich, †Willenhall, †Wolverhampton, †Wootton, †Yoxall.

*Wa.* †Allesley Gate, *†Atherstone, †Bedworth, °Birmingham, †Brandon, †Bulkington, †Coventry, °Curdworth, °Elmdon, †Leamington, †Nuneaton, †Polesworth, †Saltley, °Sherborne, †Warwick.

*Wo.* †Cradley, °Dudley (locally in St.), †Hagley, *†Selly Oak, †Stourbridge.

Notwithstanding this large number of authorities, there is a deficiency of exact information in the outskirts, which has rendered much of the boundary conjectural, as through Wa., and has obliged me frequently to take refuge in county boundaries, a confession of ignorance in itself.

*Character.* Although the speech of this district is at once recognised in contrast with its immediate neighbours, it is difficult to find one determinative character on which reliance can be placed. The speech is on the whole very homogeneous, and I have found it impossible to maintain a division into three parts, which I at one time tried. But I have noted four so-called varieties, the first three with several subforms. These are, however, scarcely more than geographical, and hence I append to each a list of some of the places from which information has been obtained.

Var. i. ne.Shropshire and nm.Stafford.

i*a* in Sh., Edgmond, Hodnet, Market Drayton, Newport; in St., Eccleshall, Wootton.

i*b* wm.St., n. of Watling Street.
Bradley, Cannock, Haughton, Stretton.

i*c* em.St.
Barton-under-Needwood, Burton-upon-Trent, Hanbury, Hopwas, Lichfield, Tamworth, Tutbury, Yoxall.

Var. ii. ne. and se.Shropshire, s. Stafford, and n.Worcester.

ii*a* me. and se.Sh., Ironbridge, Madeley, Shifnal, Wellington.

ii*b* s.St., Codsall, Darlaston, Dudley, Walsall, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, Willenhall, Wolverhampton.

ii*c* n. Wo., Cradley, Hagley, Selly Oak, Stourbridge.

Var. iii. Warwickshire.

iii*a* e.Wa., Allesley Gate, Atherstone, Bedworth, Brandon, Bulkington, Coventry, Nuneaton, Polesworth.

iii*b* w.Wa., Birmingham, Curdworth, Elmdon, Knowle, Leamington, Warwick.

Var. iv. Leicestershire.

Belgrave, Birstall, Cottesbach, Leicester, Loughborough, Syston, Waltham.

The main points to which attention has to be directed are the treatments of A in open syllables, of AEG in both open and close syllables, of EG, E′, EO′, I′, O′, U, U′. Now my information is

not complete enough to furnish an example of each of these cases for each variety and shade of variety, but the following table (p. 462) will show the general character and the extremes of divergence.

In all these, A-=(éʊ) is the older form; (*ee* é*i*) are modern variants. AEG=(ii) and EG=(ii) seem also to be the older form (how old, of course, cannot be said), of which (éʊ é*i*) are variants; the (á*i*) form found at Selly Oak in (nái*l* snái*l*) nail snail, seems to be an importation from the S. div. But observe the change in Var. ii*b*., s.St., where (ê*i*) is regular. In Var. iii. the (*ree*n wé*i*) seems to have been quite recent; E′, EO′ are more commonly (é*i*). In the S. div. we *say* with our mouths and *see* with our eyes. It might be pretty well said to be reversed in the M. div. The (é*i*) form is particularly strong in Var. i*c*, em.St. The O′ (íu) has become the regular form for O′, as in s.Db., D 26, but it is only a variant or development of (*æ*′u), which also occurs, and the other development (ɐ′*u*) is likewise found, as in m.Db., D 26. The U′ is not very certain, but any form except (á*u*) is merely local.

In addition to this the omission of (h) is universal, and even pervades the better-educated classes. In Le. it is sometimes wrongly inserted. The (r) before a vowel is mild, and probably Midland (ɾ). Whether it is really trilled or not I am not prepared to say, but, following TH., who considers it to be "the common English *r*," as it is his natural *r*, I use (r) for it, wrongly as I believe. When not before a vowel, I consider it as the Midland (ɾ), which is readily slightly trilled and as readily produces an effect like (ʊ), although by a different collocation of the organ. The definite article is always (dhʊ), I believe, though TH. gives some cases of (th t') in the neighbourhood of Cannock, m.St. See notes on the Cannock cs., par. 3, p. 470.

In s.St., Var. ii*b*., but apparently not in Var. ii*a*., occurs a very peculiar way of marking the negative in conjunction with auxiliary verbs, tantamount to rec. *I don't*, etc. We generally omit the vowel of *not* and alter the preceding vowel; they generally omit the *n* and also alter the preceding vowel. This occurs, likewise, in Cradley, Wo. The following were heard by TH. at Darlaston, Walsall, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Willenhall, Wolverhampton, and Cradley.

1. *I a'n't* (*ái* ènt). 2. *I haven't* (*ái* èt). 3. *it isn't* (*it* ê*i*, êint). 4. *isn't it* (ìt *it* ?). 5. *I ben't* (*ái* bìt bé*i*nt). 6. *I don't* (*ái* dut). 7. *I shan't* (*ái* shee, sheet, shèt, shʌʌ). 8. *I won't* (*ái* woo wô*u* wó*u* wùt). 9. *I can't* (*ái* koo koot, kʌʌ kʌ't). 10. *I wouldn't* (ái $u_{\circ}$d'n).

In the Dudley cs. we also find *I don't care* (*ái* doo kéeʊr), *that doesn't matter* (dhat doo matʊr), *won't she* (woo ʊr ?), *I don't want* (*ái* doo want), *don't you be* (doo jʊ b*i*). This has not been noticed in the Black Country district of se.Sh.

The verbal plural in *-en* is quite distinct in Sh. and St. It is very little heard in Wa., and it is now almost lost in Le., but was not so in the lifetime of the late Dr. Arthur B. Evans, who in his *Leicester Words, Phrases, and Proverbs*, 1848, art. *sen*, p. 80, says: "A shepherd said of some sheep, which did not

See p. 461, line 2.

| | Var. i. | | | Var. ii. | | | Var. iii. | | Var. iv. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | i*a* ne.Sh. and nm.St. | i*b* wm.St. | i*c* em. St. | ii*a* em. and s.Sh. | ii*b* s.St. | ii*c* n.Wo. | iii*a* e.Wa. | iii*b* w.Wa. | Le. |
| A- | lɛ́ʊm | n*ee*m | n*ee*m niim | n*ee*m | nɛ́ʊm nɛ́im | nɛ́ʊm | nɛ́ʊm neem | nɛ́ʊm | n*ee*m |
| AEG- | tiil | tiil | — | — | — | ɛ́*i*l nɑ́*i*l | — | tɛ́ʊl | tiil |
| AEG: | dii | dii, d*ee* | dii | d*ee* | dê*i* | dêi | dii | — | dii |
| EG | riin | riin, r*ee*n | riin | r*ee*n | rê*i*n | rɛ́ʊn | r*ee*n | wɛ́*i* [?] | riin |
| E′ | bɪl*ee*v | griin, grê*i*n | gré*i*n | griin | griin grê*i*n | gr*ee*n | griin | — | gr*ée*in |
| EO′ | thr*ee* | thrii, trii | thré*i* | — | — | thrii, thr*ee* | thrii | — | thr*ée*i |
| I′ | w*ái*f | w*ái*f | w*ái*f wʌ′*i*f | w*ái*f | w*ái*f wʌ′*i*f | wɑ́*i*f | w*ái*f | w*ái*f, wɔ′*i*f | w*ái*f, wɔ′*i*f |
| O′ | sh*i*u | m*í*un | tíu d*í*u mɑ′*un* | muun | t*í*u d*í*u m*í*un | n*í*un m*u*ₒn | lœ′uk sœ′un | sk*í*ul | m*í*un |
| U | *u*ₒp | *u*ₒp | *u*ₒp | k*u*ₒp | *u*ₒp | *u*ₒp | *u*ₒp | *u*ₒp | *u*ₒp |
| U′ | ɑ′*us* | ɑ́*us*, ɛ̌ɑ́*ut* | ɑ́*us* ɑ́ˡəs | nə′*u* | ɑ́ˡ*ut* ɣɑ́*ut* ɑ́ʊt | dɑ́*un* dɪ′*un* | ɑ́*us* | ɑ́*us* | dɑ́un ɑ′ut nô′*u* |

fatten so well as was expected: 'Lord bless ye, they *worrin* their *sens* to death with *warmint*, and I han baccared 'em, but its no use at all,' *i.e.* 'They tease' (present tense) 'and torment themselves with vermin, and I have washed them with tobacco-water; but it is of no use.' The present tense is formed in this way—'They *worrin*,' i.e. 'They worry.' 'They *pushin*,' i.e. 'They push.' 'They *pullin* 'em up,' i.e. 'They pull them up.'

Dr. Sebastian Evans, in re-editing the work, with additions, for the E.D.S. in 1881, omits this article, but in his preface, p. 27, inserts:

"A number of monosyllabic verbs have an alternative form ending in 'en' in the present and past tenses indicative, and sometimes in the infinitive. 'Pushen,' 'pullen,' 'looken,' 'gotten,' 'patten,' for 'push,' 'pull,' 'look,' 'got,' 'put,' are of very common occurrence, but most common on the Wa. borders. "An' somehow ye looken sorry, too"—*Adam Bede*, "I allays putten a sprig o' mint in mysen."—*Ib.* 'What d'ye goo fur to pushen a thatns fur?' 'Known, seen, gi'n, done, ta'en,' are always used instead of 'knew, saw, gave, did, took,' and sometimes even stand as the presents of these verbs."

Neither of the two Dr. Evanses seem to have properly appreciated the grammar, and both write apparently in ignorance of the usage of La., Db., Ch., St. George Eliot refused to be considered an authority on dialect, and quotations from her are far from being conclusive in Le. grammar. Here *ye looken* is right enough, but *I putten* could hardly have been said. I should have been glad to see Dr. S. Evans's authority for 'to pushen,' the inf. in *-en* (on which see D 24. p. 404); *known, seen, gi'n*, are probably never used except in the verbal pl. in *-en* in the present tense, in the past they use (n*oo*d, s*ee*id, gid) know'd, see'd, give'd, 'done ta'en' lend themselves to either use. Again, it is quite wrong to suggest that dialect speakers have 'an alternative form ending in *en*' in verbs, for this is the original form which rs. has *omitted*, and when dialect speakers omit it also, they blindly imitate rs. Dialects are not arbitrary monstrosities, they are really living growths, and the deformative agencies are the results of an incursion of 'received speech' by education and intercommunication.

I think that Dr. S. Evans's statement that '*en* or *un* is a very general substitute for *him*,' must be an error. I have never found *en* = Ws. *hine* out of the S div. When given me from elsewhere, it has disappeared on inquiry. Of course *un* (ʊn) for *one* is common everywhere.

There is a common use of (ái)n d*u*ₒn) for I have done, see above, p. 338, col. 1, l. 8. Dr. S. Evans considers it to be *I'n* for *I han*, and gives also *he han, he'n. We han, we'n*, is of course quite right, but *I han, he han*, seem to be mistakes somewhere or another.

## Five Interlinear cs.

Var. i*b*. west mid Staffordshire.

C. Cannock Chase, n. side; pal. in 1877 by TH. from dict. of Mr. Thomas Rowley, b. 1823, many years storekeeper to a colliery company, born near Rugeley (:r*i*dɹli) (8 ese.Stafford). In the form of the definite article *the* Mr. Rowley was not consistent, using (th, dh, dhʊ), which are preserved as he dictated. TH. considered that (th) was the normal form, and wished to use it throughout, but I have thought it best to preserve Mr. R.'s mixed usage, which probably prevails near the s. *teeth* line 4, p. 18. See further in note to Cannock Chase, par. 3, p. 470, where the results of TH.'s examination of this region are given.

Var. ii*b*. The 'Black Country' of South Staffordshire.

D. Dudley, locally in s.St., practically in n.Wo., may be considered the centre of the Black Country, or coal and iron districts. This cs. was sent by Richard Woof, Exchange Chambers, Worcester, to LLB. in 1875. It is not known who made the version. The cs. was first transcribed in received spelling, and then certain parts were struck out and re-written dialectally in red ink, after which they were revised by another person who used purple ink. The version is careful, but entirely in "io." I have attempted to pal it by help of the wn. by TH. in the neighbourhood, and I think that it gives a good conception of the Black Country speech. The peculiar form of the negative is well brought out.

Var. iii*a*. e.Warwickshire.

A. Atherstone (8 se.Tamworth). This version was written in 1875 by Mr. R. S. Knight, F.R.S.L., then residing at Atherstone, with the dialect of which he had been 14 years acquainted, and in 1876 he read it to me. He wrote *whoy*, *daowts*, with a ˜ extending over the *aow*, and it was difficult from his pron. to be quite sure how I should represent them. But in some wn. from natives by TH. at Atherstone in 1886, which did not reach me till this page was in type, I find long *i* and *ou* represented by (ʌ"*i*, áu), and hence I have adopted these forms. The long *i* varied within the limits (*ái*, ʌ"*i*), the *ou* remained invariably (áu). See the cwl. p. 487.

Var. iv. Leicestershire.

It was intended to insert a cs. for Leicester, which had been written by the late Mr. Findley, a second-hand bookseller of that town, in Glossic, and then read to me. After much correspondence TH. went to Leicester to examine some of the sounds, and his correction of Mr. Findley's writing made it so little different from that of Waltham, while it still left some points in doubt, that I have unwillingly omitted it. The cwl. for Le. contains Mr. F.'s words as heard by TH., marked Lr. They were essentially town and modern pronunciations.

W. Waltham (16 ene.Loughborough), in the n. of Le., just at the base of the e. horn of Le., was written for me by Miss H. Ball, then a student at Whitelands Training College, a native of Waltham, and subsequently read to me by her, in 1877, when I noted the principal points in pal.

E. Enderby (4 sw.Leicester). Miss E. Hirst, of Enderby, was present when Miss Ball read her version, and gave the variants inserted in the last line. Where no words are found in the line E, it must be understood that the words above in W are to be substituted. In the notes are several remarks obtained by questioning these students. These last three versions should be compared together and with the cwl. for Syston, given and read to me by Miss Adcock, a native, and one of the teachers at Whitelands Training College.

0. *Cannock Chase.* wái :dʒon)z nȯ dáuts.
*Dudley.* wái :dʒon ɐz noo dáuts.
*Atherstone.* wʌ"i :dʒon ɐz noo dáuts.
*Waltham.* wái :dʒon ez nóu dauts.
*Enderby variants.*

1. C wɛ'l, :dʒak, dhì ɐn ìm mɐ bȯth lɔf ɐt wɔt
D wel, neebɐr, joo ɐn im kɐn búɐth lɔf ɐt wɔt
A wɛl, níɐbɐr, joo kɔn booth ɔn jɐ laf ɐt dhís
W wɛl, neebɐ, jau ɐn ii mɐ booth læf ɐt dhís
E joo ee

C ʌ)m gu)in tɐ tɛl jɐ. uu kjɛɛrz ? dhat)s niidhɐr
D ái)m tɛlin jɐ. ·ái doo kéeɐr ! bu$_o$t dhat doo
A níuz o mʌ"in. uu kíɐrz ? dhat)s náidhɐr
W niúz ɐ mɔ'in. uu kaaz ? dhat)s niidhɐr
E nuuz máin. kéeɐz ? náidhɐr

C íɐr nɐr dhíɐr.
D matɐr.
A íɐr nɐr dhíɐr.
W íɐ nɐ dhíɐ.
E

2. C vɛri fiù mɛ̀n dái bíkaaz dhɐ)r lɔft àt, wi
D dhɐr eent mɔni mɛn dáiz kɔs dhɛ′)m laft at, wi
A dhɐr eent mɔni ɐz dʌ^i kɔz dhéɐ)r laaft ɐt, wi
W fiù mɛn dái kɔz dhɐ)r læft ɐt, wi
E we

C noon, du₀)nɐ wi? wɔt ɐd meek ɐm? it eent vɛri
D noon, du₀n wi? wɔt shɐd mak ɐm? it eent vɛri
A noo, dúɐ)nt es? wɔt shɐd mak ɐm? tjeent vɛri
W nóu, dóɐnt wi? wɔt shu₀d mak ɐm? tjeent vɛri
E mek

C láikli, iz it?
D láikli, wɔt)s dhi sɛ′i?
A lʌ^ikli, ez it?
W lóikli, is)t?
E lʌ′ikli,

3. C áujivɐr, dhiiz ɐr dhɐ faks, sɐ
D áusɐmɛvɐr, dhiiz bin dhɐ ráits ɐ dhɐ kéɐs, soo joo
A áujivɐr dhis iz dhi wii ɔn it, soo joo
W ɐujivɐ, dhiiz ɐ dhɐ fæks ɐ dhɐ kees, so
E

C óud dhi náiz, mɐn, ɐn bi kwáiɐt til áiv finisht,
D djɐu₀st shu₀t u₀p, frɛnd, ɐn bi kwáiɐt til ái)n du₀n.
A djɐst oold jɐr nʌ^iz, ɐn bi kwʌ^iɐt til ʌ′i)n du₀n.
W djist ɐ′ud jɐ rɐ′u, frɛnd, ɐn bi kwáiɐt tel ái)v du₀n.
E

C ark dhi!
D aarkɐn!
A aarki.
W
E

4. C ái)m shœ′uɐr ʌ íɐrd ɐm sii soo—su₀m ɐn ɐm
D ái)m shúuɐr ái íɐrd ɐm séi —su₀m ɐ dhɛm fooks
A ʌ^i)m sɐrtin ɐz ʌ′i íɐrd ɐm see —su₀m o dhɛm fooks
W a)m sɔɔtin a íɐd ɐm see —su₀m ɐ dhɛm fooks
E

C ɐz wɛnt thrœ′u it ʌal dhɐmsɛnz—
D wɔt noon dhɐ wu₀l thiq frɐm dhɐ vɛri fɐst —
A ɐz wɛnt thruu dhɐ hol ɔn it from dhɐ fɐrst dhɐmsɛnz—
W ɐz wɛnt thriu dh)ɔl thiq from dhɐ fɐst dhɐsɐ·nz —
E

C ·dhat *ái* d*i*d, sh*æ*'uər ən*u*₀f.
D *ái* íərd əm sé*i* dh*i*s:
A dhat A'*i* d*i*d, sívf in*u*₀f.
W dhat a d*i*d, seef ən*u*₀f.
E

5. C əs dhə J*u*₀qg*i*st làd *i*mSEN', ə b*i*g làd ə n*ái*n íər
D dhət dhə J*u*₀qg*i*st s*u*₀n *i*z SELF, ə b*i*g tJap n*ái*n íər
A əz dhə J*u*₀qest làd *i*mSEN, ə grET bA'^*i* ə nA'^*i*n,
W dhət dhə J*u*₀qg*i*st s*u*₀n *i*z SEN, ə grET bɔ'*i* ə nɔ'*i*n
E náin

C *óu*d, n*oo*d *i*s f*ee*dhərz v*ái*s *i*n ə m*i*n*i*t, *i*v *i*t
D *oo*d, WEL, *éi* n*oo*z *i*z fívdhərz v*ái*s ət w*u*₀nst dh*oo* *i*t
A n*oo*d *i*z f*ee*dhərz vA'^*i*s ət wons, dh*oo* *i*t
W n*oo*d *i*z fE'ədhəz vɔ'*i*s ət w*u*₀ns dh*oo* *i*t
E

C wəs sə k*wí*ər, ən *ái*)d warənt dhat làd
D wəz s*oo* r*u*₀m ən sk*wee*k*i*n, ən *ái*)d tr*u*₀st ·*i*m
A wəz sə k*wí*ər ən sk*wi*ik*i*n, ən A'*i*)d tr*u*₀st ·*i*m
W wA'ə sə k*wí*ər ən sk*wí*ək*i*n, ən a wəd tr*u*₀st ·*i*m
E

C tə spiik dhə tr*i*uth an*i*wii.
D tə spé*i*k dhə tr*i*uth ən*i*, déi, dhat)s wət *ái* ·*u*₀d.
A tə spiik dhə tr*uu*th ən*i* dii, AA, A'*i* wod.
W tə spíi,ək dhə tr*i*úuth EN*i* dee, aa dhar)a w*u*₀d!
E speek dii.

6. C ən dh)*ó*u*d* w*u*₀mən ərSEN' əd tEl an*i* ən JE əz lɔf''n
D ən dhə *oo*d *u*₀mən ərSELf əl tEl ən*i* ən JE
A ən dhə *áu*ld w*u*₀mən ərSEN əl tEl ən*i* ən JE əz lææf
W ə dh)*oo*l w*u*₀mən əSEN wi*l* tEl EN*i* ə JE dhət læf
E

C n*áu*, ən tEl JE str*E*'*i*t *áu*t', w*i*dh*áu*t an*i* bədhər
D ən tEl JE str*é*i*t* of w*i*dh*áu*t ən*i* bədhər
A náu, ən tEl JE strET of, tu, w*i*j*áu*t m*u*₀tJ bədhər
W nə'*u*, ən tEl JE'*u* street of, ən AAl, wi)ə'*u*t m*u*₀tJ bədhər
E JO striit

C ət AAl əv JE)d dJ*u*₀st EKS ər, *ái*)l warənt.
D *i*f JE)l *oo*nl*i* aks ər aa! w*oo* ər? dhat)s AAl.
A *i*f J*u*₀)l *oo*n*i* aks ər, *oo* w*óo*ənt ər?
W *i*f J*u*₀)l ən*i* æks)ər, *oo* wiíənt shi?
E

7. C anɨwii, ɜ`r tóud ɨt ·mii ·wɛn dɨ ɛkst ʊr, tɨù ʊr
D áusʊmɛvʊr, ʊr tood ·mii wɛn dɨ akst ʊr, mənɨ ʊ
A liistwiiz, shi too'ld ·mii wɛn ʌ'ɨ akst ʊr, tu$_{o}$thri
W ɛnɨ)ɜ'u shi tɜ'ud ·mii ɛt wɛn a ækst ʊr, tuu ʊr
E ·mee tɨ'u

C thrii tɨ́imz óʊr, ɜ`r dìd, ʊn ·ɜ`r ʌ`t tʊ noo ʌʌl
D tɨ́im, ʊr dɨd, ʊn ·ə`r ʌʌt tʊ noo
A tʌ^ɨmz ó'ʊr, dɨd shi, ʊn ·shii ɛd'nt ʌʌt tʊ bi ru$_{o}$q
W thrii tɔ'ɨmz, ɔvʊ, dɨd shi, ʊn ·shii hɛd'nt ʌʌt tʊ bi rɔq
E tɨ́imz

C ʊbɨ́ut ɨt, wɔt)n ·Joo thɨqk?
D wɔt ʊr)z tʌʌkɨn ʊbɨ́ut, wɔt du$_{o}$n Jo thɨqk?
A ó'ʊr sɨtɟ ʊ thɨq ʊz dhɨs, wɔt du ·Joo thɨqk?
W ɔn sɨtɟ ʊ pɨ́int ʊz dhɨs, hɛd shi, wa)rʊ Jɜ'u thɨqk?
E wɔ)da Jo

8. C wɛ`l, ʊz dɨ sɛ`d dɟu$_{o}$st náu, ·ɛ`r)d tɛl Jʊ
D wɛl, ʊz dɨ wʊz gu)ɨn tʊ séɨ, ɜr)d tɛl Jʊ
A wɛl, ʊz ʌ'ɨ wʊz ʊ sii)ɨn shii)d tɛl Jʊ
W wɛl, ʊz dɨ wʊr ʊ see)ɨn, ·shii wu$_{o}$d tɛl Jɜ'u
E Jo

C wíʊr ʊn wɛn` ɜ`r fu$_{o}$nd dhʊ dru$_{o}$qk'n as ʊz
D áu wíʊr ʊn wɛn ʊr fáund dhʊ dru$_{o}$qk'n beest ʊv
A áu ʊn wíʊr ʊn wɛn shi fu$_{o}$n dhʊ dru$_{o}$qk'n biist ʊz
W ɜ'u wíʊr ʊn wɛn shi fɜ'und dhʊ dru$_{o}$qk'n bíʊst ʊz
E

C ɜr kʌʌlz ʊr u$_{o}$zbʊnd.
D ʊ mɔn ʊv ·ɜrn.
A shi kʌʌlz ʊr u$_{o}$zbʊn.
W shi kʌʌlz ʊr u$_{o}$zbʊn.
E

9. C ɜ`r swóʊr ɜ`r siid ɨm wɨdh ʊr oon dɨ́z, lɨ́i)ɨn
D ʊr swóoʊr ʊr sɨn ɨm wɨdh ʊr oon dɨ́z lɨ́i)ɨn
A shi swóoʊr ʊz shi sid ɨm wɨ ʊr oon ʌ^ɨz, ʊ lʌ^ɨ)ɨn
W shi swóoʊr ʊz ɜ'u shi siid ɨm wɨ ʊr oon ɔ'ɨz leeɟʊn
E ɨ́z lɨ́i)ʊn

C ʌʌl iz lɛqth ɔn th) gráund, ʊn t`)mɛnd t`)matʊr ì)d
D ʌʌl ʊlu$_{o}$q ɔn dhʊ gráund,
A stɛtɟt ʌʌl iz lɛqth ɔ) dhʊ gráund,
W spɹʌʌld ʊt fu$_{o}$l lɛqth ɔn dhʊ grɜ'und
E

C gɔt)s bɛst koot ɔn, tlɔ̀s tu iz oon dɔ̀ʊr,
D in iz su$_o$ndi kúʊt, kloos tái dhʊ dúʊr
A wi iz god su$_o$ndi kúʊt ɔn, klúʊʊs tu dhʊ dúʊr
W in iz gu$_o$d su$_o$ndi koot, tlɔs bi dhʊ dóoʊr
E

C dáun ʊt th)kA'rnʊr ʊ)th leen ɔɔndʊr.
D ʊ dhʊ áus, dáun ʊt dhʊ karnʊr ʊ)dhʊ leen dhíʊr.
A ʊ dhʊ áus, dáun ʊt dhʊ kornʊr o ɔɔn léʊn.
W ʊ)dh)ɜ'us, dɜ'un ʊt dhʊ kaanʊr ʊ ɔon leen.
E léʊn.

10. C i wʊz groonin fʊr aal dhʊ wɜld láik
D éi wʊz blaatin ʊwéi, sɛz ·ɜr, fʊr aal dhʊ wɜld láik
A ii wʊz wA^'inin ʊwii, shi sɛz, fʊr aal dhʊ wɜrld lA^'ik
W ii waar ʊ wɔ'inin ʊwee, shi sɛz, fʊr aal dhʊ wɜld láik
E wáinin

C sù$_o$m óud pig.
D a babi.
A a sik tʃA^'ild, ʊr ʊ lit'l gɛl in ʊ frɛt.
W a badli tʃáild in ʊ frɛt.
E

11. C ʊn it ap'nd dʒu$_o$st ʊz ɜ'r ʊn ʊr daatʊr i laa wʊs
D wiil, dhat ap'nd ʊz ·ɜr ʊn ʊr daatʊr ʊ laa
A ʊn dhat ap'nd ʊz shii ʊn ʊr daatʊr in laa wʊz
W ʊn dhæt æp'nd ʊz shii ʊn ʊr daatʊr ʊ laa
E

C kɜmin thræ'u th)bak ɔàrd frʊm iqgin th)
D kɜm thru dhʊ bak ɔard frʊm aqin áut dhʊ
A ʊkomin thruu dhʊ bak ɔæærd frɔm iqin áut dhʊ wɛt
W kɜm thriúu dhʊ bæk ɔææd thrɔm iqin ɜ'ut dhʊ wɛt
E

C tluuz áut ɔn th)washin dii.
D kluuz ɔn ʊ weshin déi.
A kluuʊz tu drA^'i ʊv ʊ weshin dii.
W tlooz tʊ drái on ʊ weshin dee.
E

12. C wáil th)tii kɛt'l wʊz báilin, wA'n fáin
D wáil dhʊ tee kɛt'l wʊz báilin fʊr tee, wɔn fáin
A wA^'il dhʊ kit'l wʊz báilin fʊr téi wɔn fA^'in
W wáil dhʊ kit'l waar a bɔ'ilin fʊr tii wu$_o$n fɔ'in
E tee fáin

C su$_o$mərz afterræ'un, ən it)'l bi ə wik t'
D bráit su$_o$mər afternítun, dʒu$_o$st ə wiik əguu kəm
A brʌ''it su$_o$mər aatərnuun, ooni ə wik əguu kom
W brɔ'it su$_o$mər aatənuun ə wíivk sin ku$_o$m
E bráit niún

C nɛks thərzdi.
D nɛkst thərzdi.
A la'st thazdi.
W nɛks thazdi.
E thəəzdi.

13 C ən du$_o$n ʃoo noo? ái nivər ívrd noo móvr əbáut it
D ən wət)s thiqk? ái nɛvər ívrd oni múər ə dhis
A ən duu ʃə noo? əz ʌ'i nivər lərnd noo móovr nər dhis
W ən d)ʃə nóu? a nivə laant ɛni móor nə dhis
E

C frəm dhat dii tə dhis, əsh shæ'uər əz mái neem)z
D u$_o$p tə tədéi, əz shúuər əz mái neem)z
A ə dhat bíznis u$_o$p tə tədii əz shúuər əz mʌ''i níəm)z
W ə dhææ əféeə təl tədee əz séeəf əz mɔ'i néeəm)z
E mai

C wət it iz, ən ái du$_o$)nə want tə noo niidhər.
D :dʒak :shɛpəd, ən ái doo want tə noo néedhər, dhíər
A :dʒon :shipərd, ən ʌ''i dóoənt want tu nʌ''idhər, dhíər
W :dʒæk :shɛpəd, ən a dóoənə wənt tə iidhə, dhíə
E náidhə dhéə

C
D náu!
A náu!
W nɛ'u!
E

14. C su náu ái)l gu wɛ'm tə mi su$_o$pər, gu$_o$d náit
D ən soo ái)m gu)in wəm tə ee mi su$_o$pər, gu$_o$d néit
A ən soo ʌ'i)m ə gu)in wom tu su$_o$pər, god nʌ''it
W ən soo a)m gu)in om tə hæ)mi su$_o$pə, gu$_o$d nɔ'it
E nait

C ən du$_o$)nə dhii bi sə rɛdi tə meek gjeem əv ə fɛlər
D ən doo ʃə bi so fast tə kroo əvər oni bədi
A ən du$_o$)nə ʃo bi sə kwik tə kroo ó'ər ə mən
W ən dúuənt bii so fast tə króou óər ə bədi
E

C agjɛ'n wɛn *i* tʌ'ks ʊbá*u*t ɜ'*u*t.
D ʊg*i*n, wɛn *i* tʌʌks ʊ dh*i*s dhat ʊr t*u*$_o$dhʊr.
A ʊgɛn, wɛn i tʌʌʊks *o* dh*i*s dhat ʊr dhʊ todhʊr.
W ʊgɛn, wɛn ʊ tʌʌks ʊ dh*i*s dhat ʊr dhʊ t)*u*$_o$dhʊ.
E

15. C ì w*u*$_o$d b*i* ʊ fœ'ùl ʊz tʌ'kt w*i*dhá*u*t an*i* sɛns. ʊn
D é*i*)z ʊ s*i*l*i* f*i*ul ʊz rat'lz w*i*)á*u*t on*i* ree*z*'n. ʊn
A *i*t)s ʊ wé*i*k f*é*ul ʊz pree*t*s w*i*)á*u*t ré*i*z'n. ʊn
W *i*t *i*z ʊ wí*i*k fuul ʊz pree*t*s wi)ɜ'*u*t ri'z'n. ʊn
E wiik fiúl riiz'n.

C dhat)s ʌʌl *ái* gɔt t' sii ʊbá*u*t *i*t. s*u* g*u*$_o$d n*ái*t.
D dhat)s ʌʌl *ái*)v gɔt tʊ sé*i*. g*u*$_o$d b*ái*.
A dhat)s mʌ''*i* laast wɜrd. gɔd bʌ''*i*.
W dhat)s mi laast wéeʊd. g*u*$_o$bbá*i*.
E wɔɔd.

*Notes to the Cannock Chase* cs. p. 464.

2. *know-en*, the v. pl. in *-en* is well marked in this form.

3. *are the facts.* TH. wrote (th) here and in some other places, where the informant dictated (dhʊ), and that form is here restored; similarly in par. 5, *speak the truth*; and par. 8, *found the drunken*, TH. changed the informant's (dhʊ) into (t'), which in these cases he considered to be "the normal form undoubtedly," and which was dictated in par. 12, *the next.* In order to arrive at some conclusion as to the usage, TH. examined the whole of his notes respecting m.St. for places a few miles on either side of the s.*teeth* line 4, p. 18. On the n. of this line the places were Rough Close near Longton, Barlaston, Stone, Leigh, Uttoxeter, Oakamoor, Rocester, and Alton. In these places, out of 13 definite articles observed, TH. found 7 (th) and 6 (dh), but no (dhʊ). On the s. of the line in Eccleshall, Wootton, Haughton, Hanbury, Tutbury, Burton-on-Trent, Cannock Town, Littleworth, Bony Hay (n. side of Cannock Chase), Lichfield, and Tamworth, TH. observed 65 instances of this use of the definite article. Of these there were 10 (th), 17 (dh), 35 (dhʊ), and 3 assimilations to (s) and (t). This shows a mixed region, but a prevailing (dhʊ) on the s., and a balance between (th, dh) on the north. It was not to be expected that there would be a perfectly sharp delimitation of usage, and mixed regions were to be looked for. It is satisfactory to find that the mixed region is so narrrow in the present case. This is another result due to TH.'s exceptional diligence and untiring powers of collation, to which I already owe so much.

3. *quiet*, either (kw*á*ʊt) or (kwʌ''ʊt). —*finished* or (d*u*$_o$n).

9. *best coat* or (s*u*$_o$ndi koot, bɛst djakit, s*u*$_o$ndi djakɪt).

12. *fine* or (bráit) bright.

14. *make game* or (gjam).

15. *he would be a fool as talked without any sense*, or (it)s oonli fœ'ulz ʊs tʌ'ks widhá*u*t sɛns) it's only fools as talk without sense.

*Notes to Dudley* cs. p. 464.

1. *I don't care, that don't matter*, see p. 461, and the Darlaston note 7, p. 475, and example p. 477, for the peculiar method of expressing the negative in conjunction with auxiliary verbs. I have not met with it elsewhere, but Mr. Elworthy says he has met with it in Sm.; it is, however, so far as I know, unrecorded.

2. *they are*, represented by (dhé*i*)m) they am, is suspicious. *what)is it thou say'st*, (dhi) is unaccented (dhéi) thee.

8. *a man of hers.*

*Notes to Atherstone* cs. p. 464.

0. *why* (wʌ''*i*). The exact sound was not determinable. TH. found that it lay between (ʌ''i, *ái*) in this neighbourhood, and gave (ʌ''*i*) from the pron. of a

native, which perhaps agrees with Mr. Knight's *oy*, but Mr. K. did not say (ɔ'i) except in a very few cases, as (nɔ'idhər).—*doubts* (dáuts), this diphthong was also quite uncertain. Mr. K. had no clear idea of the sound, and varied it. TH. finds (tâvn) at Nuneaton, and (âut) at Polesworth, and Mr. K. said (dâ¹un ææ'vt) which shews a mixture of both. I have therefore selected the neutral (áu) throughout, which, indeed, I now find that TH. heard at Atherstone.

1. *neighbour*, the final *r* seemed to have the usual M. character, and as Mr. K. always felt it I have left (r), as in TH.'s notes, to be pronounced probably (r), but very faintly. Indeed as informants in this district constantly wrote *corfe* to indicate (kaaf) they could not have much notion of a final (r), unless indeed they meant (karf).—*laugh*, the miners say (lɔf).

2. *don't us*, this is a S. form widely diffused, but here (dúunt wi) is also used.—*it is not*, (t)*eent*) is a very common form, as in many places (*beent* bívnt) are not used.

3. *I have*, (*ái*)n) is very common all about, even when it might not stand for (*ái*)m) as here, see p. 338, col. 1, l. 8, and p. 463, for Dr. Evans's opinion.

4. *certain*, not (saartin).—*say* (sii, see, séi) are all heard.—*laugh*, (lææf) as pron., but compare par. 1 (laf) and (lɔf) in note and par. 2 (laaft).

6. *without*, here Mr. K. said (wi)áavt) which is like Nuneaton.

7. *she*, it is very probable that (shi) she, should be (ar) her, throughout.—*wrong*, (roq) was also said. I continually found it difficult to distinguish (*o*, *u*$_o$) in Mr. K.'s pron. of closed syllables.

8. *saying*, in such cases (*sii*)*in*) would be used.—*beast*, Mr. K. has heard (béist, thréi), the two sounds (ii, éi) are not kept well apart, probably through an intermediate (*íi*).

13. *do you know*. Mr. K. had never heard (du$_o$n jv), but he had heard (ɛn jo) have-n you? and also (wii)n bin áavt tudii) we have-n been out to-day, but as a general rule the verbal plural in *-en* is not used. It is, however, used commonly at Baddesley-Ensor (3 n.w. Atherstone), a mining village. The Atherstone farmers regard a (:badjli mɔn) Baddesley man as a 'foreigner,' and declare they cannot tell what he says.

*Notes to the Waltham and Enderby* cs. p. 464.

0. *has*, the villages use (á¹z), (a¹) is about the pron. of the unlettered.—*no* inclined to (nóu).

1. *he*, *me*. W has (ii mii), E (*ee* m*ee*) or (éei méei), (sniil) snail, is recognised in E, not in W.—*may* emphatic is (méei) at E.—*neighbour*, *r* final is not pron. except before a vowel, but becomes a vowel (ɐ) as in London.

2. *row*, noise, (ra'u) approached (rɛ'u).

3. *friend* (meet, tju$_o$m) mate, chum, would be used rather than 'friend.'—*till I've done* (wáil ái)v du$_o$n) is more common.

8. *beast* (bívst), pl. (biisez).—The plurals (ɜ'uz'n pleez'n) houses places, are found at both W and E, but (nɛst nɛz'n) nest nests, at W only.—*door* (dóovstɛd) is used in W for threshold.—*yon* (dhɔn) has been heard among little children.

10. *whining*, *squealing* (wɔ'in'n skwi$_i$vlin) are both used.—*fret* used in W, not in E, (baalin) was suggested.

12. *boil*, (bɔ'il) both W and E (páint áil djáin), etc., point oil join, etc., used at W, not at E.—*ago* is seldom used for (*sin*).

15. *goodbye*, made into one word (gu$_o$bbai), is used on all occasions, even when the parting is but for a short time.

## Eight Interlinear dt.

Var. i*a*.

1. *Edgmond*, *Sh.* (1½ w.Newport), pal. by TH. in 1885 from the dict. of D. Pigott, shoemaker, native, b. 1818.

Var. i*a*.

2. *Eccleshall*, *St.* (7 n.w.Stafford), pal. by TH. in 1885 from dict. of T. Key, native, formerly workman, b. 1807.

Var. i*c*.

3. *Burton-on-Trent*, *St.*, pal. by TH. in 1879 from dict. of J. Hill, tailor, b. 1820, native, "as spoken when he was young."

Var. ic.

4. *Lichfield, St.*, pal. by TH. in 1885 from dict. of E. Tredgold, labourer and native, b. about 1840.

Var. iia.

5. *Wellington, Sh.*, pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of W. Griffiths, working man and native, b. about 1850.

Var. iia.

6. *Coalbrookdale, St.*, pal. by AJE. from the writing in io. with full indications by Rev. F. W. Ragg, since 1880 vicar of Marsworth (15 wnw.St. Albans and 2 n.Tring, Ht.), formerly of Ratling, Ke., see p. 142.

Var. iib.

7. *Darlaston, St.* (4 ese. Wolverhampton), pal. by TH. in 1879 from the dict. of H. Blackhouse, foreman ironroller, native, b. 1833.

Var. iv.

8. *Belgrave, Le.* (2 ne.Leicester), pal. by AJE. from the writing of Miss C. S. Ellis (no connection of the author), of Belgrave, in io. with very full indications and numbered wl.

Notes upon these tests are given immediately after the interlinear arrangement.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1 | *Edgmond.* | | A) | si, | tɟaps, | | ɹʊ) | síin | náu |
| | 2 | *Eccleshall.* | | A) | sii, | tɟaps, | | ɹʊ | sɛ'in | náu |
| | 3 | *Burton.* | | ái | sii, | tɟaps, | | ɹo | sêin | náu |
| | 4 | *Lichfield.* | | á⌊i | sii, | tɟaps, | | ɹʊ | síin | |
| | 5 | *Wellington.* | | ə'i | see, | mèts, | | ɹó | siin | nə'u |
| | 6 | *Coalbrookdale.* | sôu | sez | ái, | mi | bu$_o$tiz, | ɹo | sin | nêù |
| | 7 | *Darlaston.* | | ái | sêi, | ladz, | du$_o$n | ɹʊ | sì | |
| | 8 | *Belgrave.* | soo | A'i | séei, | tɟaps, | | ɹʊ | see | ná'u |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | dhʊt) | ái)m | ríit | ʊbáut | dhat | lit'l | wentɟ | kəmin |
| 2 | | A)m | rɛ'it | ʊbáut | dhat | lit'l | wentɟ | kɜmin |
| 3 | ʊz | ái)m | rɛ'it | ʊbáut | dhat | lit'l | wentɟ | kɜmin |
| 4 | dhʊt | A)m | réit | ʊbâut | dhat | lit'l | wentɟ | kɜmin |
| 5 | | ə'i)m | rə'it | ʊbə'ut | dhat | lit'l | wensh | kɜmin |
| 6 | ʊz | ái)m | riit | ʊbóut | dhat | lit'l | wentɟ | komin |
| 7 | | ái)m | rA"it | ná'ʊ ʊbá'ʊt | dhat | lit'l | wentɟ | komin |
| 8 | dhʊt | ɜ)m | rA'it | ʊbá'ut | dhàt | lit'l | gɛl | ʊku$_o$min |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | frʊm)dhʊ | skə'ul | ɟandʊr. |
| 2 | frʊm | skə'ul | ɟandʊr. |
| 3 | frʊm | skíul | ɟondʊr. |
| 4 | frʊm | skə'ul | ɟondʊ. |
| 5 | frʊm)dhʊ) | skíul | ɟondʊr. |
| 6 | frʊm dhʊ | skíul | ɟandʊr. |
| 7 | frʊm)s) | skíul | ɟandʊr. |
| 8 | thrʊm dhʊ | skíul | ɟondʊr. |

2. 1 ɜr)z gjæ'u·in dáun dhɐ)rood dhíɐr thræ'u dhɐ)rɛd gjeet
2 ɜr)z gu·in dáun dhɐ)rood dhîɐr thræ'u dhɐ)rɛd gjeet
3 ɜr)z gu·in dâun)dh rood dhîɐ thræ'u)dh rɛd gjeet
4 ɜ`)z gù·in dâun dhɐ rood dhîɐ thruu dhɐ)rɛd gjéit
5 ɜr)z gò·in dɔ'un dhɐ rood dhîɐr thræ'u dhɐ)rɛd wíkit
6 ɜr)z gwin dóun dhɐ rôud dhíɐr thru dhɐ)rɛd géɐt
7 ɜr)z gu·in dá¹ɐn dhɐ rôud dhíɐr thríu dhat rɛd gjêɐt
8 shéi)z ɐgo)in dá¹un dhɐ rood dhíiɐr thríu dhɐ rɛd giit

1 ɔn dhɐ)lift and sâid ɐv)dhɐ)rood.
2 ɔn dhɐ)lift and sâid ɐv)dhɐ)rood.
3 ɔn)dh lift and sâid ɐ)dh rood.
4 ɔn dhɐ lift and sâid ɐ)dhɐ)wii.
5 ɔn dhɐ lift and sɔ'id ɐ)dhɐ)rood.
6 ɐ)dh lift ɔnd sâid ɐ)dhɐ)wêi.
7 ɔn dhɐ lift and sʌ'id ɐ)dhɐ)rôud.
8 on dhɐ lɛft and sʌ'id ɐ)dhɐ wii.

3. 1 luok)ɹɐ! dhɐ)tɹâild)z gʌ'n strɛ'it uop tɐ)dhɐ)ruoqg
2 wâi! dhɐ)tɹâild)z gʌ'n strɛ'it uop tɐ)dhɐ)ruoqg
3 læ'uk dhîɐ! dhat tɹâilt)s gʌ'n strɛ'it uop tɐ)dh ruoqg
4 luok ɹɐ! dhɐ tɹâild)z gʌ'n strɛ'it uop tɐ)dhɐ ruoq'
5 luk! dhɐ tɹɔ'ild)z gʌ'n strɛ'it uop tɐ)dhɐ ruoqg
6 shúɐr ɐnuof, dhɐ tɹâild)z gɔn striit uop tɐ)dh dôɐr ɐ)dh
7 luok ɹɐ! ɜr)z gʌ'n strɛ'it uop tɐ dhɐ ruoq
8 shíɐr inâ¹u, dhɐ tɹʌ'ild ɐz gɔn striit uop tɐ dhɐ dóɐr ɐ dhɐ

1 áus.
2 áus.
3 áus.
4 áus.
5 ɔ'us.
6 raq óus.
7 á¹ɐs.
8 rɛqg áus.

4. 1 wíɐr ɜr)l bi láikli ɐnuof tɐ fáind dhat
2 wíɐr ɜr)l mè)ap'n fáind dhat
3 wíɐr ɜr)l fáind dhat
4 wíɐr ɜ`)l vɛri láikli fáind dhat
5 wîɐr ɜr)l vɛri lɔ'ikli fɔ'ind dhat
6 wíɐ ɜr)l tɹaans tɐ fáind dhat
7 ái shɐd thiqk ɜr)l fʌ'ind óud drd
8 wíiɐr shi)l tɹaa¹nsh fʌ'ind dhat

1 dru$_o$qk'n dʒɛf widhʊrd fɛlʊ ʊz dhi kaaln :tu$_o$m.
2 dru$_o$qk'n dɛf widhʊrd læ'ukin fɛlʊ —dhe kaan)im :tu$_o$m.
3 dru$_o$qk'n dif drái-skjind ɑ'ud :tomi.
4 dru$_o$qk'n dɛf widhʊd u$_o$p mʌ'n ʊz dhi kaal :tu$_o$m.
5 dru$_o$qk'n àrd îʊrin riv'ld fɛlʊ ʊz)dhe kaan ə'ud :tu$_o$m.
6 dru$_o$qk'n dʒévf sniv'lin fɛlʊ widh néʊm ʊ :tu$_o$mʊs.
7 íʊrin skini dru$_o$qk'n :tu$_o$mi.
8 dru$_o$qk'n diif sriv'ld fɛlʊr ʊ dhʊ niim ʊ :tu$_o$m.

5. 1 wi aal noon)im wɛ'l.
2 wi aal noon)im vɛri wɛ'l.
3 wɛ'i aal noon)im wɛ'l.
4 jó aal noon)im, du$_o$)nʊ jʊ? wɛl ʊnu$_o$f.
5 wi) aal noon im vɛri wɛ'l.
6 wi aal noon im rʌ'it ʊnu$_o$f.
7 jóu aal nôun im rʌ'it ʊnu$_o$f.
8 wi aal nóouz im vɛri wɛl.

6. 1 wu$_o$nʊ dhʊ ɑ'ud tʒap sœ'un làrn)ʊr not tʊ dœ'u)it
2 wu$_o$nʊ dhʊ óud tʒap sə'un làrn)ʊr nɔt tʊ dœ'u)it
3 wu$_o$nt dhat ɑ'ud mʌ'n sœ'ùn tɛ'itʒ ʊr nɔt tʊ kɑ'm ta
4 wu$_o$d)'nt dh)ɑ'ud mʌ'n sə'un tìtʒ ʊr nɔt tʊ) də'u)it
5 wu$_o$)nʊ dhʊ)ə'ud tʒap' sœ'un teetʒ ʊr nɔt tʊ díu)it
6 wi)nʊ dh)óud tʒap síun laan ʊɪ nu$_o$t tʊ duu)t
7 wù)t ì mak ʊr bóut, púʊr thiqg! ʊr wù)t díu it
8 wuunt dhʊ á¹ud tʒap síun teetʒ ʊr nɔt tʊ díu it

1 ʊgjɛ'n, pæ'uʊr thiq$_{\llcorner}$g!
2 ʊgjɛ'n, pûʊr th·iq$_{\llcorner}$g!
3 iz áus ʊgjɛ'n, pûʊ wɛntʒ!
4 ʊgjɛ'n, pûʊ wɛntʒ!
5 ʊgjɛ'n, pûʊr thiq'!
6 ʊgévn, pûʊr thiq!
7 ʊgjɛ'n!
8 ʊgɛn, póoʊr thiq!

7. 1 læ'uk! ènt)it trə'u?
2 læ'uk! i)nʊr)it trə'ù?
3 læ'uk! iz'nt it rɛ'it?
4 lu$_o$k jʊ! i)nʊr)it dhʊ trə'uth?
5 luk at)ʊr! ì)z snapt)ʊr!
6 luuk)i! eent it truu?
7 luk! dì)t ái tɛl jʊ?
8 líuk! iz'nt it tríu?

*Notes on No.* 1, *Edgmond, Sh.*, dt.

1. *coming*, marked as between (kəmin, komin).
2. *road* or (*leen*) lane, both here and at end of par.
3. *wrong house*, or (ru$_o$q dœ'uʊr) wrong door.
5. *him*, (im) or (im).
7. *isnot* (ènt).

*Sentences.* (A am)nʊ klɛmd), I am not starved. (A wu$_o$sh JʊE ad'n), I wish you had-en. (pikt in JɛD fast), pitched in head first.

*Notes to No.* 2, *Eccleshall, St.*, dt.

2. *road* or (*leen*), sometimes (*loon*) old.
3. *up* (u$_o$p), but (ruq, druqk'n, :tum, wu$_o$nʊ), considering this inconsistency to be an accident of transcribing, I have used (u$_o$) throughout.—*wrong house* or (ru$_o$q dûʊr), wrong door.
7. *true*, marked as between (trə'u, trœ'u).

*Notes to No.* 3, *Burton-on-Trent, St.*, dt., *with omitted words.*

1. *so*, if used, would be (suu), as in (tomi, *di* ta'ud dhi suu), Tommy, I told you so.—*girl*, when used, called (gjɛl).—*way* would be (wii).
3. *sure* (shœ'uʊ).—*enough* (ʊnu$_o$f).
4. *chance* (tjàns).—*shrivelled* not used, but *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (srimp, srâud) shrimp, shroud.—*name* (nêim).—*old Tommy*, because they know him well; if they did not, they would use some such phrase as (ɐ'ud mA'n ɐz dhe kAAl :tomi) old man as they call Tommy.
5. *very well*, the very (vɛri) seldom used.
6. *fellow* (fɛlʊ).
7. *true* (trœ'u).

*Notes to No.* 4, *Lichfield, St.*, dt.

1. *so*, (dhʊ sɛn sù)ʊn)suu, ʊt su$_o$tj ʊ plès), they say-en so-and-so at such a place.—*right* (ì)z réit, i)nʊr)i ?), he's right, is'nt he? (*Jo noon it*)s réit) you know-en it's right.—*now* (nâu).
3. *child*, between (tjáild tjA''ild).—*wrong house*, or (ru$_o$q dûʊ), wrong door.
4. *chance* (tjàns).—*shrivelled*, not used, but *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (sru$_o$bz sru$_o$bʊri) shrubs shrubbery. (púʊr widhʊd u$_o$p falʊr, ɐ)nʊr)i ?), poor withered up fellow, isn't he?—*they call* (dhi) or (dhe kAAl), no verbal pl. in *-en* here, possibly a slip, see (*noon*) = *know-en*, par. 5.
6. *teach*, or (ləən lɛən), learn.
7. *truth*, between (trə'uth trœ'uth).

*Notes to No.* 5, *Wellington, Sh.*, dt.

2. *wicket* (wikit) is in common use for a small gate.—*road, way* is used in (dhat)s dhʊ wee ɐr)z gA'n).
3. *sure enough* (shôʊr ʊnu$_o$f).—*wrong house* (ru$_o$qg ə'us) or (ru$_o$q' dôʊr) wrong door.
4. *rivelled* = wrinkled or shrivelled, it occurs both in Chaucer and Gower, and is referred to Ws. *ge-rifian*, or *ge-riflian*, to wrinkle, as a diminutive of *to rive*, to tear, to split. *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (srimps srə'ud) shrimps shroud.
7. *snapped* = snubbed, or has spoken snappishly to. *To snap a person up or short* is a common phrase. TH. considers it a form of *snape*, or *sneap*, which is widely diffused.

*Notes to No.* 6, *Coalbrookdale, Sh.*, dt.

4. *snivelling*, my informant had *snivelled*, which must be wrong.
6. *the*, the original has (t'), which also must be wrong, hence I have written (dh), as in No. 4. There is no tendency to (t') in these regions. Mr. Ragg was not always quite certain. We can really only trust uneducated natives.

*Notes to No.* 7, *Darlaston* dt.

The text has been rather freely treated by the translator. The (A''i) throughout approaches (*ái*).
3. *wrong house*, observe the diphthong (â$^1$ʊ) for U'.: (ru$_o$q dûʊr) wrong door, may also be used.
6. *will not*, (wù)t) that is (wu$_o$l nɔt).—*bolt*, run away.
7. *did not* (di)t) = (did nɔt), the second (d) elided with the (n). This is the peculiar Black Country negative form. For (di)t *di* tɛl JʊE) it was suggested to use (i)t ɐr bóutin nâ$^1$ʊ), is)n't she (the little girl) bolting (running away) now.

*Notes to No.* 8, *Belgrave, Le.*, dt.

1. *so* (soo, sʊ).—*I* (ói, ɔi, ʊ).—*say* (séei see ɐ'u), (sɛz ói, sʊz ii) common.—*now*, Miss Ellis says, "*a* in *pat*, received English, and *ôô*, is, I should say, the most common form amongst

the working people of my district of Le." I conjecture that she means my (á¹u) rather than my (ɯ'u), and have therefore so written it.—*you* (joo), emphatic.—*that* as (ɐz) almost universally. —*I am* (ɐ)m) or (ʌ)m).—*right*, '*r* just trilled with the tip of the tongue,' in the wl. she refers to the 'uvula rise' (r̥), but I suppose she means the Midland (r) even before a vowel.—*that* (dha¹t), '*a* in 'pass,' constantly followed by (dhiiɐr) there. — *girl*, (wɛntʒ) is more common, (la¹s) lass less so.—*coming*, Miss E. thinks the verbal noun *-ing* is distinguished from the participle, but does not say how.—*from* (threm, threm), regular.—*school*, "*skee*)*ool* or F. *eul*," this would give (skíul skɑɑl), I have used (íu), TH. writes (y'u), that is, nearly (*i*₁*u*), but I translate him also by (íu).—*yonder* was not given in the dt. or wl., but I have added (jɔndɐr), which TH. heard at Loughborough.

2. *she*, (shi, shéei, shee) are given by Miss E., for which (shéi) is a compromise; TH. at Loughborough heard (shɛ'i).—*is*, (h) often inserted when emphatic, as (shi hiz ʌ tɛl jɐ) she *is* I tell, you.—*going* (go̯in, gu̯in).—*on*, '*o* in homme,' giving (on) not (ɔn), constantly (ɐ) unaccented.

3. *enough*, '*now* as in allow,' which must be taken as *now* in par. 1, (inuu·) often, and also (ɐnu̯ᵒf).—*has*, emphatic (ɐz), as (shi ɐz'nt gɔt wɔn) she ·has'nt got ·one.—*gone*, '*been* and *went* are commoner than gone, "the child has been" would be most normal.'—*to*, emphatic (tíu).—*door*, Miss E. '*thinks dour* as *our* (dá¹uɐr) is used, but *dower* as *ower* in *mower* is perhaps most common.'—*wrong*, the (g) is added only before a following vowel as (vɛri rɑqg ɐv im) very wrong of him.—*house*, '*home* is (oom) and often (wam).'

4. *will*, Miss E. has heard (wu̯ᵒl).—*shrivelled*, '*wizened* is used often of an apple, and also (sriveld),' (sril sriqk sru̯ᵒb), Midland (r). — *name* (niim níiɛm), but (neem) was to be expected, see cwl. 'The people here often say *in* the name, for *of* the name,' both *in* and *of* become (ɐ) when unemphatic.—*Thomas*, as the name was not supplied, I have inserted (:tu̯ᵒm) as in the other versions.

5. *we*, at times (wéei wee), and with less emphasis (wi). — *all*, constantly (hʌʌl). "We knows, 'they knows present, I we they known in the past tense; I known 'im years ago, I seen 'im yesterday, I or we (dʌn nóou) don't know." That is, Miss Ellis was entirely unacquainted with the verbal plural in *-en* in Le.—*very* sometimes (vɛrɐ).

6. *won't*, sometimes (uunt). — *old* '*owed* as in *cow*,' which she called (ká¹u), but I think (ɑ'ud) as TH. heard at Loughborough was meant. The EAL is never treated in the same way as the U'.—*teach* may also be used, but (lɑrn) is more common, (r) slightly marked.—*do it*, *it* is commonly used for *its* to a child or animal, as *it head*, *it feet*.

7. *look* (luuk) also used.—*isn't* (eent) is the usual word.

## Additional Illustrations.

### Var. ia, *Market Drayton*, Sh., noted by TH. in 1882.

(an jɐ dù̯ᵒn) have you done?—(Iɛ)s gɐ skjíu) let's go [to] school.—(dhɐ iimer wii) the eamer [shorter] way.

### *Edgmond*, Sh., noted by TH.

(ɐr)z gʌ'n) she's gone.—(áu bin jɐ?) how are you?—(ɐr tu̯ᵒq)z u̯ᵒq i)dhɐ mid'l, ɐn wagz ɐt éitʒ ɛnd) her tongue's hung in the middle, and wags at each end.

### *Eccleshall*, St., noted by TH.

(ɐz if dhíi kɔsnɐ stɑr) as if thou could'st or canst not stir.—(wi mɐn av ɐz tii) we must have us [=our] tea.—(ʌ sì, sɑri, ù du̯ᵒs thiqk ʌ sɛ'id last nɛ'it ɐz spok tœ'u mi?) I say, sirrah, who dost think I seed [=saw] last night as [=dhat] spoke to me?

VAR. i*b*, *Haughton*, noted by TH. in 1882.

(tèk *it i*)dh)áus') take it in the house.—(an jʊ dù₀n ?) have you done ?—(dh*e* m*i*lk'n, Jʊ n*oo*n) they milk-en, you know-n.—(ʊ s*u*₀p mûʊr *w*ee*t*ʊr ɔn fʊr bA'*i*l) a sup [drop] more water on for [to, omitted] boil. * Not recorded, but supplied.

VAR. i*c*, *Burton-on-Trent*, noted by TH. and *Mrs. Willoughby Wood.

(wîʊ[r)z JʊR modhʊ ? *âi* n*oo* dhʊ)s)*u*₀mʊt *u*₀p, ʊr ɜ'r w*u*₀dnʊ bE'*i* ʊwii: ʊn dhʊ)s s*u*₀mʊt u₀p w*i* j*oo*, fʊr jò kɔnʊr iit JʊR d*i*nʊ). Father at dinner to daughter, "Where's your mother ? I know there's something up, or she wouldn't be away : and there's something up with you, for you cannot eat your dinner," the girl had lost £2, and the mother had gone to look for it.—(*Jo*)n b*i*n ʊ fA''*i*n wA''*i*l) or between that and (fâ*i*n wâ*i*l), you have-n been a fine while.—(E'*i*)z gu)*i*n ʊ)dh áus) he's going into the house.—(E'*i* l*i*vz ʊgjE'n dhíʊr *i*n dJENʊl*i*) he lives against (opposite) there in general. —(*i*z'nt E'*i* gu)*i*n tʊ də'*u i*t ?) isn't he going to do it.—(*Jo*)n br*oo*k ʊ w*i*ndʊ, JO)n *é'i*)t' pii fA'[r)t) you have-n broke a window, you will-en have to pay for it.—(*it i*nʊ JÓʊn, gì)t' mE'*i*) it is not yours, give it me.—(gjER)*u*₀p' ! JÒ)n gAR)*it*) get up ! you've got it.—(nɔt ɔt jʊ nó*u*) not hot you know.—*(*ee*f pæst iit) half-past eight.—*(o'*i*)l duu)t ʊ dhatʊnz) I'll do it in that way.

VAR. i*c*, *Barton-under-Needwood*.

Carol as dictated by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood, of Hollyhurst.

(az ɔ'*i* s*a*t ɔn ʊ s*u*₀n*i* b*a*qk
ɔn :kraʊmʊs dii *i*)dh mAAn*i*n,
ɔ'*i* saa thré*i* sh*i*ps k*u*₀m siil*i*n bɔ'*i*,
on :kraʊmʊs dii i)dh mAAn*i*n.
ʊn *i*u s*u*₀d bé*i* in dhé*i*z thré*i* sh*i*ps
but :dJoozʊf ʊn *i*z féeʊ lEd*i*,
ʊn E'*i* d*i*d w*i*s'l ʊn shé*i* d*i*d siq,
ʊn aal dhʊ bElz ɔn éeʊth d*i*d r*i*q,
fA dJɔ'*i* dhʊt dhʊ :*see*v*i*ʊr é*i* wʊz bAAn,
on :kraʊmʊs dii *i*)dh mAAn*i*n).

As I sat on a sunny bank
On Christmas day in the morning,
I saw three ships come sailing by,
On Christmas day in the morning.
And who should be in these three ships
But Joseph and his fair lady,
And he did whistle and she did sing,
And all the bells on earth did ring,
For joy that the Saviour He was born
On Christmas day in the morning.

TH. thinks (saa, lEd*i*, aal) should have been (séid, l*ee*d*i*, AAL.)

VAR. ii*b*, *Darlaston*. Sentences noted by TH.

(*di* koot d*i*u *it*, ʊn *ái* bìt ʊ gu)*i*n tʊ d*i*u *it*, nor *ái* sh*ee*t, bikAAz *ái* du)t' nó*u* wɔt *it* *iz*) I can't do it, and I be not a going to do it, nor I shan't, because I don't know what it is.—(dhì sh*u*dst tEl dhʊ tr*i*uth) thou shouldest tell the truth.—(ì)z á'ʊt ʊ wE[RK, ʊn *i* koo gjET nA'n) he's out of work, and he can't get none.—(w*i*)m ɔf dh*i*s afterní*u*n) we am=are off this afternoon.—(wi)m gu)*i*n wòm t*i*u ʊr s*u*₀pʊrz) we am=are going home to our suppers.—(íʊr)z kó*u*kʊ n*u*₀t wɔt Jʊ)v thró*u*d ʊwè*i*) here's cocoa nut what (=that) you've throwed=thrown away.

*Dialogue on the Darlaston "Wake Beef,"* between H. Blackhouse and J. Reynolds, a fellow-workman, on 22 August, 1879, related by himself on 29 August, and pal. by TH. The "Wake" is an annual feast and occurred that year on Sunday, 24 August. Printed afterwards in the *Wolverhampton Magpie,* 20 Sept. 1879.

B. :las frA^ídí nA^ít, wɛn mì ɐn a¹uɐr :tu₀m wɐn gujín u₀p dhɐ strìt t)av ɐ lùk ɐt dhɐ :wêɐk :bìf, wi wɛnt ɐs fɛr ɐz dhɐ :wA^ít :lA^ínɐn; ɐn tɛrnd ɐgjɛ'n, ɐn kɛmín bak thrù dhɐ :a·lí dhí wɐs thrii ɐr fóuɐr sítín ɐt dhɐ dûɐr kolíɐr fashɐn, lít'l :dʒakí :rɛnɐlz, :dʒôu :kjɛ'rlís, ɐn tíu mûɐr ɐv íz palz, dɔg-ru₀n'ɐrz.

R. wíɐr ɐs' bìn, :arí?

B. t)av ɐ lùk ɐt dhɐ :bìf.

R. wì)n bìn t)av ɐ lùk at ít, ɐn dhat)s á¹uɐr shéɐr, íz ít dhA^ín?

B. AA, ái rɛk'n ít íz. gu₀d nA^ít.

B. Last Friday night [(A^í) approaching (ái)] when me and our Tom were-n going up the street to have a look at the Wake Beef, we went as far as the White Lion, and turned again; and coming through the Alley there was three or four sitting at the door collier fashion, little Jacky Reynolds, Joe Careless, and two more of his palz [companions], dog-runners.

R. Where hast been, Harry?

B. To have a look at the Beef.

R. We have-n been to have a look at it, and that's our share, is it thine?

B. Ay, I reckon it is. Good-night.

## VAR. iib. *Walsall.*

A servant girl's account of how her brother Jim's leg was hurt, pal. at Cannock from her dict. 1877, by TH. and two other sentences

(aar :dʒím wA' ku₀mín bak frɐm si)ín íz ànt :salí, ɐn í ku₀m ɐkrA's dhɐ fìlz, ɐn gjɛtín ɔvɐr dhɐ stáil, ɐn í ɜrt)s lɛg, ɐn it wAA bad ɛvɐr sɐ loq⌊g, ɐn shi got su₀m póultís tæ'u it, ɐn it wAA ɛver sɐ mu₀tʒ bɛter), our Jim was coming back from seeing his aunt Sally, and he came across the fields, and getting over the stile, and he hurt his leg, and it was bad ever so long, and she got some poultice to it, and it was ever so much better.—(jís, sɐr, dhís íz it, dʒu₀st óuɐr dhɐ brídʒ íɐr), yes, sir, this is it, just over the bridge here. —(ái wu₀d'nt gi thrì eepɐns foo jɐ), I wouldn't give three halfpence for you.

## VAR. ia.

NORTH-EAST SHROPSHIRE AND NORTH-WEST STAFFORDSHIRE CWL.

N Newport, all the words referred to Newport (:nuupɐrt) in Miss Jackson's account of Sh. pron. as prepared by TH.

B preceding a word from Newport shews that it was sent by Mrs. Burne; following a word, that Mrs. Burne gave the same sound as Miss Jackson.

The following are from wn. by TH.:—

E Edgmond, Sh. (1½ w.Newport).

Nh Newport in 1885 [as distinguished from Miss Jackson].

M Market Drayton, Sh.

H Hodnet, Sh. (5 sw.Market Drayton) in 1881.

Ec Eccleshall, St. (7 nw.Stafford), including words given by Miss Burne, and wn. at Wootton (1½ ssw.Ec.)

The line separating Var. *ia, b* from Var. iia, seems to pass s. of Bolas Magna, Edgmond, Newport, Sh., and n. of Crudgington, Wellington, Sh., and s. of Cannock, St., but n. of Wolverhampton and Walsall, St.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 N tɛk B [before vowels], *tee* B [before consonants]. 5 N mɛk B [before vowels], m*ee* B [before consonants], M miik. — M griiv [grave]. 19 B tiil. 20 B lɛ́vm. 21 M niim, Ec n*eem*. 23 B sɛ́vm. 31 B liit. 33 E rɛdhʊr. A: 39 BE kʊm. 41 B thɛqk. 43 B ɔnd, Ec and. 51 B mɔn, MEc mʌ'n. 54 EM want. 55 B ɛs. 56 NM wɛsh B.

A: *or* O: 60 B l*u*$_o$q. 61 B ʊm*u*$_o$q. 64 BNhEc r*u*$_o$q, EM r*u*$_o$qg.

A'- 67 N gù·in [going] B, E gju*j*in gæ'u*j*in, Ec gu, H guu. 69 M n*oo*. 70 Ec tuu. 72 B uu. 73 B *soo* sʊ. 74 Ec tæ'u. 76 B tóʊd. 81 Nh lɛɛn. 82 NhEc w*u*$_o$nst. 84 EcN múʊr B. 86 BNhEEc w*u*$_o$ts, M òts. 87 M tluuz. 89 B búʊth. 92 EEcU n*oo*.

A': 102 B aks. 104 N rood, E r*oo*d, B róʊd. 106 Ec br*oo*d. 110 N nɔ*ti* [naughty], B kanʊ. 113 Ec *oo*lsʊm [wholesome]. 115 B *ó*ʊm [?], EcNhE wòm, Ec [occ.] *oo*m, M wʌ'm. 118 B bóʊn, E bæ'uʊn, Ec buun. 120 E ʊg*oo*. 123 N n*u*$_o$thin. B 124 N st*oo*n [accented], -stʊn [in composition and unaccented], E stæ'uʊn, M stʌ'n, Ec stuun.

Æ- 138 BNhEMEc f*ee*dhʊr, M fiidhʊr. — E gjɛdhʊr. 140 E iil. 141 B niil. 143 B tiil. 144 B ʊgen. 148 B fiir. — N lez·ʊr [a leasow, pasture]. 152 Nh w*ee*tʊr, M wiitʊr. Æ: 155 NM thɛtj. — N gjɛdhʊr. 158 B aatʊr. 161 NNhEMHEc dii B. 169 E wɛn. 171 Ec bàrl*i*. 172 NEM grɛs B. 179 wɔt. Æ'- 185 Ec rɛ'id. 187 E liiv. 193 B kl*ee*n. 194 N ænith*i*n [anything]. 195 B mɔn*i*. 197 M tjiiz, tj*i*iz tjɛ'*i*z, Ec tjɛ'*i*z. 200 N w*é*ɛt, B, Nh w*í*ʊt, ME wît, Ec wiit. 202 B jɛt. Æ': 207 B n*ee*d'l. 209 E n*i*vʊr. 213 N *ee*dhʊr B, *ii*dhʊr, B iidhʊr. 216 N diɛ'l B. 217 B *ee*tj, E éitj. 218 E sh*i*p. 223 BMEc dhívʊr, Ec dhíʊr. 224 BMEc wîʊr. 226 Ec mùst múʊst. 228 B swat.

E- 232 N briik B, B br*ee*k. 233 B sp*ee*k spiik, MEc spiik. 241 N rin ríʊn B, NhEMHEc riin. 243 BEEc plii. — N bîʊr [to bear]. 248 N míʊr B. 249 N wîʊr. 251 B m*ee*t, EEc miit. — N fidhʊr [feather]. E: 260 B lɛ́ʊ. 261 B sɛ́z, Nh dhe)sɛɛn [they say], MEEc sii. 262 MEHEc wii. 264 B iil. 265 Ec strɛ'it. 266 H wɛl. — N f*ee*ld [field occ.], Ec fɛ'ild. 270 bɛl*i*, B bali. 287 B biizɛm. E'- 290 M *i*i, Ec ɛ'i. 291 N dh*ee*. 292 N m*ee*, Ec mɛ'*i*. 296 N b*i*leev B, N bil*ee*f [belief], Ec bil*é*iv. 299 M gr*i*in, MEc grɛ'*i*n. 300 M kiip. 302 E miit. E': 305 Ec *ii*. 306 EcN *ii*t. 312 EcM *i*ʊr. 314 M îɛrd. — Ec gjɛ'*i*s [geese].

EA- — N jívl il [ale]. 320 B kívʊr. EA: 321 N siid [used]. 322 N lɔf B, M laf'. 324 E ɛ'it. 326 B *ó*ʊd, EcM ɛ'ʊd. 328 N kɔd, B kóʊd, Ec kjɛ'ʊd. 329 N f*o*d. 331 N sɔd, B sóʊd. 335 B aa, aal, Ec aavis [always]. 336 N faa, faan [fallen or we fall, less usual than (fɛl'n)]. 337 B waa. 338 NE kaa. — N shívʊr [share, portion]. 343 B waarm. 345 B daar. 346 B gi*i*t, M giit, Ec gj*ee*t. EA'- 347 BEM jɛ'd, M ɛ'd. 349 N f*i*œ [nearly]. EA': 350 N diɛ'd B, EMEc djɛ'd, Ec dɛ'd [of a person liked (i)z gʌ'n dɛ'd) he's gone dead, of a person disliked (i)z djɛd ʊn ɔ'ʊd div'l) he's dead, an old devil]. 355 BEc diif, E djɛf [Ec says (dʊ$_o$m ʊn diif) in this order]. 356 N l*ee*f. 359 N niibʊr. 360 Ec tiim. 361 Nh b*i*ʊnz, EcM biinz. 363 N tjip, B tj*ee*p. — Ec *i*ʊr [year]. 366 NEMEcNh griit B, Nh griid big th*i*q [great big thing]. 368 N diɛ'th. — N duu [dew].

EI- 372 NEc *ii* *ii*, EMEc aa. 376 N bit, B biit. EI: 377 B stiik. EO- 387 N :nuupʊrt, E :næ'upʊrt [Newport], E næ'u. EO: 388 M milk. 390 N shɔd. 394 NEEc jandʊr. 402 M lɔrn là|rn. 405 B aarth. 406 B aarth. EO'- 409 B b*ee*. 411 B thr*ee*. — N tr*ee* [tree], Ec tré*i*. 413 Bdiv'l. 414 B fl*ii*. 415 B l*ii*. 417 N tjaa, B tjíu. EO': 425 B l*ii*t. 426 B f*ii*t. 428 Ec sɛ'in sɛ'*i*. 431 M bɛ́ʊr. — Ec nɛ'i [knee]. 436 N truu. 437 M trœ'uth, Ec [between] trɔ'*u*th tr*i*uth. EY- 438 BNhMEc d*ii*, M dʌ''*i*.

I- — N s*i*nʊr [sinew]. — N jɛs [yes]. 450 N tuuzd*i*. I: 458 N n*ii*t n*ii*t [I take B.'s *oi* to mean (*ii*)], Nh nìt', M nɛ'it n*ii*t, Ec n*ii*t [approaching (nʌ''it)]. 459 N r*ii*t r*ii*t, Ec rɛ'it. 460 N w*ii*t B. 467 M wɛ'ild. I'- 490 N b*ii* b*ii*. — Ec str*ii*k [(ʊr kʊn r*i*mɛmbʊr wiit b*i*i·in ʊ páund ʊ str*ii*k), she can remember wheat being a pound a strike = bushel, *i.e.* £8 a

quarter]. 494 M *táim*. 498 N r*áait*. I′: 500 NEc l*áik* l*áaik*. — EEc ii [hay]. 505 B w*áif*, EM wɛ′if. 507 Ec w*u*ₒmun. 511 B w*áin*.

O- 519 Ec *oo*vur *ôv*r. 522 B aap′n. O: — N tr*ù*f [trough]. 526 B kaf. 527 N ba′ut [coarse rough speaking], bot [fine]. 528 N thaut thot [as in 527]. 531 N daatur B, EcNhEM daatur. 533 B d*u*ₒl. 536 N ga^u*ud* B, 538 N wod. — EEc os [horse]. — N goth [girth].

O′- 555 B sh*iu*, M sh*æ*′u. 556 E t*æ*′u. 557 B t*iu*, M t*æ*′u. 558 Ec l*æ*′uk. 559 B m*u*ₒdhur, MEc madhur. 560 N skĭul, M skj*æ*′u skja′*u*, Ec skj*ə*′*ul* skj*éu*l sk*iu*l. 562 Nh [between] m*æ*′*un* m*ə*′*un*, M muun, Ec m*ə*′*un* [at Wootton between (m*iun* m*ə*′un)]. 567 B t*u*ₒdhur.

O′: 569 B buuk. — N shuk [accented], shok [unaccented]. — E br*u*ₒk [brook]. 570 N tuk tok [as in *shook*]. 572 B bl*u*ₒd. 575 B stod. 578 B pl*iu*, Ec pl*â*u. 579 B vnuu. 580 N t*ù*ₒf. — N pĭul [pool]. 584 B st*iu*l. 586 B d*iu*, E d*æ*′u. 587 BM d*ù*ₒn. 588 NhM n*æ*′*ù*n, EcM n*ə*′*un* [at Wootton between (n*iun* n*ə*′*un*)]. 589 M sp*ə*′*un*. 590 N fl*iu*ur, B fl*iu*ur. 591 B m*iu*r. — N gus [goose emphatic], guzbr*iz* [gooseberries]. 595 B fat. 597 B sat. — N t*u*ₒth [tooth].

U- 600 N l*u*ₒv B. 603 B k*u*ₒm, Nh kamin, M k*u*ₒmin, E komz. 604 E s*u*ₒmur. 605 B s*u*ₒn, MEc s*ù*ₒn. 606 N d*iu*ur B, M d*iu*r d*æ*′ur, Ec d*iu*r [formerly often (da′r)]. 607 BEEc b*u*ₒtur.

U: 608 B *u*ₒgl*i*. — N sha′*u*dur sha′*u*ldur. 609 B fal. — N pol [pull]. 610 B wal. 611 B balok. 612 B s*u*ₒm. 615 B pan, Ec p*â*und. 622 B *u*ₒndur. 629 B Ec s*u*ₒn. 632 BNhEc *u*ₒp. 633 BH k*u*ₒp. 639 B d*u*ₒst.

U′- 640 EEc kj*â*u. 641 B a′*u* [marked as received pron., I have given (a′*u*) as gen. Sh., it might be (ə′*u* *âu*)], EM *âu*, H ə′*u*. 642 B dha′u. 643 B na′*u*, Ec n*â*u. 652 B k*u*ₒd. 653 M b*u*ₒt.

U′: 658 NhEc d*âu*n [at Wootton (1½ s.Eccleshall) (d*â*in) was heard twice], M da′un. 659 E t*âu*n, M ta′un. 663 B a′*us*, EEc *âus*, Ec *âuz*′n. 667 MEc *âut*.

Y- 673 B m*u*ₒtj. Y: 697 N beeri. 700 H was. — N sh*u*ₒt [shut].

II. English.

A. 713 B bod. 714 B lod. — MH riil [rail]. 722 N drin dr*iiu*n B. 723 B diir*i*. 742 B laazi [?]. E. 744 B m*eez*′lz. 749 NhEc l*i*ft. I. *and* Y. 757 B t*ai*ni. 761 N lood. 766 B [also] m*i*dhurd. U. — N d*u*ₒk [duck]. 794 BEH dj*u*ₒg. 796 N blu. 802 B r*u*ₒm. 803 BH dj*u*ₒmp. 805 B kradz. 807 B pas. 808 B pat.

III. Romance.

A·· — M tiib′l [table]. 810 B f*é*vs. 811 Ec pl*eez*′n. 813 B b*é*vk′n. 822 BEc mii. 824 Ec tj*iiu*r B, E tj*iu*r. 829 M giin. — Ec pliin [plain]. 830 H triin. 833 B p*iu*r. 835 B r*eez*′n. 836 B s*eez*′n. — N mæstur [master, refined], mester [usual]. — Ec d*eem* [dame]. 841 BEc tj*à*ns. 842 B ploqk. 850 B dans. 851 B ant. 852 apurn. — M sliit [slate]. — M pliit [plate]. 862 H siif. E·· 867 BM t*ee*, EEc tii. 869 E v*î*sl, Ec viil. 874 N r*iiu*nz. — N f*iiu*r. — Ec pɛ′ip′l [people] 893 M flə′*uu*r. I·· *and* Y·· 898 B n*ai*s, M na′is. 901 B f*ai*n, M fa^ᵘin. 904 B v*ai*lut. O·· 915 B st*u*ₒf. — Ec bɛ′if [beef]. 920 B p*ai*nt. — N stuur*i* [story]. 924 B tj*ai*s. 926 N sp*ai*l B. 929 B kuukumbur. 930 B l*ai*n. 933 Ec fr*u*ₒnt. 940 B k*ú*ut. 941 N f*iu*l B. 942 B batjur. — N *oo* [hoe]. 947 B b*ai*l. 954 B kashun. U·· — N du [due]. — N duuk [duke]. — N muuz*i*k [music]. 963 B k*wai*t. 965 B *ai*l. 969 Ec sh*iu*r. — N k*iu*r [cure]. — N kuurivs [curious]. — N just′n [we used, were accustomed]. 970 NE dj*u*ₒst.

## Var. i*b*. West Mid Staffordshire cwl.

B Bradley (:br*ee*dli), (4 sw.Stafford), sent in io. by Rev. R. L. Lowe, vicar.
Hn Haughton (:aat′′n), (4 wsw. Stafford), wn. by TH. in 1882 from T. Powell, native, b. 1798.
C Cannock and neighbourhood, wn. by TH. in 1877.
S Stretton (8 ssw.Stafford), wl. and dt. by Rev. J. W. Napier, vicar.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 Hn beekur. 4 C tak, Hn tèk. 5 C meek. 19 S tiil. 21 S niim. 31 C leet. A: 51 BS mon, C mA'n. 55 B ES. 56 C WASH, Hn WESHin. A: *or* O: 60 C lu₀qlg. 62 S stru₀q. A'- 67 Hn gujin. 74 BHn tíu, C tœ'u, C tíuthri 76 C tood, S. tuud. 86 BS wats. 89 C bòth. 92 C noo. A': 101 S uuk. 102 C EKS. 104 S ruud. 107 S luuf, Hn lòf. 108 S du₀f. 110 C konur wu₀nur shonur [can't won't shan't], ái eent [I am not], shànt [shall not]. 111 C AAt. 115 B óoum, HnC wa'm, S òm. 124 BS stúen. 131 S guut.

Æ- 138 CHn feedhur. 141 S niil. 142 S sniil. 143 S tiil. 147 B briin. 152 B weetur. Æ: 161 BSC dii. 172 B GRES. Æ'- 193 C tliin. 194 B oni, C ani. 197 B tjéiz, C tjiiz. Æ': 209 C nivur. 210 C tlii, [occ.] tlee, S klii. 214 C niidhur. 218 BSHn ship. 223 C dhívr.

E- 241 BSHn riin. 243 BS plii. 248 B míiur. — Hn iit. E: 260 S lii. 261 CSHn sii. 262 Hn wii. 270, ii. B bali. E'- 290 C ii. 291 B dhéi. 300 CHn kiip. E': 314 C íurd.

EA- 318 C loft, laft [refined]. EA: 322 C lof, Hn laf. 326 C a'ùd, óud. 328 C kóud. 330 C óud. 333 BS KAAF. 334 C ef. 335 C AAl. EA'- 347 B JED. EA': 350 BS djED. 355 S diif. 359 CS niibur. 353 B tjip. 366 C grìt. 368 S diith. — C djíù [dew]. EI- 372 Hn aa.

EO- 386 B JA'u. 394 C JONder. 402 Hn lorn. EO'- 409 B béi. 410 Hn œ'u [?]. — C tríi [tree]. 414 B flii. EO': 424 S ru₀f. 428 C sì. 435 C JOO [youths said *you* and not *thou* to each other]. 437 C tríuth. EY- 438 CHn dái.

I- 440 C wik. 442 S ivi. 444 B sto'il, C stáil. 448 C dhiiz dhíiz dhéiz. I: 452 B o'i, C ái. 458 B noit, C nóit, S niit? 459 S riit? 464 Hn witj. 469 C wu₀l. 485 BC fis'l. I'- 492 S sáid. 494 C tâim. I': 500 CSHn láik. — C ii, [occ.] ee, [hay]. 508 B moil. 511 S wáind. 514 S áist. 517 C JÍu.

O- 524 C wald [often]. O: 526 S kaf. 529 Hn BRAAt. 531 Hn dAATE. 550 B wad. O'- 556 C tíu. 558 C lu₀k. 559 BHn modhur, C madhur. 560 C skœ'ul, S skíul. 562 B míun, C múùn. 563 C mu₀ndi. O': 569 B bíuk. 586 C díu [often]. 587 Hn dù₀n. 589 B spíun. 597 Hn su₀t'.

U- 603 C kam. 606 C dóur, Hn dûu. 607 C bu₀tur. U: 612 C sù₀m. 619 C fu₀nd. 620 S gru₀nd. 624 B grand? 632 CHn u₀p. 634 C thríu thræ'u. U'- 640 Hn kjâuz. 643 C náu, Hn nâu. — Hn bræ'u [brow] 648 C áuurn. U': 658 C dĭáun dâùn, Hn dâun. 663 C ĭáus, Hn áus. 667 C áut ĕánt.

Y- 673 C mu₀tj. 679 tjatj. Y: 691 SC máind. 692 C Ju₀ggist. 701 C fast [often]. Y'- 705 B sko'i. Y': 709 B fo'ívr, Hn faivr. 712 B mo'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 B bod. 722 BS driin. E. 744 B MEZ'lz. O. 761 S luud. — C dog' [dog]. 767 B náiz. 774 puuni. U. 804 S dru₀qk'n. 805 B KREDZ.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 813 C beek'n. 822 C mii. — C pii [pay]. 824 Hn tjíivr. 852 S aprun. 865 B FAAt. E·· 867 C tii. 894 C dísiiv. O·· — C bìf [beef]. 925 C váis. 940. C koot. 941 B fíul. 947 C báil. 950 C su₀pur. — C krĭáun [crown]. 955 C dáut. U·· 969 C shœ'uur.

## Var. *ic*. East Mid Staffordshire cwl.

Bn Barton-under-Needwood, words communicated by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood.

The following were from wn. by TH.

Bt Burton-on-Trent.
Ha Hanbury (6 nw.Burton-on-Trent) in 1880.
Ho Hopwas (:ɔpʊz) (2 nw.Tamworth) in 1879.
L Lichfield.
Ta Tamworth (:tamʊth) in 1879.
T Tutbury (:*tidbʊri*) (4 nw.Burton-on-Trent) in 1874.
Y Yoxall (6 nne.Lichfield), wn. in 1879 by TH. from a native, b. 1805, and then living at Tamworth.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 18 Ha kj*ee*k. 21 Bn niim, HaYTaHo n*ee*m, Bt n*ê*im n*ee*m. A: 39 Bn kam. 55 Bt es. 56 Bt wesh, T wɔsh [?]. A: *or* O: 58 Bt thrɔm thrʊm. 62 BtL str*u*ₒqg. 64 Bt rɔqg, LBtTa r*u*ₒqg, TaHo rɔqg. A'- 67 BtL guu. 69 BtYHo n*oo*, Ha nɛ'*u*. 72 Bn *ú*u. 74 BtY t*ú*ù. 84 Ta m*ú*ʊr. 85 Ta s*ú*ʊ. 86 BtHa ùts, L *ó*uts. A': 105 Ho r*ood*. 106 Y br*oo*d. 110 sh*u*ₒdnʊr w*u*ₒnʊ wɔnʊ shana kanʊ kɔnʊ [shouldn't won't sha'nt can't, these were from several places in this variety]. Ta *ái* êint wònt sh*à*nt kj*à*nt [not so often] kànt. Ho wònt wA'nt w*u*ₒnʊ k*à*nt dònt d*u*ₒnʊr [by a few] shanʊr [by a few]. 113 Bt uul. 115 L wə'm, Bt [between] wa'm wòm, Ha wA'm, YTa òm. 118 L b*oo*n. 123 Bt n*u*ₒth*i*q̣k. 124 Bt stuun, L st*oo*n. — L rô⌊*up*.

Æ- 138 BtHaHoY f*ee*dhʊr. TaL fê*i*dhʊr, TaLHo faadhʊr. 152 Bt w*ee*tʊ, Ta waatʊr. Æ: 161 BtHaTTaLY dii, Ta d*ee* dêi, Ho d*ee* dii. 164 Bn mii. 172 L gres. — Bt kjaat, L kaat [cart]. 177 Ta ʊdhat'n [of that kind]. Æ'- 197 Bt tjéiz, Ha tjɛ'iz. 200 BtYTaL wit wiit, Ha wɛ'it, Ho wiit [a few say (wíʊt)]. Æ': 218 LY sh*i*p'. 223 BtYHo dhîʊr, Ho dhêʊr. 224 BtHoYTa wíʊr, Ho weer.

E- 231 T th)wɔsh'ɪn dii [the washing day, (th) ?]. 233 BtHaHoTa spiik [Ha p.t. (spɔk)]. 241 BtHaL riin, Ta riin, [occ.] r*ee*n. 243 Bt plii. — Ho *eet* [eat]. 251 Ta miit. E: 261 BtY sii, Ta s*ee*, Ho s*ee* [and occ. (sii)], Bt se'*i*. 262 BtHaYL wii, Ta wéi w*ee* wii. 265 Ta strɛ'*it*'. — L fiild [field]. 284 L thresh. E'- 290 BtL ɛ'*i*, Y é*i*, Ho é*i*, L *íi*. 292 Y mɛ'*i*. 293 Y wé*i*. 294 Ta fiid. 299 BnY gré*i*n, BtHa grɛ'*i*n, BtHo grêin griin, Ta griin. 300 Bt kjɛ'*i*p'n, Y kiip'n [both with verbal pl. in *-en*]. 302 Y mɛ'*it*. E': 314 B îʊd, Ho íʊrd ə'⌊rd, Y aad, a⌊rd.

EA: 322 BtHaL lɔf, Ta lɔf, [occ.] laf. 325 Y dh*e* waakn [they walk-en]. 326 Bt [between] ó*u*d ə'*u*d, Ha a'*u*d. 328 Bn kə'*u*d, Ho kó*u*ld, Bt [between] ka'ùd kóùd. 334 Ta é*i*pni [halfpenny]. 336 Ta faal. EA'- 347 BtHoTa jɛ'd, Y ɛ'd. EA': — Bt lɛ'ik [a leek]. 350 Ha djɛ'd. 355 Ho dif dɛf. 366 Bt griit, HaTa gr*ee*t, Y grit, Ho griit, L grêit. 371 L straa.

EO- 387 Ta nœ'u [the first element was between (œ) and ($i_1$), the transitional form to (n*i*u)]. EO: 394 Ta jandʊr. 399 Bt bra'it. 402 BtY laan là⌊rn, TaHo lɔɔn, Ta lə'rn. — Ta shaat [short]. EO'- 411 Y thrɛ'*i*, Ta thrii. — Bt tré*i* [tree], Ta tr*i*i [tree]. EO': 425 Bt lɛ'it. 426 Bt fɛ'it. 437 BtY trœ'uth, Ha tra'*u*th, Ho trœ'uth [and nearly] truuth. EY- 438 Bt d*ai*, HaHo dɛ'*i*, YHoTa d*ai*.

I- 444 L [between] st*ai*l stA''il. 447 BtY a'r [used for *she*]. — Bt piiz [pease]. I: 458 Bt n*é*it nɛ'it, n*ai*t, Ha nɛ'it, Ho n*é*it nA'it, L n*ai*t nA''it. 462 Bn sàt. 469 Bt w*u*ₒl, Ho wil [and by a few (w*u*ₒl)]. 484 Ta ʊdh*i*s'n [of this kind]. I'- 494 BtL tA''ɪm, HaL t*ai*m. I': 504 Ta nA'if. 508 Ta mA'il. 509 Bt wA''il.

O- 519 Ta *oo*vʊr. O: — Bt krɔft kraft [croft]. 531 BtHoL daatʊr, Ha da'*u*tʊ. — Bt krɔp krap [crop]. 551 Ta staam. 552 L kaan. — BtL ɔs [horse]. O'- 555 BtYTaHo sh*æ*'u, Bt shə'*u* sh*i*ₒ*u* sh*æ*'ₒ*u*, [the first element very peculiar, it evidently varied towards sh*ó*u) see 562, 588], Ha sha'*u*.

557 Bn *tíu*. 558 Ta lœ'uk, L luk. 559 Ho mədhʊr, BtTaHo modhʊr, BnLTa mədhʊr. 560 Bt skĭə'ul, Ho *skíul*, Ta skœ'u skuu. 562 Bt *móun*, Ha mɑ'*un*, TaL muun. 564 Ta sœ'un 568 Bt br*u*₀dhʊ. O': 569 Bn *búuk*. 579 TaL ʊn*u*₀f. 586 Y *díu*, Bt də'*u*. 587 BtHaHo *dù*₀n. 588 Bt nœ'un *nóun*, Ha nɑ'*un*, TaHo nœ'un, Ho *nóun*, L [between] nə'*un* nœ'un. 595 Bn fat.

U- 603 LHo kam, L k*u*₀min. 604 L s*u*₀mʊ. 605 BtTa *sù*₀n. 606 Bt *dóʊ*[r *dúʊ*, HaY *dóʊ*, Ta *dóʊr*, Ho *dûʊr*. U: 611 Bn balʊk. 615 Ta [between] pâ'ənd pâ'*und*. 632 LBt *u*₀p. — Bt [between] kas kos [curse]. U'- 640 Bn kjáu. 643 Ta *nú*'ə. 650 Ha ʊbâ'ət [with elongated lip opening], Y ʊbâ*ut*, Ta [between] ʊbâ'*ut* ʊbâ'ət. U': 654 Ta *sráud*. 658 TaL *dâun*. 661 Ta shœ'uʊr. 663 BtYTaHoL *áus*, Ha â'əs' [with elongated lip opening], Ho [pl.] *áuziz áuz'n*. 667 Ta [between] â'*ut* â*ut*, à'ət, L *áut*. Y: 701 Ta fast.

II. English.

I. *and* Y. 756 BtTa srimp. 758 Ta [occ.] gjʊl [which is (*múʊ* pʊlA'*i*·tʊ) more politer than (wʊnsh)]. O. 761 BtL luud. 791 Bt *bái*.

III. Romance.

A·· — Bt pii [pay]. — Bn griinz [grains]. — Ta pliin [plain]. 830 Ta tréin. E·· 867 Bt tii, Ha tɛ'*i*. — BnL piin [pain]. I·· *and* Y·· 898 Ta nA'*is*. 901 Ta *fáin*. O·· 916 L *u*₀n·*iʊnz*. 940 BtTa kuut. U·· — Bt wìt [wait]. — Ta aat [hurt].

## Var. iia. Mid East and South East Shropshire cwl.

All from wn. by TH.

W Wellington (:wɛlitʊn), Sh., in Dec. 1881.
S Shifnal, Sh. (7 ese. Wellington), in Jan. 1882, with verbal pl. *in -en* (an jʊ? ə'*u* bin jʊ?).
M Madeley, Sh. (6 sse. Wellington) (:m*ee*·dli), in Jan. 1882.
I Ironbridge (6 sse. Wellington), Sh. (shanʊ, kənʊ, w*u*₀nʊ) shan't, can't, won't.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 W tak. 21 W *neem* [(naam) at Ketley, (1 se. W).], S *néim*. A: *or* O: 60 M l*u*₀qg. 64 W r*u*₀qg, S. roqg r*ù*₀q, I roqg. A'- 67 W gA'z gò·in, M gu. 69 WS n*oo*. 73 W *soo*. 74 W *tíu*. 82 W w*u*₀nst. A': 104 WSI r*oo*d, S *rôud* [also, a modernism?]. 115 W w*ù*₀m *oom*, S *ô*ᵢ*um*, SI wa'm. 117 WS wA'n. 121 WS gA'n. 124 S st*oo*n, I st*œ*'un? 130 I bòt.

Æ- 138 W *feedhʊr*, S faadhʊr, I fɛɛdhʊr. Æ: 161 WSI d*ee*. 179 W wəd [wəd)z jʊr n*eem*?], S wət. Æ'- 182 WS *see*. 197 I tᵢiiz. 200 W wívt, SI wit. Æ': 223 W dhívr. 224 WSM wívr.

E- 233 W sp*ee*k, S spiik. 235 W w*eev*. 241 S *réin*, I *reen*. E: 261 W *see*. 262 WI w*ee*. 265 W str'it. E'- 290 W ì. 297 W fɛlʊ. 299 W griin, S gr*íin*. 300 I kiip. E': 312 I îʊr. 314 WS îʊrd, I ard.

EA: 322 WSI laf. 326 W ə'*ud*, S *óuld*. 328 S [betw.] kɛ'*ud* kə'*ud*. 332 W tə'*ud*. 335 W aal. 338 W kaa. 346 S gj*eet*. EA'- 347 WSI jɛ'd, S ɛ'd. EA': 350 WI dᵢɛ'd. 351 I lɛd. 352 W rɛd. 355 I dɛf. 365 S nívr. 366 W gr*eet*, S gr*éit*. EO: 388 I m*ilk*. 395 SMI j*u*₀q, I joqg. 396 S wark. 402 W làrn, S lə'rn, I la'rn. EO': 428 W sii. 437 W tr*ú*uth, I trœ'uth, S trùth. EY- 438 W də'*i*.

I: 452 W ə'i â'*i*. 458 W nə'*it*, S [betw.] n*áit* nA'*it*. 466 W tᵢə'*ild*, I [betw.] tᵢə'*ild*, tᵢ*áild*. 469 W w*ù*₀n [will-en]. 477 W fə'*ind*. I'- 492 W sə'id. 494 W tá'im, S t*áim*, I tə'im. I': 500 W l*áik* lə'ikli.

O: — W sr*u*₀bʊri [shrubbery]. 531 WSI daatʊr. — S A's' [horse]. O'- 555 WSI shœ'uz. 559 W mədhʊr m*u*₀dhʊr, S madhʊr. 562 SI muun. 564 W sœ'un. 566 M *u*₀dhʊr. 568 WM br*u*₀dhʊr. O': 569 S bùk. 571 W *gù*₀d. 572 W bl*u*₀d. 579 W ʊn*u*₀f. 586 W dœ'u *díu*. 587 WS *dù*₀n. 588 W nœ'un, SI nuun.

U- 599 M ʊb*ù*₀v. 603 WS kam. 604 I s*u*₀mʊr. 605 WS *sù*₀n. 606 WSI

dóur. 607 W bu₀tur. — SI nu₀t [nut]. U: — W pu₀l [pull]. 622 W u₀ndur. 632 WSM u₀p. 633 WS ku₀p. 634 W thræ'u. 636 M fa'r. U'- 640 W kə'u, S kjə'u. 641 W áu, SI ə'u. 643 W nə'u. 650 I ubə'ut. U': 654 W srə'ud. 658 W də'un. 659 I tə'un. 663 W ə'uz'n, S ə'us. 667 M ə'ut. Y- 673 I mu₀tɟ. Y: 701 W fast.

II. English.

A. — W baqk, [at Ketley (baqk), bank]. 737 W mèts. E. 749 W lift. I. *and* Y. 756 W srímps. O. — S dɔg [dog]. U. — S dɑ'uk [to duck]. 794 WS dɟu₀g. 803 WSMI dɟu₀mp. 804 W dru₀qk'n.

III. Romance.

A.. 830 W t*ree*n. 841 W tɟans. 866 W púur. E.. 867 WSI t*ee*, I tii. 885 W veri. I.. *and* Y.. 901 S fáin. O.. 915 W stu₀f. 920 W pə'int. 947 W báil. U.. 969 W shóur.

## Var. iib. South Staffordshire cwl.

This is the Black Country proper.

Cs Codsall (5 nw.Wolverhampton), per E. Viles, Esq.
D Darlaston (:dàrlís'n) (3 wsw.Walsall), per TH., 1879, chiefly from Henry Blackhouse, b. 1833, foreman ironroller, and his wife, both natives.
Wa Walsall (:waas'l), per TH., 1877 and 1879.
Wb West Bromwich (5 s.Walsall), per TH., 1877, with verbal pl. in *-en* seldom used.
We Wednesbury (:wedɟburi) (3 sw.Walsall), per TH., 1879.
Wi Willenhall (3 e.Wolverhampton), per TH., 1879, from G. Dyke, keystamper, b. 1825, and his family.
Wo Wolverhampton, by TH., 1879.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A'- 4 CsD tak, Wi têik. 5 Wo mek, Cs mak. 8 Wo av ju, an ju [have you? have-n you?]. 21 D nêum, WaWe nêim, Wi nêum [old], nêim [new]. 23 Wo sêim. A: 39 D kòm, Wb *kee*m. 43 Wb and ɔnd, Wi ɔnd [obs.]. 51 WbWi ma'n. 56 Wa wesh, Wb wesh wash. A: *or* O: 60 Wa logg. 64 D roq ru₀q ru₀qg, Wi ru₀qg.

A'- 67 D gò, Wo gôu, Wi gu. 69 Wa náu, We nôu. 73 D sù. 74 Wa tíu. 76 Wb *too*d. 86 DWa ùts, Cs u₀ts. 87 Wb tluus. 92 Wo nôu. A': 102 Wi aks [old], ask [new]. 104 DWi rôud. 106 Cs br*oo*d. — Wi léidi [lady]. 108 Cs daf. 110 [negative, see p. 461], D *ái* èt [have not], wóù [won't], sh*ee* sh*ee*t [shan't], koo koot [can't], bìt [be not], *ái* du)t' nóu [I don)t know], it it [isn't it], êi [isn't], Wa *ái* shànt, shaa, kànt, kaa, wóunt, w*oo*, We wóu kaa shèt [won't can't shan't], Wb sh*ee* [shan't], Wi éint [is not], Wi béint, Wo *ái* ènt [am not], kaa [can't], dóunt [don't]. 115 DWb wòm, We ôum, CsWb wa'm. 117 Wo wa'n. 118 WbCs buun. 122 Wa nóu, Cs nɔn. 123 DWb nu₀thiqk. 124 Cs stuun.

Æ- 138 D faadhur féudhur, We faadhur, Wb f*ee*dhur, Wi fêədhur [old]. Æ: 161 DWaWeWbWo dêi. 164 Wa mee. 172 Wi gras. — D kà|rt [cart]. Æ'- 183 Wa titɟ, Cs t*ee*itɟ. 190 Wo kjéi. 193 Wo tliin. 194 Wo eni. 200 WaWeWi wiit, WiCs wîut [occ.]. 201 Cs *ee*dh'n. Æ': 209 Wo nivur. 216 Cs d*ee*l [? déil], Wi dɟe'l. 217 Cs *éei*tɟ. 223 D dhíur. 224 D wíur. 227 Wa wet.

E- 232 Cs br*ee*k [? éi]. 233 DWeWi spéik, We spiik [first form occ. We]. 236 Cs f*ee*vur [? éi]. 241 Wi rêin. 243 We plêi. — We éit [eat]. 251 D mêit. E: 260 Wo le''i. 261 DWaWeWiWo sêi. 262 DWaWi wêi, WiWo uwêi. 265 Wa stre'it. 270 Cs bali. 278 DWe wensh. E'- 290 D ì, ii. 293 Wb wi. 299 DWe griin, Wa gríin. 300 WaWb kiip. E': 306 Cs áith. 314 DWe íerd.

EA: 322 D lɔf. 326 DWa ôud, Wi óud, Cs ood. 328 D kôud, Cs kood. 331 Cs sood. 333 Cs kaaf. 334 Wo êipɐth [halfpenny worth], Cs aaf. 345 Wi dàr [obs.], dɐer [new]. 346 Wa gjêit, Wi gjêɐt [obs.], gjêit [new]. EA'- 347 DWe e'd, DWa je'd. 348 Wo a"i. EA': 350 Wb dɐd [coarse form (djɐ'd)], WoCs djɐ'd [occ.]. 355 Wa dîf ɐn du₀m [deaf and dumb], Cs dîif. — WbWi krɐ'm [cream]. 360 Wi tíɐm. 366 DWeWi grêit. 369 Wo slôu.

EO- 387 Wi nœ'u. EO: 394 DWiWo jander. 402 D lə'rn, We [between] lɐɐn lɔɔn. 404 Wo stàr. — DWa shòt [short]. EO'- 419 D jɐ'uɐn [yourn = yours]. 420 Wa fóuɐr [approaching] fɐ'uɐr. EO': 425 We la"it. 435 Wa jɐ'u. 437 WeWi trùth. EY- 438 D dâi, WeWo da"i.

I- 442 Cs ivi. 444 Wa sta"il. 447 WiWo ar [= she, frequent]. I: 458 We [between] na'it náit, Wi náit. 459 WaWo ra"it. 466 D tja"îld. 469 Wo wu₀l. 487 DWa jistɐrdi. I'- 492 Wo [between] sa"id, sâid. 494 DWi tâim [at D approaching (ta"im)], Wi táim. I': 502 WaWo fa"iv. 504 Wo na"if.

O- 519 Wo ôuvɐr. 522 DWa óup'n. O: — Wb kíuk [cook]. 527 D bóut, Wb ba't. 528 Wb tha't. 531 D daatɐr dootɐr. 532 Wa kóul kóal, Wi kôul, Wb kóul kə'ul. 552 D kòrn [with a pursed rounding]. O'- — Wo ôɐ [name of letter O]. 555 D shœ'u, WaWe shuu, Wi [old] shœ'u, [new] shuu. 556 DWo tíu. 558 WoCs luuk. 559 DWo mɐdhɐr, Wb mu₀dhɐr. 562 Wb mĭùn. 564 DWi síun. O': 569 Wo bœ'uk, Cs buuk. 570 Cs tuuk. 582 D kíul. 586 DWbWi díu, Wo dœ'u. 587 DWo dù₀n. 588 D níun, WaWi nuun, Wi [old] nœ'un. 594 Wi bíut [by a few].

U- 603 D kɐm kòm, Wi kɐ'm. 605 DWe sù₀n. 606 We dôɐ, Cs dûɐ. U: — Wo sha'ulderz. 615 Wo pá'und. 625 Cs tɔqg. 632 Cs u₀p. U'- 640 Wa kjâ'ɐz, Wo kjâ'ə [see 663]. 641 Wo áu. 643 DWo ná'ə [see 663], We ná'ə, Wb nĭáu. 648 D áuɐrn [ourn = ours, similarly (dhêɐrn, iz'n ɐ'rn) theirn hissen hern]. 650 WaWiWo ɐbâ'ət [see 663], Wb ɐbĭáut. U': 654 D srâ'əd. 658 Wo dá'ən. 659 Wa tâ'ɐn tâ'un. 663 DWaWo â'əs [with elongated lip opening], Wi âuz'n [houses, by many], Wo â'us. 667 Wa ĭáut dĭáut [do-out = put out], â'ət [see 663], Wb ĭáut, Wi á'ət.

Y- 673 D mu₀tj. Y: 697 Cs bɐri. 700 Cs was. 701 Cs fast.

II. English.

A. 737 Wa mêit. E. 749 Wo lift. I. *and* Y. 756 DWb srimp. O. 766 Wi máidhɐrd, dònt máidhɐr, ì)z mádidhɐrin imsɐlf. U. — Wb tjœ'un [old form], tíun [new, for tune]. 806 Wa fu₀s.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 Wi êəb'l éib'l. 811 Wb pleez'n [places]. 822 Wb méi. — Wo pêi [pay]. 830 Wo trêin. — D tjêinz [chains]. — Wo mɐstɐr mastɐr. 841 D tjaa'ns. E·· 867 D têi, We tii. O·· — WbWo bîf. — D rá'ənd [round, see 663], Wa rêənd [and approaching (rêuɐnd), see 663]. 940 Wa kóat. U·· 969 Wo shœ'uɐr. 970 Wa dju₀st.

## Var. iic. North Worcestershire cwl.

Near Black Country proper.

C Cradley (:kreedli), (3 e.Stourbridge), per TH. in 1880.

H Hagley (6 ene.Kidderminster), per TH. in 1880, and especially in 1882 from G. Nock, workman, b. 1815, and his wife, b. 1814, both natives. TH. notes "speech quite Mid., ($u_0$) common, verbal pl. in *-en*, (*ee*) in rec. sp. (éi), no reverted (ɐ); medial and final *r* more strongly trilled than usual Midland *r*," which to AJE.'s ears is not really *trilled* at all.

St Stourbridge (:stɐ|ɐbridj), per TH., "no reverted (ɐ), speech quite Mid."

S Selly Oak (9 e.Stourbridge), pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Sadler, native, then student at Whitelands, who knew not (ɐ).

So Selly Oak, wn. by TH., 1885.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 17 S laa. 20 S léɐm. 21 S néɐm. 22 S téɐm. 23 S séɐm. 24 S shéɐm. 31 C lêit. 36 S thaa, thaarin [euphonic (r)]. A: 43 S a'nd.

54 S wɔnt. A: *or* O: 58 S frɔm. 60 H l*u*ₒq, S lɔq. 61 S ʊmɔq. 62 S strɔq. 64 So r*u*ₒq. A′- 67 C gó*u*, HS gun. 69 S n*oo* [ʔ nô*u*]. 70 S *too*. 73 S *soo* [ʔ sô*u*]. 74 S tuu. 76 S tóʊud. 79 S *óo*ʊn. 84 S múʊr. 86 S óʊts. 87 S tl*oo*z. 91 S mô*u*. 94 S krô*u*. A′: 101 S *óo*ʊk. 102 S aˈks. 108 S dɑf. 110 [negatives] C kɑˈt [can't, said to be different 2 miles distant, but not stated in what direction], H kɑˈnt [can't]. 111 S ʌʌt. 115 C w*u*ₒm. 123 So n*u*ₒthin. 125 S *oon*i. 130 S b*oo*t. 131 S g*oo*t.

Æ- 138 CHS f*ee*dhʊr, H faadhʊr, S fɛʊdhʊr. 140 S éil. 141 S náil. 142 S snáil. 152 S w*ee*tʊr wɛʊtʊr. 153 S sɛdʊrd*i*. Æ: 155 S thatɟ. 161 CHS dêi. 166 S [little used, (gɛl) not so common, (laˈs) somewhat used, (wɛntɟ) common]. — St glasˈ [glass]. Æ′- 183 S t*ee*tɟ. 185 S r*ee*d. 190 S k*ee*. 192 S m*ee*n. 194 S ɛn*i*. 197 H tɟiiz, S tɟ*ee*z. 199 S bl*ee*t. 200 HS w*ee*t. Æ′: 207 S n*ee*dˈl. 213 S iidhʊr. 217 S *ee*tɟ. 223 HS dhíʊr. 224 HS wíʊr.

E- 233 S sp*ee*k. 234 S niid. 235 S w*ee*v. 236 S f*ee*vʊr. 241 S rɛʊn. 243 S plɛʊ. 251 HS m*ee*t. 252 S kit′l. E: 261 HC sêi, S s*ee*. 262 S wái. E′- 294 S f*ee*d. 296 S bil*ee*v. 299 S gr*ee*n, H griin. E′: 308 S n*ee*d. 314 HS íʊrd. 315 S fɔt [same as singular].

EA: 324 S éʊt. 326 H *ó*ud, S *oo*d. 330 *oo*d. 333 S kaaf. 334 S aaf. 346 S gɛʊt. EA′- 347 H ɟɛˈd, S id. 349 S fiú. EA′: 350 C dɟèd, S diid. 353 S bríʊd. 354 S sh*ee*f. 355 S díf. 356 S l*ee*f. 371 S straa.

EI- 373 C dhêi. EO- 386 S *joo*. 387 S nuu. EO: 395 H ɟu*ₒ*q. 399 S bráit. EO′- 409 S b*ee*. 411 C thrì, S thr*ee*. 413 S d*i*v′l. 414 S flii [(fl*ee*) = flea]. EO′: 435 S ɟʌu. EY- 438 H d*ái*, S dáˈi.

I- 440 S wik. 442 S ivi. 446 S náiʊn. 449 S git. 450 S tuuzd*i*. I: 452 S ái, So *ái*. 458 S náiʊt. 459 S ráiʊt. 462 S sáiʊt. 465 S sitɟ. 466 S tɟáild. 468 S tɟ*i*ldʊn. 472 S sr*i*qk [always (sr-) for (shr-) initial]. I′- 494 H tɔˈim, S táim. I′: 504 S náif. 506 C *u*ₒmʊn. — S ái [hay]. 513 C wáiʊr. 515 S wáiz.

O- 521 S fóʊl. 522 S *oo*pˈn. O: 527 S bɑˈ*u*t. 528 S thɑ*u*t. 529 S brɑˈ*u*t. 531 H dʌʌtʊr, S daatʊr. 532 S kóʊl. 533 S d*u*ₒl. 536 S guuld. 550 S wod. O′- 558 S l*u*ₒk. 559 H madhʊr, S m*u*ₒdhʊr. 562 S m*ú*ₒn. 564 S s*u*ₒn. O′: 569 S b*u*ₒk. 570 S t*u*ₒk. 571 S g*u*ₒd. 572 S bl*u*ₒd. 573 S fl*u*ₒd. 574 S brúʊd. 579 So ʊn*u*ₒf, S [*enow* not known]. 586 S duu. 587 H d*ú*ₒn. 588 HC nuun, S n*ú*un. 589 S sp*ú*un. 595 S fot [see 315, where (fɔt) is the form used]. 597 S sat.

U- — C *ù*ₒd [wood]. 600 S l*u*ₒv. 606 S dúʊr. 607 St b*u*ₒtʊr. U: 609 S fol. 610 S *u*ₒl. 611 S bolʊk. 612 StSo s*u*ₒm. 614 S *u*ₒnd. 615 S p*u*ₒnd. 618 S wɑund. 622 S *u*ₒndʊr. 625 S t*u*ₒq. 626 S *u*ₒqgʊr. 628 S n*u*ₒn. 629 S s*u*ₒn. 631 S thɑzd*i*. 632 HStS *u*ₒp. 633 HS k*u*ₒp. 635 S wɑth. 637 S t*u*ₒsk. 639 S d*u*ₒst. U′- 640 S kɛˈu. 641 S ɛˈ*u*. 642 S dhɛˈ*u* [not used]. 643 So nâ*u*. 644 S d*u*ₒv. 645 S ʊb*u*ₒv. 648 S ɛˈʊʊr. 653 S b*u*ₒt. U′: 655 S fɛˈul. 658 StH dá*u*n, S dɛˈ*u*n. 659 St tá*u*n, S tɛˈ*u*n. 663 H ɔˈ*u*s ɔˈ*u*zˈn, S ɛˈ*u*s. 666 C *u*ₒzbʊnd, S ['old manˈ common]. 671 S mɛˈuth. 672 S sɛˈuth. Y: 700 S was. 701 S fast. Y′: 711 S láis. 712 S máis.

II. English.

I. Y. 753 S kit′l. 756 S sr*i*mp [see 472]. O. 761 S lóʊd. 772 S buunfáiʊr. 773 S d*u*ₒqk*i*. 778 S ʊfûʊrd. U. 794 H dj*u*ₒg. 795 S sr*u*ₒg. 799 S sk*u*ₒl. 801 S r*u*ₒm. — C tùn [nearly, tune].

III. Romance.

A: 810 S fɛʊs. 811 S plɛʊs. 813 S bɛʊkˈn. — C pêi [pay]. 824 S tɟíʊr. 827 S *ee*gʊr. 835 S r*ee*zˈn. 836 S s*ee*zˈn. 840 S tɟaambʊr. 852 S apʊn. — S maavˈlz [marbles]. 865 S fʌʌt. 866 S póʊr. E·· 867 S tii. 869 S v*ee*l. 871 S ʊgrii. 878 S salʊri. 879 S f*ee*m*ee*l. 887 S tlaadɟi. 888 S saatin. 890 S b*ee*st [regular pl.]. 894 S d*i*s*ee*v. 895 S r*i*s*ee*v. I·· *and* Y·· 899 S n*ee*s. 904 S vɔˈ*i*let. O·· 913 S kóʊtɟ. 915 S st*u*ₒf. 916 S áinɟʊn. 918 S fiibˈl f*ee*bˈl. 920 S páint [= pint measure]. 924 S tɟáis. 925 S váis. 926 S spáil. 928 S *u*ₒns. 930 S lain. — StSo m*u*ₒni [money]. 935 SoS k*u*ₒntr*i*. 942 S bɑtɟʊr. 943 S t*u*ₒtɟ. 947 S báil. 948 S bɑˈul. 953 S k*u*ₒzˈn. 955 S dɑˈ*u*. U·· 965 S áil. 970 S dɟɛst.

## Var. iii*a*. East Warwickshire cwl.

A Atherstone (8 se.Tamworth), wn. in 1886 by TH. chiefly from J. Holland, hatter, about 40, native.

Ag Allesley Gate (4 w.Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH.

B Bedworth (:be·dʊth), (5 nne.Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH., chiefly from W. Jaques, b. 1808, living in an almshouse.

Br Brandon (5 ese.Coventry), wn. 1880 by TH.

Bu Bulkington (6 ne.Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH., chiefly from H. Smith, a platelayer, b. 1850, native, and his mother; also (marked †), two servants there, natives, who spoke rather refined; verbal pl. in *-en* nearly extinct, (auʒʊ duʒʊ), used, no h.

Co Coventry, a town refined speech, heard from Mrs. Cole, a tailor's widow, by TH., having a few dialectal forms, as (ʊ-) before present participle, trilled (r) after *draw*, *law*, etc.

N Nuneaton (9 nne.Coventry), wn. 1880 by TH., chiefly from a native labourer of 18; (:nu$_{\circ}$nii·t'n) general local pron.

P Polesworth (4 ese.Tamworth, St.), wn. by TH., 1879.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 Bu *teek*. — Buʼ† wêik [a wake, feast]. 8 AP ɛ'v, P an ʒo [have, have-n you ?]. 12 Co saar. 14 Co draar. 17 Co laar. 20 Bu lóʊm. 21 APN *neem*, B *nêʊm*, ABuʼ† *néim*. 22 Buʼ† *téim*. 23 B sêʊm. — BBu ɔmʊr [hammer]. 33 P rɛ'dhʊr, Buʼ† reedhur. A: 39 Bu kam. 49 A *iqin*. 56 AN wesh. A: *or* O: 58 P thrʊm. 60 BuN *lu$_{\circ}$q*. 64 APN *ru$_{\circ}$q*, Br ròq. A'- 67 N gu, Bu *goo*. 69 A *noo*, P nôʊ. 72 A uu. 84 Bu múʊr. 86 N òts, Br *óuts*. 87 A klúʊz. 92 AN *noo*. A': 104 N *rood*, B rôʊd. 110 N [negative] *it* ènt [it is not], A shànt kànt wònt [shan't can't won't], Bu kaa'nt shaa'nt wònt dònt [can't shan't won't don't], Co *eent* [is not]. 115 PBu òm, AN wòm, B wa'm. 122 A nò, Bu na'n. 123 A *nû$_{\circ}$thiqk*. 124 N *stoon*, B stûʊn, A stuun.

Æ- 138 A *feedhʊr*, P granfeedhʊr [grandfather], N faadhʊr feedhʊr, B *fívdhʊr*, Bu faadhʊr [new], *feedhʊr* [old], Br *feedhʊr*. — Buʼ† ladhʊr [ladder]. 152 N wíʊtʊr. Æ: 158 N àtʊnuun [afternoon, generally] afternuun [rare], A atʊnœ'un. 160 P ɛg 161 APNBBu dii, N *dee*, BuBr dêɪ [new form]. 177 B ʊdha·t'n [in that way]. Æ'- 200 B wívt, Bu wiit. Æ': 208 P ívʊr. 209 BP nivʊr. 211 Bu grii [most speakers] *gree* [some speakers]. 216 Bu dil. 223 A dhêʊ, N dhíʊ, B dhîer-îʊ [there-here, with euphonic (r)]. 224 AN wíʊ.

E- 233 ANB spiik. 241 A riin, Buʼ† *reen*. 243 NBu *plee*. — Bu ìt' [eat]. E: 260 Bu lii. 261 N see, NB *see*. 262 APN wii, Bu wii [old], wêɪ *wee* [new]. 263 Bu ʊ*wee*. — P fêild [field]. 278 A wɛntɟ, B wensh. 285 Co kris. E'- 290 A *ii*, Bu i. 292 Bu *mii*. 293 P wêɪ)n [we have-n]. 297 Co fɛlʊr. 299 NBBu griin, A *grin*. 300 Buʼ† kiip. E': 314 A íʊd [occ.] ɛad, N íʊrd, Br ə'rd.

EA: 322 A lɔf, N la'f. Bu lâf laaf. 326 ANBu *óuld*. EA'- 347 BrP ɛ'd, ANB ʒɛ'd, Bu ʒɛd [a few], ɛ'd [most], Co eed. 348 AN a'*i*. EA': — NBu kriim, B krɛ'm [cream]. 360 N tiim. 361 Buʼ† bîʊn. 366 A *grèt* [occ.] greet, N *greet*, Bu *griit*. 368 AN dɛth. EI- 372 AB aa. EO: 394 PN ʒandʊr, N ʒɔndʊr. 395 ABu *ʒu$_{\circ}$q*. 402 P la'rn, N laan laan. EO'- 411 Bu thrii. — Bu trii [tree]. 412 Bu shì. EO': 427 N ʒʊ *noo* wɔt dh*ee* bii [ye know what they be], Br *ái* bi gu)in [I be going]. 428 Bu sì sii. 436 Bu *trœ'u*. 437 NB trùth, ABu trœ'uth. EY- 438 AB da''*i*, Bu i mu$_{\circ}$st d*ái* tʊdii [he must die to-day (tʊdii) old form].

I- 447 P ar [=she]. — Bu ʒ*ís* [yes]. I: 452 Bu *ái*. 458 A *níit* n*áit*, N na''*it*, B *náit*. 459 N ra''*it*. 462 N sa''*it*. 465 ABu sitɟ. 469 P wu$_{\circ}$l [will]. — P windʊr [window]. 477 B *fáind*. I'- 494 NBu ta''*im*. I': 500 Bu *láik*. 507 B wu$_{\circ}$mʊn. 509 Bu wa''il.

O: 531 BBr daatʊr. 532 Co kôʊl. 552 N kaan. — N ɔs'iz [horses]. — Bu naath [north]. O'- 555 N shuu. 558 P lœ'uk, N luk. 559 N mu$_{\circ}$dhʊr. 562 A mœ'un. — N mu$_{\circ}$nth [month], Ag mu$_{\circ}$ns [months]. 564 P sœ'un. 566 Co ʊnu$_{\circ}$dhʊr. O': 569 Bu *bùk*. 587 B *dù$_{\circ}$n* [in (*ái*)n *dù$_{\circ}$n*) probably (*ái*)m) I have done, see notes, p. 471, col. 1, par. 3]. 594 A bœ'uts.

U- 603 N kɐm, B k*u*ₒmin. 605 ABN sùₒn. 606 PN dûʊr, B dûʊ [except before vowel, then (dúʊr)], Bu dúʊ [old], dóʊ [new]. U: 612 N s*u*ₒm. 616 gráund. 632 AP *u*ₒp. 633 BBr k*u*ₒp. U̘- 641 N áu. 643 N naa', ABu† nâu. 650 A [between] ʊbâ'ət ʊbâət. 651 P widhâut. U': 658 N dâɐn, ABu† dâun. 659 N tâʊn, Bu táun. 663 N âʊs áuz'n [houses], AB áus.
Y- 673 N m*u*ₒtɟ. 682 AB Bu lit'l.

II. English.

A. — B bɔqk [bank]. 737 Bu mêit [a fellow-workman on railway, (b*u*ₒti) in collieries]. I. *and* Y. 758 ABBu gjɐl [used at Bu]. O. — N dɔg' [dog]. 767 N nA''íz. 789 N ráʊ. — Co dráunded. 791 Bu † bái.

III. Romance.

A·· 811 P pl*eez*'n [places]. 824 A tɟíʊr. 851 N aa'nt. 862 A sèf. E·· 867 BrBu tii. — Bu piip'l [people]. I·· *and* Y·· 901 PNB fA''in. O·· — B [between] râ'und ráund [round, with elongated lip opening]. 947 Bu† bA''il. U·· 963 P kwA'iɐt. 965 Bu† A''il. 970 B dɟ*u*ₒs.

## Var. iii*b*. West Warwickshire cwl.

C Curdworth (7 ne.Birmingham), wl. and dt. in io. by J. Montague Dormer, Esq., almost all the words in the old wl. besides those here cited were asserted to be rec. pron.

Bi Birmingham. The wl. sent by Samuel Timmins, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., indicated simply rec. pron., which he stated was "probably often modified by s.St. and e.Wo." It probably gave town pron. and hence is not here cited. Called (:br*u*ₒmidɟɐm) at Leamington.

E Elmdon (7 ese. Birmingham), wl. in io. by F. J. Mylins, Esq., apparently son or brother of the Rector, who had then been 14 years there.

K Knowle (10 nnw.Warwick), wl. in io. by Rev. J. Howe, M.A., Vicar since 1855.

L Leamington, a very few wn. in 1880 by TH. from a mason, native, who observed with respect to the dialect, "we find it different all the while." The general sound of the speech was quite Mid.

W Warwick, wn. by TH. in 1880, but no reverted (ʀ), and sound quite Midland. *I be* used.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 E béʊk. 4 E téʊk. 5 E méʊk, K míʊk. 8 L ɐv. 10 C aa. 12 C saar. 14 C draar. 17 C laar. 18 E kéʊk. 20 C léʊm, K líʊm. 21 CE néʊm, K níʊm. 23 CE séʊm, K síʊm. 24 E shéʊm. 25 CE méʊn. 26 C wéʊn. 31 K líʊt. 33 K ríʊdhʊr. A: 39 K kéʊm. 43 K ɔnd. 44 K lɔnd. 50 K t*u*ₒqz. 51 K mɔn. A: *or* O: 60 W [between] loq l*u*ₒq. 61 K ʊm*u*ₒq. 62 K str*u*ₒq. 66 K th*u*ₒq. A'- 67 C guu, LW gùɟin. 69 C nóʊ. 76 K túʊd. 81 C léʊn. 86 C wats, K wóʊts. 87 C kl*ooz*. 98 C n*ood*. 99 C thr*ood*. 100 C s*ood*. A': 104 C róʊd, K rúʊd. 106 L brAad. 107 E lóʊf. 108 C dɐf [occ.]. 113 C wɐl. 115 K wóʊm, L òm, i)z gA'n *oom* [he's gone home]. 118 C bóʊn. 124 CK stóʊn. 125 W ònli. 134 C óʊth.
Æ- 138 E f*eed*hʊr, K fíʊdhʊr. 141 C néʊl, K níʊl. 142 C snéʊl, K sníʊl. 143 C téʊl, K tíʊl. 144 C ʊgɐn. 152 E waatʊr. Æ: 155 C thak. Æ'- 183 K *teet*ɟ. 190 E k*ee* [? éi]. 193 K kl*een*. 195 E mɔni. 197 E tɟ*eez*. 201 K *ee*dh'n. Æ': 218 CW sh*ip*. 223 LW dhîʊr. 224 C wíʊr.
E- 232 C briik. 236 C *feeʊ*r. 251 EK m*eet* [? éi']. E: 262 C wéi [?]. 280 K lɐb'n. 284 E thrɐsh. 287 K bizʊm. EA- 319 C géʊp. EA: 322 L làf. 323 K fɐ'ut. 325 E waak. 326 E ɐ'uld. 333 C kaaf, CK kaaf. 346 C géʊt, K gíʊt. EA'- 347 K jɐd. EA': 359 K níʊbʊr. 363 EK tɟɐp. 368 E díʊth, W dɟɐth. EI: 377 C stiik. 378 C w*eek*. 382 C dhíʊr. EO- 386 K *joo*. 387 C nuu. EO: 394 C jandʊr. 399 C brdit. 402 C laan. 403 W far. EO'- 414 K flɔ'i. EO': 423 K thɔ'i. 428 W sì.

I- 440 E wik. 442 C *ivi*. 446 E nɔ'in. 447 L ɐ'r [=she]. 450 C toozd*i*. I: 452 C *ái* ['inclined to (ɔ'*i*), but not quite equal to it'), EK ɔ'*i* [no modifying statement], W á'*i*. 455 C l*ee*. 458 C n*ái*t, E nɔ'it, W [between] nɐ"it n*ái*t. 462 E sɔ'it. 465 C sitɹ. 466 C tɹ*ái*ld. 467 C w*ái*ld. 477 CL f*ái*nd. I'- 496 C *ái*vern. I' [From E all I' words are written with *oi*, which may be (ɔ'*i*, *ái*)]. 500 EK lɔ'ik, L l*ái*k. 503 C l*ái*f, E lɔ'if [possibly the same sound]. 505 E wɔ'if. 506 E *u*ₒmɐn. 509 L w*ái*l. 510 W má'*i*. 514 E ɔ'is.

O- 521 C f*oo*ld. O: 526 K kɐf. O'- 556 C t*iu*. 559 E m*u*ₒdhɐr. 560 C sk*iu*l, W skuul. 562 K m*iu*ɐn. O': 587 L d*u*ₒn. 589 K sp*iu*ɐn. 590 E fl*iu*ɐr.

U- 603 L k*u*ₒm*i*n, W kɐm*i*n. 606 K d*u*ɐr. U: 618 C w*au*nd. 622 W *u*ₒndɐr. 625 C tɔq. 632 W *u*ₒp. 633 L k*u*ₒp'. 636 E fɐrdɐr. U'- 641 W â*u*. 643 W nâ*u*. U': 658 W dâ*u*n. 663 W â*u*s. 667 L ɔ'*u*t.

Y- 676 E lɔ'*i*. 677 E drɔ'*i*. Y: 690 E kɔ'ɪnd. 691 E mɔ'*i*nd. 700 C wɐs. 701 E fɐst.

II. English.

A. 737 C m*é*ɐt, K m*i*ɐt. E. 744 E m*ee*z'lz. 749 C l*i*ft, W lɐft. I *and* Y. 753 C t*i*g'l. 757 E tiin*i*. 758 E gɐrl. O. 761 EK l*ó*ɐd. 763 C rɐam. 772 C bɐrnf*ái*ɐr. U. — L t*u*ₒb [tub].

III. Romance.

A·· 810 E f*é*ɐs. 811 W pl*ee*zez. 813 CEK b*é*ɐk'n. 817 C rɐdish, K rɔdish. 824 tɹ*i*ɐr. 837 C l*i*is. 852 K apɐn. E·· 887 E klaadɹ*i*. I·· *and* Y·· 904 C v*ái*vlet. 911 C sɐstɐrn. O·· 919 C *á*intmɐnt. 920 C p*á*int. 925 C v*á*is. 926 C sp*á*'l. 929 CE kuukɐmbɐr. 930 C l*á*in. 933 L fr*u*ₒnt. 947 C b*á*il. — W krɔ"*u*n [crown]. U·· 965 C *á*il.

## Var. iv. Leicester cwl.

L Loughborough (l:*u*ₒfbɐrɐ) (10 nnw.Leicester), wn. by TH. 1878-9. Verbal pl. in *-en* recently extinct.

Lr Leicester, wn. in 1884 by TH., see p. 464.

S Syston (:s*ó*istɐn) (5 nne.Leicester), wl. written by Miss M. A. Adcock, native, teacher at Whitelands Training College, and read by her to AJE., who palaeotyped it. Even before a vowel *r* is very weakly trilled or buzzed (ɹr, ɹr, r).

B Birstall (:bɐstɐl) (3 nne.Leicester), Miss Allen, of St. Mark's Girls' School, a friend of the above Miss Adcock, who had known the dialect all her life, gave a few words in io.

E Miss C. Ellis (no connection of the author), residing in Belgrave, (2 ne. Leicester), and purposing to give the pron. at Leicester and 8 miles round, wrote me a numbered wl. For brevity, only the vowel of the word when it differs from S and B is assigned.

G Glenfield (3 wnw. Leicester), wn. by TH., 1884, from Orme, the carrier, a trustworthy informant.

C Cottesbach (:kɔtɐsbatɹ) (14 ssw. Leicester), a wl. by Rev. J. S. Watson, rector, native. Only such words as differ from the above four are given, and then generally only the vowel is written in.

M Market Harbro' (14 se.Leicester), wn. in 1882 by TH.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 S bakj*u*ₒs [bakehouse]. 4 SE tɐk. 5 LSE mɐk. 6 S m*ee*d. 8 L *ee*, G ɐ, S ɐv. 9 S bij*ee*v. 10 S aa. 12 SE saa+r. 13 E naa. 14 SE draaɐr. 15 S aa. 17 SE laa [+r before a vowel]. SE k*ée*ik. 19 LS t*ee*l. 20 SE l*ee*m. 21 LG n*ee*m, LrM n*ê*im. 22 SE t*ee*m. 23 S s*ee*m. 24 S sh*ee*m. 25 S m*ee*n, E ii. 26 S w*ee*n. 27 S n*ee*v. 28 S ee|r [slightly trilled]. 31 S l*ee*t. 32 S b*ee*dh. 33 S r*ee*dhɐr, E ɐ, C ɑ, ɔ. 34 SE last. 36 S thaa.

A: 39 S k*u*ₒmd. 40 S kɔm. 41 S thaaqk. 43 L and, E ɔ. 44 S land, E ɔ. 46 S kand'l. 48 S s*u*ₒqed. 50 S tɔqz, E ɑ. — L kjan [can]. 51 L màn, S man. 54 LE want, S WAANt. 56 LSE WESh. 57 SE as.

A: *or* O: [C (q), never qg)]. 58 M frɔm. 59 S lam. 60 LEGLr l*u*ₒq, S lɔq, Lr loq. 61 SE ɔm*u*ₒq. 62 S strɔq, E *u*ₒ. 64 LLr roq, MS rɔq. 65 S sɔq, Lr soq.

A'- 67 L gu)in, N góu·in, SEG guu, Lr gù, C [goes, becomes occ. (gɑz)]. 69 SL n*oo*, M nò*u*. 70 SE t*oo*. 71 S w*oo*. 72 SE *iu* [or very like (*iy*ₗ)]. 73 LSE s*oo*, E ɐ. 74 SEG t*iu*, G t*æ*'u, M tuu. 75 SE str*oo*k. 76 SC t*óo*ud. 77 SE lɔrd. 78 SE *oo*. 79 SE *oo*n. 80 S ɔlɐdii. 81 SG l*ee*n. 83 S m*oo*n. 84 S múɐr nɐr JAU [more than you], G mûɐr, E moor. 85 S soor. 86 S *oo*ts. 87 SE tl*oo*z. 89 S b*oo*th. 90 SE bl*oo*. 91 S m*oo*. 92 L nɑ'u, LE n*oo*. 93 SE sn*oo*. 94 S kr*oo*. 95 S [(ɑl), hurl, used]. 96 S s*oo*. 97 SE s*oo*l. 98 S n*oo*d. 99 S [see 95]. 100 S s*oo*d.

A': 101 SE *oo*k. 102 SE aks. 104 S r*oo*d, C r*óo*ud rúuɐd, MLr rô*u*d. 106 S br*oo*d. 107 S lɔf, E *oo*. 108 SE d*oo*. 109 SE l*oo*. 110 S nɔt. 111 S AAt. 113 SE ɑl [gen.] WEl, [occ.], G *oo*l. 115 L ɑ'm *oo*m òm, SG òm, E ɔ', ɑ, Lr ô*u*m, M ô*u*m. 117 LE WA'n. 118 S b*oo*on. 121 S gɔn. 122 S n*u*ₒn, E nɔn, M nô*u*, nA'n. 123 LG n*u*ₒthiqk, S n*oo*t [nought], E nɔthiqk. 124 S st*u*ₒn. 125 S *oo*ni. 126 S oor. 127 S *óo*ɐs, E *óo*st. 128 S [(dhɐm) used]. 129 SE g*oo*st. 130 E b*oo*t, Lr bô*u*t. 131 E g*oo*t. 133 S r*óo*ited [used], E r*oo*t. 134 SE *oo*th. 135 SE klɔth.

Æ- 138 LSG f*ee*dhɐr, E a¹, M faadhɐ. 139 SE drii. 140 LS iil. 141 SELr niil. 142 SE sniil. 143 LSE tiil. 144 SE ɐgen, C ɐg*i*n [adv.] ɐgen [prep.]. 146 E miin. 147 S briin. 148 S feer. 149 S bl*ée*iz. 150 S l*ee*st. 152 SE wetɐr, Lr WEtɐ. 153 LS sɐtɐrdɐ, L sɐtdɐ.

Æ: 155 SBE thak. 158 S aaftɐr, E aftɐr. 160 SE Eg. 161 LSE dii, G dii [old], Lr dE''*i*, M dê*i*. 163 SE liid. 164 SGE m*e*, [emphatic] mii, Lr m*ee*. 165 S szid, E SEd. 166 S m*ee*d. 168 SE talɐ. 169 SE WEn. 170 S *ee*vist, E *a*, i. 171 SE bææ'rl*i*. 172 SG grEs, E a. 173 SE WOz, SB WAA'ɐ. 174 S aash. 175 SE fast. 178 S nat. 179 S WOR [but (d) assimilated]. 180 E bá¹th. 181 S pad, E â¹.

Æ'- 182 S s*ée*i, E sii. 183 LE tiitʃ, S t*ée*itʃ. 184 S l*ée*id. 185 S r*ée*id, E riid, Lr r*í*id. 187 S l*ée*iv. 188 S nii. 189 S wii. 190 S k*ée*i. 191 S *ée*il, E iil. 192 S m*ée*in. 193 S tl*ée*in, EM tliin. 194 S ɔn*i*, E E, C a. 195 S mɔn*i*, BC man*i*, E E. 197 L tJE'iz, S tJ*ée*iz, E ii. 199 S bl*ée*it. 200 LSEGM wiit, G wíɐt [old]. 201 S *ée*idh'n. 202 SE iit.

Æ': 203 S sp*ée*ich. 204 S d*ee*id. 205 S thr*i*d. 206 SE rEd. 207 E niid'l. 208 G ivɐ. 209 G nivɐ. 210 SE tlii. 211 S grii, E *ee*. 212 S wii, E w*ee*. 213 SC *ee*dhɐr, E ii. 215 S teetJt. 216 S d*ée*il, E diil. 217 S *ée*itʃ. 218 S sh*ée*ip, E ship. 219 S sl*ée*ip. 221 E fiir. 223 S dhíɐ, M dhêɐ, E dheer. 224 LSLr wîɐ, M wêɐ. 225 SE flesh. 226 E m*oo*st. 227 SE WEt. 228 S sw*ée*it, E E. 229 S bræth, E E. 230 S fat.

E- 231 L dhɐ [rarely by assimilation (t')]. 232 S br*ee*k. 233 LGMLr spiik, S sp*ee*k. 234 S n*ee*d. 235 S w*ee*v. 236 S f*ee*vɐr, E ii. 237 S bliin. 238 E EdJ. 239 S s*ee*l. 240 E liin. 241 SEG riin, Lr rêin. 243 LSE plii, Lr plE''*i*. 246 SE kw*ée*in. 247 SE w*ee*n. 248 S meer. 249 SE weer. 250 SE sweer. 251 SE m*ee*t. 252 SE kEt'l. 253 SE nEt'l. 254 SE ledhɐr. 255 S wedhɐr.

E: 257 S EdJ. 259 S WEdJ. 260 SEG lii. 261 LM sêi, L s*ee*, S s*ée*i. 262 L wêi WE'*i* wii, SE wii, Lr WE i, M wêi. 263 M WE'i. 264 S iil, E *ee*l. 265 LLr strE'it, S str*ée*it. 267 S J*ee*ld. — L f*é*ild [field] f*í*ild, G f*é*ilz f*í*ilz. 268 S *oo*ldist [used], E hEldist. 270 S bElɐs, SE bEl*i*. 272 SE Elm. 273 SE mEn. 276 SE thiqk. 277 S s*oo*k [used]. 278 LSE WEnsh. 280 S lEv'n. 281 S lEqkth, E lEnth. 282 S strEqkth, E strEnth. 283 SE mer*i*. 284 SE thrEsh, B thrish. 285 S krEs. 286 S arɐ. 287 S b*ee*z'm, E E, C ii. 288 E lEt.

E'- 290 L E'*i*, S *ée*i, E ii. 291 S dh*ée*i, E dhii. 292 L m*é*i mE'*i*, S m*ée*i, E mee. 293 S w*ée*i, E wee. 294 L fE'id, SE f*ée*id. 296 S bil*ée*iv. 297 L felɐ [(tJap) not so common]. 298 SE f*ée*il. 299 L grêin, SE gr*ée*in, G grê·n griin grii̇n, M griin. 300 S k*ée*ip, E k*ee*p, G kjêip, M kiip. 301 S íɐr. 302 S m*ée*it.

E': 305 S ó*i*. 306 E a'it. 307 SE nó*i*. 308 L nE'id, S n*ée*id. 309 S

spéeid. 310 S éeil. 311 E tɛn. 312 S îər, G îɐ. 314 LGLr îɐd, M əəd ɜɜd. 315 S féeit. 316 E nɛkst.

EA- 317 S [(tɐ skin) used]. 319 S geep. 320 SE keer.

EA: 321 S [(sɛɛd) used]. 322 LGM làf, B laaf. 323 SE [(fit)] used. 324 LG ɛ'it', S áit, E iit. 325 S waak, E aa. 326 LG ɜ'ud, S ood, E oold, M óuld. 327 SE boold. 328 L kɜ'ud, LrSE koold. 329 SE foold. 330 S ood, [sb] tak ood ən)t [take hold of it], C oot [noun]. 331 SE soold. 332 L tə'ud. 333 SB kaaf [both spelled it *corf*, shewing that they did not feel the *r*]. 334 S eef. 335 S əl ən ɐm [all of them]. 336 SE faal. 337 SE waal. 338 L kaal. 340 SE jæɛd. 342 S eerm, E aa'. 343 S waam, E aa', æɛ. 345 L dɛɛ[r, S dəs'nt [dare not]. 346 L gjeet, S geejɛt.

EA'- 347 LSEG ɛ'd, M èd. 348 SE ói, E ái. 349 S fuu [fine, E (fíu)].

EA': 350 SEG dɛ'd. 351 SE lɛd. 352 LSG rɛd. 353 SE brɛd. 354 S sheef. 355 L dɛf, S deev. 356 S leef, E ii. 357 S [(fɛr əl dhat) for all that, used], E dhoo. 359 SE niibɛr, B neebɛr. 360 S teem, E ii, C íiɐ, G tíɐm [old], tiim [new]. 361 S been. 362 S slii. 363 S tjeep, E ɛ. — G îɐr [year]. 365 S neer, E ii. 366 L greet, SE grɛt, M gréit. 367 SE thrɛt. 368 SE dɛth. 369 SE sloo. 370 S raa'ɐr, E raa. 371 S straa'ɐr, E straa.

EI- 372 S [unused]. 374 S nee. 375 S riiz. 376 S bêit.

EI: 377 C stíiɐk. 378 S week. 380 S dhɛm. 382 S dher, E ii.

EO- 383 E sɛv'n. 384 S ɛv'n. 385 S bɐneeth. 386 E joo. 387 S níu [modern], nuu [gen.], E nuu.

EO: 388 SE milk. 389 S jook. 390 SE shuod. 393 S bɐjənd. 394 L jəndɐr. 396 SE wɜk. 397 S sóoɐrd, C swɜrd. 398 SE stæɛrv. 399 L bráit, S bróit. 400 S arnest. 402 LE ləən, S laarn, GM lɜɜn. 403 SE far. 404 SE steers [also for *stairs*]. 405 S aarth, E ɛɛ. 406 SE ɜrth. 407 S fadɪ [used], E fardh'n. 408 E níu.

EO'- 409 S béei, E bee. 411 S thréei, E three, G thrêi. 412 L [between] shɛ'i shêi, S shéei, E ee. 413 S divil dɛvul, E dɛvil. 414 S flâi. — L wɛ'id [weed]. 415 S lói. 416 SE diɐr. 417 SE tjíu. 418 S bríu. 420 S fóoɐ. 421 S fóoɐti.

EO': 423 SE thói. 424 SEC ruof. 425 L láit, SE lóit. 426 LG fɛ'it, S feet [no (*i*) after (*ee*)], G fáit. 427 L bɛ'i, S béei, G bêi. 428 S séei, E see, G séi. 430 E frɛnd. 431 SE bíɐr. 433 SE brɛst, Lr brɛsizs [breasts]. 434 LrS beet. 435 SE joo. 436 L tríu, SE tríu. 437 L trœ'uth, SE tríuth.

EY- 438 GLS dâi, E dɔ'i. EY: 439 SE truost.

I- 440 S week [used for a feast, *wake*]. 441 S siv. 442 S dívi, B óivi. 443 E fróidi. 444 SE stóil. 446 SE nóin. 448 S dheez, E ii. 449 S gɜr [certainly before vowels, ? before consonants, E git] 450 SBE tuuzdee.

I: 452 SE ói. 454 S witj. 455 S lói daan [written *aarn*]. — S bɜd [bird]. — Lr thɜɜd [third]. 457 S móit. 458 LM náit, SE nóit, G náit. 459 LM ráit rɜ'ɪt [almost impossible to decide between them), SB róit. 460 L wɛ'it', S wéeit, E wiit. 461 S ulóit. 462 SE sóit. 464 E wɪtj. 465 SEG sitj. 466 L tjáild, SE tjóild. 467 S wóid. 468 SE tjildɐn [commonly called (kidz)]. 471 S timbɐr. 472 S shriqk, E sriqk. 473 S blóind. 474 S pil [used]. 475 S wíind, E a'i. 476 S bóind. 477 L fain', SE fóind. 478 S gróind. 479 S wóind. 481 SE fiqgɐr. 484 E dhis. 485 LB this'l. 486 S baam [barm, used]. 487 SE jistɐrdii. 488 SE jit. — Lr [betw.] dɜt, dot [dirt].

I'- [(ói) was the nearest approach I could make to Miss Adcock's diphthong, which she identified with my (ɔ'i). Miss Ellis writes (ʌ'i), but I use (ói, for both, TH once heard (ɔ'i) Lr]. 490 SE bói. 491 SE sói. 492 L sáid. 493 S dróiv. 494 LM táim, SBE tóim. 496 SE óiɐn. 498 SE róit.

I': 500 SBE lóɪk. 501 SE wóid. 502 SBE fóiv. 503 SBE lóif. 504 SE nóif. 505 SE wóif. 506 S wuomɐn, E wamɐn. 507 SE wɐmin. — L ii [hay]. 508 G máil, SE móil. 509 SE wóil. 511 L wáin, SB wóin. 512 SE spóiɐr. 513 S wóiɐr. 514 S óis. 515 S wóis. — G wáit [white]. 517 L jíu, E jíu.

O- 519 G ovɐ. 521 SE fool. 522 S ɜp'n, Lr op'n. 523 S ɜp, ói ɜp jɐ mi gar it [I hope you may get it, (r) for (t), as frequently]. 524 S wald.

O: — M sruob [shrub]. — L kíuk' [cook]. — L [between] fagi fogi [foggy].

526 SE kæf, C kɔf, Lr kof'. 527 SE bʌat. 528 S thiqkt [used], E thʌat. 529 S briqd [used], E brʌat. 531 S daatər, MEG dʌatər. 532 SE kool. 533 SE du̯l. 534 S óovl [pitch rises at end], E ool. 536 SE goold [not (used)]. 538 SE wu̯d. 539 SE bool. 540 S ɔlɪ. 542 SE boolt. — G krap' [crop]. 547 SE bóovrd. 549 S óovd. 550 S wʌd, EC ar. 551 S stərəm, E stʌam. 552 LE kʌan, S kərən. 553 S ɔrən, E ʌan. 554 SE krɔs, C ʌa.

O'- 555 L shæ'u, SE shíu, M shuu. 556 SE tíu, S [omitted before the name of a place, *I'm going church*]. 557 SE tíu. 558 L líuk læ'uk, SE luuk líuk. 559 L mədhər, S mədhər, E mu̯dhər, GM mədhə. 560 L skíul, M skuul. 561 S bləsəm [used]. 562 LG mə'un, SBE míun, Enderby múun. 563 SBE mu̯ndi. 564 LSE síun. 565 SE nɔz, E nooz. 566 LSEG u̯dhər. 568 GLr bru̯dhər.

O': 569 LSE bíuk, E buuk. 570 SE tuuk tíuk. 571 SE gu̯d, E gʌd? 572 SE blu̯d. 573 SE flu̯d. 574 S bríut. 575 SE stu̯d. 576 S wɛnzdi. 577 S bʌ'u, E bæ'u. 578 S plau, E æ'u. 579 LSE ɛnu̯f, S ɛníu. 580 SE tu̯f. 581 S seetɟt, E sʌat, líukt. 582 SE kíul. 583 S tíul. 584 SE stíul. 585 S brúm. 586 L də'u dæ'u, SE díu. 587 SE du̯n, GM dù̯n. 588 L nə'un níun næ'un, S níun. 589 SE spúun. 590 S floovr. 591 C múər. 593 S mu̯n [used], E mu̯st. 594 SE bíut. 595 SE fu̯t, C fʌt. 596 SE ríut. 597 SE su̯t.

U- 599 SE ɛbu̯v. 600 SBE lu̯v. 601 S faul, E ɛ'u. 602 ES sɛ'u. 603 LM kʌm ku̯m. 605 SE su̯n, LGM sù̯n, Lr sun. 606 LGM dóə, S dʌa'ər, E dóər. 607 S bu̯tər, G bu̯tɛkʌp.

U: 608 SE u̯gli. 609 S fu̯l, EC fʌl. 610 SE wu̯l. 611 S bu̯lɛk, EC ʌ. 612 LSE su̯m. 613 SE dru̯qk. 614 S ʌ'un. 615 S pʌund, E ɛ'u. 616 L grĕáund, E grɛ'und. 617 E sɛ'und. 618 S wu̯nd, E ɛ'u. 619 S fu̯nd, E ɛ'u. 620 S graundəd. 621 S wu̯n. 622 SEG u̯ndər. 625 SE təq. 626 L u̯qgri, SE u̯qgər. 627 G su̯ndi. 628 S nu̯n. 629 SEG su̯n, Lr sʌn [no difference between *son*, *sun*]. 630 S wu̯n. 631 S thʌzdi, E ar. 632 SEGLr u̯p. 633 SEMLr ku̯p, Lr kop. 634 L thræ'u, S thríu. 635 SE wʌth. 636 SE fʌadə. 637 S tu̯sk. 638 S bu̯sk. 639 SE du̯st.

U'- 640 S kʌ'u, E kɛ'u, C ʎáu. 641 S ʌ'u, E ɛ'u, C ʎáu. 642 S dhʌ'u, C ʎáu. 643 S nʌ'u, E nɛ'u, G nâu, C ʎáu. 645 S du̯v. 646 [S (kríuk) used], E bæ'u. 647 S ʌ'ul, E ɛ'u. 648 L ar, S aarn [ours], C wər [unemphatic]. 652 SE ku̯d [used thus, 'I used to couldn't']. 653 SE bu̯t.

U': [Miss Adcock said (ʌ'u) throughout, Miss Ellis gives the numbers for (ɛ'u) throughout, but very possibly she meant (áu), which was accidentally omitted from the numbered lists, and it is most likely that the actual sounds used by both ladies were identical. In her dt., E gives *naŏŏ*, '*a* in pat, ŏŏ' which should be (æ'u), but may be (áu). The actual diphthong meant is therefore uncertain; see 663 L. The C wl. gives the triphthong (ɪáu, ɟáu, ĕáu); see D 26, p. 426, l. 9.] 654 E sræ'ud. 655 E fæ'ul. 656 S rúm. 657 S brʌ'un E ɛ'u. 658 LGMLr dâun [(ĕáu) not used at L], C ʎáu, S dʌ'un [see 659], E dɛ'un. 659 LM tâun, S tʌ'un [with raised voice at end], E ɛ'un, C ʎáu. 661 S [rarely used, generally a (pʌ'ur), meaning a pouring down of rain], E shæ'ur. 662 SE u̯z. 663 L âus, [between] âas, âus; âas, S ʌ'us ʌ'uz'n, E ɛ'us, G âus âuz'n, M âus. 665 E mɛ'us, C mìâus. 666 SE u̯zbən, man, Lr u̯zbənd. 667 S ʌ'ut, E ɛ'ut, MLr âut. 668 S prʌ'ud, E ɛ'u. 670 S bíudh. 671 S mʌ'uth, E ɛ'u. 672 S sʌ'uth, E ɛ'u.

Y- 673 S mu̯tɟ. 674 S ded, E i. 676 SBE lói. 677 SE drói. 678 S din. 679 L tɟatɟ, Lr [betw.] tɟatɟ, tɟotɟ, SE tɟartɟ. 680 SE bizi. 682 SE lit'l.

Y: 684 S brig. 685 S radɟ [common], rig, G ridɟəz. 686 S bói [a slight difference from 490], E bói. 687 S flóit. 688 C sitɟ setɟ sətɟ. 689 SE bild. 690 SE kóind. 691 SE móind. 693 SE sin. 694 L wak, Lr wok. 695 S ærk. 696 E bərth [? əə]. 697 E bɛri. 699 S róit. 700 LSE wʌs, Lr [between] was, wos. 701 CSE fʌst. — L shu̯t. 703 SE pit.

Y'- 705 SE skói. 706 SE wói. 707 SE thərtéein, G thərtêin. 708 SE óiər. Y': 709 SE fóiər. 711 S lóis [usually (diks)]. 712 S móis.

II. English.

A. 713 E bad. 714 E la'd. 716 E ad'l. 717 S dɟéeid. 718 S triid.

722 S driin. 723 E díivri. 725 S *séeil*, Lr sêil [country] *seel* [with depressed intonation]. 729 E friim. 733 S *ói* wər Amos skéeurd *tíu* deth [I was almost scared to death]. 734 S dææn, E ee. 737 S meet. — G *teetu* [potato]. 740 S *wéeiv*. 742 S liizi.

E. 743 E skriim. 744 S *meez*'lz, E e. 745 S *tjéeit*. 746 S *breeidh*, E ii. 747 S *indivur*. 748 S *fligd*. 749 L left. 750 E beg.

I. *and* Y. 753 S *tit*'l [more usual], E *tik*'l. 754 E *pig*. 756 LSEM *srimp*. 757 S *tini*. 758 SE gel. 759 E fit.

O. 761 SE *lood*, C *óoe*. — L dog, Lr dog dòg [dog]. — L tlogz [clogs]. 767 S *nóiz*, EC *ái*. 768 S *kóuk*. 771 SE fond. 773 S *du*ᵉ*qki*, E a. 774 E *pooni*. 775 S *bíubi*, E uu. 777 SE shop. 779 E orts. 781 S bodhur. 782 SE *pu*ᵒdhu *mu*ᵒk [? a powder of muck, very dusty]. 783 S *póoultri*. 784 S *ba'uns*, be'*uns*. 789 E re'*u*. 790 S *ga'un*. 791 GLr *bôi*.

U. 792 S skwob'l. 793 SE *u*ᵒg. 794 LrM *dju*ᵒg. 795 S *sru*ᵒg. 796 L blæ'u. 799 SE *sku*ᵒl. 801 SE *ru*ᵒm. 803 SELr *dju*ᵒmp. — GLr *gu*ᵒn [gun]. 804 LS *dru*ᵒqk'n [S 'very broad']. 805 SE kardz, kadz. 806 SE *fu*ᵒs. 807 SE *pu*ᵒs. 808 LS *pu*ᵒt [S fine, E (pat)].

III. Romance.

A·· 809 E *éeib*'l. 810 SE *féeis* [rising pitch], [country about Lr] *fees*. 811 SE *pléeis* [rising pitch], M *plêis*', E [pl. *pleez*'n]. 812 S *léeis*. 813 L *beek*'n, S *béeik*'n, E ii. 814 SE *mees*'n [usually (brik-liiur)]. 816 S *fêeid*. 817 SE redish. 818 E *héeidj* [often]. 819 SE *réeidj*. 821 S dilii. 822 SE mii. — LG pii [pay]. 824 SE tjiiur. 827 S *eegur*. 828 SE *eegu*. 830 L *tréin*, SE triin. 832 S *míur*, E ee. 833 S *péeur*. 835 S *réeiz*'n, E ii. 836 S *séeiz*'n, E ii. 838 S *tréeit*, E ii. 839 S *béeil*. 840 S *tjéeimbur*, E æ. 841 S tjææns, E e? 842 S plaqk. 845 S *eenshen*, E h-. 846 C tjaandlur. 847 E *deendjur*. 848 SE *tjeendj*. 849 SE *streendjur*. 850 S dææns, E aa. 851 SE aant, E e. 852 SE epun. 853 S baargin, E ær. 854 SE barul. 855 SE karuts. 856 S pa'rt, E æ. 857 S *kéeis*. 858 S *bréeis*. 859 E *tjees*. 860 SE *péeist*. 861 S *téeist*. 863 S tjeef. 864 SE bekoz. 865 S faat. 866 L pûe.

E·· 867 S *teei*, E tii. 868 E djii. 869 S *véeil* [but vail and veil (veel)]. 870 S *biuti buuti*. 871 S *vgréei*. 872 S *tjéeif*, E ii. 874 S riin. 875 S fiint. 877 S éeur, E h-. 878 SE *saluri*. 879 [S never used by dialect-speakers, only (wentj)], E *feemeel*. 880 S egzææmpl. 881 SE sens. 882 S *panzi*. 884 S *eprentis*. 887 S tlaardji. 888 S *saartin*, E ee. 890 S *beest* beests, E ii. 891 E fiist. 892 S nefu nevu, E nevi. 893 S fle'ur. 894 S *diséeiv*. 895 S *riséeiv*.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 SE dulóit. 898 SE *nóis*. 899 S *néeis*, E ii. 900 S *pree*. 901 SE *fóin*, Lr *fâin*. 902 S *móin*. 903 S [uses only (tu ev jer dinur) to have your dinner], E *dóin*. 904 SE *vóilet*. 908 SE udvóis. 909 S *bréeiz*. 910 E dje'ist. 911 SE sesturn. 912 SE *róis*.

O·· 913 SE *kootj*. 914 E *brootj*. — L be'if [? (béif) beef]. 915 S *stu*ᵒf. 916 S *u*ᵒnjun, E a. 917 SE *roog*. 918 S feeb'l. 919 E a'intment. 920 E pa'int. 921 E ukóint. 922 S *bu*ᵒs'l, E basb'l. 923 EC ma'ist. 924 EC tja'is. 925 S *vóis*, E a'i. 926 SG *spóil*, EC a'i. 927 S *tru*ᵒqk. 928 SE naans, E *e'uns*. 929 S *ka'ukuᵒmbur*, E *ke'u*-. 930 SE *lóin*. 931 S *dju*ᵒglur. 932 C umiáunt. 933 SE *fru*ᵒnt. 934 S *ba'unti*. 935 SE *ku*ᵒntri. 937 E kok. 938 S kaarnur. 939 tlos *bi*, SE tlas, S [close the door (pa'r dhu dóur *tíu*) put the door to]. 940 SE *koot*. 941 SE *tíul*. 942 S *bu*ᵒtjur, E batjur. 943 SE *tu*ᵒtj. 947 S *bóil*, E a'i. 948 S *ba'ul* [this is also used for a hoop, to trundle a hoop, is to (ba'*ul* u ba'*ul*)]. — GM *ku*ᵒlu [colour]. 950 E *su*ᵒpur. 951 E *ku*ᵒp'l. — L *krĕáum* [crown]. — Lr nas [nurse]. 952 S *kuz*'n. 954 E kash'n. 955 E de'*ut*. 956 S kivur it *u*ᵒp [cover it up, as frequent as (*ku*ᵒvur)]. 957 E empla'i.

U·· 961 SE *gríuuil*. — L *wéitin* [waiting]. 963 SE *kwóiut*. 964 S *súuut síuut*. 965 S *óil*, EC a'il. 966 SE *fríut*. 967 S *síut*, E suut. 968 S *óistur*, E a'i. 969 L shæ'un, SE shiúur [never used alone, but always after (saatin)]. 970 S *djist* na'u [but] u *dju*ᵒst man, E *u*ᵒ. 971 SE *flíut*.

# V.

# NORTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprises D 30, 31 and 32. It is bounded on the s. by the n. *theeth* line 5 (p. 18), and on the n. by the L. line 10 (p. 21); and on e. and w. by the sea.

*Area.* The entire North and East Ridings with some of the West Riding of Yo.; n.La., most of Cu. and Nb., all We. and Du.

*Districts.* Only three districts have been formed, with rather numerous varieties, which, however, do not show any very important differences.

*Characters.* In the greater part of the division U′ is represented by (uu), which in n.La. and Craven becomes (ó*u*, á*u*). But through Cu. and We. at least if not in Du. and Nb., U′ becomes (*ú*₁u) leading on to (ó*u*). In the whole s. part, up to the n. *tee* line 7, p. 20, the def. art. is simple suspended (t̀), but beyond that line (dhʊ). *I is* or (a)z) is the regular form in the s. part and even in the n. part is more frequent than *I am* (a)m), which however is there heard. The verbal pl. in *-en* is quite unknown. The pron. in Cu. and We. seems to retain more of its original form than on the e. coast, although the use of English in those counties is certainly more recent than on the e. This is partly due no doubt to the mountainous formation of the w. regions.

Phonetically (*ú*₁u), which forms the transition from (uu) to (a′u), is most important, and is highly developed on the w. and in the n. It consists essentially in beginning the (uu) with a sound much more closely resembling (*oo*) than (uu), and gradually sinking to (uu), which is sustained. Thus JGG. observes that *soup* in Cu. and We. sounds to a southerner almost like *soap*. Of course this is an exaggeration. The native hears (suup), and hence writes *soop*, the fact being that he associates the conception of *oo* with (*ú*₁u) and not (uu). But (*ú*₁u, *í*₁i) are strictly analogous, and are the means, or one of the means, by which (uu, ii) become (a′u, a′i), see p. 293. Although my information on the e. side gives me (uu, ii), it is very possible that (*ú*₁u, *í*₁i) are said in many places. In the M. div. (*í*₁i) occurs freely, especially in the milder form (*ii*), but (*ú*₁u) only occurs in the milder form (*ú*u), and that unfrequently. The variation of the (uu) sound we find there is chiefly (*æ*′u), arising from beginning the sound of (uu) with the mouth open, producing (*æ*), which resembles (ə). In reality however the sound may be and is generally produced with the lips considerably closed through an effort of will (see p. 292). But in (*ú*₁u) the sound of (uu) begins, as has been said, with a sound closely approaching (*oo*). There is therefore an essential difference

of origin between (æ'u, ú₁u), though both are varieties of (uu). The first (æ'u) arises from O', which is quite differently treated in the N. div. The second (ú₁u) arises directly from U'. It is quite true that (æ'u) extends to a few words which do not contain O', and that in all cases O' must have sunk to (uu) before the change (æ'u) occurred. It is also true that (æ'u) as well as (ú₁u) generates (ɜ'u), but that is by direct confusion of (æ) with (ə, ɜ); whereas (ú₁u) passes through (óu). The treatment of O' in the N. div. is not at all (æ'u), but rather (íu, íʊ), which may have had a different origin.

The letter *r* occasions considerable difficulty. On the e. as far as the two Shields Nb. and Du. it practically disappears when not preceding a vowel. Even on the w. its power is very small. The difficulty of ascertaining the fact is very great, because the speaker, feeling the effect of the written *r* in modifying the preceding vowel, insists on its presence. In the same way in London people will assert that they pronounce *r* in *part*, *sort*, which they call (paat, sAAt), because had there been no *r* written, they would have said (pæt, sɔt). (See pp. 189, 234 and 247.) But they will admit that they do not "rattle the *r*" as in Scotland. In the n. part of Nb. and adjacent to Scotland, the peculiar uvular (*r*) prevails, and it will be specially discussed hereafter; but it seems to be rather a defective utterance than a distinctive dialectal pronunciation.

The guttural (kh), which was sporadically heard even in the M. div., has practically vanished from the N., though on passing the L. line 10, (kh) as well as (r) is strong.

The fact that a small portion of n.Cu. and n.Nb. belongs to the L. division must be particularly noted. The whole of the n. part of the N. div. was for long renowned for its "Border" warfare, but this portion has now quietly settled into possession of L. speech, and mostly L. people, although politically a part of England.

## D 30 = EN. = East Northern.

*Boundary.* Beginning at Middlesborough, Yo., at the mouth of the Tees, proceed along the border of Yo. and Du. as far as Croft (14 sw.Middlesborough). Then go sw. from Croft to Middleham (8 s-by-w.Richmond), passing e. of Richmond and Leyburn. Turn s. and enter the West Riding just e. of Middlesmoor (13 w-by-n.Ripon), when turn slightly se. and go direct to Burley (7 n.Bradford), about where strike the s. *hoose line* 6 (p. 19). Follow this line, passing along the Wharfe by Otley, to about Arthington (17 s-by-w. Ripon), when quit the Wharfe, but pursue the s. *hoose* line to the s. of Tadcaster (9 sw. York), w. of Selby and Snaith, (passing 8 w.Goole) across Hatfield Chase, se. to the n. part of Nt., and then by the b. of Li. to the Humber, at the mouth of the Trent, and crossing the Ouse opposite Blacktoft (6 e.Goole), go by the Humber and coast round to the Tees mouth and Middlesborough again.

It must be understood that this line from Croft to Burley, separating EN. = D 30 from WN. = D 31, is merely approximative. The upper part of Swaledale, Wensleydale, and Nidderdale belong certainly to D 31, which, as we shall see, differs distinctly in character from D 30, but whether the boundary lies slightly e. or w. of that assigned has not been ascertained. Probably no definite line could be drawn. The one proposed is very nearly the w. b. of the great plain of

Yo., and while it satisfies JGG., my authority for the adjacent part of D 31, does not interfere with any of CCR.'s indications.

*Area.* This district comprises the greater part of the North Riding, omitting the nw. horn of Yo., all the East Riding and a small portion of the West Riding, a very large extent of country, which has not been completely explored, although there can be but little doubt of the general character of the parts from which no information has been received.

This large area I have found it convenient to divide into four main varieties, which are themselves divided into subvarieties as follows:

VAR. i. *The Great Plain of York.*
(*a*) Mid Yo., (*b*) York Ainsty, (*c*) North Mid Yo., (*d*) New Malton, (*e*) Pateley Bridge and Lower Nidderdale, (*f*) Washburn River.

VAR. ii. *The North East Moors.*
(*a*) South Cleveland, North Cleveland being spoiled for dialect by the iron works, (*b*) North East Coast and Whitby.

VAR. iii. *The Wolds and South East Coast.*
(*a*) Market Weighton, (*b*) Holderness.

VAR. iv. *The Marshes.*
Goole, and Marshland.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County Lists for Yo. under the following names, where * indicates vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., principally CCR.'s Glossic, ° in io.

Var. i. (*a*) ‖Mid Yo., °Ripon to Thirsk. (*b*) ‖York Ainsty, ‖York city. (*c*) ‖North Mid Yo., °Thirsk. (*d*) ‖New Malton. (*e*) ‖Pateley Bridge. (*f*) ‖Washburn River.

Var. ii. (*a*) ‖Stokesley for South Cleveland, °Skelton, °Danby-in-Cleveland. (*b*) ‖North East Coast, °Hackness, °Whitby.

Var. iii. (*a*) *°Market Weighton, °Pocklington. (*b*) *†°Holderness, †Burton Constable, †Hornsea, †°Hull, †Leven, °Skeffling, ‖Sutton, †Swine, °Waghen.

Var. iv. °Drax, °East Haddlesley, *Goole, °Hatfield, °Selby, °Snaith.

*Character.* Throughout this large extent of country, it is surprising what small varieties exist. Although following principally the lead of CCR., who was my first and has been my chief authority for the central parts of this region, I have laid down 11 forms, it is very difficult if not impossible to say with even moderate certainty (so far as the information I have obtained extends) what are the characteristics of each, and to discover any but a geographical test to distinguish them.

The great uncertainty commences with the chief characteristic, the peculiar mode of fracturing the vowels in the A-, A′, Æ, E-, EA′, O′ words by prefixing an accented (ee) or (*ii*) and reducing the vowel itself to indistinct (ʊ): thus A- (néeʊm) (n*ii*ʊm) name, A′ (twéeʊ, tw*ii*ʊ) two, Æ (déeʊ, d*ii*ʊ) day, and so on. All we can say is, that (éeʊ) is more affected in the s. and (*ii*ʊ) in the n., but both occur everywhere. In case of A′, O′, this is further confused with (*úu*ʊ). Numerous instances will be seen in the subjoined cwl. for Vars. i, ii, iii.

The next great peculiarity is the treatment of I′ as (aa). This also pervades all the varieties, although it is certainly modified in Var. iii, especially in form *b*. In this form (aa) occurs principally before voiced consonants, as (waad) wide, but even in this case frequently becomes (á*i*) as (wá*i*d) wide. Before voiceless consonants, and even in other cases, the sound is (é*i*) or possibly (ʀ′*i*) as (né*i*f ná*i*vz) knife knives. CCR. cannot prevail on himself to believe in these (é*i*) forms, but the testimony of so many observers is overwhelming in their favour.

The treatment of the vowel in the U′ words as (uu) is by no means peculiar

to D 30; we have already met with it in the n. of D 20, but it is characteristic in conjunction with the other marks. In D 31 we shall find it somewhat modified. Here, however, it forms a strong contrast to the (aa) treatment of the same U′ in the adjoining D 24, and the whole course of the s. *hoose* line 6 should be carefully observed. The vowel in the U words is (*u*) apparently, and not ($u_0$). But my vv. authority for Market Weighton, Rev. Jackson Wray, seemed to incline to an ($u_1$) sound, and ($u_1$) certainly occurs in D 31. See introd. to M. div. p. 291.

The *r* before a vowel seems to be gently trilled, and when not before a vowel, either to be entirely vocalised or reduced to a species of faint unflapped (r) of some kind, but the special kind has not been determined, and hence (r) simply is sometimes written, the value of which must be thus determined.

The definite article is generally reduced to the suspended (t'), and in Holderness is, according to its glossarists, reduced to nothing at all. Mr. Stead, however, one of the glossarists, admits the occasional use of (t'). Much more remarkable is its transformation into (th), which CCR. finds in the Washburn River form *f* of Var. i, and which he has traced sporadically as far as Harrogate. If this is confirmed by other observers, the n. *theeth* line (5) would have to be modified at the point where it at present unites with the s. *hoose* line (6), say at Burley (26 w-by-s. York), and would proceed n. for about 6 miles to Blubberhouses, go round by Harrogate, and join line 6 again about Arthington (20 w-by-s. York). But at present it seems best to preserve the line 5 with this provisional statement.

A further characteristic which separates D 30 from D 24, and from the n. of D 20, is the universal use of *I is* (aa)z) for *I am*. But this is common also to D 31, and may even be heard occasionally in Dumfries.

Var. i and ii I cannot separate at all, so far as pronunciation is concerned. But there may be many differences in idiom and vocabulary, with which I am not concerned, and as we have for Var. i CCR.'s Mid Yo. Glossary, for Var. ii Rev. J. C. Atkinson's Cleveland Glossary for form *a*, and Mr. F. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary for form *b*, all highly elaborated, I have been induced to make the distinction, which, so far as pron. is concerned, seems to me to consist principally in the preference of (*iiv*) to (éev), compare the cwl. below.

Var. iii is characterised by the threefold treatment of I′ (taam, n*éi*f, n*ái*vz) time, knife, knives, the absence of the def. art. and the use of (thr-, dhr-) for (ˌtˌr-, ˌdˌr-), although TH. found only the latter form, and Mr. Stead admits that on his last visit to Holderness, he found those dentals coming into use among the younger people.

Var. iv is still less easy to separate than the others. It gives me the impression of an immigrant form from m. Yo. In the cwl. for Var. iii form *b*, I have marked all those words which were given me at H [Holderness] in a full wl., differently from those at S [Snaith]. They are certainly very few. In A-, made cake tale lame same mane wane, S used (éev) for H.'s (iiv). In A: S (kéevm), H (kom). In A′ S (gaa naa tuu kl*úu*vs) for H (g*ú*uv n*íi*v tw*íi*v tl*ii*vs) go no two clothes, and bone none stone oar had also (aa), and so on. The principal variants were: Æ′- S (men*i*), H (mon*i*) many. E: S (seg), H (sedɨ) sedge; EA′- S (fecv), H (fiu) few; EA′: S (sh*ii*vf), H (shaf) sheaf, S (néevbvr), H (néibvr) neighbour. EO S (br*éi*t), H (briit) bright, I- S (stii), H (st*ái*l) stile. I: S (n*éi*t vl*éi*t), H (niit liit) night alight, S (gr*i*nd), H (gr*u*nd); the last was the most considerable difference observed. For I′, S has (aa) in place of (*éi*), and for O′, S (sp*úu*in b*úu*it), H (sp*íi*vn b*íi*vt) spoon boot, are decidedly singular, and approach D 24.

## Market Weighton and Marshland.

The following contrast of W [Market Weighton] and M [Marshland] was given me by Mr. Kirkpatrick (see Introd. to cs. No. 9, p. 501), in his own orthography, which I interpret to the best of my ability. W is said to be "gruff and hard," M "soft, whining, and slightly sing-song." I write it interlinearly with R [received speech].

No. 1.

R Good night, Tom, I'll go home at once, and get into bed and
W g*u*d niit, :tom, aa)l gan ɹam ʊt ɹans, ʊn git *i*nt*i* bed ʊn
M g*u*d niit, :tom*i*, aa)il g*úu*ʊ *úu*ʊm ʊt wons, ʊn get t*i* bed, ʊn

R rest my old bones, for I am vastly afraid I shall never get
W r*i*st m*i* AAd b*ii*ʊnz, fʊr aa)z w*ee*nt ʊn fl*ee*d aa sal n*i*vʊr get
M rest ma*i* *oo*d b*úu*ʊnz, fʊr aa)z friit'nd aa shel n*i*vʊr get

R to Londesborough Park to-morrow.
W tʊ :londesbr*o* :p*ee*k t*i* mAAn.
M ti :usfl*i*t :pasthʊr t*i* morʊ.

*Notes to* No. 1.

*Vastly afraid*, the (weent ʊn) used for (weentli); and *whent* in Mr. F. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary is explained as 'vast'; (fl*ee*d) flayed, is commonly used for frightened.—*Londesborough's Park* is 2 n.Market Weighton.—*Ousefleet Pasture*, Ousefleet is 6 e.Goole, on the Ouse, the places are varied to suit the speakers.

No. 2.

R Dr. Patrick, you've got upon a bonny-ish horse there.
W :doktʊ :pathr*i*k, ɹuu getʊn pon ʊ bo·n*i*)*i*sh os dhéeʊ.
M *oo* :doktʊ :pathʊr*i*k dhat's ʊ náist əəs ɹúu)ʊr *u*pʊn.

R What's he gotten with? How old will he be? I don't know
W wat)s i getʊn w*i*v? uu AAd w*i*l)ʊ)b*i*? á*i* d*ii*ʊnt nAA
M uu *ó*ud w*i*l)ʊ)b*i*?

R that I've [or, I haven't] seen such a pretty horse [of a very long while].
W ʊt a)v siin sá*i*k ʊ prat*i* os.
M á*i* *ee*nt siin s*i*tj nʊ prat*i* əəs ʊv)ʊ var*i* loq wá*i*l.

*Notes to* No. 2.

W. *Dr. Patrick*, he was a general practitioner of course, but in Yo. they style these *doctors*, and speak of the physicians as *Mr.*, which is supposed to imply a higher rank. He never had his full name of *Kirk*patrick given him. *What's he gotten with?* what were his sire and dam?—*seen* should probably be *seed*.

M. *nice horse*, the pron. (əəs), written *hirse* for horse, is Li., Marshland rather affects the adjoining Isle of Axholme in Li.

Mr. K. said that the dialect of Howden (of which he is a native) and Blacktoft, both just opposite Marshland on the other (or north) side of the Ouse, is rather that of Marshland. The speech of Goole and Snaith are illustrated below.

*Illustrations.* (1) CCR. and other informants have kindly furnished me with 10 cs. illustrating 10 out of the 11 forms previously mentioned. These I have arranged interlinearly, by which means their relations and differences are readily seen. The form not here contained is Var. iv, Goole. As I had been so much dependent on CCR. for Yo., it seemed advisable to check his pron. by other information; hence I give (2) a set of 4 dt. interlinearly for Var. ii, and (3) a set of 3 dt. interlinearly, two for Var. iii,

and one for Var. iv, written by different hands. I conclude my illustrations by 4 very full word-lists, illustrating (4) Mid Yo. Var. i, (5) n.e.Yo. Var. ii, (6) Market Weighton, Var. iii, (7) Holderness, Var. iii. To the last the differences from Var. iv have been added. These taken together give the completest accounts of the pron. of this district which I have been able to procure. For transliteration of CCR.'s Glossic see p. 394, l. 6 from bottom.

## (1) Ten Interlinear cs.

illustrating D 30, Var. i, ii, iii, to shew the small extent of their differences.

1. *Mid Yo.* Var. 1*a*. The typical form with which the others have to be contrasted; embracing the area defined by lines joining the towns of Ripon, Ripley (7 s-by-w.Ripon), Wetherby (15 sse.Ripon), York, Easingwold (12 nnw. York) and Ripon again, and extending slightly beyond this limit in every direction. This is the district to which CCR.'s *Mid Yorkshire Glossary* refers. The cs. was pal. by AJE. from CCR.'s glossic, after a full discussion. See also the cwl. which follows, and which is likewise due to him. CCR.'s familiarity with this speech was principally with the neighbourhood of Wetherby. He considered that York Ainsty was also involved, but probably only the nw.Ainsty was meant, and it and York City should be omitted, see No. 2.

2. *South Ainsty*, Var. *ib*. The Ainsty of York is an irregular quadrilateral, of which York City, the junction of the Wharfe and Ouse (8 s-by-w.York), Wetherby (12 w-by-s.York), and the junction of the Nidd and the Ouse, are the angular points. A line from Wetherby to Easingwold would therefore just avoid the Ainsty, and Mr. Stead, headmaster of Folkestone Grammar School, a native of the Ainsty and for 20 years there resident, thinks that CCR.'s Var. *ia*, cs. No. 1, must have just avoided the Ainsty. The following cs. written by Mr. Stead in gl. and pal. by AJE. refers to the undernamed villages in the Ainsty, all less than 6 m. from York: to the s., Bishopthorpe, Naburn, Acaster, and Appleton; to the sw., Dringhouses, both Askhams, Copmanthorpe, and Billbrough; to the w., Acomb, and to the nw., Poppleton. The differences between this version and CCR.'s No. 1, which will be seen at a glance from the interlinear arrangement, formed the subject of an inquiry by me, the results of which are given in notes to this version No. 2. Mr. Stead says that the forms in the s. and e. part of the Ainsty differ in many points from those in the n. and w. villages of the same district, as Nun Monkton (7 nw.York), Tollerton (10 nw.York), Alne (4 sw.Easingwold, 11 nw.York), which lie beyond the Ainsty. After the full exposition in the notes to this version, I do not reproduce the complete wl. for s.Ainsty with which Mr. Stead kindly furnished me. The whole district is influenced by the refined speech of York City on one side, and the ordinary speech of the East Riding, as at Market Weighton, cs. No. 9, on the other. Both CCR. and Mr. Stead gave me a cs. for the refined petty tradesman's speech of York City, differing in minute particulars, and CCR. gave me a cs. for the refined peasant speech of the whole country from Wetherby to Northallerton and Stokesley, ranging therefore over cs. Nos. 1, 3, and 7; but although these are interesting, they are such manifestly modern interferences with hereditary dialect through education and received speech, that I considered they lay beyond the scope of these inquiries.

3. *North Mid Yo.* Var. *ic*. This represents CCR.'s "Near North," that is, the district lying immediately north of his Mid Yo. Draw lines connecting Northallerton, Kirkby Moorside (20 ese.Northallerton), Thirsk, Middleham (19 w-by-n.Thirsk), and thence to Northallerton. This gives a flat quadrilateral, beyond which the region is supposed to extend in all directions. To the n. of this region up to Du. I have almost no information. Nor have I any means of checking the present. But as it lay beyond CCR.'s immediate observation, and depends upon memories many years back, some errors are unavoidable. The notes are almost entirely due to CCR.

4. *New Malton*, Var. *id*. This version for New Malton was written to shew

how (aa) prevailed in many words in this part of Yo. The dialect, so far as I know, was not very familiar to CCR., but he endeavoured to convey the impression he had received. It cannot be considered to be a particular study of purely local Malton speech, but merely an exemplification of the use of (aa). In other respects it agrees closely with cs. Nos. 1 or 3. The following is a list of all the words in which (aa) occurs either in cs. No. 1 or No. 4, with the corresponding sound in the other, arranged in the order of the cwl. The figures 1 and 4 refer to these versions.

A- 1 lóev 4 laa *law*, 1 fóev 4 faa *fare*.
A: 1 géevth 4 gaath *garth*.
A'- 1 noo 4 naa *know*, 1 kréevk 4 kraa *to crow*.
A': 1 téeen 4 taan *the one*.
Æ: 1, 4 wáav, wor *was*.
Æ': 1 dhíiv 4 dháav *there*, 1 wíiver 4 wáav *where*.
EA- 1 kéeez 4 kaaz *cares*.
EA: 1 soo 4 saa *saw*, 1 oóvd 4 aad *old*, 1 évul 4 aal *all*, 1 kóovl 4 kaal *call*, 1 and 4 shaap *sharp*.
I- 1 and 4 naan *nine*.
I: 1 saak'n 4 sáik'n *such*.
I'- 1 biv 4 baa *by*, 1 and 4 taam *time*, 1 and 4 waan *to whine*.
I': 1 and 4 laak *like*, 1 and 4 waal *while*, 1 maan 4 máin *mine*.
O- 1 and 4 waald *world*.
Y- 1 ˌdraa 4 ˌdrái *to dry*, 1 and 4 laal *little*.
A. 1 tóoek 4 taak *talk*.
I·· 1 and 4 faan *fine*.
O·· 1 níivk 4 kaanv *corner*.
U·· 1 wisht 4 kwaat *quiet*.

There is certainly a singular preponderance of (aa) if all has been correctly remembered, but there is no evident reason for it, and possibly the change is modern.

5. *Lower Nidderdale*, Var. i*e*. The lower portion of the valley of the Nidd, including Pateley Bridge and Greenhow Hill, both 11 nw.Harrogate. The pron. here, and in cs. No. 6, is transitional to D 31, Var. iii. The district of Lower Nidderdale is not uniform, Lofthouses at the n., Ramsgill a little s. of it, but still n. of Pateley Bridge, and Dacre 4, se. of it, have apparently slight differences in the pronunciation of the long O' words, soon noon done enough plough, and the Fr. U·· word *sure*, which have (íu) in the first, (*íiv*) in the second, and (*í*u) in the last, supposing Dacre and Pateley Bridge to have the same diphthong.

6. *Washburn River district*, Var. i*f*. This extends from Blubberhouses and Fewston (6 wsw.Harrogate), to Otley (9 nw.Leeds), just on the border of D 24. This dialect approaches to that of Skipton, D 31, Var. iii, and is the extreme w. form of D 30, Var. i. It is peculiar as having (th) for the def. art. *the*, although lying in the midst of a (t') speaking population, and n. of the n. *theeth* line 5. See p. 497. Otley, too, which is here included, seems geographically to belong to D 24. The exact position of the line 5 and part of line 6 along this part has not been perfectly traced for want of such a precise phonetic survey as TH. has made for lines 1 and 2. CCR. considers the northern district about Fewston, Thruscross, and Blubberhouses, on the e. bank of Washburn River, and the southern by Otley, to form two subvarieties, but he has not given me the points of difference.

7. *South Cleveland*, Var. ii*a*. This may be taken as slightly exceeding the triangular area of which Stokesley (8 s.Middlesborough), Egton (20 se.Middlesborough), and Pickering (20 w-by-n.Filey), are the points. North of Stokesley the dialect has been corrupted by the development of the ironworks, of which Middlesborough is the head. The line of railway from Stokesley to Egton may be considered to form the n. base of this triangle. The east coast, giving form *b*, is closely connected with this, which includes the Moors of Yorkshire, and has been especially illustrated in the Rev. J. C. Atkinson's 'Cleveland Glossary,' 1868, where he endeavours to trace a connection between these forms and the Scandinavian. The difference as regards pron. between cs. Nos. 1 to 6, and cs. Nos. 7 and 8, is very slight indeed. This cs. is also by CCR.

8. *North-East Coast*, Var. ii*b*. This extends "from Guisborough (8 se.Middlesborough) eastwards and from Tees mouth southwards to s. of Filey," as defined by CCR. This is especially the district illustrated by Mr. F. K. Robinson's *Whitby Glossary*. What facilities CCR. had for investigating this

dialect I do not know, but there is a great peculiarity in this version, of which I find no indication in the Cleveland or Whitby glossaries, namely, the use of (éi) for the vowel in ye, here, there, we, themselves, himself, great, sickan = such, herself, eyes, me, did, she, well, beast, will, washing, tea, week, deed. This affects only cs. No. 8. In other respects this v. agrees well with the preceding. See ne.Yo. cwl. and dt. below, Illustrations (5) and (2).

9. *Market Weighton* (:wiit'n), Var. iii*a*. This cs. was written in io. by Mr. J. W. Kirkpatrick, of Market Weighton, a native of Howden (16 sse.York and 11 sw.Market Weighton, which is 10 w-by-n.Beverley), and may be considered to represent the triangular area of which Pocklington (12 e-by-s.York), Beverley, and Howden are the vertices, or the w. side of the East Riding. It was then revised by Mr. H. Dove, of Market Weighton, and translated into glossic by CCR., and finally, in 1877, it was gone over with the Rev. Jackson Wray (author of an admirable Methodist dialect tale called *Nestleton Magna*), and pal. by AJE. CCR. considered it to be "a presentation of dialect in a refined form, which is the general mode of speech in e.Yo.," and that it is "faithful and characteristic." Mr. K. also gave me a number of notes respecting this dialect, especially as contrasted with that of Marshland, Var. iv (see p. 497).

10. *Holderness*, Var. iii*b*. This is the district on the se. coast of Yo. from say Bridlington southwards to Spurnhead, the extreme se. point of Yo., and eastwards through Driffield, Beverley, and Hull, the b. following the line of railway from Hull to Bridlington (:bo·litɛn). The authors of the Holderness Glossary divide this region roughly into three, termed n., w. and e. Ho., by straight lines connecting Hornsea with Driffield (12 nw.Hornsea) on the one hand and Hull on the other. The following cs. specimen was pal. by AJE. in Dec. 1873 from the dictation of the Rev. Henry Ward, who had then been well acquainted with the country for thirty years or more. His information referred especially to n.Holderness, but Mr. Stead, who is responsible for the e.Holderness part of the Glossary, gave me the variants for that region. This version was also submitted to CCR., who considered it in many respects refined; some of his observations are given in the notes. To examine the peculiar use of (thr- dhr-) TH. visited Hornsea, Burton Constable (7 ssw.Hornsea), Leven (7 wsw.Hornsea), Swine (5 nne.Hull), and Hull. From the last, being thoroughly refined, he obtained (tr-, dr-), and from the other places he got (ˌtˌr-, ˌdˌr-), which Mr. Stead on a subsequent visit found that it was the tendency of younger people to use in place of (thr-, dhr-), the form he found to prevail among the peasantry. As in Market Weighton (thr-) is constantly written when (ˌtˌr-) is said, it is the most natural substitute. But Mr. Stead is quite familiar with both (ˌtˌr-, thr-), and knows the difference in their character, and can pronounce both, as I know by a personal interview. He has also visited every village in e.Holderness. Hence I have no hesitation in accepting his conclusion, written to TH. on 20 Feb. 1878, namely, "Amongst persons of somewhat superior education or position there is a modification or sliding towards (ˌt, ˌd), and the same is almost invariably the case where the rustics address strangers of presumably superior position and education; but where a free and unembarrassed utterance by a genuine native can be obtained, we get decided (th, dh). And yet after all it is only in this latter case that we get the true Holderness sounds at all."

Another point is the regular and total omission of the def. art. *the*, which is queried by CCR. In the Holderness Glossary it is much insisted on for n. and e.Holderness, but *the* admittedly occurs (1) as (tˈ) before vowels, as (tˈ egz), and (2) as (d) added to prepositions, as (*i*)d uus, *u*pɛ)d gr*u*nd) in the house, upon the ground. In the Glossary Mr. Stead says, "The peculiar effect on the pronunciation of the omission of the definite article can scarcely be conceived by one who has not heard the dialect spoken." And it must be recollected that Mr. Stead is from birth familiar with suspended (tˈ) for the def. art.

CCR. is also sceptical as to the separation of (éi) before voiceless consonants from (ái) before vowels and voiced consonants, the latter of which, and not the former, has a tendency to fall into (aa), and he thinks it must be a refinement; but it seems to be generally admitted by natives of se.Yo.

Much information respecting pron. is given in the Introduction to the Holderness Glossary.

*Arrangement.* In order to make evident the coincidences and differences of these ten versions in the clearest possible manner, they have been arranged interlinearly, and when a word in one line is *exactly* repeated in the *next* following line, it is not rewritten, but its place is supplied by (,,). It must be remembered that (,,) means "the same word exactly as in the *next preceding* line." When a word in one line has *no* corresponding word in one or more of the next following, (—) is inserted when it seemed advisable for clearness; otherwise the space has been left blank. Hence (—) means "No word corresponding to that in *any* preceding line." Thus in par. 1. (tʊgi̯dʊ) occurs only in cs. No. 6, and blanks are left in the other numbers. But nothing answering to (o ɹʊ) occurs in cs. Nos. 2, 9 and 10. Hence (o ɹʊ) have to be rewritten in cs. No. 3, but they are replaced by (,, ,,) being two words in cs. No. 4, then (on) supersedes (o) in cs. No. 5, but (ɹʊ) remaining is represented by (,,). In cs. No. 6 (o) recurs, and (o ɹʊ) remain through Nos. 7 and 8, as shewn by (,, ,,). On the other hand, there is nothing corresponding to them in cs. Nos. 9 and 10. See also the 8 interlinear cs. in D 26, p. 427***.

Very minute differences are thus pointed out, much more minute than perhaps the versions were intended to imply. It would be incorrect, especially in the seven cs. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, which are all due to CCR., to suppose that any slightly different form was *always* heard in the places named, to the exclusion of that in a neighbouring district. But they were certainly his impressions, and he carefully corrected his versions, after many written questions from me.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0. | 1 | *Mid Yorkshire.* | wat | fʊ | :dʒúuʊn | ez | néeʊ | duuts. |
| | 2 | *South Ainsty.* | wái | — | :dʒon | ,, | nʊ | ,, |
| | 3 | *North Mid Yo.* | wat | fʊ | :dʒúuʊn | ʊz | níiʊ | ,, |
| | 4 | *New Malton.* | ,, | ,, | :dʒən | ez | néeʊ | duts. |
| | 5 | *Lower Nidderdale.* | ,, | ,, | :dʒúuʊni | ,, | níiʊ | duuts. |
| | 6 | *Washburn River.* | ,, | ,, | :dʒúuʊn | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 7 | *South Cleveland.* | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | néeʊ | ,, |
| | 8 | *North-East Coast.* | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | *Market Weighton.* | ,, | ,, | :dʒon | ,, | níiʊ | duts. |
| | 10 | *Holderness.* | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | nʊ | duuts. |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1 | wiil, | néeʊbʊ, | ɹii | ʊn | im | | mʊ | béeʊth | o | ɹʊ |
| | 2 | wel, | néibʊ, | ɹuu | ,, | ii | | ,, | búuʊth | — | — |
| | 3 | wiil, | níʊbʊ, | ɹii | ,, | im | | ,, | bíiʊth | o | ɹʊ |
| | 4 | ,, | néʊbʊ, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | béeʊth | o | ,, |
| | 5 | ,, | nibʊ, | ɹéi | ,, | ,, | | ,, | bíiʊth | on | ,, |
| | 6 | ,, | níiʊbʊ, | ɹii | ,, | ,, | tʊgi̯dʊ | ,, | béeʊth | o | ,, |
| | 7 | ,, | níʊbʊ, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | bíiʊth | ,, | ,, |
| | 8 | ,, | níiʊbʊr, | ɹéi | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | ,, | néibʊ, | ɹuu | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | — | — |
| | 10 | ,, | néʊbʊ, | ɹuu | ,, | ,, | | ,, | béʊth | — | — |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | laf | léik | ʊt | dhis | níʊz | ʊ | maan, | wéʊ) | s) | t | kéeʊ? |
| | 2 | ,, | | ,, | ,, | níuz | ,, | ,, | WAA | — | — | kéeʊz? |
| | 3 | ,, | laak | ,, | ,, | níiʊz | ,, | ,, | wíʊ | — | — | kíiʊz? |
| | 4 | ,, | | ,, | ,, | níuz | ,, | ,, | wíiʊ | — | — | kaaz? |
| | 5 | ,, | | ,, | ,, | niíʊz | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | — | ,, |
| | 6 | ,, | lóʊk | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | móʊn, | ,, | — | — | kéeʊz? |
| | 7 | ,, | | ,, | ,, | níuz | ,, | maan, | ,, | — | — | ,, |
| | 8 | ,, | | ,, | ,, | níiʊz | ,, | ,, | wéiʊ | — | — | ,, |
| | 9 | ,, | | ,, | maa | níuz | — | — | wat | div | a | kaaʊ? |
| | 10 | ,, | | ,, | dhis | ,, | ʊ | maan, | wíiʊ | — | — | kéeʊz? |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ·dhat)s | néeʊdhʊr | *iʊ* | nʊ | dhíiʊ. | |
| 2 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | dhéeʊr. | |
| 3 | ,, ,, | nóu,dʊr | ,, | ,, | dh*iʊ*. | |
| 4 | ,, ,, | néeʊdhʊr | ,, | ,, | dháaʊ. | |
| 5 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | dhaa. | |
| 6 | ,, ,, | néeʊ,dʊ,r | ,, | ,, | dh*iʊ*. | |
| 7 | ,, ,, | nóu,dʊ,r | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 8 | ,, ,, | nóudhʊr | ,, | ,, | dhé*iʊ*. | |
| 9 | *it*) s | níʊdhʊr | ,, | ,, | dhíiʊ. | |
| 10 | dhat)s | nóudhʊr | ,, | ,, | dhéeʊ. | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. 1 | Jan | kenz | *it*) | s | nubʊd | ʊ | féeu | ʊ | min | ʊt | |
| 2 | | | | | | | fíu | | fúuʊks | — | |
| 3 | Jan | nóoəz | *it*) | s | néʊbʊd | ʊ | ,, | ʊ | men | ʊt | |
| 4 | ,, | naaz | ,, | ,, | nobʊt | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 5 | ,, | nooz ʊt | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | fíu | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 6 | ,, | nóoʊz | ,, | ,, | nobʊd | ,, | fíu | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 7 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | nobʊt | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 9 | — | — | *it* | *iz*'nt | | | moni | | | ,, | |
| 10 | — | — | — | — | var*i* | | fíu | | fooks | — | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | gaqz | ʊn | diiz | ʊko·s | dhʊ)r | flóut*i*d | at | | | d*i*)nʊt |
| 2 | — | — | ,, | koz | ,, | laft | ,, | wii | naa | daant |
| 3 | gaqz | ʊn | d*iʊ*z | ʊko·s | dh*i*)ʊ | fl*iʊ*d | ,, | | | d*u*)nʊt |
| 4 | — | — | diiz | ,, | dhʊ | laft | ,, | | | d*i*)nʊt |
| 5 | ganz | ʊn | dé*i*z | biko·s | dhé*i*)r | ,, | ,, | | | d*u*)nʊt |
| 6 | gaqz | ʊn | diiz | koz | dhʊ)r | gə'nd | ,, | | | d*iiʊ*nt |
| 7 | — | — | ,, | kos | dh*i*)ʊ | laft | ,, | | | d*u*)nʊt |
| 8 | gaqz | ʊn | ,, | ʊko·s | ,, | ,, | ,, | | | d*u*)nʊt |
| 9 | — | — | ,, | kos | dhée)ʊ | ,, | ,, | wi | nóoʊ | d*iʊ*nt |
| 10 | — | — | ,, | — | ʊ bi*j*in | ,, | ʊt | wi | noo | d*iʊ*nt |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊz ? | pré*i* | wat | sʊd | mak | ʊm ? | | *it*)s | n*u*t | |
| 2 | wʊ ? | — | ,, | shʊd | ,, | ,, | | ,, ,, | ,, | |
| 3 | ʊz ? | pré*iʊ* | ,, | sʊd | ,, | ,, | | *it* bii) | ʊnt | |
| 4 | ʊz nu ? | — | — | — | — | — | — | *it*)s | n*u*t | |
| 5 | wé*i* ? | pree)Jʊ | wat | sʊd | ,, | ,, | nuu ? | ,, ,, | ,, | |
| 6 | ʊs ? | pré*i*)ʊ | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | n*uu* ? | ,, ,, | ,, | |
| 7 | wʊ ? | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, ,, | ,, | |
| 8 | wé*i* ? | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | n*uu* ? | ,, ,, | néeʊn | |
| 9 | w*i* ? | — | ,, | s*u*d | ,, | ,, | | ,, *iz* | 'nt | |
| 10 | wʊ ? | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, )s | not | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | varʊ | laakl*i*nz | *iz* | *it* | nuu ? |
| 2 | var*i* | lé*i*kl*i* | ,, | ,, | — |
| 3 | varʊ | laakl*i*nz | b*iʊ*z | ,, | nuu ? |
| 4 | ,, | laakl*i* | *iz* | ,, | nu ? |
| 5 | ,, | laakl*iz* | ,, | ,, | nuu ? |
| 6 | ,, | lá*i*kl*i*nz | ,, | ,, | — |
| 7 | var*i* | laakl*i* | ,, | ,, | nuu ? |
| 8 | varʊ | ,, | ,, | ,, | — |
| 9 | var*i* | lé*i*kl*i* | *is*) | t | — |
| 10 | ,, | lə'*i*kl*i* | ,, | ,, | — |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | 1 | usʊmi·va | dhiʊz)iʊ | | )z | tilinz | ʊ)t' | ˌtˌréeʊth | ʊ)t' |
| | 2 | ə'u)i·vʊ | dhiiʊz | — | iz)t' | fakts | ,, ,, | — | — |
| | 3 | uusʊmi·vʊ | ,, | — | ,, — | tilinz | ,, ,, | ˌtˌriiʊth | ʊ)t' |
| | 4 | ,, | ,, | — | ,, — | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 5 | uusumi·vʊ | ,, | dhʊr | ,, t' | matʊz | — — | — | ,, ,, |
| | 6 | usʊmi·vʊ | ,, | iiʊ | )z — | tilinz | ,, — | ˌtˌriiʊth | ,,)th |
| | 7 | ,, | ,, | — | iz t' | matʊz | ,, ,, | ˌtˌríuth | ʊ)t' |
| | 8 | ,, | ,, | — | ,, — | telinz | ,, ,, | ˌtˌriiʊth | ,, ,, |
| | 9 | uu)i·vʊ | ,, | — | is)t' | faks | — — | — | ,, ,, |
| | 10 | u)i·vʊ | ,, | — | iz — | ,, | o)t' | — | — |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | kiiʊs, | séeʊ | dʒist | ganz | tʊ ʊn | óoʊd | dhʊ | dhuu | dhi | din, |
| 2 | kéeʊs, | súuʊ | dʒust | | | od | ɹʊ | | — | nóiz, |
| 3 | kiʊs, | siʊ | ,, | | | óoʊdz | tʊ | dhuu | dha | din, |
| 4 | kiiʊs, | séeʊ | ,, | — | dhu — | óoʊd | — | | ,, | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | siiʊ | ,, | | | ood | — | dhuu | dhéi | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | | | od | — | ɹii | ɹʊ | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | séeʊ | dʒist | | | od | — | dhuu | dhi | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | dʒust | | | óoʊd | — | dhu | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | kiʊs, | siiʊ | ,, | | | od | — | — | ɹʊr | tuq, |
| 10 | kéʊs, | soo | ,, | | | ood | — | ɹʊ | — | nóiz, |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | frind, | ʊn | bi | — | wisht | — | nu | waʊl | aa)z | diiʊn. |
| 2 | frend, | ,, | bi | — | kwéiʊt | — | — | til | aa)v | ,, |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | — | — | wisht | dhʊ | nuu | waal | a)v | diɹʊn. |
| 4 | frind, | ,, | bi | — | kwaat | — | nu | ,, | a | diiʊn. |
| 5 | frend, | ,, | — | — | wish | tʊ | nuu | wal | a)v | diun. |
| 6 | frind, | ,, | tak | ood | ʊn wisht | — | ,, | waal | a | diiʊn. |
| 7 | ,, | ,, | — | — | wish | tʊ | — | ,, | aa)v | ,, |
| 8 | frend, | ,, | bi | — | kwaat | — | — | wal | a | ,, |
| 9 | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | stil | — | — | ,, | a)v | ,, |
| 10 | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | kwái)ʊt | | — | til | ái)v | diʊn. |

1 əək tʊ budz nu!
2 lisʊn!
3 nuu dhen, aaks tʊ?
4
5 léis)tʊ dhen!
6 nuu den, aakʊn!
7 aakʊn nuu!
8 aak nu!
9 aa'k ɹʊ dhéʊ nuu!
10 aak, nu!

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | 1 | aa) z | siʊr | ʊt | a | iiʊd | ʊm | séeʊ, | sum | ʊ | dhim | fóoʊk | ʊt |
| | 2 | ,, ,, | saatʊn | — | ái | ,, | ,, | see, | ,, | ,, | dhem | fúuʊks | ,, |
| | 3 | ,, ,, | siʊr | et | a | ɹiiʊd | ,, | siʊ, | ,, | ,, | ,, | fúuʊk | ,, |
| | 4 | ,, ,, | ,, | — | a | iiʊd | ,, | séeʊ, | ,, | ,, | ,, | fóoʊks | ,, |
| | 5 | ,, ,, | siur | ʊt | a | éiʊd | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 6 | ,, ,, | siʊr | ,, | ,, | iiʊd | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 7 | ,, ,, | saatʊn | ,, | ,, | ɹiiʊd | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 8 | ,, ,, | siʊr | ʊt | a | iiʊd | ,, | siʊ, | ,, | ,, | ,, | fúʊk | ,, |
| | 9 | a) z | ,, | — | a | ,, | ,, | séeʊ, | ,, | ,, | ,, | fúuʊks | ,, |
| | 10 | aa) z | saaten | — | ái | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | dhoz | fooks | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | wint | t,ruf) | t' | ɹal | thiq | frɛ) | t' | fost | dhʊsi·lz, | ·dhat |
| 2 | went | thruf) | ,, | wol | ,, | frɛ) | ,, | ,, | dhʊse·nz, | ,, |
| 3 | ,, | t,ruf) | ,, | ɹal | ,, | frɛ'ʊ) | ,, | ,, | dhʊse·lvz, | ,, |
| 4 | wint | ,, | ,, | éeʊl | ,, | frev) | ,, | ,, | dhʊse·lz, | ,, |
| 5 | went | thróu) | ,, | iiʊl | ,, | frɛɛ'ʊ) | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | thruf) | ,, | ɹal | ,, | frɛʊ) | th | ,, ʊ | ,, | ,, |
| 7 | géeʊd | t,ruf) | t' | ,, | ,, | frɛɛ) | t' | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 8 | went | ,, | ,, | wúuʊl | ,, | fre) | t' | ,, | dhʊséilz, | ,, |
| 9 | ,, | thruf) | ,, | wol | ,, | fréeʊ) | d | ,, | dhʊse·nz, | — |
| 10 | ,, | ,, | ,, | iiʊl | ,, | frʊ | | ,, | ,, | dhat |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | a | did, | séef | eniiʊf. |
| 2 | ,, | ,, | séeʊf | ,, |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | siʊf | ,, |
| 4 | ,, | ,, | séeʊf | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | ,, | siiʊf | eni·f. |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ʊniiʊf. |
| 7 | did) | a, | ,, | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | a | did, | siʊf | ,, |
| 10 | a | did, | ,, | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | 1 | ʊt | t' | ɹuuqis | sʊn | izse·l, | ʊ | griiʊt | | lad | ʊ naan |
| | 2 | ,, | ,, | ɹuqist | ,, | izse·n, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, náin |
| | 3 | ,, | ,, | ɹuqis | ,, | izse·l, | ,, | ,, | gaqin | ,, | ,, niin |
| | 4 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ise·l, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, naan |
| | 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | izse·l, | ,, | gəət | | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 6 | ,,) | th | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | griiʊt | | ,, | ,, niin |
| | 7 | ʊt | t' | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 8 | ʊt | — | ɹuuqis | ,, | izséil, | ,, | gréiʊt | | ,, | ,, naan |
| | 9 | dhʊt | — | ɹuqis | ,, | izse·n, | ,, | big | | ,, | ,, nain |
| | 10 | ʊt | — | ɹuqist | ,, | ,, | ,, | gəət | | ,, | ,, naan |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | iiʊr | óoʊd, | kend | iz | fiiʊdʊ | viiʊs | ʊt | ɹans, | dhuf | it |
| 2 | | | níu | ,, | fadhʊ | vóis | ,, | ,, | dhAA | ,, |
| 3 | | | ,, | ,, | fadʊ | viiʊs | ,, | ,, | dhiiʊf | ,, |
| 4 | iiʊr | aad, | níu | ,, | fiiʊdhʊ | vóis | ,, | ,, | dhuf | ,, |
| 5 | | | ,, | ,, | fadhʊ | ,, | ,, | ,, | dhóʊf | ,, |
| 6 | | | ,, | ,, | fadʊ | vóois | ,, | ,, | dhuf | ,, |
| 7 | | | ,, | ,, | féeʊdʊ | ,, | ,, | ,, | dhof | ,, |
| 8 | | | ,, | ,, | fiʊdʊ | vóis | ,, | ,, | dhiiʊf | ,, |
| 9 | ɹiiʊr | óoʊd, | nood | ,, | féeʊdha | ,, | ,, | ,, | dhof | ,, |
| 10 | | | ,, | ,, | féʊdhʊ | ,, | ,, | ,, | fʊr ool | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ·wáaʊ | séikʊn | ʊ | kwiiʊ | skwéeʊkin | ɹan | laak, | ʊn |
| 2 | ·was | sʊ | | kwiiʊr | ən skwiiʊkin | — | — | ,, |
| 3 | ·waa | saakʊn | ʊ | kwéiʊ | ,, | ɹan | — | ,, |
| 4 | ·wáaʊ | sáikʊn | ,, | kwiiʊ | ,, | ,, | — | ,, |
| 5 | ·waa | sáikʊn | ,, | kwéiʊ | skwéeʊkin | ,, | — | ,, |
| 6 | ·wáaʊ | ,, | ,, | kwiiʊ | ,, | ,, | — | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | saakʊn | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | séikʊn | ,, | ,, | skwéʊkin | ,, | — | ,, |
| 9 | ·waz | si | — | kwiiʊr | ʊn skwiiʊkin | ,, | — | ,, |
| 10 | wʊz | ,, | ʊ | ,, | ,, skwiikin | — | — | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ·a)d | ˌtˌrust | ·im | tʊ | spiivk | | ˌtˌréeʊth | ʊv | oni |
| 2 | a wʊd | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — t' | truuth | — | ,, |
| 3 | aa)d | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — — | ˌtˌriiʊth | | ,, |
| 4 | ,, ,, | ˌtˌrist | ,, | ,, | ,, | tiv — | ,, | | ,, |
| 5 | ,, ,, | ˌtˌrust | ,, | ,, | ,, | — t' | ˌtˌríiuth | | ,, |
| 6 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | tʊl)th | ,, | | óoʊni |
| 7 | ,, ,, | ˌtˌrist | ,, | ,, | ,, | — — | ,, | | ,, |
| 8 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ti) t' | ,, | | oni |
| 9 | ,, ,, | ˌtˌrust | ,, | ti | ,, | — — | ˌtˌryyˌth | | ,, |
| 10 | a wʊd | thrist | ,, | ,, | spivk | — — | thruuth | | ,, |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | dee, | ái | mari | a | ·wad. |
| 2 | déeʊ, | éi | — | ,, | ,, |
| 3 | diiʊ, | ái | mari | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | déeʊ, | éi | — | ,, | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | ái | — | ,, | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | mari | ,, | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | éi | — | aa | ·wad, aa siiʊ. |
| 8 | diiʊ, | ái | nu | a | ·wad, wad)i. |
| 9 | déeʊ, | E'i | — | ,, | ,, |
| 10 | dee, | éi | — | ,, | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | 1 | ʊn)t' | óoʊd | wumʊn | ʊse·l | ʊl | til | oni | Jan | o | Jʊ | ʊt | lafs |
| | 2 | ,, ,, | AAd | ,, | ʊse·n | ,, | tel | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 3 | ,, ,, | óoʊd | wiiʊn | ʊse·l | ,, | ,, | ,, | Jan | ,, | ,, | ,, | — |
| | 4 | ,, ,, | aad | wumʊn | ,, | ,, | til | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | lafs |
| | 5 | ,, ,, | óoʊd | ,, | ,, | ,, | téil | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 6 | ,,)th | óʊd | ,, | ,, | ,, | tel | ,, | Jan | ,, | ,, | ,, | lafs |
| | 7 | ,,)t' | óoʊd | wiiʊn | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 8 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ʊse·l | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | ,, ,, | ood | wumʊn | ʊrse·n | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | on | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 10 | ,, — | ,, | ,, | ʊse·n | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | o | ,, | ,, | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊn | flóuts—nuu, | | ʊn | til | o | Jʊ | sˌtˌriiʊt | of | | ʊn | ind, |
| 2 | — | — — — | ,, | ,, | tel | | ,, | sˌtˌréit | of, | | ,, | AAl, |
| 3 | — | fliiʊz — | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | sˌtˌriʊt | uut, | | — | — |
| 4 | — | — — — | ,, | ,, | til | | ,, | ,, | of, | | — | — |
| 5 | — | — — — | ,, | ,, | téil | | ,, | sˌtˌréit | ofʊdz | | — | — |
| 6 | ʊn | ganz on | ,, | ,, | tel | | ,, | sˌtˌriiʊt | of, | | — | — |
| 7 | | | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | sˌtˌréit | ʊwéeʊ | | — | — |
| 8 | | | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | sˌtˌriiʊt | of, | | — | — |
| 9 | | | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | sˌtˌréit | of, | | ʊn | óoʊl, |
| 10 | | | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | sthreet | of, | | ,, | ool, |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | tiiʊ, | ʊˌduu·t | mity | boˌdʊʊˌr, | ʊn | Ji)l | bi )t | aksin |
| 2 | — | widhuu·t | ,, | bodhʊr, | if | Jʊ)l | onli | aks |
| 3 | tiiʊ, | ʊˌdu·t | ,, | boˌdʊʊˌr, | ,, | Ji)l | néʊbʊd | ,, |
| 4 | ,, | ʊdhuu·t | ,, | bodhʊr, | ,, | Jʊ)l | nobʊt | as |
| 5 | tiu, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | Ji)l | ,, | ,, |
| 6 | tiiʊ, | ʊˌduu·t | ,, | boˌdʊr, | ,, | ,, | nobʊd | aks |
| 7 | ,, | ʊdhuu·t | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, )d | nobʊt | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | ʊdhut | ,, | boˌdʊ, | gin | ,, )l | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | — | biduu·t | ,, | bodhʊr, | if | Ji)l | ,, | ,, |
| 10 | — | wivuu·t | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |

1 *iv* ʊr, oo! w*i*)nʊt shʊ?
2 — ,, AA! w*ii*)ʊnt ,,
3 — ,, óoʊ! w*i*)nʊt ,,
4 — ,, ,, ,, ,,
5 — ,, w*i*l)ʊt ,,
6 — ,, óoʊ! w*ii*)ʊnt ,,
7 — ,, oo! w*i*)nʊt ,,
8 — ,, w*u*)nʊ ,,
9 — ,, w*ii*)ʊnt ,,
10 — ,, oo! ,, ,, ,,

7. 1 l*ii*ʊst*i*nz shʊ)d t*i*l*i*n o)*i*t tʊ ·mé*i* win aa aks,t ʊ,r ʊ
2 on*i* wéeʊ shʊ teld — — ·mii *i*t, wen á*i* aakst ʊ
3 l*ii*ʊst l*i*z shíʊ ,, *i*t tʊ ,, wen a aks,t ʊ
4 on*i* w*ii*ʊz shʊ t*i*ld — — ·mé*i* *i*t, ,, aa as,t ʊ
5 ,, g*ii*ʊts ,, té*i*ld — — ·mé*i* *i*t ,, a ,, ,,
6 ,, réeʊd ,, teld *i*t tʊ ·mii ,, aa aks,t ,,
7 ,, w*ii*ʊz ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, a as,t ʊ,r ʊ
8 ,, ,, ,, ,, — — ·mé*i* *i*t ,, aa aks,t ʊ,r ,,
9 uu)*i*·vʊ ,, ,, — — ·mii ,, a akst ʊr —
10 l*ii*ʊst wéʊz ,, ,, *i*t — ,, ,, á*i* aksth ʊ —

1 téeʊ,t,r*i* taamz ó*u*)ʊr, ʊd)shʊ — ʊn a konséeʊts ʊt
2 tuu ʊ thrii ,, ,, — ,, d*i*d ,,
3 tw*ii*ʊ,t,r*i* ,, ó*u*)ʊ, d*i*d ,, — ,, aa konséeʊts
4 téeʊ,t,r*i* ,, ,, — ,, d*i*d ,,
5 t*ii*,t,ré*i* ,, ,, — shé*i* ,, ,,
6 tw*ii*ʊ,t,r*i* tâ*i*mz ,, d*i*d shʊ — ,,
7 ,, taamz ,, — ,, d*i*d ,,
8 ,, ,, ,, — ,, dé*i*d ,,
9 twíiʊ ʊr thrii ,, ,, — ,, d*i*d ,,
10 tw*i*ʊthr*i* ,, ,, d*i*d ,, — ,,

1 shʊ ó*u*d'nt tʊ b*i* raq ʊ saakʊn ʊ m*ii*ʊt ma,tʊ,r ʊz
2 ·shii ó*u*t n*u*t ,, ,, ,, ó*u*)ʊ s*u*tɟ ,, póint ,,
3 ·shiiʊ ó*u*d'nt ,, ,, ,, ʊ s*i*ʊkʊn ,, ,, ,,
4 ·shé*i* ó*u*t n*u*t ,, ,, ,, ,, sá*i*kʊn ,, ,, ,,
5 ·she*i* ,, ,, ,, bé*i* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
6 ·shʊ ó*u*d)'nt ,, bi ,, ,, sâ*i*kʊn ,, ,, ,,
7 ·sh*ii*ʊ ó*u*t)'nt ,, ,, ,, ,, saakʊn ,, ,, ,,
8 ·shé*i* ,, n*u*t ,, ,, ,, ,, sé*i*kʊn ,, p*ii*nt ,,
9 shʊ èd)'nt ó*u*t ti ,, ,, *u*pʊ sá*i*k ,, póint —
10 ,, ó*u*t n*u*t ,, ,, ,, *u*pʊ s*i*tɟ ,, dɟob ʊz

1 dh*i*s, uu)s)t ɹʊ th*i*qk? —
2 ,, wat d*i* ,, ,, —
3 ,, uu s*u*d ,, ,, —
4 ,, wat dʊ ,, thé*i*qk nu?
5 ,, ,, ,, ɹé*i* th*i*qk? —
6 ,, uu)d ɹʊ ,, —
7 ,, ,, di ,, ,, —
8 ,, uu)s)t ,, ,, —
9 — wat d) ,, ,, —
10 dh*i*s ,, d) ɹuu ,, —

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | 1 | wiil, | ɐz | aa | wɐ | see)*i*n, | ·sh*ii*)d | t*i*l | ɹɐ | | |
| | 2 | wel, | ,, | a | wɐz | ,, | ·shíi wɐd | tel | ,, | | |
| | 3 | wiil, | ,, | ,, | wɐ | s*i*)*i*n, | ·sh*i*ɐ)d | ,, | ,, | ɹal | ɐbíiɐt *i*t |
| | 4 | ,, | ,, | aa | wa | see)*i*n, | ·sh*éi*)d | t*i*l | ,, | aal | ɐbut ,, |
| | 5 | w*éi*l | ,, | ,, | wɐ | ,, | ,, | t*éi*l | ,, | *ii*ɐl | ɐbíut ,, |
| | 6 | wiil | ,, | ,, | ,, | séeɐ)*i*n, | ·shɔə)d | tel | ,, | b*ii*ɐth | |
| | 7 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | se)*i*n, | ·sh*i*ɐ)d | ,, | ,, | t'ɹal ma,tɐr)ɐ)t | |
| | 8 | w*éi*l | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ·sh*éi*)l | ,, | ,, | | |
| | 9 | wiil | ,, | ,, | wɐz | see)*i*n, | ·shii wad | ,, | ,, | | |
| | 10 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | shɐ wɐd | ,, | ,, | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | bɐ́ɐth | uu·gɐts | ɐn | w*ii*ɐr | ɐn | w*i*n | *i*t | wáaɐr | ɐt | shɐ | fan)t' |
| | 2 | — | uu | ,, | ,, | ,, | wen | | | | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 3 | b*ii*ɐth | ,, | ,, | wuur | ,, | ,, | *i*t | waar | ɐt | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 4 | ɐz)t | ,, | ,, | wáaɐr | ,, | w*i*n | ,, | waz | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 5 | ɐz tɐv | ,, | ,, | waar | ,, | wen | ,, | waar | ,, | sh*éi* | ,, ,, |
| | 6 | ɐz)tɐ | ,, | ,, | w*ii*ɐr | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | shɐ | fand)t' |
| | 7 | b*ii*ɐth | ,, | ,, | úuɐr | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | fan)t' |
| | 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | w*ii*ɐr | ,, | ,, | — | — | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 9 | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | — | — | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 10 | — | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | — | — | ,, | fand dhat |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | d,r*u*k'n | b*ii*ɐs | ɐt | shɐ)z | tɐ | kóoɐl | ɐr | *u*zbɐn | on | ɐn)t' |
| | 2 | ,, | b*ii*ɐst | ,, | shɐ | — — | kaalz | ,, | ,, | | |
| | 3 | ,, | b*ii*ɐs | ,, | ,, | | kóoɐlz | ,, | uzbɐnd | | ɐn)t' |
| | 4 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | kaalz | ɐ | uzbɐn | on | |
| | 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | kóoɐlz | ɐr | *u*zbɐn | | ɐn)t' |
| | 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ɐn |
| | 7 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | *u*zbɐnd | | |
| | 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ɐn)t |
| | 9 | d,r*u*qk'n | b*ii*ɐst | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | *u*zbɐn | | |
| | 10 | dhr*u*qk'n | b*ii*ɐst | ,, | ,, | | koolz | ,, | ,, | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | ɹal | pad*i* | aal)l | b*i* | buund | | shɐ | w*i*l. |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | ɹal | pad*i*nod*i* | aa | b*i* | buun | — — | ,, | w*i*l. |
| | 4 | | | aa)l | b*i* | buund | on)t | ,, | ,, |
| | 5 | *ii*ɐl | pad*i*nod*i* | ,, ,, | ,, | buun | — — | sh*éi* | ,, |
| | 6 | ɹal | ɐbuut ɐn)t | ,, ,, | ,, | b*u*n | — — | shɐ | ,, |
| | 7 | | | ,, ,, | ,, | b*u*n | fɐ)t | ,, | ,, |
| | 8 | w*ú*ɐl | naréeɐshɐn | ,, ,, | ,, | bun | ,, ,, | ,, | w*éi*l. |
| | 9 | | | | | | | | |
| | 10 | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | 1 | shɐ | t,r*ii*ɐpt | ɐt | shɐ | soo | *i*m | w*i*v | ɐr | éeɐn | *i*ɐn |
| | 2 | ,, | swaar | — | ,, | saa | ,, | w*i*dh | ,, | aan | iiz |
| | 3 | ,, | t,r*ii*ɐpt | ɐt | ,, | siid | ,, | w*i*v | ,, | óoɐn | *ii*ɐn |
| | 4 | ,, | t,rept | ,, | ,, | saa | ,, | ,, | ,, | éeɐn | iin |
| | 5 | sh*éi* | swaar | ,, | ,, | soo | ,, | w*éi* | ,, | óoɐn | ,, |
| | 6 | shɐ | thr*ii*ɐpt | ,, | ,, | ,, o | ,, | w*i* | ,, | *ii*ɐn | ,, |
| | 7 | ,, | t,r*ii*ɐpt | ,, | ,, | siid | ,, | ,, | ,, | óoɐn | ,, |
| | 8 | ,, | t,r*i*pt | ,, | ,, | soo | ,, | ,, | ,, | éeɐn | é*i*n |
| | 9 | ,, | swéeɐr | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | w*i*v | ,, | ,, | iin |
| | 10 | ,, | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | oon | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ligin | | s,t,ritɟt | ʊt | laq | lenth | ʊtop | ʊ)t' | grund | |
| 2 | ,, | | s,t,retɟt | ,, | ful | lenth | on | )t' | ,, | |
| 3 | ,, | | — | ,, | laq | s,t,retɟ | ʊtop | ʊ)t' | ,, | |
| 4 | ,, | | s,t,ritɟt | ,, | éeʊl | lenth | upʊ | )t' | ,, | |
| 5 | ,, | | — | ,, | laq | strívʊkt | ,, | ,, | ,, | dond |
| 6 | ,, | | s,t,ritɟt | ,, | ,, | leqth | ʊtop | ʊ)th | ,, | |
| 7 | ,, | | s,t,retɟt | ,, | ,, | ,, | ʊt | t' | ,, | |
| 8 | ,, | | s,t,ritɟt | ,, | ,, | ,, | ʊ | )t' | ,, | |
| 9 | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ful | lenth | upʊ | )d | ,, | |
| 10 | ,, | | sthritɟt | ool | iz | ,, | upo | ,, | ,, | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | iv | iz | gíivd | sundʊ | kúuʊt, | tléeʊs | biv)t' | | | us |
| 2 | ,, | ,, | gud | ,, | ,, | tlúuʊs | tʊ | ,, | | uus |
| 3 | in | ,, | gíivd | ,, | ,, | tlíivs | bi | ,, | | us |
| 4 | iv | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | tléeʊs | baa | ,, | | uus |
| 5 | i | ,, | gud | ,, | ,, | tlúʊs | béi | ,, | | ,, |
| 6 | iv | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | tlíivs | bi | )th | | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | ,, | gíivd | ,, | ,, | ,, | bi | )t' | | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | kúʊt, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, |
| 9 | ,, | ,, | gud | ,, | ,, | tlúʊs | bi | )d | díivʊ ʊ)t' | uus |
| 10 | ,, | ,, | gud | ,, | kóʊt, | kloos | biv | | | uus |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | díivʊ, | — | duun | ʊt t' | | níivk | ʊ | ɹon | lon. | |
| 2 | díivʊr, | — | ,, | ,, ,, | | kaanʊr | ,, | ,, | léeʊn. | |
| 3 | díivʊ, | — | díivʊn | ,, | — | níivk | ,, | ɹúuʊn | lúʊnin. | |
| 4 | ,, | — | duun | ʊ) | ,, | kaanʊr | ,, | ɹon | ,, | |
| 5 | díur, | — | díun | ʊt | — | níuk | ,, | ɹondhʊ | lúuʊn | |
| 6 | díʊr, | ʊwíivz | duun | ʊ) | th | níivk | ,, | ɹon | ,, | |
| 7 | díivʊr, | — | ,, | ʊt | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 8 | díivʊ, | — | ,, | ʊ) | t' | ,, | ,, | ,, | lúʊnin. | |
| 9 | — | — | ,, | ʊt | — | kóoʊnʊr | ,, | ,, | lúuʊn. | |
| 10 | díivʊ, | — | ,, | ʊt | — | kaanʊr | ,, | ,, | lúʊn. | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. | 1 | i | wʊr | ʊgíivt | ʊ | waanin | — | sez | shʊ | | fʊr |
| | 2 | ,, | wʊz | | | wáinin | ʊwéeʊ | ,, | shii | | ,, |
| | 3 | ,, | waar | ʊgíivt | ,, | wíiʊnin | — | ,, | shʊ | | fʊ |
| | 4 | ,, | wʊr | ,, | ,, | waanin | — | | ,, | sez | fʊr |
| | 5 | ,, | waar | ,, | ,, | wíiʊnin | — | sez | shéi | | ,, |
| | 6 | ,, | wʊr | ,, | ,, | wâinin | — | ,, | shʊ | | fʊ |
| | 7 | ii | ,, | ,, | ,, | waanin | — | ,, | ,, | | ,, |
| | 8 | ,, | ,, | ʊgéeʊt | ,, | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | | fʊr |
| | 9 | i, | wʊz | — | | plíʊnin | ʊwéeʊ | — | — | | ,, |
| | 10 | ,, | ,, | — | | gréʊnin | — | — | shʊ | sez | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | éeʊl | t' | waald | laak | tʊv | ʊ | síivk | béeʊn | ʊr | ʊ |
| 2 | aal | ,, | wold | léik | | ,, | badli | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 3 | ɹal | ,, | waald | laak | | ,, | síivk | bíivn | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | aal | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | béeʊn | ,, | ,, |
| 5 | óoʊl | ,, | wold | léik | | ,, | ,, | baan | ,, | ,, |
| 6 | ɹal | th | waald | síivm | ʊz | ,, | ,, | béʊn | ,, | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | t' | ,, | laak | | ,, | siik | béeʊn | ,, | ,, |
| 8 | AA'ʊl | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | síivk | béeʊn | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | óoʊl | ,, | wold | léik | | ,, | badli | ,, | ,, | els ,, |
| 10 | ool | | woold | lə'ik | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | laal | las | iv | ʊ | tivi. | |
| 2 | lit'l | ,, | ,, | ,, | frivt. | |
| 3 | laal | ,, | ,, | ,, | tivi. | |
| 4 | ,, | ,, | ʊt) | s | piivvish. | |
| 5 | láil | ,, | i | ʊ | tóʊfin. | |
| 6 | laal | ,, | ,, | ,, | ʃíumʊ. | |
| 7 | láil | ,, | ,, | ,, | puuk. | |
| 8 | liivl | ,, | ,, | ,, | máʊndʒ. | |
| 9 | laat'l | ,, | — | — | wímprin. | |
| 10 | ,, | gjel | — | — | fretin. | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | 1 | ʊn | ·dhat | ap'nd | ʊz | shi | ʊn | t' | dóutʊr | i | léeʊ | kam dhʊ |
| | 2 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | shii | ,, | ʊ | dóutʊr | ,, | laa | kom |
| | 3 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | shəə | ,, | t' | dóutʊr | ,, | líiʊ | kam |
| | 4 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | shéi | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | laa | ,, |
| | 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | lóoʊ | kom |
| | 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | shəə | ,, | th | ,, | ,, | lóʊ | ,, |
| | 7 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | t' | ,, | ,, | lóoʊ | kam |
| | 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | shéi | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | léeʊ | ,, |
| | 9 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | óʊr | ,, | ʊ | ,, | ,, | lóoʊ | kom |
| | 10 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | dóuthʊr | ,, | loo | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | wiiʊz | trʊf) | t' | bak | géeʊth | frev | aqin—t' | wit | tléeʊz |
| 2 | | thrʊf | ,, | ,, | ʃaad | ,, | iqin— ,, | wet | tlúuʊz |
| 3 | | trʊf | ,, | ,, | géeʊth | ,, | aqin— ,, | wíʊt | tliiʊz |
| 4 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | gaath | ,, | ,, — ,, | wit | tléeʊz |
| 5 | | thróu | ,, | ,, | giiʊth | frʊ | ,, — ,, | wet | tlúuʊz |
| 6 | | trʊf | ,, | ,, | géeʊth | fre | ,, —th | — | tliiʊz |
| 7 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | gaath | frev | iqin—t' | wet | ,, |
| 8 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ʃed | ,, | aqin— ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | | thrʊf | — | ,, | ʃaad | free | iqin uut t' | ,, | ,, |
| 10 | | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | frev | aqin ,, — | ,, | ,, |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | uut | tʊ | draa | ʊv | ʊ | wéishin | diiʊ. |
| 2 | — | ,, | drái | on | ,, | weshin | déeʊ. |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | draa | ʊv | ,, | ,, | diiʊ. |
| 4 | ut | ,, | drái | — | — | — | — |
| 5 | uut | ,, | ,, | ʊv | ʊ | wéishin | déeʊ. |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ʃaa | | weshin | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | ,, | draa | ʊv | ʊ | ,, | diiʊ. |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | dráai | ,, | ,, | wéishin | ,, |
| 9 | — | ,, | drái | ,, | ,, | weshin | déeʊ. |
| 10 | — | ti | dhrái | ,, | ,, | wéishin | dee. |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. | 1 | waal)t' | kit'l | wʊ | bóoʊlin | fʊ) t' | tiiʊ | | ʊ | ʃan |
| | 2 | ,, ,, | ket'l | wʊz | bóilin | ,, ,, | ,, | | — | ,, |
| | 3 | ,, ,, | kit'l | wa | bóʊlin | ,, ,, | ,, | | — | ʃaa |
| | 4 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | bóilin | ,, ,, | ,, | | — | ʃan |
| | 5 | wal ,, | ket'l | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | téeʊ | | — | ʃaa |
| | 6 | ,, th | ,, | ,, | bóʊlin | ,, ,, | drikin | | ʊ | ʃan |
| | 7 | ,, t' | ,, | wʊ | boojilin | fo ,, | tiiʊ | | — | ,, |
| | 8 | waal t' | ,, | ,, | búilin | fʊ ,, | téiʊ | | — | ,, |
| | 9 | ,, ,, | ,, | wʊz | ,, | ,, — | tiiʊ | | — | ʃaa |
| | 10 | wal — | ket'l | ,, | ,, | ,, — | tii | | — | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | faan | briit | | if tənɪ́ən | i | sumə, | nubət | ə | wiik |
| 2 | fáin | bréit | sumər | ef tənɪ́ən | — | — | nobət | ,, | ,, |
| 3 | faan | bríət | | ,, | i | sumə, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | ,, | briit | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 5 | fêin | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 6 | fâin | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | nobəd | ,, | ,, |
| 7 | faan | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | nobət | ,, | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | wéik |
| 9 | fêin | ,, | sumər | ,, | — | — | ,, | ,, | wiik |
| 10 | fáin | ,, | ,, | efthənɪ́ən | — | — | ,, | ,, | ,, |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | sin | kum | )t' | nekst | thozdə. |
| 2 | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | | nɪ́ust | ,, |
| 4 | ,, | ,, | )t' | nekst | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | néikst | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | )th | nekst | thúuəzdə. |
| 7 | ,, | ,, | )t' | ,, | thozdə. |
| 8 | sen | ,, | ,, | niist | thúuəzdə. |
| 9 | sin | ,, | | nekst | thozdə. |
| 10 | sen | ,, | | ,, | ,, |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | 1 | ən | — | — | noo | jə, | — | béeən ? | ət | a | nɪ́iə | lɪ́iənt |
| | 2 | ,, | di | jə | naa ? | | — | | | ,, | nɪ́və | laant |
| | 3 | ,, | dɪ́iə | jə | nóoə, | | — | bɪ́iən ? | ət | ,, | nɪ́iə | lɪ́iənt |
| | 4 | ,, | di | jə | naa ? | | — | | | ,, | nɪ́və | laant |
| | 5 | ,, | — | — | noo dhu, | | — | mun ? | | ,, | ,, | líiənd |
| | 6 | ,, | — | — | noo | jə | nobət, | béeən ? | ət | ,, | ,, | ɪ́iəd |
| | 7 | ,, | di | jə | nóoə, | | — — | ,, | ət | ,, | ,, | lɪ́iənt |
| | 8 | ,, | di | jə | na'ə ? | | — — | — | — | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | ,, | d) | jə | nóə ? | | | | | ,, | ,, | léeənt |
| | 10 | ,, | diz | dhə | noo ? | | | | | ,, | ,, | laant |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | nóut | nə | méeər | ən | dhis | ə | dhat | — | diid | up |
| 2 | — | ,, | múuər | ,, | ,, | əbuut | ,, | — | biznis | ,, |
| 3 | nóut | ,, | míiər | ,, | ,, | ə | ,, | — | diid | ,, |
| 4 | oni | — | méeər | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | biznis | ,, |
| 5 | oni | — | maar | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | dhaa | bizənəs | ,, |
| 6 | nóut | nə | míiər | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | diid | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | ,, | ,, | dhen | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | biznis | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | méeər | ən | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | déid | ,, |
| 9 | — | ni | ,, | nə | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | biznis | — |
| 10 | — | ,, | ,, | ən | ,, | əbuut | ,, | — | mat)thər | ,, |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | tɪv | təl | tədéeə, a | síiər, | əz | síiər | əz | mi | nɪ́iəm)z | :dʒúuən |
| 2 | tə | — | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | maa | néeəm | ,, :dʒak |
| 3 | — | til | tədɪ́iə | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ma | nɪ́iəm | ,, :dʒúuən |
| 4 | tɪv | — | tədéeə | | ,, | ,, | ,, | mi | néeəm | ,, :dʒən |
| 5 | ,, | — | tədéiə | | ,, | síuər | ,, | méi | nɪ́iəm | ,, :dʒúuəni |
| 6 | — | təl | tədéeə | | ,, | síiər | ,, | mi | ,, | ,, :dʒúuən |
| 7 | tɪv | — | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| 8 | ,, | — | tədɪ́iə | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, :dʒúən |
| 9 | — | waal | tədéeə | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ma | ,, | ,, :dʒon |
| 10 | ti | — | ,, | | ,, | séəf | ,, | mái | néəm | ,, :dʒak |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | :shipvd, | vn | aa | dis)'nt | want | tv | diiv, | — | — | dhiiv |
| 2 | :shepvd | ,, | a | dAA)nt | ,, | — | — | néevdhv | — | dhéev |
| 3 | :shívpvd | ,, | ,, | du)nvt | ,, | tv | diiv | néevdv | — | dhiiv |
| 4 | :shipvd | ,, | ,, | diz)'nt | ,, | ,, | ,, | néevdhv, | sév | dhaa |
| 5 | :shepvd | ,, | ,, | du)nut | ,, | ,, | diu | éidhv, | — | dhaa |
| 6 | :shipvd | ,, | aa | diu)vnt | ,, | ,, | diiv | néevdv | — | dhiiv |
| 7 | :shívpvd | ,, | a | di)nvt | ,, | ,, | ,, | óudhvr | — | — |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | du)nvt | ,, | ,, | ,, | néevdhv | — | — |
| 9 | :shipvd | ,, | ,, | dii)vnt | ,, | — | — | nívdhv | — | dhéev! |
| 10 | ,, | ,, | ái | divnt | ,, | tv | noo | nóudhv | — | dhéev |

1 nuu dhenz!
2 nuu!
3 nuuz tv dhenz!
4 nu!
5 nuu dhen!
6 nuuz!
7 nuu dhen!
8 nuu dhen!
9 — —
10 nuu!

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| 14. | 1 | vn | see | aa) | z | ganin | JAM | tv | — | mi | supv. | giud | niit, |
| | 2 | ,, | síuv | a | ,, | of | ,, | ,, | — | — | ,, | gud | ,, |
| | 3 | ,, | si | ,, | ,, | gaa)in | ,, | ,, | — | mi | ,, | giivd | ,, |
| | 4 | ,, | séev | aa | ,, | ,, | JÉEVM | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | givd | ,, |
| | 5 | ,, | síiv | âi | ,, | gee)in | íivm | tvl | — | ,, | ,, | gud | ,, |
| | 6 | ,, | ,, | a | ,, | gaqin | JAM | tv | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 7 | ,, | see | aa | ,, | gaa)in | JÍIVM | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | giivd | ,, |
| | 8 | ,, | séev | ,, | ,, | gaqin | iivm | ,, | git | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | — | síiv | à | ,, | ganin | JAM | ,, | ee | ,, | ,, | gud | ,, |
| | 10 | ,, | sév | ,, | ,, | ,, | évm | ,, | — | — | ,, | ,, | ,, |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | vn | — | — | di)nvt | bi | sv | shaap | tv | kréevk | ou)vr |
| 2 | ,, | — | — | dAA)nt | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | krAA | ,, |
| 3 | ,, | — | — | du)nvt | bi | ,, | ,, | ,, | kri | ,, |
| 4 | ,, | — | — | ,, | béi | ,, | ,, | ,, | kraa | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | — | — | du)nvt | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | kroo | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | — | — | diiv)nt | bi | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | — | — | du)nvt | bi | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | — | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | ,, | vnudhvr | taam | dii)vnt | JU ,, | si | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 10 | ,, | — | — | di)vnt | ,, | si | ,, | ti | ,, | óur |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | v | bodi | — | vgéevn, | win | i | tóovks | v | téevn | vn |
| 2 | ,, | ,, | — | vgiivn, | wen | v | tAAks | vbuut | dhis | — |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | i | tóovks | v | tiivn | vn |
| 4 | ,, | ,, | — | vgéevn, | ,, | ,, | taaks | ,, | taan | ,, |
| 5 | ,, | ,, | — | vgiivn, | ,, | éi | tóovks | ,, | tiivn | ,, |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | i | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 7 | ,, | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | téevn | ,, |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | — | vgévn, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | tiivn | ,, |
| 9 | oni | ,, | oni | méev, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | dhis | — |
| 10 | ,, | ,, | — | vgivn, | ,, | i | tooks | vbuut | ,, | — |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | *ti*dhʊ | — | th*i*q. |
| | 2 | dhat | ʊ | t*u*dhʊr. |
| | 3 | t*u*dʊ | — | th*i*q. |
| | 4 | t*i*dhʊ | — | ,, |
| | 5 | t*u*dhʊ | — | ,, |
| | 6 | t*u*dʊ | — | ,, |
| | 7 | t*i*dhʊ | — | ,, |
| | 8 | t*u*dhʊ | — | ,, |
| | 9 | dhat | ʊn | t*u*dhʊ. |
| | 10 | ,, | ʊ | ,, |

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| 15. | 1 | *i*t)s | ʊ | wéeʊk | f*ii*ʊl | ʊt | — | pra tʊz | ʊdhuu·t | on*i* |
| | 2 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | préeʊts | w*i*dhuu·t | — |
| | 3 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | pr*i*ʊts | ʊ duu·t | — |
| | 4 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ganz | préeʊt*i*n | ʊdhu·t | on*i* |
| | 5 | ,, ,, | ,, | w*ii*ʊk | f*i*ul | ,, | — | préeʊts | ʊdhuu·t | — |
| | 6 | ,, ,, | ,, | wéeʊk | f*ii*ʊl | ,, | — | pr*ii*ʊts | ʊ duu·t | — |
| | 7 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — | préeʊts | ʊdhuu·t | — |
| | 8 | ,, ,, | ,, | w*ii*ʊk | ,, | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | — |
| | 9 | ,, ,, | ,, | wéeʊk | f*i*ʊl | ,, | — | ,, | w*i*dhuu·t | — |
| | 10 | ,, ,, | ,, | fond | ,, | ,, | — | tʒat)thʊz | w*i*vuu·t | — |

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| | 1 | r*ii*ʊz'n | — | séeʊ | nuu | dhen, | dhat)s | ma | last | — |
| | 2 | ,, | ʊn | — | — | — | ,, ,, | m*i* | ,, | — |
| | 3 | ,, | — | séeʊ | nuu | dhenz, | ,, ,, | ma | ,, | — |
| | 4 | ,, | ʊn | | ,, | dhen | ,, ,, | m*i* | ,, | — |
| | 5 | ,, | — | s*ii*ʊ | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | mé*i* | ,, | — |
| | 6 | ,, | — | ,, | n*uu* | — | ,, ,, | m*i* | ,, | — |
| | 7 | ,, | — | séeʊ | nuu | dhen | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | — |
| | 8 | ,, | ʊn | ,, | | | ,, ,, | m*i* | last | — |
| | 9 | ,, | ,, | — | — | — | ,, ,, | óoʊl | dhat | a |
| | 10 | ,, | ,, | — | — | — | ,, ,, | m*i* | last | — |

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| 1 | — | — | wod, | féeʊ | ɹʊ | wil, | gafʊ. |
| 2 | — | — | ,, | g*u*d | bá*i*. | | |
| 3 | — | — | ,, | f*ii*ʊs | tʊ | wil. | |
| 4 | — | — | ,, | faa | dhu | wiil. | |
| 5 | — | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 6 | — | — | wóʊd, | féeʊ | ɹe | ,, | |
| 7 | — | — | wod, | ,, | tʊ | ,, | |
| 8 | — | — | ,, | ,, | dhu | wé*i*l. | |
| 9 | ee | tʊ | séeʊ, | g*u*d | niit. | | |
| 10 | — | — | wod, | ,, | ,, | | |

*Notes to* No. 1, *Mid Yo.* cs. p. 502.

0. *what for*; the word *why* is not used in asking questions.

1. *laugh like*, so to speak laugh, this *like* is a common qualification; observe (léik), but (maan) mine. Mr. Stead says (léik) is universal in m.Yo., but CCR. has (laak) elsewhere.—*who is to care*? apparently.

2. *nought-but*, i.e. only.—*don't us*, Mr. Stead considers (di)nʊt ʊz) "quite impossible anywhere in m.Yo."—*likely*, the form in the text (laaklinz) is not common.

3. meaning: "howsoever, these-here's tellings of the truth of the case, so just goest thou, and hold thee [*i.e.* for thyself] thou thy din, friend, and

be whisht now, while [*i.e.* until] I is [*i.e.* am, *i.e.* have] done." "hark thou, but now." CCR. says the addition of *s* to *but* is "very common elsewhere, as at Leeds." I suppose it means, "hark only now."

4. Meaning "Some of them (=those) folk (=folks) that went through the whole thing from the first their(=them) selves."

5. *youngest*, CCR. says that *young* has four sounds (ɹuq ɹuuq, ɹuq ɹuuq), the last two being uncommon, but gives no law regulating their use.—"a great lad of nine year old."—*father*, the dental (ˌt, ˌd) are preserved before any place where (r) stood, even after the (r) has been lost, as in the present case. —*voice*, the common form.—*marry!* this asseveration is said to be still common.

6. *woman*, (dʃiʊm) dame, is also common.—*and tell all of you straight of an end, too, without much bother, an ye'll be-at asking of her*, here (óʊ) is *all*, (ʊˌduu·t) is one of the numerous forms for *without* given by CCR. in his glossary, of which he says "the dental *d* (ˌd) forms (ʊˌduut wiˌduut) are especially employed by those who speak the dialect broadly." Obs. that this (ˌd) is a descendant of (dh), and is not superinduced by a following (r). —*much*, (mikʊlz) is also used over a great portion of the north, but here (mitʃ) would be used.

7. *leastly*, at least; this genitive form of adverb is said by CCR. to be common in -lins, -wards, compare (ɹalri·diz, tʊdʃiʊ·z, sʃiʊnʊdz, ʊt'nz, méeʊstliz méeʊstliz, sʃuʊliz, aadliz êʊdliz, wilinz, bilaa·ks) etc., already, to-day, soonward, often, mostly, surely, hardly, willingly, belike, etc.—*she had* (the) *telling of it to me.*—*a two* (or) *three times over had she.*—*moot matter*, if this is the dialectal use of moot, it is hardly correct.—*how(is)it you think?*

8. *how-gates*, in what manner.—*that she has to call her husband of, and the whole story.* CCR. says: "*paddy* was a name given to the almanacks, and hence note books, as (aa)I set dhat duun i ma padi) I'll make a note of it, and hence came to mean the note made or any story. The word is very common, always on the tongue." The full word is (pa·dino·di), see cs. Nos. 3 and 5. In this form it is given in the Cleveland, Craven, Whitby, and Holderness Glossaries. Hence it is widely distributed. Mr. Atkinson (Cl. Gl.) suggests its derivation from *palinode*, or saying back, but this is not a common word, and I would rather suppose *pater-noster* to be the origin, alluding to long mumbling of prayers. This would agree with CCR.'s (mari), Nos. 1, 3, 6, par. 5, also found in the Cleveland and Whitby Glossaries.

9. *she strongly asserted*, this is, however, hardly the general use of *threap*, which is not in CCR.'s Glossary, though Mr. F. K. Robinson in his Whitby Glossary has "*threeap*, to assert positively, 'he threeap'd me wi' liquor,' protested that I was drunk." Halliwell has "obstinately to maintain or insist upon a thing in contradiction to another, *e.g.* 'he threaped me down it was so,' Li. 'I threpe a matter upon one, I bear one in hand that he hath doone or said a thing amysse.'—Palsgrave." The Ws. þreápian is usually explained as 'reprobare, corripere,' and Stratmann gives 'arguere,' citing Orrmin and several old works. Coleridge translates 'convict, refute.' In Li. Mr. Peacock has: "to argue, to asseverate, to insist upon, 'he's alus threapin' about summats.' 'She threap'd me down Sam was dead, but I seed him last setterda.' 'I wen't be threp by a bairn like thoo.'"—*house door*, the short (u) is often used in this word.

10. That is, "he was agate, [going on], a whining, says she, for all the world like to [or use (sʃiʊm ʊz)] same as] a sick bairn, or a lile [little] lass of [in] a tiff."

11. *daughter-in-law, came their ways through the back garth, from hanging the wet clothes out.*

13. meaning "and know you, bairn? that I ne'er learned nought no more than this of that deed up till to-day, I swear, as sure as my name's John Shepherd, and I doesn't want to do, there, now thens."

15. *gaffer*, properly grandfather, a common word of familiar address, like 'old fellow,' or 'governor'; gaffer is used for the master also.

*Notes to* No. 2, *South Ainsty* cs. p. 502.

In these notes to No. 2, for brevity S. means Mr. Stead, R. Mr. C. C. Robinson, and G. the latter's *Mid Yorkshire Glossary*. Unsigned pas-

sages in inverted commas refer to S.'s statements.

1. *neighbour*, S. (néi-), R. (néeɐ-), G. (niiɐ-). 'The sound varies considerably, but (néi-) is correct for the villages named in p. 499, No. 2; (niiɐ-) is very uncommon even in R.'s district.' —*both*, '(búuɐth) is universal in this district.'—*news*, 'R.'s (níɐz) almost unknown.' R. has certainly frequently used uncommon forms and phrases, "to register their existence," which rather defeats my object, but I believe he gave no pronunciation, however rare, which he did not remember to have heard, but of course his memory may have been occasionally at fault.

2. *few*, 'R.'s (fêeu) almost unknown.' —*don't we*, 'R.'s (dɪnɐt) unknown in s.Ainsty, but right for Boroughbridge (9 ne.Harrogate); R.'s (ɐz) 'unknown in m.Yo.'—*likely*, R. (laaklins), S. 'thinks R. must have been thinking of villages more to the w. as Wetherby; and that (léik) is universal in m.Yo.' G. (laaks, láhik, léik), the last refined. See notes to p. 513, pars. 1, 2.

3. *just*, 'R.'s (dɟɪst) never heard in the district.'—*friend*, 'R.'s (frind) heard more to the n. and e.'—*till* or (waal) S.

4. *folks*, 'We always say (fúuɐks), and (fúuɐk) without the (s) is decidedly refined.' R. had written (fúuɐk) first, and corrected it to (fóoɐk).—*whole*, R.'s (ɟal) 'is known, but is extremely rare in the district.'—*themselves*, '(-sen) is the only form known to us, (-sel) or (-sil) would create roars of laughter.' G. p. xxv gives both (-sel, -sen) but not (-sil).

5. *knew*, '(nɟaad) is used occ.'—*voice*, 'R.'s (víɐs) astonished me, I never heard it in my life.' R. says it's common.—*trust*, 'occ. (ˌtˌrɐst).'—*truth*, 'R.'s (tréeɐth) I never heard in my life; (ˌtˌruuth) is said and occ. (ˌtˌruuth), which is used over a very large area in m., e., and se.Yo. In some of R.'s villages (Nun Monkton (7 nw.York) and Easingwold), as I can attest having stayed there, (ˌtˌríuth) is all but universal.'

6. *straight*. G. (sˌtˌréit, sˌtˌriit), and occ. (sˌtˌréiɐt). 'I never heard the last even in R.'s district.'—*bother*, in such words as *bother father*, (ˌd) would be very uncommon indeed.'

7. *me*, 'with us (méi) is never used, our emphatic forms are invariably (mii dhii shii).'—*two or three*, 'our numerals are (ɟan, tuu, thrii, fóuɟɐr, fáiv, siks, sev'n, éit, nain, ten, ɐlev'n, twelv), etc.'

8. *found* or (fun).—*beast*, 'with us (bii'st) is singular and (biiɐs) plural.'

9. *swore*. 'Of course we have *threaped* here also, but it means more like *maintained persistently, said again* and *again*, than *said emphatically and solemnly*.' See note on cs. No. 1, par. 9, p. 514.—*eyes*, 'we have no other form but (iiz), but (éeɐn iiɐn) are right for R.'s district.'—*good*, 'R.'s (gíiɐd) unknown, (guud) general,' but S. wrote (gud).—*lane* 'or (lúuɐn),' which is more regular.

10. *whining*, 'R.'s (waanin) is right for R.'s district, and similarly in s. Ainsty and e. or s. Holderness we have (fáin, náin, wáin, láin, káind), but in n. Ainsty and n. and w. Holderness (faan, naan, waan, laan, kaand).'—*world*, R.'s (waald), 'we use (waak) subs., and (work) vb.'—*little*, 's. Ainsty hardly ever uses (laat'l), I never heard it till I went to Easingwold when young.'

11. *through*, or (thruu), S.—*hanging*, 'R.'s (aqin) is quite York city.' —*clothes*, G. (tlíiɐz, tléeɐz, tlúuɐz, tlóoɐz), second most used, 'with us (tlúuɐz) is the only form.'—*day*, 'R.'s (díiɐ) for the e. and s. Ainsty (déeɐ) is the proper form for his district.'

12. *one*, or (ɟaa), S.—*only*, G. (nobɐt, nɐbɐt), nought but. The second was unknown to S., who, however, uses (nɐt) for *not*.

13. *more*, 'we in s. Ainsty have almost dropped R.'s (méeɐr).'—*sure*, or (shúuɐr), S.—*name* '(néeɐm) is more common than R.'s (niiɐm) s. of York.'

14. *I'm going*, (aa)z gu*j*in) also used, S.—*home* or (úuɐm), S.

*Notes to* No. 3, *North Mid Yo.* cs., p. 502.

2. *that*, CCR. at first wrote (wat) at full, considering (ɐt) to represent *what*, which he says is commonly employed for *that* in Yo., but usually contracted to (ɐt).—*us*, 'never (ɐz) in the pause, it here means we,' R.—*is not* (biiɐnt, bíɐz, biiz) is not, is, 'common, also at Whitby.'

3. *these* (dhóɐr, dho'ɐr) occ. used.—*hold thee thou thy din*, 'not frequently employed, but curious enough to record, I thought,' R.

5. *walking lad*, 'one that can stride

his way anywhere,' R.—*knew*, casually pronounced (ni).

6. *quean*, woman, without disrespect by old people, with the initial (k) omitted, like Yo. (wik) quick. See also *weean* in Whitby Glossary.—*fleers.*—*without*, the vowel is often taken short.

7. *how should you think?* 'This is the manner the emphatic clause would be rendered, with the weight on *think*.

8. *where*, this (wáuvr) is a singular form for (wíivr), but both it and (úuvr) are given in CCR.'s Glossary.—*was* (waar) or (war) either might be used.—*husband* with short (u) not (ʉ), also used in Mid Yo. and Malton way.—*paddynoddy*, long and tedious narration, see notes on cs. No. 1, par. 8, p. 514.

9. *house door*, (us) with a short vowel.—*lane* or (lúvnin).

10. *little*, 'both forms (laal, laat'l) are common all over Yo.,' CCR.

13. *nows thou thens* or (nuuz tʉ nobʉt) nows thou only. CCR. says 'not *knows* thou thenz, for (nóu) for *know* is not heard in peasant speech anywhere; it is a purely idiomatic phrase;' but his translation conveys no meaning. The (tʉ) might stand for *to*, and perhaps *nows to thens*, *nows to only* might be strained to have a meaning. He says the second phrase is common.

*Notes to* No. 4, *New Malton* cs., p. 502.

5. *youngist*, CCR. says: 'there are four pronunciations of *young* in the rural varieties, and I distinguish each readily, with (*u uu*, u uu) where the last two forms are not much heard. Thus (u) is looked upon as an old-fashioned pron., and when a youthful dialect speaker imitates the speech of any person accustomed to speak the vernacular at its broadest, you fail not to hear this (uu) drawled and lengthened in an exaggerated manner. In *house* the vowel is either (u) or (uu). I have the greatest hesitation in deciding on the quantity,—the long and short are so common in interchange.'

*Notes to* No. 5, *Lower Nidderdale* cs., p. 502.

4. *I is* or *I am* (:aa)m).—*whole thing*, both *whole* and *all* appear as (*íivl*) in par. 8, but *all* is given as (óoul) in par. 10.

6. *off-wards.*—*will not*, the *n* of *not* omitted, CCR. says 'singularly at all times.'

10. *chafing*, a heat, passion.

13. *to-day*, here (déiv), but (déev) in par. 5.

*Notes to* No. 6, *Washburn River* cs., p. 502.

1. *together*, CCR. marks (d) not (ˌd), but in *neither* he has marked (ˌd).—*like*, *mine*, are heard with both (ái) and (óv), see (láiklinz), par. 2.

2. *because* (koz), not (kɔz). CCR. says: "I use (o) in this district, but both in this and the m.Yo. cs. No. 1, (ɔ) finds place in as sharply short a character as possible, as (ma ·wod, a)l)ev ɔd o dhʉ!) my word, I'll have hold of thee! In post, word, hold, first, burst, hurt, host, stir, her, (pɔst, wɔd, ɔd, fɔst, bɔst, ɔt, ɔst, stɔr, ɔr) [the last two I suppose before vowels], and in other words there is an undoubted and a most frequent interchange of (ɔ, o).—*grinned*, laughed, jeered.—*don't*, it seems as if (díivnt, dúuvnt du)nʉt) were used rather promiscuously, see par. 13.

3. *of the case*, throughout this district (th, t') interchange for the def. art.—*And take hold and whisht now until I* [have] *done*, "a colloquial phrase, but not of any account."—CCR.

8. *and all about on it*, the *on* seems superfluous.

10. *in* [a] *humour*, "*fret* is only used as a verb; as a noun, it is here and elsewhere unknown," CCR.

11. *dry*, or (ˌdrʉft) drought, 'a term I might also have used in cs. Nos. 1 and 3, and, using (dr) for (ˌdr), in the Leeds cs.' D 24, var. v. p. 374.

13. *don't* or (du)nʉt).

*Notes to* No. 7, *South Cleveland* cs., p. 502.

4. *I is*, or *I am* (aa)m).—*from*, CCR. says '(FREE) is correct. There is a wide difference between (ee, EE) which are nearest allied. The (EE) seems to be associated with few words—from, to, no, etc.—and but casually.'

5. *I swear* (aa síivr); if it were *I'm sure*, it would be (a)zíiv).

8. *beast*, CCR. says: "I see that Mr. Atkinson in his 'Cleveland Glossary' has a note on this word, saying that (bíʉs) is the form the plural takes. This must be merely a local usage. In South Cleveland (bíiʉs) is exceedingly common as the emphatic form. It has seemed to me sometimes that

people everywhere had a habit of saying (bíʊs) on occasions, when the singular number was intended, and (bíiʊs) when more than one was meant. Anyhow (bíiʊs) is the commoner pronunciation, both as a singular and plural form." Out of Yo., except in sw.England, (bíiʊs), or some form without the (t), is commonly used for the plural, the (t) being added for the singular. See p. 515, par. 8.

9. *by the* or (ba)t').

10. '*pook* and (pʌ'ʊk) in town dialect, but they can't be rendered by one spelling. I should write (1) *pouk*, and (2) *pawk*. They are both used as verbs —to *fret*,' CCR.

15. *my* or (ma).

*Notes to No.* 8, *North-East Coast* cs.

10. *maunge* is explained in CCR.'s Glossary as 'untoward, confused, accident,' perhaps 'mishap' would be best here.

*Notes to No.* 9, *Market Weighton* cs.

For abbreviation I use D. Dove, K. Kirkpatrick, R. Robinson, W. Wray.

0. *for*. W. insisted on trilling the (r), but this is contrary to the general habit of e.Yo., and although the final (r) was always clearly pronounced by Mr. Wray, I retain the vocal forms usually heard.—*has no doubts*, or (diz'nt dʌt). W. used ($u_1$) rather than ($u$), but he also used ($i_1$) rather than ($i$). Hence I consider these to be individualities. The (e) may be (ɛ) throughout, but I retain R.'s vowel, and he distinguished (e, ɛ).

1. *well* or (wʌ́i).—*you*, R. signals this as a refinement for (dhuu).—*care*, K. wrote (kíiʊ), which W. asserted could never have been heard.—*there*, old people say (dhíiʊ), younger (dhéeʊ).

2. *know*, K. wrote (níʊ), which both R. and W. corrected to (nóoʊ).—*likely*, R. considers it should be (laakli), saying that if one long ī becomes (aa), all must, and we have (taam). Nevertheless, W. says he has not heard (laakli) half a dozen times, and K. writes *leikly*, D. *likely*.

3. *however*, W. seemed to say (ʌ́ˡui·vɛr), almost but not quite (ʌ́u), but in the wl. he said (*uu*), hence I retain (uu), which is most natural.—*tongue*, is what K. substituted for noise, but W. said (nóiz) is right.—*friend*, W. never heard the (d) omitted, both (frind) and (frend) are used.—*while* for *till*, but (til) is also used.—*hark*, K. wrote *hack*, shewing the shortness of the vowel.

4. *I'm sure*, K. wrote *a sear*, which should be *I swore*, but probably the (z) was omitted by accident, the correction is W.'s.—*through*, W. says (thruu) is also used by the broadest speakers.—*through the whole from the first*, the first *the* is (t'), the second (d), but also, I think, suspended (d'). W. endeavoured to find a reason for the difference, and thought (t') was initial and (d') final. But in looking through Mr. Wray's tale of *Nestleton Magna*, I find plenty of (t'), but no (d'). R. says, however, that the (d) is "nicely correct," but that it is "far more of an habitual than a customary sound."

5. *nine*, (naan) has been heard from older people. K. wrote *nane*, which R. interpreted (néʊn), and D. wrote *nine*; W. read nʌ́in.—*knew*, so K. wrote, and R. interpreted (níu); I owe (nood) to W.—*father*, or (fadh·ʊr) says K., but W. did not allow it; the *'s* of the possessive is never omitted according to W., but Mrs. Wray said it was never inserted, thus (:dɹon wéif) has been often heard.—*though*, W. said (dhof) was not much used, and (dhoo) more common.—*was* (waz) expresses emphatic certainty.—*so queer*, K. gives also (síʊ).—*trust*, K. writes *thrust*, W. gave (ˌtˌr-); K. gave the variant (a)l *u*p)od· *im*) I'll uphold him.—*truth*, K. wrote *t'trewth*, W. pron. what seemed to me as some variation of (ˌtˌryyth), but the mouth was open for the vowel, and there was no projection of the lips.—*aye*, the pron. (ɛ'*i*) is due to W.—*enough*, W. observed that the verb to plough was (plíu), the subs. (plíu) or (plíʊf), and observed that *enow* is not known.

7. *however*. See note, par. 3.

8. *how and where and when*, K. says the expression would not be used in this neighbourhood.—*drunken*, K. wrote (dhr-), R. corrected and W. confirmed (ˌdˌr-).—*beast*, W. stated that (bíiʊs) was pl.—*husband*, W. says (ma ma'n) is common for 'my husband.'

9. *eyes*, both (iin iiz), equally common, and (*it* iin, *it* iiz) would be used for (*its* iin, iiz), W.—*length*, similarly (sˌtˌrenth) W.—*ground*, K. omitted (d), W. restored it; K. says that in Marshland, Var. iv, they would say (*u*pʊ dh gruund).—*by the*, K.

omitted *the*, W. restored it as (d).—*lane*, K. also gives (léeun), W. says (líun) is used, R. prefers (láun). This word is never treated as having A′, but as having O-, A-.

10. *plaining*, i.e. complaining, suffering, suggested by W., K said (waanin) would not be used, and suggested (gríunin).—*whimpering*, suggested by W. as *fretting*, was not dialectal.

11. *her*, the pron. (óur) was given by W., who constantly uses *hor* in *Nestleton Magna*.—*through back yard*, R. says "there is no real omission of (t') here. The tongue moves for it, however it may be lost to the ear. In nearly every variety of Yo. dialect it is lost when in this position followed by (b)." It would probably be the same before any mute or sonant. But the tongue being first put in the (t) position and dwelt on, the effect on the ear is different from that of an entire absence of any (t).—*clothes*, W. had (klúus) in par. 9, R. says that the present is the refined and general form.

12. *one*, K. (wun), D. and W. (jaa).—*fine*, W. has heard (faan), but gave (féin).—*since*, D. and K. (sen), W. (sin).

13. *do you know*, K. says this phrase would not be used, R. thinks he would not have objected to (un noo ju, béeun).—*learned*, K. had (laand), D. (leent), W. says (léeunt) is the common form.—*until*, D. and K. had *awhahl*, (waal) is W.'s correction.

15. *weak fool*, K. *wake fool*, which R. says is very refined. I adopt R.'s (wéeuk) and W.'s (fíul).—*prates*, W. said 'not (príuts).'—*without*, K. wrote *wid-doot or bid-doot* (wi,duut bi,duut), observing that they seem old, but are still heard; W. said (widhuut bidhuut) were more common among the peasantry.—*good-night*, R. says good bye (bái) is seldom heard, W. gives (gu·nit, tataa·) as common forms, the last being used even among men.

*Notes to No.* 10, *Holderness* cs., p. 502.

1. Variants by Mr. Stead for e. Holderness. These are placed first for facility of reference, the others follow.

1. *well*, wel, *argumentative*.—*neighbour*, neebur.—*both*, búth.—*neither*, niidhur.

2. *folks*, fúuuks.—*of being*, ut biin.—*not*, nut.—*likely*, le'ikli.

3. *these*, dhiiz.—*of the case*, u kéuz *no article*.—*quiet*, kwe'iut.—*I have done*, a)v din.

4. *folks*, fúuuks.—*through the whole*, thruf wol.

5. *great*, grut, n.H. gríiut.—*nine*, náin.—*squeaking*, skwíiukin n.H.—*trust* and *truth*. Mr. Ward insists on (thr-), but here and in other cases I seemed to hear (,t,r-).

6. *straight*, sthreet. — *without*, widhuu·t, wiuuut *not heard*.

7. *I* (ái) is e.H., (a) would be n.H.—*times*, táimz.—*you*, ju.

8. *well*, wel.—*found*, fand n.H., fun e.H.

9. *sware*, swóou.—*with her own eyes*, widh ur aan iiz, iin *also used but not so frequently*.—*upon the ground*, upu grund.—*coat*, kúut.—*close*, tliius. *corner*, kaanu.—*lane*, líiun.

10. *groaning*, gríunin.—*world*, wold.—*like*, léik.—*girl*, las.—*fretting*, rúuurin.

11. *clothes*, tliiuz.—*washing day*, weshin déeu.

12. *while*, uwal *peculiar to* e.H.—*tea*, tíiu n.H., tii e.H.—*fine*, faan n.H.—*afternoon* eftuníiun *was written*.—*since*, sin.

13. *matter*, mathur.—*my*, mai e.H., maa n.H.—*name*, níium.—*neither*, niidhu, *both* e. *and* n.H.

14. *so*, síu.—*going home to supper*, gái)in, buun wom ti ee mi supu.

15. *fond fool*, wéeuk bréeund fíul.—*chatters*, tjathuz.—*without*, widhuut. *reason*, ríiuz'n n.H., riiz'n e.H.

2. Notes other than variants.

1. *you*, refined, vulgar form (jii), CCR.—*that's neither here nor there*, a common phrase, but (nóudhur) belongs rather to Mid Yo., Var. i, also (dhéeu) is refined form of (dhíiu), CCR.

2. *likely*, CCR. again thinks it ought to be (laakli). This is not the case in the East Riding, see p. 517, par. 2.

3. *of the case*, the insertion of the article here was probably a slip. *I've done*, (aa) always in n.H., (ái) before a vowel in e.H.

4. *those* very refined, (dhem) is the characteristic word, CCR.

8. *found* has (d) in n. but not in e.H.—*beast*, S. made (bíus) pl. only, which surprises CCR.

9. *upon the ground*, CCR. says that this (-d) for the definite article is heard as a casual form in all the other varieties, and in D 24.—*coat*, CCR. says (kóut) is thoroughly refined, and

(*kúuvt*) the peasant form.—*close* (kloos), CCR. says is also refined, but very much used; and "the refined phase is really the dominant one over that section of the East Riding nearest the coast, with its important market towns."

10. *was*, CCR. finds the constant use of *was* a sure mark of the refined form; and that the characteristic rural types are (war wa wor wo) long or short according to circumstances.—*fretting*, CCR. considers to be quite non-dialectal.

11. *yard*, CCR. says this is refined: "when a rural liver uses *yard* alone of an enclosure, his thoughts run on the flagged and walled courts he sees in town. There are no *yards* in the country according to his idea, and even in such compounds as stable-yard, church-yard, his tongue is far more ready to say (*stívb*'l-géevth, kork-géevth)."

13. *Jack*, CCR. says that he did not use this in his cs. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, because even among the humblest classes it savours of vulgarity, except when used for children only.

14. *to supper*, CCR. objects to the omission of the personal pronoun *my* as being refined. In his own versions cs. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, he has always inserted *my*; in cs. No. 2, York Ainsty, Mr. Stead has also omitted it.

15. *fond*, CCR. thinks this common word would convey a wrong notion, and prefers *weak*, which he would write (we'ivk).

## (2) Four Interlinear dt. for North-East Yorkshire.

As the cs. for Var. ii were both written by CCR., and I have been fortunate enough to get four dt. from other writers, although in io., which I have been obliged to pal. from indications, or conjecturally, or by the aid of CCR.'s cs., and in one instance by the reading of another native, it seems advisable to give them also in an interlinear arrangement, as a contrast.

1. *Danby-in-Cleveland* (12 wsw. Whitby), written by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary, with many notes and indications.

2. *Skelton-in-Cleveland* (10 e-by-s. Middlesborough), by Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, of Lingdale, Marske-by-the-Sea, with very full notes. Much of the neighbourhood is like it for ten miles. This specimen was subsequently read to me in Feb. 1887, by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, of Stanghow (:staq·v) (3 sse. Skelton, and 12 ese. Middlesborough), a friend of Mr. Wilkinson, and at that time a student in the Wesleyan Training College, Westminster, and that is the pronunciation which I have used. I subsequently referred the chief points to Mr. T. D. Ridley, who resides at Coatham, Redcar, and he agreed with Mr. Langstaff. Mr. Wilkinson was, however, not quite satisfied with the result, but as I have not had an opportunity of hearing him pronounce, I have let my transcript of Mr. Langstaff's stand, and only regret that I am not able to do justice to Mr. W.'s views, which he was at great pains to particularise.

3. *Whitby*, by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary, the second edition of which was published by the English Dialect Society.

4. *Whitby, Malton, Pickering, and the Moors*, by Rev. John Thornton, Vicar of Aston Abbott, Aylesbury; this is also in io. and with no indications, but by the help of the others there is very little difficulty in interpreting it.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. 1 | *Danby.* | *síiv* | a | sez, | mv | ladz, | siiz | tv | nuu | at | a)z | riit |
| 2 | *Skelton.* | *si*$_1$ | a | see, | | làdž, | jv | *sii* | *nuu* | dhvt | aa)z | *riit* |
| 3 | *Whitby.* | *síiv* | a | sez, | m*iivts*, | | jv | sii | nuu | dhvt | a bi | riit |
| 4 | *Moors.* | | | | | ladz, | jv | sii | nuu | | a)m | riit |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | vbuut | jon | laat'l | las | *kumin* | fre)t' | sk*iivl* ? | |
| 2 | vbàt | dhat | lívt'l | las | *kumin* | fre)t' | sk*iivl* | jondhv. |
| 3 | vbuut | dhat | laat'l | béeen | *kumin* | fre)t' | sk*iivl* | jondvr. |
| 4 | vbuut | t' | laat'l | las | *kumin* | fre)t' | sk*iivl*. | |

2. 1 shii)z ganʊn duun t' ráuʊd dhíiʊ ˌtruf t' rid ɹat o)t' left
2 shíɪʊz gáin duun)t' róoʊd dhéeʊ thruu t' ríɪʊd ɹat o)t' left
3 shii)z gái)in duun t' ráuʊd dhéeʊ thruf t' ríiʊd ɹat o)t' left
4 shii)z gái)in duun t' ráuʊd dhíiʊ thruf t' ɹat o)t'

1 ond saad o)t' wíiʊ.
2 and saad o)t' wee.
3 and sáid o)t' ráuʊd.
4 o)t'

3. 1 síiʊr ʊníʊf t' béeʊn ev gand riit up ti)t' díiʊr o)t'
2 síiʊr ʊníɪʊf t' béeʊn)z gíɪʊn sˌtráit up ti)t' díɪʊr ʊ)t'
3 síiʊr ʊníiʊf t' béeʊn ʊz gíiʊn sˌtreet up tu)t' díiʊr o)t'
4 síiʊr ʊníiʊf t' béeʊn)z gíiʊn sˌtreet up ti)t' díiʊr o)t

1 raq uus,
2 raq ʊ̀s,
3 raq uus,
4 raq uus,

4. 1 wíiʊ shʊ)l hap'n find dhat ˌdruk'n díiʊf wíʊz'nd tɟap
2 wéeʊ shíɪ)ʊl mebi fin'd dhat ˌdruk'n díɪʊf wíɪz'nd felʊ
3 wúuʊ shʊ)l tɟans ti find dhat ˌdrukʊn díiʊf dwiz'nd kaal
4 wíiʊ shii)l mebi find dhat ˌdruqk'n díiʊf wiz'nd tɟap

1 ʊt dhʊ kaa :tɔmʊs.
2 bi t' níɪʊm ʊ :tomi.
3 dhe kaal :tɔmʊs.
4 o t' níiʊm o :tumʊs.

5. 1 wi aal kenz'm vari wiil.
2 wiɪ aa'l ken im variɪ wiiɪl.
3 wi aal ken im vari wiil.
4 ken [naa] vari wiil.

6. 1 wíiʊnt t' aad tɟap síiʊn laan ʊ nut tʊ dii)t nʊ méeʊ,
2 wíɪʊnt t' aad tɟap síiʊn líɪʊn ʊ nut ti díiʊ)t ʊgíiʊn,
3 wíiʊnt t' aad tɟap síiʊn tíiʊtɟ ʊ nut ti díiʊ)t ʊgíiʊn,
4 wíiʊnt t' aad tɟap síiʊn laan ʊ nɔt ti díiʊ)t ʊgíiʊn,

1 púuʊ thiq!
2 puuʊ thiq'!
3 púuʊ thiq.
4 púuʊ kreetʊr!

7. 1 luks)tʊ! iz'nt it tríu?
2 líɪʊk! iz'nt it ˌtríɪu?
3 líuk! iz'nt it ˌtríu?
4 líiʊk! ˌtríu?

*Notes to Danby* dt. No. 1.

1. *I*, (ái) emphatic, (a) unemphatic.

2. *there*. Mr. A. having given no sound, I follow CCR.—*gate* (ɹat) or (ɹet).—*left side*, no sound given, I have used (saad) therefore, as given for other words.

3. *enough*. Mr. A. having written *enough* without explanation, I follow CCR.—*gone* (gand) or (geed).

4. *where*, no sound assigned.—*that they call* more usual than, *of the name of* (o t' níivm ʊv), as a rule *of* is (ʊv) before vowels, and (o, ʊ) before consonants.

6. *old* (*oo*d) is also heard.

There was a schoolmaster at Castleton, a hamlet of Danby parish, named Bull, who was constantly called (:bəl), and the same sound occurs in other words, as bushel (bəshʊl) or (bíshʊl).

*Notes to Skelton* dt. No. 2.

1. *so*, also (sôʊ, sí₁ʊ), the (ʊ) was lost before the following (a).—*lads*, or (tɹaps), commoner than (mɛɛts), which however is used, (*bu*tiz) is not used. —*little*, (laat'l) not usual.—*lass*, also (gĕl) very short, but (las) most common. —*from the*, (fre)d') was also used.—*yonder*, or (ɹondhʊr), *r* not before a vowel very faint, but perceptible.

2. *going*, a distinct diphthong, not (gaɹin).—*road*, or (lonen), Mr. JWL. used (o) distinctly, not (ɔ), and in ordinary speech he used (oo) in place of (*oo*).—*there*, the (r) was not heard except as (ʊ).—*through* is (ˌtˌɹuˌf) on the sea-coast between Lofthouse (:loftʊs) (12 nw. Whitby) and Whitby.—*gate*, (ɹat) usual, (géʊt) also heard, (-git) unaccented as the name of a street.—*way*, rather (róʊd, lonʊn) road, lane.

3. *gone*, (gon) also used.

4. *may be*, or (ap'n) happen; (tɹans tʊ) chance to, scarcely used.—*wizzened* used, 'shrivelled' not used; (shr-) initial, used as (shrí₁ʊb) shrub.—*by the name of*, a common expression, but oftener (wí₁) ʊz ní₁ʊmd), who is named, the (wí₁) is suspicious, perhaps I did not hear right, (az)iz) seems more probable.—*Tommy*, certainly not Tom nor Thomas.

5. *ken* and *know* (nóʊ) are distinguished as *connaître* and *savoir*.—*very*, (varʊ) sounded Scotch to Mr. L.

6. *soon learn*, these two words really rhymed by the omission of the (r). (tí₁ʊtɹʊ), teacher, is used at school. The (r) was scarcely audible when not before a vowel. The regular sound of O' was (*i*₁ʊ) with the deep (*i*₁). This Mr. L. pron. in 'moon, soon, book, look, blood, stood, plough sb. (plí₁ʊf), tough (tí₁ʊf), cool, tool, stool [he stole a stool (*i* stí₁úl ʊ stí₁ʊl) the fracture differing, stolen (stóun)], broom [the plant], do, done, noon, spoon, floor, boot, foot, root, soot,' but 'mother, bloom, nose, brother, good, plough vb., sought, moor,' were (m*u*dhər, bl*uu*m, nóuz, br*u*dhər, g*u*d, pl*uu*, sóut, múʊr), 'sought' was evidently assimilated to 'bought, thought, brought, wrought, daughter,' all of which had (ó*u*), 'coal, hole' were (kúʊl, *ú*ʊl).

7. *look*, the forms (lí₁ʊks)tʊ, l*u*)dhʊ, l*u*)ɹʊ) lookest thou, look thou, look you, all occur. All the (*u*) were very deep, as well as all the (*i*), and perhaps (*u*₁) like (*i*₁) should be used generally.

*Notes to Whitby* dt. No. 3.

1. *I be right* for I is right, is strange, and doubtful. Unfortunately there is no grammar given with the Whitby Glossary, which only contains *be* in the imperative mood.

2. *going*. In his Glossary Mr. FKR. gives 'gangin, gannin, gying.' The pron. here assigned to the last word is quite conjectural, but reminds one of the S. (gwə'in).—*side*. Mr. FKR. writes (sáid) here and in his glossary, but (saad) is more regular.

3. *straight*. Mr. FKR. uses the ordinary spelling both here and in his glossary, hence I write (sˌtˌɹeet), the dental (ˌt, ˌd) is not marked, but must be assumed.

4. *where*, the pron. (wúuʊr) is not given in the Glossary.

5. *carl*, explained in the Glossary as "a coarse old man." *Carlin* is the fem., and is used for a witch.

*Notes to the Moors* dt. No. 4.

2. *going*, spelled *gaing*, pron. assimilated to No. 3; blanks are left in many places where the sound was not given.

6. *not*, "*u* as in *smut*," but perhaps after all the Yo. pron. (sm*u*t) may be meant.

## (3) Three Interlinear dt. for South-East Yorkshire.

In order to shew the close connection between the Var. iii and iv, I here give 3 dt.

1. Var. iii, *East Holderness*, pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. Stead, see pp. 499, No. 2, 501, No. 10, and Holderness cwl. *infrà*.

2. Var. iii, *Sutton* (3 ne.Hull), on the borders of E. and W. Holderness, written in glossic by Mr. Edward French, of the Lead Works, Hull, long resident, native of Farndon (see D 28, p. 452, last line), and pal. by AJE.

3. Var. iv, *Goole and Marshland*, written by the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, formerly curate in that neighbourhood, and corrected in pal. from his dictation by AJE.

1 1 *East Holderness.* s*i*ʊ a séeʊ, míʊts, ɹu sii nuu ʊt aa)z
2 *Sutton.* s*u* aa see, meets, ɹʊ sii nuu dhat aa)z
3 *Goole.* saa a see, méeʊts, ɹ*i* sii nuu ʊt aa)z

1 r*éi*t ʊbuu·t dhat laat'l las k*u*m*i*n fre sk*iiʊ*l ɹondhʊr.
2 riit ʊbuu·t dhat laat'l las k*u*m*i*n fre sk*iiʊ*l ɹondhʊr.
3 riit ʊbuut dhat laat'l g*o*l k*u*m*i*n free t' skuul ɹondʊ.

2. 1 shʊ)z b*u*n duun r*úuʊ*d dhéeʊ thruuf ɹed ɹat a left
2 shʊ)z gan*i*n duun t' raad dhé*i*ʊr thr*u*f ɹed ɹat on tʊ left
3 sh*i*)z go·*i*n duun t' raa'ʊd dh*iiʊ*, thr*u*f t' ɹed ɹat o)t' left

1 and s*ái*d ʊ wee.
2 ond s*ái*d ʊ)t' wee.
3 and s*ái*d ʊ)t' wee.

3. 1 s*iiʊ*r ʊn*iiʊ*f béeʊn)z g*iiʊ*n sthreet *u*p t*i* d*iiʊ*r ʊ
2 s*iiʊ*r ʊníu· t' ɹaald ez gan sthré*i*t *u*p tʊ d*iiʊ*r ʊ t'
3 síuʊr ʊníu· t' bêeʊn)z gon street *u*p tʊ(t' d*úuʊ*r ʊ)t'

1 raq uus.
2 raq uus.
3 raq uus.

4. 1 w*iiʊ* shʊ)l me)b*i* f*i*nd dhat dhr*u*qk'n diif shr*i*v'ld felʊ
2 wé*i*ʊr shʊ)l ɹons f*ái*nd dhat dr*u*qk'n d*iiʊ*f shr*i*v'ld felʊ
3 w*iiʊ* shi)l me)b*i* f*i*nd dhat dr*u*qk'n d*iiʊ*f w*i*z'nd felʊ

1 ʊ n*iiʊ*m ʊ :tomʊs.
2 ʊ t' n*iiʊ*m ʊ :t*u*mʊs.
3 ʊ)t' néeʊm ʊ :tomʊs.

5. 1 wi aal naa *i*m var*i* wiil.
2 wi aal naa im var*i* wiil.
3 w*i* aal naa *i*m var*i* wiil.

6. 1 w*iiʊ*nt aad ɹap s*iiʊ*n tiiɹ ʊ n*u*t ti dii it ʊg*iiʊ*n,
2 w*iiʊ*nt t' aad ɹap s*iiʊ*n t*iiʊ*ɹ ʊ nat ti dii *i*t ʊg*iiʊ*n,
3 w*o*)nt' ó*u*d ɹap s*iiʊ*n t*iiʊ*ɹ ʊ not tʊ duu)t ʊgeen,

1 púuvr thiq!
2 púuvr thiq!
3 púuv thiq!

7. 1 líivk ez)'nt it thruu?
2 líivk iz)'nt it thríu?
3 líivk iz)'nt it tríu?

*Notes to East Holderness* dt. No. 1.

1. *mates*, (méevts) is refined.—*right*, also (riit).—*lass*, (gjel) often used.
2. *going*, (bun) boun, and (gáijin) are used.—*gate*, or (gíivt).—*side*, (saad) in n. Holderness.
4. *may be*, more usual than *chance to* (tjans ti).

*Notes to Sutton* dt. No. 2.

4. *drunken*, probably a slip for (dhruqk'n), compare (thríu) true.

*Notes to Goole* dt. No. 3.

1. *right* or (ráit), which should probably be (réit).—*girl*, this (gol) has not been given me elsewhere.—*school* (skuul) is probably an erroneous reminiscence; Dr. Thompson had not been at the place for many years.
2. *gate* or (giit).
3. *straight*, here (street), sometimes (stráit), as well as (druqk'n, tríu), are probably errors, the dentality of (tr, dr) not having been noticed.

## (4) Var. i, Mid Yo. cwl.

Complete wl. for D 30, Var. i *a*, or Mid Yorkshire, written in Glossic by CCR., pal. and arranged as a cwl. by A. J. Ellis. "The rule is very general that when a word has (*iv*) for vowel, the refined form is (*éev*), and the latter is at least in equal and very often in most use." At the end of a word the letters (-d, -r) are heard only before a following vowel. CCR. says the intonation is "a drawl in individual instances, but by rule easy and deliberate, full of body, slow going, firm and clear in enunciation; sentences run short, and the way in which words are mouthed is pregnant with meaning to an accustomed ear. There is hesitancy at times, but it is associated with purpose, and cannot be regarded as a defect. The frequent use of the dental (ˌt, ˌd), as it were, thickens the speech in a very striking way."

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 béevk bîvk. 4 tak. 5 mak. 6 méevd mîvd. 7 sîvk séevk. 8 ev. 9 bijévv bijívv. 10 ôv. 11 môv. 12 sóov. 13 nôv. 14 dˌróov. 15 óov. 16 dôvn. 17 lôv lúv. 18 kívk kéevk. 19 tíivl. 20 lívm [often (líivm)]. 21 nîvm. 22 téevm. 23 sívm. 24 sham. 25 mévn. 26 wéevn. 27 nívv. 28 éev+r. 31 lívt. 32 béevd -îv-. 33 réevˌdv-r -îv-. 34 last. 35 óovl. 36 thóov thóu. 37 tlóov.

A: 39 kam. 40 kévm kívm. 41 theqk. 43 an-d. 44 land. 46 kanvl. 47 wanˌdv-r. 48 saq. 50 taqz. 51 man. 52 wan. 53 kan. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh wéish. 57 as.

A: *or* O: 58 frév [(fre) before a vowel]. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 vmaq. 63 ˌtˌraq. 64 raq. 65 saq. 66 thaq.

A'- 67 gaq gan géev. 69 néev nív núv. 70 tév. 71 wéev. 72 wév. 73 séev. 74 twéev twív. 75 sˌtˌréevk sˌtˌrívk sˌtˌrúuvk. 76 téevd. 77 lood. 78 óov. 79 óovn óovnd. 80 alidv. 81 lúnvn lúuvnín. 83 múuvn. 84 méev-r. 85 séev-r. 86 êvts wots. 87 tléevz tlîvz. 88 tléevth. 89 béevth bívth. 90 blóov. 91 móov. 92 nóov. 93 snóov. 94 króov. 95 thróov. 96 sóov. 97 sóovl. 98 nóovn. 99 thróovn. 100 sóovn.

A': 101 jak. 102 as aks. 104 réeud. 105 réeud. 106 bréeud. 107 léuf léeuf lúuuf. 108 díuf. 109 lóou. 110 nut nit. 111 óut. 112 éeul. 113 jal wol. 114 múul. 115 éeum jam íium jíium. 116 wéeum. 118 béeun. 121 géeun. 122 néeun. 123 nóut [used]. 124 stéeun. 125 uuunli. 126 úuu-r. 127 éeus éeust. 128 [use] dhem dhim um. 129 géust. 130 búuut. 131 gúuut. 132 jat. 133 réeut. 134 éuth. 135 tléeuth, tlut [rag].

Æ- 138 fíiu,du-,r -aa-. 139 d,riu. 140 éeul agulstêun [hailstone]. 141 néeul. 142 sníul snéeul sniil. 143 tíul téeul. 144 ugiu·n. 145 sluun. 146 méeun. 147 bréeun. 148 féeu-r. 149 blíuz. 150 líust. 151 let [not much used]. 152 wa,tu-,r. 153 se,tudu.

Æ: 155 thak. 157 réeuv'n ríuv'n. 158 ef,tu-r. 160 ig. 161 dîu. 163 líud. 164 míu. 165 síud sed. 166 míud mêeud. 167 díul déeul. 168 ta·lu. 169 wen wéin. 170 aavist. 171 baali. 172 gres ges gos gras. 173 waa. 174 esh esh. 175 fast. 178 nit nat. 179 wat. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 síiu. 183 tíiutj. 184 líiud. 185 ríiud. 186 bridth briudth briid. 187 líiuv. 188 níiu néei. 189 wéi. 190 kíiu. 191 jíiul. 192 míiun. 193 tlíiun. 194 uni oni. 195 muni moni. 196 waa-r. 197 tjiiz tjíuz. 199 bliiut bléeut. 200 wíiut. 201 jíiudhun. 202 íiut jíiut.

Æ': 203 spíutj spíiutj. 204 díud diid. 205 thríiud. 206 rid. 207 níudul níiudul. 210 tléeu. 211 gréeu. 212 wéi. 213 éeu,du-,r. 215 tóut. 216 díiul. 217 íiutj. 218 shíup shéip. 219 slíup sléip. 221 fiiu-r. 222 éeu-r. 223 dhíiu-r. 224 wúuu-r wíiu-r. 225 flish flesh. 226 méeust. 227 wit wíut. 228 swíiut. 229 brith bríuth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brek. 233 spíiuk. 234 níiud. 235 wíiuv. 236 fíiuver. 237 tjilblíun. 238 idj. 239 séeul síul. 240 léeun líun. 241 réeun ríun. 242 twéeun twíun. 243 pléeu plíiu [only in ref. sp., colloquially (líuk) laik]. 246 kwiin [queen], kwíun [quean]. 247 wíiun. 248 míiu-r. 249 wíiu-r. 250 swíiu-r. 251 miiut. 252 kitul. 253 nitul. 254 le,du-,r. 255 ithu-r.

E: 257 idj. 258 sig seg. 259 widj. 260 léeu líu lig [last much used in pres. t.]. 262 wíiu. 264 jéeul jíul. 265 s,t,rêit. 267 jîuld. 268 i,l,dist. 270 bilus belus, bili beli. 272 elm. 273 min. 274 biqk. 275 [(stiqk) only used]. 276 thiqk. 277 d,rintj. 278 wentj wintj. 280 vlíiu·vun -iv-. 281 lenth [often (leqth)]. 282 s,t,renth [often (s,t,reqth)]. 283 məri muri. 284 thresh. 285 kris. 286 aru. 287 bíiuzum. 288 lit.

E'- 289 jéi jii. 290 éi ii. 291 dhéi dhii. 292 méi mii. 293 wei wii. 294 fiid. 295 bríud brid. 296 bilíuv biliiv. 298 fiil fíul. 299 griin. 300 kíup kiip. 301 jíiu-r. 302 míut miit. 303 swíut.

E': 305 ii éi. 306 iit éit. 307 nii néi naa. 308 níud. 309 spíud. 310 íul iil. 311 tin. 312 íiu-r. 313 aakun. 314 jíiud. 315 fíiut [with *long* initial sound to the fracture, see 595]. 316 niist níiust níust.

EA- 317 fléeu. 319 gíup. 320 kéeu-r.

EA: 321 sóou siid. 322 laf. 323 fóut féeut. 324 íut. 325 wíiuk wóouk. 326 óoud úuud. 327 bóuld bóuld. 328 kóoud. 329 fóould fóoud. 330 óoud od. 331 [form used] seld sild [sometimes with final ,t,]. 332 [form used] teld tild. 333 kúuf kôuf. 334 úuf ôuf. 335 jal úul. 336 fúuul. 337 wúul. 340 jéeud. 342 éeum. 343 waam. 345 daa-,r. 346 gíut.

EA'- 347 jíiud. 348 ii [(iin) gen. pl., but often sg.]. 349 fíiu.

EA': 350 díiud [ref. (did)]. 351 líiud [ref. (lid)]. 352 rid. 353 bríiud [ref. (brid)]. 354 shíiuf shaav shaft. 355 díiuf. 356 líiuf. 357 dhuf. 359 níiubu-r, neebu-r. 360 tíium. 361 bíiun béeun. 362 slíu. 363 tjíiup tjíup. 365 níiu-r. 366 gríiut. 367 thríut [ref. (thrit)]. 368 díiuth. 369 sléeu slíu slóou. 370 róou. 371 s,t,réeu s,t,ríu s,t,rúuu.

EI- 372 e i ee'i éei éi [very much used]. 373 dhéeu. 374 níiu néeu. 375 réeuz rêuz. 376 béeut.

EI: 377 stéeuk. 378 wéeuk. 379 éeul. 381 swéeun swíun. 382 dhéeu-r.

EO- 383 sivun síiuvun. 384 ivun iuvun. 385 binfíudh ənfíudh. 386 jóu. 387 níu.

EO: 388 milk míulk mulk [all very short]. 389 jook. 390 sud síud. 393 bijund ujund. 396 waak work [? (r)]. 397 sword swərd sə'rd [? (r)]. 398 stêuv staav. 399 brit. 400 jíiunest. 401 jíiun. 402 laan. 403 faa-r. 404 s,taa-r. 405 éeuth. 406 jíiuth. 407 faadin [the (d) never dental].

EO'- 411 thríʊ ˌtʌríʊ. 412 shíʊ shéi. 413 dil divʊl. 414 flii. 415 lii. 416 díʊ-r. 417 tʃíʊ tʃáu. 418 bríʊ. 420 fóʊʊ-r. 421 foti.

EO': 423 thii. 424 ríʊf. 425 lit. 426 féit. 427 béi. 428 séi síʊ. 430 frʊnd. 431 bíʊ-r. 432 fóʊʊt. 433 brist bríʊst. 434 bet bit. 435 jóu. 436 ˌtʌríʊ. 437 ˌtʌríʊth.

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 ˌtʌrʊst.

I- 440 wik. 441 síʊv. 442 aavin. 443 fraaˌdʊ. 444 sˌtaal. 445 aa aan [latter commoner]. 446 nin naan. 448 dhíʊz. 449 git. 450 tíʊzdʊ. 451 sóu.

I: 452 aa. 454 wítʃ. 455 lig. 457 mit. 458 nit nʌ́ʊt. 459 rit. 460 wéit. 461 lit. 462 sit síʊt. 464 witʃ. 465 sitʃ [but (saak sáik) are more used]. 466 tʃaald [when read, (béeʊnz) used in speaking]. 467 waald. 468 tʃilˌdʌrin [when read, (béeʊnz) used in speaking]. 471 timʊ-r. 472 shriqk sriqk. 473 blind [ref. (blaand)]. 474 raand [spoken of as *peel* (piʊl)]. 475 wind. 476 bind [ref. (baand)]. 477 fin. 478 grʊnd [ref. (graand)]. 479 wind [ref. (waand)]. 481 fiqgʊ. 484 dhis. 485 thisʊl. 486 jist. 487 jisˌtʊˌdʊ jusˌtʊˌdʊ. 488 jit.

I'- 490 baa. 491 saa see. 493 draav. 494 taam. 496 aarʊn. 497 raaz. 498 raat. 499 bíʊtʊl [when read, otherwise (tlok, blak·tlok) clock, black clock].

I': 500 laak. 501 waad. 502 faav. 503 laaf. 504 naaf. 505 waaf. 506 wʊmʊn. 507 wimin. 508 maal. 509 waal. 511 waan. 512 spaa-r [ref. (spéʊʊ-r)]. 513 waa-r. 514 aas. 515 waaz. 516 wizdʊm. 517 jíʊ.

O- 520 buu. 521 fúʊʊl. 522 opʊn ʊpʊn. 523 êʊp. 524 wòld.

O: 526 kʊf kíʊf. 527 bóʊt. 528 thóʊt. 529 bróʊt. 530 róʊt. 531 dóʊˌtʊˌr déeʊˌtʊ-ˌr. 532 kúʊʊl. 533 dʊl. 534 úʊʊl. 536 góʊd góʊʊd. 537 muuld muud. 538 wad. 539 bóʊl. 540 olin. 542 bolt. 545 op ʊp. 547 búʊʊd. 548 ford [ref. (fəəd)]. 549 úʊʊd. 550 wod. 551 storm [ref. (stəəm)]. 552 kóʊʊn kúʊʊn. 553 óʊʊn úʊʊn. 554 kros krʊs.

O'- 555 shíʊ shuun [the last both sg. and pl.]. 556 tʊv. 557 tiiʊ. 558 líʊk líʊk. 559 mùˌdʊ-ˌr. 561 blíʊm. 562 míʊn. 563 mʊnˌdʊ. 564 síʊn. 565 neeʊz. 566 ʊˌdʊ-ˌr.

O': 569 bíʊk. 570 tíʊk. 571 gíʊd [Mr. Stead says he has never heard (gíʊd) in Mid Yo. CCR. gives it in 30 i *c*, 30 ii *a*, *b*, in 30 iii *a*, see p. 496. Mr. Jackson Wray knew it, but as very rare]. 572 blíʊd. 573 flíʊd. 574 bríʊd. 575 stíʊd. 576 widʊnzdʊ. 577 bíʊf bíʊ. 578 plíʊf plʊf plif plíuf pléʊf. 579 ʊníʊf. 580 tʊf tíʊf. 581 sóʊt. 582 kíʊl. 583 tíʊl. 584 stíʊl. 585 bríʊm [when read, otherwise 287, meaning a sweeping broom]. 586 díʊ. 587 díʊn. 588 níʊn. 589 spíʊn. 590 fliʊ-r [casually (flíʊʊ-r)]. 591 múʊʊ-r. 592 sweeʊ-r. 593 [(mìn) used]. 594 bíʊt. 595 fíʊt [with *short* initial vowel to the fracture, see 315]. 596 ríʊt. 597 síʊt. 598 síʊdh.

U- 599 ʊbíʊn ʊbʊʊn. 600 líʊv lʊv. 601 fuul. 602 suu. 603 kʊm. 605 sʊn síʊn. 606 díʊ-r [casually díʊʊ-r]. 607 bʊtʊ-r.

U: 608 ʊgli. 609 fʊl. 610 wʊl. 611 bʊlʊk. 612 sʊm. 613 ˌdʌrʊqk. 614 uund. 615 pʊnd. 616 grʊnd. 617 suund. 618 wuund. 619 fʊn. 620 gruund. 621 wʊn. 622 ʊndʊ-r. 625 tùq. 626 ʊqʊ-r. 628 nʊn. 629 sʊn. 630 wʊn. 631 thorzdʊ. 632 ʊp. 633 kʊp. 634 thrʊf thríʊf. 635 woth. 636 foˌdʊˌr. 637 tùsk. 638 busk. 639 dʊst.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 uu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 645 dîʊv duv. 646 buu. 647 óʊl [occ. (uul)]. 648 uuʊ-r. 649 thuuzʊn. 653 bʊt bʊd.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 réeum ríʊm. 657 bruun. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 660 búʊʊ-r. 661 shúʊʊ-r. 662 ùz. 663 uus. 664 luus. 665 muus. 666 ùzbʊn. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 669 ʊnkuuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 mitʃ mikʊl. 674 did [initial (d) slightly dental]. 676 lii laa. 677 ˌdʌraa. 678 ˌdʌn. 679 kork [? (r), ref. (tʃotʃ)]. 680 bizi [when read, (ˌtʌraq) throug in speech]. 682 laatʊl laal.

Y: 683 mʌdʃ. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 baa. 687 flaat flit. 688 bild. 690 kaand. 691 maand. 693 sin. 696 both. 697 bori. 698 morth [? (r)]. 699 riit. 700 waas [ref. (wos)]. 701 fost. 703 pit. 704 viksʊn.

Y'- 705 skaa. 706 waa [but never as an interrogative, for which (wat fər) what for is used; (wáʊʊ) whya, is a form of assent mostly, but is also used

interrogatively]. 707 thot*íi*vn, thrit-, thr*u*t-. 708 aar [meaning perhaps (áav-r)].

Y': 709 faar [see 708]. 711 laas. 712 maas.

## II. English.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad. 715 pad. 716 adul. 717 djéeud. 718 ˌtˌréeud ˌtˌ*íi*ud. 719 tadpó*u*l. 721 fag. 722 ˌdˌr*íi*vn. 723 d*íi*vri. 724 bóould. 725 séeul sí*u*l. 727 djam. 728 sham. 729 fréeum fr*íi*um. 730 kanˌtv-ˌr. 731 wantvn. 733 skaa-r. 734 daan. 735 smash. 736 las. 737 mêvt. 738 préeut pr*íi*ut. 740 wéeuv w*íi*uv. 741 m*íi*uz. 742 l*íi*uzi.

E. 743 skr*íi*um. 744 m*íi*uzulz. 745 tj*íi*ut. 746 br*íi*udh. 747 indiv·v-r. 748 *u*nfligd. 750 beg. 751 port [? (póout)].

I. *and* Y. 753 tikul. 754 pig. 755 filbut. 756 shrimp [casually (srimp)]. 757 taani. 758 gol [rarely used, replaced by 736]. 759 fit.

O. 761 léud. 762 éeukum. 763 réeum. 764 kodul. 766 môiˌdud [more used in the n. and sw. of Yo.]. 767 nôis n*ú*is. 768 kô*u*k. 769 mó*u*diwaap mó*u*diwéup mó*u*diwéup. 771 fond. 772 b*o*n·faa-r bon·faa-r. 773 ˌdoqki [(ˌd) slightly dental]. 774 p*ú*uvni. 775 buubi. 777 shop. 778 ufa·d ufóud. 779 óuts. 780 dj*u*sul. 781 b*u*dhu-r, bo-. 782 p*u*dhu-r. 783 puulˌtˌri. 784 buuns. 785 loondj. 786 duus. 787 suus. 788 fluut. 789 r*ó*u. 790 guun.

U. 792 skwabul. 793 *ù*g. 794 dj*ù*g. 795 shr*u*g. 796 sk*ù*l. 800 [not used, but the part. *skulling* is (skıl·in)]. 802 r*u*m. 803 dj*u*mp. 805 kr*u*dz. 807 p*u*s. 808 p*u*t.

## III. Romance.

A·· 809 jabul j*í*ubul. 810 f*í*us. 811 pl*í*us. 812 léeus l*í*us. 813 b*íi*ukun. 814 mîusun. 815 faks. 816 f*íi*ud. 817 radish. 818 *í*udj. 819 r*í*udj. 821 diléeu·. 822 méeu. 823 béeu. 824 tjéeu-r. 825 wéeuf. 826 *íi*ugul. 827 *í*ugu-r. 828 éeu·g*í*u. 829 géeun. 830 ˌtˌr*í*un ˌtˌréeun. 831 disˌtˌr*íi*un. 832 méeu-r. 833 péeu-r. 834 shéeu shéeuz. 835 r*í*uzun. 836 s*íi*uzun. 837 l*íi*ush l*í*us. 838 ˌtˌr*íi*ut. 839 béeul b*í*ul. 840 tjéeumur. 841 tjans. 842 plaqk. 843 bransh. 844 ˌtˌr*í*nsh. 845 éeunshunt. 846 tjanlu-r. 847 déeundju-r d*í*undju-r. 848 tjéeundj. 849 sˌtˌréeundju-r -*íi*u- [vowel occ. inordinately long]. 850 dans. 851 aanˌt [(ˌt) distinct]. 852 japrun. 853 baagun. 854 baril. 855 karit. 856 péeut. 857 k*í*us. 858 br*í*us. 859 tj*í*us. 860 p*í*ust. 861 t*í*ust. 862 s*íi*uf séeuf. 863 tjéeuf tj*íi*uf. 864 bikos ukos. 865 fóout. 866 p*ú*uu-r.

E·· 867 téiu t*íi*u. 868 djéeu. 869 v*íi*ul. 870 b*íi*uti. 871 ugrii ugr*í*u. 872 tj*í*uf tjiif. 873 fr*í*u. 874 r*í*un. 875 féeunt. 876 d*í*unti. 877 eeu-r. 878 salur*i*. 879 f*í*umeeul. 880 *í*gzam·pul. 881 sins. 882 panz*i*. 883 ˌdaa·ndilaa·n. 884 printis. 886 fr*íi*u-r. 887 tlaadj*i*. 888 saatun. 889 s*íi*us. 890 b*íi*us [said of cattle]. 891 f*íi*ust [(t) often omitted, especially in the first part of a compound]. 892 niv*i*. 893 flúuu-r. 894 dis*íi*uv. 895 ris*íi*uv. 896 [not used].

I·· *and* Y·· 897 dilit. 898 naas. 899 n*í*us. 900 préeu. 901 faan. 902 maan. 903 daan [not used in common talk]. 904 vaalut. 905 raajut. 906 vaapu-r. 907 ˌtˌraas. 908 advaa·s. 909 br*íi*uz. 910 djâ·s, djáisin [last both sg. and pl.]. 911 s*i*sˌtˌrun. 912 raas.

O·· 913 k*ú*utj. 914 br*ú*utj. 915 st*í*uf st*u*f. 916 *u*nsun. 917 r*ú*uug. 918 f*í*ubul. 919 *ú*intmint. 920 pôint p*ú*int. 921 ukw*íi*unt. 922 b*u*shil. 923 m*ó*is-t. 924 tjóo*u*s. 925 vôis v*ú*is. 926 spóil sp*ú*il. 927 ˌtˌr*u*qk. 928 uuns. 929 kuu·k*u*mu-r. 930 lóoin l*ú*uin. 931 dj*u*glu-r. 932 umuu·nt. 933 fr*u*nt. 934 buunt*i*. 935 k*u*nˌtˌr*i*. 936 fuunt [same as *fount*]. 937 kok. 938 kóounu. 939 tl*ú*uus. 940 k*ú*uut. 941 f*ú*ul. 942 b*ú*tju-r. 943 t*u*tj. 944 uluu. 945 vuu. 946 m*ó*il. 947 bôil b*ú*il. 948 buul. 950 s*u*pu-r. 951 k*ù*pul. 952 k*ú*uus. 953 k*u*zun. 954 k*ù*shin. 955 duut. 956 k*ù*vu-r. 957 implóou. 959 konvéeu.

U·· 960 k*íi*u. 961 gr*íi*jil gr*íu*jil. 962 m*í*uz. 963 kwaajut. 964 s*í*ujit. 965 ôil *ú*il. 966 fr*íi*ut fr*íi*ut. 967 s*íi*ut s*íi*ut. 968 óoisˌtu-ˌr. 969 s*íi*u-r. 970 dj*u*st dj*i*st. 971 fl*íi*ut fl*íi*ut.

## (5) Var. ii, North-East Yo. cwl.

D Danby, Var. ii*a*, from a wl. in io. written by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, of Danby Parsonage, Yarm, author of the Cleveland Glossary, pal. conjecturally by AJE.
W Whitby, Var. ii*b*, from a wl. in io. written by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary, pal. conjecturally by AJE.

It will be evident from this wl. that the two forms of D 30, Var. ii*a* and *b*, are practically identical, and that the two lists really supplement each other. And again comparing this double list with the cwl. for Var. *ia*, Mid Yo., pp. 523–6, and remembering that in that dialect (éev) had a corresponding form (*iiv*), we see that the only real difference of that from this, is that this has (*iiv*) without in general any alternative form as (éev, *ee*-).

### 1. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 W bíivk. 4 DW tak. 5 DW mak. 6 DW míivd. 7 W síivk. 8 DW ev, W *ee*. 9 D bijéeiv. 10 D oo. 18 W kíivk. 19 DW tíivl. 20 DW liivm. 21 W niivm. 22 W tíivm. 23 DW síivm. 24 W sham. 25 W míivn. 27 W níivv. 28 D *iiv*. 31 W líivt. 32 D bath. 33 DW reedhur, W réevdhu. 36 D [(*gi* vgen) used], W *thoo*. A: 39 W kam. 40 DW kíivm. 41 W theqk. 46 W kan'l. 50 DW teqz. 54 D want. 55 DW as. 56 DW wesh. 57 D as. A: *or* O: 58 D fre frev. 59 D lam. 60 DW laq. 61 W vmaq. 62 W s,t,raq. 63 W thraq. 64 W raq. 65 DW saq. 66 D waq.

A'- 67 W gan. 69 DW níiv. 70 W tíiv. 71 W wíiv. 72 DW wíiv. 73 DW síiv. 74 DW twíiv. 76 W túvd. 78 DW aa. 79 W aan. 80 W alidu. 81 D lonin loonin, W lúuvnin. 84 DW méev. 85 DW séev. 86 D wots, W wots. 87 DW klíivz. 88 W klíivdh. 89 DW bíivth, D beeth. 90 DW blaa. 91 W maa. 92 W naa. 93 DW snaa. 94 W kraa. 96 W saa. 98 W naan. 99 W thraan. 100 W saan.

A': 101 DW jak. 102 DW aks. 104 W rúuvd. 105 DW reed [written *rāde*]. 106 D breed, W bríivd. 107 W líivf. 108 DW daf. 110 W nut. 111 D óut. 113 D whíivl ['(wh) whistled'], W *iivl*. 115 DW *iivm* jam, D *eem*. 118 DW bíivn. 121 W gíivn. 122 D neen, W níivn. 124 DW stíivn. 125 D onli. 126 W *úuv*+r. 127 W *úuvs*. 128 D dhúuvz, W dhóu. 129 W gúuvst. 130 W búuvt. 131 W gúuvt. 132 D et, W *iivt*. 133 DW reet. 135 W klíivth. 136 DW óudhv+r.

Æ- 138 W faadhv+r. 140 D ag'l. 142 D snâil [spelled *snăihl*], W snaal. 144 W vgíivn. 145 D slíivn. 147 [*harn* used]. 149 DW bliiz. 150 W léevst líivst. 152 D wo,ta, W wa,tv+r [written *wat-ther*, and said to be 'as near the pron. as one can come']. Æ: 155 DW thak. 157 W ríivv'm. 158 D ef,tv+r, W efthv+r. 163 W [*ligg'd* used]. 167 DW díivl. 172 W gres. 174 DW esh. Æ'- 186 W t')briid. 187 W liiev. 188 W néi. 191 W [*whole* used]. 194 DW oni. 195 moni. 200 W wíivt. 203 W spívtj. 205 W thriid. 206 D reed, W red. 215 W tóut. 218 D ship. 224 W *úuv*+r wóu. 226 D meest, W míivst. 228 W swíivt. 229 W bríivth.

E- 232 D briik, W bríivk. 233 W spíivk. 234 W níivd. 235 W wíivv. 236 W *ffivv*+r. 240 W [*ligg'd* used]. 242 W twíiv. 246 W kwíivn [also without (k), (wíivn) a quean or female, inoffensive]. 248 DW míiv+r. 249 W wíiv+r. 250 DW swíiv+r. 251 W míivt. E: 258 D seg. 268 W [*audest* = oldest used]. 270 W belusiz [bellows]. 272 W aam. 280 W ílív·v'n. 284 DW thresh. 286 D ar. 287 D biizvm. E': 313 W aakvn. 314 DW *iivd*. 316 D neksvn, W [*neist* uncertain, possibly (nist)].

EA- 319 DW gíivp. EA: 322 D laf. 323 DW fóut. 326 DW aad. 328 DW kaad. 329 D fod. 330 DW od. 331 DW [*selled* used], 332 W [*tell'd* used]. 333 DW kaaf. 334 DW aaf. 335 D aa. 337 D waa. 340 D [*garth* used]. 342 D *eem*, W éevm. 343 D waam. 345 W daa. 346 DW *gíivt*, D jat jet. EA'- 347 DW *iivd*. 348 W [*eyen*? (áin)]. EA': 350 W díivd. 351 W líivd. 352 W ríivd. 353 DW bríivd. 354 D shaf.

355 DW dʃiuf. 356 W lʃiuf. 357 W dhəf. 360 W tʃium. 363 W tʃiup. 365 W naa. 366 D griut. 367 D thriit, W thriut. 368 W diuth. 370 DW riu [D written *rear*]. 371 W s,t,riu.

EI- 372 D ái. 374 D niu. EI: 377 D stiik, W stiuk. 378 W wiuk. EO- 383 W siuv'n. 384 W éiuv'n. 385 W biniudh. 386 W jóu. EO: 393 W bijont. 397 W siued. 399 W briit. 400 W jenest. 401 W jen. 402 W laan. 406 W jeth. EO'- 412 W shiiu. 413 D diiv'l, W diiuv'l. 414 DW flii. 415 DW lii. 417 [D *chig* used, W *chow* (tjóu)]. 420 D fóu)u+r. EO': 423 DW thii. 425 DW liit. 430 DW frind. 433 D briiust, W briist. 434 DW bet. 435 D jóu. 436 D ,t,ríu. EY- 438 DW dii. EY: 439 W ,t,rist.

I- 442 W áivin. 448 W dhíiuz. 449 W git. I: 455 W lig. 458 DW niit. 459 DW riit, W réit. 464 W wilk. 465 DW sáik, D sikun. 468 DW tʃildu+r. 471 W tumu+r. 475 D wáind. 476 DW bind. 477 D find. 478 W grund. 479 D wind. 481 W fiqu+r. 486 W jest. 487 W jesthudu. 488 jit. I'- 494 W taam. 496 D áirun. I': 505 D waaf. 508 D maal.

O- 521 W fúuul. 522 DW op'n. O: 527 W bóut. 528 DW thóut. 529 DW bróut. 530 DW róut. 531 D daftu+r [so also (slaftu+r) slaughter], W dothu+r. 532 W kúuul. 533 D dul. 534 W úuul. 540 D olun. 547 W búued. 548 W fúued. 549 W úued. 550 D wod. 552 DW kúuun. 553 W úuun. O'- 555 W shiiun [shoes]. 558 D liiuk, W liuk. 559 D mudhu+r. 562 W miiun. 564 W siiun. O': 569 DW biuk. 570 W tiuk. 572 D blud, W bliued. 575 DW stiiud. 577 D biiuf. 578 D pliiuf, DW pliuf. 579 DW uniuf uniu. 580 D tiiuf. 582 W kiiul. 584 W stéeul [? stiiul]. 585 W briium. 586 DW diiu. 587 W diiun. 588 W niiun. 589 DW spiiun. 590 D fliiu+r. 592 DW [(swéeu) used]. 593 D must. 594 W biiut. 595 W fiiut. 596 DW riiut. 597 W siiut.

U- 600 D luv. 602 W siu. 606 DW diiu+r. 607 DW bu,tu+r [W. writes '*butther* pron. like *th* in *thus*,' all an error]. U: 608 D ugli. 615 DW pund. 616 DW grund. 618 D wóund. 619 W fund. 620 W grunded. 622 W ondu+r. 626 DW uqur. 631 D thozdu [see 679]. 632 D up. 633 D kup. 634 DW thruf. U'- 640 W kuu. 643 W nuu. 648 W úuu+r. U': 657 W bruun. 658 D duun. 659 DW tuun. 660 W búuu+r. 661 W shúuu+r. 662 D us, W uz. 663 DW uus. 664 W luus. 666 D uzbund. 667 DW uut. 668 DW pruud. 669 D umkuu·th, DW uqkud.

Y- 673 DW mitj. 676 DW lii. 679 D tjotj [o as in *botch* with a suspicion of r after it, here and in 631, 696, 698, 701, 707]. 682 DW laat'l. Y: 684 DW brig. 685 W rig. 690 D kaand, W kin. 691 D mind. 695 W aak'n. 696 D both [see 679]. 697 D berí. 698 W moth [see 679]. 699 DW riit. 700 DW wars. 701 DW fost [see 679]. Y'- 707 D thottiin [see 679]. Y': 711 D liis. 712 D miis.

II. English.

A. 737 W miiut. E. 744 W mez'lz. 746 W briidh. 747 W indiu+r. 748 DW fligd. O. 761 W liued. 769 D móudiwaap. 790 W guun. U. 805 W krudz. 808 D put.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 DW jab'l. 810 DW fiiis. 811 DW pliiis. 812 W liiis. 813 D bak'n. 838 W triiut. 840 D tjaamu+r, W tjeemu+r. 845 D aanshunt. 847 D dandju+r. 849 D s,t,randju+r. 851 W naant. 852 W aprun. 854 W barl. 855 W karit. 856 W paat. 857 W kiiis. 859 DW tjas. 860 W piiust. 861 W tiiust. E·· 876 W denti. 884 W prentis. 890 W bees ['pl. beasts of the ox kind']. 891 W fiiust. 892 W nevi. O·· 913 W kúuutj. 914 W brúuutj. 919 D áintmunt, W nóintmunt. 921 W ukuent. 922 D bishul. 928 W uuns. 929 W kuu·kumu+r. 938 W kúuunu+r. 941 W fiiul. 942 D batju+r. 954 D kashun.

## (6) Var. iii*a*, Market Weighton (:wiit'n) (10 w.Beverley) cwl.

W Rev. Jackson Wray, see 10 es., No. 9, Introduction, p. 501, pal. by AJE. from dict. 17 Dec. 1877. The (a) was very fine, rather (a[1]). Mr. Wray made all the (*u*, uu) into ($u_1$, $uu_1$). He also really trilled (r) in all cases, but deeming that an individuality, I have treated the *r* as elsewhere.

F Rev. J. Foxley, in 1877, of Market Weighton, and 20 years acquainted with the dialect, io., conjecturally pal. by AJE. F makes his final *-er*=*-uor*, meant for (-*ur*) apparently, but this is so clearly a misapprehension, that I have substituted (-ʊr) throughout. Thus *-thuor* was probably really (-ˌtʊˌr).

In both W and F the (e) may possibly have been (ɛ).

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 WF bívk. 4 WF tak. 5 WF mak. 6 WF mívd. 7 F sívk. 8 F ev. 11 W maa. 12 W saa. 13 W naa. 14 W draa. 15 W oo. 16 W daan. 17 W laa. 18 W kívk. 19 F tívl. 20 WF lívm. 21 WF nívm. 23 WF sívm. 24 WF sham. 25 F mívn. 27 W nívv. 31 F lívt. 32 F baath. 33 F réevdhʊ. 34 F last. 36 W thóu, F thə'u.

A: 39 F kɔm. 41 F theqk. 46 F kanʊl. 48 F suq. 50 F teqz. 51 F man. 53 W kan. 54 W want. 55 F as. 56 F wesh. 57 WF as.

A: *or* O: 58 WF free. 60 WF laq. 61 WF ʊmaq. 62 W sˌtˌraq, F sthraq. 63 WF thraq. 64 F raq. 65 WF saq.

A'- 67 WF gan. 69 W nívʊ [adj.] noo [adj.], F nóoʊ. 70 W tívʊ. 71 W woo. 72 W wívʊ, F waa. 73 W sívʊ, F sóou. 74 W twívʊ. 75 W sˌtˌrook, F sthrúuvk. 76 W túvd tívd. 77 W lóʊd. 78 F aa [p.t. (ɹíud)]. 79 WF oon [(wi oonz dhʊ) who owns thee, whose child art thou?]. 80 W alʊdʊ, F alıdʊ. 81 F lúuʊn. 83 W móʊn, WF múʊn. 84 WF méeʊ. 85 W séeʊ. 86 WF wots. 87 F klíivz. 89 WF bívth. 91 W moo. 92 W noo. 93 W suoo, F snaa'ʊ. 94 W kroo. 95 W throo. 96 F sóoʊ. 97 W sóul. 98 W noon. 99 W throon. 100 W soon.

A': 101 WF ɹak. 102 F aks. 104 WF rívd. 105 W reed. 106 W bréevd. 107 W lívf, F lívf. 108 W dívf [also called (pívst) paste]. 110 W nut. 111 W óut, F ə'ut. 122 W évl. 113 WF wol, F ɹal. 115 WF ɹam, F wɔm. 116 W [not used], F wívʊ. 118 F bívn. 121 WF gívn. 122 WF nívn. 123 [W (nóut), F nə'ut used]. 124 WF stívn. 125 WF [(nobʊt) used]. 126 W óoʊ. 127 W oost os, F úuʊs. 128 [F (dhem) used]. 129 W gívst [(goost) common]. 130 W búvt. 131 WF gúvt. 132 F ɹat. 133 WF reet. 134 W ooth. 135 F klə'ut.

Æ- 138 F feedhʊr fadhʊr. 139 F dréeʊ. 140 W évl, F agʊlz. 141 WF néʊl. 142 W sniil, F snívl. 143 W téʊl. 144 WF ʊgívn. 147 W bréʊn. 149 W blívz. 150 F lívst. 152 W waˌtʊ+ˌr, F wathʊr. 153 F sethurdʊ.

Æ: 155 F thívk. 158 F efthʊr. 160 W eg. 161 WF déʊ. 163 F [(léevd) used]. 164 F [(mud) used]. 165 F sed. 166 W [rare, (las) used, also (wentɟ) in a good sense], F méevd. 169 F wen. 171 W baali. 172 WF ges. 173 F waz. 174 WF esh.

Æ'- 182 W sii [always], F séeʊ. 183 W téentɟ. 184 W liid. 185 W riid, F ríivd. 186 W bríidth, F briid. 187 W liʊv. 188 W néi. 189 W wéi. 190 W kéi, F kéeʊ. 191 W íivl. 192 W mívn. 193 WF klívn. 194 F ɔni. 195 F mɔni. 196 W wər [(wóoʊ+r) emphatic]. 197 W tˌiiz. 199 W blívt [never with final (k)]. 200 W wívt. 201 W í'dh'n. 202 W iit.

Æ': 203 W spívtɟ. 204 W diid. 205 W thríivd, F thriid. 206 W red. 207 W niid'l. 210 W tlɛɛ. 211 W gree. 212 W wéi. 213 F éevdhʊr. 215 W tóut, F tə'ut. 216 WF díivl. 217 W ívtɟ, ívdhʊ. 218 W shiip, F shíivp. 219 W sliip. 221 W fíivʊ+r [(fleed), frightened]. 224 W wíivʊ+r. 225 W flesh. 226 F mívst. 227 W wet. 228 W swívt. 229 W bríivth.

E- 232 W brɛk [common]. 233 W spívk. 234 W nívd. 235 W wéʊv. 236 W fívvʊ+r. 237 W bléeʊn, F blíivn. 238 W edɟ. 239 W séeʊl. 241 W réeʊn. 242 W tween. 243 W pléeʊ. 246 W kwiin [queen], kwéeʊn

[quean]. 247 W *wíun* [F (*spíun*) spoon, used, ? from spoon meat]. 248 WF *míu*+r. 249 WF *wíu*+r. 250 WF *swíu*+r. 251 W *méut*, F *míut*. 252 W ket'l. 254 W ledhu+r. 255 W wedhu+r.

E: 257 W edɟ. 258 W sedɟ. 259 W wedɟ. 260 W [(*lig*) used for both lie and lay], F *léeu*. 261 F *séeu*. 262 W *wéeu*. 264 W eel, F *éeul*. 265 W s,t,*ríut*. 267 W ɟiild. 268 W [(oodest) oldest used]. 270 WF belɔs, W beli. 272 W oom, F el'm. 273 W men. 274 WF b'qk. 275 WF [(*stiqk*) used]. 278 W wentɟ. 280 W ulev'n, F lev'n. 281 WF lenth. 282 W s,t,renth, F strenth. 283 W meri. 284 WF thresh. 285 F kriis. 286 WF aru. 287 WF biizum. 288 W let.

E'- 289 W ɟii, F ɟuu. 290 W ii. 291 W dhii, F dhuu. 292 W mii. 293 W wii. 294 W fiid. 296 WF bil*íuv*. 298 W fiil. 299 W griin. 300 W kiip [p.t. (kep)]. 301 W *íiu*+r. 302 W miit. 303 Wswiit, F sw*íiut*, 304 W [not in use for a hammer].

E': 305 W *ái*. 306 W *áit*. 307 W *náist* [used]. 308 W niid. 309 W spiid. 310 W iil. 312 W *íiu*+r. 314 WF *íiud*. 316 W nekst. EA- 317 W fléeu. 319 WF *gíup*.

EA: 321 W [(siid) used]. 323 W *fóut*, F *fə'ut*. 324 W *éeit*, F *áit*. — W sal [shall]. 325 W wóo[uk. 326 W ood, F aa'ud. 327 W boold 328 W kod, F kaad. 329 W [(lap) used], F *food*. 330 WF od. 331 WF [(seld) used]. 332 WF [(teld) used]. 333 WF koof. 334 WF oof. 335 W aal. 340 W ɟaad. 342 WF *éum*. 343 WF waam. 345 WF daar. 346 WF ɟat.

EA'- 347 WF *íiud*. 348 WF ii. 349 W fíu.

EA': 350 WF d*íiud* [(diid) means died]. 351 W li'd, F led. 352 W rid. 353 WF br*íud*. 354 W sh*íuf*, F shaaf [pl. (shaavz)]. 355 W d*íiuf*. 356 W l*íuf*. 357 W dhoo. 359 W n*éiber*. 360 W t*íum*. 361 W b*íun*. 362 W sléeu, [F (slafther) slaughter]. 363 WF tɟ*íiup*. 365 W n*íu*+r. 366 WF gr*íut*. 367 W thr*íut*. 368 W d*íuth*. 369 W sloo. 370 W roo. 371 W s,t,r*íu*, F sthr*íu*.

EI- 374 WF *néeu*. EI: 377 WF st*íuk*. 378 W *wéuk*, F *week*.

EO- 383 W sev'n. 384 W ev'n. 385 W bin*íuth*. 386 W *ɟóu*, F *ɟə'u*. 387 W níu.

EO: 389 W ɟook, F ɟóouk. 390 W sh*ud*. 392 W ɟon. 394 W ɟondu+r. 396 WF waak. 397 W s*íud*. 398 W staav. 399 WF briit. 400 W an*ist*, WF ɟan*ist*. 402 WF l*éeun* [most common]. 405 W aath. 406 WF aath, W ɟaath. 407 WF faad*in*. 408 W [(naad) used].

EO'- 409 W bii. 411 F trii. 413 W div'l. 414 WF flii [a *flea* is called (u lop)]. 415 WF lii. 416 W d*íiu*+r. 417 W tɟóu, F tɟə'u. 418 W bryy,. 420 F *fə'uu*+r. 421 WF f*oti*.

EO': 423 WF thii. 424 W r*uf*. 425 WF liit. 426 W *féit*. 429 W f*íund*. 430 W frend, fr*ind*. 431 W b*íiu*+r. 432 W *fóut*. 433 WF briist. 434 W b*íut*. 436 W tryy,, F tríu. 437 W tryy,th. EY- 438 WF dii. EY: 439 F thr*ust*.

I- 440 W wik. 441 W sìv. 442 W *áivi*. 443 W fraadu. 444 WF stiil. 446 W *náin*. 448 F dh*íiuz*. 449 W get [(ger uut) get out]. 451 W *sóu*.

I: 452 WF aa. 454 W witɟ. 455 WF lig. 457 W *méit* (m*ud*) v.]. 458 WF niit. 459 WF riit. 460 W *wéit*. 461 W liit. 462 WF siit. 464 W witɟ. 465 W *sítɟ*, F *sə'ik*. 466 W [(béeun) used]. 467 W waald. 468 W tɟl,du+,r, F tɟldher [(dh) slight]. 471 WF t*ímu*+r. 472 W shriqk. 473 WF bl*ind*. 474 W [(péeurin) paring, used]. 475 WF w*ind*. 476 WF bind. 477 W f*ind*. 478 WF gr*und*. 479 WF wind. 481 WF *fíqu*+r. 485 W th*is*'l. 486 W ɟest, F ɟiist. 487 W ɟis,tudu, F ɟisthurdu [(th) faint]. 488 W ɟit.

I'- 490 W *bái*. 491 W *sái*. 493 W draav. 494 W taam. 496 W *áirun*. 497 W raaz. 498 W *réit*.

I': 500 W *léik*. 501 W waad. 502 W faav. 503 W *léif*. 504 W *néif*. 505 W *wéif*. 506 WF w*u*,mun. 507 WF w*i*mun. 508 W maal *máil*. 509 W waal *wáil*. 511 W *wáin*. 512 W spe*iu*+r. 513 W *wéiu*+r. 514 W *éis*. 515 W *wáiz*.

O- 520 W bóu. 521 WF fúuvl. 522 WF op'n. 523 W wop, F wóovp. 524 WF wóuld.

O: 526 W kof. 527 W bóut, F bə'ut. 528 W thóut, F thə'ut. 529 W bróut, F brə'ut. 530 W róut. 531 W dóu‚tv‚r, F də'uthv+r. 532 W kúuvl. 533 W dul. 534 WF úuvl. 536 W góud, F gə'ud. 537 W móuld. 538 WF wad. 539 W bóul. 540 W olvn [known]. 542 W bóut. 545 W op. 547 W búuvd. 548 W fóovd. 549 W óovd. 550 WF wod. 551 W storm [(r) trilled, but I think only as an individuality]. 552 W kóovn. 553 W óovn. 554 W kros.

O'- 555 W shvn [pl. shoes]. 556 W tiv, F ti [before a consonant, (tiv) before a vowel]. 557 W [(vn AAl) used]. 558 WF lívk. 559 WF mudhv+r. 562 WF mívn. 563 W mundv. 564 WF síun. 565 W núvz. 566 WF udhv+r.

O': 569 WF bívk. 570 WF tívk. 571 W gud [(gúud) known, but very rare]. 572 W blud, F blvd. 573 W flud. 574 W bruud. 575 WF stívd. 577 W bóu [generally, not (bívf)], F bíu. 578 WF plívf, F plíu [also]. 579 WF vnívf. 580 WF tívf. 581 W sóut, F sə'ut. 582 WF kívl. 583 WF tívl. 584 WF stívl. 586 WF dív. 587 WF díven. 588 WF nívn. 589 WF spívn. 590 WF flíivr. 591 W múuv+r. 592 W swéev, F swíivd. 593 [WF (mun) used]. 594 WF bívt. 595 W fit, F fívt. 596 WF rívt. 597 W sut, F sivt.

U- 599 W vbun. 600 WF luv. 601 W fóul, F fool. 602 W sóu, F siu. 603 WF kum. 605 W sun. 606 WF díiv+r. 607 W bu‚tv+‚r, F buthv+r.

U: 608 WF ugli. 609 W ful. 610 W wul. 611 W bulvk. 612 W sum. 613 W d‚ruqk, F dhruqk. 614 WF uund. 615 WF pund. 616 WF grund. 617 WF suund. 618 W wuund, F wə'und. 619 WF fun. 621 F wun. 622 W un‚dv+‚r. 625 W tuq. 626 WF uqv+r. 628 W nun. 629 W sun. 630 W wun, F wan. 631 W thozdv, F thəzdv. 632 W up. 633 W kup. 634 WF thruf, W thruu. 635 WF woth. 636 W fodhv+r, F fədhv+r. 637 W tusk. 638 W busk. 639 W dust.

U'- 640 WF kuu. 641 WF uu. 642 WF dhuu. 643 WF nuu. 645 W duv. 646 W bóu. 647 W óul julet, F djini ulet. 648 WF úuv+r, W wv+r [quite unemphatic]. 649 thuuzvnd. 652 W kud. 653 WF bud.

U': 654 W shruud. 655 W fóul. 656 W rum, F rəm [?]. 657 WF bruun. 658 W duun. 659 WF tuun. 661 WF shúuv+r. 662 W uz. 663 W uus. 664 W luus. 665 W muus. 666 W uzbin. 667 W uut. 668 W pruud. 670 W buudh. 671 W muuth. 672 W suuth.

Y- 673 WF mitj. 676 WF lii. 679 W tjotj, F [between] tjətj tjətj. 680 F [(thraq) used]. 682 WF laat'l.

Y: 683 W midj. 684 W bridj, F brig. 685 W rig. 686 W[not used]. 687 W fléit. 688 F biild. 690 W kaand, F káind [short]. 691 W maand, F máind [short]. 694 W wúvk. 695 W AAk'n. 696 W both, F both. 698 WF moth. 699 WF riit. 700 W wos, F waas. 701 F fost. Y'- 705 W skéi. 706 W wéi. 707 W thottiin, F thuttiin. Y': 709 W féiv+r. 711 W léis. 712 W méis.

## II. English.

A. 713 W bad. 714 W lad. 715 W pad. 716 W ad'l. 718 W tréevd. 719 [W (bulJvd) used]. 721 W fag. 722 W d‚rívn. 723 W décvri. 725 W sívl. 728 W sham. 729 W fréevm. 730 W kan‚tv+‚r. 731 W wantvn. 733 W skív+r. 734 W daan. 735 W smesh. 736 W las. 737 W mévt. 738 W prívt [but in No. 9 cs. par. 15 note, p. 518, W said especially *not* (prívt)]. 740 W wéevv. 741 mívz. 742 W leezi.

E. 743 W skrívm. 744 W mívz'lz. 745 W tjívt. 746 W breth. 747 W indi·vv+r. 748 WF fligd. 750 W beg. 751 W pívt.

I. *and* Y. 753 W [(kit'l) used]. 754 W pig. 756 W shremp. 757 W táini. 758 W gEl [not much used, where 'fine talk' is not used]. 759 W fit.

O. 761 W lúuvd [v.], WF líivd [sb.]. 763 W room. 764 W kod'l. 766 W mói‚dv‚d [very common]. 767 W nóiz. 769 W móuthvd. 771 W fond. 772 W búunféiv+r. 773 W doqki [used]. 774 W pooni. 775 W buubi.

777 W shop. 778 W *v*fo·d. 780 W dɹos'l. 781 W bodhʊ+r. 784 W buuns. 785 W luundɹ. 786 W duus. 787 W só*u*s. 789 W ró*u*. 790 W guun.

U. 792 W sk*w*ʌb'l. 793 W *u*g. 794 W dɹ*u*g. 795 W shr*u*g. 799 W sk*u*l. 801 W r*u*m. 802 W r*u*m. 803 W dɹ*u*mp. 805 WF kr*u*dz. 806 W f*u*s. 807 W p*u*s.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 809 W ɹab'l. 810 W f*i*ʊs. 811 W pl*i*ʊs. 813 W béʊk'n. 815 W faks. 816 W féʊd. 817 W radi*s*h. 818 W éʊdɹ. 819 W réʊdɹ. 821 W di*l*ee. 822 W mee. 823 W bee. 824 W tɹéeʊ+r. 825 W wéeʊf. 826 W eeg'l. 827 W eegʊ+r. 828 W eeg*i*. 829 W géeʊn. 830 W ˌtˌréeʊn. 831 W dis ˌtˌréeʊn. 832 W méeʊ+r. 833 W péeʊ+r. 834 W shee. 835 W r*i*ʊzʊn. 836 W s*i*ʊzʊn. 837 W l*i*ʊs. 838 W trĭ'ʊt [very short (i)]. 840 W tɹeemʊ+r. 841 W tɹaans. 842 W plaqk. 843 W braántɹ. 844 W trentɹ. 845 W éeʊnshʊnt. 846 W tɹanlʊ+r. 847 W déeʊndɹʊ+r. 848 W tɹéeʊndɹ. 849 W sˌtˌréeʊndɹʊ+r. 850 W daans. 851 W ant [the insect *ant* is called (pisméʊ+r)]. 852 W aprʊn. 854 W bari*l*. 855 W kari*t*. 856 W péeʊt. 857 W k*i*ʊs. 858 W bréʊs. 860 W p*i*ʊst. 861 W t*i*ʊst. 862 W s*i*ʊf. 863 W tɹ*i*ʊf. 864 W koos. 865 W fʌʌt. 866 W p*u*ʊ+ˌr.

E·· 867 W t*i*ʊ. 868 W dɹee. 869 W v*i*ʊl. 870 W bíut*i*. 871 W ʊgrii. 872 W tɹiif. 873 W free. 874 F r*i*ʊn. 875 féeʊnt. 876 W déeʊnt*i*. 877 éeʊ+r. 878 W salʊr*i*. 879 W f*i*ʊméʊl. 880 W egzamp'l. 881 W sens. 882 W panz*i*. 887 W tlaadɹ*i*. 888 W saatín. 889 W s*i*ʊs. 890 W b*i*ʊst. 891 W f*i*ʊst. 892 WF nev*i*. 893 W fl*u*ʊ+r. 894 W dis*i*ʊv. 895 W ris*i*ʊv.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 W dilé*i*t. 898 W né*i*s. 899 W niis. 900 W pree. 901 W fé*i*n faan. 902 W maan. 904 W vé*i*let. 905 W ré*i*ʊt. 906 W vé*i*pʊ+r. 908 W advé*i*s. 909 W briiz. 910 W dɹé*i*st. 911 W *s*istrʊn. 912 W ré*i*s.

O·· 913 W k*u*ʊtɹ. 914 W bróʊtɹ. 915 W st*u*f. 916 W *u*nɹʊn. 917 W rog. 918 W f*i*ʊb'l. 919 W ó*i*ntmʊnt. 920 W pó*i*nt. 921 W ʊk*w*éeʊnt. 922 W b*u*shel, bishʊl. 923 W mó*i*st. 924 W tɹó*i*s. 926 W spó*i*l. 927 W ˌtˌr*u*qk. 928 W *u*ns. 929 W kuukumʊ+r. 930 W ló*i*n. 931 W dɹ*u*glʊ+r. 932 W ʊm*u*nt. 933 W fr*u*nt. 934 W buunt*i*. 935 W kuunˌtˌr*i*. 936 W f*u*nt. 937 W kok. 938 W kóʊnʊ+r. 939 W tl*i*ʊs. 940 W k*u*ʊt. 941 W f*i*ʊl. 942 W b*u*tɹʊ+r. 943 W t*u*tɹ. 944 W ʊluu. 945 W vuu. 946 W mó*i*l. 947 W bó*i*l. 948 W b*u*d. 950 W s*u*pʊ+r. 951 W k*u*p'l. 952 W k*u*ʊs. 953 W k*u*zʊn. 954 W k*u*sh*i*n. 955 W duut. 956 W k*u*vʊ+r. 957 W *i*mplói.

U·· 960 W kii. 961 W grʏyˌʊl. 963 W kwé*i*jʊt. 964 W síu*j*it. 965 W ó*i*l. 968 W ó*i*stʊ+r. 969 W s*i*ʊ+r. 970 W dɹ*u*st.

## (7) VAR. iii*b*, HOLDERNESS, AND VAR. iv, SNAITH, joint cwl.

N n.Holderness (:ó*u*dhʊrnes), by T. Holderness, editor of the "Driffield Observer," 50 years acquainted with the dialect.

W w.Holderness, by F. Ross, lived there to 21 years old, but not since.

E e.Holderness, by R. Stead, Head Master of Folkestone Grammar School, visited every village of the region.

These are the three authors of the Holderness Glossary of the EDS. N and W were sent me in MS. in io., with long explanations, and palaeotyped by me; E was sent me as a numbered wl., but Mr. Stead subsequently visited me, and the whole was revised by him with me vv. Probably all short accented (e) should be (ɛ).

Words to which no initial is prefixed are common to all three forms of Holderness speech; when, in addition, some other initialled sound is annexed, it means that it is *also* that sound in the district named. When only some initials are given, the word was unknown for the others.

The pains taken by these three gentlemen to make me correct is most heartily acknowledged.

S Snaith (18 s-by-e.York), from a full wl. in io. by Rev. T. W. Norwood, now vicar of Wrenbury (5 sw.Nantwich, Ch.), but 40 years acquainted with the dialect. As the Snaith forms generally agree with one of those given from Holderness, I have not added them, except where they differed. Differences of (ˌtˌr, ˌdˌr) for (thr, dhr) are not noted, but Mr. N. always writes simply *tr*, *dr*, and hence probably used (ˌtˌr, ˌdˌr).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 EN b*ii*vk, W bak. 4 tak. 5 mak. 6 m*ii*vd, S méevd. 7 EN s*ii*vk, W sak. 8 S av, NW ev, N e, ez. 9 be*j*éevv [N with (h) if emphatic]. 10 AA [N (kat) used]. 11 EW mAA, N [not used]. 12 sAA. 13 EW nAA, N [quite unknown]. 14 dhrAA. 15 S AA. 16 E dAAn. 17 lAA. 18 k*ii*vk, S kéevk. 19 t*ii*vl, S téevl. 20 l*ii*vm, S léevm. 21 n*ii*vm. 22 t*ii*vm. 23 s*ii*vm, S séevm. 24 sham. 25 m*ii*vn, S méevn. 26 N w*ii*vn, S wéevn. 27 néevv, W [not used], N [hardly used]. 28 éevr, N [(h) emphatic]. 31 l*ii*vt. 32 E béevdh, WN b*ee*dh. 33 E réevdhur, W r*ii*vdhur, N r*ee*dhur. 34 last [N often omits final (*t*)]. 35 AAl. 36 NE th*ou*, W thAA. 37 tlAA.

A: 39 kom, S kéevm. 40 NE k*ii*vm, W k*uu*vm. 41 theqk. 43 and, H hand [emphatic]. 44 land. 46 kan'l. 47 wandhur. 48 saq, N s*uq*. 50 teqz. 51 man. 52 EW wan. 53 kan. 54 want. 55 ash, WN as. 56 wesh. 57 as.

A: *or* O: 58 frE [N final before a vowel (frev), before a consonant (fre)]. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 maq. 62 sthraq. 63 thrang. 64 raq. 66 EN [not used], W thaq.

A'- 67 E g*uu*v, NW gan, S gAA. 69 EW n*ii*v, W naa, N n*oo*, S nAA. 70 NE t*ii*v, W tAA. 71 E wAA, W w*oo*, S w*ee*. 72 w*ii*v, S wAA. 73 s*ii*v, N se s*i*, S s*uu*v. 74 tw*ii*v, S tuu. 75 EW sthr*uu*vk, N sthr*oo*k. 76 t*uu*vd. 77 EW l*oo*vd, N l*uu*vd. 78 AA. 79 NW AAn, E óovn. 80 a·l*i*dv. 81 l*uu*vn, W l*ii*vn. 83 m*uu*vn. 84 E m*uu*v, NW méevr, S mAAr. 85 E s*uu*vr, NW séevr, S sAAr. 86 wots. 87 tl*ii*vz, S kl*uu*vs. 88 NE tl*ii*vdh. 89 b*ii*vth. 90 blAA. 91 mAA. 92 nAA. 93 snAA. 94 krAA. 95 thrAA. 96 sAAn, E sóovn. 97 s*ou*d. 98 nAAn, E nóovn. 99 thrAAn, E thróovn. 100 sAAn, E sóovn.

A': 101 NE Jak, W *uu*vk. 102 EW ask, N aks. 104 r*uu*vd. 105 r*ee*d. 106 E bróovd brAAd, W br*uu*vd, N br*ee*d. 107 EW l*uu*vf, N l*ii*vf, S lAAf. 108 N d*uf* [if used at all, (p*ii*vst) used]. 109 lAA. 110 NE n*ut*, W n*o*t. 111 ó*ut* 112 [unknown], S éevl. 113 E wool, W wol, N *uu*vl. 115 E wom, N *ii*vm, W Jam. 116 [not used]. 118 b*ii*vn, EW b*uu*vn, S bAAn. 119 E goon, NW g*ii*vn. 121 S gand g*ii*vn. 122 n*ii*vn, S nAAn n*uu*vn. 123 [(nó*u*t) used]. 124 st*ii*vn, S stAAn. 125 NE oonl*i*, W [(nobvt) used]. 126 NW óovr, S AAr. 127 NE *uu*vs, W *uu*vst. 128 dhaz, NW dhoz [usual term (dhem)], S dhAAs. 129 g*uu*vst, S gAAst. 130 b*uu*vt. 131 NE g*uu*vt, W g*oo*t. 132 E Jat, NW ot. 133 E réevt, NW r*ee*t. 134 E óovth, NW *uu*vth. 135 W tló*ut*, E tlooth, N tl*ii*vth.

Æ- 138 fadhur, W f*ee*dhu. 139 E dhréev, WN dhr*ee*. 140 E éevl, W *ee*l, N ag'l. 141 E néevl, N n*ee*l, W niil. 142 sniil. 143 E téevl, N t*ii*vl, W tiil. 144 ug*ii*vn. 145 E sléevn, NW sl*ii*vn [rarely used]. 146 E méevn, N m*ee*n. 147 E bréevn, NW br*ee*n. 148 féev. 149 E bléevz, NW bl*ii*vz. 150 E liist, NW l*ii*vst. 152 wathur. 153 sethudu.

Æ: 155 thak [sb.] th*ii*vk [v.]. 157 E réevv'n, N r*ii*vv'n, W r*ee*v'n. 158 E afthur, WN efthur. 160 eg. 161 E déev, WN d*ee*. 163 [forms used], W l*ii*vd, N l*ee*d. 164 E méev, WN m*ee*. 165 WN sed, N [occ.] s*ee*d. 166 E méevd. 167 NE d*ii*vl, S déevl. 168 talu. 169 wen. 170 aavist. 171 baal*i*. 172 gas, NW ges, N gres. 173 waz. 174 E ash, NW esh. 175 fast. 178 EW nat. 179 wat. 180 NE bath. 181 NE path.

Æ'- 182 E sii, NW s*ii*v. 184 E liid, NW l*ii*vd. 185 E riid, NW r*ii*vd. 186 E bredth, NW briid, br*ii*vd. 187 E liiv, NW l*ii*vv. 188 E n*éi*, W n*ee*, N [(w*i*n*i*) used]. 189 w*éi*. 190 k*éi*. 191 E iil, NW *ii*vl. 192 E miin, NW m*ii*vn. 193 E tliin, NW tl*ii*vn. 194 on*i*. 195 mon*i* S men*i*. 196 E

war, W was, N wər wʊ, S *wíʊr*. 197 tjiiz. 199 W bl*íʊt*, E [not used], N bl*ee*, S bleeʊt. 200 NW *wíʊt*. 201 E iidh'n, NW *íʊdh'n*. 202 E iit, NW *íʊt*.

*Æ'*: 203 S sp*íʊtj*. 204 diid. 205 EN thriid, W thr*íʊd*. 206 red. 207 EW niid'l, N *níʊd'l*. 210 E tlɛɛ tl*éeʊ*, NW tl*ee*. 211 NW gr*ee*, E gr*éeʊ*. 212 E w*éi*, NW w*ee*. 213 E iidhʊr, NW *íʊdhʊr*. 215 t*óʊt*. 216 E diil, NW d*íʊl*. 217 E iitj, NW *íʊtj*. 218 shiip. 219 sliip. 221 *fíʊr*. 222 *éeʊr*. 223 dh*éeʊr*, S dh*éeʊr* dh*íʊr*. 224 NE w*íʊr*, W w*éiʊr*. 225 flesh. 226 m*íʊst*, W m*eest*, S maast. 227 wet, N [occ.] wiit. 228 E [pr. t. and sb.], NW sw*íʊt*, E [past t.] swet. 229 EW breth, N br*íʊth*. 230 fat.

E- 232 E br*éeʊk*, W br*íʊk*, N br*eek*. 233 E spiik, NW sp*íʊk*. 234 E niid, NW n*íʊd*. 235 E wiiv, NW w*íʊv*. 236 E fiivʊr, NW *fíʊvʊr*. 237 W bl*een*, E bl*éeʊn*, N b*líʊn*. 238 edj. 239 E s*éeʊl*, NW *seel*. 240 [*laid* used], WE *líʊd*, N *leed*]. 241 E r*éeʊn*, NW *reen*. 242 NE tw*íʊn*, S t*éeʊn*. 243 E pl*éeʊ*, NW pl*ee*. 246 NE k*wíʊn*, W k*wiʊn* [in sense of queen; quean not used]. 247 wiin, S w*íʊn*. 248 m*íʊr*. 249 w*íʊr*. 250 sw*íʊr*. 251 E miit, NW m*íʊt*. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 EW ledhʊr, N *líʊdhʊr*. 255 wedhʊr.

E: 257 edj. 258 EW sedj, S seg. 259 wedj. 261 E s*éeʊ*, NW *see*. 262 E w*éeʊ*, NW w*ee*. 264 S *éeʊl*. 265 sthr*óʊt*. 267 jiild. 268 [*oldest* used]. 270 EW belʊz, N belʊ*siz* *bellows*, belli *belly*. 272 E alʊm, W elʊm, N *óum* *oom* 273 men. 274 E beqk, WN b*iq*k. 275 [*stink* used]. 276 th*iq*k. 278 EW wentj, N wensh. 280 EW lev'n *vliv'n*, N *líʊv'n*. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 283 mer*i*. 284 E thrash, NW thresh. 285 EW krcs, N wathʊrkrashez, S kr*íʊs*. 286 arʊ. 287 biiz'm.

E'- 290 ii *i*, S *ʊ*. 291 E dhii, N dhuu [emphatic]. 292 S mi me. 293 wii w*i*, N wʊ. 296 E b*líiv*, NW bil*íʊv*. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 EW kiip, N k*íʊp*. 301 *íʊr*. 302 miit. 303 swiit.

E': 305 EW *ái*, N aa. 306 *éit*. 307 EW n*ái*. 308 niid. 309 spiid, N sp*íʊd* [vb.]. 310 iil. 311 ten. 312 *íʊr*. 313 *aak*'n. 314 *íʊd*. 315 fiit *fíʊts*.

EA- 317 [unknown]. 319 *gíʊp*, S g*éeʊp*. 320 k*éeʊr*. EA: 321 E saa [NW (siid) used]. 322 laf. 323 f*óʊt*. 324 *éit*. 325 E w*óoʊk*, NW waak. 326 E *óoʊd*, NW aad. 327 b*óʊd*. 328 E k*óoʊd*, NW kaad. 329 E f*óoʊld*, [N (d*ʊb*'l *ʊp*)]. 330 EN ɔd, W aad. 331 [(seld) used]. 332 [(teld) used]. 334 aaf [E oldest (*óoʊf*)]. 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. 342 N *eem*, E *éeʊm*, W *eem*. 343 waam. 345 daar, S d*éeʊr*. 346 E g*íʊt*, NW jat, S g*éeʊt*.

EA'- 347 E iid, NW *íʊd*. 348 EW *ái*, N ii. 349 fiu, S f*éeʊ*. EA': 350 d*íʊd*, E diid. 351 W led, NE l*íʊd* 352 EW red, N ríiʊd. 353 br*íʊd*. 354 shaf shav, S sh*íʊf*. 355 E diif, NW d*íʊf*. 356 E liif, NW l*íʊf*. 357 E dhaa, W dh*oo*, N dh*of*. 359 n*éiʊr*, S n*éeʊr*. 360 E tiim, NW t*íʊm*. 361 E biin, NW, b*íʊn*. 362 E sl*éeʊ*, NW [not used]. 363 E tjiip, NW tj*íʊp*. 365 E n*íʊ* [N and W (naa) nigh, used]. 366 E gr*ʊt*, NW gr*íʊt*. 367 W thret, N thr*íʊt*, E [not used]. 368 E diith, N d*íʊth*, W deth. 369 slaa, E sl*óoʊ*. 370 raa, r*óoʊ*. 371 sthraa, E sthr*óoʊ*.

EI- 372 EW *éi*, N *ee*, S aa. 373 E dh*éeʊ*, NW dh*ee*. 374 E n*éeʊ*, NW n*ee*. 376 E b*éeʊt*, NW b*eet*. EI: 377 S st*éeʊk*. 378 E w*éeʊk*, W w*íʊk*, N w*eek*. 382 S dh*éeʊ*.

EO- 383 W sev'n, E s*iv'n*, N s*íʊv'n*. 384 EW ev'n, N *íʊv'n*. 385 bin*íʊth*. 386 E ju, NW j*óʊ*. 387 níu.

EO: 388 milk. 389 NE j*oo*k, EW jaak, S j*úʊʊk*. 390 EW sh*ʊd*, N s*ʊd*. 393 bijont. 396 waak. 397 E s*óoʊd*, NW s*úʊʊd*. 398 staav. 399 briit, S br*éit*. 400 E *íʊnʊst*, NW aanist. 401 N jaan. 402 EW l*aan*, E l*íʊn*, N l*een*. 403 faa, N fər. 404 staa. 405 E *aath*, NW aath. 406 E ath, W jath, N ath [after consonants], S *íʊth*, jath [after vowels]. 407 faad*in*. 408 EW níu, N [(naad) used].

EO'- 411 EW thrii, N thr*íʊ*. 412 [weak], shʊ [strong] sh*íʊ*. 413 d*íʊ*l. 414 flii [N *flea* is (ləp)]. 415 lii. 416 d*íʊr*. 417 tj*óʊ*. 418 EW bruu, N bríu. 420 f*óʊr*. 421 fɔtt*i*.

EO': 423 thii. 424 r*ʊf*. 425 liit. 426 f*éit*. 427 bii bi. 428 EW sii,

N *síu*. 429 [not used]. 430 frind. 431 biiur. 432 fóuth. 433 briist. 434 EW biit, N bet. 435 juu ju. 436 EW thruu, N thríu. 437 EW thruuth, N thríuth.

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 E thrist, NW thrust.

I- 440 wiik, S wik. 441 siv. 442 EW áivi, N aavi. 443 EW fráidu, N fraadu. 444 EW stáil, N staal, S stii. 445 [not used]. 446 EW náin, N naan. 448 NW dhíuz, E dhiiz. 449 get, N ger [before vowels]. 450 tíuzdu. 451 sóu.

I: 452 a [W (ái) is used only before is, isn't]. 454 witj. 455 EN lig [WN (*lee*) used]. 457 méit. 458 niit, S niit néit. 459 riit, E réit. 460 wéit. 461 liit, S vléit. 462 S séit siit. 464 witj. 465 E sitj, W sáik, N sik. 466 W tjáild, [N (*been*) used]. 467 WE wáild, N waald. 468 EW tjildhur, [N (*beenz*) used]. 471 timur [N gave (wud)]. 472 shriqk, S shreqk. 473 blind. 474 W rind, E ráind, [N (*skin*) used]. 475 wind. 476 bind. 477 find. 478 NE grind, W gráind, S grind. 479 wind. 481 fiqur. 484 dhis. 485 this'l. 486 S jest. 487 jisthudu. 488 jit.

I'- 490 bái, EN bi, N ba. 491 EW sái, N saa. 493 EW dhráiv, N dhraav, S draav. 494 EW táim, N taam. 496 éiuren. 497 E uráiz, N uraaz. 498 réit, S raat. 499 EW biit'l, N bíiut'l [but generally called *clocks*].

I': 500 léik, S láik. 501 EW wáid, N waad. 502 WE fáiv, N faav. 503 léif, S laaf. 504 néif, S naaf. 505 wéif, S waaf. 506 wumun. 507 wimin. 508 EW máil, EN maal. 509 EW wáil, EN waal. 511 EW wáin, N waan. 512 spéiur. 513 wéiur. 514 éis, S aas. 515 EW wáiz, N waaz. 516 wizdum. 517 jíu.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fúuul. 522 op'n. 523 EW wop, N wúuup, S úuup. 524 wold. O: 526 E koof, NW kof. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 S bróut. 530 róut. 531 dóuthur. 532 S kúuul. 533 dul, N dóuli. 534 úuul. 536 góud, N guuld. 537 móul, S móud. 539 E bóul, W bool. 540 olun, N prik olun. 542 bóult, S bóut. 545 op. 547 EN búuud. 548 EN fúuud, W food. 549 NE úuud. 550 wod. 551 E stóourm, WN stóurm. 552 E kaan, W koon, N kúuun. 553 E aan, W oon, N úuun. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shuu. 556 ti [before cons.], tiv [before vowels]. 557 tíiu. 558 líiuk, N líuk. 559 mudhur. 561 EW bluum, N [not used]. 562 míiun. 563 mundu. 564 síiun. 565 núuuz. 566 udhur.

O': 569 bíiuk, N bíuk, S buuuk. 570 tíiuk, N tíuk. 571 gud. 572 blud. 573 flud. 574 bruud. 575 stíiud, N stud. 576 wed·unzdu. 577 buu bíu, NW bíiuf. 578 plíiuf plíu [subs.], plíu pluu [verb]. 579 S unuf. 580 EW tuf, N tíiuf. 581 sóut. 582 kíiul. 583 tíiul. 584 stíiul. 585 EW bruum. 586 díiu, N div [before vowels], diz [dost], di [pl.], S duu. 587 E dun, NW dí un. 588 níiun. 589 spíiun, S spúuin. 590 flíiur, S flúuur. 591 múuur. 592 E swóour, NW swéeur. 593 EW mus, [N (*muu*) used]. 594 bíiut, S búuit. 595 NE fíiut [see 315], W fut. 596 ríiut. 597 síiut, NE sut. 598 [not used].

U- 599 EW ubuv, N ubuun. 600 luv. 601 fóul [N little used]. 602 síu. 603 kum. 605 sun. 606 díur, S dúuur. 607 buthur.

U: 608 ugli. 609 ful. 610 E wul, NW wuul. 611 bulok [N seldom used]. 612 sum. 613 dhruqk. 614 uund. 615 S pund. 616 NE grund, W grun. 617 suund. 618 wuund. 619 fun. 621 won, W won, N wan [did wind]. 622 undhur. 625 tuq. 626 uqur. 628 S nun. 630 won, N wan [did win]. 631 thozdu. 632 up. 633 kup. 634 E thruuf, NW thruf, S thruu. 635 woth. 636 fodhur. 637 NE tusk. 638 N busk [means a *bush* only]. 639 NE dust.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 uu. 642 dhuu, dhu [weak]. 643 nuu. 645 EW duv, N duu. 646 W buu, NE bóu. 647 EW óul, N uul. 648 úuur. 649 thruuzund. 652 kud. 653 S but.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 rum. 657 bruun. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 660 búuur. 661 shúuur. 662 us. 663 uus. 664 S luus. 665 muus. 666 uzbun. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 670 E buudh, W bíiudh. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 mitj. 674 did. 676 lii. 677 dhrái. 678 dín. 679 tjotj, W tjetj. 680 WE bizi [N uses (thraq)]. 682 laat'l.

Y: 683 midɹ. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bii, N [occ.] baa. 687 EW fléit, N fliit. 688 E bild, NW biild. 690 EW káind, N kaand. 691 EW máind, N maand. 693 sin. 696 bɔth, S bɑɑth. 697 beri. 698 N mɔth, S mɑɑth. 699 riit. 700 E wɑs, NW wɔs, S waas. 701 fɔst. 703 pit. 704 E viks'n.

Y'- 705 skái, N [also] skaa. 706 [not used]. 707 thɔttiin. 708 éiur. Y': 709 féiur. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. English.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad. 715 pad. 716 ad'l. 717 E djéeud, NW djeed. 718 thríud. 719 E tadpóud, W tadpúuul, [N (budíud) used]. 720 fag. 722 E dhriin, NW dhríun. 723 EW déeuri, N dí·uri. 724 EW bɑald, N boold. 725 sí ul, S séeul. 727 E djam, N [(puzaa·v) used]. 728 sham. 729 N freem, EW fríum, S fréeum. 730 N kantur. 733 skáau. 734 daan. 735 smash. 737 NE míiut, W meet, S méeut. 738 E préeut, NW preet. 740 E wéeuv, NW weev. 741 E méeuz. 742 E léeuzi.

E. 743 skríum. 744 EW míuz'lz, N mez'lz. 745 tjíiut. 746 S bríudh. 747 E endev·ur, N indiv·ur. 748 flɔgd. 750 beg. 751 píut.

I. *and* Y. 753 [(kit'l) used]. 754 pig. 755 E fɔlbut, NW [not used]. 756 NW shremp, E semp. 757 Wtámi, N taani. 758 gel [N usually (las)]. 759 f.t.

O. 761 líud, S láuud. 762 EW úuakum, E ɑɑkum, N ɔkum. 763 NE rúuum, E rɑɑm. 764 kɔd'l. 766 NE móidhud, W [not used]. 767 nóiz. 768 EN kúuk, E kɑɑk, W kook 769 E móul, NW móudhud, S mɑɑl. 771 fond. 772 búuunféur. 773 NW dɔqki. 774 E puuni, W pooni, N páuuni. 775 buubi. 777 shɔp. 778 ufɔd. 779 [not used]. 780 N djɔs'l. 781 NW bɔdhur, E [not used]. 782 SW pɔthur, E [not used]. 783 pɔlthri. 784 buuns. 785 N luundj. 786 duus. 787 S suus. 788 NW fluut, E [not used]. 789 róu. 790 E gun, NW guun.

U. 792 skwab'l. 793 ug. 794 djug. 799 skul. 800 skul. 801 rum. 802 rum. 803 djump. 805 krudz. 806 fus. 807 pus. 808 put, S pɑt.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 E íiub'l éeub'l, N ɑab'l, W eeb'l. 810 fíius, S féeus. 811 plíius, S pléeus. 812 E léeus, NW líius. 813 NE bíiukun, W beek'n, S béeuk'n. 814 NE míus'n, W mees'n. 815 E faks. 816 E féeud, NE fíud, W feed. 817 radish. 818 E éeudj, eedj, W eedj, N íudj. 819 E réeudi, W reedj, N ríudj, 821 E diléeu. 822 E méeu, NW mee. 823 E béeu, NW bee. 824 tjéeur. 826 íiug'l. 827 íugur. 828 E éeugi [N shaking]. 829 E géeun, N gí·un, W geen. 830 thríun, S tréeun. 831 W disthríiun. 832 méeur. 833 péeur. 834 E tjéeuz, N sheez shee. 835 E riiz'n, N ríuz'n. 836 E siiz'n, N síuz'n. 838 thríiut. 839 E béeul, NW beel. 840 NW tjeemur, E tjaamur, S tjamur. 841 tjans. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj. 844 threntj. 845 eenshunt. 846 tjanlur. 847 deendjur. 848 tjeendj. 849 sthreendjur. 850 dans. 851 ant. 852 aprun. 853 baagin. 854 baril. 855 karit. 856 E péeut, NW peet. 857 kíius, S kéeus. 858 E bréeus, N bríius, W brees. 859 W tjees, NE tjíius. 860 píiust, S péeust. 861 tíiust. 862 NE siiuf, S séeuf. 864 E bíkɔ·z, NW bikúuuz, -s. 865 NE fɑat, E foout. 866 píuu.

E·· 867 S tíiu. 868 E djéeu, W djee. 869 NE víul. 871 E ugrii, N ugríiv. 872 tjíiuf. 873 E freu, S fréeu. 875 E féeunt, N fí unt, W feent. 876 S déeunti. 878 NE saluri. 879 E fiiméeul, W fíiumeel. 880 W zamp'l. 881 sens. 882 panzi. 883 WE dandelá·un. 884 prentis. 886 E fráiur, NE fríiur. 887 NE tlaadji. 888 NE saatun. 889 S séius. 890 E biist, N bíust. 891 E fiist, N fíust. 892 nevi. 893 flúuur. 894 E dɔsiiv, N dɔsíiuv. 895 E rɔsiiv, N rɔsíiuv.

I·· *and* Y·· 997 W dilíit, NE diléi·t. 898 néis. 899 NE niis. 900 E preu, W pree. 901 E fáin, W fém, faan. 902 EW máin, N maan. 903 EW dáin, N daan. 904 EW váilet, N vaalet. 905 ráiut. 906 véiper. 907 [not used]. 908 advéi·s. 909 EW briiz, N bríiuz. 910 EW djéis, N djóist, S djáist. 911 EW siisthrun, N síiustherín. 912 réis.

O·· 913 kúuvtɟ. 914 brúuvtɟ. 915 stuf. 916 un·iun. 917 rúuvg. 918 E fiib'l, NW fíuvb'l. 919 ónntmunt. 920 póint. 921 E ukwéeunt. 922 bushil. 923* NE móist, W móis. 924 tjóis. 925 vóis. 926 spóil. 928 uuns. 929 kuukumur. 930 lóin. 932 umuunt. 933 frunt. 935 kunthri. 936 EW font, N funt. 937 kok. 938 E kaanur, NE kúuvnur, W koonur. 939 tlúuvs. 940 kúuvt. 941 fíivl, S fúúl. 942 S batjur. 943 tutj. 944 vluu·. 945 vuu. 946 [not used]. 947 bóil. 948 NW buul. 950 supur. 951 kup'l. 952 kúuvs. 953 kuzun. 954 kushun. 955 duut. 956 kuv·ur. 957 E emplói, N implói. 959 E konvéev·, N kunvee·.

U·· 960 E kii, W kíiv, N kéi. 961 griujil. 962 [N (míu) is a pile of corn in a barn]. 963 kwaiut. 964 síu·it. 965 óil. 966 fríut. 967 síut. 969 síiur, S shíuur. 970 djust. 971 fliut.

## D 31 = WN. = West Northern.

*Boundaries.* Begin on the Solway Frith at the coast near Newton Arlosh, Cu. (13 w.Carlisle), and follow the tortuous n. *tee* line 7 already described, p. 20, through Cu. and Du. to Sunderland, then follow the coast of Du. to the Tees mouth, and go up the Tees to Croft, Yo. Here turn along w. b. of D 30, going sw. to Middleham, and s. to Burley (7 n.Bradford). After which turn w. and pass upon the n. *theeth* line 5 (p. 18) to the b. of La. near Colne, about 16 wnw. Bradford, and go nw. along the b. of La. to 13 ese.Lancaster, where enter La. and sweep round n. of Wyersdale (6 se.Lancaster) to Cockerham (8 ene.Fleetwood, La.). Then go n. and follow the w. and s coast of La. and Cu., passing n. to the point of starting in Morecambe Bay, Solway Frith.

*Area.* This large tract of country comprises s.Du., w. and m.Cu., all We., the hundred of Lonsdale n. and s. of the Sands in n.La., and the hilly part of w.Yo. It is traversed by the s. *hoose* line 6 (p. 19) dividing it into two distinct parts. Of these the n. portion treats the U′ words as having simple (uu), or rather a peculiar modification of it, beginning deeper but ending with (u), either (ú,u) or (vúu), where (v) is very brief and uncertain, but both fractures are conceived by the natives as simple (uu). The s. part transforms these inchoant diphthongal forms into the complete diphthongs (*óu*, *óu*, *áu*). This however does not affect the other dialectal relations. In fact the s. *hoose* line 6 only shews where the old traditional pron. (uu) has completely changed. The preparation for the change has been made in the n. portion, while probably in the EN, D 30, and certainly still further n. in the L. div., the pure old (uu) form is retained See (*æ*′u) p. 292, and (a′u) p. 293.

*Varieties.* This area I find it best to divide into several Varieties, which will be considered presently as to their nature, and will here be merely localised.

Var. i. Extreme w. of Yo., embraces Upper Swaledale, Upper Wensleydale, the nw. horn of Yo., and n. and m.Craven.

Var. ii. Lonsdale, or n.La., including extreme s.Cu., embraces Lancaster, Cartmel, Furness, and the region about Bootle, Cu.

Var. iii. We. s. of the watershed, with a part of extreme w.Yo., embraces Dent and Sedberg in Yo., and Kendal, Long Sleddale, and Orton, in We.

Var. iv. Edenside, or the basin of the River Eden, includes We., n. of the watershed, and m.Cu., and contains Kirkby Stephen, Temple Sowerby, Milburn, Langwathby, Ellonby, etc

Var. v. or w.Cu. contains Keswick, Clifton, and Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram.

Var. vi., s.Du., contains Weardale and Teesdale.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ per JGG., ‖ so., and ° io.

*Cu.* * Abbey Holme, ° Borrowdale, * Clifton, ‡ Ellonby, ° Hale, ‡ Keswick, ‡ Langwathby, * Penrith, ° Ravenglass, ° Workington.

*Du.* ° Aycliffe, ° Bishop Auckland, ° Bishopton, ° Easington, ° Greatham, ° Hart, ° Hartlepool, ° Heathery Cleugh, * Lower Teesdale, ° Middleton-in-Teesdale, ° Monk Hesledon, ° Ryhope, ‡ St. John's Weardale, ° Seaham, ° Sedgefield, ° Stanhope, ° Witton-le-Wear, ° Wolsingham.

*La.* † Broughton-in-Furness, † Cark-in-Cartmel, † Caton, °† Coniston, ° Dalton-in-Furness, ° Heysham, † High Nibthwaite, † Hornby, † Lancaster, † Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, ° Newton-in-Cartmel, † Skerton, °† Ulverston.

*We.* °Appleby, ‡ Casterton, ‡ Crosby Ravensworth, ‡ Kendal, ‡ Kirkby Stephen, ‡ Long Sleddale, ‡ Milburn, °‡ Orton, ‡ Shap, ‡ Temple Sowerby.

*Yo.* ‡ Black Burton, or Burton-in-Lonsdale, ‡ Cautley by Sedberg, ‡ Chapel-le-Dale, ‡ Dent, ‡ Horton-in-Ribblesdale, ‡ Howgill, ‡ Ilkley, ° Laithkirk, ‖ Middlesmoor, ‖ North of Richmond, * Richmond, ‖ Skipton, ‡ Upper Swaledale or Muker, ‡ Upper Wensleydale or Hawes.

The extreme care and conscientious anxiety to phonograph the pronunciation of his informants, shewn by repeated revisions, which mark JGG.'s contributions to the phonology of this district, require particular notice, and I cannot but repeat my warmest thanks for the labour which he has bestowed during many prolonged personal interviews in making me fully acquainted with his results, and preparing them for publication here. He has also revised the proofs of D 31.

*Character.* Although D 31 is so large, and mostly very hilly, there is a remarkable uniformity in its mode of speech. The e. b. towards D 30 is not particularly well defined, and probably a very accurate survey, such as TH. has accomplished in the M. div., would shew a gradual melting of D 31 into D 30. But the real boundary is geographical, the subsidence of the hilly districts of the nw. and w. of Yo. into the plain which occupies its centre.

Referring to the list of Edenside speech-sounds (p. 539) for phonetic details, the general character is shewn most distinctly in Var. i, and may be roughly stated as follows :—

A-, A′ = (*i*₁*á*₁), as (n*i*₁*á*₁m, kl*i*₁*á*₁z, h*i*₁*á*₁m) name, clothes, home, as distinguished from the adjoining D 30, Var. i. (nîʊm, tlîʊz, îʊm); that is, the fracture consists of two nearly equally strong elements, each distinct, the first being a low form of (*i*) approaching to (*e*), and the second a low form of (a) approaching in JGG.'s opinion to (ɑ), and lying between (a, ɑ); whereas in D 30 the first element is generally not quite so low, though it varies among (i, *i*, *e*), and the second element is weak and indistinct. The younger generation, however, even in D 31, inclines to (îʊ). JGG.'s researches were among old people, many of whom have since died.

E′ = (*éî*), this is another peculiar fracture, with both elements distinct and accented, the first short, and the second more prolonged, as (m*éî*, gr*éî*n, m*éî*t) me, green, meet. These are appreciated by natives, as (ii). In D 30 they vary as (*éi*) accented fully on the first element, or (*iʊ*, ii), as (m*éi*, griin, mîʊt miit) me, green, meet.

I′ = (â*i*), as (tâ*i*m) time, occasionally, but rarely, and never characteristically, varying as (ɛ′*i*) in Var. vi, but always quite distinct from D 30 (taam).

O′ = probably normally (*iu*) derived from (*œ*′u). This (*iu*) is perhaps the foundation of the prevailing D 30 form (*iiʊ*), but for some reason, which I cannot assign, it varies, as (*ŭ*₁u), thus D 31 (k*ŭ*₁ul k*iu*l), D 30 (k*iiʊ*l) cool.

U′ = (*ú*₁u) n. of line 6, but s. of it approaching (*óu*) and varying, as (*óu*, *áu*), whereas in D 30 it is regularly (uu), thus D 31 (d*ú*₁un, d*óu*n, d*áu*n), D 30 (duun) down. In the nw. horn of Yo this U′ further varies as a sound which JGG. writes (éuu), which is parallel to (éii) for E′. Rev. W. R. Bell wrote the sound as *ew*, with a ~ over, and compared it to the *mew* of a cat, apparently

meaning (ME-JE'u). JGG. said Mr. Bell recognised London ($a^1u$). In both (éii éuu) the final element predominates. CCR. heard from the n. of Richmond, Yo., a sound he wrote *erw* in his Leeds Glossary, p. xiii, in *derwn*, *therw*, *nerw*, down, thou, now, the *r* only serving to alter the sound of the preceding vowel. This notation may have been meant to indicate this (éuu) sound, but more closely resembles (ɑ'u). Here I can merely note that the subject requires investigation, but the region is so difficult of access that I have not been able to get proper information.

These are the great vowel differences, and possibly only indicate a preservation of old forms in the hills, which have been softened down in the plains. In construction *I is* (a)z), and *t'* = (t') for the, prevail over both hill and plain.

## The Edenside Speech-sounds.

Edenside is the name of Var. iv of this district, occupying n.We. and that part of Cu. about the River Eden. The sounds there found prevail more or less over the whole district, and I avail myself of this opportunity of giving the list of sounds as drawn up by JGG. in his paper on the "Traditional Names of Places in Edenside," read before the Cu. and We. Antiquarian and Archæological Society at Penrith, Jan. 1881. The traditional names themselves will be given subsequently. The words in square brackets [ ] are AJE.'s, the others JGG.'s.

### *Simple Vowels.*

(a, aa) Nearly as the English vowels in "Papa *a*sked Gr*a*nt to p*a*ss h*a*lf the st*a*ff to *a*unt," but the tongue is somewhat more advanced as it is in the true Italian (ˌa). Edenside examples: Short—l*a*ss, gl*a*ss, p*a*ss, c*a*stle, wh*a*t, w*a*ter, f*a*ther. Long—F*a*rm, c*a*rt, h*a*rvest, g*a*rden, d*a*rk.

($a_1$) [In the paper cited JGG. used (æ) in place of the present ($a_1$).] General continental so-called short (aa). Quite distinct from the short sound of the last, but often confounded with it. Frequently heard as (ə)—the sound in "one s*u*ch *u*gly c*u*t's en*ou*gh to d*u*ll one's c*ou*rage"—by people from the south. [I could not hear any similarity between the two sounds.] Edenside examples: M*a*n, c*a*t, b*a*g, p*a*n, *A*nnie, *M*aggie, etc. Compare lassie-lad (lasi-$la_1$d), brass pan (bras $pa_1$n), laugh at (laf $a_1$t), he sang a song (i $sa_1$q ʊ saq). [When I heard JGG. pronounce these words, they sounded to me rather like ($la^1$si lad, $bra^1$s pan, $la^1$f at); but as he repudiated ($a^1$) and was very anxious that ($a_1$) should be kept distinct from (a), and considered (aa) to be the true sound of (a) in f*a*ther, and ($a_1$) to be deeper, lying in the series, (a $a_1$ ə), I have followed his wishes. To my ear however he pronounced (aa) long, but ($a^1$, a) short, and I should have so written the sounds. He sometimes indicates 'advanced' (ˌa, ˌaa), which I cannot at all distinguish from ($a^1$, $aa^1$). See notes to No. 19 in the 22 interlinear cs. for this district, given below.

(AA) English vowel in "*A*ll P*aa*l's d*aa*ghters *ou*ght to t*a*lk sm*a*ll," but shorter in quantity, and more like the Italian *o aperto*. Edenside examples: C*a*lf, h*a*lfpenny, f*a*ll, w*a*ll, t*a*lk, h*a*ll, etc. [This may be same sound as TH.'s ($A^1$) in D 23, Var. i, p. 353, but I could not distinguish it from (oo) Italian *o aperto*, open (o)].

(EE) Italian *e aperto* [open (E)], and Scotch and general continental short *e*. Edenside examples: H*a*re, p*a*ir, M*a*ry, d*a*y, h*a*y, g*a*y. [As JGG. pron. the words the sound was considerably deeper than in the Southern (heeɹ, peeɹ, meeɹri, dee, hee, gee) which also occurs.]

(e) Received Southern English short *e* in "s*e*ven times el*e*ven are s*e*venty s*e*ven, el*e*ven times s*e*ven are s*e*venty s*e*ven, s*e*ven into s*e*venty s*e*ven el*e*ven, el*e*ven into

seventy-seven seven." Edenside examples: bed, set, men, step. egg, etc. [Kept quite separate from (bɛd, sɛt, mɛn, stɛp, ɛg) etc., JGG. adds] It is as well to realize the difference between this and the last, because in the only scientific description of Edenside speech yet given [Dr. Murray's], this vowel is said to be represented by the one last described (ee). [Probably because (ɛ) was native and (e) foreign to Dr. Murray, who confuses (e) with Scotch *i* in fill, pit, DSS. p. 107.]

(*e*) True Italian *e chiuso* [shut or close (*e*)] and "general" Scotch and continental sound of "long *a*." Edenside examples occur only in the pairs of confluent [or fractured] vowels described below. [The true (*e*) does not occur in the fractures ($i_1$i, $i_1$a$_1$) to which he refers, but only its forms ($e^1$) or ($i_1$).]

(*i*) Received English in "in this little village lived Kitty's sister Minnie." The Edenside vowel is formed with the tongue nearer the palate than is usual in the South of England; with us [in this paper "we" always means people of Cu. and We.] the sound is nearer the short sound of (ii) as in the n. of Germany, etc. Edenside examples: bit, lig, in, kittle, big, get, etc. [It should therefore be written ($i^1$) as (bi$^1$t, li$^1$g), etc., but I cannot differentiate this from pure short (i); following JGG., however, I generally write (bit, lig), etc., simply.]

(ii) English vowel in "see me lead these three sweetly bleating sheep." Edenside examples are rare, the sound being generally represented by the pairs ($ei^1$, $i_1$i).

(*y*) By this symbol I [that is, JGG.] propose to denote a peculiar vowel common to nw.England. It sounds between the Scotch vowel in "him, pit, still, milk," etc., and the unaccented vowel (ʊ) used in "idea, canary, America, motion, conscience," etc. Dr. Murray considers that it is allied to the Scotch vowel in guid, buik, schuin, guis, etc. [which again he identifies with (ə)], and it does sometimes remind me [JGG.] of that too. Edenside examples heard from old people: rest, dress, rent, prince, friend, rich, rut, brick, yes, yesterday, etc. [Observe that it is due in all these cases to a preceding (r) or following (s). I have found it necessary to mark a variety of it as ($y_1$) occ. See Introd. to No. 10 of the 22 cs. given below, p. 559, and Ab. ($i_{11}$) in D 39.]

(o, oo) Short, and long, of the general continental short *ŏ*. Identical with the Italian *o aperto* [open (o)]. It lies between English short *ŏ* in not and true long *o* in note [between (ɔ) and (*oo*)]. Edenside examples: short—off, Tom, bob, clog, for, short, George: long—no, show, grow, low [of, Tom, bob, clog, for°, shor°t, :dʒor°dʒ :—noo, shoo, groo, loo]. [As far as I could hear (ɔ) does not occur; educated informants usually give (ɔ), and in the same way I think true (aa) though given above does not occur, and that (o) or Italian *o aperto* supersedes both.]

(*o*) Italian *o chiuso* [shut (*o*)]. General Scotch and continental long *ō*. Differs from the corresponding vowel in received English in being uttered with the tongue in one position, instead of beginning with the tongue lower and ending with it higher than this position, as is usual in ordinary English utterance. [The true sound does not occur in D 31. The Italian *o chiuso* is perhaps more like (*u*) than simple (*oo*), and I used to think it properly (*u*h). The form under which it occurs in D 31 is ($u_1$) as in the next article.]

($u_1$) [or as JGG. originally wrote ($o^1$), considering it a higher form of (*o*)]. This is the vowel that, in the n. of England, usually replaces the peculiar (ə) in received English in "some one's husband, son or brother comes up once a month to hunt," which vowel is too frequently confounded with the (ʊ) in canary, idea, etc., referred to lower down. Our Edenside vowel is nearly the same as the received English vowel in foot, good, bull, etc., but it is formed with the tongue more obliquely retracted from the palate. [The effect is that of a very 'thick' (*u*) approaching (*o*); see p. 291.] Edenside examples: tub, come, love, son, sun, etc., purse, murder, etc. [as appears by the next article both (*u*, $u_1$) occur].

(*u*) Received English short *ŏŏ* in foot, good, book, bull, stood, etc. Edenside examples: good, bull, food, shoot, butcher, etc.

(uu) Italian and general Continental sound; but it is never used pure in Edenside, except in the confluents [diphthongs] as in new, few, fruit, etc. [niúu, fiúu, friúut). See under ($ú^1$u, $ú_1$u) on the next page.

(ʊ) Received English unaccented vowel in the words America, idea, canary,

motion, conscious; long it is the received English in the "*ea*rly, bird deserves the *cu*rly worm" [this vowel is variously represented as (əə, ɜɜ, œœ, ɔr$_{\circ}$ ɜr$_{\circ}$ ɐr$_{\circ}$), but JGG. considers it as (ʊʊ)]. In Edenside it remains pure under strong accent. Edenside examples: (·ʊt d*u*$_{1}$d)i) *that* did I, bisc*ui*t, pock*et*, wind*ow*, barr*ow*, pill*ow*, etc., and in a host of other words. It is one of the most important elements in Edenside speech.

(*ə*) In pal. the short form of this vowel represents the first three or four vowels, and the sixth in the deliberate utterance of "que *je* me repente!" [Volney's example]; and it occurs in many other combinations in French. Our Edenside equivalent of the English vowel in "the *e*arly b*i*rd deserves the *cu*rly worm," is sufficiently different from the received form to constitute one of the chief difficulties encountered by strangers attempting to speak our dialects. Our vowel lies between (*u*) and (ɔ) or (ʊʊ), the English vowels referred to. The French vowel is nearer to it than any that I am practically acquainted with. [As, however, it did not strike my ear as identical with the French sound, I have generally used (*ə*$_{1}$) by way of indicating a difference.]

(œ) The last simple vowel is identical or nearly so with the German *ö*, and I believe also with the French *eu*. In Edenside it occurs in the words sw*o*re, form, m*oo*r, p*oo*r, and a few similar forms. In place names it used to be common in compounds with the word m*oo*r. [In the 22 cs. which follow par. 9, the word swore occurs, but in the Edenside examples we never find (swœœr°) but (swyy$_{1}$r°). The sound is very uncertain, and seems mainly due to (r°). *Swore* is often rendered by *sware*, and is then treated differently.]

### *Confluent Vowels* [*Fractures, Diphthongs*].

In our Northern English compounds there is a clearer utterance of each component, and a partial cessation of voice between the two vowels. Our practice agrees almost exactly with that of the Italians. [JGG. says that I call these "confluent vowels." I do not recollect ever having used this term in print. The Italian diphthongs have a "slurred glide," the two vowels being pronounced with scarcely any glide, or rather with such a diminution of force during the glide as would make it almost inaudible, but would not occasion any real silence or total separation. The glide is always marked by an acute accent on the element having the stress, and sometimes with a double accent where both elements are very distinctly pronounced.]

(áa*i*, âi, ái) Identical with German *ey*, *ai*, *ei*, Italian *ai*, Welsh *ai*, French *aï*, etc. Upper Edenside examples: w*i*de, b*i*de, b*i*te, m*i*le, p*ie*, f*i*ne, t*i*dy.

(*é*$^{1}$*i*$^{1}$, *i*$_{1}$*i*$^{1}$, *i*$_{1}$i) [The last form is usually adopted.] These pairs represent archaic forms of long *ēē* as pronounced all over the nw. of England, and in the adjoining parts of Scotland. The voice begins with the tongue retracted obliquely more or less below the normal position of the vowel in p*i*n, f*i*t, w*i*th, and goes on to a position somewhat higher, so as almost to reach the position where true (ii) is formed. Great diversity of utterance exists; many people using a sound identical with the Scotch vowel in w*i*fe, t*i*me, etc., (*ei*), while others constantly use the pair represented in the second symbol (*i*$_{1}$*i*$^{1}$), which is so much like true (ii) that the difference passes unnoticed. True (ii) is quite unknown here as a dialect utterance. Edenside examples: f*ee*t, r*ea*d, r*e*d, l*ea*f, b*ee*f, s*ee*d, gr*ee*n.

(*o*$^{1}$u, *ú*$_{1}$u) [The second symbol here adopted after much discussion with JGG.] North-western English representative of received English, general Scotch and continental "long *ōō*." It commences with the vocal organs nearly in the position for the Italian *o chiuso* and ends with pure (uu). [Its effect is quite different from that of Midland (*ú*u)]. Great variety exists in the pron. of this and the last pairs of vowels. In the wilds and amongst people remote from the influence of town-life the forms here given are the common ones; but there is every gradation from these into the pure (ii) and (uu) of received English among younger folk and town dwellers. Edenside examples: c*ow*, h*ou*se, m*ou*se, br*ow*, etc.

(*ó*u) Italian *o aperto* [open (o)] followed by pure (*u*). Edenside examples: p*o*ny, h*oe*, d*au*ghter, th*ou*ght, wr*ou*ght, c*ow*lrake.

(óa$_1$, ú$_1$a$_1$) Italian *o chiuso* followed by Italian short *a* [but this would be (ˌa), whereas JGG. uses the sign for (a$_1$), which often passes into the obscure vowels (ɐ, ə)]. Edenside examples: *coal*, *foal*, *notice*, *George*, *John*, *Joseph*, *hole*, *coat*, *road*, etc.

(*e*$^1$a$_1$, *i*$_1$a$_1$) [the second form adopted] Italian *e chiuso* [shut (*e*)] followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced Italian short *a* [but JGG. uses the symbol for (a$_1$)]. The (*e*) graduates into (*i*) in some mouths, and the (a$_1$) into obscure vowels more or less allied to (ə, ɐ). Edenside examples: *stable*, *cake*, *toad*, *gate*, *soap*, *name*, *grave*.

(*i*$^1$*y*) used in a few names, and also in such words as *nea*, *sea*, *tea*, *wea*=nay in dialectal assent to a negative, so, toe, woe. [This is given by JGG. on the authority of Mr. William Atkinson.]

(*iu*). Short *i* in *fit*, *pin*, *lip*, *jig*, &c., followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced short *öö* in *foot*, *good*, *bull*, etc. Many speakers seem unable to pron. this quite distinctly; but most of the older people agree in doing so. [The result must be distinguished from (íu, iú).] Edenside examples: *foot*, *school*, *look*, *book*, *spoon*, *smoke*, *crook*.

*Consonants.*

[(b p, d t, dh th, v f, g k, m n q, s z, sh zh) call for no remark.]

(ˌd ˌt) dental [or rather alveolar] *d t* uttered with the tongue [on the gums], near the back of the upper incisor teeth. [This is only in conjunction with a following (ˌr°).]

(dʒ tʒ) rec. English *edge*, *judge*, *Jew*, *James*, *jam*, and *etch*, *clutch*, *chew*, *chain*, *watch*. Where (dʒ tʒ) occur before a vowel, the (d) or the (t) is doubled thus: (ed'dʒiz, ma$_1$t'tʒiz) edges, matches, and the first of the doubled consonants is held just as it is in Italian pron.

(ʜh) [which, except in this list, is written with simple (h)], jerked aspirate, *H*enry, *h*is, *h*ome, *h*er, be*h*oved. Though the aspirate has almost entirely vanished in the dialects of the townsfolk, it is yet employed with much uniformity by the people in the country part.

(kjh) palatal guttural, as in the German sie*ch*; Scotch ni*ch*t, ri*ch*t, si*ch*t. Now nearly obsolete. [Used only by very old people.]

(k*w*h) labial guttural; Germ. au*ch*; Scotch lo*ch*, *wh*eat, *wh*at. Now nearly obsolete.

(ɹ) Rec. English in *y*on, *y*ou, *y*e, *y*es. Palatal aperture contracted more with the middle of the tongue than during the formation of (ii). [Nevertheless JGG. considers that there is more (ii) than (ɹ) in the sound, the buzz being absent, and hence it is generally represented by (ĭ) or very short (ii) gliding on at once to the following vowel. See under (w) at end.]

(ɹh) voiceless and jerked form of the last as in *Hu*ghes, *hu*ge, *hew*, *hu*mility. [I find no jerk, (ɹh) is related to (ɹ) as (zh) to (sh), that is, French *j* to Fr. *ch*.]

(l) The same in all positions as the (l) used before a vowel in rec. English, general continental *l*, [but this is rather (ˌl)]. This *l* is often held briefly (l'), but it is quite distinct from the London and general Southern *l* in mi*ll*, mi*lk*, fi*ll*, e*ll*, *l*aw, *l*ift, *l*ip. [I am not sure to what *l* JGG. is alluding, perhaps (ʟ).]

(lh) The voiceless [or rather hissed] form of the last frequently used before a voiceless palatal consonant as (milhk, lilht, bilht) for mi*lk*, li*lt*, bui*lt*. [The hiss of the (*lh*) was very marked in JGG.'s pron. of these words.]

(nh) The voiceless [or flated] form of (n), employed where an original initial *k* was once used, see the next symbol. This identical sound is in constant use in Icelandic [see Part II. p. 546]. Edenside examples: *knit*, *knock*, *know*, *knife*, etc.

(tnh) The same sound preceded by (t) which represents the original *k*. [See Lediard's pron. in Part IV. p. 1046, under K, see also Cooper, Part I. p. 208, and Part II. p. 544, n. 2.] Miss Powley, of Langwathby, and [her sister] Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath, state that this was a common sound here many years ago. [See below cs. No. 16, in the 22 cs., introd. and notes.]

(r°) This is a buzzed *r*, [by which is meant an unflapped *r*, see p. 294 on *r* generally, although flapped *r*'s are necessarily buzzed, but the flapping renders

the buzz intermittent, whereas here it meant a continuous buzz as in (z)], that is to say, *r* produced by driving the voiced breath over the curved tip of the tongue, which is turned up to the front palate in a spoon-shaped form, and remains rigid, instead of vibrating [flapping], as it does in the Scotch and Italian *r*. This consonant is a retracted form of (dh), and should be distinguished from ordinary *r* in some way. [I use (ˌr$_{\circ}$) for Mr. Melville Bell's untrilled *r*, which is in fact an imperfect alveolar (ˌd), "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gum" (*Visible Speech*, p. 52). And I use (r$_{\circ}$) where the contraction of the passage between tongue and hard palate is more in the place of (d), for the London sound, which is an imperfect (ʀ$_{\circ}$), to which JGG. objects that my (r$_{\circ}$) is "little else than a vowel." Hence, with his consent, I have introduced the new sign (r$^{\circ}$), shewing the absence of trill by putting the ($^{\circ}$) above instead of below ($_{\circ}$). That there is much essential difference in the sounds (r$_{\circ}$ ʀ$_{\circ}$ r$^{\circ}$) I do not suppose, and generally I shall use (r) for each of them with a previous explanation. But in the following 22 cs., as some of JGG.'s informants used the trilled (r), and others the untrilled continuous buzz (r$^{\circ}$), I have been obliged to make the distinction.] Old people rarely ever drop this consonant, but it is going out of use, when not before a vowel, among the younger folk. Examples: *r*ay, hu*rr*y, *r*are. After *d*, *t*, the *r* is invariably dental [alveolar], and is then denoted by (ˌr$^{\circ}$). [But then *d*, *t* are also alveolar, so we have (ˌdˌr$^{\circ}$, ˌtˌr$^{\circ}$).]

(rh) The voiceless form is rarely used and may be passed over here.

(w) is (uu) with the labial orifice contracted so as to impart somewhat of a buzzing effect to the sound; but the buzz is not as marked as it is in the South, and it seems here to be often replaced by simple (*u*) or (u). [Hence I write (ŭ), which represents this form of (w) just as (ı) represents a similar form of (ɹ).]

(wh) This is the voiceless and jerked form of the last, and it often seems to be uttered as if the back of the tongue were raised as it is in the Scotch (k*w*h). We use the sound quite consistently yet, and rarely or never is it replaced by simple (w) except by townsfolk [as is also too much the custom with even the best educated people in London]. Examples: *wh*ich, *wh*ether, *wh*eat, *wh*at.

(wr$^{\circ}$) This pair of consonants yet survives in the pron. of very old people, and it is said to enter into the pron. of some of the place names, but I have not yet detected it for certain. Examples: *wr*ong, *wr*en, *wr*ite, *wr*itten. [JGG. interposed no vowel, however faint, between (w) and (r$^{\circ}$) as (w'r$^{\circ}$). I sometimes think this sound should be labialised *r* as (r$^{\circ}$*w*), but so few people use it, and those so difficult of access, that it is impossible to study it at first hand; at second hand we have only imitations—counterfeits, not the genuine article.]

### *Varieties.*

It is very difficult to draw the boundaries of the six varieties which I have been induced to make in D 31. To a native no doubt the differences are very prominent, and he is generally able after hearing a few sentences to localise the speaker. This happens in all extensive dialect regions. But often, on examination, here and elsewhere, these distinctions, on which so much stress is laid, resolve themselves into slight varieties of intonation, a little change of construction, a few words and phrases habitual in one locality and scarcely heard in another, and perhaps slight changes of vowels, raising or depressing them, especially (*i*, a), which scarcely strike a stranger at all, and which he finds it difficult to formulate. Possibly many natives may object to the localisation and characterisation of varieties here given, but it is the best which the information at my command enables me to furnish. My many attempts to draw boundaries have failed so completely that I have altogether abandoned them.

VAR. i. CRAVEN, etc.

This consists of at least two distinct parts, n. and s. of the s. *hoose* line 6. The n. part has U′=(*ú*ᵢu) as (h*ú*ᵢus, d*ú*ᵢun) house, down, and the s. part has U′=(á*u*) as (há*u*s, dá*u*n). But considering that the s. part had merely developed the (*ú*ᵢu) of the n. part into (á*u*), I have not hesitated to consider these two parts as forming one variety. The best marked form of this dialect is in Upper Swaledale, which, from the information given me by Mr. G. Bell, the publisher, of 4, York Street, Covent Garden, native of Richmond, I consider to extend a little to the e. of Richmond, about Catterick. It is found to the s. without any change in Upper Wensleydale, probably as far down as Middleham. It is also certain that, with the changes of (*ú*ᵢu) into (á*u*) and various insignificant changes, it appears among the hills and dales of n.Craven, in Chapel-le-Dale (between Whernside and Ingleborough hills), in Horton-in-Ribblesdale (between Ingleborough and Penyghent hills), and at Burton-in-Lonsdale (at the foot of Ingleborough hill, on the b. of We.), and hence most probably prevails all over m.Craven down to the n. *theeth* line 5. For the last three places named, compared with Upper Swaledale, I give a full cwl., which shews the remarkable uniformity, except as regards U′-words, between the two parts of Var. i. And for Burton-in-Lonsdale separately, I give below quite a unique specimen.

In addition to JGG.'s papers, CCR. gave me specimens of the nw. Mining Districts, including Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, but they were reminiscences of many years standing, and differed so materially, in the direction of D 30, from JGG.'s recent and most careful work from actual dictation many times revised with the informants themselves, that I have been obliged to omit them from the 22 interlinear cs. below. Similarly CCR. gave me a specimen for "Upper Craven, Upper Ribblesdale with Ingleton, Clapham, etc., Upper Wharfedale with Kettlewell, etc., Upper Nidderdale with Middlesmoor, Langstrothdale, etc.," which very materially differs from the cwl. and the Burton-in-Lonsdale specimen, both belonging to this region, furnished by JGG. As before, I consider the latter work, made direct from dictation, preferable to reminiscences of long standing. Finally, CCR. gave me a specimen for Mid Craven with Skipton, which I am unable to contrast with any work by JGG., but which bears a close resemblance to the former versions. All of these seem to have been modified by memory in the course of years in the direction of the much more familiar m.Yo. forms. But I think it due to such an excellent worker as CCR., who, in his youth, had many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the speech of old people in these regions (people who were old more than 50 years ago), to shew the impressions which he retains. I therefore give paragraphs and extracts of paragraphs from the cs. in all three of these versions by CCR., and prefix to them JGG.'s version from Upper Swaledale (given in full as No. 2 in the 22 interlinear cs. below), for the sake of easy comparison. And, as will be seen by the Burton-in-Lonsdale specimen, this holds good for n.Craven as respects the U′- words.

COMPARISON OF CCR.'S AND JGG.'S VERSIONS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0. 1 | JGG.'s *Upper Swaledale or Muker.* | what | for° |
| 2 | CCR.'s *Upper Mining Dales.* | wat | fur₀ |
| 3 | CCR.'s *Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale.* | wat | fur₀ |
| 4 | CCR.'s *Skipton and Mid Craven.* | wat | for |

1 :dʒwúıʊn hɛz níıáı dúıuts.
2 :dʒúʊni ez níiʊ duuts.
3 :dʒúuʊn ez néeʊ duuts.
4 :dʒúʊn ez néʊ dáuts.

6. 1 d' àl'd bodi həıro̞se·l 'l tel aıni o ɹʊ ʊt lăıfs
2 t' aat wuumʊn ʊsel· 'l til oni ɹan o ɹʊ ʊt lafs
3 t' óud wumʊn ʊsel· 'l tel oni o ɹʊ ʊt lafs
4 th óud wumʊn ʊsel· 'l tel oni o ·ɹoo ʊt lafs

1 núıu, âi waıd'nt shəı?
2 nuu, óoʊ wunʊt shʊ?
3 nuu, uu! winʊt sho?
4 náu, oo! winʊt shʊ?

7. 1 aıni wee shəı tel'd méii síıáı twíı áı thrél tâimz óu)əıro̞,
2 oniríiʊdz shéi tilt ·méei it twíiʊ ˌtri táaimz óuro̞
3 oniwíiʊz sho teld ·mee it túuʊ thri tâimz óuʊ
4 onigéeʊts shu toud ·mii it ʊ túʊthri tâimz óuʊ,

1 dhaıt ʊd did shəı
2 ·shéi)dʊd.
3 sho)did
4 did shʊ.

8. 1 shu wad ·tel' dhʊ húıu whaar° ʊn
2 shéei)d til ɹʊ oo ʊbíut ʊz)t ·uu ʊn ·waaro̞ ʊn
3 shuu)d tel ɹʊ óʊ ʊbáut it, béeʊth uu ʊn waaro̞ ʊn
4 ·shuu)d tel ɹʊ béeʊth áu ʊn wíiʊr ʊn

1 when shəı faın'd)d' ˌdruıqken bíiʊst ʊd shəı kaalz
2 ·wen t)waaro̞ shéi fan)t' ˌdrukʊn béiʊs ʊt shéi kóoʊz
3 wen it war ʊt sho fant)t' ˌdrukʊn bíiʊs ʊt sho kóʊz
4 wen it wor ʊt shu fan)t' drukʊn bíiʊs ʊt shu kóʊz

1 əıro̞ maın.
2 ʊr uzbʊn.
3 ʊr uzbʊn.
4 ʊr uzbʊn.

9. 1 shi swaar° ʊd shəı saa im wiv əıro̞ aan éiin, ligʊn
2 shéi swaaro̞ she saa im wéi ʊr óoʊn in, ligin
3 sho swaaro̞ ʊt shuu saa im wiv ʊr óoʊn iin, ligin
4 shu thríiʊpt ʊt shu saa im wi)t' óʊn iin, ligin

1 laıq' sˌtıro̞íıáıkt ʊtop ʊ)d gruınd, iv iz gud suındi
2 laq sˌtrekt ʊtop ʊ)t' grunt, iv iz giud sundʊ
3 sˌtretɹt ʊt laq leqth upʊ)t' grund, iv iz giud sundʊ
4 laq stríiʊkt ʊtop ʊ)t' grund, dənd i iz gud sundʊ

1 kwú₁ʊt, klwú₁ʊs bi)d' dy₁ə₁r° ʊv iz aan hú₁us, dú₁un i)d'
2 kwúuʊt, tlwúʊs béi)t' us díur₀ duun ʊ)t'
3 kwúuʊt, tléeʊs bi)t' us díur₀ stiʊd duun ʊt t'
4 kóoit, tléeʊs bi)t' áus dúʊ stiʊd dáun. ʊ)t'

1 niuk ʊ ɟon lwú₁ʊnin.
2 niuk ʊ ɟondhʊ lwúuʊn.
3 kaanʊr ʊ ɟon lúuʊn.
4 kóoʊnʊr ʊ ɟon lúuʊn.

11. 1 ʊn ·dha₁t ha₁p'mpt ʊz hə₁r° ʊn t' su₁n wâif ku₁
2 ʊn dhat ap'nt ʊz shéei ʊn)t dóu₁tʊ₁r i lóoʊ kɔm
3 ʊn dhat ap'nt ʊz)t' dóu₁tʊ₁r i loo ʊn ər₀ kɔm
4 ʊn dhat apʊnd ʊz shuu ʊn)t' dóutʊr i lóoʊ kɔm

1 ₁tr°ú₁u)d' ba₁k sáaid fre hiqin)d' wet kli₁á₁z ú₁ut tʊ
2 ₁trou)t' bak giiʊth frev aqin t' wiiʊt tliiʊz ut tʊ
3 thruu)t' bak gánth frev iqin t' wet tléeʊz uut fʊ tʊ
4 thru)t' bak ɟʊd fre iqin t' wet tléeʊz tʊ

1 ₁dr°áai ʊ)d' wɛshin dee.
2 ₁dráai ʊv ʊ wéishin déeʊ.
3 ₁drâi ʊv ʊ weshin déeʊ.
4 drái ɔn ʊ weshin déeʊ.

12. 1 whâil)t' ket'l wʊz bóilʊn fə₁r° téii, ɟaa fáain
2 waal)t' ket'l wa bóilin fʊr₀)t' ₁driqkin ɟaa féin
3 wàl)t' ket'l wʊ géeʊt ʊ bóilin fʊ)t' ₁driqkin ɟan fâin
4 wáil th ket'l wor bóilin fɔ)th driqkin ɟéʊ fáin

1 bréiit su₁mə₁r₀ ɛf₁tə₁r°niún.
2 briit eftʊniiʊn i sumʊr₀.
3 briit ef₁tʊniiʊn i sumʊ.
4 briit eftʊr₀néʊn i sumʊr₀.

13. 1 ʊn ái nyvə₁r° hêə₁r°d nóut ni maar° ʊ dhis whel
2 ʊn a nivʊr₀ laant oni maar ʊn dhis up tʊv
3 ʊn âi nivʊ laant oni méeʊ dhen dhis up tivtʊ
4 ʊn ái nivʊr₀ laant oni méeʊr ʊn dhis up tʊl

1 tʊdee, ʊz síúuə₁r° ʊz mái ni₁á₁m)zs :dɟa₁k.
2 tʊdéeʊ, ʊz síuʊr ʊz mi niiʊm)z :dɟúʊni.
3 tʊdéeʊ, ʊz síuʊr ʊz mi néeʊm)z :dɟúʊn.
4 tʊdéeʊ, ʊz síur ʊz mi néeʊm)z :dɟúʊn.

14. 1 ʊn si₁á₁ ái mʊn bi gáaʊn hi₁á₁m tʊ mi su₁pə₁r°. gʊd nêit.
2 ʊn siiʊ aa)z gaqen iiʊm tʊ git mi supʊr₀. gʊúʊd niit.
3 ʊn séeʊ âi)z gaain éeʊm tʊ git mi supʊ. giud niit.
4 ʊn siiʊ âi)z gaqin éeʊm tʊ mi súʊpʊr. gʊd niit.

The complete comparison of JGG.'s Upper Swaledale with CCR.'s Mid Yo. is given in the 22 interlinear cs. below. The characters that I gave for this district were taken from JGG.'s versions, and it will be seen that they agree with No. 1 above, which is considerably different from No. 2. In No. 3, which are reminiscences of a much older pronunciation than that heard by JGG., CCR. is inconsistent about the U′ and French OU ··. Thus taking the complete cs., of which only parts are given above, I find (nuu, wivuut, duun, us, uu, duuts) now, without, down, house, how, doubts, but (báut, áusvmi·vvr) about, however. If these were rightly remembered, it would imply that early in the XIX th century only a few U′ words in n.Craven had (áu), whereas in 1876, when JGG. tried the region, all of them had it. On the other hand, CCR. in his Skipton or m.Craven cs. has (náu, dáun, áus, áu, áusvmi·vvr, áut, dháu) now, down, house, how, however, out, thou, and no (uu), as was to be expected. Mr. Carr, in the introduction to his 'Craven Glossary,' says (1828): "At the distance of 5 or 6 miles from the e. b. of the parish of Skipton, the pronunciation is entirely changed; thus *house* is pron. *hoose*, and *mouse moose*, *cow coo*, as in the n. and e. Riding of Yo." As the distance is reckoned from the e. b. of the parish, it is presumably to be measured towards the e., and in that case it confirms the position here assigned to the s. *hoose* line 6. In the examples cited in his glossary which relates to Mid Craven, Mr. Carr adopts rec. spelling for 'how, cow, sour, out, mouth, hour, thou, down, gown,' etc., evidently indicating the sound (áu).

CCR. occasionally uses (th) for the definite art. for Skipton (and Mr. Carr uses *th'*), as well as by Washburn River (pp. 500, 502, 516, No. 6), which is adjacent. If this were adopted, it would be necessary to change the position of the n. *the teeth* line 5, and carry it from Colne, La., n. of Skipton, and Blubberhouses, and even Harrogate, but as the information is not complete, as the position of the line past Harrogate is quite unknown, and as the usage, if it occurs, must be rare, and is not generally acknowledged, I leave the line unaltered, with this remark. TH., see next page, heard only (t') at Skipton.

As Mr. Carr points out, Chaucer, in the Reeve's Tale, makes his two frolicksome students come from "Strothir, fer in the north, I cannot telle where." Mr. Carr identifies this with Langstrothdale (28 ne.Lancaster, 4 n.Penyghent Hill) in n.Craven, and just s. of the s. *hoose* line 6. Chaucer would of course be no authority whatever for the pron. of such a place, the very locality of which he could not assign. In the speeches of these students the only marked northernism is the use of *I is* for *I am*, which still exists.

The whole of this extreme w. of Yo. is a rather wild and not very populous region, but exactly on that account the more interesting for our purpose, because there must have been fewer instrumentalities at work for effecting great changes. From the upper mining dales down s. to Sedberg, Dent, Burton-in-Lonsdale, and Horton-in-Ribblesdale, it is well represented. I am less sure of the n.w. horn of Yo. by Laithkirk, Mickleton, Romaldkirk, etc., on the borders of the Tees. The vicar of Laithkirk, Rev. W. R. Bell, supplied me with a wl. and a cs., but I did not feel any confidence in my interpretation of his orthography. JGG. however had an opportunity of hearing him read the wl., and I give the result in the cwl. for Var. i, form *b*, below. The only point of interest is the treatment of the U′- words, which become (éuu), as already observed (p. 538, line 3 from bottom).

TH. in 1887 had accidentally an opportunity of hearing speech from a native of Hurst in Upper Swaledale and Clapham (6 nw.Settle and 4 sw.Horton-in-

Ribblesdale), both of them in JGG.'s territory. The Clapham ex. consisting of extracts from the cs. was quite like JGG.'s, and hence need not be cited. TH. got a dt. from Hurst, another from Giggleswick by Settle, and a third from Skipton. These three I annex interlinearly. Their variations from JGG.'s are very slight, the principal being at Hurst, where TH. heard JGG.'s (*ú*₁u) as (*óu*, *óu*), which is not surprising, for the ear requires long usage to distinguish (*ú*₁u) from (*óu*), to which it certainly leads.

### Three Interlinear dt.

H Hurst (8 w.Richmond, Yo.), within the limits of the Muker cs., No. 2 of the 22 interlinear cs. below, pal. in 1887 by TH., from the dictation of a native then living near Keighley.

G Giggleswick (½ w.Settle), pal. in 1887 by TH., from a farm servant b. 1811. This represents w.Craven.

S Skipton (39 w.York), pal. 1887, by TH., from a native shoemaker, b. 1817, who had lived there all his life.

The (r) is left unmarked, and is uncertain, TH. having probably identified it with his own (r).

1. H *Hurst.* A sêɐ, ladz, Jɐ síi n*óu* ɐt *ái*)m r*ii*t ɐb*óu*t
G *Giggleswick.* *ái* see, tɟaps, Jì síi nâ*u* ɐt A)m RE'*i*t ɐbâ*u*t
S *Skipton.* A sêɐ, tɟaps, Jɐ síi ná*u* ɐt A)m RE'*i*t ɐbâ*u*t

H dhat l*ái*l las k*u*m*i*n frɐ)t' skíùl Jɔn̩dɐ̩r.
G dhat l*ái*l las k*u*m*i*n fr*e*)t' sk*ú*ul Jɔn̩dɐ̩r.
S dhat l*ái*l las k*u*m*i*n thrɐ)t' skô*i*l Jɔn̩dɐ̩r.

2. H shɐ)z gà)*i*n d*óu*n)t' r*ó*ɐd dhàr, thr*ú*u)t' rèd g*ee*t.
G shi)z gà)*i*n dâ*u*n)t' rûɐd dhîɐr, thr*óu*)t' RED gjEEt ɔn)t' lEft
S shɐ)z gù)*i*n dâ*u*n)t' rûɐd dhîɐr thrɐ'*u*)t' RED gjêɐt ɔn)t' lEft

H
G and s*ái*d ɐ)t' rûɐd.
S and s*ái*d ɐ)t' rûɐd.

3. H sì Jɐ, sh*i*)z gj*é*ɐn tɐ)t' raq d*í*uɐr [*óu*s].
G l*ú*uk Jɐ! t' bàrn)z gàn s̩t̩rE'*i*t *u*p tɐ)t' raq dûɐr [*áu*s].
S l*ú*uk Jɐ! t' tɟ*ái*ld)z gàn s̩t̩rE'*i*t *u*p tɐ)t' raq dûɐr.

4. H wàr sh*i*)l me)b*i* f*i*nd dhat dr*u*qk dìɐf th*i*n
G wíɐr shɐ mee f*i*nd dhat d̩r*u*k'n dìɐf r*i*qk'ld
S wîɐr shɐ)l ap'n f*i*nd dhat d̩r*u*k'n [d̩r*u*f'n] dìɐf w*i*dhɐrd

H spEEr*i* màn ɐt dhɐ KAAl :tɔm.
G ô*u*d fElɐ, ɐz dh*e* KAA :tɔm.
S th*i*n fElɐ, ɐz dh*e* KAAl :tɔm.

5. H w*i* AAl nAA[1] *i*m varɐ w*í*il.
G w*i* AAl naa *ì*m varɐ w*í*il.
S w*i* AAl nAA *ì*m varɐ w*í*il.

6. H wíɐnt t')AA'd man s*í*ùn lìɐn ɐr n*u*₁t tɐ d*í*u *i*t ɐgjEEn,
G wê₍ɐnt t')ô*u*d tɟap só*u*n làrn ɐr nɔt tɐ d*ú*u *i*t ɐgEEn,
S wìɐnt t')ô*u*d tɟap só*i*n làrn ɐr nɔt tɐ du *i*t ɐgjEEn,

H pó*u*ʊr th*i*q !
G pûʊr th*i*q !
S pûʊr bàrn !

7. H l*i*uk ! *i*z'nt *i*t r*é*it ?
G l*ó*uk ! *i*z'nt *i*t ˌtrɑ'*u* ?
S l*ú*uk ! *i*z'nt *i*t trɑ'*u* ?

VAR. ii. LONSDALE.

It is with some hesitation that I write the two Lonsdales, n. and s. of the Sands, as one variety, with two forms, Var. ii*a*, and Var. ii*b*. The two together, as TH. points out, form an area of transition for the A-, A′ words from (*i*ʊ) through (*i*a) to the Craven form ($i_1a_1$). Thus in Var. ii*a*, s. of the Sands, TH. heard 77 forms ending in (ʊ) as against 20 ending in (a). But in Var. ii*b*, n. of the Sands, he heard only 45 ending in (ʊ) as against 25 ending in (a). For the U′ words in Var. ii*a*, s. of the Sands, we find (*á*u) as in Craven, but in Var. ii*b*, n. of the Sands, we have (*ó*u), a descendant of ($u_1$u). These are considerable differences. A greater one is that V ii*a* uses *to* and V ii*b* generally *at* before the infinitive. Still as *to* and *at* are both heard, notwithstanding the prevalence of *at*, through V iii, and as *to* is not unfrequently heard in V ii*b*, although *at* prevails, or at least used to prevail, it is difficult to insist upon this as a mark of distinction.

Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver, near Coniston, procured me in 1873 a cs. from Ulverston by Mr. R. Pearson, accountant, then 40 years acquainted with the dialect, and another from Mr. Roger Bowness, postmaster and native of Coniston, generally considered a great authority on the dialect, b. about 1803. Owing to the sparing manner in which pron. was indicated in these cs., I have not felt justified in attempting to pal. them. But the last has been read to me by Miss M. A. Bell, and is given on p. 563, as No. 5 in the 22 interlinear cs. Four cases of *to* or *at* before the infinitive occur in these two cs. Mr. Pearson writes, 1) I wod trest em *ĕt* speeak trewth, par. 5; 2) hingin out t' wet claeas *ta* dry, par. 11; 3) I doant want *tă* kna, par. 13; 4) sa sharp *tù* kra, par. 14. Mr. Bowness has *ta* in all four cases. In "Three Furness Dialect Stories by a Native" (Coward, Carlisle, 1867), given me by Mr. Ellwood, *tà* or *to* occurs before the infinitive 22 times, and *at* never. In Roger Piketah's *Forness Folk* (Coward, Carlisle, 1870), an examination of the first tale, 'Amang t' Rowndheeads,' gives 18 *to* and 9 *at* before the infinitive, the latter being 1) a bit furder *ét* gang; 2) them at knaas how *èt* dew it; 3) I cuddent bide *ét* see 'em; 4) I ext 'em what was *ét* dew wi' him; 5) we were fooarst *èt* part company; 6) he'd hed nowt *èt* itt o' t' day; 7) meadd me summat *èt* itt; 8) I'se fain *èt* see ye; 9) I heddent mich time *èt* spar.

Noticing these discrepancies, I wrote to Mr. Ellwood, and he replied as follows on 2 Jan. 1874, the passages in [ ] being my interpolations.

"*Ut* (ʊt) as the sign of the infinitive is used in Furness, as Mrs. Ellwood [native] and I can abundantly confirm. *To* and *ta* (tʊ) for the infinitive is found, however, quite as commonly, and the tendency in the case of *ut* is rather to become obsolete. [Miss M. A. Bell, who belongs to the younger generation, could not remember having heard it.] Not that it is obsolete, or anything like it as yet, for you may hear *ut do*, *ut go*, etc., every day here in the mouths of the dalesmen as commonly as possible. It is also to be found, I believe, in s.Cu. as far as that term is used as comprehending Millom [13 ssw.Coniston] and Whitbeck [15 sw.Coniston, both on the sw. promontory of Cu.]. I took the printed specimen [of my cs.] you inclosed to the Coniston postmaster [Mr. R. Bowness], and he said, after carefully thinking the matter over, that *ut* might be used for *to* in the case of two of the infinitives you had marked in it, viz. '*to* speak the truth' [par. 5], which might be put '*ut* speak t' truth,' and '*to* dry' [par. 11], which might be '*ut* dry.' In the other two cases [*to* know, par. 13, and *to* crow, p. 14] he thought, on account of euphonic reasons, which he could not very well explain, *to* or *ta* (tʊ) ought to be retained. When he first gave the written specimen to me which I sent you before, I mentioned this very thing to him, and suggested that in the case of the infinitive he should put *ut*, but he said that one form was just as commonly used as the others, and it was therefore indifferent. So I let it remain *to* as he had put it. There is one thing which I think deserves to be noticed in regard to the testimony in favour of *ta* and *ut* in their Furness usage, and that is, that those who have given *ta* or *to*, viz. Mr. Morris [author of the 'Three Furness Stories'], the Coniston Postmaster, and I believe Mr. R. Pearson, are all natives of the district, and have never been much out of it; while those who give *ut* and *et* invariably are, I think, comparatively strangers,—Mr. Gibson [referring to four High Furness tales in his 'Folk-speech of Cumberland,' etc.] having only been about eight or nine years in practice as a surgeon at Coniston, which was, I believe, the whole length of his sojourn in Furness [he was a Scotchman; his Furness tales occupy about twelve small pages, and contain *ut* thirty-seven times, and *to* three times, these three cases being possibly oversights], while Roger Piketah, who is in truth Dr. Barber, formerly of Ulverston, lived in Furness just about the same length of time as Mr. Gibson, and is really a Nottinghamshire man, knowing very little indeed about this dialect. . . . It is easy enough, however, to assign a reason why the natives should not dwell so much upon *ut* as those who are comparative strangers. A stranger is more struck by peculiarities, as *ut* certainly is, and, therefore, he, when writing in the dialect, gives them in every case, while the native accustomed to them in their proper order gives them only as they occur."

The fact about *to* and *at* seems to be that the people were Saxon naturally using *to*, that the *at* was a Scandinavian invasion which only partially ousted *to*, and that hence both are used with equal correctness. It is to be observed also that though the two parts of Lonsdale are separated by the estuary of the Gilpin running into Morecamb Bay, from We., yet s.Lonsdale adjoins We., in the s. of which both (áu) and (ʊt) are used. But I have found it best to separate We., which I place under Var. iii; and to distinguish two forms *a* and *b* of Var. ii. Except as regards the U′ and A-words and the use of *to*, *at*, these *a* and *b* forms of Var. ii are almost identical, as the following comparison will shew.

## Song of Solomon, Chap. ii.

The late Mr. R. B. Peacock wrote Chap. ii. of Solomon's *Song of Songs* for the dialect of Lonsdale s. of the Sands, and Mr. J. Stockdale for the form of Lonsdale n. of the Sands, both in a partially systematic orthography, as printed on p. 31 of Mr. Peacock's pamphlet on the 'Six Northern Counties of England,' Berlin, 1863, subjoined to his Glossary of Lonsdale, *Trans. Philological Soc.*

Supplement to part ii. 1867. I have here pal. these two versions by means of his Key (*ibid.* p. 11), assisted by the two cwl. for these regions given below from TH.'s observations, but the (*u*) is uncertain (see p. 554), and (ˌtˌr, ˌdˌr) was not recognised, and the aspirate was retained.

1. S *Lonsdale South of the Sands.* *ái*)z)t' rúʊz ʊ :sheerʊn, ʊn)t'
   N *Lonsdale North of the Sands.* *ái*)z)t' rúʊz ʊ :sheerʊn, ʊn)t'

   S *lili* ʊ)t' val*iz*.
   N *lili* ʊ)t' val*iz*.

2. S ʊmaq)t' lasʊz m*i* l*u*v)z l*ái*k ʊ l*i*l*i* ʊmaq)t' w*i*kw*u*dz.
   N ʊs)t l*i*l*i* ʊmaq)t' thʌrnz, súʊ *iz* m*i* l*u*v ʊmaq)t' dóuˌtʊˌrz.

3. S ʊmaq)t' ladz, m*i* b*i*l*u*vd)z l*ái*k ʊn ap'l ʊmaq)t' kom·ʊn
   N ʊs)t' ap'l trii ʊmaq)t' triiz ʊ)t' w*u*d, súʊ *iz* m*i* b*i*l*u*vd

   S triiz; *ái* sat mʊ dáʊm *u*ndʊr h*i*z shadʊ w*i* gʌrt
   N ʊmaq)t' s*u*nz; *ái* sat mʊ dóʊn *u*ndʊr h*i*z shadʊ w*i* gʌrt

   S plezʊr, ʊn h*i*z fr*iu*t wʊz swiit tʊ m*i* t*i*ast.
   N dʒó*i*, ʊn h*i*z fr*iu*t wʊz swiit tʊ m*i* téast.

4. S h*i* bró*u*t mʊ tʊ)t' fíʊst*i*n háʊs, ʊn h*i*z k*u*lʊr óʊʊr mʊ
   N h*i* bró*u*t mʊ tʊ)t' fíʊstʊn hóʊs, ʊn h*i*z k*u*lʊr óʊʊr mʊ

   S wʊz l*u*v.
   N wʊz l*u*v.

5. S g*i*)mʊ ʊ súʊp ʊ s*u*mʊt tʊ s*u*p, tʊ k*u*mfʊrt mʊ, ʊn *ái* s*u*d
   N frʌsh'n mʊ *u*p w*i* ʊ s*u*p ʊ s*u*mʊt ʊt ˌdˌr*i*qk, g*i*)mʊ

   S l*ái*k s*u*m ap'lz tʊ *it*; fʊr *ái*)z díʊd siik ʊ l*u*v.
   N s*u*m ap'lz ʊt *it*; fʊr *ái*)z feer siik ʊ l*u*v.

6. S h*i*z lʌft hand)z *u*ndʊr m*i* híʊd, ʊn h*i*z réit hand
   N h*i*z lʌft hand)z *u*ndʊr m*i* híʊd, ʊn h*i*z riit hand d*u*z

   S k*u*d'lz mʊ.
   N kod'l mʊ.

7. S ʊn m*ái*nd ɹʊ dh*i*s, ɹʊ :dʒʊr*iu*zlʊm lasʊz, b*i*)t' val*i* ʊ o)t
   N *ái* warn ɹʊ, *oo* ɹʊ dóu*t*ˌʊˌrz ʊ :dʒʊr*iu*zʊlʊm, b*i*)t'

   S k*ái* ʊn ship *i*)t' fiildz, ʊz ɹʊ d*oo*nt stʌr *u*p, nʊr wak'n
   N b*i*ʊs ʊn b*i*)t' ɹó*u*z *i*)t' fiild, ʊt ɹʊ stʌr nʊt *u*p, nʊr wak'n

   S m*i* l*u*v, tʊl)ʊ l*ái*ks.
   N m*i* l*u*v tʊl h*i* plíʊzʊz.

8. S t' vó*i*s ʊ m*i* b*i*l*u*vd! l*u*k ɹʊ h*i* k*u*mz ló*u*p*i*n óʊʊr)t' fʌlz,
   N t' vó*i*s ʊ m*i* b*i*l*u*vd! l*u*k ɹʊ h*i* k*u*mz ló*u*pʊn on)t' fʌlz,

S skɛlpin ʊtop)ʊ)t' hóuz.
N skipʊn on)t' hóuz.

9. S mi bilʊvd)z láik ʊ roo ʊr ʊ juq buk; luk jʊ, hi)z standin
N mi bilʊvd)z láik ʊ roo ʊr ʊ juq buk; luk, hi standz

S bihint áur woo, hi)z gluurin áut ʊ)t' windʊ, ʊn shoo·in
N bihint óur woo, hi) líʊks áut ʊ)t' windʊz, shoo·in

S hizsɛl thru)t' lat)wɜrk.
N hizsɛl thru)t' lat·is.

10. S mi bilʊvd spak ʊn sɛd tu)mʊ, náu, hʊni, git up, dhat)s
N mi bilʊvd spéak ʊn sɛd tʊ mʊ, ráiz up, mi lʊv, mi

S ʊ boni las, ʊn kʊu dhi weez.
N feer)ʊn, ʊn kʊm hʊr weez.

11. S fʊr dʊs)tʊ sii, t' wintʊr)z past, t' reen)z óuʊr ʊn gian.
N fʊr)t' wintʊr)z past, fʊr sɛ'uʊr, t'reen)z óuʊr ʊn gon.

12. S t' fláuʊrz iz bigin·in tʊ blaa; t' parin táim ʊ)t' bɜrdz iz kʊm,
N t' flóuʊrz kʊmz up ʊ)t' ɜrth, t' bɜrdz iz bigin·ʊn ʊt siq,

S ʊn jan mʊ hiiʊr)t' stok dʊv kuu·in i)t' wʊdz.
N ʊn)t kʊshʊt kuu iz hard i óur land.

13. S t' bɛri triiz iz i blos·ʊm, ʊn)t' swiit briiʊr)z bigin·in tʊ
N t' fɛg trii pʊts óut it griin fɛgs, ʊn)t' váinz wi)t' tɛndʊr

S sɛnd áut ʊ réit náis smɛl. duu git up wi dhʊ, djói, kʊ
N gréap givz ʊ gʊd smɛl. git up, mi lʊv, mi

S dhi weez ái see, ʊn lɛt mʊ lʊk ʊt dhi koni [=pretty] fías.
N feer)ʊn, ʊn kʊm hʊr weez, ái see.

14. S oo mi djói, ʊz iz i)t' niks ʊ)t' krag, i)t' lɜrkin húʊlz
N oo mi dʊv, ʊt)s i)t' kliqks ʊ)t' kragz, i)t' háidʊn pléasʊz

S ʊ)t' steerz, kʊm áut wi dhat swiit fías ʊ dhi aan, lɛt mʊ
N ʊ)t' steerz, lɛt mʊ sii dhi féas, lɛt mʊ

S hiiʊr dhi láil klapʊr gaq, fʊr dhi vóis iz miuzik itsɛl,
N hiiʊr dhi vóis, fʊr swiit iz dhi vóis,

S ʊn dháu)z riit gʊd lʊkin.
N ʊn dhi féas iz riit boni.

15. S tɛk uz)t' foksʊz, t' láil foksʊz, ʊz spóilz t' váinz; fʊr wʊr
N tak uz)t' foksʊz, t' láil foksʊz, ʊt spóilz t' váinz; fʊr óur

S váinz hʊz vast tɛndʊr gríaps.
N váinz hɛv tɛndʊr gréaps.

16. S mi bilʊvd)z máin, ʊn ái)z hiz; hi fiidz ʊmʊq)t' liliz.
N mi bilʊvd)z máin, ʊn ái)z hiz; hi fiidz ʊmʊq)t' liliz.

17. S tʊl)t' dee brʊk, ʊn)t' shadʊz fliiz ʊwee torn dhʊ, mi
N tʊl deebrʊk, ʊn tʊl)t' shadʊz fliiz ʊwee torn dhʊ, mi

S hʊni, ʊn bi láik ʊ roo ʊr ʊ juq hart ʊ :bɛdhʊr fɛlz.
N bilʊvd, ʊn bi láik ʊ roo ʊr ʊ juq bʊk on :bɛdhʊr fɛlz.

To these may be added the following for Lonsdale n. of the Sands, which has the advantage of having been taken direct from dictation.

### Broughton-in-Furness dt.

(:bra'ʊt''n i fa'rnʊs) pal. 1881 by TH. from dictation of Mr. R. N. Woodend, b. about 1846, native, then residing at Barrow-in-Furness, who stated that no change had taken place in dialectal speech during the previous twenty years.

1. ái see, ladz, ju sì nóu dhʊt ái)m rit ʊbóut dhat láil las komin frʊ t' skuul jon,dʊ,r.
2. shi)z gàʊn dóun t' rûʊd dhîʊr, thruu t' rɛd jɛt [gjeet] ɔn t' lɛft and sáid ʊt t' rûʊd.
3. lu$_o$k jʊ! t' tjáild)z [las ʊz] gaan s,t,rɛ'it u$_o$p tʊ t' raq óus díuʊr.
4. wàr shi)l ap'n find dhat ,d,ru$_o$qk'n dìʊf widhʊrd aad fɛlʊ [fuul tjap], i)t' neem ʊ :tɔm.
5. wì oo naa)im varʊ wiil.
6. wènt t' aad tjap sîʊn tɛl ʊr tʊ nʊt díu)t ʊgjeen, púʊr thiq!
7. lu$_o$k jʊ! it)s kwáit ,t,ríuu.

### Broughton-in-Furness Phrases noted by TH.

1. (wènt dhʊ bɛgʊr katj it wɛn iz fa,d'ʊ,r naaz i)z pleed ,t,róuʊnt), won't the [emphatic] beggar catch it when his father knows he's played truant.
2. (wái, wɔt)s)tʊ gjɛt'n fresh tʊdee?), well, what)hast)thou gotten fresh to-day?
3. (shì)l varʊ láikli dii tʊmA'rn), she'll very likely die to-morrow. [*not* this morning, for to-morrow was given to translate.]
4. (war)s)tʊ gaan dhis af,tʊ,rnîʊn? ái)z gaan jaam), where is (art) thou going this afternoon? I is (am) going home. The conjugation is with *is* throughout (ái)z, dhii)z, ii)z, wii)z, jù)z, dhè)z).

For Lonsdale n. of the Sands see also the Lower-Holker-in Cartmel cs., the fourth of the 22 interlinear cs. pp. 558, 563; and the cwl. for Var. ii, both form *a* and form *b*.

THE TRANSITION FROM ($u_o$) TO ($u$).

On p. 292 it was stated that TH. considered that a mixed region existed where both ($u$, $u_o$) were heard to the south of a line drawn from Gainsborough in Li. to Ulverston (which he would now correct to Coniston) in Lonsdale n. of the Sands, n.La. This was promised to be considered in D 24 and D 31. For D 24, see p. 365. We have now to look at D 31. According to the information sent to me by TH., who in 1888 revisited the country on purpose, the whole of both Lonsdales is a mixed region, where not only ($u_o$) is in most places, at least occasionally, and even frequently, used in the cases he heard, but ($u$) is likewise to be heard, and with this also frequently a pure (u). It is almost needless to say that this depends entirely on TH.'s appreciation, which I have been entirely unable to check by the appreciation of other observers, who were capable of distinguishing (u, $u$, $u_o$). Certainly beyond Lonsdale in Cu., We. and Yo. this ($u_o$) was not heard by my authority, JGG., to whom TH.'s vowel was a novelty, p. 291, l. 8 from bottom. On the other hand, the tapering of ($i$) into ($i^1$, i) was well known to him.

The places which TH. has visited for this purpose, and the number of words containing an (u) sound which he has examined in each, are as follows:

Over Wyersdale 14, Lancaster 45, Caton (4 ne.Lancaster) 42, Hornby (8 ne.Lancaster) 40, Carnforth 45, Cark-in-Cartmel (5 e-by-s.Ulverston) 55, Lower Holker (5 e.Ulverston) 56, Ulverston 32, Broughton-in-Furness 9, Coniston 17, Higher Nibthwaite 9, total 364 cases.

The sounds heard in these examples, without specifying the particular cases, are marked by him thus: (u) 83, ($u_1$) 39, ($u^1$) 8, between ($u^1$) and (u) 1, ($u$) 131, between ($u$) and ($u_o$) 3, between ($u_1$) and (o) 1, ($u_1$) 24, ($u_o$) 61, variants between the last and (u, $u$, o), or ($u$) and (u) 10, (ä) 1, (o) 2. The running lies therefore with (u, $u_1$, $u$, $u_o$). With regard to ($u_o$), which is the main point to be considered, the numbers of cases recorded were, Over Wyersdale 10, Lancaster 11, Caton 11, Hornby 5, Carnforth 0, total 37 cases (all s. of the Sands, and hence under Midland influence), Cark 1, Lower Holker 13, Broughton-in-Furness 6, Coniston 2, Higher Nibthwaite 2, total 24, of which the greater number is found at Lower Holker, and the others are so very sparse that they can hardly be regarded.

Hence we may say that Lonsdale s. of the Sands is a decidedly mixed region, more than half the cases of ($u_o$) observed by TH. having there occurred, but that Lonsdale n. of the Sands (with the exception of Lower Holker, which against 13 ($u_o$) had 12 (u), 22 ($u_1$) and 4 ($u^1$), is almost entirely free of ($u_o$). It would require a very long and extended observation, which we cannot expect any one to undertake, to get more precise and definite results, and we are greatly indebted to TH. for the great labour and pains he has taken in obtaining, recording, and analysing his observations.

TH. has also analysed the transition from (i) through ($i_1$, $i^1$) to ($i$) in this same region, and in 174 cases finds (i) 8, ($i_1$) 5, ($i^1$) 4, ($i$) 157, which last must therefore be considered as the normal pron.

### Var. iii. Westmorland s. of the Watershed.

This watershed, starting from Helvellyn, runs nearly e. over Rydal Head, High Street, Harter or Carter Fell, n. of Crow Brow, over Shap Fell to Orton Scar, and then runs nearly s. to Langdale Fells, where it turns e. and enters Yo. by Howgill Fells. The very names indicate a barrier, but in point of fact Var. iv, just n. of this watershed, differs very slightly from Var. iii. The most prominent difference is, that in Var. iii the use of *at* for *to* before the infinitive is very general, but in Var. iv *to* prevails. This Variety also includes that w. horn of Yo., w. of Bow Fell and Whernside, containing Dent and Sedberg, as distinct from Craven, Var. i, which borders on it.

This Var. iii, like Var. i, is traversed by the s. *hoose* line 6, which passes from the mouth of the Winster, on the b. of La. and We., in an ene. direction, to pass between Dent on the s., and Sedberg on the n., then running se. through Garsdale. Hence the small s. portion of this variety uses (áu), and the large n. portion uses (*ú*ᵢu) for U′. This (*ú*ᵢu) as I hear it is quite distinct from (*ɑ*′u), but is so like (*ó*u) that I have often found a difficulty in distinguishing it. Both the (áu, *ú*ᵢu) agree with the sounds in the corresponding parts of Var. i, which, except from the use of *to* for *at*, is barely separable from it. This dialect is well illustrated by Nos. 6 to 11 of the 22 interlinear cs., and a close examination will shew how very slight the differences are of one from the other, and all from Var. i, Nos. 2 and 3, Var. ii, Nos. 4 and 5, Var. iv, Nos. 12 to 17, with the exception of the *at* and *to*. In No. 11, from Orton, We., there are some peculiar insertions of (*i*ᵢ) in a number of words marked †, which JGG. had not observed in the neighbourhood. The words are: he, this, who, certain, did, themselves, kent, herself, lying, length, said, bairn, happened, son, yard, day, kettle, tea, since, week, next, does, never, more, till, shepherd, night, be, t'other. The same informant dictated No. 13, which has no trace of such an insertion. This variety is further illustrated by the cwl. from Dent and Howgill, the last of which I was able to verify by a personal interview.

### Var. iv. Edenside.

The basin of the River Eden includes We. n. of the Watershed and central Cu. This scarcely differs from the n. part of the last except in the universal use of *to* (tʊ) before the infinitive. It is carefully illustrated by Nos. 12 to 17 of the 22 interlinear cs., and belongs entirely to the (*ú*ᵢu) region. Two of these cs., Nos. 14 and 16, are valuable from the care taken by the informants, two old ladies, Mrs. Atkinson and Miss Powley, since deceased, who had had a life's knowledge of the dialect, and the diligence with which they were revised by JGG. from their dictation. This variety extends northward to the n. *tee* line 7. It is to be observed that this line makes almost a cusp about Kirk Oswald (15 nnw. Appleby), where, according to JGG., the change from WN. to NN. is strongly marked. He observed that s. of Kirk Oswald they called a 'stone dyke' a (st*i*ᵢá*i*ᵢn dá*i*k) genuine WN., and a few miles to the n. a (st*ee*n dé*i*k) genuine NN. The w. b. of this variety is not well defined, but may be regarded as running to the n. from Helvellyn, and e. of Skiddaw. The e.b. may be taken as the b. of Du. The change of pron. in passing into Du.

is very slight, and is said to occur about Harwood, Du. (11 nne.Appleby, We., and close to the b.).

Some interest attaches to the slight differences between Var. iii and iv. The words Æ day, E say way have (*ee*) and (ee) in iii, and (EE) in iv. EA′ in iii is (iiE) but (*êi*) in iv. Generally the close sounds (*noo dee*) no day, belong together in iii, and the open (noo dEE) in iv. O′ words have (iu) in iii and (*iu*) in iv. The aspirate in iii is a mild jerk (ˌH), and in iv a strong jerk (.H), the voiceless jerk (HˌH) does not occur. These are only rough indications. Generally, iii represents the s. parts of the district, and iv the n. portions. Most of the other points are the same. See the Edenside speech-sounds, p. 539.

### Var. v, West Cumberland.

So far as pron. is concerned, Var. v is very slightly different from Var. iv, but comprises what is usually known as Cu. on account of Mr. Dickinson's Glossary. This author, whom I never saw, kindly gave me a version of my cs., but it was superseded by a vv. cs. by Mr. Hetherington for Clifton, close by Workington, where Mr. Dickinson lived. This forms No. 19 of the 22 interlinear cs. The s. parts are illustrated by a cs. dictated to JGG. from Keswick, No. 18. The n. part, which is important as forming a transition to NN., shewn by the frequent use of the diphthong (*ói*), for the (*ái*) of the other parts, was dict. to me by Rev. T. Ellwood, No. 20. The slight differences which exist are best appreciated by inspecting Nos. 18, 19, 20, in the 22 interlinear cs. already referred to, p. 563.

### Var. vi, South Durham.

This comprises that part of Du. which is s. of the n. *tee* line 7, and differs but slightly from Var. iv. The main difference seems to be in the treatment of the U′ words, and here I am unable to give anything very satisfactory. They are generally assumed to have (uu), but there is so much confusion between this and some form roughly like (ə′uu, ʊ́uu) that JGG. felt unable to decide what the sound really was, but generally assumed (ʊ́uu) as an approximation, using (ə′uu), however, in some cases. Compare the Laithkirk (éuu) in Var. i, p. 538. See the dt. and cwl. for Var. vi, Weardale and Teesdale, given below. The Cu. (*íˌáˌ*) forms have been worn down to (*íˌʊ*, *íʊ*). This form is well illustrated by a full word list for St. John's, Weardale, and Middleton-in-Teesdale, and by a dt. for Stanhope, with full notes comparing three others which I had received.

### Twenty-Two Interlinear cs.

In order to shew the relations, similarity, aad differences of these Varieties, and to compare them with the neighbouring D 30 and D 32, the following 22 interlinear versions have been inserted, chiefly from the remarkable phonetic transcripts made by JGG., for the following places:—

D 30, Var. i.
1. Mid Yorkshire.

D 31, Var. i.
2. Muker or Upper Swaledale.
3. Hawes or Upper Wensleydale.

D 31, Var. ii.
4. Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, La.
5. Coniston, La.

D 31, Var. iii.
6. Casterton for Kirkby Lonsdale, We.

7. Dent, Yo.
8. Sedberg, Yo.
9. Kendal, We.
10. Long Sleddale, We.
11. Orton, We.

D 31, Var. iv.

12. Kirkby Stephen, We.
13. Crosby Ravensworth, We.
14. Temple Sowerby, We.
15. Milburn, We.
16. Langwathby, Cu.
17. Ellonby, Cu.

D 31, Var. v.

18. Keswick, Cu.
19. Clifton, Workington, Cu.
20. Abbey Holme, or Holme Cultram, Cu.

D 32, Var. i.

21. Carlisle, Cu.
22. Knaresdale, Nb.

## *Introductions.*

No. 1. *Mid Yorkshire*, D 30, Var. i, form *a*. This is repeated from D 30, p. 502, where it heads the 10 cs. there given, and is placed at the head of these also, as a standard of comparison to shew the difference between the eastern and western forms of the N. div.

No. 2. *Muker or Upper Swaledale* (:swʌʌd'l'), on the (:swí,á,l), (16 w-by-s. Richmond), D 31, Var. i, form *a*. This was written in 1876 by JGG. from his own observations when employed in the Government Geological Survey of the neighbourhood for some years. He was assisted by Mr. Edward Alderson (b. 1831), of Keld (16 w.Richmond); George Calvert, of Muker (16 w-by-s.Richmond), then old and since dead; James Clarkson, of Reeth (8 w.Richmond), then old and since dead; James Broderick, of Summer Lodge (13 wsw.Richmond); Mrs. Clarkson (then aged and now dead) and her family, of Satron (2 e.Muker); Mr. James Kearton (b. 1808, and since dead) and family, of Muker; Mr. Enoch Atkinson and family, of Arkendale Head (16 wnw.Richmond); Mr. Willey and family, of Arkendale; Mr. Liddle, and many other natives. The cs. has been compared with the living speech, as used by old people in Swaledale generally, and by those above mentioned in particular, at least 20 times, and in Oct. 1877, JGG. considered it to be a fair representative of the dialectal pron. current among the older inhabitants. That of the younger people differs so little from that of the old that it did not seem to require a separate version. The chief difference lies in the use of (*iv*, *iiv*) for (*iu*, iuu) as (siggur°) for (*siugur*°), but this avowed modernism is found only among the younger inhabitants of the lower parts of the dale, when the speech merges into that of D 30. The wording here given has been generally accepted as the best rendering of the sense that it is possible to make without departing considerably from the original text. Some variants are given in the subsequent notes. In the autumn of 1882 JGG., in many visits to me of several hours each, went over all his versions given among these 22, especially Nos. 2, 3, 6 to 17, and we then settled the best palaeotypic forms to be used. These versions therefore, and especially the present No. 2, are, probably, the most exact representations of genuine old peasant pron. in secluded spots that have as yet been obtained. The only versions comparable to them are those due to TH. in the Midland div., but, through circumstances, these had not been so frequently revised and compared with native speakers as JGG.'s. In the notes which follow the 22 interlinear cs. will be found many remarks upon the sounds represented and their notation. See also the cwl. written from the dictation of Mr. E. Alderson, of Keld, mentioned above, given below, Var. i, letter M. JGG. also wrote a translation into this form of speech of the scene between *Lance and Speed* from Shakspere in the notice prefixed to Part III., but it will not be given here because the example was ill selected.

No. 3. *Hawes* (19 sw.Richmond), for Upper Wensleydale, D 31, Var. i, form *b*. This was pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG., from the dictation of Mr. Shaw (b. about 1820), Registrar of Births for the district, educated, and many years a schoolmaster there. His (r°, h) did not fairly represent the well-marked forms of the outlying parts, but in other respects his pronunciation was identical with that of an old dalesman, who, on the same day that this cs. was dictated, drove JGG.

a long distance, and conversed with him all the time. All the (*ú*₁u) of this cs. were reported by Mr. Shaw to have been (*áu*) some thirty years previously, or about 1846, as they now are in Dent, No. 6, below. Revised with JGG. in Nov. 1882, by AJE.

The resemblance between the Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale cs. amounts to a practical identity. In order to shew it strongly whenever the word in the second is the same as in the first, I put (,,) in No. 3 instead of rewriting the word, but I insert the word if even the difference is minute, as with a long instead of a medial vowel, and write (—) when there is no equivalent in No. 3 to the word in No. 2.

No. 3 is connected with No. 4 by Upper Craven, and n.La. of which I have no cs., and hence I must refer to the cwl. for Var. i, North Craven, given below. Without this explanation the skip of 31 miles, from Hawes to Cartmel, appears tremendous, but practically, as we shall see, pron. remains the same as at Muker and Hawes throughout.

No. 4. *Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel*, Lonsdale n. of the Sands, n.La., D 31, Var. ii*b*, 12 nw.Lancaster, pal. in May, 1877, by TH., from the dictation of Thomas Thornhill, of Lower Holker, assistant gardener at Holker Hall, b. 1819, native.

This was an early attempt at writing this dialect, and TH. did not properly observe the curious (*iá*) forms, which struck him as (*iv*). In later notes (1881), from the same informant, he writes the equivalents of (mía'k, bía'th, bría'd, mía'st, spía'k, skía's, slía't) make, both, broad, most, speak, scarce, slate, which approach to JGG.'s forms. Also at Coniston in (1881) he records (néa, stéan) no, stone. So that (*iá*) must be taken as the normal form, though often mixed up with (*iv*) (see p. 549). Allowing this I find practically the same pron. all over Furness and Cartmel. TH. had examined Cark (where he was fortunate enough to find an old woman b. in 1797), Ulverston, Coniston, and Broughton. The great feature of this variety is the conversion of (uu) through (*ú*₁u) into (*óu*), a remarkably slight change in reality, and it was through this, I think, that the form (*áu*) was subsequently obtained, see the following cs.

No. 5. *Coniston*. This cs. written in io. by Mr. Roger Bowness, postmaster of Coniston, b. ca. 1807, was obtained for me by Rev. T. Ellwood, rector of Torver, p. 549, but it was not possible for me to interpret the spelling satisfactorily. After nearly ten years Miss M. A. Bell, a native, at Mr. Ellwood's request, read me the cs. from the original orthography for me to pal. Miss Bell also read to me Mr. Ellwood's wl. See the Furness cwl. Var. ii*b*, below. She belonged to the younger generation of dialect speakers, as Mr. Bowness did to the older. I did not recognise (*i*₁i) in her pron., but only (*ii*). I did not hear (a₁), but only (a). Miss B. could not recollect having heard *at* before the infin., on this usage see intro. to D 31, Var. iii, p. 550. Her *r* was nearly vocalised when before a consonant or final, but I write (r). I assume her *e*, *u* to be (ɛ, *u*₁), but the difference from (e, *u*) was not certain. In the fractures I heard (*iá*) or (*iá*), not (*i*₁*á*₁). I assume also that her *ou* was (*óu*), but the difference from (ɑ'*u*) was not well marked. This represents the same Var. ii*b* as No. 4.

No. 6. *Casterton* (2 ne.Kirkby Lonsdale, 10 se.Kendal, We.), representing Kirkby Lonsdale, D 31, Var. iii, form *a*. Pal. in 1875 by JGG. from the dictation of Mrs. Wilson, b. about 1825, native, who had lived most of her life at Casterton, but had a few years previously removed to Penrith, Cu., where she was keeper of the Castle Bar Tollgate. She spoke most of her home words in this form. She then used (tu) to, before the infinitive, but in her younger days she had used (ut). The participial termination *-ing*, here written (un), is in JGG.'s opinion more nearly (-ən), but not at all (-ɑn). The U' is completely (*áu*). The (e₁) differs scarcely at all from (ɛ).

No. 7. *Dent*, Yo. (12 ese.Kendal, We.), D 31, Var. iii, form *b*. Dent, or Dentdale, is the district, Dent's Town is the town. This cs. was pal. May, 1876, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Parrington, a native of Dent's Town, close to the late Prof. Adam Sedgwick's birthplace (see Part I. p. 289, note 4, and p. 311, note 1), a shoemaker by trade, and then living at Keld in Upper Swaledale (see No. 2, p. 557), where he had kept a small inn for 10 years, and he had with him at the time a young man fresh from Dent. He is not an educated man, and continued to speak much of the Dent dialect at Keld. He still used (ut) at,

for *to*, before the infinitive in ordinary conversation at times; his (E) is lower than the normal, his (r) distinctly trilled, and not buzzed, he employed (nh) initial for *kn-* in ordinary conversation, and he remembers (w'r-), but not the gutturals, as Prof. Sedgwick did. The participial ending *-ing* is perhaps most intelligibly represented by (ɐn), but there is a sound of (a) running through it as if from the old form in *-ande*, so that it might be written (ɐ¹), thus (-ɐ¹n).

No. 8. *Sedberg* (:sɛbə₁r), Yo. (9 e-by-n. Kendal, We.), and Cautley (3 n. Sedberg). D 31, Var. iii, form *c*. Sedberg and Dent lie on a peninsula of Yo., which runs into We., and the speech is strictly the same as We., but the s. *hoose* line 6 runs between Sedberg and Dent, so that while Dent says (ha'ʊs), Sedberg says (hú₁us), which is received as (huus). Sedberg parish contains the curacies of Cowgill, called (:koogil), (the late Prof. Sedgwick's birthplace, see his Memorial cited in Part I. p. 289, note 4), Dent (where his father was minister), Garsdale, Howgill (from which JGG. procured a word list, given below, Var. iii), Cautley (from which JGG. obtained a cs., see note to this No. 8), and Dowbiggin. Although so close to one another, there is not much communication between Cautley and Sedberg. One member of a family in Cautley goes to Sedberg on market days, seldom oftener. Yet the dialects are as nearly as possible identical. Hence only the Sedberg version is here given, which JGG. prefers, and the Cautley variants are subjoined in the notes. The Sedberg version was pal. by JGG. in Sept. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. Foster, b. about 1811, an uneducated native of Sedberg. where he lived 35 to 40 years, afterwards passing a few years in Keighley (Lower Craven, Yo., see D 24), and then at Askrigg, Upper Wensleydale, Yo. (5 e. Hawes), and finally had charge of the tollgate s. of Penrith, Cu. His (r) is trilled, and (nh) distinct. He uses *at* dry, *at* crow, pars. 11 and 14. The Cautley version was pal. by JGG. in Dec. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. Gibson, a farmer, who had picked up learning enough to qualify himself as a National Schoolmaster in Cautley, but who was certainly not an educated man. He was b. near Sedberg, and had lived 18 years at Cautley. JGG. was four to six weeks at Cautley at different times, and can vouch for the general accuracy of the version, but thinks that in cases of difference preference should be given to the Sedberg version as dictated by an older man.

As the Sedberg and Dent versions are so much alike, almost the only real difference being the treatment of the U' words, all words in the Sedberg identical with those in the Dent version will be merely represented by (,,), and words omitted by (—).

No. 9. *Kendal*, We., Var. iii, form *d*. Mr. Joseph Brown, of the Grammar School, Kendal, in 1874, sent me a version of this cs. in systematic orthography, which I then transliterated to the best of my ability, aided by long explanations given me by Mr. Brown in answers to questions. In 1876 JGG. was fortunately enabled to pal. Mr. Brown's version from his own dictation, and I can thus present it in the same orthography as the other We. versions. Mr. Brown also gave me a complete wl. in Glossic, but not to confuse the two methods of appreciation I do not give it. Mr. B., as most speakers there, considered his (uu, ii) to be quite pure, and JGG. considered them to be nearly so. Mr. B. writes the glossic equivalent to (lii)am, hii)al, fadur, *dee*, *teel*, riit, fáiv, spii)ʊk, gr*ee*, k*éi*, dii)ʊd, thr*éi*, gr*éi*n, huus, spáʊn, nii)ʊn) for lame, whole, father, day, tail, right, five, speak, grey, key, dead, three, green, house, spoon, noon. The aspirate is very light ([H). Mr. Brown used (ɔ) in speech, but he meant (o) as here written. The (r) is always trilled, though very lightly when final. The use of (wr-) as (w'r-) is remembered, but is no longer heard. JGG. was generally content with writing (ee), but sometimes used (ee₁), intermediate between (ee, EE). Many of these little differences may be mere individualities.

No. 10. *Long Sleddale*, We., Var. iii, form *e*. Long Sleddale is hardly a village, it is a straggling parish, about 6 m. long and 1½ m. wide, on the River Sprint, pop. 173, the southernmost point being about 6 n. Kendal. It must not be confounded with Wet Sleddale (3 ne. Shap Fells) on a branch of the River Lowther, so that the watershed lies between them. Long Sleddale was the native place of Rev. Thomas Clarke, from 1856 Rector of Ormside (2 se. Appleby), who wrote me a version in it, which was subsequently pal. from his dictation by JGG., and revised in October, 1875. All the (r) are trilled. The (*i*₁i) is nearer

(ii) than in Eden Valley, Var. iv. Mr. Clarke insisted on pure (ii, uu), but I have used (í₁i, ú₁u) as agreeing better with the actual peasant pron. of the neighbourhood. Of Mr. Clarke's pron. of *friend*, Dr. Murray says: "Mr. Clarke's vowel, instead of seeming to me something between my (ä) and southern (ə), was something on the *other* side of (ə), more *forward* and *higher*—between

(fry̆nd
fry₁nd
frənd frend)

There was to me a decided suggestion of (y) in it, but no visible rounding." I have used (fry₁nd), and readers will not be far wrong in saying (fry̆nd) or (fri₁nd). Mr. C. used (tu) to before the infinitive, but (ut) at is the ordinary preposition used in the district, and (tu) to is refined. Though (sú̆u) is not as usual as (sí̆u), this pron. is not unfrequent, but they differ in meaning in adjoining districts. Initial (w'r-) seems to exist, Mr. C. gave (w'ra₁q, wra₁q), and even (ŭra₁q).

No. 11. *Orton*, We. D 31, Var. iii, form *f*. Orton is 11 ne.Kendal, and 8 sw.Appleby on the s. side of the watershed, a large parish of 24,430 acres and with only 1449 inhabitants, the town having 558. This version was pal. about 1876 by JGG., from the dictation of Mr. James Dover, of Woodfoot, Crosby Ravensworth (6 sw.Appleby), a corndealer, or 'badger,' who has known the dialect from his youth, and has places of business in each of the principal towns around; he is a very observant and intelligent man. This version is believed to be in many respects very accurate, but JGG. heard it only once, revising his writing the next day. The words marked † have the pronunciation indicated by Mr. Dover, with an inserted (*i*₁), see p. 555, but these pronunciations have not been confirmed by other observations made by JGG.

No. 12. *Kirkby Stephen*, We. (9 sse.Appleby), D 31, Var. iv, form *a*. Pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. Joseph Steel, better known as "Joe" Steel, b. 1811, a mason, a native of Kirkby Stephen, where he had lived nearly all his life, a self-educated man, fairly well read in all matters relating to the antiquities and folklore of his district, and well known as a verse writer. From nearly a three years' acquaintance with the Kirkby Stephen dialect, JGG. considers this es. to be a fair representation of the speech of the older people of that neighbourhood. Mr. Steel does not recognize (nh, kh, kjh, kwh) as occurring in the speech of any old person he can remember.

No. 13. *Crosby Ravensworth*, We. (6 sw.Appleby), representing the country districts s. of Appleby. D 31, Var. iv, form *b*, pal. 1876-8 by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. James Dover (see No. 11, above, corndealer, of Woodfoot (1 s. Crosby Ravensworth), where he has lived all his life. He uses much the same speech as in this version when dealing with the country people. He received a good local education, and was said at that time to write verses. JGG. says he has heard more antiquated forms from old folk that come from the same part, such as initial (wh), and even (mh) after suspended (t'), as (t' mhmíum) the moon. In the preface to the Westmoreland version of the *Song of Solomon*, by the Rev. John Richardson (:ritsun), Head Master of Appleby School, written for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, he says, "*ebm-clipt=evenly-clipped*. The *bm* sound is very peculiar; confined, perhaps, to our dialect. To give *b* its due power we must close the lips. Well, keep them closed; then carry *m* half-way through the nose, [meaning?] and you will get the exact value of *bm* in *ebm* . . .; *bm* and *mb* seem to be both simple sounds. We have the *bm* sound in *sebm*, *elebm*, *priest-ebm* (a young student on the *eve* of holy orders), and in many other words, of which *ibm-in'* for *evening* is one of the most noteworthy. *Itt'n-it*, past participle and imperative of the verb *eat*; *tn* is a simple sound partaking of *t* and *n* in the same manner that *bm* is a simple sound partaking of *b* and *m*." On this Prince LLB. remarks in pencil in my copy: "Je suis certain que le *bm* de Westm. est un son simple, mais je ne crois pas avec le traducteur, au *tn* simple." Although Mr. Richardson's explanations are not very lucid, his story of a hackney coachman with a cold in his head, saying *mbove*, leads one to suppose that he meant (b₍, d₍) or (*b*, *d*) with an imperfect nasal resonance. But JGG.

could not hear any difference between this *b* and his own (b). Mr. Dover did not remember (w'r-), but an old lady with whom JGG. lodged at Hilton (3 e. Appleby), and who could not read, b. about 1816, remembered it well enough; she, however, had never heard (kh kjh kwh). Old people of good memories have denied the use of (kh) in their time, in Var. iv, and JGG. does not believe in its present existence.

No. 14. *Temple Sowerby*, We. (6 nw-by-w.Appleby). D 31, Var. iv, form *c*, pal. 1876-8, by JGG., from the dictation of the late Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath (the name of her house, standing 1 nw.Temple Sowerby) on the Eden. This was taken down and revised, indeed, rewritten six times, after consultation with Mrs. A. She had lived in this neighbourhood 50 years, and had had abundant opportunity of acquiring a complete knowledge of the dialect. She was the wife of a former High Sheriff of Westmorland. She herself used pure (ii, uu), and insisted on JGG. so writing the sounds. But this was a purism on her part, the neighbouring peasantry using only (*í*₁i, *ú*₁u), which have therefore been here substituted. She also used the finals (-th*ə*₁r°, -dh*ə*₁r°), for which the peasantry say (-t‚*ə*₁r°, -d‚d*ə*₁r°), which are here restored. In other respects her pronunciation has been scrupulously followed.

No. 15. *Milburn*, We. (6 nw.Appleby). D 31, Var. iv, form *d*. JGG. resided a considerable time in Milburn from 1876 onwards, making it his headquarters. The present is the result of two years' observations, and he has been assisted by Mrs. Howe and family, Mrs. Robinson and family, and Mr. Lowis, all life-long residents at Milburn. He believes that this version fairly represents the speech of the folk about Milburn. He considers that pure (uu, ii) are quite unknown in the Eden Valley speech, their places being taken by (*ú*₁u, *í*₁i), and quite as often by (*ó*¹u, é¹i). Mrs. Robinson volunteered the remark that JGG. said (kuu) in place of (k*ó*¹u) or (k*ú*₁u) at a dialect reading there. He has occasionally heard (nh-, w'r°-), as in (nhok, w'r°*í*₁it) knock, wright. The distinction between the verbal noun and present participle is frequently lost, but JGG. thinks they would say (w*i*)v f*ə*₁r*i*·v*ə*₁r° *v* wɛsh*i*n tʊ d*íu* ti wɛshʊn dɛɛ), we have forever washing—an endless quantity of washing (verbal noun) to do this washing day (treated as present participle, though also a verbal noun). The present participle invariably ends in (ʊn), the (ʊ) approaching (a₁); the adj. form ends in (*i*n) and sometimes in (ʊn); the verbal noun almost always ends in (*i*n). The (*ə*₁r°, *ə*₁) are frequently used theoretically in this and preceding versions, that is, when their presence has once been clearly perceived in one or two words more distinctly pronounced for the unaccented syllables, they are assumed to exist in other unaccented syllables where they had not been uttered with sufficient clearness to be identified. When (‚d*ə*₁r°) ends a word and is preceded by a short vowel, it is usually preceded by a non-dental (d), as (fad‚d*ə*₁r°), and the tongue may be felt to glide along the hard palate from the (d) to the (‚d) position.

No. 16. *Langwathby* (:la₁qʊnbi), e.Cu. (4 ne.Penrith), D 31, Var. iv, form *e*. The late Miss Mary Powley (:p*ú*₁uli, :pœ'uli, :puuli), the Cumberland poetess, sister of Mrs. Atkinson (see No. 14, above), when very old sent me this version in her own orthography. She died 23 Dec. 1882, but in 1876–7 JGG. had opportunities kindly given him by her of palaeotyping it from her dictation, and he compared his transcription four times with her. She considered that she gave the pron. of 40 or 50 years previously, or about 1820–30, and says that some old people still speak so, in se.Cu. and n.We., her father's locality, not n.Cu., which belongs to D 32, and is more like Lowland Scotch. Miss Powley, like Mrs. Anderson, dictated pure (uu, ii), but these have been altered to (*ú*₁u, *í*₁i), as generally heard. She also did not nasalise (áa*i*) into (áa‚*i*), as usual in the neighbourhood, but this has been left. She remembered (w'r-, kh-), also (nh-) or (tn-, tnh-) for initial *kn*. Some of the words, as door, too, ground, few, washing, etc., have been carefully examined with Miss P. not less than 7 or 8 times. The representative of English *ur*, *er* is decidedly (*əə*₁r°, *ə*₁r°), but Thursday, hurt, worm, word, and a few others may be normally (*uu*₁r°, *oo*¹r°). Custom, however, varies, and (*əə*₁r°) is certainly the common old form. Miss P. abridged some passages of the cs., saying in her letter to me 23 Oct. 1873, sending the cs., that there were "many more words in the example than an old Cumbrian would have thought of to express his meaning. People who speak

such language are mostly too positive to ask what others *think*. *Why* is not a Cumb. rustic word, nor *notwithstanding*, nor *though*, but '*what for, for aw' that*.' *Fact, case, point, straight off*, and *want* are unheard of by old rural people. *Prate*, and *to sup*, and *quick* in this sense would require a dictionary or be reckoned proper to that alone." Hence the interlinear comparison is often deficient, though it is fuller than Miss P. at first wrote.

No. 17. *Ellonby* (6 nw.Penrith, Cu.), a hamlet in the parish of Skelton, D 31, Var. iv, form *f*. Pal. in 1875–6, and twice re-audited, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Bainbridge, occasionally called (:BEENbr*ig*), b. about 1845, a linen-draper at Penrith, but a native of Ellonby. He had himself used most of the following expressions, and distinctly remembers hearing the remainder from the old people there. JGG., from his knowledge of the Skelton district, considers this to be a fair representation of the older forms of the home speech of those parts at that time.

No. 18. *Keswick*, Cu., D 31, Var. v, form *a*. Written in systematic orthography, with great care, in 1873, by Mr. William Postlethwaite, then master of the Church of England schools at Wreay (:r*îv*), (5 se.Carlisle), but knowing the Keswick speech from childhood. He could not send me the speech of Scotch Cumberland, on the borders of which he lived. Fortunately JGG. was able to pal. his cs. from his dict. in Nov. 1875, and from this the present copy is taken. JGG. says he is afraid that it does not adequately represent the old folk speech of 30 years previously, that is, 1845, but it was the oldest that Mr. P. could remember with any approach to certainty. Mr. P. said that pure (uu, ii) were used, but he himself in speaking to the children employed ($\acute{u}_1$u, $\acute{\imath}_1$i), which forms are therefore here written.

No. 19. *Clifton*, Cu. (2 e.Workington). D 31, Var. v, form *b*. Originally written Oct. 1873, in Glossic, by Mr. J. N. Hetherington, son of the late Vicar of Clifton. He had known the dialect for 25 years. This was pal. by AJE., and corrected from dictation in Nov. 1875.

No. 20. *Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram*, Cu. (14 wsw.Carlisle), on the Waver, which runs into the Solway Frith. This version was originally written in Dec. 1873, in his own orthography, by Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver (2 ssw.Coniston-in-Furness), n.La., author of 'Welcome into Cumberland,' and other Cumberland poems, native, and acquainted with the dialect all his life. The same month it was read to me by Mr. Harkness, of Aspatria (:spiá·tri) (12 ne.Workington, and 6 s-by-w. Holme Cultram), who, however, had not been in the district itself. But in July, 1884, I had the advantage of correcting my transcript, although somewhat hastily, from the dictation of Mr. Ellwood himself. Hence this version cannot compare for minute accuracy with those of JGG. The dialect was first recommended to my notice by Mr. Hetherington (see No. 19, above) as a transitional form between central and north Cu. The use of (t') for *the*, and (a)z) for *I am*, however, keeps this quite distinct from D 32, Carlisle. This is said by Mr. Ellwood to be the language of Dandie Dinmont in *Guy Mannering*. This gives D 31, Var. v, form *c*.

No. 21. *Carlisle*, Cu. D 32, Var. i, form *a*. Although Carlisle lies n. of the n. *tee* line 7, and hence belongs to the North Northern or D 32, yet on account of its close connection with the other Cu. varieties (all of which have (t') the), and the general resemblance of the vowel system, which approximates to the Abbey Holme form, No. 20, it seems best to place it here. It is sharply distinguished from the L. form by the use of ($u$, $u_1$) for U in place of the L. (ä), without any transitional form. Of this region I had an example written from the dictation of a maidservant fresh from Dalston (4 ssw.Carlisle), whose father was from Wreay (:r$\acute{\imath}_1$v) (5 sse.Carlisle), and mother from Southwaite (7 sse. Carlisle). But it was one of my earliest attempts to write down dialect from dictation, and I was from the first not satisfied with the result. I had also had no opportunity of revising it. I was therefore glad to have a version from the practised hand and ear of JGG., to whom it was first written, and then dictated by the late Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath (see No. 14, p. 561). Her family was of Scotch extraction, and her parents had always servants from Scotland or the neighbourhood of Carlisle. From these Mrs. A. learned her Carlisle speech, which JGG., from his knowledge of Carlisle, considers to be very fairly repre-

sented in this version. Mrs. A. left (ii, uu) pure as in Scotland, but as JGG. always heard (*í*ᵢi, *ú*ᵢu) from old people, I have introduced these forms as in Nos. 14 and 16. It is most probable that they should also be used in No. 20, but I had no authority to make the change. Mrs. Atkinson wrote out this version twice in her own orthography, and frequently revised it with JGG. The final form resulted from a conference between him and me in 1882.

No. 22. *Knaresdale*, Nb. (17 e.Carlisle, Cu.), just beyond the n. *tee* line 7. D. 32, Var. i, form *b*. This is the connecting link between Cu. and Nb., but is still decidedly Cu. in character. Pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG., from the dict. of Mr. Jacob Bell, b. about 1826 at Knaresdale, where he lived till he was 18; since then he has lived as a miller in the valley of the Eden, Cu., and mainly at Blencarn, a hamlet of the parish of Kirkland, Cu. (8 n-by-e. Penrith), at the foot of Cross Fell. He was not an educated man, but spoke a mixture of the Knaresdale and Eden Valley forms of speech, though at home he generally used his native speech. His (*í*ᵢi) is hardly distinguishable from JGG.'s own (ii), his (*ú*ᵢu) resembles that in the Eden Valley, No. 12 to 17. His (r) is gently trilled, and is not (r°). He says (fiúu, biz'n*u*s, r*í*ᵢiz'n) few, business, reason. He does not remember (nh-, wr-, kjh, k*w*h).

*** In arranging these 22 cs. interlinearly, care has been taken by leads and rules to indicate the grouping. The complete sets of 22 cs., of which two occur on a page, are separated by rules. The No. 1, which does not belong to this district, and is only placed here for comparison, is separated by a thick lead, from Nos. 2 and 3, which forms Var. i. Then another lead separates these two from Nos. 4 and 5, constituting Var. ii. The other groups are Nos. 6 to 11 or Var. iii, Nos. 12 to 17 or Var. iv, Nos. 18 to 20 or Var. v, and Nos. 21, 22, which belong to the next district. These groups are shewn especially well in the first set immediately below.

## Text.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0. | 1 | D 30, V. i. | *Mid Yorkshire*, pp. 502 and 557. | wat fɛ |
| | 2 | D 31, V. i. | *Muker*, Yo. p. 557. | wha*ᵢ*t for° |
| | 3 | D 31, V. i. | *Hawes*, Yo. p. 557. | h*ú*ᵢu t)*í*z ʊt |
| | 4 | D 31, V. ii*b*. | *Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel*, La. p. 558. | w*ái* |
| | 5 | D 31, V. ii*b*. | *Coniston*, La. p. 558. | wat for |
| | 6 | D 31, V. iii. | *Kirkby Lonsdale*, We. p. 558. | wha*ᵢ*t for° |
| | 7 | D 31, V. iii. | *Dent*, Yo. p. 558. | wh*a*t fʌʌr |
| | 8 | D 31, V. iii. | *Sedberg*, Yo. p. 559. | ,, ,, |
| | 9 | D 31, V. iii. | *Kendal*, We. p. 559. | wha*ᵢ*t |
| | 10 | D 31, V. iii. | *Long Sleddale*, We. p. 559. | wh*ái* |
| | 11 | D 31, V. iii. | *Orton*, We. p. 560. | what for° |
| | 12 | D 31, V. iv. | *Kirkby Stephen*, We. p. 560. | what for° |
| | 13 | D 31, V. iv. | *Crosby Ravensworth*, We., p. 560. | what for° |
| | 14 | D 31, V. iv. | *Temple Sowerby*, We. p. 561. | what for° |
| | 15 | D 31, V. iv. | *Milburn*, We. p. 561. | what for° |
| | 16 | D 31, V. iv. | *Langwathby*, Cu. p. 561. | wha*ᵢ*t for° |
| | 17 | D 31, V. iv. | *Ellonby*, Cu. p. 562. | wha*ᵢ*t for° |
| | 18 | D 31, V. v. | *Keswick*, Cu. p. 562. | h*ú*ᵢu |
| | 19 | D 31, V. v. | *Clifton*, Cu. p. 562. | what for |
| | 20 | D 31, V. v. | *Holme Cultram*, Cu. p. 562. | what fʊr° |
| | 21 | D 32, V. i. | *Carlisle*, Cu. p. 562. | weer° for° |
| | 22 | D 32, V. i. | *Knaresdale*, Nb. p. 563. | what for |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | :dʒúʊn | ez | néeʊ | duuts. |
| 2 | :dʒwú₁ʊn | hɛz | ní₁á₁ | dú₁uts. |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | :dʒúʊn)z | | níʊ | dóuts. |
| 5 | :dʒon | ɛz | níá | dóuts. |
| 6 | :dʒu₁n | he₁z | ní₁á₁ | dáuts. |
| 7 | :dʒoni | hɛz | ní₁á₁ | dáuts. |
| 8 | :dʒú₁ʊn | ,, | ,, | dú₁uts. |
| 9 | :dʒoni | hɛz | níá₁ | dú₁uts fo⌊r. |
| 10 | :dʒoni | hez | níʊ | dú₁uts. |
| 11 | :dʒwun | hɛz | níʊ | dú₁uts. |
| 12 | :dʒwú₁ʊn | hɛz | ní₁iʊ | dú₁uts. |
| 13 | :dʒon | hɛz | ni | dú₁uts. |
| 14 | :dʒon | hɛz | ní₁e₁ | dú₁uts. |
| 15 | :dʒú₁ʊn | hɛz | ní₁ʊ | dú₁uts. |
| 16 | :dʒon | hɛz | ní₁ʊ | dú₁uts. |
| 17 | :dʒú₁á₁n | hɛz | ni | dú₁uts. |
| 18 | :dʒwú₁ʊn | hez | ní₁a | dú₁uts. |
| 19 | :dʒwon | hez | níʊ | duuts. |
| 20 | :dʒon | | :shipʊr°d hez ni₁ʊ dùts. | |
| 21 | :dʒon | hɛz | nee | dú₁uts. |
| 22 | :dʒʌʊn | hɛz | nii | dú₁uts. |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1 | wiil, | néeʊbʊ, | ʒii | ʊn | im | mʊ | béeʊth | o ʒʊ | laf |
| | 2 | wáaiʊ, | néeibə₁r° | ʒéii | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁á₁th | o)ʒʊ | lă₁f |
| | 3 | ,, | ,, | dhéii | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | —— | ,, |
| | 4 | wái, | :dʒim, | béʊth | im | ʊn | dhii | mʊ | | laf |
| | 5 | wiil | nebʊr, | ʒii | ʊn | him | mʊ | bíáth | | laf |
| | 6 | wáiʊ, | ne₁bə₁r°, | dhí₁i | ʊn | him | mee₁ | bi₁á₁th | o)ʒʊ | lăf |
| | 7 | wáaiʊ, | nɛbə₁r, | ʒí₁i | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁á₁th | o)ʒʊ | lăf |
| | 8 | wáiʊ, | ,, | dhí₁i | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | wel, wel, | nebə₁r, | dhú₁u | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁a₁th | | lăf |
| | 10 | wáaiʊ, | nebə₁r, | dhii | ʊn | him | me | bi₁ʊth | o)ʒʊ | la₁f |
| | 11 | wáa₍iʊ, | nebə₁r°, | dhú₁u | ʊn | †hi₁iʊ | mʊ | bi₁á₁th | o)ʒʊ | lăf |
| | 12 | wáa₍iʊ, | neebə₁r°, | ʒí₁i | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁á₁th | | lăf |
| | 13 | wáa₍iʊ, | nebə₁r°, | dhí₁i | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁é₁th | o)ʒʊ | lăf |
| | 14 | wáaiʊ, | neebə₁r°, | ʒi | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁é₁th | | lăf |
| | 15 | wáaiʊ, | nɛɛbə₁r°, | ʒi | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁a₁th | ʊ ʒʊ | lăf |
| | 16 | wáaiʊ, | nɛɛ'ʊbə₁r°, | ʒí₁i | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁á₁th | | laf |
| | 17 | wáa₍iʊ | nɛɛbə₁r°, | ʒí₁i | ʊn | him | mɛ | bi₁á₁th | o)ʒʊ | lăf |
| | 18 | wel | nɛbə₁r°, | dhú₁u | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁á₁th | | lăf |
| | 19 | wiiil | nɛɛbʊr° | dhú₁u | ʊn | hi₁i | mʊ | bíáth | | la₁f |
| | 20 | wéi, | nɛbʊr°, | ʒuu | ʊn | him | mʊ | bi₁ʊth | | laf |
| | 21 | wɛ'i, | neebə₁r°, | dhii | ʊn | him | me | bĭɛth | | lăf |
| | 22 | wɛ'ii | néeibʊr, | dhú₁u | ʊn | him | me | bii₁ɛth | o)ʒʊ | laf |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | leik, ʊt | dhis | níʊz | ʊ maan, | wéʊ)s)t | kéeʊ ? |
| 2 | ʊt | dhis | níúuz | ʊ máain, | whí₁á₁ | kaar°z ? |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | ʊt | dhis | tíʊl | ʊ máin, | bʊt waa | kíʊrz ? |
| 5 | ʊt | dhis | níuz | ʊ máin, | ťf ɹi láik, waa | kíáarz ? |
| 6 | ʊt | dhis | níúuz | ʊ máin, | wí₁á₁ | kjee⌊r°z ? |
| 7 | ʊt | dhis | níúuz | ʊ máain, | whíiʊ | kEErz ? |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, máin, | whí₁á₁ | kéeʊrz ? |
| 9 | ʊt | mi | níúuz | | whaa | kíiə₁rz |
| 10 | ʊt | dhis | níuz | ʊ máain, | whoo | kíʊrz ? |
| 11 | ʊt | †dhíʊz | níuz | ʊ máa‹in, | whí₁i | kí₁Er°z ? |
| 12 | ʊt | dhis | níúuz | ʊ máa‹in, | whí₁á₁ | kéeʊr°z ? |
| 13 | ʊt | dhis | níúuz | ʊ mâ‹in, | whì₁ | kee₁r°z ? |
| 14 | ʊt | dhis | tí₁é₁l | ʊ máain, | whí₁é₁ | kEEr°z |
| 15 | ʊt | t' | níúuz | ʊt ʊv gítʊn tʊ tel ɹʊ, | whi | kEEr°z |
| 16 | ʊt | tis | stʊ́u₁ə₁r°i | ʊ máain, | whí₁ʊ | kEEr°z |
| 17 | ʊt | dhis | stú₁á₁r°i | ʊ máa‹in, | whi | kEEr°z ? |
| 18 | ʊt | dhis | nǐú₁uz | ʊ máain, | whoo | keer°z ? |
| 19 | ʊt | dhis | níúuz | ʊ má‹in, | whoo | keerz ? |
| 20 | ʊt | dhis | tí₁ʊl | o méin, | whí₁ʊ | kéeʊr°z ? |
| 21 | ʊt | dhis | nǐúuz | ʊ mE'in, | whEʊ | keer°z ? |
| 22 | ʊt | dhis | níúuz | ʊ mE'in, | whii[1] | keeʊrz ? |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | ·dhat)s | néeʊdhʊr | íʊ | nʊ | dhíʊ. |
| 2 | fʊ ·dha₁t ? | ·dha₁t)s | needhə₁r° | héiə₁r° | nʊ | dhaa₁r°. |
| 3 | — — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | | dhat)s | needhʊr | íʊr | nʊr | dhía¹r. |
| 5 | | dhat)s | níádʊr | íʊr | nʊ | dhíʊr. |
| 6 | | dha₁t)s | nee‹də₁r° | híiə₁r° | nʊ | dhí₁á₁r°. |
| 7 | | dhat)s | nEE‹də₁r | híiə₁r | nə₁r | dhí₁ár. |
| 8 | | ,, | ,, | hí₁iə₁r | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | | dha₁t)s | nee‹də₁r | hí₁iə₁r | nə₁r | dhí₁á₁r. |
| 10 | | dha₁t)s | nee‹də₁r | hí₁iə₁r | nə₁r | dhí₁iə₁r. |
| 11 | | dha₁t)s | nóu‹də₁r° | hí₁iə₁r° | nə₁r° | dhí₁iə₁r°. |
| 12 | | dha₁t)s | nee₁‹də₁r° | hí₁iə₁r° | nə₁ | dhí₁iə₁r°. |
| 13 | | dha₁t)s | nóu‹də₁r° | hí₁iə₁r° | nə₁ | dhí₁iə₁r°. |
| 14 | fə₁ ·dha₁t ? | ·dha₁t)s | nóud‹də₁r° | hí₁iə₁r° | nə₁ | dhí₁iə₁r°. |
| 15 | fə₁ ·dha₁t ? | dha₁t)s | nóu‹də₁r° | hí₁iə₁r° | nə₁ | dhí₁iə₁r°. |
| 16 | | dha₁t)s | nóu‹də₁r° | hí₁iə₁r° | nə₁ | dhí₁iə₁r°. |
| 17 | | ·dha₁t)s | nóu‹də₁r° | hí₁iə₁r° | nə₁r° | dhí₁iə₁r°. |
| 18 | | dha₁t)s | nóu‹də₁r° | hí₁iə₁r° | nu₁r° | dhí₁iə₁r°. |
| 19 | | dha₁t)s | náu‹dʊr | hí₁iʊr | nʊr | dhí₁iʊr. |
| 20 | | dhat)s | nóu‹dʊ₁r° | híi₁ʊr° | ʊr | dhíiʊr°. |
| 21 | | ·dha₁t)s | nóudhə₁r° | hí₁iə₁r° | nʊ | dhí₁iə₁r°. |
| 22 | | dha₁t)s | nóudhʊr | hí₁iʊr | ʊr | dhí₁iʊr. |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | 1 | ɹan | kenz | it)s | | nubʊd | ʊ | féeu | ʊ | min | ʊt gaqz ʊn |
| | 2 | | | it)s | | | | fíúu | ʊ | fwúɹʊk | ʊd |
| | 3 | | | | náɹbodi | | | — | — | — | — |
| | 4 | | | | | varʊ | | fɑ'uu | | fôɑk | |
| | 5 | | | | nəɹt | mɛni | | | | | |
| | 6 | | | | nʊt | sʊ | meɹni | [fíúu] | | fook | |
| | 7 | | | | nʊt | sʊ | meni | [fíúu] | | fʌʌk | |
| | 8 | | | | ,, | ,, | ,, | | | fuuɹk | |
| | 9 | | | | | | | fíúu | | fook | |
| | 10 | | | | | | | fíúu | | | |
| | 11 | | | it | iz'nt | sʊ | meni | | | fwúɹʊk | |
| | 12 | | | | | | | fíɹúu | | fwúɹʊk | |
| | 13 | | | | [nuɹt | sʊ | meni] | fíúu | | fwúɹʊk | |
| | 14 | | | | | | | fíúu | | fwúɹʊk | |
| | 15 | | | it)s | nuɹt | si | meni | | | fwúuɹʊk | ʊt |
| | 16 | | | | nuɹt | sʊ | moni | [fíúu] | | fwôʊk | |
| | 17 | | | it)s | nuɹt | si | meni | | | fúɹaɹk | ʊt |
| | 18 | | | | | | | fíúɹu | | fwúɹʊk | |
| | 19 | | | | | | | fíúu | | fwook | |
| | 20 | | | | niɹt | | mani | | | | |
| | 21 | | | | | | | fíĭúu | | fwôks | |
| | 22 | | | | | | | | | fwʌʌk | |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | diiz | ʊko·s | dhʊ)r | flóutid | at, | | | |
| 2 | déiiz | biko·s | dhe)r° | lăɹft | aɹt, | wi | nhaa | dhaɹt, |
| 3 | ,, | bikoz | dhee)r° | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | dii | bikooz | dhʊ)r | laft | àt. | | | |
| 5 | dii | kos | dhʊ)r | laft | at, | wii | naa | |
| 6 | díɹiz | fəɹr° | bíi)ʊn | lăft | at, | ·wíɹi | naa | dhaɹt, |
| 7 | déiiz | bikos | dhəɹr | lăft | at, | wi | nhaa | dhaɹt, |
| 8 | díɹiz | fəɹr | bíɹi)ʊn | ,, | ,, | wíɹi | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | díɹiiz | koz | dhəɹ·)r | lăft | ʊt, | ·wíɹi | naa | |
| 10 | díɹi | fəɹr | bin | laɹft | aɹt, | wíɹi | nhaa | dhaɹt, |
| 11 | díɹʊz | fəɹr° | bíɹi)ʊn | lăft | ʊt, | dhúɹu | naaɹz | dhaɹt, |
| 12 | díɹiz | bikʌz | dhəɹ)r° | lăft | aɹt, | wi | ·noo | |
| 13 | diɹiz | bikoz | dhəɹ)r° | lăft | aɹt, | ·wíɹii | nò | ·dhaɹt |
| 14 | díɹi | ʊko·z | dhəɹ)r° | lăft | aɹt, | wi | nhaa | dhaɹt, |
| 15 | díɹiz | fəɹr° | bíɹiʊn | lăft | ʊt, | wi | nhoo | dhaɹt |
| 16 | díɹiz | ʊko·z | dhəɹr° | laft | aɹt, | wi | tnhoo, | ·ʊt |
| 17 | díɹiz | ʊkoo·z | dher° | lăft | aɹt, | ·wíɹi | noo | dhaɹt, |
| 18 | díɹiz | biko·z | dher° | lăft | aɹt, | ·wíɹi | no, | |
| 19 | díɹi | ʊkoo·z⌊s | dhʊr | laft | at, | ·wíɹi | noo, | |
| 20 | dii | bikoo·z | dhʊr° | laft | at, | wii | noo | dhat, |
| 21 | díɹi | biko·z | dher° | lăft | aɹt, | ·wíɹi | ken | |
| 22 | líɹiv | laq ɛf⌊tʊ⌋r | dher | laft | aɹt, | wi | ·noo | dhaɹt, |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | di)nɐt | ɐz ? | préi wat | sud | mak |
| 2 | | du)nɐt | wɐ ? | whaıt | sud | maık |
| 3 | wéiil ɐníúuf. | | | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | | | | | | |
| 5 | | dúɐnt | wɐ ? | wat | suıd | míák |
| 6 | | dóoɐnt | wɐ ? | whaıt | suıd | maık) |
| 7 | | duı)nɐt | wɐ ? | what | sud | mɛk) |
| 8 | | duuınt | ,, | ,, | suıd | ,, |
| 9 | | doont | wɐ ? | wkaıt | sud | meık) |
| 10 | | dúɐɐt | wi ? | whaıt | sud | míıɐk |
| 11 | | dhúıu | díɐz. | †whíɐ | shud | míıɛk |
| 12 | | duı)nɐt | wɐ ? | what | sud | maık |
| 13 | | du wi | nuıt ? | what | shud [sud] | maık |
| 14 | gɛɛli wíıil. | | | what | sud | mek) |
| 15 | gɛɛli wíıil, | ·ɐt du | wɐ ? | whaıt | sud | maık |
| 16 | | | du)wɐ ! | whaıt | sud | mak |
| 17 | wíıil ɐníúf, | du)wi)nuıt ? | | what | sud | maık |
| 18 | | díıɐnt | wi ? | whaıt | sud | maık |
| 19 | | dúuɐnt | wɐ ? | what | sud | mak |
| 20 | | div'nt | wi ? | what | sud | mak |
| 21 | | div'nt | wi ? | what | sud | mɛk |
| 22 | wíıil ɐníi'ɛf, | doont | wi ? | what | sud | míi'ɛk |

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ɐm ? | | it)s nut | varɐ | laaklinz, | iz it nuu ? |
| 2 | dhɐm | déíi ? | it)s nyın | si vaır°ɐ | lâiikli, | iizs)t núıu ? |
| 3 | ɐm ? | — | ,, nyıt | — ,, | láiikli, | iiz)t ? |
| 4 | | | it iz'nt | varɐ | láiikli | ɐz dhe wòd. |
| 5 | ɐm ? | | it) s nəıt | varɐ | láiikli, | is)t ? |
| 6 | ɐm ? | | it iz'nt | vaır°ɐ | láiikli, | iiz)t ? |
| 7 | ɐm ? | | it)s nɐt | varɐ | láaiikli, | iizs)t náu ? |
| 8 | ,, | | ,, iz'nt | ,, | ,, | ,, núıu ? |
| 9 | ɐm ? | | it iz'nt | vaırɐ | lá˹iikli, | iz)it ? |
| 10 | ɐm ? | | it iz'nt | vaırɐ | láaiikli, | is)t ? |
| 11 | ɐm ? | | it)s †·níıɛn | | láa˹iik)t | iish)t ? |
| 12 | dhɐm ? | | it)s nyıt | vaır°ɐ | láaiikli, | iizs)t ? |
| 13 | ɐm ? | | it)s nuıt | vaır°ɐ | lâ˹iikli, | iızst ? |
| 14 | ɐm | díıi ? | it)s nuıt | vaır°ɐ | láaiikli, | ·ɐt is)t nuıt. |
| 15 | ɐm | díıi ? | it)s nin | si vaır°ɐ | láa˹iikli, | iiz)t nuıu ? |
| 16 | dhɐm ? | | its nuıt | vaır°ɐ | láa˹iikli, | ·ɐt is)t nuıt. |
| 17 | dhɐm ? | díıi ? | it iz'nt | vaır°ɐ | láa˹iikli, | iizs)t núıu ? |
| 18 | dhɐm ? | | it iz'nt | vaır°ɐ | lâiikli, | iıiizs)t ? |
| 19 | dhɐm ? | | it)s nuıt | var°ɐ | láiikli, | is)t núıu ? |
| 20 | dhɐm ? | | it iz'nt | varɐ | léiikli, | is)t ? |
| 21 | tɐm | díıi ? | it)s nyt | vaırɐ | lɛ'iikli, | iis)t ? |
| 22 | dhɐm | díıi ? | it iz'nt | vaırɐ | lɛ'iikli, | iizs)t ? |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | 1 | usɐmi·vɐ | dhíɐz)ɪɐ)z tilinz ɐ)t' ˌtˌréɐth | | |
| | 2 | ɐwu·vəɹr° | dhəəɹr°)z)t' | faɹks | |
| | 3 | ,, | dhuɹr° ,, ,, | faɹks | |
| | 4 | bɐt | úui·vɐr it)s ɐ | fakt | wat ái )s |
| | 5 | hóu)e·vɐr | dhúuɐz ɐr t' | faks | o)t' matɐr |
| | 6 | áu)iɹ·vəɹr° | dhor° əɹr°)t' | faɹks | |
| | 7 | háu)iɹ·vəɹr | dhiɹiz ist)t' | faks | |
| | 8 | húɹu)i·vəɹr | ,, iz) ,, | ,, | |
| | 9 | húɹu)i·vəɹr | à)z gaan tɐ tel dhɐ)t' ˌtˌríúuth | | |
| | 10 | hɐwi·vəɹr | dhor wɐr)t' | faɹks | |
| | 11 | buɹt | dhúɹu naaɹz, ·dhəəɹr°)z | faɹks | |
| | 12 | úɹui·vəɹr° | dhooz əɹr°)t' | faɹks | |
| | 13 | húɹueb·əɹr° | dhəəɹr°)z)t' | faɹks | |
| | 14 | ɐwiɹ·vəɹr° | dhuɹr°)z)t' | faɹks | |
| | 15 | ɐwiɹ·vəɹr° | dhəəɹr°)z)t' | faɹks | |
| | 16 | ɐwiɹ·vəɹr° | aa)l tel dhɐ t' r°iɹits on)t, | | |
| | 17 | úɹu)iɹ·vəɹr° | a)l tel dhɐ) t' r°iɹits on)t, | | |
| | 18 | ɐwiɹ·vəɹr° | dhuɹr°)z)t' r°iɹits on)t, | | |
| | 19 | hɐwuuɹr | dhəəɹr)zs)t' | fakts | |
| | 20 | eniwee | dhis is)t' wee it waz, | | |
| | 21 | hùiɹvəɹr° | dhis iz dhɐ ˌtˌríúuth ɐ dhɐ | | |
| | 22 | ɐwu·vɐr | dhuɹrz dhɐ | faɹks ɐ dhɐ | |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ɐ)t' kiiɐs, | séɐɐ | dɟist ganz tɐ ɐn óoɐd dhɐ dhuu | |
| 2 | ɐ)d' kiɹáɹs, | si | dɟuɹst | ɪod |
| 3 | ɐ)t' ,, | siɹáɹ | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | tɛlin ə dhi, | súɐ | | od |
| 5 | | súɐ | dɟuɹst | od |
| 6 | ɐ)t' kiɹáɹs, | siɹáɹ | preɹ)dhɐ | hod |
| 7 | ɐ)t' maɹˌtəɹˌr, | siɹɐ | dɟuɹst | hod |
| 8 | ,, ,, kiɹáɹs, | siɹɐɹ | prɛ)dhɐ | ,, |
| 9 | ɐ)t' kiɹáɹs, | siáɹ | dɟust | hod |
| 10 | ɐ)t' kiɹɐs, | sóɐɐ | pre)dhɐ dɟust | |
| 11 | ɐ)t' kiɹɛs, | sɐ | | hod)ti |
| 12 | ɐ)t' kiɹáɹs, | siɹɐ | dɟuɹst | hod dhi |
| 13 | ɐ)t' dɟob [bizny₁s] | siɹɐ | dhu mɐd ɐz wiɹl | hod dhi |
| 14 | ɐ)t' kíɹéɹs, | si | dɟuɹst | hod)ti |
| 15 | ɐ)t' kiɹaɹs | si | dɟuɹst | hod)dhi |
| 16 | | if | dhúɹu)l | hod)ti |
| 17 | | if | dh)'l | hod dhi |
| 18 | | siɹa° | dɟuɹst | hod dhi |
| 19 | ɐ)t' kíáɹs, | súɐɐ | dɟuɹst | hod ti |
| 20 | | siɹɐ | | hod ɟɐr |
| 21 | maɹtˌtəɹˌr° | siɹɐ | dɟyɹst | hod ɟɐ |
| 22 | kiiɹɛs, | si | dɟuɹst | hod dhi |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | dhi | din, | frind, | ʊn | bi | wisht nu | waal aa)z |
| 2 | dhi | nóiz, | fr°$y_1$n'd, | ʊn | bi | wháai)ʊt, | whel áai)v |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | t'l ái)v |
| 4 | dhi | nóiz, | | | | | til ái)v |
| 5 | ɹʊr | náiz, | mon, | ʊn | bi | wáiʊt, | tʊl aa)v |
| 6 | dhi | nóiz, | fryy$_1$nd, | ʊn | bi | wháiʊt, | wháil ái)v |
| 7 | dhi | nóiz, | mi la$_1$d, | ʊn | bi | wháaiʊt, | wháail áa[i)v |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | whal aa)v |
| 9 | dhi | nóiz, | fr°$y_1$nd, | ʊn | bi | whái)ʊt, | t'l aa)v |
| 10 | whisht, | | fr°$y_1$nd, | ʊn | bi | wháai)ʊt, | wháail a)v |
| 11 | | nóiz | ʊ dhʊ, | ʊn | | whisht, | til áa$_1$i |
| 12 | | nóiz, | fr°$y_1$nd, | ʊn | bi | wháa$_i$ʊt, | t'l aa)v |
| 13 | | nóiz, | | ʊn | bi | wháa$_i$ʊt, | whel a)v |
| 14 | | nóiz, | min, | ʊn | bi | wháaiʊt, | whel a)v |
| 15 | | nóiz, | mi la$_1$d, | ʊn | bi | wháa$_i$ʊt, | whel a)v |
| 16 | | nóiz, | mi la$_1$d, | ʊn | bi | wháaiʊt, | whel a$_1$)v |
| 17 | | nóiz, | mi la$_1$d, | ʊn | bi | wháa$_i$ʊt, | whel aa)v |
| 18 | | nóiz, | mi fr°e°nd, | ʊn | bi | wháiʊt, | t'l a)v |
| 19 | | nóiz, | | ʊn | bi | wháiʊt, | tʊl a)z |
| 20 | | nóiz, | mʊn, | ʊn | | whisht | til a)z |
| 21 | | nóiz, | mi ma$_1$n, | ʊn | bi | whái)ʊt | til ái)v |
| 22 | | nóiz, | fri$_1$nd, | ʊn | bi | kwáiet | til ái bi |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | díiʊn. | əək tʊ budz nu! |
| 2 | git'n díún. | híiə$_1$r°s)tʊ! |
| 3 | díúun. | ,, ,, |
| 4 | tɛlt dhʊ. | lis'n! |
| 5 | du$_1$n. | lis'n! |
| 6 | duun. | haar°ks)tʊ! |
| 7 | du$_1$n. | lis'n náu! |
| 8 | duun. | haarks)tʊ! |
| 9 | du$_1$n. | ha$_1$)thʊ |
| 10 | díu$_1$n. | lis'n nú$_1$u! |
| 11 | díʊn. | láa$_i$)dhʊ. |
| 12 | díun. | las)tʊ nú$_1$u. |
| 13 | díun. | lis)tʊ nú$_1$u. |
| 14 | díun. | láais)tʊ [láai)ɹʊ]. |
| 15 | git'n díun. | lái)ɹʊ. |
| 16 | díun. | láai)ɹʊ. |
| 17 | díun. | lis'n [haar°ks)tʊ, láa$_i$)ɹʊ]. |
| 18 | du$_1$n. | lâis)tʊ. |
| 19 | du$_1$n[diúʊn]. | híʊrs)tʊ. |
| 20 | dí$_1$an. | lis'n. |
| 21 | dí'iún. | láais)tʊ. |
| 22 | dii'ɛn. | lis'n nú$_1$u. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | 1 | aa)z | sɨiʊr | ʊt a | ɨiʊd | am | séeʊ, | |
| | 2 | áaɨ`z | sàr°t'n | ʊt)ɨ | híiə₁r°d)tʊm | se | sɨ₁á₁, | |
| | 3 | ,, )z | síúuʊr° | áaɨ | ,, | )ʊm | see, | — |
| | 4 | wɛl áɨ)s | sàrt'n | áɨ | ɛrd | | | |
| | 5 | a)z varʊ | saart'n | a | ɨiʊrd | dhʊm | see | |
| | 6 | aɨ)z | síúuʊr° | ʊt)a | haar°d)am | | see₁ | — |
| | 7 | áaɨ)z | saart'n | aa | híiə₁rd)ʊm | | SEE | sɨ₁á |
| | 8 | ,, | síúuʊr | áɨ | haard | ,, | ,, | |
| | 9 | aa)z | saart'n | aa | haard)ʊm | | see, | |
| | 10 | áaɨ)z | saart'n | ʊt ʊ | haard | tʊm | see | — |
| | 11 | aa)m ʊmɨ₁ʊst | †sɨʊrt'n | dhʊ | telt | mʊ | sɨ₁ʊ, | †dɨ₁ʊd |
| | 12 | aa)z | saar°t'n | ʊt ɨ | haar°d | dhʊm | see₁ | — |
| | 13 | áaɨ ɨz | saar°t'n | ʊt ʊ | haar°d | tʊm | see₁ | — |
| | 14 | à)z | saar°t'n | ʊt ʊ | haar°d | tʊm | se)sɨ₁é₁ | — |
| | 15 | a)z | saar°t'n | ʊt ʊ | hɨ₁iə₁r°d)t' | fwúu₁ʊk | SEE, | — |
| | 16 | aa)z | saar°t'n | a)v | haar°d)tʊm | | SEE | — |
| | 17 | aa)z | saar°t'n | ʊt aa)v | haar°d)tʊm | tel | ʊbú₁ut | ɨt — |
| | 18 | aa)z | sar°t'n, | ʊt ʊ | hàr°d | dhʊm | SEE | — |
| | 19 | aa₁)z | saart'n | a | haard | dhʊm | SEE | — |
| | 20 | à)z | saart'n | ʊ | haard | dhʊm | see | — |
| | 21 | áɨ)z | saar°t'n | áɨ | hɨ₁iə₁r°d | tʊm | see | — |
| | 22 | áɨ)z | saart'n | aa)v | hɨɨ₁ʊrd | dhʊm | SEE | — |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | sʊm | ʊ | dhɨm | fóoʊk | ʊt | wɨnt | ‿t‿ruf)t' | JAl | thɨq |
| 2 | su₁m | ʊ | dhəə₁r° | fwú₁ʊk | ʊd | went | ‿t‿r°ú₁u)t' | hɨ₁á₁l | thɨq |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | dhu₁r° | ,, | ʊt | ,, | thr°ú₁u)t' | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | | | t' séʊm | fôɜk | see | ʊz | nɜ'u | ɨt | AA[1]. |
| 5 | su₁m | ʊ | dhor, | fook | ʊt | WEnt | thruu | o)t' | thɨq |
| 6 | su₁m | ʊ | dhoor° | fook | ʊt | we₁nt | thrú₁u)t' | hɨ₁á₁l | djob |
| 7 | su₁m | ʊ | dhem | | ʊt | WEnt | thrú₁u)t' | hɨ₁ál | thɨq |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | dhu₁r | fuu₁k | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | djob |
| 9 | | | dhem | | ʊt | went | thrú₁u | ɨt | |
| 10 | su₁m | ʊ | dhor | fwú₁ʊk | ʊt | went | thrú₁u)t' | hɨ₁á₁l | |
| 11 | su₁m | ʊ | dhə₁r° | fwú₁ʊk | ʊt | | níúu)t' | hɨɛl | thɨq |
| 12 | su₁m | ʊ | dhooz | fwú₁ʊk | ʊt | went | thr°ú₁u)t' | hɨ₁á₁l | thɨq |
| 13 | su₁m | ʊ | dhə₁r° | fwú₁ʊk | ʊt | went | thr°ú₁u)t' | hɨ₁é₁l | djob |
| 14 | su₁m | ʊ | dhəə₁r° | fwú₁ʊk | ʊt | went | thr°ú₁u)t' | hɨ₁é₁l | thɨq |
| 15 | su₁m | ʊ | them | fwúu₁ʊk | ʊt | went | thr°ú₁u)t' | hɨ₁á₁l | thɨq |
| 16 | su₁m | ʊ | dhəə₁r° | fwôʊk | ʊt | went | thr°ú₁u)t' | hɨ₁á₁l | thɨq |
| 17 | su₁m | ʊ | dhə₁r° | fú₁a₁k | ʊt | kent)t' | r°ɨ₁its | ʊ)t' | hɨɛl | djob |
| 18 | su₁m | ʊ | dhə₁r° | fwú₁ʊk | ʊt | went | thr°ʊ'u)t' | hɨ₁á₁l | thɨq |
| 19 | su₁m | ʊ | dhəə₁r | fwook | ʊt | went | thrú₁ut)t' | hɨál | thɨq |
| 20 | su₁m | ʊ)t' | fóuk | ʊt | nɨ₁u | AA | ʊbùt | ɨt | |
| 21 | su₁m | ʊ | dhə₁r° | fwʊk | ʊt | went | thr°u₁u | dhʊ | hɨ₁ʊl | thɨq |
| 22 | su₁m | ʊ | dhu₁r | fwAAk | ʊt | kent | dhɨ | hɨɨ₁ɛl | djob |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | frɛ)t')fost | | | dhʊs*i*·lz, |
| 2 | dhə$_1$r°sel'z⌊s | fr°e)d' | va$_1$r°ʊ | fə$_1$'r°st, | |
| 3 | | fr°*e*)t' | | fəə$_1$r°st | dhʊr°sel'z, |
| 4 | | | | | |
| 5 | | fre)t' | | fəə$_1$rst | dhʊrse·lz, |
| 6 | dhə$_1$r°se$_1$l'z | fr°e$_1$)t' | | fəə$_1$r°st. | |
| 7 | dhə$_1$rsɛl'z | frɛ)t' | | fəə$_1$rst. | |
| 8 | ,, | ,, ,, | | ,, | |
| 9 | dhə$_1$rsel'z | fre)t' | | fəə$_1$rst, | |
| 10 | kʊnsaarn dhorsel'z | fre)t' | | fəə$_1$rst, | |
| 11 | | fr°ɛ)t' | | fəə$_1$r°sht | †dhər°sɛl'z, |
| 12 | | fr°e)t' | | fəə$_1$r°st | dhə$_1$r°sel'z, |
| 13 | dhə$_1$r°sel'z | fr°e)t' | va$_1$rʊ | fəə$_1$r°st, | |
| 14 | | fr°e)t' | va$_1$r°ʊ | fəə$_1$r°st | dhə$_1$r°sel'z, |
| 15 | | fr°e)t' | va$_1$r°ʊ | fəə$_1$r°st | dhə$_1$r°sel'z, |
| 16 | | fr°e)t' | | fəə$_1$r°st | dhə$_1$r°sel'z, |
| 17 | | fr°ɛ)t' | va$_1$r°ʊ | fəə$_1$r°st | dhə$_1$r°sel'z, |
| 18 | | fr°ɛ)t' | | f*u*$_1$r°st | dh*u*$_1$r°sel'z, |
| 19 | | free)t' | va$_1$rʊ | fə$_1$rst | dhʊrsel'z, |
| 20 | | free)t' | | fʊrst | dhʊrsɛl'z— |
| 21 | | fr°*ĕ* dh*i* | | fəə$_1$r°st | dhə$_1$r°sel'z, |
| 22 | | fre dhʊ | | fəə$_1$rst | dhʊrsel'z, |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ·dhat a d*i*d | séʊf | ʊn*i*ʊf. | |
| 2 | dha$_1$t d*i*d)i. | | | |
| 3 | áai d*i*d dha$_1$t | s*i*$_1$á$_1$f | ʊníúuf. | |
| 4 | | | | |
| 5 | ɛs a d*u*$_1$d | síáf | ʊn*u*$_1$f. | |
| 6 | dha$_1$t d*i*d)*i* | s*i*$_1$á$_1$f | ʊn*u*$_1$f. | |
| 7 | ·dhat d*i*d)*i* | síúuə$_1$r | ʊn*u*$_1$f. | |
| 8 | ,, ,, ,, | s*i*$_1$á$_1$f | ,, | |
| 9 | *éei*, | s*i*$_1$á$_1$f | ʊn*u*$_1$f, | aa ·d*i*d. |
| 10 | dha$_1$t a d*u*$_1$d, | síúuə$_1$r | ʊn*u*$_1$f. | |
| 11 | dha$_1$t d*u*d)i | s*i*u$_1$r° | ʊn*i*uf. | |
| 12 | dha$_1$t d*i*d)*i* | s*i*$_1$úuə$_1$r° | ʊn*i*uf. | |
| 13 | ·dha$_1$t d*u*$_1$d)i | síúuə$_1$r° | ʊn*i*úf. | |
| 14 | ʊt d*u*$_1$d)i, | s*i*$_1$e$_1$f | ʊn*i*uf. | |
| 15 | a d*u*d ·dha$_1$t nú$_1$u, | s*i*$_1$a$_1$f | ʊn*i*uf. | |
| 16 | ·ʊt d*u*$_1$d)i, | s*i*$_1$á$_1$f | an*i*uf. | |
| 17 | ʊt d*u*$_1$d)i, | s*i*$_1$á$_1$f | ʊn*i*úf. | |
| 18 | dha$_1$t d*u*$_1$d)i, | s*i*$_1$a$_1$f | ʊn*i*úf. | |
| 19 | ʊt d*u*$_1$d)a$_1$ | s*i*áf | ʊn*u*$_1$f. | |
| 20 | ʊt ·d*i*d)*i*! | | | |
| 21 | ·dha$_1$t d*i*d)i | sy$_1$'uuʊr° | ʊn*i*uf. | |
| 22 | áai d*i*d ·dha$_1$t | s*i*$_1$ɛf | ʊn*i*$_1$ɛf. | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | 1 | ʊt t' | ɟuuqis | sʊn | izse·l | ʊ | griiʊt |
| | 2 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qist | su₁n | hizsel', | ʊ | gə₁r°t |
| | 3 | ,, ,, | ɟu₁qst | baar₀n | ,, | ,, | gr°iiʊt |
| | 4 | ʊt | ɟuqʊst | làd | itsɛl, | ʊ | gɛrt |
| | 5 | at t' | ɟu₁qkst | su₁n | hissɛl·, | ʊ | gəə₁rt |
| | 6 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qst | la₁d | hizsɛl', | ʊ | gəə₁r°t |
| | 7 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qst | baarn | hizsɛl', | ʊ | gəə₁rt |
| | 8 | ,, ,, | ,, | la₁d | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qst | su₁n | hizsel', | ʊ | gəə₁rt |
| | 10 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qest | baarn | hizsel', | ʊ | gəə₁rt |
| | 11 | ʊt t' | ɟuqʊst | baar°n | hizsel', | ʊ | gr°i₁ʊt [gr°i₁t, gəə₁r°t] |
| | 12 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qist | baar°n | hizsel', | ʊ | gr°i₁it |
| | 13 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qʊst | baar°n | hizsel', | ʊ | gr°i₁it |
| | 14 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qist | su₁n | hizsel', | ʊ | gəə₁r°t |
| | 15 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qist | su₁n | hizsel', | ʊt)s ʊ | gjəə₁r°t |
| | 16 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qist | su₁n | hizsel', | ʊ | gjəə₁r°t |
| | 17 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qʊst | su₁n | hizsel', | ʊ | gəə₁r°t |
| | 18 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qʊst | baar°n | hizsel', | ʊ | gr°i₁it |
| | 19 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qʊst | su₁n | hizsel', | ʊ | gə₁rt |
| | 20 | ʊt t' | ɟu₁qʊst | su₁n | hizsɛl'— | ʊ | griit |
| | 21 | ʊt dhʊ | ɟu₁qizst | su₁n | hizsel', | ʊ | gr°i₁it |
| | 22 | ʊt dhʊ | ɟu₁qʊst | su₁n | hizsel', | ʊ | gri₁it |

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| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | lad | ʊ | naan | iiʊr | óoʊd, | kend | iz | fiiʊ₁dʊ | viiʊs |
| 2 | la₁d | ʊ | néiin | ɟiiə₁r° | aad, | kent)iz | | fă₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 3 | ,, | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ),, | | fă₁də₁r°z | ,, |
| 4 | lâd | ʊ | náin, | — | — | nɛ'u | is | fa₁d'ʊ₁rz | vóis |
| 5 | lad | ʊ | nain | ɟiiʊr | aald, | níuu | iz | fa₁dʊ₁rz | tuq |
| 6 | la₁d | | náin | ɟi₁iə₁r° | aald, | né₁u)t' | | fa₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 7 | la₁d | | náain | ɟiiə₁r | aad, | kent | iz | fa₁də₁r | vóis |
| 8 | ,, | ʊ | ,, | ,, | aald, | ,, | ,, | ,, | tu₁q |
| 9 | lâd | ʊ | náin | | | kent | iz | fă₁də₁r | vóis |
| 10 | la₁d | | náain | ɟiiə₁r | aald, | nhéuu)t' | | fă₁də₁r | vóis |
| 11 | la₁d | ʊ | náa₁in, | | | hi₁i ‡ki₁ʊnt)t' | | fă₁də₁r° | tu₁q |
| 12 | la₁d | ʊv | náa₁in, | | | kent | iz | făd₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 13 | la₁d | | náa₁in | ɟəə₁r° | ool'd | kent | iz | făd₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 14 | la₁d | | ni₁in | ɟəə₁r° | aald, | kent | iz | făd₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 15 | la₁d | ʊ | náa₁in | ɟi₁iə₁r° | aal'd, | kent | iz | fad₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 16 | la₁d | ʊ | náa₁in | | | kent | t' | fă₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 17 | la₁d | ʊ | náa₁in | ɟi₁iə₁r° | oold, | kent | t' | fa₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 18 | la₁d | ʊ | náain | | | nĭú₁u | iz | fa₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 19 | là₁d | ʊ | náin | | | kent | t' | fa₁dʊ₁r | vóis |
| 20 | lad | | néin | iiʊr° | ool, | níu | iz | fa₁dʊ₁rz | tu₁q |
| 21 | la₁d | ʊ | nɛ'in | ɟəə₁r° | aal, | kent | iz | fa₁də₁r° | vóis |
| 22 | la₁d | ʊ | nɛ'in | ɟii'ʊr | aald, | kent | iz | fa₁dʊ₁r | vóis |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊt | ɹans, | dhuf | | | it | ·waaʊ | séikʊn ʊ | kwiiʊ | |
| 2 | ʊd | ɹa₁ns, | fə₁r° | AAl | | it | ·waz | si | kwiiə₁r°)· | lâik |
| 3 | ʊt | ,, | ,, | AA | | ,, | wʊz | ,, | kwéiiə₁r° | — |
| 4 | ʊs | síʊn | ʊz i | àrd it, ʊv | | it | wòs | sʊ | kwiʊr | |
| 5 | ʊt | ɹans, | fʊr o)t' | | | | ·wos | súá | kwíiʊr | |
| 6 | ʊt | ɹa₁ns, | fə₁r° | AA | | it | waz | sʊ | kwi₁iə₁r° | |
| 7 | ʊt | ɹans, | fər | AA | | it | wʊz | sʊ | kwi₁iə₁r | |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 9 | ʊt | ɹa₁ns, | i spáit ʊn | | | it | bi₁i)ʊn | sʊ | kwi₁iə₁r | |
| 10 | ʊt | ɹans, | fə₁r | oo | | t)wʊz | | sʊ | kwi₁iə₁r | |
| 11 | ʊt | ɹa₁ns, | fə₁r | aa | | | | | | |
| 12 | ʊt | ɹans, | fə₁r° | AA | | t)wʊz | | sʊ | kwi₁iə₁r° | |
| 13 | ʊt | ɹa₁ns, | fə₁r° | AA | | t)wʊz | | sʊ | kwi₁iə₁r° | |
| 14 | ʊt | ɹa₁ns, | fər° | AA | | it | waz | si | kwi₁iə₁r° | |
| 15 | ʊt | ɹa₁ns, | fə₁r° | AA | | it | waz | si | kwi₁iə₁r° | láik |
| 16 | ʊt | ɹa₁ns, | fə₁r° | AA | | t)wʊz | | sʊ | kwi₁iə₁r° | |
| 17 | ʊt | ɹa₁ns, | fə₁r° | AA | | t)waz | | sʊ | kwi₁iə₁r° | |
| 18 | ʊt | ɹa₁ns, | fu₁r° | ·oo | | t)wʊz | | sʊ | kwi₁iə₁r° | |
| 19 | ʊt | ɹans, | fʊr° | oo | | it | ·wa₁z | síʊ | kwi₁iʊr | |
| 20 | | | fʊr° | AA | | it | waz | síʊ | kwii₁ʊr° | |
| 21 | ʊt | ɹens, | fə₁r° | AA | | it | wʊz | sʊ | u₁qkʊt | lɛ'ik |
| 22 | ʊt | ɹens, | fʊr | AA | | t)wʊz | | sʊ | kwii₁er | |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | skwéeʊkin | ɹan laak, | ʊn | ·a)d | ˌtˌrust | ·im | |
| 2 | ʊn | skwéiiki, | | ʊn | ʊ wʊd | ˌtˌr°y₁st | im | |
| 3 | ʊn | skwíiʊk'n, | | ,, | áai)d | ,, | ,, | |
| 4 | ʊn | skwiikin, | | ʊn | ái)d | ˌtˌrust | ìm | |
| 5 | ʊn | skwíákin | láik, | ʊn | a wod | bak | ·əm | |
| 6 | ʊn | skwi₁ikin, | | ʊn | áai)d | ˌtˌru₁st | him | |
| 7 | ʊn | skwi₁iʊkʊn, | | ʊn | aa wad | ˌtˌru₁st | him | |
| 8 | ,, | skwi₁ikin, | | ,, | ·áai)l | ʊpo·d)im, | | hi₁i)z |
| 9 | ʊn | skwi₁ìʊkʊn | láik, | ʊn | a)d | ʊpo·d | it | hi₁ii |
| 10 | ʊn | skwi₁ʊki, | | ʊn | a)l | ʊpo·d | im, | hi₁i)l |
| 11 | hi₁i | skwi₁ɛkt | si₁ɛ. | | aa wʊd | ti₁ɛk | ʊm | |
| 12 | ʊn | skwi₁iki, | | ʊn | aa)l | ʊpo·d | ʊm, | hi₁i)·l |
| 13 | ʊn | skwi₁iki, | | ʊn | aa)l | ʊpo·d | im | ·hi₁i)l' |
| 14 | ʊn | skwi₁iki, | | ʊn | a)wʊd | ˌtˌr°u₁st | ·him | |
| 15 | ʊn | skwi₁iki, | | ʊn | ʊ wad | ˌtˌr°u₁st | ʊm | |
| 16 | ʊn | skwi₁ikʊn, | | ʊn | ʊ wad | ˌtˌr°u₁st | ʊm | |
| 17 | ʊn | skwi₁iki₁n, | | ʊn | aa wa₁d | ·ˌtˌr°u₁st | ʊm | |
| 18 | ʊn | skwi₁ìkin, | | ʊn | a wad | ˌtˌr°u₁st | ·him | |
| 19 | ʊn | skwii₁ikʊn, | | ʊn | a)d | ˌtˌru₁st | ·him | |
| 20 | ʊn | skwiikʊn, | | ʊn | aa wad | ˌtˌru₁st | him | |
| 21 | ʊn | skwìkʊn, | | ʊn | ái)l | ʊpo·d | im | |
| 22 | — | skwi₁ikin, | | ʊn | á⌊i ·wad | ˌtˌry₁st)ʊm | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | tʊ | spíiʊk | ˌtˌréeʊth | ʊv | oni | dee, | ái, | mari |
| 2 | tʊ | spéiik t' | ˌtˌr°íúuth | | a₁ni | dee, | | dha₁t |
| 3 | ,, | spíiʊk ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | | ,, |
| 4 | tʊ | spíʊk t' | ˌtˌrúuth | ʊt | Eni | reet. | | |
| 5 | tʊ | spíák t' | tríuth | | Eni | dee,— | | dhat |
| 6 | ʊt | spí₁ik t' | ˌtˌríúuth | | e₁ni | dee₁, | ee₁i, | ·dha₁t |
| 7 | ʊt | spíiʊk t' | ˌtˌríúuth | | Eni | dEE₁, | áai)i, | ·dhat |
| 8 a lad | ʊt)l | spí₁ik)t' | ,, | | ,, | ,, | áaˌi, | — |
| 9 | wʊd | spí₁ik t' | ˌtˌríúuth | | ·eni | dee, | aa, | |
| 10 | | spíiʊk)t' | ˌtˌríúuth | | eni | dee₁, | éei, | dha₁t |
| 11 | ʊt | spí₁Ek)t' | ˌtˌríuʊth | ʊt | eni | taaˌim, | | ·ʊt |
| 12 | | spí₁ik)t' | ˌtˌr°ú₁uth | | ani | dee₁, | | ʊt |
| 13 | | spí₁ik)t' | ˌtˌr°íúuth | | oni | dEE, | | ·ʊt |
| 14 | tʊ | spí₁ik)t' | ˌtˌr°íúuth | | eni | dEE, | áai)i, | ·ma₁r°i |
| 15 | tʊ | tel)t' | ˌtˌr°íúuth | | eni | dEE, | EE'i, | |
| 16 | tʊ | spí₁ik)t' | ˌtˌr°íúuth | | oni | dEE, | | ·ʊt |
| 17 | tʊ | spí₁ik)t' | ˌtˌr°íúuth | | Eni | dEE, | áaˌii, | |
| 18 | tʊ | spí₁ik)t' | ˌtˌr°îûth | | eni | dEE, | áaii, | |
| 19 | tʊ | spíi₁ik)t' | ˌtˌriúuth | | eni | dEE, | ái, | |
| 20 | tʊ | tEl)t' | ˌtˌru₁th | | ʊni | dee, | | et |
| 21 | tʊ | tel' dhʊ | tr°iïúuth | | oni | dee₁, | | ·dha₁t |
| 22 | tʊ | spí₁ik dhʊ | ˌtˌríúuth | | oni | dEE'ʊ, | ái | |

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1 ʊ ·wad.
2 ʊd wa₁d)i.
3 — ,, ,,
4
5 a wod.
6 á₁i wad.
7 a wad.
8 ,, ,,
9 ·wa₁d.
10 a wʊd.
11 — wad)i!
12 wad)i!
13 wod i.
14 wod i.
15 a wad ·dha₁t nu₁u.
16 wad)i!
17 aa wa₁d!
18 a ·wad!
19 a₁ ·wa₁d!
20 wad)i!
21 wad)i!
22 wad ·dha₁t nú₁u.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | 1 | ʊn)t' | óoʊd | wumʊn | ʊse·l | ʊl | til | oni jan |
| | 2 | ʊn)d' | àl'd | bodi | hə₁r₀se·l | 'l | tel | a₁ni |
| | 3 | ,, )t' | aad | wumʊn | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 4 | ʊn)t' | aad | wumʊn | ʊrsɛl | wud | tɛl | ɛni |
| | 5 | ʊn)t' | aald | wu₁mʊn | ʊrsɛl | wil | tɛl | ɛni |
| | 6 | ʊn)t' | aald | wumʊn | hə₁r°sɛl' | 'l | tel | e₁ni |
| | 7 | ʊn)t' | aald | wumʊn | hə₁rsʊl' | 'l | tɛl | ɛni |
| | 8 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ʊl | ,, | ,, ,, |
| | 9 | ʊn)t' | aald | wumʊn | hə₁rsel' | 'l | tel | eni |
| | 10 | ʊn)t' | aald | wumʊn | hə₁rsel' | 'l | tel | eni |
| | 11 | ʊn)t' | aald | wumʊn | †hə₁r°si₁ɛl | ʊd | tel | eni ja₁n |
| | 12 | ʊn)t' | AAd | wumʊn | hə₁r°sel' | 'l | tel | ani |
| | 13 | ʊn)t' | òl'd | wumʊn | hə₁r°sel' | 'l | tel | oni |
| | 14 | ʊn)t' | AAl'd | wumʊn | hə₁r°sel' | 'l | tel | eni |
| | 15 | en a)z | síúuə₁r° | ʊt)t' ool'd | bodi hə₁r°sel' | 'l | tel | eni |
| | 16 | bʊt t' | AAld | wumʊn | hə₁r°sel' | 'l | tel | oni |
| | 17 | ʊn)t' | oold | wumʊn | hə₁r°sel' | 'l | tel | ɛni ja₁n |
| | 18 | ʊn)t' | oold | wumʊn | hə₁r°sel' | 'l | tel | eni |
| | 19 | a₁n)t' | áud | wumʊn | hʊrsel' | 'l | tel | eni |
| | 20 | ʊn)t' | ool | wu₁mʊn | ʊrsɛ·l | 'l | tɛl | ani |
| | 21 | ʊn dhʊ | AAl | wumʊn | hə₁r°sel' | 'l | tel | oni |
| | 22 | ʊn dhi | AAld | wumʊn | hʊrsel' | 'l | tel | eni |

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | o)jʊ | ʊt | lafs ʊn flóuts | nuu, | ʊn | til o jʊ |
| 2 | o)jʊ | ʊd | lă₁fs | nú₁u | ʊn shʊ)l | tel) jʊ |
| 3 | ,, | ʊt | ,, | ,, | ,, — | ,, ,, |
| 4 | ə)jʊ | ʊt | laf's | nóu | | |
| 5 | o jʊ | ʊt | laf | nóu | ʊn | tɛl it |
| 6 | o)jʊ | ʊt | lăfs | náu, | ʊn | te₁l jʊ |
| 7 | o)jʊ | ʊt | lăfs | náu, | ʊn | tɛl jʊ |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | nú₁u | ,, | ,, ,, |
| 9 | o)jʊ | ʊt)s | lăfʊn | nú₁uu, | ʊn | tel jʊ |
| 10 | o)jʊ | ʊt | la₁fs | nú₁uu, | ʊn | tel jʊ |
| 11 | o)jʊ | ʊt | lăfs | nú₁u, | ʊn wʊd | tel)jʊ |
| 12 | o)jʊ | ʊt | lăfs | nú₁u, | ʊn | tel)jʊ |
| 13 | o jʊ | ʊt | lăfs | nú₁u, | ʊn | tel)jʊ |
| 14 | o)jʊ | ʊt | lăfs | nú₁u, | ʊn shə₁)l | tel)jʊ |
| 15 | o)jʊ | ʊt)s gaan to | lăf | nú₁u, | ʊn shʊ)l | tel)jʊ |
| 16 | o)jʊ | ʊt | lafs | nú₁u, | ʊn | tel)jʊ |
| 17 | o)jʊ | ʊt | lăfs | nú₁u, | ʊn | tel)jʊ |
| 18 | o)jʊ | ʊt | lăfs | nú₁u | ʊn | tel jʊ |
| 19 | on jʊ | ʊt | lafs | nú₁u | ʊn | tel jʊ |
| 20 | o)ji | ʊt)s | lafʊn | nuu —ái, | ʊn | tel ji |
| 21 | o jʊ | ʊt | lăfs | nú₁u, | ʊn | tel jʊ |
| 22 | o jʊ | ʊt | lafs | nú₁u, | ʊn | tel jʊ |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | s,t,ríiʊt | of ʊn ind, | tíiʊ, | ʊ,duu·t | mitɟ | bo,dʊ,r |
| 2 | s,t,r°éeit | of | tíúu | withú₁ut | mik'l | bo,də₁,r° |
| 3 | r°í₁iit | ,, | ,, | widhú₁ut | mitɟ | ,, |
| 4 | ʊt Jans | | | wi)óut | Eni | bodhʊr |
| 5 | riit | Af hand, | tíu, | wi)óut | mitɟ | bodʊr |
| 6 | s,t,r°éeit | ʊwee₁ | | wi)áut | mitɟ | bo,də₁,r°, |
| 7 | s,t,rek | AAf | | widháut | Eni | bo,də₁,r |
| 8 | s,t,réeit | ʊwee₁ | | widhú₁ut | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | s,t,rek | ʊwee | ʊn AA | wi)ú₁uut | ·eni | bo,də₁,r |
| 10 | s,t,rek | ʊwee | | wi)ú₁ut | mik'l | bo,də₁,r |
| 11 | at Ja₁ns, | | | wi,dú₁ut | mí₁Eksʊn | eni bwúu₁ʊ,də₁,r |
| 12 | s,t,r°ak | ʊwee₁ | tíu, | widú₁ut | mik'l | bo,də₁,r |
| 13 | s,t,r°ek | ʊwee | tíú, | wi₁dú₁ut | mik'l | bod,də₁,r°, |
| 14 | ʊt Ja₁ns | | tíu | wʊdhú₁ut | mik'l | bod,də₁,r° |
| 15 | s,t,r°éeit | of | tíu | wʊdhú₁ut | mik'l | bod,də₁,r° |
| 16 | | | tíu | widú₁ut | mik'l | bod,də₁,r |
| 17 | s,t,r°ek | ʊwee | | wi,dú₁ut | mik'l | bo,də₁,r° |
| 18 | s,t,r°éeit | of, | tíu | wi,dú₁ut | mu₁tɟ | bo₁də₁r°, |
| 19 | s,t,rii₁it | of | ʊn oo, | ʊ,dú₁ut | mu₁tɟ | bo,dʊ,r, |
| 20 | riit | ʊwee· | ʊn oo | ʊ,du₁ut | mu₁tɟ | bo,dʊ,r° |
| 21 | ʊt Jens | | ty₁ú₁u | widhùt | mik'l | bo,də₁,r° |
| 22 | | | | widhú₁ut | mik'l | bodhʊr |

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | ʊn | Ji)l | bi)t | aksin iv ʊr, oo ! | wi)nʊt |
| 2 | | if | Ji)l | nobʊt | ă₁s)ə₁r°, | âi, wa₁d'nt |
| 3 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | oo ! wid'nt |
| 4 | | iv | Jə)d | | Eks)ʊr. | |
| 5 | | if | Ji)l | nobʊt | Eks)ʊr, | weetɟʊ ? |
| 6 | | if | Ji)l | nobʊt | e₁ks)ə₁r° | ée₁i wee₁nt |
| 7 | | if | Ji)l | nobʊt | Eks)ə₁r, | áai)i wad'nt |
| 8 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | áai)z sĭúuər |
| 9 | | if | Jʊ)l | nobʊt | e₁ks)ə₁r, | mái wəə₁rd, ·weent |
| 10 | | if | Jʊ)l | nobʊt | eks)ə₁r, | áai, wee₁nt |
| 11 | ʊbú₁ut it, | if | Juu)d | nobʊt | EEsh)ə₁r°, | dha₁t |
| 12 | | if | Ji)l | nobʊt | ăs)ə₁r°, | áai)i |
| 13 | | if | Ji)l | ·ăs)ə₁r°, | âa₁i)i | wad'nt |
| 14 | | if | Jʊ)l | nobʊt | ăs)ə₁r°, | áa₁i)i |
| 15 | óuə₁r° t' dɟob, | if | Jʊ)l | nobʊt | ăs)ə₁r°, | ·ʊt |
| 16 | | if | Ji₁il | nobʊt | a₁ks)ə₁r°, | ·ʊt |
| 17 | | if | Ji)l | nobʊt | a₁ks)ə₁r₀, | dha₁t |
| 18 | | if | Jii)l | nobʊt | ăs)ə₁r°, | oo wo)nt |
| 19 | | if | Jʊ)l | nobʊt | aks)ʊr, | á₁i ·dhat |
| 20 | | if | Jʊ)l | nobʊt | as)ʊr | — at |
| 21 | | if | Ji)l | nobʊt | a₁ks)ə r°, | ·dha₁t |
| 22 | | if | Ji)l | nobʊt | a₁ks)ʊr, | E'i woont |

1 shʊ ?
2 shə$_1$ ?
3 ,,
4
5
6 shə$_1$ ?
7 shə$_1$ ?
8 shi wi̇l.
9 shə$_1$ ?
10 shə$_1$ ?
11 shi̇ wʊd !
12 shʊ ·wad ·dha$_1$t !
13 shə$_1$ ?
14 shʊ wi̇l ·dha$_1$t nú$_1$u.
15 wi̇l shə$_1$.
16 wi̇l shə$_1$.
17 wu$_1$l shə$_1$, máa$_1$i̇ saq ! bʊt woont shə$_1$ !
18 shi̇ ?
19 wi̇l)shʊ !
20 wu$_1$l shi̇ !
21 shi̇ wi̇l !
22 shʊ.

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | 1 | lí̇ʊsti̇nz | | shʊ)d | ti̇li̇n | o i̇t tʊ ·méi̇ wi̇n | | aa |
| | 2 | a$_1$ni | wee | shə$_1$ | tel'd | méii | si̇$_1$á$_1$, | when)i |
| | 3 | ,, | ,, | shʊ | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, á$_1$i̇ |
| | 4 | lí̇ʊst | | shi̇ | tɛlt | mii | | |
| | 5 | ɛni̇ | weez | shi̇ | tɛlt | i̇t mii | | wɛn a |
| | 6 | e$_1$ni̇ | wee$_1$ | shi̇ | te$_1$lt | ·mi̇$_1$i | dha$_1$t | whe$_1$n á$_1$i̇ |
| | 7 | eni̇ | wɛɛ | shə$_1$ | tɛld | mi̇$_1$i | si̇$_1$á | whɛn a |
| | 8 | ,, | wɛɛ[1] | shi̇ | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, áa⌊i |
| | 9 | ʊt li̇$_1$iist | | shi̇ | telt | ·mi̇$_1$ii | i̇t | when aa |
| | 10 | síúuə$_1$r enu$_1$f | | shi̇ | telt | ·mii | twóo ʊ | thri̇$_1$i |
| | 11 | | | shi̇$_1$i | telt | mi̇$_1$i | | when áa$_{\text{ˏ}}$i̇ |
| | 12 | úui̇$_1$·və$_1$r°, | | shʊ | telt | mi̇$_1$i | si̇$_1$iʊ | when)i̇ |
| | 13 | eni | wɛɛ, | shʊ | telt | ·mi̇$_1$ii | si̇$_1$ʊ | when)a |
| | 14 | eni | wɛɛ, | shʊ | telt | ·mi̇$_1$i | | when)a |
| | 15 | eni | wɛɛ, | shʊ | telt | ·mi̇$_1$i | si̇$_1$ʊ | when)a |
| | 16 | oni̇ | wɛɛ | shi̇ | telt | ·mi̇$_1$i | i̇t | when)a |
| | 17 | eni̇ | wɛɛ | shə$_1$ | telt | ·mi̇$_1$ii)t | | when)ʊ |
| | 18 | eni̇ | wɛɛ | shi̇ | telt | ·mi̇$_1$i | si̇$_1$a° | when)a |
| | 19 | eni̇ | wɛɛ | shi | telt | ·mi̇$_1$ii | i̇t | when)a |
| | 20 | eni̇ | wee | shi̇ | tɛlt | ·mii | | when)a |
| | 21 | ʊt oni | r°e't | shʊ | telt | ·mi̇$_1$ii | | when)á⌊i̇ |
| | 22 | oni̇ | wɛɛ'ʊ | shʊ | telt | mi̇$_1$i | si̇$_1$i | when)á⌊i̇ |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | aks,t ʊ,r ʊ | téeʊ,t,ri | taamz | óu)ʊr ʊd)shʊ | |
| 2 | ă,s,t)ə,r° | twí,á, thr°él | táaimz | óu)ə,r°, | ·dha,t ʊd |
| 3 | ,, ,, | twí,á, thr°í,ii | ,, | ,, | — — |
| 4 | | tuu ʊr thrii | táimz | óuʊr, | |
| 5 | Ekst ʊr | tíu ʊr thrii | táimz | úʊr, | dhat shi du,d |
| 6 | e,ks,t)ə,r° | túu ʊ thrí,i | táimz | áu)ə,r° | |
| 7 | Eks,t)ə,r, | túu ʊ thrí,i | táaimz | óu)ə,r, | dha,t |
| 8 | ,, ,, | ,, ,, ,, | táa,imz | ,, | — |
| 9 | Eks,t)ə,r | | | | |
| 10 | táaimz óu)ə,r | when ʊ eks,t)ə,r, | | | |
| 11 | Esh,t)ə,r° | twí,ʊ thr°í,i | táa,imz | óur° ʊbú,ut it, | |
| 12 | ăs,t),ə,r°, | twí,iʊ thr°í,i | táaimz | óuə,r° | |
| 13 | às,t)ə,r°, | twí,iʊ thr°í,i | táa,imz | óuə,r° | |
| 14 | ăs,t)ə,r°, | twí,ʊ thr°í,i | táaimz | óuə,r° | |
| 15 | ăs,t)ə,r°, | twí,ʊ thr°í,i | táaimz | óuə,r° | |
| 16 | a,ks,t),r°, | twí,iʊ thr°í,i | táaimz | óuə,r° | |
| 17 | a,ks,t)ə,r°, | twí,a, thr°í,i | táa,imz | óuə,r° | |
| 18 | as,t)ə,r°, | tʊ'ù ʊ thr°í,i | táaimz | óur° | |
| 19 | aks,t)ʊ,r, | twí,iʊ ʊr thrí,i | táimz | áuʊr | |
| 20 | as,t)ʊ,r°, | tuu ʊr° thr°ii | téimz | óuʊr° | |
| 21 | a,ks,t)ə,r° | twéʊ thr°ii | tE'imz | óuʊr°, | |
| 22 | a,ks,t)ʊ,r | twíi'ʊ thrí,i | tE'imz | óuʊr | |

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊn a konséeʊts ʊt shʊ óud)'nt tʊ bi raq ʊ saakʊn ʊ | | | | | | |
| 2 | | did | shə, | ʊn | shi | ·su,d)'nt | bi fàr° 'r°a,q |
| 3 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | shə, | ,, | ,, — ,, |
| 4 | | ʊn | wi | wad)'nt | tak | a'r tʊ | bi raq |
| 5 | | ʊn | shii | su,d)'nt | bi | | raq |
| 6 | | | | ʊn | shí,i | su,d'nt | bi ra,q |
| 7 | | did | shə, | ʊn | shí,i | sa,d'nt | bi w'raq |
| 8 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | su,d'nt | ,, 'raq |
| 9 | | | | ʊn | ·shí,i | su,d'nt | bi raq |
| 10 | | du,d | shi, | ʊn | ·shii | sud'nt | bi w'ra,q |
| 11 | ·ʊt i | did, | | ʊn | shí,i | kud'nt | bi 'ra,q |
| 12 | | did | shə, | ʊn | shí,i | óut'nt tʊ | bi 'ra,q |
| 13 | dha,t | du,d | shə, | [·shí,i] ʊn | shə, | ·shud'nt | bi si fàr° r°à,q |
| 14 | ·ʊt | du,d | shə, | ʊn | ·shí,i | óut'nt tʊ | bi faar° r°aq |
| 15 | | du,d | shə, | ʊn | a)z | síúuə,r° | ʊt shʊ óut'nt tʊ |
| 16 | ·ʊt | du,d | shə, | ʊn | shí,i | ·sud'nt | bi w'r°a,q |
| 17 | | du,d | shə, | ʊn | shə, | ·sud'nt | bi 'r°a,q |
| 18 | | du,d | shi, | ʊn | shí,i | sud'nt | bi r°a,q |
| 19 | ʊt | du,d | shʊ, | ʊn | shí,i | su,d'nt | bi raq |
| 20 | ʊt | did | shi, | ʊn | ·shii | su,d'nt | bi r°aq |
| 21 | ·ʊt | did | shə,, | ʊn | ·shí,i | sud'nt | bi fa'r° 'r°aq |
| 22 | | did | shi, | ʊn | shi | sud'nt | bi si far 'raq |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | mɨɨʊt | ma₁tʊ₁r | ʊz | dhɨs, | uu)s)t | ʃʊ | thɨqk ? |
| 2 | ʊbú₁ut | sáɨk)ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | ·dhɨs, | wha₁t | thɨqk | ʃéii ? |
| 3 | on | ,, ,, | póɨnt | ,, | ,, | what | dʊz | dhú₁u |
| 4 | | ɨn ʊ | thɨq | ʊ | dhɨs | súʊrt. | | |
| 5 | | ɨn sɨk ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhɨs, | dʃɨ naa ? | | |
| 6 | áuə₁r° | sɨ₁k ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhɨ₁s, | what | dʊz | dháu |
| 7 | ʊbáut | sɨk ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhat, | wha*a*t | dʊz | ·dháu |
| 8 | ó*u*)ə₁r | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, | dhɨs, | ,, | ,, | ·dhú₁u |
| 9 | ʊbú₁uut | sɨk ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | ·dhɨs, | su₁d | shɨ thɨqk | ʃʊ ? |
| 10 | óu)ə₁r | sɨk ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhɨs, | sud | shɨ ? | wha₁t |
| 11 | ʊbú₁ut | sek ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhɨs, | what | dʊz | ·dhú₁u |
| 12 | ʊbú₁ut | sek ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhɨs, | what | dʊz | dhú₁u |
| 13 | ʊbú₁ut | sek ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhɨs'n, | what | dʊst | dhʊ |
| 14 | on | sek ʊ | póɨnt | ʊz | dhɨs'n, | what | thɨqk | ·ʃɨ₁i ? |
| 15 | bi sɨ va₁r°ʊ | faar° | r°aq | ʊbú₁ut | sʊk ʊ | ma₁t₁t₁ə₁r° | ʊz | dhɨs'n, |
| 16 | ʊbú₁ut | sek ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | tɨs, | wha₁t | dʊz)tʊ | ·thɨqk ? |
| 17 | ʊbú₁ut | sik ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhɨsʊn, | wha₁t | dʊ ·ʃee | thɨqk ? |
| 18 | ʊbú₁ut | sek ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhɨs, | what | dʊ ·ʃee | thɨqk ? |
| 19 | on | sek ʊ | póɨnt | ʊz | dhɨs, | what | thɨqks)tʊ ? | |
| 20 | ʊbùt | sek ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhat, | su₁d | shɨ, thɨqk)ʃʊ ? | |
| 21 | ʊn | sek ʊ | póɨnt | ʊz | ·dhɨs, | what | thɨqk | ʃɨ₁i ? |
| 22 | abú₁ut | sek ʊ | thɨq | ʊz | dhɨs, | what | dʊ ·ʃee | thɨqk ? |

---

1
2
3 thɨqk ?
4
5
6 thɨqk ?
7 thɨqk ?
8 ,, ʊbú₁ut ɨt ?
9
10 dʊ ʃɨ₁i thɨqk ?
11 thɨqk ʊbú₁ut ɨt ?
12 thɨqk ?
13 [dʊ ·ʃee] thɨqk ?
14
15 what dʊ ·ʃee thɨqk ʊbú₁ut ɨt ?
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | 1 | | wiil, | | ʊz | aa | wʊ | see)in | | ·shii)ʊd |
| | 2 | | wái)ʊ, | dha₁n, | ʊz)i | | wʊz | see)ʊn | | shu)wad |
| | 3 | | | | ,, | áai | ,, | ,, | | ,, wud |
| | 4 | | wái | | ʊz | ái | wʊs | see)in, | | ·shii)d |
| | 5 | | wiil | | ʊz | ái | wʊz | see)ʊn | | ·shii |
| | 6 | | we₁l | | ʊz | ái | wʊz | te₁lʊn | dhʊ | shí₁i |
| | 7 | | wáai)ʊ, | dhan, | ʊz | aa | wʊz | SEE'ʊn, | | shí₁i |
| | 8 | varʊ | wiil, | ,, | ,, | áa₍i | ,, | tELʊn | ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | va₁rʊ | wiil, | | ʊz | aa | wʊz | see)ʊn, | | shí₁i)d |
| | 10 | va₁rʊ | wiil, | | ʊz)ʊ)wʊz | | | see)ʊn, | | shʊ)d |
| | 11 | | wháa₍ii | | ʊz | áa₍i | wʊz | telʊn | dhʊ, | ·shí₁i |
| | 12 | | wáai)ʊ | dha₁n, | ʊz | a | wʊz | see₁ʊn, | | shu)wʊd |
| | 13 | | wáa₍i)ʊ | dha₁n, | ʊz | a | wʊz | ·telʊn | Jʊ | shu [shí₁i] |
| | 14 | | wáai)ʊ, | | ʊz | a | wʊz | SEEʊn | | shə₁ |
| | 15 | | wáa₍i)ʊ, | dha₁n, | ʊz | a | wʊz | SEEʊn, | | ·shu |
| | 16 | | wáai)ʊ, | | ʊz | aa | wʊz | ·SEEʊn | | shu |
| | 17 | | wel, | dhen, | ʊz | a | wʊz | SEEʊn, | | shu |
| | 18 | | wel | | ʊz | aa | wʊz | SEa°n, | | ·shí₁i |
| | 19 | | wíil | | ʊz· | a | wʊz | SEEʊn, | | shí₁i)d |
| | 20 | | wéi | | ʊz | aa | waz | see)ʊn, | | ·shii)l |
| | 21 | | wEl' | | ʊz | ái | wʊz | see)ʊn, | | shí₁i |
| | 22 | | wE'i | dJy₁'əst | ʊz | ái | wʊz | SEE)ʊn, | | shu |

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| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | til | Jʊ | béʊth, | uugʊts | ʊn | wíiʊr | ʊn | win | it |
| 2 | | ·tel | dhʊ | | hú₁u | | whaar° | ʊn | when | |
| 3 | | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ʊn | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 4 | | tEl | Jʊ | | óu | | wàr | ʊn | wEn | |
| 5 | wod | tEl | Jʊ | | óu | | waar | ʊn | wEn | |
| 6 | wad | te₁l | dhʊ | | háu | ʊn | whe₁n | ʊn | whaar° | |
| 7 | wʊd | tEl | dhʊ | | háu | | whaar | ʊn | whEn | |
| 8 | wad | ,, | ,, )t' | sí₁á₁m, | hú₁u | | ,, | ,, | ,, | |
| 9 | | tel | Jʊ | | hú₁uu, | | whaar | ʊn | when | |
| 10 | | tel)Jʊ | | | hú₁u, | | when | ʊn | whaar | |
| 11 | wʊd | tel | dhʊ | | hú₁u | ʊn | whíi₁ə₁r° | ʊn | when | |
| 12 | | tel | Jʊ | | hú₁u | | whoor° | ʊn | when | |
| 13 | wʊd | ·tel | Jʊ | | hú₁u | | when | ʊn | whEEr° | |
| 14 | wʊd | ·tel | Jʊ | | hú₁u | ʊn | whAAr° | ʊn | when | |
| 15 | wʊd | tel | Jʊ | tíu, | hú₁u | ʊn | whoor° | ʊn | ·when | |
| 16 | wʊd | tel | Jʊ | | hú₁u | | when | ʊn | whAAr° | |
| 17 | wʊd | tel | dhʊ | | hú₁u | | whEEr° | ʊn | when | |
| 18 | wʊd | tel | dhʊ | | hú₁u | | whoor° | ʊn | when | |
| 19 | | tel | dhʊ | | hú₁u | | wen | ʊn | whoor | |
| 20 | | tEl | Ji | | huu | | whóoʊr° | ʊn | whEn | |
| 21 | wʊd | tel | Jʊ | | hú₁u | ʊn | when | ʊn | whAAr° | |
| 22 | wud | ·tel | Jʊ | | hú₁u | | when | ʊn | whéeʊr | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | wáavr | vt shv | fan)t' | | ˌdˌruk'n | bíivs | vt shv)z |
| 2 | | shə₁ | fa₁n'd)d' | | ˌdˌr°u₁qken | bíivst | vd shə₁ |
| 3 | | ,, | ,, | dha₁t | ,, | bíivst | vt ,, |
| 4 | | shi | fand)t' | | ˌdˌru₀k''n | bía'st | vt shi |
| 5 | | shi | fu₁nd)t' | | dru₁k'n | biást | shi |
| 6 | | shə₁ | fa₁n't)t' | | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | bíivst | vt)shə₁ |
| 7 | | shi | fa₁nd)t' | | ˌdˌru₁qk'n | bíivst | vt shi |
| 8 | | ,, | ,, ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| 9 | | shi | fa₁n'd | dha₁t | ˌdˌru₁k'n | bi₁iist | shi |
| 10 | | shi | fa₁nd)t' | | ˌdˌru₁k'n | bi₁vst | vt shv |
| 11 | | shi | fá₁nd)d' | | ˌdˌrukvn | bívst | vt shi |
| 12 | | shv | fa₁nd)t' | | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | bi₁ist | vt shv |
| 13 | | shi | fa₁n')t' | | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | fel)lv | vt shi |
| 14 | | shə₁ | fa₁n'd)t' | AAld | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | bi₁ist | vt shv |
| 15 | | shv | fa₁nt)t' | AAl'd | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | bi₁ist | vt shv |
| 16 | | shi | fa₁n'd)t' | | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | bi₁ist | vt shi |
| 17 | | shə₁ | fa₁nd)t' | | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | bi₁ist | vt shi |
| 18 | | shi | fà₁nd)t' | | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | bi₁ist | vt shi |
| 19 | | shi | fu₁nd | dhat | ˌdˌru₁k'n | bi₁ist | shi |
| 20 | | shi | fan)t' | | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | r°u₁bish | vt shi |
| 21 | | shi | fa₁n | dhv | ˌdˌr°u₁k'n | bi₁ist | vt shi |
| 22 | | shi | fú₁und | dhvt | ˌdˌru₁k'n | bi₁ist | vt shi |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | tv kóovl | vr | uzbvn on. |
| 2 | kaalz | ə₁r° | ma₁n. |
| 3 | kaaz | ,, | hu₁zb'nd. |
| 4 | kooz | vr | u₀zbvn. |
| 5 | kooz | vr | u₁zbvn. |
| 6 | kaaz | ə₁ | ma₁n. |
| 7 | kaaz | ə₁r | man. |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | hu₁zbvnd. |
| 9 | kaaz | | hu₁zbvnd. |
| 10 | kooz | ə₁r | hu₁zbvn. |
| 11 | kaaz)t' | | huzbvnt. |
| 12 | kaaz | ə₁r° | hu₁zbvnt. |
| 13 | kooz | ə₁r° | ma₁n [hu₁zbvn'd]. |
| 14 | kaaz | ə₁r° | hu₁zbvnt. |
| 15 | kaaz | ə₁⌊r° | hu₁zbvnt. |
| 16 | kaaz | ə₁r° | hu₁zbvnt. |
| 17 | kooz | ə₁r° | ma₁n. |
| 18 | kooz | ə₁r° | hu₁zbvnt. |
| 19 | kooz | vr | hu₁zbvnd. |
| 20 | kooz | vr° | man. |
| 21 | kaaz | ə₁r° | gudma₁n. |
| 22 | kaaz | vr | hu₁zb'nd. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | 1 | shʊ | ˌtrˌiiʊpt | ʊt | shʊ | soo im | wiv ʊr | éeʊn |
| | 2 | shi | swaar° | ʊd | shə₁ | saa)im | wiv ə₁r° | aan |
| | 3 | shə₁ | ,, | ʊt | shʊ | ,, ,, | wi ,, | ,, |
| | 4 | shi | swíʊr | | shi | saa)im | wi ʊr | aan |
| | 5 | shi | swíár | | shi | saa)ʊm | wi ʊr | aan |
| | 6 | shə₁ | swyy₁'a₁r | ʊt | shə₁ | saa)im | wi)ə₁r | aan |
| | 7 | shi | swiiár | ʊt | shi | saa)im | widh)ə₁r | aan |
| | 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | shi | swyy₁'a₁r | | shi | saa)im | wi)ə₁r | aan |
| | 10 | shi₁i | swi₁á₁r | ʊt | shi | saa)im | wi)ə₁r | aan |
| | 11 | wháa₁ii, shi | swii₁r° | ʊt | shi | saa)ʊm | wi)t' | aan |
| | 12 | shʊ | swi₁á₁r° | ʊt | shʊ | soo)im | wi ə₁r° | oon |
| | 13 | shi | swee₁r° | ʊt | shi | soo im | wi₁d)ə₁₁r° | òn |
| | 14 | shi | swyy₁r°t | ʊt | shʊ | si₁id im | | |
| | 15 | shi | swi₁a₁r° | ʊt | shʊ | SAA)ʊm | wi e₁r° | oon |
| | 16 | shi | swyy₁ə₁r° | | shʊ | soo)ʊm | wi₁d)ə₁₁r° | oon |
| | 17 | shə₁ | s₁wyy₁ʊr° | | shə₁ | soo)im | wi₁d)ə₁₁r° | oon |
| | 18 | shi | swyy₁a°r°t | ʊt | shi | soo)im | wi₁d)ə₁r° | oon |
| | 19 | shi | swoor | | shi | soo)ʊm | wi₁d)ʊr | oon |
| | 20 | shi | swii₁ʊr° | ʊt | shi | soo)im | wu₁d ʊr° | oon |
| | 21 | shi | swyy₂'ə₁r° | | shi | si₁id)im | wi)ə₁r° | een |
| | 22 | shi | swy₁a₁r | ʊt | shi | si₁id)im | widh)ʊr | AAN |

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | íʊn, | ligin | | s₁t₁ritjt | ʊt laq lenth | | ʊtop |
| 2 | éiin, | ligʊn | la₁q | s₁t₁r°i₁á₁kt | | | ʊtop |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | ,, | s₁t₁r°iiʊkt | | | ,, |
| 4 | áiz, | ligin | ʊ)t' fu₀l | ratj | | | |
| 5 | áiz, | ligin | laq | striiʊkt | ʊt fu₁l LENTH | | |
| 6 | i₁in, | ligʊn | | s₁t₁rec₁k | áut | | ʊtop |
| 7 | éiin, | ligʊn | | s₁t₁rek | áut | | ʊtop |
| 8 | i₁in, | ,, | | — | — | | ,, |
| 9 | i₁iin, | ligʊn | ful | s₁t₁ru₁k | | | |
| 10 | i₁in, | ligʊn | oo)iz | | | lenth | ʊtop |
| 11 | i₁in ʊn ə₁r°, | †li₁ʊgʊn | aa iz | | aan | †li₁ʊnth | ʊtop |
| 12 | i₁in, | ligʊn | | s₁t₁ry₁kt | ú₁ut ʊt ful lenth | | ʊtop |
| 13 | i₁n, | ligʊn | oo iz | | | lenth | ʊtop |
| 14 | | | | s₁t₁r°i₁ikt AA iz la₁q lenth | | | |
| 15 | i₁in, | ligʊn | laq | s₁t₁r°i₁ikt | | | ʊtop |
| 16 | i₁in, | ligʊn | la₁q | s₁t₁r₁i₁ikt | | | — |
| 17 | i₁in, | ligʊn | | s₁t₁r°etjt | ú₁ut oo)iz lenth | | |
| 18 | i₁iin, | liga°n | | s₁t₁r°éeit u₁ut ʊt ful lenth | | | |
| 19 | i₁iin, | ligʊn | laq | s₁t₁rii₁it | | | |
| 20 | áiz, | lái·ʊn | laq | s₁t₁r°iit | | | |
| 21 | i₁in, | ligʊn | | s₁t₁r°lkt ùt hiz hi₁ʊl lenth | | | |
| 22 | i₁in, | láaiʊn | | s₁t₁ri₁ikt ú₁ut AA iz laq lenth | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ɐ)t' | gr*u*nd, | *i*v | *i*z | g*ii*ɐd | s*u*ndɐ | k*ú*uɐt, |
| 2 | ɐ)d' | gr°*u*₁nd, | *i*v | *i*z | g*u*d | s*u*₁ndi | k*wú*₁ɐt, |
| 3 | ,, t' | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | ɔn t' | gr*u*₀nd, | *i*n | *i*z | bɛst | | kúɐt, |
| 5 | on t' | gr*ə*₁nd, | *i*n | *i*z | g*u*₁d | s*u*₁ndɐ | kúuɐt, |
| 6 | ɐ)t' | gr*ú*₁und, | *i*₁n)*i*z | | ha₁l*i*dɐ | | kl*í*₁á₁z, |
| 7 | ɐ t' | gr*ú*₁und, | ɐv)*i*z | | | s*u*₁ndɐ | kl*í*₁áz, |
| 8 | —,, | ,, | *i*n | ,, | bɛst | ,, | k*ú*₁ɐt, |
| 9 | on)t' | gr*u*₁nd, | *i*n | *i*z | g*u*d | s*u*₁ndɐ | k*wú*₁at, |
| 10 | ɐ)t' | gr*y*₁nd, | *i*n | *i*z | be₁t*ə*₁rm*ə*₁r | | klóₗá₁z, |
| 11 | ɐ)t' | gr*ú*₁uund, | *i*n | *i*z | be₁t*ə*₁rm*ə*₁r° | | kl*í*₁az, |
| 12 | ɐ)t' | gr*u*₁nd, | *i*n | *i*z | best | | kl*í*₁á₁z, |
| 13 | ɐ)t' | gr*ú*₁un'd, | *i*v | *i*z | g*u*d | s*u*₁ndɐ | k*wú*₁at, |
| 14 | on)t' | gr*u*₁n'd, | ɐv | *i*z | g*u*d | s*u*₁ndɐ | kw*oo*t, |
| 15 | ɐ)t' | gr°*ú*₁un'd, | *i*n | *i*z | best | s*u*n₁dɐ | k*wú*₁ɐt, |
| 16 | on)t' | gr°*u*₁n'd, | *i*v | *i*z | g*u*d | s*u*n₁dɐ | k*wú*₁á₁t, |
| 17 | on)t' | gr°*u*₁n, | *i*₁v | *i*z | g*u*d | s*u*₁ndɐ | k*ú*₁á₁t, |
| 18 | on)t' | gr*y*₁nd, | ɐv | *i*z | g*u*d | s*u*₁ndɐ | k*wú*₁ɐt |
| 19 | on)t' | gr*u*₁nd, | ɐv | *i*z | g*u*₁d | s*u*₁ndɐ | k*wo*t, |
| 20 | on)t' | gr°*u*₁n, | *i*v | *i*z | g*u*₁d | s*u*₁ndɐ | kŭóɐt, |
| 21 | on) dhɐ | gr°*u*₁n, | *i*n | *i*z | g*u*d | s*u*₁ndɐ | k*ú*₁ɐt |
| 22 | on dhɐ | gr*ú*₁und, | ɐv | *i*z | g*u*d | s*u*₁ndɐ | k*wú*₁ɐt |

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | tléɐs | b*i*v)t' | us | d*íi*ɐ, | duun |
| 2 | kl*wú*₁ɐs | b*i*)d' | | dy₁*ə*₁r° ɐv *i*z aan h*ú*₁us, | d*ú*₁un |
| 3 | ,, | ,, t' | | díúuɐr ɐ)t' — ,, | ,, |
| 4 | tlúɐs | ɐs*ái*d | | ɐv *i*z aan dúɐr, | dó*u*n |
| 5 | klúuɐs | bi)t' | | d*ú*ɐr stían | dó*u*n |
| 6 | kl*ú*uɐs | b*i*)t' | há*u*s | díúur | dá*u*n |
| 7 | kl*ú*₁ɐs | | | tɐv)*i*z aan díúu*ə*₁r, | dá*u*n |
| 8 | ,, | b*i*sáa₍*i*d)t' | | h*ú*₁us díúu*ə*₁r | d*ú*₁un |
| 9 | kl*wú*₁ɐs | bi)t' | h*ú*₁ùs | d*ú*₁u*ə*₁r | d*ú*₁un |
| 10 | kl*wú*₁ɐs | ɐsáa*i*d)t' | | h*ú*₁us díúur | d*ú*₁un |
| 11 | haar°d | b*i*)t' | | d*ú*ə₁r° ɐ)t' h*ú*₁us, | d*ú*₁un |
| 12 | kl*wú*₁ɐs | b*i*)t' | | dy₁*ə*₁r° ɐv *i*z oon h*ú*₁us, | d*ú*₁un |
| 13 | kl*wú*₁ɐs | b*i*)t' | h*u*₁us | dy₁*ə*₁r° | d*ú*₁un |
| 14 | kl*woo*s | b*i*)t' | h*ú*₁us | dy₁*ə*₁r° | d*ú*₁un |
| 15 | kl*wú*₁ɐs | b*i*)t' | | d*íú*ə₁r° ɐv *i*z oon h*ú*₁us, | d*ú*₁un |
| 16 | kl*wú*₁á₁s | b*i*)t' | h*ú*₁us | dyy₁*ə*₁r°, | d*ú*₁un |
| 17 | kl*ú*₁ɐz | b*i*)t' | h*ú*₁us | d*ú*₁u*ə*₁r°, | d*ú*₁un |
| 18 | kl*wú*₁ɐs | b*i*)t' | h*ú*₁us | dɐ*ú*₁u*ə*₁r° | d*ú*₁un |
| 19 | na₁r)t' | | | d*ú*u₁ɐr ɐ)t' hu₁us, | d*ú*₁un |
| 20 | klŭóos | b*i*)t' | huuz | d*ii*₁ɐr° | dùn)t' |
| 21 | kl*ú*₁ɐs | b*i* dhɐ | h*ú*₁us | dy₁*ə*₁r° | d*ú*₁un |
| 22 | kl*ú*₁ɐs | b*i* dhɐ | h*ú*₁us | d*ii*'₁ɐr | d*ú*₁un |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊt t' | nɨiʊk | ʊ ɟon | lon. |
| 2 | i)d' | nɨúk | ʊ ɟon | lwú₁ʊnɨn. |
| 3 | ʊt)t' | kwú₁ʊr°nʊr° | ,, ,, | lwú₁ʊn. |
| 4 | ʊt t' | kA'rnʊr | ʊ ɟon | rúʊd. |
| 5 | i t' | kAArnʊr | o)t' | lonɨn ɟondʊr. |
| 6 | bi)t' | nɨ₁uk | ʊ)ɟon | lúuʊn. |
| 7 | i)t' | nɨuk | ʊ)ɟon | lú₁ʊn. |
| 8 | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, |
| 9 | i)t | kArnə₁r | ʊ ɟon | lwú₁ʊn. |
| 10 | i)t | nɨuk | ʊ ɟon | lwú₁ʊn. |
| 11 | ʊt)t' | kwú₁ə₁r°nə₁r° | ʊ)t' | lwú₁ʊn. |
| 12 | ʊt)t' | nɨuk | ʊ ɟon | lwúu₁ʊnɨn. |
| 13 | ʊt t' | nhnɨuk | ʊ ɟon | lwú₁ʊn. |
| 14 | ʊt | | ɟon | lonɨn nɨuk. |
| 15 | bi)t' | nɨuk | ʊ ɟon | lwu₁nɨn. |
| 16 | ʊt | | ɟon | lwú₁ʊnɨn nɨuk. |
| 17 | ʊ)t' | nɨuk | ʊ ɟon | lú₁a₁nɨn. |
| 18 | i)t' | nɨuk | ʊ ɟon | lwú₁ʊnɨn. |
| 19 | bi)t' | koornʊr | ʊ ɟon | lonɨn. |
| 20 | | kor°nʊr° | ʊ ɟon | leen. |
| 21 | ʊt dhʊ | kA'r°nə₁r° | ʊ ɟon | lonɨn. |
| 22 | ʊt dhi | nii₁ʊk | ʊ ɟon | lonɨn. |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. | 1 | i | wʊr | ʊgɨiʊt | ʊ waanɨn | sʊz | shʊ, | fʊr |
| | 2 | hi | wʊz | r°wúu₁ʊr°ʊn | ʊwee', | shə₁ | sʊd, | fə₁r° |
| | 3 | ,, | ,, | whɨndɟʊn | ʊwee, | ,, | sʊz, | fʊ |
| | 4 | i | wʊz | grɨʊnɨn | ʊwee, | | | fʊr |
| | 5 | ʊn i | wʊz | wɨndɟɨn | ʊn wáɨnɨn | ʊwee, | sʊz shii, | dɟu₁st fʊr |
| | 6 | hɨ₁i | wʊz | rúuʊrʊn | ʊwee₁, | sʊ)shɨ, | | fə₁r° |
| | 7 | hi | wʊz | rú₁ʊrʊn | ʊwee[1], | sʊd | shɨ₁i, | fʊr |
| | 8 | hɨ₁i | ,, | ,, | ,, | sʊ | ,, | ,, |
| | 9 | hi | wʊz | rwú₁ʊrʊn | ʊwee, | sʊz | shɨ₁i, | fʊr |
| | 10 | hɨ₁i | wʊz | róʊrʊn | ʊwee, | sʊz | shɨ₁i, | fə₁r |
| | 11 | hɨ₁i | wʊz | bɨ₁ʊlʊn | ʊwee₁, | †sɨ₁ʊd | †shɨiʊ, | fə₁r° |
| | 12 | hi | wʊz | whɨndɟʊn | ʊwee₁, | sʊz | shɨ₁i, | fə₁r° |
| | 13 | hi | wʊz | whɨndɟʊn | ʊwee, | sʊz | shɨ₁i, | fə₁r° |
| | 14 | hi | wʊz | whɨndɟʊn | ʊwee, | shʊ | shɨ₁i, | fə₁r° |
| | 15 | shʊ sʊd | ʊt t' | AAl'd felɟlʊ | wʊz whɨndɟʊn | | | fə₁r° |
| | 16 | hɨ₁i | wʊz | whɨndɟʊn | ʊwee, | shʊ | shɨ₁i, | fə₁r° |
| | 17 | hi | wʊz | whɨndɟʊn | ʊwee, | sʊz | shɨ₁i, | fʊr° |
| | 18 | hɨ₁i | wʊz | whɨndɟa°n | ʊwee, | sʊz | shɨ₁i, | fu₁r° |
| | 19 | hi | wʊz | wɨndɟʊn | ʊwee, | | | fʊr |
| | 20 | hi | wʊz | kr°ɨ₁ʊnɨn | ʊwee, | shi | sez,— | fʊr° |
| | 21 | hɨ | wʊz | whâɨnʊn | ʊwee, | sʊz | shi, | dɟu₁st fə₁r° |
| | 22 | hi | wʊz | grɨ₁itʊn | ʊwee, | shi | sez, | fʊr |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | éeʊl t' | | waald | laak | tʊv | ʊ | síʊk | béeʊn, |
| 2 | AAl)d' | | wəə₁r°ʊl'd)d' | sí₁á₁m | ʊz | ʊ | ba₁dli | baar°n, |
| 3 | AA)t' | | wu₁r°ʊl'd)t' | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | AA¹)t' | | wʊrld | láik | | ʊ | stikt | pig. |
| 5 | o)t' | | wəə₁rld | láik | | ʊ | badli | baarn, |
| 6 | AA)t' | | wəə₁rʊld)t' | sí₁ám | ʊz | ʊ | ba₁dli | baar°n, |
| 7 | AA)t' | | wəə₁rʊld)t' | sí₁ám | ʊz | ʊ | badli | baarn |
| 8 | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | AA)t' | | wəə₁rld | láik | | ʊ | ba₁dli | baarn, |
| 10 | oo)t' | | waardt [waar'ldt] | sí₁ʊm | ʊz | ʊ | badli | baarn, |
| 11 | aa)t' | | wəə₁r°ʊld | láa₍ik | | ʊ | ba₁dli | †bí₁Er°n, |
| 12 | AA)t' | | wəə₁r°ʊld | láa₍ik | | ʊ | ba₁dli | baar°n, |
| 13 | A')t' | | wəə₁r°ʊl'd | t' sí₁é₁m | ʊz | ʊ | ba₁dli | baar°n, |
| 14 | AA)t' | | waar°d'l | láaik | | ʊ | sí₁iik | baar°n, |
| 15 | AA)t' | | wəə₁r°ʊl'd | láa₍ik | | ʊ | ba₁dli | baa⌊r°n, |
| 16 | AA)t' | | waar°ʊld | láaik | | ʊ | ba₁dli | baar°n, |
| 17 | oo)t' | | wu₁r°ld | láa₍ik | | ʊ | ba₁dli | baar°n, |
| 18 | oo)t' | | waar°ʊld | t' sí₁a₁m | ʊz | ʊ | ba₁dli | baar°n, |
| 19 | oo)t' | | warld | láik | | ʊ | síi₁ik | baarn, |
| 20 | oo)t' | | waar°ld | léik | | ʊ | badli | béeʊr°n, |
| 21 | AAl' | dhʊ | waar°ʊl | lE'ik | | ʊ | sìk | beer°n, |
| 22 | AA | dhʊ | wəə₁r'ld | lE'ik | | ʊ | sí₁ik | tɟE'ild, |

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| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊr | ʊ | laal | | las | ʊv | ʊ | tivi. | |
| 2 | ʊr° | ʊ | láail | | lă₁s | ʊt | ʊd | git'n | sa₁dli fr°éiit'n'd. |
| 3 | ,, | ,, | ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | — fr°éiit'ndt. |
| 4 | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | ʊr | ʊ | láil | | las | frit'nd. | | | |
| 6 | ə₁r°)ʊ | | láail | | lăs | grí₁itʊn. | | | |
| 7 | ʊr)ʊ | | láail | | las | ʊt | wʊz | sadli | fréiit'nt. |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | láa₍il | pEtit | lăs. | | | | |
| 9 | ə₁r)ʊ | | láil | | la₁s | in)ʊ | frí₁iiʊt. | | |
| 10 | ə₁r°)ʊ | | láil | | la₁s | grí₁itʊn. | | | |
| 11 | ə₁r°)ʊ | | láa₍il | | la₁s | in(t' | su₁lks. | | |
| 12 | ə₁r° | ʊ | láa₍il | | lăs | ʊt | ʊd | git'n | frí₁it'nt. |
| 13 | ə₁r° | ʊ | lâil | petit | lăs | grí₁itʊn. | | | |
| 14 | ə₁r° | ʊ | làl | | lăs | iv)ʊ | fr°í₁it. | | |
| 15 | ə₁r° | ʊ | lal | | lăs | ʊv)ʊ | pet. | | |
| 16 | ə₁r° | ʊ | lal | petit | lăs. | | | | |
| 17 | ə₁r°)ʊ | | laa₍l | petit | lăs. | | | | |
| 18 | ə₁r°)ʊ | | laa'l | | lăs | iv | ʊ | pet. | |
| 19 | ʊr | ʊ | laa₁l | | las | ʊv | ʊ | pet. | |
| 20 | ʊr° | ʊ | léil | | las | i)t' | pEt. | | |
| 21 | ə₁r° | | su₁m | wí₁i | bit | lasi | iv | ʊ | fr°ìt. |
| 22 | ʊr | ʊ | lit'l | | las | in | ʊ | frí₁it. | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | 1 | ʊn | ·dhat | ap'nd | ʊz | shi | ʊn t' | dóu,tʊ,r i | léeʊ |
| | 2 | ʊn | ·dha₁t | ha₁p'mpt | ʊz | hə₁r° | ʊn t' | su₁n wâif | |
| | 3 | ,, | ,, | ha₁p'ndt | ʊz | ə₁r° | ,, ə₁r° | dóu₁,tə₁,r° i laa | |
| | 4 | ʊn | dhat | ap'nt, | ʊz | ɜ'r | ʊn ʊr | dóu,t'ʊ,r i loo | wʊs |
| | 5 | ʊn | dhat | ap'nd | ʊz | shii | ʊn ʊr | dóutʊr in laa | |
| | 6 | náu | dha₁t | ha₁p'nt | ʊz | həə₁r° | ʊn ə₁r° | dóu,tə₁,r°i LAA | |
| | 7 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'mpt | ʊz | həə₁r | ʊn ʊ | dóutə₁r i LAA | |
| | 8 | ,, | ,, | ha₁p'nd | ʊz | hə₁r | ,, ə₁r | ,, ,, laa | |
| | 9 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'nt whal | | hə₁r | ʊn ə₁r | dóu,tə₁r i LAA | |
| | 10 | nú₁u | dha₁t | ha₁p'mt | ʊz | shii | ʊn ə₁r | dou₁tə₁,r i laa | |
| | 11 | ʊn it | | †hí₁EP'nt | ʊz | hə₁r° | ʊn)t' | †siú₁n wáa,if | wʊz |
| | 12 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'mpt | ʊz | hə₁r° | ʊn)ə₁r° | dóu,tə₁,r°i LAA | |
| | 13 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'mpt | ʊz | hə₁r° | ʊn)ə₁r° | dóu,tə₁,r° i LAA | |
| | 14 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'mpt | ʊz | həə₁r° | ʊn)t' | su₁n wáaif | |
| | 15 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'mpt | ʊz | həə₁r° | ʊn)t' | su₁n wáa,if | |
| | 16 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'mt | ʊz | həə₁r° | ʊn)ə₁r° | dóu,tə₁,r° i loo | |
| | 17 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'mpt | ʊz | hə₁r° | ʊn)ə₁r° | dóu,tə₁,r° i loo | wə₁r° |
| | 18 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'nt | ʊz | hə₁r° | ʊn)ə₁r° | dóu,tə₁,r°)in)LAA | |
| | 19 | ʊn | dhat | tok pliás | ʊz | shii₁i | ʊn t' | dáu,tʊ,r)n)loo | |
| | 20 | ʊn | dhat | waz | ʊz | hɜr° | ʊn ʊr° | su₁n wéif | |
| | 21 | ʊn | dhis | ha₁p'nd | ʊz | hə₁r° | ʊn ə₁r° | su₁n WE'if | |
| | 22 | ʊn | dha₁t | ha₁p'nd | ʊz | hɜr | ʊn ʊr | dóu,tʊ,r in LAA | wʊr |

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | kam dhʊ wíiʊz | ,t,ruf)t' | bak géeʊth | frev | aqin t' |
| 2 | ku₁ | ,t,r°ú₁u)d' | ba₁ksáaid | fr°e | hiqʊn)d' |
| 3 | ,, | thr°ú₁u)t' | ,, JAAR°d | fr°e | hiqin — ú₁ut)t' |
| 4 | kumin | thruu)t' | bak JA'rd | fre | iqin t' |
| 5 | kom | thruu)t' | bak JAARD | fre | iqin óut t' |
| 6 | ku₁m | thrú₁u,t' | ba₁k faald | fre₁ | hiqen t' |
| 7 | ku₁m | thrú₁u)t' | bak faald | frE | hiqin t' |
| 8 | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, sáa,id | ,, | ,, ,, |
| 9 | ko | thrú₁uu)t' | ba₁k JAA[rd | fre | hiqʊn t' |
| 10 | ko thrú₁u)t' | ba₁k faald | [sáid] | free | hiqʊn t' |
| 11 | ku₁mʊn | thr°ɑ'u)t' | ba₁k †JÍ₁ER°d | fr°aa₁ | hiqʊn t' |
| 12 | ku | thr°ú₁u)t' | ba₁k JAAR°d | fr°e | hiqin ú₁ut t' |
| 13 | kom | thr°ú₁u)t' | ba₁k fòl'd | fr°e | hiqʊn t' |
| 14 | kŭ | thr°ú₁u)t' | ba₁k FAAL'd | fr°e | hiq'ʊn ú₁ut t' |
| 15 | ku₁m [kŭ] | thr°ú₁u)t' | ba₁k sáaid | fr°ʊ | hiq'in t' |
| 16 | ku₁ | thr°ú₁u)t' | ba₁k fool'd | fr°ʊ | hiqʊn ú₁ut t' |
| 17 | ku₁mʊn | thr°ú₁u)t' | ba₁k fool'd | fr°ʊ | hiqʊn ú₁ut)t' |
| 18 | ku₁m | thr°ʊú₁u)t' | ba₁k sáaid | fr°E | hiqa°n)t' |
| 19 | kom | thrú₁ut)t, | foold | free | hiqʊn u₁p)t' |
| 20 | koom | thr°uu)t' | bak JAAR°d | fr°ee | hiqʊn uut)t' |
| 21 | kam | thr°ú₁u dhʊ | ba₁k sâid | fr°e | hiqʊn ùt dhʊ |
| 22 | ku₁ma°n | thrú₁u dhʊ | ba₁k foold | fre | hiqin dhʊ |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | wit | tléeuz. | uut | tu | ˌdraa | uv u | wéishin | diiu, |
| 2 | wet | kli₁á₁z | ú₁ut | tu | ˌdr°áai | u)d' | weshin | dee, |
| 3 | wet | kli₁á₁z | | ,, | ,, | uv)a | ,, | dee, |
| 4 | | tliuz | óut | | | on)t' | wesh'in | dee, |
| 5 | wet | kliáz | | tu | drái | on u | weshin | dee, |
| 6 | we₁t | kli₁á₁z | áut | ut | ˌdráai | jaa | we₁shin | dee₁, |
| 7 | wet | kli₁áz | áut | ut | ˌdráai | jaa | weshin | dee[1], |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ú₁ut | ut | ˌdráaˌi | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | wet | kli₁á₁z | ú₁ut | ut | ˌdrái | u)t' | weshun | dee, |
| 10 | wet | kli₁uz | ú₁ut | tu | ˌdráai | jaa | weeshin | dee, |
| 11 | wet | kli₁ez | ú₁ut | ut | ˌdráˌi | jaa | weshi₁n | †di₁e, |
| 12 | wet | kli₁a₁z | | tu | ˌdraaˌi | un u | we₁shin | dee₁, |
| 13 | wet | kli₁é₁z | ú₁ut | tu | ˌdráaˌi | ja | we₁shun | dee, |
| 14 | wet | tli₁é₁z | | tu | ˌdráai | ut t' | weshun | dee, |
| 15 | wet | kli₁á₁z | ú₁ut | tu | ˌdráaˌi | uv u | weshin | dee, |
| 16 | wet | kli₁á₁z | | tu | ˌdráai | jaa | weshun | dee, |
| 17 | wet | kli₁a₁z | | tu | ˌdráaˌi | ja | weshin | dee, |
| 18 | wet | kli₁a₁z | ú₁ut | tu | ˌdr°áai | jaa | weshin | dee, |
| 19 | wi₁it | kliáz | | tu | ˌdrái | uv u | weshun | dee, |
| 20 | wet | kliiuz | | tu | ˌdr°éi | o)t' | weshun | dee, |
| 21 | wet | kli₁uz | | ta | ˌdrâi | on u | weshin | dee, |
| 22 | wet | klii₁ez | ú₁ut | tu | ˌdráai | uv u | weshin | dee'u, |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. 1 | waal)t' | | kit'l | wu | bóoulin | fu)t' | tiiu, | u jan |
| 2 | whâil)d' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁r° | téii, | jaa |
| 3 | wháail)t' | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | wáil t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilin | fur)t' | tii, | jàn |
| 5 | wáil t' | | ket'l | wu | bóilin | fur)t' | tii, | jaa |
| 6 | ⌊wháa⌋il)t' | | ke₁t'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁r°)t' | ti₁i, | jaa |
| 7 | wháail)t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | faar)t' | téii, | jaa |
| 8 | whal ,, | | ,, | ,, | ,, | fu)t' | ti₁i, | ,, |
| 9 | whal)t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fur)t' | ti₁ii, | jaa |
| 10 | wháail t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁r)t' | tii, | jaa |
| 11 | til t' | | †ki₁et'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁r°)t' | †ti₁e, | jaa |
| 12 | wháaˌil t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁r°)t' | ti₁i, | jaa |
| 13 | wháaˌil' t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁r° | ti₁ii, | jaa |
| 14 | wháail)t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁ | ti₁i, | jaa |
| 15 | wháaˌil)t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fu | ti₁i, | jaa |
| 16 | wháail)t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁r°)t' | ti₁i, | jaa |
| 17 | ut t' táaˌim ut t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁r°)t' | ti₁i, | jaa |
| 18 | wháail)t' | | ket'l | wuz | bóila°n | fə₁r°)t' | ti₁i, | jaa |
| 19 | ut t' táim ut t' | | ketul | wuz | bóilun | fur | tii₁i, | ja |
| 20 | when)t' | | ket'l | waz | bóilun | fur°)t' | tii, | je |
| 21 | whe'il dhu | | ket'l | wuz | bóilun | fə₁r° | ti₁i, | je' |
| 22 | whe'il dhu | | ket'l | wuz | bóila°n | fur | ti₁i, | jen |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | faan | briit | | *i*f‿tɐn*i*ɐn *i* s*u*mɐ, | nubɐt |
| 2 | | fáa*i*n | br°éiit | s*u*₁mə₁r° | ɛf‿tə₁₁r°n*i*ú*u*n, | nobɐt |
| 3 | | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 4 | rɐvl | fá*i*n | | | af‿tɐ‿rnuun *i* s*u*₀mɐr, | |
| 5 | | fá*i*n | br*i*it | s*u*₁mɐr | ɛftɐrnuun | nobɐt |
| 6 | | | br*i*₁it | s*u*₁mə₁r | e₁f‿tə₁₁r°n*i*₁*u*n | nobɐt |
| 7 | | | bréiit | s*u*₁mə₁r | ɛf‿tə₁₁rn*i*ɐn | nobɐt |
| 8 | | | br*i*₁it | ,, | ɛf‿tə₁₁rn*i*úun | ,, |
| 9 | | fá*i*n | br*i*₁iit | s*u*₁mə₁r | e₁f‿tə₁₁rn*i*ɐn | nobɐt |
| 10 | | bon*i* | br*i*₁it | s*u*₁mə₁r | ef‿tə₁₁rn*i*ɐn | nobɐt |
| 11 | | fáa‿*i*n | | s*u*₁mə₁r° | ɛf‿tə₁₁rn*i*u₁n | noobɐt |
| 12 | | | br°*i*₁it | s*u*₁mə₁r° | e₁f‿tə₁₁r°n*i*ɐn | nobɐt |
| 13 | | fáa‿*i*n | | s*u*₁mə₁r° | e₁f‿tə₁r°n*i*ɐn | nobɐt |
| 14 | | | br°*i*₁it | s*u*₁mə₁r° | ɛf‿tə₁₁r°n*i*ɐn | nobɐt |
| 15 | [w*u*₁n] | fáa*i*n | br°*i*₁it | s*u*₁mə₁r° | ɛf‿tə₁₁r°n*i*ɐn | nobɐt |
| 16 | | fáa*i*n | br°*i*₁it | s*u*₁mə₁r° | ɛf‿tə₁₁n°n*i*ɐn | nobɐt |
| 17 | | fáa‿*i*n | br°*i*₁it | s*u*₁mə₁r° | ef‿tə₁₁r°n*i*ú*u*n, | nobɐt |
| 18 | | fáa*i*n | br°*i*₁it | s*u*₁mə₁r° | ef‿tə₁₁r°n*i*ú*u*n, | nobɐt |
| 19 | | fá*i*n | br*i*₁iit | s*u*₁mɐr | ef‿tɐ‿rn*i*ú*u*n | nobɐt |
| 20 | | fé*i*n | br°iit | s*u*₁mɐr° | ef‿tɐ‿r°n*i*₁ɐn | nobɐt |
| 21 | | fɛ'*i*n | | | ɛf‿tə₁₁r°n*i*ǐúun | nobɐt |
| 22 | | fɛ'*i*n | br*i*₁it | s*u*₁mɐr | ɛf‿tɐ‿rn*i*'₁ɛn | nobɐt |

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ɐ | wiik | s*i*n | k*u*m)t' | nekst | thozdɐ. |
| 2 | ɐ | wéiik | sen | k*u*₁ | | th*uu*₁r°zdi. |
| 3 | ,, | wéiik | ,, | k*u*₁m | nesht | ,, |
| 4 | ɐn | *i*t)'l | nobɐt | b*i* ɐ | wìk ɐ | thʌ'rzdɐ. |
| 5 | ɐ | w*i*k | sɛn | k*u*₁m | nɛkst | thʌʌrzdɐ. |
| 6 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | se₁n | k*u*₁m | ne₁kst | thə₁r°zdɐ. |
| 7 | ɐ | wéiik | s*i*₁n | k*u*₁m | | th*u*₁rzdɐ. |
| 8 | ,, | w*i*₁ik | sɛn | ,, | nɛst | thəə₁rzdɐ. |
| 9 | ɐ | w*i*₁iik | sen | k*u*₁m | nekst | th*u*₁rzdɐ. |
| 10 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | sen | k*u*₁m | nekst | thə₁rzdɐ. |
| 11 | ɐ | †w*i*₁ɐk | †s*i*₁ɛn | | †n*i*₁ɛkst | thəə₁r°zdɐ. |
| 12 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | sen | k*u* | nekst | th*u*₁r°zdɐ. |
| 13 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | sen | k*u* | | thə₁r°zdɐ. |
| 14 | )ɐ | w*i*₁ik | sen | k*ŭ* | n*i*₁ist | thəə₁r°zdɐ. |
| 15 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | sen | | ɐ | th*uu*₁r°zdɐ. |
| 16 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | sɛn | k*u*₁m | n*i*₁ist | thəə₁r°zdɐ. |
| 17 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | | | nekst | thəə₁r°zdɐ sen. |
| 18 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | sen | | nekst | th*u*₁r°zdɐ. |
| 19 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | | kom | | thəə₁rzdɐ sen. |
| 20 | ɐ | wiik | sen | | niist | thɐr°zde. |
| 21 | ɐ | wìk | sɛ'*i*n | k*u*₁m | nɛ̂ist | thɔ̀r°zdɐ. |
| 22 | ɐ | w*i*₁ik | gon | k*u*₁m | | th*u*₁rzdɐ. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | 1 | ɐn | noo ɹɐ, | béeɐn? | ɐt | a | níiɐ | líiɐnt | nòut |
| | 2 | ɐn | du₁s)tɐ | nhaa? | ái | | nyvə₁r° | héiiə₁r°d | nóut |
| | 3 | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | áai | | ni₁vɐr° | líiɐr°nd | ,, |
| | 4 | ɐn | sii ɹɐ! | | a | | nivɐr | àrd | ɐ thiq |
| | 5 | ɐn | d)ɹɐ | naa? | a | | niv·ɐr | laarnd | ɐni |
| | 6 | ɐn | dɐs)tɐ | naa? | aa | | ni₁və₁r° | laar°'nd | nóut |
| | 7 | ɐn | du₁s)tɐ | nhaa? | a | | ni₁və₁r | híiə₁rd | nóut |
| | 8 | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | aa | | ,, | laar'nd | ,, |
| | 9 | ɐn | dii)ɹɐ | naa? | aa | | ni₁və₁r | laar°'nt | eni |
| | 10 | ɐn | dɐ)ɹɐ | nhaa? | aa | | nivə₁r | laarnd | nóut |
| | 11 | ɐn | †dí₁ɐs)tɐ | naa? | aa | | †ní₁ɐvə₁r° | hí₁ə₁r°d | eni |
| | 12 | ɐn | du₁s)tɐ | noo? | a | | ni₁və₁r° | laar°'nd | nóut |
| | 13 | ɐn | dɐs)tɐ | noo? | ɐ | | ni₁bə₁r° | har°d | nóut |
| | 14 | ɐn | dɐs)tɐ | nhaa? | ɐ | | ni₁və₁r° | haar°d | nóut |
| | 15 | ɐn | dɐs)tɐ | nhoo? | a₁ | | ni₁və₁r° | ga₁t tɐ hí₁iə₁r° | nóut |
| | 16 | ɐn | dɐs)tɐ | tnhoo? | aa | | ni₁və₁r° | nóudə₁r° | haar°d |
| | 17 | ɐn | du₁s)tɐ | noo? | ɐ | | ni₁və₁r° | laar°nd | |
| | 18 | ɐn | du₁s)tɐ | noo? | aa | | ni₁və₁r° | laar°nt | nóut |
| | 19 | ɐn | du₁s)tɐ | noo? | a₁ | | nivɐr | larnd | níiɐ |
| | 20 | ɐn | di)ɹi | noo? | ɐ | | nivɐr° | fan ùt | óut |
| | 21 | ɐn | di)ɹɐ | ken? | âi | | ni₁və₁r° | hí₁iə₁r°d | |
| | 22 | ɐn | di)ɹɐ | ·noo? | áa⌊i | | nyvɐr | líi'ɐrnd | |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | nɐ | | méeɐr | ɐn | dhis | ɐ | dhat | diid up |
| 2 | ni | | maar° | ɐ | dhis | | | biznis |
| 3 | ,, | | ,, | ,, | dha₁t | | | biz'ni₁s |
| 4 | | | | ɐbóut | it | | | |
| 5 | | | míár | an | dhis | ɐv | dhat | bíznis |
| 6 | ni | | mee₁ɐr | nə₁r° | dhis | ɐbá₁ut | dhis | djob |
| 7 | ni | | mí₁ár | nə₁r | dhis | ɐbáut | dhis | djob |
| 8 | | | ,, | nɐ | ,, | ɐbú₁ut | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | | | mîá₁r | | | ɐbú₁ut | dha₁t | biznɐs |
| 10 | níɐ | | míár | nə₁r | dhis | ɐbú₁ut | t' | kɐnsaarn |
| 11 | | | †mí₁ə₁r° | dha₁n | dhis | ɐ | dha₁t | djob |
| 12 | ni | | méeə₁r° | nə₁r° | dhis | ɐbú₁ut | dhis | djob |
| 13 | ni | | mee₁r° | nɐ | dhis | ɐbú₁ut | dhis | djob |
| 14 | ni | | maar° | | | abú₁ut | dhis | ma₁tə₁r° |
| 15 | ni | | meer° | | | ɐ | dhis | djob |
| 16 | nɐ | soo nout ni | meer° | nɐ | dha₁t | ɐbú₁ut | tis | djob |
| 17 | eni | | meer° | nə₁r° | dhis | ɐ | dha₁t | djob |
| 18 | ni | | meer° | nə₁r° | dhis | ɐ | dha₁t | djob |
| 19 | | | meer | nɐr | dhis | ɐbú₁ut | dha₁t | biznɐs |
| 20 | | | méeɐr° | | | ɐbùt)'t | | |
| 21 | | | meer° | ɐ | | | dhis | djob |
| 22 | eni | | méeɐr | ɐ | | | dhis | djob |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | tiv tʊl | tʊdéeʊ, | ʊz | siiʊr | ʊz | mi | niiʊm)z |
| 2 | whel | tʊdee, | ʊz | síúuəɪr° | ʊz | mái | niɪáɪm)zs |
| 3 | ,, | tʊdee, | ,, | ,, | ,, | máai | ,, ,, |
| 4 | til | tʊdee, | ʊs | tɪríuu | ʊz | ái)s | standin |
| 5 | up tʊ | dhís dee, | ʊs | síúʊr)z | | mái | níám)z |
| 6 | ⌊wháaíl | tʊdeeɪ, | ʊz | síúuəɪr° | ʊz | mi | niɪáɪm)z |
| 7 | wháaíl | tʊdEE[1], | ʊz | síúuəɪr | ʊz | máai | niɪám)z |
| 8 | whal | ,, | ,, | sĭ;.úuəɪr | ,, | máa‹i | ,, ,, |
| 9 | uɪp t'l | núɪu, | ʊz | síúʊʊr | ʊz | mi | niɪáɪm)z |
| 10 | wháaíl | tʊdee, | ʊz | síúʊʊr | ʊz | máai | niɪʊm)z |
| 11 | †tiɪʊl | tʊdEE, | ʊz | †siɪəɪr°t'n | ʊz | máa‹i | niɪʊm)z |
| 12 | wháa‹il | tʊdeeɪ, | ʊz | siɪúuəɪr° | ʊz | mʊ | niɪáɪm)z |
| 13 | whel | tʊdEE, | ʊz | shúɪuəɪr° | ʊz | máa‹i | niɪém)z |
| 14 | whel | tʊdEE, | ʊz | síúuəɪr° | ʊz | mi | niɪém)z |
| 15 | whel' | tʊdEE, | ʊz | síúuəɪr° | ʊz | mi | niɪáɪm)z |
| 16 | whel | tʊdEE, | ʊz | síúuəɪr° | ʊz | mi [·máai] | niɪáɪm)z |
| 17 | whel | tʊdEE, | ʊz | syyɪəɪr° | ʊz | mi | niɪaɪm)z |
| 18 | t'l | tʊdEE, | ʊz | shʊûr° | ʊz | mâi | niɪaɪm)z |
| 19 | uɪp tʊl | tʊdEE, | ʊz | shuuɪr | ʊz | máɪi | niám)z |
| 20 | til | tʊdee, | ʊz | siɪuʊr° | ʊz | méi | niɪʊm)z |
| 21 | uɪp til | tʊdee, | ʊz | syɪúəɪr° | ʊz | mE'i | niɪʊm)z |
| 22 | uɪp tʊ | tʊdEE'ʊ, | ʊz | shúɪuʊr | ʊz | mE'i | niiɪEm)z |

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | :dʒúuʊn | :shípʊd, | ʊn | aa | dís)'nt | want | tʊ díʊ |
| 2 | :dʒaɪk | :shypəɪr°t, | ʊn)i | | duuɪt | waɪnt | tʊ nhaa |
| 3 | :dʒwúɪʊn | :shípəɪr°t, | ,, | áai | duɪ)nʊt | want | ,, ,, |
| 4 | íʊr, | | ʊn | ái | dònt | want | tʊ íʊr |
| 5 | :dʒúʊn | :shípʊrd, | ʊn | ái | dúʊnt | want | tʊ naa |
| 6 | :dʒoni | :shípəɪr°t | ʊn | áa⌊i | doont | waɪnt | |
| 7 | :dʒúɪʊn | shípəɪrt, | ʊn | áai | du)nʊt | want | |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | ,, | aa | ,, | ,, | tʊ nhaa |
| 9 | :dʒon | :shípəɪ⌊rd, | ʊn | aa | doont | want | t'l |
| 10 | :dʒoni | :shepəɪrd, | ʊn | áai | dúʊt | want | |
| 11 | :dʒaɪk | †:shíɪʊpəɪr°d, | ʊn | áa‹i | díʊnt | want | |
| 12 | :dʒaɪk | :shiɪpəɪr°d, | ʊn | a | duɪ)nʊt | want | |
| 13 | :dʒaɪk | :shiɪpəɪr°d, | ʊn | a | duɪnʊt | KEEr° | tʊ híɪəɪr° |
| 14 | :dʒaɪk | :shiɪpəɪr°t, | ʊn | a | du)nʊt | want | tʊ nhAA |
| 15 | :dʒwúɪʊn | :shiɪpəɪr°t, | ʊn | a | duɪv)ʊnt | ·want | tʊ nhoo |
| 16 | :dʒon | :shiɪpəɪr°t, | ·ʊt | duɪd)i | nyɪt | [nuɪt]. | |
| 17 | :dʒúɪaɪn | :shiɪpəɪr°d | ʊn | aa | doo)nt | want | |
| 18 | :dʒwúɪʊn | :shiɪpəɪr°t, | ʊn | aa | dúʊnt | want | |
| 19 | :dʒwon | :shípʊrd, | ʊn | a | dúuʊnt | want | |
| 20 | :dʒon | :shípʊr°d, | ʊn | ʊ | div'nt | want | |
| 21 | :dʒoni | :shipəɪr°d, | ʊn | ái | div'n | keer° | tʊ ken |
| 22 | :dʒon | :shiɪpʊrd, | ʊn | áai | dinʊt | want | |

1 dhíɐ nuu dhenz!
2 needhə₁r°, máaɪnds)tɐ ·dha₁t nú₁u!
3 needhə₁r°.
4 nɐ mɪɐr abóut it, ɐn sɐ dhɛn!
5 eedɐr, dhíɐr nóu!
6 nee₁dhə₁r°.
7 nɛɛ₁də₁r, sii)dhɐ ·dhí₁ár náu!
8 nɐ mí₁ár ɐbú₁ut it.
9 nee₁də₁r, ny₁t ái.
10 nee₁də₁r. súɐ nú₁u dha₁n!
11 níɐ₁də₁r°.
12 óu₁də₁r°, máa₁ind ɟi ·dha₁t nú₁u.
13 ɐbú₁ut it éi₁də₁r°.
14 nóu₁də₁r°, ·dhí₁iə₁r° nú₁u.
15 nóu₁də₁r°, si₁ ·dhí₁iə₁r° nú₁u!
16
17 óu₁də₁r°, sɐ ·dhí₁iə₁r°!
18 óu₁də₁r°, sí₁a° ·dheer° nú₁u!
19 náu₁dɐ₁r!
20 nóu₁dɐ₁r°, ·dhíi₁ɐr° nu!
21 meer óudhə₁r°, ·dhí₁ə₁r° nú₁u!
22 óudhɐr, ·dhíi₁ɐr nú₁u!

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14. | 1 | ɐn see | aa)z | ganɪn | ɟam | tɐ mɪ | supɐ. |
| | 2 | ɐn sí₁á₁ | áɪ mɐn bɪ | gáaɐn | hí₁á₁m | tɐ mɪ | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 3 | ,, ,, | aa)z — | gaan | ⌊Hí₁á₁m | ,, — | ,, |
| | 4 | ɐn sɐ nóu | áɪ)z | ga)ɪn | ɟàm | tɐ mɪ | supɐr. |
| | 5 | an súɐ | áɪ)z | gaan | ɟam | tɐ)t' | supɐr nóu. |
| | 6 | ɐn náu | aa)z | gaan | hí₁á₁m | tɐ)t' | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 7 | ɐn síá | a)z | gaan | hí₁á₁m | tɐ mɪ | su₁pə₁r. |
| | 8 | ,, ,, | áa₁ɪ)l | ɐwee' | ,, | ,, t' | ,, |
| | 9 | ɐn sí₁á₁ | aa)z | gaan | hí₁á₁m | tɐ mɪ | su₁pə₁r. |
| | 10 | ɐn nú₁u | aa)z | gâɐn | hí₁á₁m | tɐ mɪ | su₁pə₁r. |
| | 11 | ɐn síɐ ·nú₁u | aa)z | gaan | hí₁ɛm | tɐ)t' | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 12 | ɐn sí₁iɐ | a)z | gaan | hí₁á₁m | tɐ mɪ | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 13 | ɐn sí₁ɐ | a)z | gaan | hí₁é₁m | tɐ)t' | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 14 | ɐn sí₁é₁ | aa)z bɪ | makɐn of | hĭa₁m | tɐ get mɪ | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 15 | ɐn nú₁u | a mɐn bɪ | gaaɐn | hí₁á₁m | tɐ mɪ | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 16 | ɐn sí₁ɐ | aa)z | gaaɐn | hí₁á₁m | tɐ mɪ | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 17 | ɐn sí₁á₁ | aa)z | gaan | hĭa₁m | tɐ mɪ | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 18 | ɐn sí₁a° | aa)z | gaan | hí₁a₁m | tɐ mɪ | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 19 | ɐn súɐɐ | a)z | gaan | ɟam | tɐl mɪ | su₁pɐr. |
| | 20 | ɐn | â)z | gàn | ɟɛm | tɐ mi | su₁pɐr°. |
| | 21 | ɐn sí₁ɐ | âɪ)z | gàn | hĭɐm | fə₁r° | su₁pə₁r°. |
| | 22 | ɐn nú₁u | áa⌊ɪ)z | ga₁nɐn | híi₁ɛm | tɐ mɪ | su₁pɐr. |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | gíʊd | niit, | ʊn | dínʊt | bí | sʊ |
| 2 | | gʊd | néiit | tʊ dhʊ, | ʊn thíqk on | nú₁u ʊt dhʊ íz'nt | sí |
| 3 | | ,, | ,, | — — | ,, — — | — — dʊ)nʊt | bí sʊ |
| 4 | | gʊ₀d | nìt, | ʊn | dònt | mak | sʊ |
| 5 | súʊ | gʊ₁d | níit, | ʊn | doont | bi kwáit | súʊ |
| 6 | | gʊd | ní₁it | ʊn | dʊ₁)nʊt | bí | sʊ |
| 7 | sí₁a | gʊd | néiit, | ʊn | dʊ₁)nʊt | bí | sʊ |
| 8 | — | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, | ,, | ,, |
| 9 | | gʊd | ní₁iit, | ʊn | doont | bí | sʊ |
| 10 | | gʊd | ní₁it, | ʊn | dúʊt | bí | sʊ |
| 11 | | gʊd | †ní₁ʊt, | ʊn | dʊnʊt | †bíʊ | sí |
| 12 | | gʊd | ní₁iit, | ʊn | dʊ₁nʊt | bí | sʊ |
| 13 | | gʊd | ní₁it, | ʊn | dʊ₁nʊt [dʊʊ₁t] | bí | sí |
| 14 | | gʊd | ní₁it, | ʊn | dʊnʊt | bí | sʊ |
| 15 | | gʊd | ní₁it tʊ dhʊ, | | an máa‹ind ʊt dhu íz'nt | | sa |
| 16 | | gʊd | ní₁it, | ʊn | dʊnʊt | bí | sʊ |
| 17 | | gʊd | ní₁it | ʊn | dʊ₁nʊt | bí | sʊ |
| 18 | | gʊd | ní₁iit | ʊn | dúʊnt | bí | sí₁a° |
| 19 | | gʊ₁d | níi₁it | ʊn | dúʊʊnt | bi | síʊ |
| 20 | | gʊ₁d | níit, | ʊn | dív'nt | bii | sí₁ʊ |
| 21 | | gʊd | nìt | ʊn | dív'n | bí | se |
| 22 | | gʊd | ní₁it, | ʊn | dínʊt | bí | sí |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | shaap | tʊ | kréeʊk | óʊ)ʊr | ʊ | bodí | agéeʊn, | wín i |
| 2 | shaar°p | tʊ | kr°aa | óʊə₁r° | ʊ | bodí | ʊgee·n, | whʊn ʊ |
| 3 | r°y₁di | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| 4 | mitʒ gam | | | ʊv | ʊ | bodí, | | wEn i)s |
| 5 | sharp | t' | kraa·ín | úʊr | ʊ | bodí | ʊgían, | wEn i |
| 6 | shaa⌊rp | tʊ | kraa | óʊ)ə₁r | ʊ | bodí | ʊgee₁n, | whe₁n i |
| 7 | shaarp | ʊt | kraaʊn | óʊ)ə₁r | ʊ | bodí | ʊgEE¹n, | whEn ʊ |
| 8 | ,, | ,, | kráa | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, ,, |
| 9 | shaarp | ʊt | kraaín | óʊr | ʊ | bodí | ʊgeen, | when |
| 10 | shaarp | tʊ | kraa | óʊr | ʊ | bodí | ʊgen, | when i |
| 11 | shaar°p | tʊ | kr°aa | óʊr° | Ja₁n | | ʊgí₁ʊn, | when |
| 12 | fást ʊz | tʊ | kr°oo | óʊə₁r° | ʊ | bodí | ʊgí₁á₁n, | when)ʊ |
| 13 | shaar°p | tʊ | kr°oo | óʊə₁r° | ʊ | bodí | ʊgí₁é₁n, | when)ʊ |
| 14 | whík | tʊ | kr°oo | óʊə₁r° | ʊ | bodí | ʊgí₁é₁n, | when)ʊ |
| 15 | r°y₁di | ʊnʊ₁d‹ə₁r° | táa‹im | tʊ | kr°oo | óʊə₁r° | ʊ bodí, | when)i |
| 16 | kít'l | tʊ | kr°oo | óʊə₁r° | ʊ | bodí | ʊgí₁á₁n, | when)i |
| 17 | rʊ₁dí | tʊ | kr°oo | óʊə₁r° | ʊ | bodí | ʊgí₁á₁n, | when)i |
| 18 | shaar°p | tʊ | kr°oo | óʊr° | ʊ | bodí | ʊgéa°n, | when)i |
| 19 | rʊ₁dí | tʊ | kroo | áʊʊr | ʊ | bodí | ʊgían, | wen)i |
| 20 | r°ʊ₁dí | tʊ | kr°oo | óʊʊr° | Jen | | ʊgí₁ʊn, | whEn |
| 21 | wík | tʊ | kr°AA | óʊə₁r° | ʊ | bodí | ʊgí₁ʊn, | when |
| 22 | shaarp | ʊt | kroo)ín | óʊər | ʊ | bodí | ʊgíi¹ʊn, | when)i |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | tóovks | ʊ | téeʊn | ʊn | tidhʊ | thiq. |
| 2 | | taaks | ʊbú₁u·t | dhis | dha₁t | ʊn | tu₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 3 | | ,, | ʊ | ,, | ,, | ʊ | tu₁dhʊr°. |
| 4 | | tɛlín | | is tíʊl | ʊnudhʊr | táim. | |
| 5 | | tooks | | dhis dhat | ʊn tu₁dʊr. | | |
| 6 | | taaks | ʊ | dhis | dha₁t | ə₁r° | tu₁dhə₁r°. |
| 7 | | taaks | ʊbáut | dhis | dha₁t | ʊn | tu₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 8 | | ,, | ʊ | ,, | ,, | ə₁r | ,, |
| 9 | ja₁n | taaks | ʊ | dhis | dha₁t | ʊn t' | tu₁də₁r. |
| 10 | | tooks | ʊ | tis | ta₁t | ʊn | tu₁d₁ə₁r. |
| 11 | dhú₁u | taaks | ʊbú₁ut | †dhíʊs | dha₁t | ʊn | †tíu₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 12 | | taaks | ʊ | dhis | dha₁t | ə₁r° | tu₁d₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 13 | | taaks | ʊ | dhis | dha₁t | ʊ | tu₁d₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 14 | | taaks | ʊ | dhis'n | dha₁t'n | ʊ | tu₁d₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 15 | | telz dhʊ | ʊbú₁ut | dhis | dha₁t | ʊ | tu₁d₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 16 | | taaks | ʊ | dhis | dha₁t | ə₁r° | tu₁d₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 17 | | tooks | ʊ | dhis | dha₁t | ə₁r° | tu₁d₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 18 | | taaks | ʊ | dhis | dha₁t | ə₁r°)t' | tu₁d₁ə₁r°. |
| 19 | | tooks | ʊ | dhis | dha₁t | ʊr | tu₁d₁ʊ₁r. |
| 20 | jɛn)z | tookʊn | ʊbùt | óut. | | | |
| 21 | jɛn | ta'ks | ʊ | dhis ə₁r° | dha₁t | ə₁r° | dh)u₁dhə₁r°. |
| 22 | | taaks | ʊbú₁ut | dhis | dha₁t | ʊn | dh)u₁dhʊr. |

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. 1 | it)s | | ʊ | wéeʊk | fiiʊl | ʊt | pra₁tʊz |
| 2 | héii)z | nobʊt | ʊ | week | fiúl | ʊd | pr°a₁t'lz |
| 3 | hi)z | — | ,, | week | fiúul | at | pr°aats |
| 4 | i iz | | ʊ | | fúùl | ʊt | tòks |
| 5 | it)s | | ʊ | púuʊr | fuul | ʊt | praats |
| 6 | hí₁i)z | nobʊt | ʊ | wee₁k | fi₁uul | ʊt | taaks |
| 7 | héii)z | nobʊt | ʊ | wee¹k | fú₁ul | ʊt | taaks |
| 8 | it)s | ,, | ,, | ,, | fiúul | ,, | pree¹ts |
| 9 | hí₁i)z | nobʊt | ʊ | week | fúuʊl | ʊt | prí₁á₁ts |
| 10 | hi)z | nobʊt | ʊ | | ma₁flin | ʊt | tooks |
| 11 | hí₁i)z | | ʊ | wi₁ʊk | swú₁ʊt | ʊv ʊ | bodi ʊt taaks |
| 12 | hi)z | | ʊ | wee₁k | fiʊl | ʊt | pra₁t'lz ʊwee₁ |
| 13 | hi₁i)z | nobʊt | ʊ | wee₁k | fiʊl | ʊt | taaks |
| 14 | it)s | nobʊt | ʊ va₁r°ʊ | sili [week] | fiʊl | ʊt | ra₁m'lz ʊn taaks |
| 15 | it)s | nobʊt | ʊ | week | fiʊl ʊt | pra₁t'lz i | sek ʊ wee |
| 16 | it)s | | ʊ | week | fiʊl | ʊt | tʃa₁tə₁r°z |
| 17 | it)s | nobʊt | ʊ | sili | fiʊl | ʊt | taaks |
| 18 | it)s | nobʊt | ʊ | week | fiúl | ʊt | ta'ks |
| 19 | hii)z | | ʊ | week | fiú₁l | ʊt | tʃa₁tʊ₁rz |
| 20 | hii)z | | ʊ | week | fi₁ʊl | ʊt | br°agz |
| 21 | it)s | bʊt | ʊ | py₁ə₁r° | sili fiiú₁ʊl' | ʊt | tʃa₁tə₁r°z |
| 22 | it)s | | ʊ | week | fii¹el | ʊt | taaks |

1 ʊdhuu·t oni ríivz'n. séeʊ nuu, dhen, dhat)s ma last
2 withú₁ut r°íiʊzʊn. ʊn dha₁t)s AAl ái)v git'n
3 widhú₁ut sens, ,, ,, máai läst wu₁r°d.
4 wi)óut SENS. ʊn súʊ JƏ kʊn mak JʊR BEST
5 wi)óut ríʊz'n ʊnd dhat)s mi last wə₁rd.
6 wi)á₁ut se₁ns, ʊn dha₁t)s mi läst wər₀d.
7 wi ni₁á SENS. ʊn dhat)s AA áai gitʊn
8 widhú₁ut ,, ,, ,, mi läst wu₁rd.
9 wi ni₁á₁ rí₁ìʊz'n, ʊn dha₁t)s AA aa)v gitʊn
10 goomly₁s maapmʊnt. ʊn dha₁t)s oo ʊbú₁ut it.
11 wi dú₁ut r°ívzʊn, ʊn síʊ dha₁t)s aa ʊt áa,i gitʊn
12 wi)ú₁ut r°í₁izʊn ʊn dha₁t)s AA a)v gitʊn
13 wi dú₁ut sens. ʊn dha₁t)s t' en'd on)t.
14 wi dú₁ut óu də₁r° ráaím ʊ rí₁iz'n. ʊn dha₁t)s AA ʊ)v
15 wi)ú₁ut óu də₁r° r°aa,im ʊr° r°í₁iz'n. ʊn dha₁t)s )t'
16 wi dú₁ut nhoovn whaₜt for°. ʊn dhá₁t)s mi last
17 wi dú₁ut sens, ʊn dha₁t)s oo ʊbú₁ut it [mi läst wu₁rd].
18 wi dú₁ut sens, ʊn dhʊ₁t)s mi last wu₁r°d.
19 ʊ dú₁ut rí₁iz'n. ʊn dhat)s mái last wəə₁rd.
20 wi duut SENS. ʊn dhat)s oo a)z gàn tʊ see.
21 widhú₁ut óudhə₁r° wit ə₁r° wizdʊm. ʊn dha₁t)s mi
22 widhú₁ut sens. ʊn dha₁t)s mi last wu₁rd.

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1 wod. féeʊ Jʊ wil, gafʊ.
2 tʊ see. sí₁á₁ gud néíit tʊ dhʊ.
3 — — — ,, ,, — —
4 ɔn)t. gu₀d nìt.
5 gu₁d niit.
6 gud ni₁it.
7 ʊt SEE[1]. sí₁á gud néíit.
8 — — ,, ,, ,,
9 ʊt see. sí₁á₁ gud ni₁ìt.
10 gud ni₁it.
11 ʊt SEE ʊbú₁ut it. síʊ gud †nívt.
12 tʊ see₁. sí₁iʊ gud ni₁iit.
13 síʊ gud nii₁it tʊ dhʊ.
14 git'n tʊ SEE. gud ni₁it.
15 en'd on)t. gud ni₁it tʊ dhʊ.
16 wəə₁r°d. gud DEE.
17 gud DEE.
18 gud ni₁iit.
19 gu₁d bói.
20 gu₁d niit.
21 va₁rʊ läst wu₁rd. sí₁ʊ gud dee.
22 gud ni₁it.

*Notes to* No. 2, *Muker*, Yo. D 31, V i, p. 563.

0. *what*, the ($a_1$) represents a sound between (a, *a*); see p. 539. The (wh) is fully sounded.—*for*, the ($r^o$) is a "stiff-tongued" and hence "untrilled" (r); see p. 542.—*John*, the (dɟ) is labialised in anticipation of the following ($u_1$), for which see p. 291 and p. 540.—*has*, the aspirate distinct, fully (ɪɟh), the vowel certainly (ɛ), not (e).—*no*, the great peculiarity of the fractured vowels is the distinctness with which each element of the fracture is pron., and the evenness of the stress upon each, though both seem to be short, as the ($i_1$) is one of the series (*i*, $i_1$, $e^1$, *e*), its sound is so intermediate in character, that JGG. often wrote (*e*, $e^1$) for it, and it was only after many trials that I decided to use ($i_1$) to shew that the sound gave me more the feeling of (*i*) than of (*e*); the last vowel ($a_1$) is another intermediate for which see p. 539, and for a long time I wrote it as (æ). This fracture ($i_1$ $a_1$) therefore seems comparable to the Ags. EA. —*doubts*, the ($\acute{u}_1$u) is a fracture quite like some of the fractures of (*i*); it begins with ($u_1$) which has the stress, and glides quickly on to fine (u), the latter being often lengthened; hence it tends to sound as ($\acute{o}^1$u) as JGG. often wrote it, and this rapidly passes into (*ou*), and is therefore the precursor of the (óu, ɑ'u, áu) forms of U. The speakers of ($\acute{u}_1$u) believe that they say (uu), a sound which in fact is extremely difficult for their organs. To my ears ($\acute{u}_1$u) is totally different from (*æ*'u), which begins with a higher and not a deeper sound, though, as we have seen, that also leads to (ɑ'*u*), but it has likewise a tendency to (*iu*, $y_1$), which is not the case at all with ($\acute{u}_1$u). The distinction between ($\acute{u}_1$ʊ, $\acute{u}_1$u) must be noted. It will be hopeless for any one who does not hear ($\acute{u}_1$u) constantly from native organs to acquire its accurate use from mere indications like this; even JGG. did not always quite satisfy native ears.

1. *well*, argumentative, in two distinct syllables indicated by the long first vowel to the diphthong. JGG. got the variant (n$\acute{u}_1$u dhan) now then.—*neighbour*, the (*éei*) has a distinct (*i*), not like London (*ee*'j), where (*i*) is not distinctly reached, the vowel ($ə_1$) is very difficult, see p. 541. JGG. appreciated it differently at different times, but finally as (*ə*) or French *eu* in *peu*, which is of constant use in the Icelandic final *-ur* (see Part II. p. 548*b*). But as I heard a decided leaning from (*ə*) to (*u*), I use ($ə_1$) to shew a difference from the true French sound. This sign ($ə_1$) is used on p. 146 for one of the peculiar w.Sm. forms of O'. There is probably a difference which I cannot formulate. JGG. says he regards the sound as being intermediate between (ʊ) and (*u*) Those who find a difficulty in conceiving ($-ə_1r^o$) final may content themselves with ($-ʊr_o$) or (-ʊ). Thus few Londoners, even after many hearings, would distinguish this word *neighbour* from their own (n*ee*'jbʊ).—*ye*, the diphthong (éii) or (*éi*) differs in two particulars from (*éei*) in the preceding word. In the first place the lengths of the elements are reversed, and in the second the last element is pure (i) and not (*i*). Natives think they say (ɟii). This shortening of the first and lengthening of the second element leaves the impression of the second vowel in the mind.—*him*, (h) always well sounded.—*laugh*, the vowel is as deep as in (wha$_1$t), but much shorter. This very short ($ă_1$) is the sound given in Swaledale to *a* in all such words as *staff*, *ask*, *lath*, *chance*, which have (aa) in London, but see for Edenside, p. 539.—*at this news of mine*, variant (et t' níúuz ʊt ái)v gitʊn), at the news that I've got.

2. *it's few of*, variants (nʊt, n*yt* si ma$_1$n*i*), not so many.—*that*, (ʊd) for (ʊt) = that, by attraction of the following (d).—*because*, variant (biko·z).—*we*, (w*i*) weak, ('wéii) strong.—*know*, the initial voiceless (nh-) for *kn-* is very strong.—*none* (n*y*n), the exact value of this (*y*) is difficult to determine, see p. 540. I leave (*y*), which Mr. Melville Bell identifies with *e* in *houses*, but what that is when accented it is difficult to say.—*likely*, JGG. finds the final vowel to lie between (*i*, i), and it might be written ($i^1$), but it is so near (i) that with this caution (i) is used.

3. *these*, etc., variant (*it*)s d*ju*$_1$st héiiə$_1$r° n$\acute{u}_1$u), it's just here now.—*friend*, here the ($y_1$) signifies a slight variant of (*y*), which I cannot precisely define.—*while*, variants (wh*ái*l, whel, t'l); this use of *while* for *until*, occurs in many other specimens, but is strange to s. ears. A schoolmaster is reported to have said to a noisy class

(âi kan)ʊt bigin whâil ɹʊ)r° whâi)ʊt), which sounds like 'I can't begin *while* you're quiet,' but meaning was *until* you are quiet.—*hear'st thou*, meaning *listen*, as we often say 'do you hear?' an interrogative for imperative. Variants (la)dhʊ nú₁u), probably 'look thou now,' and (láaist)ʊ) listest thou, the (t) of the second word being lost after the preceding one.

4. *I'm certain*, etc., variant, thought to be better (ái)z síúuə₁r° ʊd)i híiə₁r°d) tum tel—tel on—ʊbú₁ut it), I am sure that I heard them tell—tell on—about it.—*say*, here (se) is quite unaccented, the stress falling on the following (sí₁á₁).—*that did I*, variants (dhat ʊd âi did, dhat ʊd did)i), where the meaning of (ʊd), which should be unaccented *that*, is not clear, see also the end of par. 5. Observe (i) JGG.'s (*i*¹) for unaccented *I*, several times in this par.

5. *great*, var. (gr°iiʊt).—*father's*, observe the absence of the possessive *'s* in the dialect.—*squeaky*, var. (skwiieki).—*and I would trust*, etc., var. (ʊn âi)l ʊpo·d)im, hi)l' nʊt léii), and I'll uphold [=warrant] him, he'll not lie.—*any*, var. (ani).—*that would I*, the meaning of (ʊd) is not apparent, see par. 4.—var. (âi wil ·dha₁t nú₁u), I will *that* now.

6. *body*, var. (wumʊn).—*any*, var. (ani). —*without*, var. (widhú₁ut). —*much*, var. (mitj).—*if you'll*, etc., var. (ʊn as)ə₁r°) an [one] ask her, where *an* =if, is supposed to represent 'an one,' that is, 'if one'; this is a peculiar idiom of the district, and being indefinite, would be preferred.

7. *any*, var. (ani).—*she shouldn't*, this was meant to be emphatic (shéii), but the courtesy of the district finds the emphasizing of a personal pronoun invidious. People will even avoid *thou* in speaking, as too personal. A mother will prefer saying *she* (shi) unemphatic even when addressing her daughter.—*wrong*, var. (w'ra₁q) among the older people, (ra₁q) among the younger, the final (q) often prolonged emphatically.

8. *she would*, the vowel in the word (shu) is due to the attraction of the following (w), the people themselves feel this effect.—*found the drunken*, observe (d') coronal suspended before (d) alveolar, the tongue is felt to slip forward in passing from the first to the second. The Dale form is (ˌd₁r°u₁qk'n), at Barnard Castle (12 nw. Richmond) they say (ˌd₁r°u₁k'n).—*beast*, var. (felʊ).—*husband*, var. (hu₁zbʊn'd).

9. *coat*, var. (klí₁á₁z) clothes.—*close by the*, var. (haar°d bisáaid)d'), hard beside the.—*door*, the sound of (y₁) differs very slightly if at all from French (y), but the real sounds heard for this word were difficult to appreciate, and were in fact differently appreciated by JGG. at different times and from different speakers. He has lately heard the Swedish *y*, and thinks this nearly identical with it. Whether the sound was exactly the same as the (y₁) of D 10, 11, 19, is not quite certain.

10. *roaring*, var. (whíndjʊn) whinge-ing, compare Salesbury's *vvynge* (suprà, Part III. p. 763*a*), also heard at Rothbury, Nb.—*away*, in Cu. and We. (ʊwee·), with a much deeper sound.—*world*, distinctly in two syllables.—*that had got sadly frightened*, there is no dialect phrase equivalent to 'fretting.'

11. *son's wife*, omitting the possessive *'s*, var. (do'u₁tə₁r°)i)laa), daughter-in-law.

13. *business*, var. (djob).—*Jack*, var. (:djwóʊn).—*don't*, the (n) omitted, compare D 29, var. ii*b*, p. 461; this word sounded to me more like (*doot*), and JGG. said that it forcibly reminded him also of (*doot*) at first hearing, especially when lengthened in singing. Observe that *doubt* would have been (dú₁ut), and hence quite distinct.

14. *home*, the aspirate sounded here to me as (ɹh).—*think on* is always used in the north-west for 'remember' and 'remind,' as 'I can't think on, you must think me on't.'—*that thou art not*, var. (duu₁t bi), don't be.

15. *without reason*, var. (widhú₁ut) and var. (wi ní₁á₁ sens), with no sense.—*all I've got to say*, var. (mi last wuu₁r°d), my last word.

*Notes to* No. 3, *Hawes*, Yo. D 31, V i, p. 563.

2. *nobody*, variant (fiúu fwú₁ʊk) few folk.

4. *sure*, var. (saar°t'n), certain.

5. *bairn*, var. (su₁n).

9. *saw him*, var. (séiid)im), see'd him.

11. *hanging out*, old people say (áut).

*Notes to* No. 4, *Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel*, La. D 31, V ii*b*, p. 563.

0. *John* or (:djak').

1. *Jim* or (làd).—*thee*, used as in

s.La., as explained in Notes to West Houghton, p. 337.—*cares*, TH. leaves the (r) unmarked throughout.

2. *because they 're*, variant (wi bijin).

3. *however*, TH. writes (ŭui·vər), but we should have expected (hóui·vər).

4. *I heard the same folk say as knew it all*, a various reading by the informant who has generally abridged the text. —*all* (AA) or (oo).

5. *rate*, var. (táim), time.

7. *in a thing of this sort*, var. (ʊbóut ʊr aan uzbʊn), about her own husband.

8. *drunken beast*, possibly (bíást) or (slóuk, slɛmp). TH. uses ($u_o$) for U partially throughout this region, see p. 554.

9. *saw* or (siid).—*lying at full reach*, (st̩rɛtjt óut $fu_o$l lɛnth), stretched out full length.—*best* or ($su_o$ndʊ) Sunday.

10. *for all*, (AA) or (oo).

13. *and so then*, or (nóu dhɛn') now then.

15. *he is a fool*, etc., or (ɛni jan)z ʊ fúul tʊ tAAk [took] wijóut ríʊz'nz), any one's a fool to talk without reasons.

*Notes to* No. 5, *Coniston*, La. D 31, V ii*b*, p. 563.

3. *matter*, or (kíás) case.—*quiet*, Miss Bell had heard only one old man use this form, gen. (kwáiʊt).—*done*, Mr. Bowness wrote *deun*, implying (díun), which Miss Bell did not know. Mr. Ellwood thought *deeàn* (díʊn). better.

4. *I is*, Mr. Bowness wrote *I'm*. which Mr. E. says is not known as part of dialect.—*folk*, Mr. B. wrote *fwoke*, which older form (fwook) Miss B. did not recognise.—*enough*, no form of *enow* known to Miss B.

5. *father tongue*, Mr. Ellwood says the possessive *'s* is not usually omitted. —*to speak*, so written, and so Miss Bell, see Intro. to V ii*b*, p. 550.—*that I would*, Mr. B. added (dhat wod)ı), which Miss B. did not know.

6. *now*, Mr. B. wrote *noo*, which was repudiated both by Mr. E. and Miss B., but as Coniston is so near the s. *hoose* line 6, no doubt many ($nú_1$u) speakers are heard there.—*too*, this is generally replaced by (en oo), and all.—*won't she*, (weent shu) at full contracted into (weetjʊ) according to Miss Bell.

7. *over*, this was Miss B.'s pron.

8. *beast* or ($ru_1$bish, teestrel) rubbish, taistril, the last a n. country word for a scoundrel. — *calls*, Mr. B. wrote *cooas*, *cwooas*, which both Mr. E. and Miss B. repudiated.—*husband*, (man) more usual.

9. *eyes*, Mr. B. wrote *een ees*, but Miss B. only knew (áiz). — *ground*, Mr. B. wrote simply *grund*, the sound was difficult to catch, but it came to me from Miss B. like (grə$_1$nd), the (ə$_1$) is frequent before (r) according to JGG. in D 31, and I seemed to recognise it in Miss B.'s (nə$_1$t, grə$_1$nd) not, ground. It is probably the same sound which occurs in No. 10, and there marked ($y_1$), see Intro. to No. 10, p. 560.—*door stone*, or threshold, Mr. B. wrote *duer*, and Mr. E. preferred *dewer*, hence probably (díuer) or (diúur) may be heard from older people, as in Nos. 6, 7, 10.—*down*, here again Mr. B. wrote *doon*.

10. *bairn*, Mr. E. and Miss B. repudiated the form (beern).—*frightened*, suggested by Miss B., Mr. B. wrote *in a freeàt* (in ʊ fríát).

11. *out*, Mr. B. wrote *oot*.—*to dry*, see Intro. to V iii, p. 555.—*washing*, Mr. E. gave (wčishin), it will be seen that this does not occur in D 31, but is found in D 30.

12. *afternoon*, Mr. B. wrote *efterneun*, Mr. E. preferred *efternean*, Miss B. gave (nuun) here, but (níʊn) in the cwl.

13. *more than*, Mr. E. preferred (meer dhʊn).—*John*, in this place Miss B. admitted (:djúʊn), but not in the title.—*either*, Mr. E. admitted dental or rather alveolar (ˌdʊ̩r), Miss B. did not employ them, but TH. says their use is quite prominent.

14. *I is going home*, Mr. B. wrote *I'm gāen heām*, I follow Miss B.—*at crowing*, written *t'craain'*, with variant *ta craa*, it seems as if Mr. B. used *at crowing* to escape *at crow*, see Intro. to V iii, p. 555.

15. *poor fool*, Mr. B. gave as a variant *fuil*. Mr. E. says that *peeur feeul* are not heard here.

*Notes to* No. 6, *Casterton for Kirkby Lonsdale*, We. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

5. *I'd trust him at speak*, observe *at* for *to*. Var. (áai)l upo·d)im hí$_1$i)l spí$_1$ik), I'll uphold him, he'll speak. — *any* (e$_1$ni) is an older form than (oni).

7. *wrong*, Mrs. Wilson could not remember (w'ra$_1$q).—*thing* or (póint).

8. *telling thee*, or (see$_1$vn) saying.—*man* or (huzbvnd).

13. *until to do*, the hiss of (wh) in *while* is weak.

14. *so sharp to crow*, so sharp *at* crow, would be more natural, but the dialect is rather mixed at Casterton, see par. 11 *at dry*, and par. 15 note *at say*; also p. 550.

15. *that's my last word* or (dha$_1$t)s AA ái)v gitvn vt see$_1$) that's all I've got to say.

*Notes to* No. 7, *Dent*, Yo. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

0. *for*, the (r) was fully trilled.

3. *is the* (*i*st), the German form, is occasionally used for *is*, without any contraction of *is it*. In this case it was perhaps due to the following (t'), and perhaps (*is*)t' faks) would be more correct.

7. *shouldn't*, observe the unusual form (sad'nt), comparable with (wad'nt) would not. — *wrong*, remembered (w'raq), but ('raq) given as a variant. —*what dost thou*, and then Mr. Parrington added (vbáut it dhisEl' ?), about it thyself, which was not in the original.

14. *at crowing*, this must be the sense as it stands, but it looks as if it were meant for (vt kraa) *at* crow.

*Notes to* No. 8, *Sedberg*, Yo. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

In these notes the variants of the Cautley version are referred to by C. prefixed; the text gives only the Sedberg version.

0. *John*, C. (:dɟwúu$_1$vn).

1. *thee*, C. (*ii*$_1$i).—*at this news of mine*, C. (vt t' níúuz vt ái)v gitvn tv tEl JV), at the news that I've got to tell you.—*cares*, C. (ki$_1$á$_1$z fv ·dhat), cares for that, obs. omitted (r).—*neither*, C. (nEEdhə$_1$r). — *there*, the form (dhí$_1$a$_1$r), like (mí$_1$a$_1$r), par. 13, is peculiar to the s. side of the rocky backbone of the Lake District. JGG. says "the geological formation of the country in part determines the dialect by determining the kind of pasturage which the various kinds of people followed."

2. *few*, or (fiúu men), C (*it*)s fiúu fuu$_1$k vt du$_1$z'nt lí$_1$iv laq vt ef$_1$tə$_1$r dhə$_1$)r lăft at) it's few folk that does not live long at-after they're laughed at. "At-after" is a regular s.We. and n.La. phrase. Mr. Peacock in his Lonsdale Glossary compares Danish *efterat*.—*we know that*, C adds (wí$_1$il vnu$_1$f) well enough.—*make*, or (mí$_1$á$_1$k), C (mak vm dí$_1$i).—*it is'nt*, C (*it*)s ny$_1$t) it's not—*is it*, JGG. writes (*ii*$_1$zs)t) here, and C (*iizs*)t).

3. *these are the facts of the case*, var. (áa*i*)l tEl dhv AAl vbú$_1$ut *it*) I'll tell thee all about it.—*prithee*, C (dɟu$_1$st) just.—*my lad*, C (fry$_1$nd).—*while* = until, C (wháil). — *done*, C (du$_1$n).— *hark thou*, C (lis'n nú$_1$u), listen now.

4. *I am certain*, C (áai)z síúur) I am sure.—*heard*, C (híə$_1$rd).—*say so*, C (tEl vbú$_1$ut *it*).—*job*, C (thiq)—*from the first*, C inserts (varv).—*that did I safe enough*, C (ái *iz* ·dhat síúur vnu$_1$f) I am that sure enough.

5. *youngest lad*, C (Ju$_1$qist baarn). —*nine*, C (náin).—*old* C (AAld).—*tongue*, C (vôis).—*all*, C (AAl).—*squeaking*, C (skwí$_1$iki).—*and I'll uphold it, he's a lad*, etc., C (vn ái)d vpo·d)it, ·hí$_1$i)l ny$_1$t lí$_1$i) and I'll uphold it, *he*'ll not lie, or C (ái,d t,ry$_1$st)im vt spí$_1$ik) t' ,t,ríúuth Eni dEE, ái)i wad ·dhat nú$_1$u), I'd trust him at (=to) speak the truth any day, aye, I would *that* now.

6. *woman*, also C (bodi) = person, singular of folk or people.—*straight*, C (s,t,rEk).—*any*, C (mitɟ).—*any bother*, Sedberg inserted here (what-*i*$_1$və$_1$r), which it was not convenient to insert in the text.—*I'm sure*, this emphatic pron. of 'sure' is stated to be common among old people all over the country, but chiefly in Swaledale, We. and e.Cu., the first (sĭ) is very short, and is followed by the (;) check closure of the vocal chords, which explode suddenly on an intensified (·uu). This is not given in the C version, which has C (áiɟi ·wad'nt shə$_1$?), aye, *wouldn't* she?

7. *she told*, C (shə$_1$ tEld).—*I*, C (i). *times*, C (táimz) without nasality.—*did she*, C (·dhàt did shə$_1$).— *shouldn't*, Sedberg, or (wad'nt) wouldn't.—*wrong*, S with ('r), C (faar raq) far wrong, with inserted *far* and (ra).—*this*, C (dhis'n).—*what dost thou think about it*, C (what dv)JV ·thiqk ?).

8. *very well*, C (wáai*i*v).—*then*, C (dhEn).—*as I was telling*, C (vz*i* wvz sEE$^1$vn).—*would tell thee the same*, C (wvd tel dhe), with 'the same.'—*she*, C (shə$_1$).—*drunken*, C (,d,ru$_1$k'n).—*husband*, C or (ma'n).

9. *she*, C (shə$_1$).—*with*, C (wi).—*lying*, C inserts (laq s,t,rí$_1$á$^1$kt) long stretched.—*atop the ground*, C restores (vtop v)t' gru$_1$n'd) atop of the ground.

—*best*, C (gud).—*coat*, C (kwúu₁ʊt). —*close beside*, etc., C reads (ˌHaard bisáidjt'), or (klwúu₁ʊs tʊjt' diúuer ʊv iz aan ˌHú₁us) hard beside, or close to the door of his own house.—*in the*, C (ʊt t').—*lane*, C (lwúu₁ʊnín).

10. *says she*, C (shə₁ SED) she said. —*little petted lass*, C (láil lăs ʊt wʊz sadli frí₁it'nd), little lass that was sadly frightened.

11. *her daughter-in-law*, C (lAA), or (t' su₁n wâif), the son's wife.—*side*, C (sáid) without nasality.—*at dry*, C either (ʊt) or (tʊ ˌdrâi).—*one*, C (ʊv ʊ).

12. *while*, C (wháil).—*for the*, C (fʊr).—*one bright*, C inserts (fáin).—*come*, C (ku₁), and omits *next*.—*Thursday*, C (thu₁rzdʊ).

13. *dost*, C (dʊs) weak.—*never learned*, C (ny₁və₁r ˌHaard) never heard. —*more*, C (mEE'ʊr) certainly more modern than (mí₁ár).—*job*, C (bizny₁s) business.—*while*, C (wháil).—*sure*, C (síúuə₁r), see par. 6.—*John* or (:djoni), C (:djwúu₁ʊn) —*Shepherd*, C (:shy₁pə₁rt). —*and I*, C (ʊnji).—*want*, etc., C ('want nEEdhə₁r, máinds)tʊ 'dhat nú₁u), want neither, mindst thou *that* now? the interrogation form of imperative, see p. 596, l. 4.

14. *I will away*, C (ái₁jz gaaʊn).—*to the*, C (tʊ mɪ).—*night*, C (ní₁it).—*so*, C (si).—*at crow*, C (ʊt kraain) evidently a 'correction' by the informant.—*again*, S or (ʊgí₁á₁n).—*t'other*, C (tju₁dhə₁r).

15. *it's*, C (ˌHí₁i₁jz).—*fool*, (fúúl) is the pron. of the old, (fú₁ul) of the younger men, C (fú₁ul).—*my last word*, C also (AAl ái₁jv git'n ʊt SEE), all I've got at (=to) say.—*night*, C (ní₁it).

*Notes to* No. 12, *Kirkby Stephen*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

3. *those are the facts of the case*. It would come more natural to a speaker to say (hodj)i ! it)s dju₁st hí₁ə₁r° nú₁u !) hold ye, it's just here now.

6. *she would (do) that*, or (wad'nt shə₁?) wouldn't she?

7. *what dost thou think*? or (what dʊ 'ji₁i think), what do 'ye think?

11. *back yard*, or (ba₁k sáaid) back part or side.

13. *job* or (bizny₁s) business.

*Notes to* No. 13, *Crosby Ravensworth*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

9. *good Sunday coat*, or (bet₁tə₁r₀mə₁ kli₁é₁z) better-more clothes.

13. *and I do not care*, or (ʊn)i duu₁t kəe₁r), with (i) for (a) I, and (duu₁t) for don't.—*either*, more usually (óu₁də₁r°).

14. *sharp*, or (ry₁di) ready.—*when he* (when)ʊ), or (when)i).

15. *only a weak fool*, or (nobʊt ʊ dăft ʊn) only a daft one.

*Notes to* No. 14, *Temple Sowerby*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

1. *neighbour* or (nEEbə₁r°).—*tale* or (níúuz) news.

2. *few folk die* or (fwú₁ʊk du₁z't dí₁i), folk don't die.—*we know that*, here Mrs. A. inserts *gaily well*; *such as we die indeed!* (gEEli wí₁il, sek ʊz 'hu₁z dí₁i ʊndí₁id!), where observe (hu₁z) emphatic for *us*, the s. Scotch say (hɪz), the only word to which they prefix an unauthorised (h).—'*that is it not*, but the 'that' has the weak form (ʊt) strengthened.

3. *man*, (mín) is a diminutive, and is used in a depreciatory or familiar manner, (fry₁n'd) is much more dignified.

4. *say so*, either (sʊ 'sí₁é₁) with the emphasis on the second word, or ('SEE sí₁é₁) with emphasis on the first.—*whole thing* or (bizny₁z) business.

5. *nine*, both (ní₁in, náain) are used.

7. *ought not* or (sud'nt) should not. —*wrong* (w'raq) with old people still.

9. *see'd him* or (SAA) im) saw him.

10. *says she*, (shʊ shí₁i) so dictated, the *s* of *say* becoming assimilated to the following (sh).—*world*, the form (waar°d'l), which was so dictated, reminds one of the Dv. (wARd'l), but I have not met with it elsewhere.

11. *and that* or (dhis AA) this all.—*son wife* or (dóutə₁r° i lAA) daughter-in-law.

12. *come next* or (ku₁m)t') come the.

13. *know* or (tnhAA), this was perhaps more exactly Mrs. A.'s pron.

*Notes to* No. 15, *Milburn*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

2. *gaily well*, introduced apparently from Mrs. Atkinson.—*that do we*, the ('ʊt) emphatic, but retaining the (ʊ) sound, or else (dunʊt wʊ?) don't we.—*what should make them die*? or (wha₁t iz)tʊ in lă₁fin tʊ ma₁k ʊ bodi dí₁i?) what is there in laughing to make a body die? The (iz)tʊ) stands for (iz dhə₁r°), the (dh) changed to (t) by the influence of the preceding (z),

the (r°) omitted and consequently the (ə₁) falling into the usual (ʊ).

3. *however* or (ʊwu·və₁r°).—*case* or (màt,tə₁r°) matter.—*hold thy* or (had tɪ) which dh assimilated.—*my lad* or (fr°in'd) with (i) and not (y₁).—*got done* or (díə₁n) done, or (git'n mɪ níúuz telt, mɪ kraks díə₁n wɪ), got my news told, my cracks—talk—done with. —*list ye*, or (las)tʊ nɪ́₁u, la₁)dhʊ nú₁u), list thou now.

4. *heard the folk* or (haar₀d dhʊm) heard them.—*enough* or (ʊnə́₁f).

5. *nine years old* or (nɪ́₁in ɹə₁r° ool'd). —*and I would*, etc., or (ʊn)ʊ wad ,t,r°u₁st ·him tʊ spɪ́₁ik)t' ,t,r°íúuth eni dɛɛ, ɛɛ'i ma₁r°i wad)í), and I would trust ·him to speak the truth any day, aye, marry, would I.

6. *old* either (AAl'd) or (ool'd).—*too* or (tíʊ).—*mickle bother* or (mitʃ ʊdú₁u) much ado.

7. *she telt me* so (sí₁e, sí₁i, sɪ́₁a₁)—*and I'm sure that she*, etc., or (·shí₁i) emphatic.—*wrong* or (ʊr°aq' w'r°aq'). —*what do ·you think* or (what dʊ ɹʊ ·thiqk ʊbú₁ut it?), what do you think about it?

8. *saying* or (telʊn o)ɹʊ) telling of you.—*too* or (tíʊ).—*old* or (ool'd).

9. *with her* or (wi,d)ə,r₀). — *long stretched*, or (AA iz laq lenth) all his long length.—*in his best Sunday coat* or (ʊv ɪz bɛt,tə₁r°mʊ klí₁á₁z), in his better-more, *i.e.* better clothes.

11. *son wife* or (dóu,tə₁r° i LAA) daughter-in-law.—*back side* or (fool'd) fold.—*hanging* or (hiq'ʊn).—*washing* or (WEshʊn).

12. *of Thursday* or (kŭ nekst thuu₁r°zdʊ), come next Thursday.

13. *know*, (nhoo) is used by old people.—*job* or (biznɣ₁s) business.—*until* (whel, tel, t'l).—*John* or (:dɹa₁k). —*do not* (du₁vʊnt) does not occur in any other example I have obtained. Compare Nb. (dɪv'nt).

14. *tells thee* or (tAAks).

15. *fool* or (fíə₁l). — *prattles* or (tɹa₁t,tə₁r°z) chatters. — *without* or (wi,dúut).

*Notes to* No. 16, *Langwathby*, Cu. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

2. *not*, sometimes (nɣ₁t), but (nu₁t) was adopted as general.—*know*, (nhoo) was usually dictated (tnhoo), as in Mrs. Atkinson's case, No. 14, merely an emphatic utterance of (nhoo).

3. *my lad* or (frɣ₁nd) friend.—*done* or (dɪ́₁ə₁n).

4. *thing* or (biz'nɣ₁s) business.—*enough* or (ení₁ʊf).

5. *him* or (·him).

6. *too* (tíu) or (tɪ́₁ə₁).

9. *swore*, but (swɪ́₁á₁r°) as in No. 15, is the common form of the district.—*nook* or (nɪ́₁ə₁k) nook.

10. *says she*, see No. 14, and note on par. 10, p. 599.

11. *daughter-in-law*, (t' su₁n wáaif), the son's wife, the 's regularly omitted. —*washing*, with either (-ʊn) or (-in), the two forms of participle and verbal noun are therefore confused.

12. *Thursday*, JGG. thought he heard Miss Powley once say (thuu₁r°zdʊ), and believes that both forms are used.

14. *so*, both forms (sí₁ʊ, sɪ́ ʊ) are used.

*Notes to* No. 17, *Ellonby*, Cu. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

4. *tell about it*, the usual expression, but sometimes (SEE) say.

5. *I would trust him*, in such a case as this the emphasis would most likely be laid on the verb; if laid on the pronoun, it becomes (·him).—*aye I would*, old people would say (·ʊt wa₁d)i).

6. *that will she, my blood! but won't she!* 'my sang' is my blood, a mild form of swearing; or (wil shə₁ nʊt) will she not?

7. *when I*, (when)ʊ marked however as (when)a°), where (a°) is an obscure sound, reminding the hearer of (a) without quite reaching it, and again (dhisa°n SEEa°n) and in all participles, for which (a°) I write (ʊ) simply, as the sound was by no means certain.

8. *man* or (hu₁zb'nd).

9. *loning* or (lonin) = lane.

13. *job* or (biznɣs) business.

*Notes to* No. 18, *Keswick*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

1. *who*, this (whoo) is a mere town form.

2. *know*, the form (nhoo) not remembered, (naa) is used in Borrowdale, the long narrow valley running s. from Derwentwater, from 4 to 7 s. Keswick.

3. *so*, the (a°) marks a faintly indicated sound of (a₁), (sóa°) in Borrowdale; it would be difficult to distinguish (a°, ʊ), and (a°) may be only a personal peculiarity.—*friend*, in the same way (e°)

represents a sound of (e) rendered indistinct.

4. *through*, this (ʊ'u) may have been really (æ'u).

5. *for all it was so*, or with a different emphasis (fu$_1$r$_o$ oo ·t)waz sʊ) for all it ·was so.

6. *old*, Borrowdale (aald).—*much*, also (mikʊl).

7. *two or three* (twí$_1$a$_1$thr°í$_1$i) without 'or,' Borrowdale.—*wrong*, almost (ʊra$_1$q·), old people said (w'r°a$_1$q).

*Notes to* No. 19, *Clifton*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

0. *what*, the (wh, w) vary from person to person, (w) is more common near the Solway Frith, the (a) was distinctly not (a$_1$), indeed, had I not throughout these cs. adopted JGG.'s conception (p. 539) that (aa, a) are always fine, I should have written it (a$^1$), but as here (a$_1$) is used as the deep sound in German *mann*, which must be written (ma$_1$n), although I should generally write (man) simply, the use of (a$^1$) would be too great a contrast to (a$_1$). Perhaps JGG. would have written the sound (ˌa) as an advanced (a). On the whole, I consider it safer to use (a) only.—*for*, the (r) was trilled by Mr. Hetherington very distinctly when final or before consonants; whether this is a general habit, I cannot say; very possibly not so.—*John*, the (dʒ) was distinctly labialised even to the eye.—*doubts* was (duuts), and neither (duu$_1$ts) nor (dú$_1$uts). But (ú$_1$u) occurs as in *now*, par. 2.

1. *neighbour*, the broad (ee) is used here and elsewhere by the older people only, the younger use (ee).—*neither*, distinctly (áu), not at all labialised to (ôu); in the last syllable, and generally, I could not detect any difference from the common final (ʊr).

2. *know*, not with (nh) or (tn).—*should*, (sud) is becoming gradually replaced by (shud).

3. *however*, this form is common and not exceptional, (hu$_1$wí·vʊr, hʊwí·vʊr) are both new forms.—*hold thy*, (ti) is the older and rarer form, (dhi) newer.—*done* or (diúʊn).

4. *I's*, (aa) is used only when emphatic, otherwise (a).—*those folk*, here I heard what seemed like (ə$_1$), and in (fwook) the (f) was distinctly labialised, the inflation of the upper lip, which is characteristic of (w), being clearly seen, as Mr. H. pronounced the word.

5. *knew*, (ken) when there's recognition, Fr. *connaître*; (noo) when there's knowledge, Fr. *savoir*; thus (a ken im) I know him, but (a$^1$ noo ʊt hi)z gaan hid$^1$m) I know that he's gone home.

7. *told me it*, the older construction is (telt it mí$_1$i) told it me.—*when*, Mr. H. says he never heard (wh) in *when*, but always in *whe*, *which*, *where*.—*wrong*, if (w) precede, it is not distinct, at most (ʊraq, 'raq).

8. *found*, usually (fu$_1$nd) not (fand), and the (d) is heard, as also in (gru$_1$nd) ground.—*husband*, (man) is common.

9. *eyes*, both (í$_1$iin) and (áiz) are used by the same people.—*coat* (klíaz) clothes, would be better.

10. *whindging*, (w) here more common than (wh); (ʒú$_1$ul) yowl is used for either an adult or a child.

11. *the daughter-in-law*, *her* would not be used, only *the*, similarly 'he and the son-wife,' not 'he and his son's wife.'

14. *home*, this (ʒam) is the commonest form, but (hiám) is also used.

15. *good b'ye* seldom used, and so is also (farwe·l). I doubt the form (bôi), although Mr. H. wrote it distinctly in glossic [baoy].

*Notes to* No. 20, *Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

0. *for*, the (r) is very faint, no proper trill, very different from the Scotch, although Mr. Ellwood considered it to be the same. I could not identify it with the London (r$_o$), and hence I adopt (r°), which I have used in so many previous versions.

1. *that*, I did not notice (a$_1$) here or elsewhere, but I cannot be certain.—*here there*, I did not notice (í$_1$i), only (íi$_1$). Mr. E. wrote simply *ee* = (ii).

2. *know*, Mr. E. considered it was (tnoo), but, as I heard him, he said simply (noo).

6. *much*, (mik'l) also used, not (mitʒ).

10. *crooning*, Mr. E. says "it is usually used in the dialect for the whining noise made by a cow, also by a drunkard, or any whining sound. It is much more expressive for the sound of a drunkard than our word whine."—*pet*, a common word.

11. *her*, it is possible that the sound was really meant for (hə$_1$r), but it came to my ear exactly like a broad (har),

and Mr. E. compared it to the pron. of the biblical name *Hur*.—*son's wife*, much commoner than (dóu,tʊ,r in lAA) daughter-in-law, which is also used.

*Notes to* No. 21, *Carlisle*, Cu. D 32, V i, p. 563.

5. *kent* or (ken'd) knew.

6. *woman* or (bodi) body.

7. *wrong*, with a slight vowel initial or (w'raq).

8. *goodman* or (hu,zbɐn'd).

9. *sware*, the ($y_1$) represents (y) spoken with a peculiar widening of the pharynx, which makes the sound somewhat different from any form of ($y_1$). The sound noted may, however, have been only Mrs. A.'s attempt to imitate the true sound, and even that may have been an individuality; but JGG. states that he has heard it from other old people.—*lying* or (lâi·ɐn).—*on the* or (ɐtop ɐ dhɐ) atop of the.—*good Sunday coat* or (bet,tə,r°mə,r° klí,ɐz) bettermore clothes.

10. *in a fright*, not 'in a fret' as was intended, but the word does not seem to be used in the dialect.

11. *son's wife* or (dâu,tə,r° in lAA).

13. *job* or (ma,tə,r°, bizny,s) matter, business.

14. *going* or (ga,qɐn) ganging.—*night*, Mrs. Anderson remembered (nE'ǵjht).—*quick*—*crow*, or (kroo).

15. *poor*, similarly (dy,ə,r°, sy,ə,r°, my,ə,r°, fly,ə,r°) door, sure, moor, floor; but a 'form' to sit on is (foor°m) with *o* in *swore*, but (fəə,r°m) at Milburn, We.—*wisdom*, or (r°i,iz'n) reason.—*word* or (wəə,r°d).

*Notes to* No. 22, *Knaresdale*, Nb. D 32, V i, p. 563.

1. *both* (bii¹Eth), misprinted with ($ii_1$) on p. 564, last line. JGG. writes ($ii^1$) in place of (ii), as a general rule. I do not distinguish these two sounds, but of course ($i_1$ *i*, $i^1$ $i_1$, i $i^1$) form a series for ears capable of distinguishing the sounds, and probably the difference is very perceptible from native speakers in conversation, though it evades analysis. However I retain JGG.'s symbol. The (E) is quite distinct.

3. *till I be done*, the use of this *be* is very suspicious.

10. *world*, JGG. wrote (wəər'ld), as in par. 3 he wrote (fəərst). In revising with me he introduced the sign ($ə_o$), this like ($ə_u$) was one of the signs for this vowel affected by (r) which we agreed afterwards to write ($ə_1$), which is the symbol I retain. He says that with regard to all these sounds "there seems to be a gradual glide from (*u*) with an (*i*) tongue point through pure (*u*) to ($ɐ^u$). That is to say, the (*u*) position is held from first to last, but at first the point of the tongue is raised to the (*i*) position, and afterwards the natural vowel (ɐ) is sounded through the same position on to the buzzed (r°). This remark applies, I think, to all the queer anomalous group with altered (y, ə) that I have come across in nw. Yo., in Cu., and We."

11. *day* (dEE'ɐ), a trace of this form is heard in Cu., producing a kind of tired effect; it is not the rule in Cu., and is only found in the pause.

## Traditional Names of Places in Edenside.

The above is the title of a paper read before the Cu. and We. Antiquarian and Archæological Society by Mr. J. G. Goodchild, at Penrith, in January, 1881, which with his permission I reproduce from the Transactions of the above Society almost at length, but differently arranged. Owing to his connection with the Government Geological Survey, JGG. had to spend many years in this neighbourhood in the most out-of-the-way places, and amidst the rocks and hills that there abound, all of which have traditional names, which the orthography generally used fails to convey. JGG., who commonly used palaeotype to express sounds, employed it in this paper to represent these names as spoken, and this gives an additional reason, if one were wanted, for introducing it in this book, for which pal. has been mainly invented, extended, and familiarly used. JGG. says: "The researches of philologists have made it clear that it is

unsafe to hazard an opinion upon the etymology of these place-names. Within the hydrographical basin of the Eden, or what, for convenience sake, it would be well to call by the name EDENSIDE [D 31, Var. iv, p. 555], we have evidence that there have been in use an unknown form of Iberian speech; the form, or forms, of Celtic current in the old kingdom of Strathclyde, also practically unknown; the various dialects of the Angles, which were probably as diverse in their day as are the dialects of the parts the Angles came from, at the present day; unknown forms and dialects of a more decidedly Scandinavian character; and, lastly, superposed upon the foundation formed by these diverse elements, forms of the literary English of every period from the earliest times to the present day. Under these circumstances it becomes difficult for any man to decide, in the present state of philological knowledge, what words are corruptions of words of known meaning, and what are veritable relics of former speech, now all but lost. I am not so sanguine as to believe that the view that the traditional names of places are the original forms and their literary forms their corruptions will meet with general acceptance. . . . Acting on this principle I have thought it best to lay before the Society simply a collection of facts, just as they were received from the dialect-speakers themselves. The plan I have adopted is to place on record the pronunciation of every place-name, where this differs in any way from its literary form as expressed on the Ordnance Maps, and to record all names not on the maps that are spelled with approximate correctness, when these names serve the purpose of shewing that a particular termination exists in various names throughout the length and breadth of Edenside. A large proportion of the names in the list is from my own notebook, but I have gladly availed myself of the aid of others. Amongst these are the late talented Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath [see p. 561], who collected many words with a view of bringing out a list jointly with myself; Miss Powley, of Langwathby, Mr. J. Bainbridge [see p. 562], Mrs. Graham, and Mr. Wm. Birket, of Penrith; Mr. Dover, of Woodfoot [see p. 560], Mr. John Robinson, of Milburn, and lastly, Mr. William Atkinson, [then] of the Science Schools, South Kensington, who has placed his knowledge of the subject entirely at my disposal. Other helpers, too numerous to particularize, have taken more or less interest in the subject."

### *Localities and Arrangement.*

JGG. has generally, not always, assigned a "locality" as he terms it, to the name, and has also generally, not always, given the usual spellings of the names of the places mentioned. In order to save space I here give a list of these localities in alphabetical order and numbered, and subsequently I refer to them by these numbers.

JGG.'s arrangement is generally (there are a few exceptions) by the sound in which the names end, and these form the "original categories," which have been left undisturbed, and numbered i. to xl. But the names in each category have been re-arranged according to the number of the locality in which it occurs.

When several names are referred to the same locality, the number is repeated before each one. The order is always: first, the number of the locality; next, the name of the place in pal.; and then in the ordinary spelling in italics when given by JGG., and if not so given, by a dash —. Sometimes the localities are very vague, as simply 21 Cu. and 74 We. Sometimes two or more localities are assigned to the same name. In this case generally the number of the other locality is added in [ ] to each, and the name is given under each locality. The reader will thus be able to find the pron. of all the names here given for any locality. But very frequently no locality is named, generally, says JGG., because the name referred to is not recorded on the Ordnance Maps, and then the number 0 is used. Sometimes "various localities" are assigned to a name, but not written. In this case they are numbered 00. Sometimes one locality is given, and others unnamed are said to occur. In this case + is added to the number of the locality actually given.

The particular form of pal. used after discussion with JGG. is given on p. 539, as explained by himself in this paper.

0 No locality assigned. 1 Ainstable. 2 Appleby. 3 Ash Fell, We. 4 Bampton. 5 (given in error). 6 Barton. 7 Bewcastle. 8 Blencarn. 9 Blenco. 10 Broadfield. 11 Brougham. 12 Caldbeck. 13 Calthwaite. 14 Carlisle. 15 Carrath. 16 Carrick. 17 Colby. 18 Croglin. 19 Crossfell. 20 Crosby Ravensworth. 21 Cumberland. 22 Dacre. 23 Dent. 24 Dufton. 25 Edenhall. 26 R. Glenderaterra. 27 R. Glenderamackin. 28 Greygarth Fell. 29 Greystoke. 30 Hawes Water. 31 Hesket Newmarket. 32 Howgill Fells. 33 Ivegill. 34 Kaber. 35 Kendal. 36 Keswick. 37 King's Meaburn. 38 Kirkby Stephen. 39 Kirkby Thore. 40 Kirkland. 41 Knock. 42 Langwathby. 43 Lowther. 44 Mallerstang. 45 Mardale. 46 Martindale. 47 Melmerby. 48 Mickel Fell. 49 Milburn. 50 Milburn Grange. 51 Morland. 52 Mungrisedale. 53 Orton, We. 54 Ousby. 55 Penrith. 56 Penrith side of Eamont Bridge. 57 Penruddock. 58 Plumpton. 59 Pooley. 60 Rose Castle. 61 Saddleback. 62 Shap. 63 Skelton. 64 Skiddaw. 65 Skirwith. 66 Sowerby Row. 67 Stainmoor. 68 Stenkrith. 69 Temple Sowerby. 70 Thirlmere. 71 Tirril. 72 Troutbeck. 73 Ullswater. 74 Westmorland. 75 Whinfell, 76 Wilbert Fell, We. 77 Winskill. 78 Yorkshire. 00 various unnamed localities; a + added to the number shews that other localities are mentioned but not named.

## *List of Names.*

1. *Names ending in* (v). 8 stu₁r°bv nʼuk *Sturba Nook.* 12 whelpv *Whelpa.* 21 skidv *Skiddaw.* 21 kaadv *Caldew.* 21 tor°penv *Torpenhow.* 22 u₁lkitv *Ulcat Row.* 39 loo a₁bv *Low Abbey.* 41 bu₁r°nv *Burney Hill.* 41 flegdv *Flagdaw.* 46 béi·dv *Beda Fell.* 49 wh'aaitv —. 55 baar°kv *Barcoe.* 55 tha₁kv bek *Thackay Beck.* 55 wufv *Wolfa.* 57 stu₁dv *Stoddah.* 64+ kaavv *Calva.* 67 du₁mv kr°a₁g *Dummah Crag.* 67 plu₁kv *Plucka Tarn.* 67 wú₁ufv *Woufa.* 69 hhú₁utsv *Houtsay.* 70 sta₁nv *Stanah.* 74 ryd'lsv *Riddlesay.* 74 r°odlhv *Rawthay.* 74 téibv *Tebay.* 00 páaikv —. 00 gréinv kr°a₁g —. 00 brú₁unv —. 00 rispv —.

ii. *Names ending in* (shv). 32+ hheer°shv *Hareshaw.* 32 bu₁shv *Bushaw.* 49 hhiqshv *Hanging Shaw.* 00 wetshv —. 00 lofshv —.

iii. *Names ending in* (r°v). 1 ska₁r°v *Skarrow Hill.* 8 mu₁r°v *Moray Hill.* 18 dâair°v —. 21 ska₁r°vma₁nʼik *Skarrowmanwick.* 49 silvə₁r°v ba₁nd *Silver Band.* 73 eer°v fú₁a₁r°s *Arey Force.* 73 sha₁r°v bee *Sharrow Bay.* 74 mu₁zgr°v *Musgrave.* 74 ba₁r°v *Barrow Moor.* 00 dokr°v —. 00 se₁tə₁r°v *Setterah.*

iv. *Names ending in* (skv). 2 [with 17] minskv —. 17 minskv —. 21 hha₁skv *Haresceugh.* 21 [with 72] lʼskv —. 21 [with 72] flu₁skv *Fluskew.* 21 nor°skv *Northsceugh.* 21 ba₁skv *Barco Dyke.* 37 baar°nskv *Barnskew.* 38 gr°a₁mskv —. 41 koskv *Cosca.* 47 [with 54] mu₁skv *Muska.* 49 thr°iyskv —. 54 [with 47] mu₁skv *Muska.* 55 sku₁mskv *Scumsceugh.* 71 hhiuskv *Heughscar.* 72 [with 21] liskv —. 72 [with 21] flu₁skv *Fluskew.* 00 fla₁skv *Flasco Flaskew Fluskew,* etc.

v. *Names ending in* (lɐ).—0 brᵒa₁dlɐ *Bradley*. 8 grᵒu₁mplɐ *Grumpley Hill*. 21 rᵒoslɐ *Rosley*. 30 [with 36] walɐ *Wallow Crag*. 31 нhaatlɐ *Haltcliff*. 32 kaatlɐ *Cautley*. 36 [with 30] walɐ *Wallow Crag*. 41 [between this and 50] kóuzlɐ —. 47 melkɐ bek —. 48 finlɐ kas'l —. 49 kaarᵒlɐ ba₁nd —. 49 kaarᵒlɐ —. 50 [between this and 41] kóuzlɐ —. 51 нhezlɐ *Hesley*. 54 koklɐ *Cocklock Scar*. 54 нhu₁slɐ máaiə₁rᵒ *Hustley Mire*. 56 kemplɐ *Kempley*. 73 pú₁ulɐ *Pooley*. 74 béilɐ *Bela*. 74 нhaarᵒtlɐ, нhaarᵒklɐ *Hartley*. 00 séilɐ —.

vi. *Names ending in* (ɐth). 0 krᵒíugɐth *Crewgarth*. 0 silɐth *Silloth*. 36 a₁rᵒmbɐth *Armboth*. 69 skáaigɐth *Skygarth*.

vii. *Names ending in* (wyth). Compare xi (wɐth) —. 0 sa₁ndwyth —. 12 láainwyth *Linewath*. 57 skitwyth bek *Skitwath*. 74 [above 41] нhelwyth —.

viii. *Names ending in* (rᵒyth). 21 [or 55] pí¹yrᵒyth *Penrith*. 21+ skə₁rᵒyth *Skirwith*. 74 stenkrᵒyth steqkryth *Stenkreth*. 74 ka₁rᵒyth *Carrath*. 78 grᵒegrᵒyth *Greygarth Fell*. [With the (rᵒ).] 12 [a mine] ˌdrᵒigyth —.

ix. *Names ending in* (ɐm). Usually spelled with either final *holme* or *ham*; but many of the names are applied to places that never can have had any claim to either of these terminations. 0 brᵒigɐm ba₁qk *Brigham Bank*. 7 spiydíydɐm *Spadeadam*. 21 nísɐm *Newsham*. 21 sebə₁rᵒɐm *Sebergham*. 26 brᵒu₁ndɐm bek —. 38 a₁qgrᵒɐm *Angerholme*. 43 bu₁kɐm *Buckholme*. 74 a₁skɐm *Askham*. 74 brᵒú₁uɐm *Brougham*. 74 flitɐm *Flitholme*.

x. *Names ending in* (ɐn). 0 bekfel·ikɐn *Beckfellican*. 9 timpə₁rᵒɐn —. 21 [with 74] í₁á₁mɐn bri·g *Eamont Bridge*. 21 la₁qɐnbi *Langwathby*. 21 kə₁rᵒog·lɐn *Croglin*. 29 gilkaa·mɐn *Gilcambon Beck*. 36 setɐnɐba₁n·ɐn —. 38 maastɐn *Mallerstang*. 45 mí₁izɐn bek *Measand Beck*. 49 léi₁tə₁₁rᵒɐn líudɟ —. 53 sú₁nbig·ɐn *Sunbiggin*. 55 selə₁rᵒɐn *Celleron*. 62 kaarᵒнhu₁l·ɐn —. 67 óusɐnthɐt *Oxenthwaite*, 69 óusɐnsta₁nd *Oxenstand*. 73 нha₁lɐn kra₁g *Hallin Crag*. 73 glenrid·ɐn *Glenridding*. 73 du₁nmaa·lɐn *Dunmallet*. 74 [with 21] í₁á₁mɐnbrig *Eamont Bridge*. 74 kə₁rᵒbi stebɐn *Kirkby Stephen*. 74 a₁kə₁rᵒɐn ba₁qk *Acorn Bank*. 74 gaarᵒthə₁rᵒɐn *Gaythorn*. 00 nibikɐn *Newbiggin* [3 or more places].

xi. *Names ending in* (wɐth). Compare with the names given under vii (wyth). 0 wáaidwɐth *Widewath*. 12 láainwɐth *Linewath*. [above 41] нhelwɐth gil —. 57 skitwɐth *Skitwath Beck*.

xii. *Names ending in* (tɐn). These are commonly regarded as mere mispronunciations of the final syllable *-ton*; but I have thought it safer to record the facts, be their significance what it may. 0 baarᵒtɐn *Barton*. 0 aastɐn *Alston*. 0 maastɐn *Mallerstang*. 0 ú₁ustɐn *Ulverston*. 2 нhelɐn *Hilton*. 2 mu₁rᵒtɐn *Murton*. 2 du₁ftɐn *Dufton*. 2 bóutɐn *Bolton*. 21 rᵒaakwhtɐn héid *Raughton Head*. 21 plu₁ntɐn *Plumpton*. 21 brᵒa₁ntɐn *Brampton*. 55 stentɐn *Stainton*. 62 ba₁ntɐn *Bampton*. 74 worᵒtɐn *Orton*.

xiii. *Names ending in* (thɐt). 0 rᵒú₁unthɐt *Rounthwaite*. 0 krᵒosthɐt *Crossthwaite*. 0 skaathɐt rig —. 0 kə₁rᵒthɐt *Curthwaite*. 0 ba₁s'nthɐt *Bassenthwaite*. 0 a₁p'l'thɐt *Applethwaite*. 0 thaarᵒnthɐt *Thornthwaite*. 0 wanthɐt *Wanthwaite*. 0 shóulthɐt —. 0 óuthɐt —. 0 нhí₁ithɐt kas'l' *High Head Castle*. 21 [with 74] lóunthɐt *Lownthwaite*. 21 kaathɐt *Calthwaite*. 21 sú₁uthɐt *Southwaite*. 24 blíuthɐt *Bluethwaite*. 33 smaathɐt *Smallthwaite*. 33 brᵒeethɐt *Braithwaite*. 36 omthɐt *Ormathwaite*. 36 lóuthɐt *Lowthwaite*. 74 [with 21] lóunthɐt *Lownthwaite*. 74 óusɐnthɐt *Oxenthwaite*. See xxvii.

xiv. *Names ending in* (fɐt). 0 worᵒfɐt *Overthwaite*. 2 sa₁nfɐt *Sandford*. 34 dóusɐnfɐt *Dolphin Seat*. 38 la₁dfɐt *Ladthwaite*. See also (a₁dɐmfɐt, grᵒiz'lfɐt, setɐfɐt).

xv. *Names ending in* (bə₁rᵒɐn). This ending is exceedingly common in many parts of the north-west of England; and it is applied occasionally to the heaps of loose stones cleared off the surface of the land. 17 bə₁rᵒɐnz нhil —. 20 нhaarbə₁rɐn *Harberwain*. 20 míɐbə₁rᵒɐn méibə₁rᵒɐn *Meaburn*. 36 wáaibə₁rᵒɐn *Wythburn*. 39 bə₁rᵒɐnz —. 49 bə₁rᵒɐn —. 55 síuubor ᵒɐnz *Sewborwens*. 62 wáaibə₁rᵒɐn *Wyeburne*. 74 klibə₁rᵒɐn *Cliburn*.

xvi. *Names ending in* (bɐrᵒɐ). 0 kelbɐrᵒɐ —. 0 thorᵒnbɐrᵒɐ *Thornbarrow*. 6 kə₁rᵒkbɐrᵒɐ *Kirkbarrow*. 9 whitbɐrᵒɐ —. 57 kə₁rᵒbɐrᵒɐ *Kirkbarrow*.

xvii. *Names ending in* (vl, yl). 0 pe,tə,r°vl *River Petteril.* 55 tə,r°vl *Tirril.* 00 нhu,qrvl нhu,qə,ryl *Hunger Hill.*

xviii. *Names ending in* (skyl). 0 winskyl [more often] winskvl *Winskill.* 0 lonskyl *Lonscale Fell.* 21 enskyl —. 21 нhu,dskylz *Hudscales.* 55 sku,skyl *Skirsgill.* 57 swáainskylz *Swinescales.* 60 gEEtskyl *Gaitsgill.* 61 bóuskyl *Bowscale.* 62 r°oskyl *Rosgill.* 73 bonskyl —. 74 нha,və,r°skylz —. 74 ga,skyl tar°n —. 74 gEEtskyl *Gaitsgill.* 74 thr°u,skyl *Thrushgill.*

The principal vowel (v) in the terminations given above is usually regarded as a slovenly substitute for one or other of the better recognised sounds. The group of place-names given next below will suffice to prove that the (v) in the words given below is not due to careless utterance. The same speakers that employ this (v) use also the "clear" vowels, and sound them, if anything, more distinctly than one is accustomed to hear in ordinary received English.

xix. *Names ending in* (bi). Uniformly sounded (bi) as (a,p°l'bi, kə,r°bi, kr°osbi), etc. [So written but probably (bi[1]) or (bi) was meant, see p. 540.]

xx. *Names containing or ending in* (iq). 0 liqstu,bz *Ling Stubbs.* 0 la,mbekiq· *Lambecking.* 0 liqkvwel —. 44 iq,нhil *Ing Hill.* 49 daar°liq —. 58 piq·l' *Plumpton.*

xxi. *Names ending in* (sit, sid). 0 нhaaksid *Hawkshead.* 0 a,m'l'sid *Ambleside.* 3 r°eesit *Rayseat.* 16 swAAinsit —. 17 swáainsit —. 21 пEEpsit *Knapside Fell.* 41 swáaisit. 44 swáainsit. 45 selsit *Selside.* 67 léisit *Ley Seat.* 74 or°msit *Ormside.* 74 kr°osbi ri,á,v'nsit *Crosby Ravensworth.* 74 léisit *Ley Seat.* 74 tú,usit *Towcet.* 74+ selsit *Selside.* 74 a,nusit rEEk *Annaside Rake.* 75 léisit *Ley Seat.* 00 jaar°lsit *Yarlside.*

xxii. *Names ending in* (sáaid). 42 skaar°sáaid —. 47 нhaar°tsáaid —. 55 ket'lsáaid —. 00 felsáaid —.

xxiii. *Names ending in* (r°ik, r°yk). 0 ka,r°ík *Carrock Fell.* 11 we,də,r°iks *Weatherriggs.* 12 kEElbr°yk *Calebrack.* 21 нhíur°ik *How Rigg* (*School*). 21 нhíurik *Hung Rigg* (*Quarries*). 45 du,də,r°ik —. 54 bu,te,r°ik grºEEnz —. 62 bu,tə,r°ik *Butterwick.* 73 нhu,r°yk wud —.

xxiv. *Names ending in* (ik). 0 kezik *Keswick.* 0 ska,r°vma,nik *Scarrowmanwick.* 0 grºEEstik *Greystoke.* 0 mú,uə,r°divik *Moor Divock.* 0 ku,mdiv·ik *Cumdivock.* 21 wa,tə,r° milik *Water Millock.* 21 penr°u,d·ik *Penruddock.* 61 dodik *Doddick.* 73 нholik нhóu —. 73 sa,nik *Sandwick.* 73 blóu·ik —. 74 spu,dik *Spurrig End.*

xxv. *Names ending in* (in). 0 sokin)ber° —. 0 br°ekin)sla,k *Brackenslack.* 0 la,q maar°tin *Long Marton.* 0 tAAkin tar°n *Talkin Tarn.* 2 kr°ekin)thr°op *Crackenthorpe.* 13 br°ekin)bru,f —. 41 ska,bin du,b —.

xxvi. *Names ending in* (i[1]) or (i). 0 ma,nusti *Manesty.* 2 kéisli *Keisley.* 58 br°okli mú,ur° —. 74 r°ezli *Reasley.* 74 es,t,r°i —.

xxvii. *Names ending in* (whit, whEEt, whut). 0 br°ekunwhit, *Brackenthwaite.* 0 aar°mwhit *Armathwaite.* 29 gr°i,inwhEEt *Greenthwaite Hall.* 36 walwhEEt *Walthwaite.*

xxviii. *Names ending in* (kyt). 0 threlkyt *Threlkeld.* 73 spaar°kyt *Sparkhead* and *Sparket.* 00 bə,r°kyt *Birket Mire.*

xxix. *Names ending in* (lyk, lik). 67 gEElyk —. 67 mú,udhlyk *Mouthlock.*

xxx. *Names ending in* (thr°op). 0 нha,kthr°op *Hackthorpe.* 0 melkinthr°op *Melkinthorpe.* 2 kr°ekinthr°op *Crackenthorpe.* 23 and 35 milthr°up *Milnthorpe.*

xxxi. *Names having distinct* (iu) *in combination.* 0 skíuf нhí,id *Sceugh Head.* 0 skíuf dáaik *Sceugh Dyke.* 0 la,mskíuf *Lambsceugh.* 0 mid'lskíuf *Middlesceugh.* 0 hhu,d'lskíuf [older pron. -(skíukwh)] *Huddlesceugh.* 0 kə,r°bi fíuə,r° *Kirkby Thore.* 0 kr°iuguth *Crewgarth.* 0 нheg'l fiut *Heggle Foot.* 0 ka,nə,r°нhíuf [older pron. -híukwh] —. 12 нhu,t'n skíuf *Hutton Sceugh.* 21 [with 74] нhu,t'n r°íuf *Hutton Roof.* 24 bliuthvt *Bluethwaite.* 25 skíuf —. 47 fiul píul *Fairy Pool.* 49 kr°iuktwáaiz. 55 lium *The Luham.* 73 glenkíu·n *Glencoin.* 73 kr°iukidáaik —. 74 [with 78] liun *Lune.* 74 diukvd'l *Duckerdale.* 74 [with 21] нhu,t'n r°íuf *Hutton Roof.* 78 liun *Lune.*

xxxii. *Names having distinct* (i,a,) *in combination.* 0 kí,a,bə,r° *Kaber.* 0 i,a,mvn *River Eamont.* 0 skí,a,lz-нhAA *Scales Hall.* 0 ne,də,r°ski,a,lz *Netherscales.* 0 stí,a,ngilz *Stonegill.* 19 laal dí,a,l *Little Dale.* 21 brí,a,dí,il'd *Broadfield.* 21 lí,a,dhz *Laiths.* 22 dí,a,kə,r° *Dacre.* 38 ni,a,tbi *Nateby.*

49 *ú*ˌud'l dí̯ˌa̯ˌl —. 55 dí̯ˌa̯ˌlmí̯ˌa̯ˌn *Dalemain.* 62 tí̯ˌa̯ˌlbəˌr°t *Tailbert.* 66 whí̯ˌa̯ˌl *gil Whale Gill.* 74 t' нhí̯ˌa̯ˌl *Hale Field.* 74 slí̯ˌa̯ˌks *Slakes.* 74 whí̯ˌa̯ˌl *Whale.* 74 kr°osbi r°í̯ˌá̯ˌv'nsit *Crosby Ravensworth.* 78 tí̯ˌa̯ˌzd'l *Teesdale.*

xxxiii. *Name ending in* (*iiv*) or (*iiɛ*). 14+ r°í̯ˌiɛ° *Wreay.*

xxxiv. *Names having a distinct* (*úˌa̯ˌ*) *in combination.* 0 júvnklúˌa̯ˌs *Ewen Close.* 0 нheg'l lúˌa̯ˌnin *Heggle Lane.* 14 kúˌa̯ˌt нhíl *Cote Hill.* 16 múˌa̯ˌzd'l —. 22 dʒúˌa̯ˌnbi *Johnby.* 29 áaik'l lúˌa̯ˌnin. 41 klúˌa̯ˌs нhúˌus *Close House.* 41 kúˌa̯ˌt sáaik *Coatsike.* 55 kúˌa̯ˌt klúˌa̯ˌs *Colt Close.*

xxxv. *Names having a distinct* (*óu*) *in combination.* 0 bóugaˌp *Hutton Grange.* 21 *ó*uzbi *Ousby.* 55 fóur°vs *Fowrass.* 55 bó*u* skaar° *Bow Scar.* 74 bóut'n *Bolton.* 74 kóubi Colby.

xxxvi. *Names having distinct* (*iuu*) *in combination.* 0 kuˌmr°íuu *Cumrew.* 0 níuutvn *Newton Reigny.* 2 bíuuli kas'l *Bewley Castle.* 55 síuubor°vnz *Sewborwens.* 73 fíuuzd'l —. 73 bíuuli (— or (lv)] *Beulah House.*

xxxvii. *Names ending in* (bəˌr°t). 45 tí̯ˌa̯ˌlbəˌr°t *Tailbert.* 55 sokbəˌr°t *Sockbridge.* 74 wilbəˌr°t fel *Wildboar Fell.*

xxxviii. *Names ending in* (məˌr°). 0 r°aˌgməˌr° mos *Wragmire Moss.* 0 staˌnməˌr° —. 0 séməˌr° taar°n —. 0 dúˌdməˌr° *Dudmire.* 36 thelməˌr° *Thirlmere.* 41 kaˌt'lməˌr° taar°n *Cattle Mire.* 49 ooməˌr° —. 52 réidməˌr° —. 67 blaˌkməˌr° —. 67 winməˌr° *Windmoor End.*

xxxix. *Names ending in* (wath). 21 stog'lwath *Stockdalewath.* 74 wínden-wath *Winderwath.*

xl. *Addenda and Miscellaneous Names not reducible to any of the above categories.* 0 нhuˌlzwˌa̯ˌtəˌr° *Ullswater.* 0 dof'nbi *Dovenby.* 0 dofunbi *Dolphinby.* 0 enstvb'l' *Ainstable.* 0 suˌdhəˌr°vnbi *Southernby.* 0 wespəˌr°lvnd *Westmorland.* 0 kuˌməˌr°lvnd *Cumberland.* 0 maˌkwhvnbi *Maughanby.* 0 baˌnvst *Bannest Hill.* 0 bˌaskvdɛ'ik *Bascodyke.* 0 baˌr°ik *Barrock Park.* 0 kas'l kaˌr°ik *Castle Carrock.* 0 нhíˌi br°ig *High Bridge.* 0 stí̯ˌil ɟet *Steelgate.* 0 ɛɛkvt ɟet *Aiket Gate.* 0 kúˌur°ig. 0 gəˌr°snvp *Grass Knop.* 1 br°aˌməˌr°i —. 2 brekinbəˌr° *Brackenber.* 6 thoor°p —. 10 áait'nfí̯ˌi'l'd —. 13 ɛɛkbaˌqk *Oakbank.* 14 warik *Warwick.* 21 uˌk'lbəˌr° skaar° *Oglebird Scar, Temple Sowerby.* 21 wili búˌuəˌr° skaar° *Wildboar Scar.* 21 wilbvníuk *Willybower Nook.* 21 meləˌr°bi *Melmerby.* 21 gaˌmvzbi *Gamblesby.* 21 lal saˌf'l' *Little Salkeld.* 21 gəˌr°t saˌf'l' *Great Salkeld.* 21 laˌqvnbi *Langwathby.* 21 bvˌstv bek —. 21 r°oo bek *Roe Beck.* 21 blenkaa·r°n *Blencairn.* 21 kəˌr°kuˌz'l'd *Kirkoswald.* 21 [and 74] kodbek *Coldbeck Caldbeck.* 21 blí izf'l *Blaze Fell.* 21 mungr°áai·zd'l *Mungrisedale.* 21 waanf'l *Wan Fell.* 21 skiprig —. 24 нhaastí̯ˌidz *Hallsteads.* 27 gráaizd'l'bek —. 36 [with 67+] bor°vd'l *Borrowdale.* 36 for°nsyt —. 38 skelsiz *Skelcies.* 40 aar°'l нhí̯ˌid *Ardale Head.* 41 нhˌar°wəˌr°i bek *part of Swindale Beck.* 43 whipvstí̯ˌidz *Whitby Steads.* 47 shil gr°in *Shield Green.* 51 ɛɛdhv —. 52 нhez'lнhuˌst —. 54 нháaikvp *High Cap.* 55 aalbi *Aldby.* 55 laˌqvshiz *Milestone House.* 55 нhɛɛmz *The Queen's Haims.* 55 braˌmər°i —. 55 laˌnfuts *Landsfoot.* 55 нhí̯ˌir°ig *Highrigg.* 57 ber°iəˌr° nit'lz *Eycott Hill.* 57 beksiz *Beckcies.* 57 walɛwv *Walaway.* 58 skí̯ˌilz *Skeels.* 58 skr°aˌtʒmv skaar *Scratch Mill Scar.* 58 bróuməˌr°i —. 59 walнhúˌus —. 61 baˌnvdvl *Bannerdale.* 63 rigdɛ'ik *Rigdyke.* 67+ [with 36] borvd'l *Borrowdale.* 67 baˌr°vs — *Station.* 67 bəˌr°kv pasˌtəˌr° —. 72 aˌskr°ig —. 72 súˌuthvt'l —. 72 baˌnvdvl *Bannerdale Fell.* 73 benvt нhí̯ˌid *Bennethead.* 73 floshgɛɛt —. 73 thoor°p —. 74 dʒiliɛn búˌuəˌr° *Julian Bower.* 74 r°ys'ndvl *Ravenstonedale.* 74 нháaikvb'l' *High Cap Gill.* 74 skaa fel *Scald Fell, Dufton.* 74 нhelbek *Hillbeck, Brough.* 74 múˌuəˌr°lvn *Morland.* 74 kr°yn'l dáaik *Cringle Dyke.* 74 nhok páaik *Knock.* 74 нhɛɛm kr°oft —. 74 ɛɛkli bek *Milburn.* 74 loskvz *Loscars.* 74 br°oməˌr°i *Bramery.* 76 dolfin stáai *Dolphin Sty.* 77 r°obvbi *Roberby,* 00 нhaas *horse, hause,* etc.

[Names of places are always more altered than other words. We have abundant examples of such alterations in received speech. Hence such changes cannot be relied upon for general dialect pronunciation. But the above list is the most complete of its kind that has been drawn up, and I feel much indebted to JGG. for this opportunity of presenting it to my readers.]

## Seward's Dialogue for Burton-in-Lonsdale, Yo.,

otherwise called Black Burton, nearly on the border of La. (13 ne.Lancaster, 3 w.Ingleton). The stalactite Yordas Cave (as the name is usually written) is near Ingleborough Hill, 56 yards long, 13 wide, and 16 high, Thornton Force or waterfall is also close by. There is a rare book, of which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte possesses a copy, that he allowed me to inspect and partly copy, entitled: "A Tour to Yordes Cave, by William Seward, Burton-in-Lonsdale, accompanied by a Shepherd from Thornton Force, Price one Shilling to Subscribers, Kirkby Lonsdale, printed by A. Foster for the Author, 1801," 8vo. in half-sheets. The Visit occupies pp. iv. 1-30. Then follows on half-sheet E. second leaf, "An attempt to illustrate the Dialect spoken in Burton-in-Lonsdale and its Vicinity in a familiar dialogue." When JGG. was in this neighbourhood on Geological Survey Duty, in 1876, he made the acquaintance of Mr. John Powley (:pí₁uli₁) of the post office, Burton-in-Lonsdale, a contemporary and fellow-townsman of the author, William Seward, and from his dictation pal. a translation of this dialogue, which JGG. considers to be "one of the best specimens [of dialect] within his knowledge, and to present more than any other a nearly complete conspectus of the structure and phonology of the dialect of that part of Craven." I have therefore taken great pains to give JGG.'s writing with accuracy, and we have gone over the whole together vivâ voce. The cwl. which follow will be a further guarantee of the faithfulness of this representation of the speech current in these primitive rural districts. For the convenience of comparison I give the original orthography and the phonetic translation interlinearly. The original is an excellent specimen of dialectal spelling as usually found. It would have been totally impossible for a stranger to guess at the sounds used. Hence I put the translation first, which ought to be legible enough to those who have read so far, and add the original verbatim and literatim, with all its strange punctuation, use of capitals, and misprints, in the next line. The speeches are numbered as separate paragraphs for ease of reference, and a few notes are added at the end. As to the custom of sweethearts visiting at-night, it must be remembered that it is thoroughly established, and suggests no impropriety.

### "*A Dialogue between Harre and Malle. Enter Harre.*"

1. M*a*₁*li*. náu, ˌháu *i*₁z)tu tunéit?
1. *Malle*. Naw haw iz ta ta nete?

2. H*a*₁*ri*. *geeli*₁, ˌháu)z ·táu tunéit?
2. *Harre*. Gaily, haws taw ta nete?

3. *M*. ái nha)nut ˌháu)i)*i*₁z. ái sa₁t *u*₁p su la*q*' ˈies ˌtə₁rnæ'it ut)
3. *M*. I knannat haw e iz. I sat up sa lang yesternete at

ái)kun ˌhaardli₁ ˌhod m*i*₁ éin op'n.
I can hardly hod my ene oppen.

4. *H*. wat d*i*₁d)tu s*i*₁t *u*₁p ubáut, m*i*₁ las?
4. *H*. what did ta sit up abaut, my lass?

5. *M*. k*u*₁m, s*i*₁t)tu dáun, un)ái)z tel)dhu. m*i*₁ m*u*₁ˌdə₁r)z)*i*₁)bed,
5. *M*. Cum, sit ta dawn an iz tell tha, mi mudder's e bed,

un ·hez b*i*₁n dh*i*₁s ˌhòf áuə₁r. wí₁ ˌhED)u káu ut fard u
and hez been this hofe aur. We ad a Cow at fard a

k*oo*v*i*n, ʊn á*i* sa₁t bʊ)m*i*₁sel' omʊst A' né*i*t.
covein, an I sat be me sel ommast o nete.

6. *H.* dhá*u*)dʊz 'wé*i*l tʊ)see 'omʊst. á*i* k*u*₁m bâ*i* ĭá₁*u*ə₁r díûə₁r
6. *H.* Thau duz weel ta say ommast. I com by yaur dure

ʊbá*u*t ĭa₁n ʊ)klok, an á*i* sà ʊ tʃap ʊ s*u*₁m ma₁k s*i*₁tʊn ʊnenst)tʊ.
abaut yan a Clock, an I sa a chap a sum mack sittan anenst ta.

7. *M.* *oo*, dhat wʊz nobʊt :tom, ʊt kAAd tʊ l*iu*k ʊt)t' kA'f, ʊn
7. *M.* Ho, that waz nobet Tom at code ta luke at cofe, an

*i*₁t w*a*z'nt kAAʌvd, ʊn s*i*₁E *i*)kla₁pt)*i*₁m dá*u*n ʊ)t' st*iu*l, ʊn fel
it wazzent cov'd, an sea he clap'd him dawn ath stule an fell

ʊslé*i*p. ʊn s*i*₁E Ef,tə₁r ʊ whâ*i*l *i*₁ wa₁k'nt, ʊn b*i*₁ga₁n ʊ)telʊn)mʊ
a sleep, an sea efter a while he wackened an began a tellin ma,

ʊt)*i*₁)d)b*i*n ,d,ríemʊn.
at e ad been dreaman.

8. *H.* wat d*i*d)*i*₁ ,d,ríem ʊbá*u*t, pre)dhʊ) ná*u*?
8. *H.* what did e dream abaut pray tha naw?

9. *M.* *i*₁ ,d,ríemd s*i*₁k ʊ ,d,ríem ʊz mon*i*₁ f*oo*k n*i*₁və₁r 'hàrd. *i*₁
9. *M.* E dream'd sic a Dream az monny foke niver hard, e

thá*u*t ʊt á*u*ə₁r ka₁t wʊz bá*u*nd tʊ pl*ee* ʊ)t' ba₁gpâ*i*ps, ʊn)ʊt
thaut at our Cat waz bawn ta play ath Bagpipes, an at

,há*u*)ʊt)*i*₁t)ʊd g*i*₁t'n ʊ par)ʊ sh*ú*₁un, ʊn *i*t st*u*d s,trek *u*₁p ʊn
haw at it ad gitten a par a shoon, an it stud streck up and

sháu*ti*₁d: "ma₁k rú₁um fər)t' ra₁t'nz!" ʊn Ef,tə₁r ʊ whâ*i*l ʊ
shauted mack roum for Rattans, an efterawhile a

gəə₁rt ,d,rov k*u*₁m, ʊn shʊ w*u*₁r*i*₁d)ʊm 'AA, ʊn 'et,ʊm sha₁qk
girt drove com an sha worry'd am O an it am shank

ʊn)ra₁qk.
an rank.

10. *H.* á*i* n*i*₁və₁r s*a* s*i*₁k ʊ ,d,ríem ʊz tat! bʊt ,hez)t' ka'*u* kAAʌvd?
10. *H.* I never sa sick a Dream az tat, bat hezt Caw cov'd?

11. *M.* n*ee*, bʊt)t' ka₁t)s 'k*i*₁t'l'd.
11. *M.* Nay bat Cit kittled.

12. *H.* ,há*u* mon*i*₁ k*i*₁tl*i*₁nz d*i*₁d shʊ k*i*₁t'l?
12. *H.* Haw many kitlins did sha kittle?

13. *M.* ba₁n, sh*i*₁)d nobʊt tw*i*₁E, ʊn dh*ee*)r ʊz lâ*i*k)t' aal'd ka₁t
13. *M.* Barn shead nobbat two an theare az like thauld cat

az twi₁a₁ bru₁₁də₁₁rz, ʊn dhè bi₁a₁th sáuk.
az two Brudders an they beath sauk.

14. *H.* i₁t)s wéil ʊt)tʊ)z si₁ geeli₁ tʊnéit. á₁i)l si₁t ʊ bi₁t
14. *H.* Its weel as tas sea gailey ta nete, Ile sit a bit

na₁r)dhʊ.
nar tha.

15. *M.* ǐéì mʊ si₁t ʊz níiʊr ʊz ǐi₁ ·wi₁l, ʊn Jʊ wi₁l bʊt ˌhod ·of
15. *M.* Ye ma sit az near as ya will, an ya will but hod of

mʊ.
ma.

16. *H.* wh*a*t ? wi₁l)tʊ ta₁k)ʊ ki₁s ?
16. *H.* What will ta tack a kis?

17. *M.* ái lâik nóut ʊ)t' ma₁k. ri₁a₁k)t' bàrz, ʊn ma₁k ʊ léit.
17. *M.* I like nout ath mack reak bars, an mack a lete.

18. *H.* ·áai)l ma₁k nʊ léit. wʊ)kʊn) tAAk ʊ)t' dark, bʊt ʊn)tʊ)l
18. *H.* Ile mack na lete we can toke ith dark, but an tle

gi₁)mʊ)ʊ ki₁s, ái)l gi₁)dhʊ)ʊ ri₁bʊn ʊt :bu₁rtʊn f*eer*.
gimma a kis, ile githa a Ribbin at Burton Fair.

19. *M.* áai)l gí₁)dhʊ ·ni₁n. bʊt)dhʊ)mʊ) ta₁k ǐa₁n, ʊn)tʊ ·wi₁l.
19. *M.* I le githa nin bat thau ma tack yan an ta will.
[*Salutes her.*

20. *H.* dháu nhaaz ái lâik dhʊ ʊz wéil ʊz)í ·ka₁n díu. ʊn)tʊ
20. *H.* Thau knaes I like tha az weel az e can du anta

hED'nt ʊ fàrdi₁n, ái wʊd hE)dhʊ ʊfú₁ʊr oni₁ ʊt ·i₁və₁r)i
hedent a fardin I wad hetha afoar onny at iver e

saa)i₁)mi₁ lâif.
sa emy life.

21. *M.* fo*o*k s*u*d lâik ǐa₁n)ʊnu₁₁də₁₁r réit wéil wʊn)dh*e*)r gaan tʊ
21. *M.* Foke sud like yananudder reight weel when thar gangan ta

wed, fʊr)ʊ déil ʊ fo*o*k fAA áut ʊt EftØ₁₁r.
wed, for a dele a foke foes aut at efter.

22. *H.* ái wu₁n₁də₁₁r w*a*t dh*e* fAA áut ʊbáut!
22. *H.* I wonder what tha fo aut abaut!

23. *M.* ái wad'nt wi₁sh tʊ nhaa. ái ˌhóʊp ·wi₁)z bi₁ thi₁k ʊz)
23. *M.* I wadent wish ta kna I hoap wees be thick az

laq)ʊz wʊ báaid tʊgi₁₁də₁₁r. ʊn dháu néid gi₁t nóut ʊgee·n
lang as wa bide tagidder, an thau need git nout again

ˌháuskéìpin. mi mu₁dəₑr vl gi₁)mv v déìl vv odmvnts, vn
hausekeepin mi Mudder al gimma a dele af odments, an

AA ma₁ks)v stu₁f i₁z so díivr vt wv)mvn sí₁a₁v AA)t' bras wv
O macks a stuf's sooa dear at we man seave oth brass we

·ka₁n. ǐa₁n nhaaz nóut wat wv)z wa₁nt, vn dháu sud bi₁gi₁n
can. yan knaes nout what wez want, an thau sud begin

su₁m ˌtreed wi₁d)d' bi₁t)v mu₁ni₁ vt)wv)·hEV.
sum trade wit bit a munny at wa hev.

24. *H.* ˌháu mi₁tɟ bras ˌhEz)tv sí₁á₁vd, :ma₁l ?
24. *H.* Haw mitch brass hez ta seav'd Mal ?

25. *M.* ái)v nobvt vbáut ǐa₁n)vn)twenti₁ paund ; ·háu mítɟ vz ·táu ?
25. *M.* I ev nobbut abaut yan and twenty pound ; haw mitch az taw ?

26. *H.* ái ˌhEV'nt vz mi₁tɟ. ái nobvt vbáut ten vr)vlev'n, wen)i
26. *H.* I av not az mitch I nobbut abaut ten ar aleven, when e

peed)t' shú₁uma₁kə₁r, bvt dháu nhaaz i₁t)l bi₁)v gee déìl
paid Shoomacker, but thou knaes ittle be a gay dele

wen)i₁t)s AA pu₁t tvgi₁₁də₁ˈr.
when its O put tagidber.

27. *M.* ·ma₁ri₁, nvt ·i₁t. wat ˌtreed vl)tv bi₁gi₁n ? ái thi₁qk v
27. *M.* Marry nat it, what trade al ta begin ? I think a

·ba₁d·dɟə₁r)z best.
Badger's best.

28. *H.* ái wad'nt bi v ba₁d·dɟə₁r, vn)ta)wvd gi₁)mv)t' best sti₁á₁t
28. *H.* I wodent be a badger an ta wad gimmath best steate

i₁ :bu₁rtvn ! ái)d reeˌdə₁r bi₁ v kolɟə₁rd ə₁r)v tɟi₁mlv swéìpə₁r.
e Burton, I ed raader be a Colyard er a Chimley sweeper.

ǐa₁n mv)si fook ku₁rsin)t' bad·dɟə₁rz i₁vri₁ dee, vn soov dhá)z
Yan ma se foke cursant Badgers iverey day, an soa thaus

síûə₁r vt dhe kaant díû wéìl ·laqˈ. ba₁d·dɟə₁rz wants tv ma₁k
sure at tha can't du wele lang, Badgers wants ta mack

hu₁z bi₁léì·v vt wi₁)d)v feelvn krop iv :iqlvnd, bvt ái nhaa
az believe at wead a falean crop iv Ingland, but I kna

vt)i₁t)s nóut vt)AA bvt si₁k dəə₁rt vz)·tem vt kla₁mz AA)t'
at its nout at O bat sick dirt az tem at clams oth

ku₁ntri₁ : stu₁f)vd bi₁ laa i₁nu₁f, vn wi₁ hEd'nt si₁k swaarmz
countrey ; stuff wad be law enuf an wa hedent sich swarms

on)ʊm. bʊt, ·kom, fotɟ)ʊz su₁mʊt tʊ ˌdri₁qk, :ma₁li₁!
on em, bat cum, fotch az summat ta drink Malle.

29. *M.* mi₁ mu₁ˌdə₁r)z wak'n ái deer *see*, bu₁t ái)l' fotɟ ĭʊ)ʊ su₁p)ʊ
29. *M.* Me Mudders wacken I dar say, bat ile fotch ya a sup a

tɟəə₁rn mi*l*lhk.
Chirn Milk.

30. *H.* ái)l' ˌhɛv ni₁a₁ si₁k bla₁shmʊnt! i₁t ma₁ks mi belí₁ w*aa*rk.
30. *H.* Ile hev nea sick blashment, it macks me belle wark.

31. *M.* mʊn)i ma₁k)ĭʊ ʊ sú*u*₁ʊp ʊ téi?
31. *M.* mun e mack ya a sup a Te?

32. *H.* wˌaar ʊn wˌaar, i₁t)s nó*u*t bʊt slaa pu₁z'm. let mi₁ hɛv
32. *H.* war an war, its nout but slaw Puzzum, let me hev

ʊ gəə₁rt pu₁di*n*, ʊt)s mi₁ád i₁n)ʊ pú*u*₁ʊk, ʊn top f*u*l ʊ síú)i₁t.
a girt puddin ats mead in a Poak, and top full a suit.

33. *M.* i₁t)s g*u*d ʊnu₁f ʊt)ʊ ni₁ûn, bʊt ʊn hu₁z wi₁mín mu₁d'nt
33. *M.* Its good anuf at a nune, but an huz wimmen muddent

ˌhɛv ʊ sú₁ʊp ʊ téi, wi₁ mʊd bi₁ hu₁qə₁rd.
hev a sup a Te we mud be hungard.

34. *H.* wáai₁ bu₁t ʊn)ĭi₁ wad'nt ˌdri₁qk sʊ mitɟ on)t, ĭʊ tɟéiks
34. *H.* Wia bat an ya wadent drink sa miteh ont yer cheeks

wʊd béi ʊ déil ryd ˌdə₁r, ʊn)ĭʊ)wʊd léiv ʊ déil lˌaqə₁r. bu₁t
wad be a dele redder an ya wad leve a dele langer, bat

ái)ʊ gi*t*'n su₁m ku₁ps ʊn sˌaasə₁rz for)dhʊ, dh*ee*)l díû agəən)t'
I a gitten sum cups and sacers for tha theel du aganet

wedi₁n. dhá*u* nhaaz i₁t)s nobʊt ʊbá*ut* ʊ mu₁nth tu₁l ná*u*.
weddin, thau knaes its nobbat abaut a munth tull naw,

mu₁n wi₁ bi₁ ɛkst ʊt kəə₁rk, ə₁r)wi₁)mʊn wed ·tu₁ˌdə₁r w*ee*?
mun we be ext ith Kirk ar we mun wed tudder way,

35. *M.* wi₁)l tʌak ʊbá*ut* ·dha₁t su₁m néit els, w*a*t sez)ti₁ faˌdə₁r
35. *M.* Weel toke abaut that sum nete else, what sez te Fadder

ʊn mu₁də₁r ʊbá*ut* i₁t?
an Mudder abaut it?

36. *H.* mi₁ faˌdə₁r)z r*ee*ə₁rli₁ pli₁ɛzd, ʊn sez ʊt ʊ)l ·gi)mʊ
36. *H.* Me Fadder's rarely pleas'd, an sez at heel gimma

thréi káai, ʊn áai)z gi*t* ·ʌʌ ɛfˌtə₁r)i₁ ·déiz. ʊn mi₁ mu₁ˌdə₁r
three Ky, an iz git O efter he dees an me Mudder

sez: "líûk ʊt ɹʊ bí₁á₁th pú₁u t)í₁a₁ wee, ʊn kéîp dhí₁sel'
sez luke at ya beath poo tea way, an keep thesel

fre)t' ĭɛl'ʊs, ʊn ·dhen ĭʊ)l' ·díû." wat sez)tí₁ mu₁də₁r?
fraith Eales, an then yeel du; what sez ty Mudder?

37. *M.* shu)wʊz ní₁n sʊ wel plí₁ɛzd ʊt ái)z gaan tʊ lí₁ɛv)ə₁r.
37. *M.* Shoes nin sa weel pleas'd at iz gangan ta leave er,

dháu séiz ái)z ʌʌ)t' baarnz shí₁ ·hɛz bí₁á₁th ru₁f ʊn smú₁udh;
thau siz iz oth Barn sha hez beath ruf an smooth;

mu₁n shʊ léîv wí₁)ʊs?
mun sha leve with az?

38. *H.* á₁i)i siûə₁r, ʊz laq ʊz shʊ)wí₁l. wʊ)mʊn gí₁t feevə₁r wí₁)t'
38. *H.* Eigh sure as lang az sha will, we man gith favver ath

aal' fook, ə₁r wí₁)z gí₁t ·nóut. en ái)l tel)dhʊ ·wat ái wʊz
ald foke er wese git nout, an ile tell tha what I waz

thí₁qkʊn tʊ mí₁sel' ʊt ái wʊd ta₁k)ʊ lu₁mp ʊ la₁n'd su₁m
thinkan ta me sel at I wad tack a lump a land sum

weer ʊbáut :bu₁rtʊn, ʊn gí₁t su₁m bíiɛs, ʊn sel í₁t ʌʌ í₁ níû
whare abaut Burtan, an git sum Beas an sel it O E new

mí₁llhk, ʊn)wʊ)kʊn paart wí wur bu₁t₁tə₁r ʊt oní₁ prâis.
milk, an we can part we wer Butter at onny price.

39. *M.* wat? mʊn)wí₁ sel ʌʌ)t' níû millhk, ʊn tɹəə₁rn tíû? fook
39. *M.* what mun wa sell oth new Milk, an chirn tu, foke

wʊd síûn see ʊt wʊ sel'd mí₁llhk ʊn wat₁tə₁r. áaí)d sel')t'
wad sune say at wa seld milk an watter. I wad selth

bíiɛs ʊfúu₁ʊr ái wʊd hɛv sí'kʊ ní₁ám.
Beas afoar I wad hev sic a neam.

40. *H.* ái sud'nt lâík fook tʊ tʌʌk bí₁hí₁nt mí ba₁k, bu₁t ʊ ·déîl
40. *H.* I suddent like foke ta toke behint me back, bat a dele

ʊ fook ·keerz)nʊt, ʊn)dhee díû)bʊt ·gí₁t bras, háu í₁t ku₁m.
a foke caresent an tha du bat git munne haw it come.

41. *M.* ái rek'n nóut ʊ béî)in rí₁tɹ. í₁t nobʊt ma₁ks ĭa₁n gréîdí₁,
41. *M.* I reckon nout a bein rich it nobbat macks yan greede

ʊn ĭa₁n nhaaz nóut ⌊háu laq ĭa₁n ⌊hɛz tʊ stee wí₁)í₁t. fook
an yan knaes nout haw lang yan ez ta stay wete foke

déîz fast í₁ :bu₁rtʊn ·náu.
dees fast e Burtan naw.

42. *H.* hod)t*i*$_1$ ·t*u*$_1$q' pre)dhʊ náu! dháu fleez mʊ w*i* tAAk*i*n ʊbáut
42. *H.* Hod te tung preathanaw, thau flays ma we tokin abaut

déi)in. w*i* sud ⌊hEV ʊ déil ʊ baarnz ʊfúu$_1$ʊr w*i*$_1$ th*i*$_1$qk ʊ déi)in.
dein we sud hev a dele a barns afoar we think a dein.

43. *M.* ·su$_1$d wʊ? ·dha$_1$t)s AA)t' felʊz ·th*i*$_1$qks on, g*i*$_1$t*i*$_1$n ʊ
43. *M.* sud wa? that's O at Fellas thinks on gittin a

háusful ʊ baarnz fʊ w*i*$_1$m*i*$_1$n fook tʊ ta$_1$k keer on! ʊn dháu)l'
hauseful a Barns fort wimmen ta tack cear on, an theyl

⌊ha$_1$p'n ru$_1$n tʊ)t' ĭEl')ʊs, ʊn baarnz rúu$_1$ʊrʊn ʊn skr*i*$_1$ʊmʊn
happen run tath ealas ant barns roarin an screamon

f*i*$_1$t tʊ br*i*$_1$st.
fit ta brist.

44. *H.* du$_1$st)tʊ b*i*$_1$léiv ʊt ái)l díû s*i*$_1$á$_1$?
44. *H.* Dusta believe at ile du sea?

45. *M.* nee áiv ʊ gəə$_1$rt ʊp*i*n*i*ʊn ʊt dhán)l' díû ʊz)tʊ ·sud díû, ʊn
45. *M.* Nay I ev a girt apinyan at taul du az ta sud du, an

dhen baarnz)'l díû ʊz n*i*$_1$á$_1$ hu$_1$rt. ĭa$_1$n ʊd bet⌐tə$_1$⌐r ee tw*i*$_1$á$_1$
than Barns al du az na hurt, yan ad better a two

baarnz ʊn ĭaa ⌐d⌐ru$_1$k'n felʊ *i*$_1$)t ⌊háus.
Barns an ya drucken Fella ith hause.

46. *H.* á'*i*)*i*, ʊn ái)l tel dhʊ wat)s ʊz ba$_1$d tíû—ʊ gosʊpʊn
46. *H.* Eigh an ile tel tha what's as bad az tem—a gossapan

wâif, ʊt ga$_1$qz t*i*$_1$t'l' ta$_1$t'l fre ⌊háus tʊ ⌊háus w*i*' ʊ lâil baarn
wife, at gangs tittle tattle fray hause tʊ hause with a lile Barn,

ʊn nhaaz AA)t' níûz *i*$_1$)t táun, ʊn l*i*$_1$EVz ʊ ⌊háus lâik ʊ
an knaes oth news ith Tawn an leaves a hause like a

swáain kúu$_1$ʊt.
swinecoat.

47. *M.* wáai)ʊ dháu néid'nt f*i*i*ə*$_1$r ʊt ái)l' bi ĭa$_1$n)ʊ dhem. ái)l
47. *M.* wia thau needent fear at ile be yan a them, ile

kéip m*i*$_1$sel' tíû m*i*$_1$sel', ʊn dhen n*i*$_1$á$_1$bod*i*$_1$)'l' f*i*$_1$nd faat
keep me sel ta me sel, an then neabody al find fate

w*i*$_1$)mʊ.
wimma.

48. *H.* ái húu$_1$ʊp dháu)l' b*i* ʊ gud)ʊn, bʊt ái mʊn ʊwee tʊ ·bed.
48. *H.* I hooap thaul be a gud an, bat I man away ta bed.

49. *M.* wen)'l' tʊ ku₁m ʊgeen?
49. *M.* When al ta cum again?

50. *H.* tʊ)múu₁ʊrn ʊt néit.
50. *H.* Ta morn at nete.

51. *M.* máaind tʊ díû. gud néit tʊ)dhʊ!
51. *M.* Mind ta diu. gud nete to tha.

52. *H.* gud néit tʊ)dhʊ, djói!
52. *H.* Gud nete to tha, joy!

*Notes to Seward's Dialogue for Burton-in-Lonsdale.*

1. *Molly.* Final *y*, or *e* as Seward writes it, is here always (*i*₁) with the deeper variety of (*i*) used for the simple (*i*) in all cases. JGG. had sometimes written simple (*i*), but as he thinks it was an inadvertence, I have written (*i*₁) everywhere.—*now, how,* although Burton-in-Lonsdale is essentially the same variety of D 31 as Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale, yet it lies s. of the s. *hoose* line 6, and the primitive (uu) which there was (*ú*₁u), has passed into (*áu*) here. This Seward represents by *aw*, and hence has no sign but *o* for (AA), see par. 7.—*how,* the aspirate is always very faint.—*art thou,* the (dh) of (dháu), when the word is unaccented as (dhʊ), becomes usually (t) after (z) as here, and (d) as in par. 4, and (t) par. 5. 'I is, thou is, he is,' are the regular constructions.—*to-night,* the regular form of long (ii) is (*éi*) beginning with short (*e*) and ending with medial (i), both with stress. JGG. had sometimes written (*éi*, *éii*), but he considers that this was mere hesitation, and that the vowel was always of medial length. The people themselves consider that they say pure (ii), hence the original spelling *nete*, but this is a sound they have much difficulty in pronouncing.

3. *know not,* with initial (nh).—*how I am, I* enclitic becomes (i), but *he* becomes (*i*₁) or (ʊ).—*yesternight,* JGG. says that initial (J) is usually replaced by a brief vowel, here written (i) throughout, the accent on the following vowel being then omitted, as (i) sufficiently indicates both glide and subsequent stress. The vowel (e) varied much as (E) in JGG.'s writing, and he thinks there must have been a reason for it in Mr. P.'s pron. In some words, as (hEz, Ef₁tə r), the use of (E) is regular. Hence JGG.'s writing is followed for (*e*, e, E); the last syllable (næ'it) for (néît) is quite abnormal, why Mr. P. here used (næ'it) is unknown, it may have been an inadvertence.

5. *I shall,* 'I is' not only represents the present, but 'I shall or will' in the *immediate* future, here 'come sit thou down and I will tell thee directly.' —*mother,* the dental (₁d, ₁t) before (₁r) are never represented by Seward.—*e* for *in,* Seward was apparently afraid of using *i* lest it should be taken as (âi). —*half, calving, all,* and *calf,* in par. 7, observe Seward's helpless use of *o* in these words, see par. 1, *now.*—*fared* or went, began.—*almost,* becomes (omʊst) by mere absorption of (l).

6. *come* for *came,* regular.—*of some make,* of some kind.—*anenst,* opposite to.

7. *so* (*sí*₁E), this form is used again immediately, but (*sí*₁a) or (*sí*₁a₁) is the regular form.

9. *boun,* the translation (báund) seems to be an error for (báun) boun or going.—*and that how that it had got a pair of shoes,* the first 'that' depends upon 'dreamed,' the second 'that' depends upon 'how,' and would not be used in rec. sp.—*rats,* 'ratten' or 'raton' is the regular word for 'rat' in the singular.—*an ate them,* possibly (et) is an error for (*i*₁t).

13. *two,* first (tw*i*₁E) as (*sí*₁E), par. 7, and then (tw*í* a₁), which looks as if the first form had been an inadvertence.

14. *nearer,* (nar) is the comparative of (níiʊr) in par. 15.

15. *hold off me,* keep from touching me.

21. *at after,* the Danish *efterat* thereafter.

23. *we shall,* immediate future.—*thick,* close friends, undivided.—*oddments,* odds and ends, the French

termination *ment* has been quite incorporated in the dialect.—*all makes of stuff*, all kinds of food.—*we shall want* immediate future.

26. *I nobbut about*, I have only about, the have omitted idiomatically, so immediately 'when I paid' for when I have paid. JGG. says that this omission is general in the north of England.—*together*, clearly 'tagidber' was a misprint in the original for 'tagidder.'

27. *badger*, travelling cornfactor, see introduction to Orton cs., D 31, No. 11. These men are constantly held in disrepute, and are actually charged with increasing the price of corn, see par. 28, where Harry represents a very general feeling.

28. *state*, estate or farm holding, a 'statesman' is a yeoman possessing the land he farms.—*a collier or a chimney sweeper*, as symbolising dirty trades.—*us*, here Mr. P. has used (hʉ z) the emphatic form, but as the original has *ta mack az*, it is evident that Mr. Seward meant (tʉ mak ʉz) unemphatic, as indeed the whole context shews it should be. The aspirate to *us* in emphatic form, as (haz) is found in D 33.—*stuff*, corn; in rec. sp. we talk of 'bread stuffs,' *i.e.* bread materials, and here 'bread' is simply omitted.—*clam* starve, and *fetch* (fotʃ), these two words extend as far as Cautley-by-Sedberg (for Cautley, see introd. to cs. No. 8, p. 559), and are not used further north, where *clam* becomes *hunger* as in par. 33. On the range of *clam* see TH.'s *Four Dialect Words*, published by the E. D. Society.

29. *my mother shall* (i.e. will) *wake*, probably meaning that she would have to go through her mother's room and waken her.—*churn milk*, buttermilk; observe the introduced (lh).

30. *blashment*, to blash is to splash or paint, hence applied as a substantive to rubbish or weak liquor, blashy and blashment are both used; observe the *-ment* as in *oddment*, par. 23.—*work*, simply ache, applied also to teeth.

31. *sup* was (*su* p) in par. 29.

32. *worse and worse*; *it's nought but slow poison*, to which JGG. thought that *isn't tea* (iz'nt téi) should be added.—*a poke*, a bag or tied-up cloth.

33. *a noon* or midday meal, dinner, *Mittagsessen*,—*might be*.

34. *I have got*, in the original 'I' is misprinted 'l.'—*they'll do for the wedding*, the 'they' is Mr. P.'s word, the original has *theel*, i.e. thee will, or thou wilt; the *against* must then mean 'until,' that is, you'll do as you are till the wedding; but the passage is obscure and possibly faulty.—*a month* from then *till now*.

36. *kine*, cows, of which *ky* (ags. *cy*) is the proper plural, *kine* being formed by adding the plural *n* to the pl. inflection.—*I shall get* certain future.—*Alehouse* with (ĭ) prefixed as frequently occurs.

37. *She was* is Mr. P.'s alteration, to make (shʉ), as usual, result from the attraction of (w); but Mr. S. wrote *shoes* (shʉ₁z), she is, using the *shoo*, which is frequent enough in m. and s. Craven, and s.Yo. This is then a pure *shoo* (shú₁u) as in Horton-in-Ribblesdale (see cwl.), uninfluenced by a following *w*.—*going*; here again Mr. P. has (gaan) and Mr. S. (gaqen); both are used.—*all the bairns*, Mr. P.'s word for *all the bairn* which last is better.—*both rough and smooth*, probably bearded and non-bearded, that is, male or female.

38. *get favour with the*, this is Mr. P.'s version, the original spelling shews that Mr. S. meant (gi₁t)t'favər ʉ't') get the favour of the, with a different pron. of *favour*.—*some beasts*, that is, cows.

40. *brass*, the original has (mʉ₁ni₁) money.

43. *that's all the fellows think on*, but the original has 'that's all that fellows thinks on,' meaning all that men (not *the* men) think about.—*for women folk to take care of*, the original has 'for the women to take care of,' *the* being used before women, implying (fɔ₁r)t') ; *care* should be (ki₁ár) according to the spelling.—*thou'lt perhaps run to the ale-house*, here Mr. P. has made a serious change of (dhee)l) they will, into (dháu)l) thou wilt, which is certainly a mistake, as the whole context and next two paragraphs shew.

45. *at thou'l*, should be (ʉt táu)l) as shewn by the originnl.

46, *as bad too*, the original has (ʉz bad ʉz tem) as bad as them = they are.

47. *myself* ·*to myself* is, in the original, myself to (tʉ) myself, with unaccented *to*.—*nobody will find fault*, JGG. thinks should be 'nobody will find no fault' (ni₁ faat).

## Weardale and Teesdale dt.

Of the 4 dt. which I have received for this region, all in io., it seems best to give only one, with such variants in the notes as seem of importance. They all point to a practically identical pron., but as regards the U' words there is the same trouble as for the St. John's Weardale cwl. The exact value of it cannot be determined, but it cannot be widely different from (æ'u). The 4 dt. were:—

1. *Heathery Cleugh* (klí,vf), nearly at the head of Weardale, the last houses passed on going from Weardale to Allendale, Nb. (9 w.Stanhope), written in 1879 by Mr. Dalton, the schoolmaster, at the request of Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-haf), Rector of Edmondbyers (16 nw.Durham).

2. *Stanhope* (13 w-by-s.Durham), written io. in 1879 by Mr. W. M. Egglestone, bookseller, of Stanhope, but a native of Upper Weardale, author of those excellent dialect books, *Betty Podkins' Visit to Auckland Flower Show*, and her *Letter to the Queen on Cleopatra's Needle*. This was accompanied with very full notes and explanations, and is therefore here adopted as the most trustworthy. It uses, however, pure (ii, uu) and not (í,i, vúu).

3. *Bishop Auckland* (9 ssw.Durham), written in 1879 at the request of the then vicar, Rev. R. Long, by Mr. John Wild, master of the Union Workhouse at Bishop Auckland, described by the vicar as "a man of considerable knowledge of the dialects of the district, and one who has made language his study."

4. *Easington* (9 e.Durham), written io. in 1879 by Miss E. P. Harrison, daughter of the Rector, who had lived chiefly at Hart (4 w.Hartlepool), where the pron. seems to be the same.

These dt. cover the whole ground of Weardale in s.Du., the Wear itself passing into n.Du. just w. of Bishop Auckland and going to Durham and Sunderland, which belong to D 32.

For Lower Teesdale, Mrs. Alfred Hunt, novelist and wife of the artist, b. in the neighbourhood of Durham, who had, however, acquired her knowledge of the dialect in Lower Teesdale, in Jan. 1876 kindly dictated to me a cs., and gave me a lw. for that district, but her recollections were not precise enough for me to print it at length. Her version adopted pure (ii, uu), and was very like the Middleton-in-Teesdale cwl. with, however, an occasional tendency to an (vú) form.

## Stanhope dt.

1. wái a *see*, lads, ɹv sii nuu vd aa)z riit vbuut ɹon l*it*'l las k*u*mvn fre ɹon sk*i*vl.

2. sh*i*)z ganvn duun)d' lonvn dh*i*vr, thruu)d' riid ɹ*i*t on)t' left hand sá*i*d v)d' rood.

3. sh*ú*vr an*i*vf, t' beern)z g*i*vn s,t,rá*i*t *u*p t*i*)d' dúuvr v)d' raq huus,

4. weer sh*i*)l meb*i* f*i*nd dhat ,d,r*u*k'n díif shr*u*qk'n felv, v)d' n*i*vm v :tom*i*.

5 wi aal naa)m varv wiil.

6. w*i*nvt t'aad felv s*i*vn l*i*vrn vr n*u*t tv d*i*)d vg*i*vn, púuvr th*i*q !

7. l*i*vk ! *i*z'nt *i*t ,t,ríu ?

*Notes.*

The references to Nos. 1, 3, 4 are to the Heathery Cleugh, Bishop Auckland, and Easington versions respectively, see above.

1. *well*, the *so* would not be used in this place, the (wái) answers to our well; *so* would be (sii) or (*si*) as in (n*u*t *si* g*u*d) not so good.—*I* is always (a, aa), No. 4 writes *oi*.—*lads*, mates is imported (given in No. 4, *marrows* in No. 1), fellow-workers in lead mines are (shuudhvr fellvz) shoulder fellows,

but speak to one another as 'lads.'—*ye*, superiors and elderly people are generally so addressed.—*now*, especially said to rhyme to *too*, *do*, *loo*. The following are all the words of this kind in the specimen, with their mode of treatment in Nos. 1, 3, 4.

| | No. 1. | No. 3. | No. 4. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *now* | *noo*, rh. boot | *now* | *noo* |
| *about* | *aboot* | *about* | *aboot* |
| *down* | *doon* | *down* | *doon* |
| 2. *through* | *throo* | *through* | *throw* |
| 3. *sure* | *seer* | *sure* | *shower* |
| *door* | *door*, rh. boor | *dooer* | *dower* |
| *house* | *hooss* | *house* | *hoose* |
| 5. *poor* | *power*, poor | *pouer* | *power* |

All written with *oo* in No. 2.

Mrs. Hunt also dictated to me (puur) = power, and (pó*u*r) = poor. It is evident therefore that the general s.Du. pron. cannot be pure (uu), and probably not pure (ú₁u), but has some sound which suggests (*óu*), for which JGG. in despair wrote (v'uu) in St. John's. See also D 32, the dt. from near Lanchester and notes.—*that*, there is a fondness for a (d) termination, (vd) for (vt).—*I is*, I are, he be, we'm, you'm, we you they is, do not occur; *am* is not used. —*right*, "*r* trilled as in Scotch," this (ii) is against the St. John's cwl., said to rhyme *fleet*, *meet*, *beet*; probably the (ii) is not quite pure; written *reet* in Nos. 1, 2, 3, but left as *right* in No. 4.—*yon* used for something at a distance.—*little*, probably *bit* would be added, or else used alone, as 'little bit lass' or 'bit lass'; No. 1 has *smaw*, *bit*, *wee*.—*coming*, the part. and vb. noun are not distinguished.—*the*, (t', d') are both used, see rule at end of these notes.—*school*, I believe (skí₁vl, skí₁vl) was intended; Mr. E. writes *skeail*, is inclined to *skeäl*, but used 'pli'ace fi'ace mi'ad hi'am,' etc., in Betty Podkins, and says that 'moon bone again done gone tune' have all the same vowel, and adds that '-*liet* in Ju*liet* is very near our *leait* late,' No. 1 *skeeool*, No. 3 *skule skyul*, No. 4 *skule*.—*yonder* is used in the form (ɹondhvr); but (indvr, dhondhvr) are both unknown.

2. *down*, rhymes to soon.—*through* rhymes to 'too.'—*red*, rh. *weed need creed*, Nos. 1, 2, 3 have *reed*, No. 4 *red*.—*gate*, both (ɹit, ɹet) used, (op'n)d' ɹit, t' ɹet)s op'n) open the gate, the gate's open; No. 1 *yet*, No. 3 *gate*, No. 4, *gëate*.—*left hand side*, No. 1 has *left neaf side*, rh. leaf, meaning 'left *fist* side,' and says it is common, but not particularly so.—*road* and *lane* and also *way* are used with a difference, as in the examples (hi)z dɹ*u*st gívn duun)d' lonvn; máind vnd kiip v)d' rood, what wee is)tv ganvn? a thiqk a)'l gan t' hii wee, or riit duun)d' rood), he's just gone down the lane; mind and keep on the road; what way art thou going? I think I'll go the high way, or right down the road; No. 1 writes *wää*, No. 4 *way*, Nos. 2 and 3 change the word.

3. *enough* (vníu) is sometimes used; Nos. 1 and 4 have *neugh*, No. 2 *eneuf*, No. 3 *eenyuff*.—*has*, here contracted to (z), he has it (hi hes)t); conjugation affirmative (a hee, hev, wi ɹi dhe hee, dhuu hi hez), negative (a hev'nt henvt hen, wi ɹi dhe henvt; dhu hi hez'nt). —*straight*, No. 1 *streight*, No. 2 *stryte*, No. 3 *sthrite*, No. 4 *straight*. —*house*, aspirated.

4. *drunken*, No. 1 *drookn*, Nos. 2 and 4 *drucken*, No. 3 *dhrucken*.—*name*, No. 1 *nay-um*, No. 2 *neaim*, No. 3 *n'yam*, No. 4 *neeam*.

5. *all*, No. 1 *a*, *owe*, No. 2 *awll*, No. 3 *all*, No. 4 *arll*, the last explained as (aal).—*know*, No. 1 *ken*, No. 2 *knaw*, No. 3 *ken nau*, No. 4 *knowse*.

6. *won't*, No. 1 *won-et wun* as *won*, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 *winner*.—*old*, No. 1 *od*, rh. toad, Nos. 2 and 3 *awd*, No. 4 *ard*, explained as (aad).—*to do it*, No. 1 *t' d' ad*, (*dee*)*ad*, No. 2 *te did*, No. 3 *te di'd*, No. 4 *t'deet*; on the contraction (di)d) see note, p. 619, on the 'Differences, etc.'

7. *look*, No. 1 *leeook*, No. 2 *leuik*, No. 3 *leuk*, No. 4 *luksthoo*.

*Differences between Stanhope and St. John's.*

Mr. Egglestone recognises only the following:

| | *all* | *know* | *won't* | *old, too, do* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Stanhope.* | (aa'l | naa | wínʊt | aad, ti, di). |
| *St. John's.* | (oo | noo | wʊnʊt | *oo*d tíʊ díʊ). |

In Mr. Moore's version of the Song of Solomon into St. John's Chapel dialect made for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, he says: "At East Gate [2 w.Stanhope] and Stanhope the words *didst thou do it* and *wilt thou do it* are pronounced *did te did* and *wilt te did*, while at St. John's Chapel they are *dud tu dud* and *wull tu dud*." Mr. Egglestone says he has often heard (d*u*d tʊ d*u*)d, ʊr dhu d*u*d'nt d*u*)d ?) at St. John's, but more for the sake of the sound or repetition of (d*u*d) than general usage. *Do* at St. John's is (d*ʊ*) sometimes (d*u*v), *do it* is (di)'d) or (di*i*)d), the *it* becoming (d), and the (*i*) being lengthened (d*u*d tʊ d*u*)d) is used, but the others are more common at St. John's. Also (tu)d) is used for 'to it,' as (h*i*ʊr, :dɹak, gan ti)d' hors! á*i*, a'l gan tu)d), here, Jack, go to the horse! aye, I'll go to it.

*The definite article* (d', t').

I. In commencing a sentence and after all breaks, (t') is used.

II. If the preceding verb end in a voiced consonant, (d') is used; if in a voiceless one (t'). But verbs ending in (d) require the art. (t').

III. Verbs ending in (l, m, n, r) may be followed by either (t' or d').

The pronoun *it* is governed by the same laws. Examples:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (whii)l | r*u*b)d' | hors. | a)l | r*u*b)d. [I will rub it]. |
| ,, ,, | shuu)d' | | | shuu·)d [shoe it]. |
| ,, ,, | gag d' | ,, | ,, | gag)d. |
| (let)s | galʊp)t' | horse. | a)l | galʊp)t. |
| ,, | tak)t' | ,, | ,, | tak t. |
| ,, | ɹook)t' | ,, | ,, | ɹook)t. |
| ,, | trot t' | ,, | ,, | trot it. |
| ,, | fiid' t' | ,, | ,, | fiid it). |

## Var. i, form *a*. North Craven cwl.

This should be compared with Dent and Howgill, Var. iii.

B Burton-in-Lonsdale or Black Burton (13 ne.Lancaster), see introduction to separate specimen, p. 607. Pal. in 1876-7 by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. John Powley, there mentioned as having dict. the specimen. The slight differences between this cwl. and that spec. are probably all due to double uses, pronunciations, or appreciations.

C Chapel-le-dale (19 ne.Lancaster), between Ingleborough and Whernside Hills, through which runs Dalebeck, which flows into the Greta by Ingleton, and thence into the Lune, which passes by Lancaster. Pal. in 1876-7 by JGG. from the dict. of Wm. Metcalfe, Esq., of Weathercote (1 nne. of Chapel), who had been acquainted with the dialect all his life (different from the Mr. Metcalfe, of Dent).

H Horton-in-Upper-Ribblesdale (21 ene.Lancaster), between Ingleborough and Penyghent Hills. Pal. in 1877, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. John Jackson, of Studfold (:st*u* dfʊl'd) (a hamlet 2 s.Horton), b. about 1800, and acquainted with the dialect all his life.

M Muker, etc., see p. 557, introduction to No. 2. This was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of E. Alderson and James Kearton, two of those from whom the cs. was obtained, and the words are added here for comparison. The principal difference is the treatment of the U' words.

When no initial is prefixed, the pron. refers to all four places; when subsequently an initial is prefixed to a pron., it implies that this is a second pron. heard

in this place. Often only the points of difference are noted. Where only some initials are given, there is no information from the missing places.

Throughout (r) = (r°).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 b*í* á k. 4 ta₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 m*í*₁á₁d. 7 s*í*₁á₁k. 8 hEv, M h*ee*. 9 C bi*h*í₁á₁v, BHM -*ee*v. 10 had. 12 BHM saa, C SAA. 13 [M (nhaar'l) used]. 14 M ₁d₁raa, ₁d₁RAA, 15 M aa. 17 BH laa, C lAA. 18 k*í*₁á₁k. 19 t*í*₁á₁l. 20 l*í*₁á m. 21 n*í* á₁m. 22 t*í*₁á₁m. 23 M s*í*₁á₁m. 24 sha₁m. 25 m*í*₁á₁n. 27 BHM nh*í*₁á₁v, C n–. 28 BH h*í*₁á₁r, CH h*ee*vr, M haar. 30 BH k*í*₁á₁r, C k*ee*r. 31 l*í*₁á₁t. 33 ree₁d*ə*₁r. 34 last. 35 [M (elsun) used]. 36 BC thaar, M th*áu*. 37 klaa.

A: 39 [(k*u*m) used. 40 B k*úu*₁vm, C k*ú*₁vm, H k*oo*m [honeycomb, M (h*u*₁ni-k*í*₁á₁m)]. 41 BM theqk, C *e*₁, H E, M a₁. 43 hà₁n'd. 44 là₁n'd. 46 ka₁n'l'. 47 M wa₁n₁d*ə*₁r. B s₁aq, BCHM a₁. 50 ta₁q'z, M teqzs. 51 ma₁n. 53 BHM ka₁n. 54 want. 55 *ăs*, M as. 56 WESH. 57 *as*, M às.

A: *or* O: 58 BM fr*ee*, C E, H fr*u*m, M frev. 59 la₁m. 60 CM la₁q, BH a. 61 uma₁q'. 62 BH s₁t₁r₁aq', CH a₁. 63 C thraq', H a₁, M ₁t₁ra₁q. 64 CM ra₁q, B 'ra₁·q', M w'ra₁q. 65 BH saq, CM a₁. 66 C waq, BHM wh.

A'- 67 M gaa, [& M (ga₁q) used)]. 69 n*oo*, M n*í*á₁. 70 t*í*₁á₁. 71 BCM w*í* á₁, C woo. 72 C w*í*₁á₁, B ⌊wh, H wh*ii*₁v, M wh*í*á₁, wh*e*. 73 BC s*í*₁á₁, CH s*oo*. 74 BM tw*í*₁á₁, H t*ú*₁u, C *óu*. 75 s₁t₁r*í*₁á₁k, M s₁t₁r*wó*vk. 76 t*í*₁á₁d. 77 CM lord, H ó, B *ú*₁v. 78 M aa [*áu*t, aad]. 79 aan, M aan'd. 80 ha₁lidv, M -di. 81 lú₁vn, M l*u*óvnin. 83 m*í* á₁n. 84 BC m*í*₁á₁r, H *ee*, M aa. 85 BC s*í*₁á₁r, H *ee*, M aa. 86 BCM *ú*₁vts [H (KAARn) used, M (ha₁v*ə*₁r°) used]. 87 kl*í*₁á₁z. 88 kl*í*₁á₁dh. 89 b*í*₁á₁th. 90 blaa [pt. blîû]. 91 maa [pt. mîû]. 92 nhaa. 93 snaa [pt. snîû], M kraa. 95 thraa, M ₁t₁raa. 96 saa [pt. sîû], M *soo*. 97 s*óu*l, M s*áu*l. 98 nhaan. 99 thraan. 100 saa.

A': 101 ła₁k. 102 CH EKS, BM as. 104 r*ú*₁vd, M r*wó*vd. 105 r*í*₁á₁d. 106 br*í*₁á₁d. 107 l*í*₁á₁f, C l*oo*f. 108 CH d*ó*uf, C d*í*₁á₁f [B (p*í*₁á₁st) used]. 109 laa, H l*ó*u. 110 M n*u*₁t. 111 M *ó*ut. 113 BCM h*í*₁á₁l, H wh*ú*₁vl. 115 h*í*₁á₁m. 118 M b*í*₁á₁n. 121 BCM g*í*₁á₁n, H gon, M gaan. 122 CBM n*í*₁á₁n ni₁n, H nin [the two last as in 'none so bad']. 123 [M (n*áu*t) used]. 124 st*í*₁á₁n. 125 [(nobvt) used]. 127 CH h*ú*₁vrs. 128 [(dhem) used]. 129 C g*oo*st, H g*ú*₁vst [B (bog*ə*₁rt) used], M g*í*₁á₁st. 130 H b*ú*₁vt. 131 M g*oo*t. 132 íct. 133 B vr*í*₁á₁t, CM r*í*₁á₁t, H r*í*₁vt. 134 BCM *í*₁á₁th, H ooth. 135 kl*í*₁á₁th.

Æ- 138 fa₁d*ə*₁r, M fäddh*ə*₁r. 140 h*ee*l. 141 M n*ee*l. 142 CM snéîl, BH *ee*. 143 M t*ee*l. 144 v*geen*. 146 m*ee*n. 147 br*ee*n. 148 CHM f*ee*r, B f*eə*₁r. 149 B bl*í*₁EZ, H *ee*. 150 CH l*í*iEst, B *í*E. 152 w₁a₁t*ə*₁r. 153 SE₁t*ə*₁rdv.

Æ: 155 tha₁k. 157 r*í*₁á₁v'n, B *ee*. 158 EF₁t*ə*₁r. 160 eg. 161 dee, M d*ee*. 164 m*ee*. 165 SED. 166 CH m*ee*d, M [(läs) used]. 167 d*í*₁á₁l. 168 talv, M a₁. 169 BC wen, H when, 170 HM haarv*i*st, C harest, B v. 171 CH baarl*i*, B *i*₁. 172 CHM g*ə*₁rs, B ga₁rs. 173 M waz. 174 C EE'sh, BHM E. 175 fast. 179 BC wat, HM wh. 181 [M (₁t₁rod) used].

Æ- 182 BH séî. 183 C tiiEtɟ, B t*í*₁etɟ, H t*é*îtɟ [hardly distinguishable]. 184 BC líiED, H *ee*, M l*é*îd. 185 r*é*îd red. 186 brEdth. 187 líiEv. 188 H nE'i [C (wini), B (whini) used], M nEE'i. 189 M w*ée*ii. 190 CM kEE'i, B kE'ii, H kE'î. 191 BH h*é*il. 192 B m*í*E'n, CH míiEn, M m*é*în. 193 CH klíiE'n, B klíE'n, M kl*é*în. 194 CH oni, B on*í*₁, M a₁ni ani. 195 B mon*i*₁, CH mon*i*, M ma₁ni mani. 196 BC war, H woor. 197 t₁*é*îz. 199 bleet, B blíE't. 200 C wíiEt, H wh*íi*Et, R *í*E, M wh*e*ît. 202 C h*é*îť.

Æ': 203 BHM sp*é*îtɟ. 204 d*é*îd. 205 thr*é*îd. 207 n*é*îd'l. 210 kl*ee*. 211 gr*ee*. 212 B w*ee*, CH wh, M wh*ee*. 218 CM *ee*₁d*ə*₁r, B *ee*dh*ə*₁r. 216 BH d*é*il, C díiEl. 218 sh*é*ip. 219 sl*é*ip. 221 CH fiiEr. 222 B h*ée*ar, H h*ee*r, C h*í*₁á₁r, M haar. 223 H dh*í*₁á₁r, C *ée*₁, B *í*E, M dhaar. 224 BCH waar, M wh-. 225 M flesh. 226 m*í*₁á₁st. 227 WET. 228 CH swíiEt, B *í*E. 229 BHM breth, C br*y*th. 230 fat, M fa₁t.

E- 232 CM bríiE'k, B *í*E', H é î. 233 CHM spíiE'k, B *í*E', M sp*é*ik. 234 CHM níiE'd, B *í*E'. 235 CH wíiE'v, B·*í*E. 236 C fEv*ə*₁r, HM f*é*î-. 237 M

tjil'bleen. 238 hedj. 241 reen. 242 H whíiun, M twí₁á₁. 243 [(leek) used]. 246 kwéin [queen], M whíien [quean]. 248 B meer, CHM míiə₁r. 249 wíiə₁r. 250 swíiə₁r. 251 CHM míie't, B íe. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 le₁də₁r, M leddhə₁r. 255 we₁də₁r.

E: 257 edj [pl. (eddjiz)]. 259 wedj [pl. weddjiz]. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 265 BCH s₁t₁re'it, M s₁t₁réit. 270 CHM belis, B -es, CHM beli, B -i₁. 272 HM elum [CB (hoom) used]. 273 men. 274 BHM biqk, CH e. 276 CHM thiqk, B i₁. 278 M wentj. 280 vliiev'n. 281 leqth, M lenth. 282 s₁t₁reqth, M s₁t₁renth. 283 CHM myri, B i₁. 284 thresh. 285 kresh. 286 ha₁ru. 287 béiz'm. 288 let.

E'- 289 ïéi ïi ïu. 290 héi hi i u. 291 dhéi dhi dhu. 292 méi mi mu. 293 wéi wi, B wu. 294 féid. 296 biléiv. 298 féil. 299 grein. 300 kéip. 301 híiə₁r. 302 méit. 303 swéit.

E': 305 BH héi, C he'i. 306 héit. 307 M náai. 308 néid. 309 spéid. 310 héil. 311 ten. 312 héiə₁r. 314 BH h₁aard, C haə₁rd, M híierd. 315 féit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 gí₁á₁p. 320 M kaar. EA: 321 saa. 322 lăf. 323 fóut. 324 e'it, M éeit. 325 waak. 326 CB aal'd, C óul'd, H óud, M aad. 327 CH bóul'd. 328 CB kaal'd, H kóud, M kaad. 329 C fóul'd, H fóud. 330 hod. 331 [(sel't) used]. 332 [(tel't) used]. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 335 CB aa, HM aal. 336 CB faa, HM faal. 337 waa, M waal. 340 ïaə₁rd, M jə₁rd. 342 aar'm, M aarm. 343 waar'm, M waarm. 345 BC daar, H deer, M daar. 346 B ïet, C ïyt, H ïut, M ïa₁t ["distinctly different from (ja₁t), (gí₁á₁t), a road"].

EA'- 347 CHM híie'd, B íe [here in 350–6, 360, 361, etc., the (e) is not certain in M, but becomes indistinct]. 348 éi [pl. (áin) C]. 349 H fiû, BC fe'û.

EA': 350 CHM díied, B díe'd. 351 CHM líied, B líe'd. 352 CH red, B ryd. 353 CHM bríied, B bríed. 354 CHM shíief, B íe. 355 CHM díief, B íe'. 356 CH líief, B íe'. 357 [(fur aa) for all, used]. 359 C nebə₁r, BH e'i, M nee'ibə₁r. 360 CHM tíiem, B íe. 361 CHM bíien, B íe. 363 CHM tjíiep, B íe. 365 níiə₁r. 366 gəə₁rt, M gríiet. 367 CHM thríiet, B íe. 368 CM díieth, B íe', H deth. 369 CBM slaa, H slaa. 370 CB raa, H raa. 371 s₁t₁rí₁á.

EI- 372 BM áiji, C æ'i, H æ'i₁. 373 dhee. 374 nee. 375 M reez. 376 beet. EI: 377 stí₁á₁k. 378 week. 382 CHM dheer, B dhéə₁r.

EO- 383 C seb'n, BH v, M síiev'n. 384 hev'n, M híiev'n. 385 H biníieth. 386 ïóu. 387 BC níû, H ní₁û.

EO: 388 CHM millhk, B i₁. 389 ïook. 390 snd, H shud. 393 BHM biïont, C biïon'd. 396 waark. 397 BC sú₁ə₁rd, HM swə₁rd. 398 staarv, M ái)z nâai hu₁qə₁rd tu diieth un feer staarvd wi)t' kaad [I am nearly hungered to death and fairly starved with the cold]. 399 bréit. 400 M ïunist. 402 CH ləə₁rn, B aa, M líiern. 403 f₁aar. 404 st₁aar. 405 C haastun, BH àstun, M astin [=hearthstone, hearth not being used separately]. 406 M ïunrth. 407 faardin.

EO'- 409 BH béi bi, C bi. 411 BCH thréi, M t₁réi. 412 shéi shi shu, HM shu shú₁u. 413 C div'l, B dev'l, HM di₁v'l. 414 BCM fléi. 415 léi. 416 díiə₁r. 417 C tjig, BH tje'uu, M tjóu. 418 bríû. 420 BHM fóuə₁r, C faər. 421 CM farti, B forti₁, H forti.

EO': 423 théi. 424 ru₁f. 425 léit. 426 BHM fe'it, B fæ'it, C féit. 427 M béi bi. 428 séi. 430 fry₁nd. 431 biiə₁r. 432 HM fóurt, B fóurt, C fooə₁rt. 433 bry₁st, M bréist. 434 B bet. 435 ïú₁u, M jóû ju ju. 436 t₁ríû. 437 t₁ríûth.

EY- 438 CM déi, BH dí₁î. EY: 439 B t₁ru₁st. CHM t₁ry₁st.

I- 440 HM wéik, BC i₁î. 441 CHM siv, B i₁ [M has (siiev) a rush, (sí₁á₁v) to save]. 442 CH îivin, B -i₁n, M hâivin. 443 M frâidi. 444 HM stéil, BC i₁î. 446 BCH nâin, M néin. 448 M dhu₁r. 449 CHM git [gat git'n], B i₁. 450 BCH tiûzdu. 451 CH se'uu, B sæ'u, M síû.

I: 452 C áai, BHM ái [enclitic, B (i)]. 454 CHM witj, B i₁. 455 CH lig, B i₁. 457 CHM mâit, B méit. 458 BM néit, C ní₁it, H nâit. 459 CB ræ'it, H ráit, M réit. 460 M wéit. 462 BHM séit, C sí₁it. 464 HM whitj, C w, B wi₁. 465 CH sitj, C sik, B si₁k, M sâik. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467

wâaild. 468 [(baarnz) used]. 471 CHM *timə*$_1$r, B *i*$_1$. 473 C blin'd, BH *i*$_1$. 475 CHM win'd, B *i*$_1$. 476 CHM bind [ban'd b*u*$_1$n], B *i*$_1$. 477 CHM fin'd [fan'd f*u*$_1$n], B *i*$_1$. 478 CH gr*u*$_1$nd [gran'd gr*u*$_1$n], B *i*$_1$, M gr*y*$_1$nd. 479 B w*i*$_1$n'd [wan'd w*u*$_1$n], CHM *i*. 481 CH fiqə$_1$r, B *i*$_1$. 485 CHM this'l, B *i*$_1$. 486 C ĭiest, M ĭest, H ĭest [B (baarm) used]. 487 C *ĭi*ES$_1$tə$_1$rdv, B ĭes$_1$t-, H ĭes$_1$t-, M *ji*$_1$s-. 488 CH ĭy$_1$t, B ĭî$_1$t, M *ji*$_1$t.

I'- 490 C bi, bâai, H bi, B bi$_1$. 493 C ‿d$_1$râiv [‿d$_1$ri$_1$â$_1$v ‿d$_1$rov'n]. 494 tâim. 496 âir'n. 498 C ráait, H râit, BM vrâit [vri$_1$â$_1$t vri$_1$t'n].

I': 500 lâik. 501 wâid. 502 fâiv. 503 lâif. 504 nhâif. 505 wâif. 506 w*u*mvn. 507 CH w*i*min, B *i*$_1$, M w*u*min. 508 mâil. 509 wâil, B wel. 511 wâin. 513 wâiə$_1$r. 514 âis. 515 wâiz. 516 wizdvm. 517 BC ĭuu, H ĕuu.

O- 520 BHM bó*u*, C bú$_1$u. 521 BCH fú$_1$vl, M f*w*-. 522 op'n. 523 H hoop, C ú$_1$v, B óv, M whú$_1$vp. 524 BHM wor'l'd, C wəə$_1$r'l'd.

O: 526 kof. 527 BCH bó*u*t, M áu. 528 BCH thó*u*t, M âu. 529 BCH bró*u*t, M áu. 530 M vrá*u*t w'rá*u*t. 531 BCH dóu$_1$tə$_1$r, M dáu-. 532 BCH kú$_1$vl, M k*w*-. 533 d*u*$_1$l'. 534 BCH hú$_1$vl, M wh-. 536 BCH gó*u*d, M gó*u*l'd. 537 mó*u*d. 538 BHM wad, C w*u*d. 539 bô*u*l. 540 CHM holin, B *i*$_1$. 542 bó*u*t, M bolt. 545 hop. 547 bú$_1$ə$_1$rd. 549 hú$_1$ə$_1$rd. 550 BHM w*u*$_1$rd, C wəə$_1$rd. 551 C stor'm, BH stAArm, M storm. 552 C kor'n, B kAArn, M k*w*ú$_1$ə$_1$rn. 553 C hor'n, B hAArn, M horn. 554 CHM kros.

O'- 555 BCH shú$_1$u, M shîu. 556 tv [*at* is not used for *to* in Var. i, only in Var. iii.]. 557 BCH tú$_1$u, M t*iu*. 558 B líûk, C l*u*k, H lú$_1$uk, M lîuk. 559 m*u*$_1$də$_1$r. 561 BH blú$_1$um, M blî*u*m. 562 CH mú$_1$un, B mîûn, M m*iu*n. 563 BCH m*u*$_1$ndv, M -di. 564 B sîûn, M s*iu*n, CH sú$_1$un. 565 BCH nú$_1$vz, M nw-. 566 *u*$_1$də$_1$+$_1$r.

O': 569 H bú$_1$uk, C buk, B bîûk, M bôuk. 570 H tú$_1$uk, C tuk, B tîûk, M t*iu*k. 571 g*u*$_1$d. 572 BCH bl*u*$_1$d, M blî*u*d. 573 BCH fl*u*$_1$d, M flî*u*d. 574 BCH brú ud, M brîûd. 575 BCH st*u*$_1$d, M stîud. 576 BCH wed'nzdv, M -di. 577 BCH bú$_1$u, M bîû. 578 BCH plú$_1$u, M plîû. 579 BH vn*u*$_1$f, C in*u*$_1$u, M vnîuf. 580 BCH t*u*$_1$f, M t*iu*f. 581 M sâ*u*t. 582 CH kú$_1$ul, B kûl, M k*iu*l. 583 CH tú$_1$ul, B tîûl, M t*iu*l. 584 CH stú$_1$ul, M stîul. 585 B brú$_1$um, M brîum. 586 C dîû, H dú$_1$u, M dîu. 587 d*u*$_1$n, B dîûn, M d*iu*n. 588 CH nú un, B nîûn, M n*iu*n. 589 spú$_1$un, B spiûn, M sp*iu*n. 590 CH flú$_1$uə$_1$r, B îû, M fly'*ur*. 591 mú$_1$uə$_1$r. 592 [BCH swí$_1$â$_1$r, M swaar sware, used]. 594 M b*iu*t [also (tv b*iu*t) to boot]. 595 CH fú$_1$ut, B fîût, M f*iu*t. 596 M r*iu*t. 597 CH sú$_1$ut, B sîût, M s*iu*t.

U- 599 BCH vbu$_1$v, M vbú$_1$in vb*iu*n. 600 l*u*$_1$v. 601 BH fôu*l*, M fú$_1$ul. 602 BCH sú$_1$u, M sîû. 603 k*u*$_1$m. 605 s*u*$_1$n. 606 CH dú$_1$uə$_1$r, B îû, M y''u, îu. 607 b*u*$_1$tə$_1$r.

U: 608 CH *u*$_1$gli, B *i*$_1$. 609 fi*d*'. 610 wú$_1$ul. 611 b*u*dvk. 612 s*u*$_1$m. 613 ‿d$_1$r*u*$_1$qk. 614 M h*u*$_1$n'd. 615 M p*u*$_1$n'd. 616 gr*u*$_1$nd. 617 M sú$_1$un'd. 618 BCH wâ*u*nd, M wú$_1$un'd. 620 gr*u*$_1$n. 622 *u*$_1$n‿d$_1$ə$_1$r. 625 t*u*$_1$q'. 626 h*u*$_1$qə$_1$r. 629 s*u*$_1$n. 631 thəə$_1$rzdv, M th*u*$_1$rzdi. 632 *u*$_1$p. 633 k*u*$_1$p. 634 BCH thrú$_1$u, M ‿t$_1$rú$_1$u. 635 M w*u*$_1$rth. 637 t*u*$_1$sk. 639 d*u*$_1$st.

U'- 640 BCH kâ*u*, M kú$_1$ù. 641 BCH hâ*u*, M hú$_1$ù. 642 BCH dhâ*u*, M dhú$_1$ù. 643 BCH nâ*u*, M nú$_1$ù. 644 sâ*u*k. 645 d*u*$_1$v. 646 BCH bâu, M bú$_1$ù. 647 CB â*u*l, H h*u*$_1$lvrt, M hîûlvrt. 648 BCH â*u*r, Mú$_1$ùə$_1$r. 649 BCH thâ*u*zvnd, M thú$_1$ùz'nd. 652 k*u*$_1$d. 653 b*u*$_1$t.

U': 654 BCH shvrâ*u*d, M -ú$_1$ùd [the only word in which *shr-* =(shvr-)]. 655 BCH fâ*u*l, M fú$_1$ùl. 656 rú$_1$um. 657 BCH brâ*u*m, M brú$_1$ùn. 658 BCH dâ*u*m, M dú$_1$ùn. 659 M tú$_1$ùn. 661 BCH shâ*u*ə$_1$r, M shú$_1$ùə$_1$r. 662 ·h*u*$_1$z [emphatic]. 663 BCH hâ*u*s, M hú$_1$ùs. 664 BCH lâ*u*s, M lú$_1$ùs. 665 BCH mâ*u*s, M mú$_1$ùs. 666 h*u*$_1$zbvnd. 667 BCH â*u*t, M ú$_1$ut. 668 BCH prâ*u*d, M prú$_1$ùd. 671 BCH mâ*u*th, M mú$_1$ù. 672 BCH sâ*u*th, M sú$_1$ùth.

Y- 673 HM mitj, BC *i*$_1$, M mik'l'. 674 M did. 676 lêi. 677 ‿d$_1$ráai. 678 CHM din, B *i*$_1$. 679 BCM kəə$_1$rk, H tjəə$_1$rtj, M tj*u*$_1$rtj. 680 CH bi*zi*, B bi$_1$z*i*$_1$, M bi*zi*. 682 lâil.

Y: 683 CH middj, B *i*$_1$, M midj. 684 CHM brig, B *i*$_1$. 685 M rig. 686 bâai. 689 CH bild, B *i*$_1$ [M pp. (billht]. 690 kâaind. 691 mâaind. 693 CHM sin, B *i*$_1$. 694 w*u*$_1$rk. 696 bəə$_1$rth. 697 b*y*$_1$r*i*, M ber*i*. 699 rêit, M

*ʊréît* u'r-. 700 waars, B waar. 701 f*əə*ₐrst. 703 CHM pit, B *i*₁. 704 H viks'n.

Y'- 705 skáa*i*. 707 th*ə*ₐrt*é*în. 708 háa*iə*ₐr. Y': 709 fáa*iə*ₐr. 711 láa*is*. 712 máa*is*.

II. ENGLISH.

[No words were given in this division from Chapel-le-dale except 737, 744, 746, 761, 767, 769, 778, 808.]

A. 713 baₐd. 714 laₐd [compare M (lasi) not (laₐsi)]. 715 M pa d. 716 M aₐd'l' [to earn]. 717 BCH d*jeed*, M *jood* [an old horse]. 718 M ˌtˌ*reed*. 722 BM ˌdˌ*reen*. 723 B dée*əₐri*₁, H deer*i*, M *deeri*. 724 BAald. 725 *si*ˌáₐl. 728 shaₐm. 729 *freem*. 730 HM kaₐnˌt*əₐ*r. 733 [M (*flee*) v., (*fleet*) sb. used]. 734 daarn. 735 maₐsh. 737 *meet*. 740 M *weev*. 742 BCH *leezi*₁, M -i.

E. 743 HM skrîiem, B *i*₁e. 744 mez'l'z. 745 M tj*iiet*. 746 B bréîdh, CH bríiedh. 748 M *fligd*.

I. *and* Y. 753 [(HM *kit*'l, B *i*₁) used]. 754 M pig. 757 M téîni. 759 H fit, B *i*₁.

O. 751 *li*ˌáₐd. 767 *óiz*. 769 CHM *óudiwarp*, B *i*₁. 771 fon'd. 772 *bi*ˌáₐnfaa*iə*ₐr. 774 BCH *pó*u*ni*₁, M -i. 777 shop. 778 BCH *ʊfúiə*ₐrd, M *ʊiw*-. 783 B pá*u*ˌtˌr*i*₁, H pu*u*ˌlˌt*ri*. 785 B *láu*ndj. 789 *róu* [but (*ʊ lóun ʊn róu néît*) a calm, quiet, still night]. 790 H *gáun*, B *góun*, M *gúₐun*.

U. 793 h*u* g. 794 dj*u*₁g. 799 H sk*u*ₐl. 801 r*u*₁m. 803 dj*u*ₐmp. 805 kr*u*₁dz. 808 p*u*ₐt.

III. ROMANCE.

[No words marked in this division for Chapel-le-dale.]

A·· 809 BM ĭaₐb'l, H *eeb*'l. 810 *fi*ˌáₐs. 811 pl*i*ˌáₐs. 812 *li*ˌáₐs. 813 M *beek*'n. 814 m*i*ˌáₐs'n. 815 M faₐks. 816 M *feed*. 817 B raₐd*i*₁sh, H *i*. 818 *eedj*. 819 *reedj*. 821 B d*i*₁l*ee*₁, HM *i*. 822 m*ee*. 824 tj*eer*. 825 HM *weef*. 826 M *éig'l'*. 827 ĭegəₐr. 828 H *eegʊ*. 829 M *geen*. 830 HM ˌtˌ*reen*. 833 B pée*əₐ*r, M *peer*. 835 M *ríiez*'n. 836 M *síiez*'n. 838 M *tréît*. 840 M tjaₐm*əₐ*r. 841 BCH tj*ans*, M a. 842 plaₐqk. 843 BCH br*antj* [M (biû) bough used]. 844 ˌtˌrensh. 845 M *eenshʊnt*. 847 d*eendjəₐ*r. 848 tj*eendj*. 849 sˌtˌr*eendjəₐ*r. 850 BCH d*ans*, M a. 851 BCH *ant*, M ànt. 852 apəₐrʊn, M ĭaₐp'r'n. 853 HM baarg*in*, B *i*₁. 854 baₐrel. 855 kaₐrʊt. 856. pàₐrt. 857 k*i*ˌáₐs. 858 M br*ees*. 859 tjaₐs. 860 p*i*ˌáₐst. 861 t*i*ˌáₐst. 862 *si*ˌáₐf. 864 B bikaz, M bika·s. 865 faat. 866 *pú*₁u*əₐ*r.

E·· 867 *téî*. 869 HM *víiel*. 871 H *ʊgréî*, BM *gréî*. 874 HM *ríien*, B *íe*. 875 BCH *feent*, M fent [as a vb. pres. (fant) gen. in the N]. 877 H *eer*. 880 egzamp'l. 881 sens. 883 dandiₐláaiʊn. 886 M fríi*əₐ*r. 887 H kl*əəₐ*rdji. 888 sart'n. 890 bíiest, B íe [M pl. (*béîs*)]. 891 fíiest, B íe. 892 M nevi. 893 B flâ*uəₐ*r, H *óu*. 894 H d*iséeiv*, B *i*₁, M d*iséîv*. 895 H *riséeiv*, B *i*₁, M *riséîv*.

I·· and Y·· 897 H d*iláit*. 898 HM náais. 899 HM *néîs*. 900 pr*ee*. 901 fáain. 902 BM máain, H *ái*. 903 B dáa*in*, H *ái*. 904 B váa*ivlʊt*. 908 M ʊdvâₐs. 909 HM bréîz. 910 B djáa*ist*, H *ái*, M dj*áis*. 911 H *síivstəₐ*rn. 912 BM *ráis*.

O·· 913 BCH k*úₐ*ʊtj, M k*w*-. 914 B br*úₐ*ʊtj, M br*w*-, H *oo*. 915 st*uₐ*f. 916 HM *uₐ*niʊn, B *i*₁. 917 *roog*. 918 H *féib'l*. 919 *óintment*. 920 M *póint*. 921 M ʊkwent. 922 BCH b*uₐ*shel, M bish'l'. 924 tj*óis*. 925 *vóis*. 926 sp*óil*. 927 ˌtˌr*uₐ*qk. 928 BCH *áans*, M *úₐ*uns. 930 *lóin*. 931 B dj*uₐ*gl*əₐ*r. 933 fr*uₐ*nt. 935 k*u*nˌtˌr*i*₁. 936 H font. 937 M kok. 938 BM korn*əₐ*r, H kaarn*əₐ*r. 939 BCH kl*úₐ*ʊs, M kl*w*-. 940 BCH k*úₐ*ʊt, M k*w*-. 941 BCH f*úₐ*ul, M *fúl'*. 942 b*uₐ*ttj*əₐ*r. 943 t*uₐ*tj. 944 B *vláu*, H ʊl*óu*. 945 B *váu*, H *vóu*. 947 *bóil*. 948 [(baa, baal) used], M b*úₐ*ùl. 950 *suₐ*p*əₐ*r. 951 k*uₐ*p'l. 952 B k*úₐə*ₐrs, H á*uə*₁, M k*w*-. 953 BM k*uₐ*zi₁n, H -ʊn. 954 B whi₁shʊn, k*u* shʊn, HW whishin. 955 BCH d*áu*t, M d*úₐ*ut. 956 k*uₐ*v*əₐ*r.

U·· 961 BCH gríûʊl, M -el [final (e) distinct, and so (kríûel) cruel, but (kríûl) crewel]. 963 BCH k*u*áai*ₐ*ʊt, M wh-. 964 H síiûₐt, B -ʊt. 965 *óil*. 966 *fríût*. 967 *síût*. 968 *óistəₐ*r. 969 *síûəₐ*r. 970 dj*uₐ*st. 971 *flíût*.

## (5) Var. i, form *b*. N.W. Horn of Yo. cwl.

Written in io. by the Rev. W. R. Bell, Vicar of Laithkirk (20 nw. Richmond, Yo.), who gave himself much trouble to explain his symbolisation, but, as already remarked, p. 547, I was unable to interpret it satisfactorily. Fortunately JGG. had been able to see him personally, and had written the pron. of most of the words in the Wessex section of my cwl. from his dictation, assisted by an old parishioner. On comparing this with Mr. Bell's descriptions, JGG. and I felt that they agreed. Under these circumstances, considering the peculiarities of the style of speech, I give JGG.'s appreciation of the pron. The (r), as usual, must be considered as (r°).

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 bĭa₁k. 4 tĭa₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 mĭa₁d. 7 sĭa₁k. 8 hev. 9 bihee·v. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 ˌdraa. 15 aa. 16 daan. 17 laa. 19 tĭa₁l. 20 lĭa₁m. 21 nĭa₁m. 22 tĭa₁m. 23 sĭa₁m. 24 sha₁m. 25 mĭa₁n. 27 nĭa₁v. 28 heer. 31 lĭa₁t. 32 beedh. 33 raa₁ˌdʊ̯r. 34 la₁st. 35 aal. 36 thaa. 37 klaa.

A: 39 [(*ku*) for *come* used]. 40 *ké*[em. 41 tha₁qk. 43 ha₁n'd. 44 la₁n'd. 46 ka₁n'l'. 47 wanˌdʊ̯r. 48 sa₁q. 50 teeqz. 51 ma₁n. 54 want. 56 wesh. 57 a₁s. A: *or* O: 58 free. 59 la₁m. 60 la₁q. 61 ʊma₁q. 62 sˌtra₁q. 63 thra₁q. 64 ra₁q. 65 sa₁q. 66 thoq [(whĭa₁q) commoner].

A'- 67 ga₁n. 69 *nı̈*a₁. 70 *tı̈*a₁. 71 waa. 72 wh*ı́*a₁. 73 sía₁. 74 tw*ı́*a₁. 75 strook. 76 tĭ₁a₁d. 77 *lɔ̈*rd [see 85]. 78 aa. 79 aan. 80 ha₁li₁dʊ. 81 ii. lonʊn. 83 mĭ₁a₁n moon. 84 *mɔ̈*r [see 85]. 85 *sɔ̈*r [described by JGG as *ö* in *könig*]. 86 ĭ₁a₁ts oots. 87 kl*ı́*a₁s. 88 kl*é*iid. 89 b*ı́*a₁th. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kr*aa*. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 sá₁*ʊ*l. 99 thraan. 100 saan.

A': 101 ĭ₁a₁k. 102 a₁ks. 104 rood. 105 rĭ₁a₁d. 106 brĭ₁a₁d. 107 lĭ₁a₁f. 110 i. ná₁*ʊ*t, ii. no't. 111 ú₁*ʊ*t. 113 jhĭa₁l. 115 jhĭ₁a₁m. 118 bĭ₁a₁n. 121 gĭ₁a₁n. 122 nĭ₁a₁n. 124 stĭ₁a₁n. 125 [(nobʊt) used]. 127 h*ɔ̈*rs [? see 85]. 129 goost. 131 goot. 132 het. 133 rĭ₁a₁t. 134 ooth. 135 klĭ₁a₁th.

Æ- 138 fa₁dhʊr. 139 dree. 140 heel. 141 neel. 142 snâ₁il'. 143 teel. 144 ʊgĭa₁n. 145 sleen. 146 meen. 147 breen. 148 feer. 150 lii₁st. 152 wa₁tʊ₁r. 153 se₁tʊ₁rdʊ.

Æ: 155 th*ii*ˌk. 157 rˌa₁v'n. 158 ef₁tʊ₁r. 160 *e*₁g. 161 dee. 163 [(wez ligʊn) was lying, used]. 164 mee. 165 sed. 167 día₁l. 168 ta₁lg. 169 when. 170 haar*i*₁st. 171 beerlʊ. 172 gɔ̈ɔ̈rs. 173 wa₁s. 174 esh. 175 fa₁st. 179 wha₁t. 180 baa₁th. 181 peeth [(ˌtrod) common].

Æ'- 182 *séii*. 184 *léiid*. 185 r*ii*₁d. 186 *bréiid*. 187 *léiiv*. 189 w*ée*₁*i*. 190 k*ee*₁*i* ká₁i káa*i*. 191 *héiil*. 192 *méiin*. 193 kl*éiin*. 194 on*i*. 195 mon*i*. 196 waaron. 197 tj*éiiz*. 200 wh*éiit*. 201 *héiidh'n*. 202 *héiit*.

Æ': 203 *spéiitj*. 204 *déiid*. 205 thr*ii*₁d. 206 red. 207 *néiid'l*. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 wee. 215 taat tâ₁*ʊ*t. 216 *déiil*. 218 sh*éiip*. 219 sl*éiip*. 221 *féiiʊr*. 222 heer. 223 dheer. 224 whaar. 225 flesh. 226 mĭ₁a₁st. 227 wet. 228 sw*éiit*. 229 br*éiith*. 230 fa₁t.

E- 232 br*éiik* br*ik*. 233 *spéiik*. 235 *wéiiv*. 236 *féiiʊr*. 238 he₁ddj. 239 seel. 241 reen. 243 plee [(leek) also used]. 246 i. k*ʊéiin*. 247 [(spĭ₁a₁n) used]. 248 *méiiʊr*. 249 *wéiiʊr*. 250 sw*éiiʊr*. 251 *méiit*. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 ledhʊr. 255 wedhʊr.

E: 257 ed'dj. 259 weddj. 260 *láai*. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 267 *jéiil'd*. 268 eld*ist*. 270 i. bel*ʊs*, ii. bel*i*. 272 el''m. 273 men. 274 b*ensh*. 276 th*iq*k. 280 *eléiiv'n*. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 283 me₁r*i*. 284 thresh, 286 ha₁rʊ. 287 b*uzʊm*. 288 let. E'- 289 *jéii i* jʊ. 290 *héii* h*ii*₁ʊ. 292 *méii* m*i* mʊ. 293 *wéii* w*i* wʊ. 294 *féiid*. 295 br*éiid*. 296 b*iléiiv*. 298 *féiil*. 299 gr*éiin*. 300 *kéiip*. 302 *méiit*. 303 sw*éiit*. E': 305 *héii*. 306 *héiit*. 307 *náai*. 308 *néiid*. 309 *spéiid*. 310 *héiil*. 311 ten. 312 *héiiʊr*. 314 haard. 315 *féiit*.

EA- 319 giá$_{ı}$p. 320 kaar. EA: 321 saa. 022 la$_{ı}$f. 323 fá$_{ı}$*u*t. 324 *ée*$_{ı}$it. 325 waak. 326 aad. 327 bá$_{ı}$*u*l'd. 328 kaad. 329 faad. 330 haad. 331 [(selt) used]. 332 [(telt) used]. 333 KAAf. 334 haaf. 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal, waa. 340 i. JEERd. 342 EERm. 343 WEERm. 345 daar. 346 Ja$_{ı}$t. EA'- 347 *h*éiid. 348 *é*ii [pl. (*é*iin)]. 349 *fíéu*. EA': 350 dëiid. 351 *l*éiid. 352 *r*éiid. 353 bré*i*id. 354 shaaf. 355 déiif di*i*$_{ı}$f. 356 *l*éiif. 357 dhoo. 359 náibur. 360 téiim. 361 béiin. 363 tjéiip. 365 néiiur. 366 gr*ii*$_{ı}$t. 367 thréiit. 368 déiith, di*i*$_{ı}$th. 369 slaa. 370 raa. 371 straa.

EI- 372 *ée*$_{ı}$it. 373 dhEE. 374 nEE. 376 bEEt. EI: 377 stĭá k. 378 wE'ik. 382 dhEEr. EO- 383 séiiv'n. 364 héiiv'n. 385 vn*u*$_{ı}$n$_{,}$du$_{,}$r. 386 Jə'*u*$_{ı}$. 387 niúu. EO: 388 milk. 390 *s*ud. 393 uJont. 396 waark. 397 *s*ŭord. 398 staarv. 399 bréiit. 400 Jœornist. 402 laarn. 403 faa r. 404 staa$_{ı}$r. 405 haa$_{ı}$rth. 406 Jœorth. 407 faa$_{ı}$rd'n. 408 nĭuu. EO'- 409 béii. 411 thréii. 412 sh*ii*$_{ı}$ sh*i* shu. 413 déiiv'l. 414 fléii. 415 léii. 416 déiiur. 417 tjə'*u*$_{ı}$. 418 br$_{ı}$uu. 420 fóuur. EO': 423 théii. 424 r*u*$_{ı}$f. 425 léiit. 426 fə'it. 427 béii. 428 seii. 430 frin'd. 431 béiiur. 432 fóu$_{ı}$rt. 433 br*ii*$_{ı}$st. 434 bet béiit. 435 J*ii*$_{ı}$ Ju. 436 trĭuu.' 437 $_{,}$t$_{,}$r*iú*th. EY- 438 déi. EY: 439 tr*u*$_{ı}$st.

I- 440 wéiik. 441 *s*ílv. 442 háaivin. 443 frə'idu. 444 stéiil. 446 nə'in. 448 dhœoz. 449 *g*it. 450 tiúuzdu. 551 siúu. I: 452 aa a u. 454 wit*j*. 455 *l*ig. 457 méiit. 458 néiit. 459 réiit. 462 séiit. 464 whilk. 465 sáaik. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467 wáa$_{,}$il'd. 468 tjildud. 472 skri*q*k [(r*u*$_{ı}$n *u*$_{ı}$p) used of woollen cloth]. 473 blind. 474 rə'in'd. 475 woind wind. 476 *b*ind [pp. (b*u*$_{ı}$nd)]. 477 *f*ind [pt. (fa$_{ı}$nd), pp. (f*u*$_{ı}$nd)]. 478 grə'ind. 479 wen [pt. (wa$_{ı}$n) pp. (w*u*$_{ı}$n)]. 481 fiqur. 484 dhis. 485 thris'l'. 486 Jiist. 487 Justurdu. 488 Jit. I'- 490 báai bi. 493 dráaiv. 494 tə'im. 496 áairun. 498 rə'it. I': 500 lə'ik. 501 wə'id. 502 fáaiv. 503 lə'if. 504 nə'if. 505 wə'if. 506 w*u*$_{ı}$mun. 507 w*u*$_{ı}$min. 508 máa$_{,}$il. 509 wháa$_{,}$il. 511 wə'in. 513 wáair. 514 ə'is. 515 áaiz. 516 wizdum. 517 J*éu*.

O- 520 béuu. 521 fool. 522 op'n. 523 hɑ'*u*p. 524 wœr'l'd. O: 526 KAAf kɑ'u. 527 bɑ'*u*t. 528 thɑ'*u*t. 529 brɑ'*u*t. 530 wrɑ*u*t. 531 dɑ'*u*tur. 532 kool. 533 dùl [not (d*u*$_{ı}$l)]. 534 hool. 536 gɑ'*u*l'd. 537 mɑ'*u*l'd. 538 wad. 539 bɑ'*u*l. 540 holin. 542 bɑ'*u*lt. 545 hop. 547 bœord. 548 fœord [(wath) common]. 549 hœord. 550 wœord. 552 kœorn. 553 hœorn. 554 kròs. O'- 555 shə'uu shu'uu. 556 tu [unacc.]. 557 t*ii*$_{ı}$ t*íi*$_{ı}$u. 558 *l*iuk. 559 m*u*$_{ı}$dhur. 561 blúum. 562 *m*úun. 563 m*u*$_{ı}$ndu. 564 *s*ĭan. 565 nooz. 566 *u*$_{ı}$dhur. O': 569 bĭak. 570 tĭak. 571 *g*ud. 572 bl*u*$_{ı}$d. 573 *fl*iud. 574 bríiad. 575 stĭad. 576 wed'nzdu. 577 béuu. 578 pl*iu*f. 579 en*iu*f. 580 *t*iuf. 581 sɑ'*u*t. 582 *k*iul. 583 t*i*ul. 584 stĭal'. 586 d*ii*$_{ı}$ d*íi*$_{ı}$u. 587 d*iu*n. 588 n*iu*n. 589 spĭan. 591 mɑ'uur. 592 swéiiur. 593 [(m*u*$_{ı}$n, mun) used]. 594 b*iu*t. 595 f*u*t. 596 r*iu*t. 597 s*iu*t.

U- 599 vbĭa$_{ı}$n. 600 l*u*$_{ı}$v. 601 f*é*ul. 602 *s*éu. 603 k*u*$_{ı}$m. 605 s*u*$_{ı}$n. 606 déuur. 607 b*u*$_{ı}$tur. U: 608 ugl*i*. 609 f*u*l'. 610 w*ú*$_{ı}$u. 612 s*u*$_{ı}$m. 613 dr*u*$_{ı}$qk. 614 h*u*$_{ı}$n'd. 615 p*u*$_{ı}$n'd. 616 gr*u*$_{ı}$n'd. 617 *s*éuun'd. 618 w*é*uun'd. 619 f*u*$_{ı}$n'd. 620 gr*u*$_{ı}$n'd. 622 *u*$_{ı}$n$_{,}$du$_{,}$r. 625 tuq. 626 h*u*$_{ı}$qur. 629 s*u*$_{ı}$n. 631 thœrzdi. 632 *u*$_{ı}$p. 633 k*u*$_{ı}$p. 634 thr*ú*$_{ı}$u. 635 wœorth. 637 t*u*$_{ı}$sk t*u*$_{ı}$sh. 638 b*u*$_{ı}$sk. 639 d*u*$_{ı}$st [(*stúuur*) used]. U'- 640 kéuu. 641 héuu. 642 dhéuu. 643 néuu. 645 d*u*$_{ı}$v. 646 béuu. 647 éuul. 648 éuur [also (uz) enclitic]. 649 théuuzund. 652 k*u*d. 653 b*u*$_{ı}$t. U': 654 shréuud. 656 réuum. 657 bréuun. 658 déuun. 659 téuun. 661 shéuur. 662 h*u*$_{ı}$z. 663 héuus. 664 léuus. 665 méuus. 666 h*u*$_{ı}$zbund. 667 éuut. 668 préuud. 671 méuuth. 672 séuuth s*ú*$_{ı}$u.

Y- 673 mik'l'. 674 did d*u*d. 676 *l*éii. 677 dráai. 678 din. 679 kjœork. 680 bi*z*i. 682 lit'l'. Y: 683 midJ. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 báai. 687 fléii. 689 bil'd. 690 kə'ind. 691 mə'ind. 693 sin. 694 wœork. 696 bœorth. 697 ber*i*. 699 réiit. 700 wœors. 701 fœorst. 703 pit. Y'- 705 skáai. 706 ['what for,' used]. 707 thutéiin. 708 háaiur. Y': 709 fáaiur. 711 lə'is. 712 mə'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 meet. E. 746 bréüdh. 748 fligd. O. 761 lí₁a₁d. 770 [(má₁udi-waarp) used].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 874 réin. O.. 948 béuul.

## VAR. iia, NORTH LA. cwl.

Lonsdale south of the Sands.

This is made up from the following sources :—

Unmarked words. Heysham (:iisem), (4 w.Lancaster), from a partial wl. in io. by the Rector, Rev. C. T. Royds, who when sending it had had 12 years' acquaintance with the speech, conjecturally pal. by AJE. The (í₁i, ú₁u, ee, ee, er, ə₁r) are uncertain in many words.

H wn. by TH., Lancaster, Cockerham (6 s-by-w.Lancaster), Hornby (8 ne. Lancaster), and Caton (4 ene.Lancaster).

The words from these several places not being enough to distinguish local forms, they are here collected in one list without any separation. It may be assumed that the whole of this ne.La., or Lonsdale s. of the Sands, has a similar pron.

The (r) is probably (r°) throughout. TH.'s medial second elements of diphthongs and suspended final consonants, although constantly marked by him, have, in accordance with my general rule, not been indicated, either here, or in the next cwl., see pp. 316, 317.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 tek, H tak. 12 soo. 14 ˌdˌroo. 20 leem, H leem. 21 neem. 24 sham. 31 H lévt. A: 46 kan'l. 56 wesh, H wash. A: *or* O: 60 H laq. 61 umaq. 62 H sˌtˌraq. 63 thraq. 64 ruq, H raq. A'- 67 gee, H gu gúe. 76 túed. 87 kléeez. 89 bieth. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. A': 101 jek. 106 H braad. 115 H ûem, úem. 117 jan, H wan. 121 gíen, H gA'n. 123 [H (nóut) used].

Æ- 138 faˌdeˌr, H fadher. 152 H waˌteˌr. Æ: 155 thak. 167 díel. 172 gres. Æ'- 182 H síe. 190 H kjɛ'i. 194 oni. 195 moni. Æ': 218 shí₁ip. 224 H wîer.

E- 232 brèk. — H ɛ'it [to eat]. 251 H mɛ'it. 255 weˌdeˌr. E: 262 H wee. — fí₁ilz [fields]. 284 thresh. E'- 290 í₁i, H ii. 292 mí₁i. E': 305 H ɛ'i. 312 H íer. 315 H fît.

EA: 326 H óud. 328 H kóud. 330 haad hod, H od. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 336 faa. 337 woo waa. 346 H gjɛ'ət. EA'- 347 hiied. EA': 350 H dîed. EO- 386 háu. EO: 395 juq. 402 H làrn. EO'- 417 tjig. 420 H fóer fóuer. EO': 422 sik. 424 H ruₒf ruₒkh. 425 liit.

I- 440 H wíik. I: 458 niit. 459 réit riit. 468 H tjilˌdeˌr. 477 find. 478 grind. 484 H dhis. I'- 492 H sáid. I': 502 H fáiv. 508 H máil.

O- 519 óuer, H over. 521 fóoil. 522 H op'n. O: 529 bróut. 532 kóoil. 534 hóoil. O'- 558 H læ'uk luk. 559 H muₒdher modher. 560 H skuul. O': 571 gud, H guₒd. 577 buu. 578 pluu. 579 H unuₒf. 586 H dæ'u du. 588 H nuun.

U- 600 luₒv. 603 kuₒmen, H kuₒm. 605 sùn. 606 H dúer dúuer. 607 buˌteˌr, H buₒˌteˌr. U: 608 ugli. 612 H suₒm. 613 H ˌdˌruₒqk. 622 H uₒnˌdeˌr. 626 uqger, H uₒqer. 629 sun. 632 H uₒp. 633 kup. 639 du'st. U'- 641 H áu. 642 dháu. 643 H náu. 648 wer [unaccented]. 650 H ubâut. U': 658 H dâun. 663 háus, H áus.

Y- 682 lâil lit'l. Y: 684 H brig. 702 H widh.

## Var. iib, Furness and Cartmel cwl.

Lonsdale north of the Sands.

This district I divide into three groups, C, U, and B. The information is derived from wn. by TH. in 1877 and 1881.

C Lower Holker (:òukvr), and Cark (5 e-by-s.Ulverston), see also p. 558, No. 4. I reject the words of Mrs. Betty Butler, b. in 1797, near Grasmere, who had come to Cartmel at 6 years old, because the pron. seemed to be a mixture of Grasmere and Cartmel.

U Ulverston.

B Broughton-in-Furness (7 nw. Ulverston), see also p. 553, for a dt. from Broughton. The pron. here had not altered from 1861 to 1881. Together with High Nibthwaite (7 n-by-e.Ulverston), at the s. part of Coniston Water, and Coniston, from TH.'s wn.

E This belongs to the preceding group, but is taken from Mr. Ellwood's wl. for Coniston, Hawkshead (3 e.Con.), Seathwaite (5 w-by-s.Con.), Torver (2 ssw.Con.), Ulpha (7 sw.Con.), Broughton-in-Furness, Kirby Lowick (7 ssw.Con.), and the higher parts of Colton (7 s.Con.), as read to me by Miss M. A. Bell, native of Coniston, introduced by Mr. Ellwood. The *r* final or before consonants is uncertain, probably (r°). The dentality of *tr-*, *dr-* was so uncertain, and, if it really occurred, slight, that I do not mark it. The (íá) did not sound to me like (íá,). Miss Bell belonged to the younger generation in pron. The vowel in 172 *girse*=grass, seemed to be (ə,), but it was difficult to identify. I seemed generally to hear (ee) rather than (*ee*). No aspirate heard. The diphthongs (a'i, a'u) sounded to me most like (ái, óu), and the former seemed to become (*ái*) before voiced consonants, see No. 502 and 505, but Miss B. did not acknowledge any difference. The (*óu*) sounded at first like (a'u), but I found it difficult to determine, and have therefore used (*óu*).

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 E bíák. 4 E tak. 5 C míá'k. 6 E míád. 7 E síák. 8 E hev. 10 E haa. 12 E saa. 14 B d,roo, E draa. 17 B *loo*, E laa. 19 E tíál. 20 C lévm, E líem [? (lévm) *leaam*]. 21 C névm, B néa'm *neem*, E níám [? (névm) *neaam*]. 22 E tíám, written *teaam*. 23 E síám. 24 E sham. 25 E míán. 27 E nîâv. 28 E jaar. 31 CB lêut, E líát. 33 E *reedur*. 35 E aal. 36 E thaa thóu [both used]. 37 E klaa.

A: 39 E kom. 40 E kúem. 46 E kan'l. 47 E wandur. 50 E taqz. 56 CE wesh.

A: *or* O: 58 E fre. 59 E lam. 60 C laq, BE laq. 61 E emaq. 62 E s,t,raq. 63 E thraq. 64 B roq, BE raq. 65 E saq.

A'- 67 C gà)in, UB gaan [going], E gaa. 69 níá. 70 E tíú. 72 E waa. 73 CB súv, E síá [and (*súv*)]. 74 C *tíu*, E tuu [must be modern]. 78 E aa. 79 BE aan. 80 E alidu. 81 E lián *lonin* [but (*lúvn*) as in Mr. E's *looan* was known]. 82 CB jans. 84 B méur, E míár. 85 E *síár*. 86 C óuts [E (aver) used]. 87 C tlívz, E klíáz. 89 C béuth bía'th, E bíáth. 90 E blaa. 92 C naa. 93 E naa [(ken) in sense of *connaître*]. 94 E kraa. 95 E thraa. 96 E saa. 97 E sóul. 98 E naan. 99 E thraan. 100 E saan.

A': 101 E jak. 102 E eks. 104 CE rúed. 105 E ríád. 106 E bríád. 107 E liáf [(*lú,ef*) more common]. 108 [E paste (*píast*) used]. 109 laa. 110 E nə,t [Mr. E. had written *nirt*]. 113 C úel, E jal. 114 E mool. 115 CUB jàm, E *jíám*. 117 C t)éu [the one], jà ee, B jàn. 118 *bían*. 121 E gan [(gaan) going]. 122 CB néu[n], C níu, B níu, E nin. 123 [E (nóut) used]. 124 B stéa'n stíen, E stían. 125 E [(nobbut) used]. 127 E oos [so Miss Bell, but Mr. E. wrote *hoorse*]. 128 E dhoor [used]. 129 E goost. 130 E búut. 131 E *gúut*. 132 *jíát*. 133 BE ríá't. 134 E ooth. 135 E [(klóut) used].

Æ- 138 CU fadh'ur, CE fa,du,r. 141 E *níul*. 142 E sníál. 143 E teel [obs. these last three forms]. 144 E ugeen. 148 E feer. 149 E blívz. 150

E líɐst. 152 CBE wa,tɐ,r [(,t) uncertain from Miss Bell]. 153 CUBE sɛ,tɐ,r,dɐ, [the (,t,r) uncertain from Miss B.].

Æ: 158 BE ɛf,tɐ,r. 161 CUB d*ee*, BE dee. 164 E mee. 166 [E lass used]. 167 B dêɐl, E dáal 169 E wɛn. 170 E harɐst [Miss Bell had heard this only from an old farmer, generally (aavest)]. 172 CBE gars', E gəɹts. 173 C waz wɛz, E woz. 174 E ɛsh. 179 E wat.

Æ'- 182 E sii. 183 E tiétj. 184 E líɐd. 187 E líɐv. 188 E n*ee*. 189 E wéi. 190 E kéi. 191 E íɐl. 193 CBE tliin. 195 E mɛni [Miss B. did not know (mani)]. 197 E tjiiz. 199 E blíɐt, blíɐk. 200 UBE wíɐt. 201 E eedh'n. 205 E thríɐd. 209 C nivɐr. 210 E klee. 211 E gr*ee*. 213 E *ee*dɐr. 215 [E (laarnt) used]. 222 E jaar. 223 E dhíɐr. 224 UBE wàr. 225 CE flɛsh [Mr. E. writes *fleysh*, *fleigsh*]. 226 C mía'st, E miást. 227 E wɛt. 228 E swíɐt. 230 C fa,t'ɐ,r [fatter].

E- 232 E brik [brak brok'n]. 233 C spíák B spíɐk. 234 E níɐd. — B we,d'ɐ,r [weather]. 235 E wíɐv. 236 E feevɐr. 237 E bleen. 238 [E (dáik) used]. 239 E seel. 241 BE reen. 243 [E (l*ee*k) used]. 247 E wían [(spían) also used]. 248 E míɐr. 249 E wíár. 250 E swíɐr. 251 CU míɐt, E míét [probably (míát) was meant]. 252 E kɛt'l.

E: 260 E líg. 261 CE see. 262 U w*ee*, E wee. 265 E str*ee*t. 268 E eldst, aaldst [used indifferently]. 270 E bɛlɐs. 272 E ɛl'm. 278 E [not used]. 280 E ɐlɛ·b'n. 281 E lɛnth. 282 E strɛnth. 284 E thrɛsh threesh [both common]. 287 E biiz'm.

E'- 290 BE i. 294 CU fiid. 299 B griin. 301 E íɐr. 302 E miit. 303 E swiit. 304 E biit'l. E': 305 C ɛ'i, E éi. 306 E áit. 312 E íɐr. 314 BN àrd íɐrd, E aad. 315 E fiit.

EA- 317 [E used only in the sense of frighten as a (flee·kraa), a scarecrow]. 319 E gïap. 320 E kíár. EA: 321 BE saa. 322 BE laf. 323 E fóu*t*. 324 E éit. 326 CNB aad, CB àld, E aald ald. 327 E bóu*l*d. 328 C kaad k*aa*d, E kaald. 329 E faald. 330 E od. 331 E sɛlt. 332 B tóu*d*, E tɛlt. 333 C kòf, E koof. 334 C aav àf, E oof. 335 CBE oo. 336 E foo. 337 E woo. 342 E aarm. 343 CE wàrm. 345 C *a* dàr see [I dare say], E daar. 346 B gj*ee*t, E jïɛt.

EA'- 347 CUBE íɐd. 348 E ái áiz [Miss B. did not recollect hearing (iin)]. 349 E fíu. EA': 350 UE díɐd. 351 E líɐd. 352 E rɛd. 353 E bríɐd. 354 E shíɐf. 355 E díɐf. 356 E líɐf. 357 [E (for oo) for all, used]. 359 E nɛbɐr. 360 E tíɐm. 361 E bíɐn. 365 C nar' níɐrdhɐr [nearer]. 366 CB gart, E gəɹrt. 367 E thrɛt. 368 E díɐth. — C dɛ'ù [dew]. 369 E slaa. 370 E raa. 371 E stríɐ.

EI- 372 C ái â'i, E ɛɛ. EI: 377 E stiák. 378 E week. EO- 383 E sɛb'n. 386 E jóu. 387 CBE níu. EO: 388 E milk. 393 E ɐjont, biɐjont. 396 E waark. 397 E súɐrd. 399 E brìt. 402 CUBE làrn. 405 E aarth. 406 E aarth [probably]. 411 CBE thrii. 413 E divil. 414 E flii. 415 E lii. 417 E tjéu. 420 BE fóuɐr. EO': 423 E thii. 424 E ruɹf. 425 E lìt. 426 C fɛ'it, E feet [no (i) heard, but Mr. E. wrote *feight*]. 428 CE sii. 430 E frind. 432 E fóurt. 433 E brɛst. 434 E bíɐt [also (breet) brayed used]. 435 B jù. 436 B ,tɹíu, E tríu. EY- 438 CUBE dii [Miss B. inclined to (díi), but in other words I did not hear (íi), and hence leave (ii)].

I- 440 E wìk. 442 E áivi. 444 E stii [Miss B, Mr. E. added (-l)]. 446 E náin. 449 E g*i*t. 451 E soo. I: 452 E ái a. 455 E lig. 458 CB nìt', E nìt. 459 B réit', E rìt [so Miss B., written *reet*]. 460 E wéit. 462 E sìt. 464 E witj. 465 CE sik [Mr. E. (sɛk)]. 466 [E (bàrn) used]. 471 E timɐr. 472 E shriqk. 475 CE wind [Miss B. added (-d), Mr. E. omitted it]. 477 E find [as 675]. 478 E grəɹn. 481 E fiqɐr. 485 E this'l. 486 E jɛst. 487 B jis,tɐ,r,dɐ, E jɛstɐrdɐ. 488 C jit, E jɛt.

I'- 491 E sái. 492 C sáid. 493 E dráiv. 494 E táim. 496 E áirn. 499 E biit'l. I': 500 E láik. 501 E wáid. 502 C fáiv. 503 E láif. 504 E náif. 505 E wáif [but (wáivz) nearly, and so for five, knives]. 508 E máil. 509 B wáil, E wáil. 511 E wáin. 513 E wáir. 514 E áis. 515 E wáiz. 517 E jíu.

O- 519 CE úɐr. 520 E bóu. 521 E fúɐl. 522 C op'n, E op'n. 523 E ú,ap.

O: 526 E kóuf. 527 CUBE bóut. 528 CE thóut. 529 E bróut. 530 U ra'ut, E róut. 531 CUB dóu,t'v,r, E dóutvr. 532 CUE kúvl. 533 E du,l. 534 E úvl. 536 E góuld. 537 E móuld. 539 E bóul. 540 E olin. 542 E bóut. 544 C dhen. 547 E búvrd. 548 E fúvrd. 549 E úvd. 552 E korn [(kuurn) old-fashioned].

O'- 555 CBE shuu. 556 E díu. 557 C tíu [Miss B. said *too* was replaced by [vu oo] and all]. 558 E livk. 559 C mudhvr, B mu,d'v,r mu$_o$,d'v,r, E mu,dvr. 561 E bluum. 562 C múun, BE muun, E mívn. 563 C mondv. 564 CUE sívn. 565 BE núvz. 566 C vnu$_o$,dv,r, B vnu,d'v,r, E u,dvr. 567 C tu$_o$dhvr.

O': 569 E bu,k. 570 E tíák. 571 BE gu$_o$d. 572 E blíád. 577 E buu. 578 C plíu, E pluu. 579 E vnu,f [pl. (vnuu·) known]. 580 E tóuf. 581 E sóut. 583 E tívl. 584 E stívl. 585 E bríum. 586 CB dí,u. 587 BE dùn. 588 BE nîvn. 589 E spívn [but (tv spían) to spoon-feed or wean]. 590 E flúvr. 592 [E (swîâr) is for sware]. 593 [E (mu,n) used]. 594 E buut. 595 E fu,t. 596 E ríát. 597 E sívt.

U- 599 E vbíun vbuun. 600 E lu,v. 601 E fóul. 602 E suu. 603 B kòm kùm, E ku,m. 605 C sun, B sù$_o$n sùn, E su,n [the same as 629, no difference felt]. 606 C dúuvr, BE dúvr. 607 C bù$_o$,tv,r.

U: 609 E fu,l. 610 E wuu. 612 C sù$_o$m, B sùm, E su,m. 614 E óund. 615 C póund, B pu$_o$nd, E pu,nd. 616 E grə,nd. 617 E sóund. 618 E wóund. 620 E grə,nd. 622 E u,ndvr. 625 E tu,q. 626 B uqvr [? u$_o$qvr], E u,qvr. 629 E su,n [the same as 605, Miss B. felt no difference]. 631 CU thA'rzdv, E thorzdv. 632 B u$_o$p, up. 634 E thruu.

U'- 640 CBE kóu [B (kóu)vs') cowhouse]. 641 CE óu. 642 E dhóu. 643 C ná'v, BE nóu. 646 E bóu. 647 E u,let. 648 E óuv. 649 B thóuzvn. 652 E ku,d. 653 E bu,t.

U': 654 BE shróud. 655 E fóul. 656 E róum [old-fashioned]. 657 E bróun. 658 E dóun. 659 E tóun. 661 E shóur. 662 E u,z. 663 C óus óus, UB óus, E óus. 666 [E (man) used]. 667 CE óut.

Y- 673 E mu,tɟ [but in asking the price, (óu mitɟ) how much?]. 674 E did'. 677 E drái. 679 E tɟə,rtɟ [*kirk* not used]. 681 [E (thraq) used]. 682 CB láil, E láil. Y: 684 E brig. 685 [E (rigin) roofing used]. 687 E fliit. 689 E bild. 690 E káind. 691 E máind. 694 CBE wàrk. 697 E bɛri. 699 E riit. 700 E waars. 701 C fast, E fə,rst. Y'- 705 E skái. 706 E wái [=well, but in asking a question always (wat for)]. Y': 712 E máis.

II. English.

A. 733 E skaar. 736 CB las. 740 E weev. E. 743 E skrívm. 744 E mɛz'lz. 745 E tɟíát. I. *and* Y. 753 [E (kít'l) used]. 754 C pig. 756 B shrimp. O. 761 E líád. 766 E móidvrd [occasionally used]. 767 E nóiz. 769 E móudiwaarp. 772 E bívnfáir. 774 E póuni. 778 E vfuurd. 790 E góun. U. 804 E dru,k'n. 805 E kru,dz.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 E ɟab'l ɟɛb'l. 810 E fíás. 811 E plíás. 813 E bɛkin. 818 [Mr. E. wrote *yege* (ɟiidɟ) apparently, but Miss B. did not know it]. 822 E mee. 824 E tɟeer. 830 E treen. 832 E meer. 833 CBE pàr. 835 E rívz'n. 836 E sívz'n. — C skíá's [scarce]. 845 E eenshvnt. 847 E deendjvr. 849 E streendjvr. 852 E eeprvn. 857 E kíás. — C slíát [slate]. 860 E pfást. 861 E tíást. 862 E síáf. 864 E kos. 865 E faat. 866 E púvr.

E·· 867 CE tii. 869 E víil. 874 E rívn. 875 E fɛnt. 879 E fiimeel. 885 CUB varv. 887 E klaardɟi. 888 E saartin. 890 C bívs [pl.]. 892 E nɛfi. 894 E disiiv. 805 E risiiv.

I·· *and* Y·· 901 C fáin. 903 E dáin. 904 E váivlet. 910 E djáist. 911 E sistvrn.

O·· 913 E kávtɟ. 914 E brootɟ. 918 E feeb'l. 919 E óintmvnt. 920 E póint. 924 E tɟóis. 925 E vóis. 926 E spóil. 928 E óuns. 929 E kóukvmvr. 939 E klívs. 940 E kávt. 941 E fuul. 947 E bóil. 948 E bóul. 952 E kúvrs. 957 E emplói.

U·· 960 E kee. 963 E kwáivt. 965 E óil. 968 E óistvr. 970 E djuist.

## Var. iii, Dent and Howgill cwl.

D Dent, Yo., Var. iii, form *b*, see 22 interlinear cs. No. 7, p. 558, pal. by JGG. from the dictation of Messrs. Parrington and Metcalf, respectively 35 and 22 years acquainted with the dialect. This form has U′ = (áu).

H Howgill (:hóugil) (3 nnw.Sedberg), Yo., Var. iii, form *c*, p. 559, No. 8, pal. by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. Best, then of Kirkby Thore (:kə₁rbi' :fi'ʉə₁r) (4 nw.Appleby, We.), who had previously lived 50 years in Howgill. Mr. Best, in January, 1878, read some of the principal words of this list to AJE., who was thus able to verify JGG.'s appreciation. The (r) was trilled slightly, it was more than (r°). This form has U′ = (ú₁u).

No initial prefixed indicates that the pron. is the same in both cases. The vowel (i') is not distinguished from (i). The fractures (éii, í₁ii) are usually written (éî, í₁î), the second element being taken medial instead of long, and so in other cases.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 bí₁a₁k. 4 ta₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 mí₁a₁d. 7 sí₁a₁k. 8 D hev, H hívv. 9 D bi₁hí₁áv, H bi₁héevv. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 H naa. 14 H d₁raa. 15 D ïaa, H aa. 16 H daan. 17 laa. 18 kí₁á₁k. 19 tí₁a₁l. 20 lí₁a₁m. 21 ní₁á₁m. 22 tí₁á₁m. 23 H sí₁á₁m. 24 sha₁m. 25 mí₁án. 26 H [(les'n) used]. 27 D nhí₁a₁v, H ní₁á₁v. 28 D híia₁r, H híivr. 30 D kí₁á₁r, H kíivr. 31 lí₁a₁t. 32 H beedh. 33 D ree₁də₁₁r, H reedhvr. 34 last. 35 D AAl, H ú₁vl. 36 D thaa, H thóu. 37 klaa.

A: 40 D kí₁ám, H kú₁am. 41 theqk. 43 ₁han'd. 44 lan'd. 46 ka₁n'l'. 48 saq'. 50 taq'z. 51 ma₁n. 53 kan'. 54 want. 55 as. 57 as.

A: *or* O: 58 free. 59 la₁m. 60 la₁q'. 61 H vma₁q. 62 s₁t₁ra₁q. 63 thraq. 64 raq vra·q, D w'raq. 65 saq. 66 D waq, H whaq.

A′- 67 [(gaq) used]. 69 ní₁á₁. 70 tí₁á₁. 71 wí₁á₁. 72 D wí₁á₁, H whi₁á₁ whaa. 73 sí₁á₁. 74 D tuu, H twí₁á₁ thú₁u. 75 D s₁t₁rook, H s₁t₁rú₁vk. 76 tí₁á₁d. 77 D lord, H lòrd. 79 aan. 80 ₁halidv. 81 D hvú₁vn, H lú₁vn. 83 D mí₁á₁n, H mí₁vn. 84 D mí₁á₁r, H meer. 85 D síiə₁r, H sía₁r. 86 ú₁vts. 87 klí₁á₁z. 88 klí₁a₁dh. 89 bí₁á₁th. 90 blaa. 91 maa. 92 D nhaa, H naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 sóul. 98 D nhaan, H naan. 100 sóun.

A′: 101 ïa₁k. 102 eks. 104 D rwú₁vd, H rú₁vd. 106 brí₁ád. 107 lí₁áf. 108 [(pí₁á₁st) used]. 109 laa. 111 óut. 113 hí₁á₁l'. 115 hí₁á₁m. 118 H bí₁á₁n. 122 D ní₁á₁n, H nu₁n. 123 [(nóut) used]. 124 stí₁á₁n. 127 H hòrs. 128 [(dhem) used]. 129 D gí₁á₁st, H gú₁vst. 130 bú₁vt. 133 D wrí₁á₁t, H rí₁á₁t. 134 i₁á₁th [also H (ooth)]. 135 kli₁á₁th.

Æ- 138 D faddhə₁r. 140 D hèl, H ₁héevl. 142 D snéil, H snéevl. 144 D vgeen, H vgí₁án. 146 meen. 147 breen. 148 feer. 149 D blíiez, H bleez. 150 líiest. 152 wa₁tə₁₁r. 153 se₁tə₁₁rdv.

Æ: 155 tha₁k. 157 rí₁á₁v'n. 158 ef₁tə₁₁r. 160 eg. 161 dee. 164 mee. 165 sed. 167 dí₁á₁l. 168 ta₁lv. 169 D wen, H when [almost (wen)]. 170 hàrvist [(harist) about Kirkby Thore]. 171 baarli. 172 gəə₁rs. 173 waz [emph.]. 174 esh. 175 fast. 179 D wat, H what. 181 [(₁t₁rod) used].

Æ′- 183 tíietj. 184 líied. 185 D réîd, H rí₁îd. 186 bredth. 187 líiev. 188 [D wíni), H (nini) used]. 189 H wée₁i. 190 D keé'î. 191 ₁híiél. 192 D méîn, H míien. 193 D kléîn, H klíien. 194 eni. 195 D mani, H meni. 196 waar. 197 D tjéîz. 199 Dbleet, H bleet. 200 D wíiet, H whíiet. 202 ₁hí₁á₁t.

Æ′: 203 D spéîtj, H í₁î. 204 D déîd, H dí₁îd. 205 D threîd, H í₁î. 207 D néîd'l', H í₁ì. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 D wee, H whee. 213 D eedə₁₁r, H eedhvr. 215 H tíi₁vt. 216 díiel. 217 [not used]. 218 D shéîp, H í₁î. 219 D sléîp, H í₁î. 221 fiə₁r. 222 D hí₁á₁r, H hîvr. 223 D dhí₁á₁r, H -er. 224 D waar, H whaar. 226 mí₁á₁st. 227 wet. 228 swíiet. 229 D breth, H bryth. 230 fa₁t.

E- 232 D bry₁k, H (briik) occ.]. 233 spíiɛk. 234 níiɛd. 235 wiiɛv. 236 feevə₁r. 237 bleen. 238 ˌhedʒ. 241 reen. 243 plee [on a fiddle, but (leek) at cards]. 246 ii. whíiɛn [quean, female]. 248 míiə₁r. 249 wíiə₁r. 250 swíiə₁r. 251 míiɛt. 252 kɛt'l'. 253 nɛt'l'. 254 D lɛddhə₁r, H le₁d'ə₁r. 255 D weddhə₁r, H we₁d'ə₁r.

E: 257 edʒ [pl. (ed'dʒiz)]. 259 wedʒ [pl. wed'dʒiz]. 261 see. 262 D wɛɛ¹, H wee. 264 eel'. 265 sˌtˌrée₁it. 268 [dl'dist) used]. 270 belɛs beli. 272 el''m. 273 men. 274 D biqk. H bentʒ. 276 thiqk. 281 D leqth, H lenth. 282 D sˌtˌreqth, H -nth. 283 my₁ri. 284 thresh. 285 kresh. 286 ˌharɛ. 287 D béîz'm, H í₁î. 288 let.

E'- 289 D ɩ́eî, H ɔí₁î. 290 D ˌhéî, H hi₁î. 291 D dhéî, H dhí₁î. 292 D méî, H mí₁î. 293 D wéî, H wí₁î. 300 D kéîp, H í₁î. 301 D híiə₁r. H hí₁îə₁r. 302 D méît, H mí₁ît. 303 D swéît, H í₁î. E': 305 héî, 306 D hâit, H hí₁ît. 308 D néîd, H í₁î. 309 D spéîd, H í₁î. 310 D héîl, H í₁î. 311 tɛn. 312 D héîə₁r, H í₁î. 314 D haard. H híierd. 315 fíît. 316 nɛkst.

EA- 319 gíá₁p. 320 H kíiə₁r. EA: 321 saa. 322 D lǎf, H laf. 323 fóut. 324 ée₁it. 325 waak. 326 aal'd. 327 bóul'd. 328 kàl'd. 329 D fóul'd, H fàl'd. 330 ˌhod. 331 [(sɛl't) used]. 332 [(tɛl't) used]. 333 kaaf. 334 ˌhaaf. 335 aa. 336 faa. 340 ɩ́əə₁rd. 342 àr'm. 343 wàr'm. 345 D díá₁r, H daar. 346 D geet, H ɩ́ɛt.

EA'- 347 ˌhíiɛd. 348 D éî, H í, ii. 349 fíû.

EA': 350 díiɛd. 351 líiɛd. 352 D rɛd, H ríiɛd. 353 bríiɛd. 354 shíiɛf. 355 díiɛf. 356 líiɛf. 357 D dhoo [H replaced by (fɛr aa)]. 359 neebə₁r. 360 tíiɛm. 361 bíiɛn. 363 tʒiiɛp. 365 níiə₁r. 366 D gəə₁rt, H gríiɛt. 367 thríiɛt. 368 díiɛth. 369 slaa. 370 raa. 371 D sˌtˌrí₁á₁, H sˌtˌríiĕ [this final (ĕ) is very short, and seems suddenly checked].

EI- 372 áiji. 373 dhee. 374 nee. 376 beet.

EI: 377 stí₁á₁k. 378 week. 382 D dhí₁á₁r, H dheer. EO- 383 sev'n. 384 ˌhev'n. 386 ɩ́ou. EO: 388 mílhk [I did not hear the (lh) from Mr. Best myself]. 389 D ɩ́ook, H ɩ́ú₁ɛk. 390 sud. 393 biont. 396 waark. 397 swəə₁rd. 398 staarv. 402 D líiɛrn, H laar'n. 403 faar. 404 staar. 405 D ˌhaa)stɛn, H ˌha)stɛn [hearthstone, without which suffix hearth is never used]. 407 D faard'n, H fàd'n. 408 D níû. EO'- 409 D béî, H bí₁î. 411 D thréî, H í̀î. 412 D shéî, H í₁î. 413 D div'l', H di₁v'l'. 414 D fléî, H í₁î. 415 D léî, H lí₁î. 416 díiə₁r. 417 D tʒig, H tʒóu. 418 bríû. 420 fóuɛr. 421 forti. EO': 423 D théî, H thí₁î. 424 ru₁f. 425 D léît, H í₁i. 426 fɛ'it. 427 D béî, H bí₁î. 428 D séî, H sí₁î. 429 H fí₁înd. 430 fry₁nd. 431 bíiə₁r. 432 fóurt. 433 D bry₁st, H bríiɛst. 434 bet. 435 ɩ́ú₁u. 436 ˌtˌríû. 437 ˌtˌríûth. EY- 438 D déî, H dí₁î. EY: 439 ˌtˌru₁st.

I- 440 D wéik, H wí₁îk. 441 D siiv, H sí₁v. 442 D âivin, H âivi. 444 D stéîl, H stâil. 446 nâin. 448 [H (dhu₁r) used]. 449 git. 450 tíûzdi. 451 D soo, H síû.

I: 452 âi [emphatic], -i [enclitic], a- [proclitic]. 454 witʒ. 455 lig. 457 mâit. 458 D néît, H ní₁ît. 459 D réît, H í₁î 460 D wéeît, H wèit. 462 D séît, H í₁î. 464 whitʒ. 465 D sâik, H sik. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467 wâild. 471 timə₁r. 473 blin₁d. 475 D wâind, H win'd. 476 bin'd. 477 fin'd. 478 gry₁nd [Nos. 475–8 make past tense in (-an'd), and past participle in (-u₁n)]. 479 H win'd. 481 fi₁qə₁r. 485 this'l. 486 ɩest. 487 D ɩ́y₁sˌtə₁rdɛ, H ɩ́e-. 488 D ɩ́yt, H ɩ́ɛt.

I'- 490 bâi bi. 491 H sâi. 493 drâiv. 494 tâim. 496 âirɛn. 498 râit. 499 H bí₁îd'l.

I': 500 lâik. 501 wâid. 502 fâiv. 503 lâif. 504 D nhâif, H n-. 505 H wâif. 506 wumɛn. 507 wimin. 508 mâil. 509 D wâil, H wh-. 511 wâin. 513 wâiə₁r. 514 âis. 515 wâiz. 516 wizdɛm. 517 D ɩ́û, H ɔí₁û.

O- 520 bóu. 521 D fwú₁ɛl, H fú₁ɛl. 522 D op'n, H op'n. 523 D ˌhoop, H ˌhú₁ɛp. 524 wor'l'd.

O: 526 D kaf, H kof. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 530 H róut. 531 dóuˌtə₁r. 532 D kwú₁ɛt, H kú₁ɛt. 533 du₁l. 534 D whú₁ɛl, H ˌhú₁ɛl. 536 góul'd. 537 móud. 538 wad [emphatic]. 539 bóul'. 540 D holin. 542 bóut. 545 ˌhop. 547 bú₁ə₁rd. 548 fú₁ə₁rd. 550 wu₁rd. 551 D stor'm, H stàrm. 552 D kor'n, H kàrn. 553 D ˌhor'n, H ˌhàrn. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shú₁u. 556 tʊ. 557 D tú₁u, H tíû. 558 líûk. 559 D mu₁ddhə₁r, H mu₁də₁r. 561 blú₁um. 562 mú₁un. 563 mu₁ndʊ. 564 D síûn. 565 D nwóvz, H nú₁vz. 566 D u₁ddhə₁r, H u₁də₁r.

O': 569 bú₁uk. 570 tíûk. 571 gu₁d, H gíûd. 572 blu₁d, H blíûd. 573 flíûd, H flú₁ud. 574 bríûd. 575 D stí₁á₁d, H stíûd. 576 wed'nzdʊ. 577 bú₁u. 578 plú₁u. 579 D vnu₁f, H inuf [sg. (inú₁u) pl.]. 580 D tof, H tu₁f. 581 H sóut. 583 D tú₁ul, H tíûl. 584 D stú₁ul, H stíûl. 585 D brú₁um. 586 díû, H dú₁u. 587 díûn. 588 níûn. 589 D spú₁un, H spíûn. 590 flíûə₁r. 591 D múuə₁r. 593 [(mu₁n) used]. 594 bú₁ut. 595 D líût, H fut. 596 H ríût. 597 H síût.

U- 599 D vbu₁v. 600 lu₁v. 601 H fú₁ul. 602 sú₁u [approaching (sóu)]. 600 ku₁m. 605 su₁n. 606 díûə₁r. 607 bu₁t'tə₁r.

U: 608 u₁gli. 609 fù₁l'. 610 D wu₁n, H wœ'u''u [this after flatus was nearly (wh) as I heard Mr. Best; but possibly this, as also (œ'u), was an individuality]. 611 bu₁lʊk. 612 su₁m. 613 ₁dru₁qk. 614 H hú₁un'd [I heard almost (hóund), and pronunciation varied as (₁hu₁n'd)]. 615 H pu₁n'd. 616 gru₁n'd. 619 fú₁un'd. 622 D u₁ndə₁r. 625 tu₁q. 626 ₁hu₁qə₁r. 629 su₁n. 631 thu₁rzdʊ. 632 u₁p. 633 ku₁p. 634 D thrú₁u, H thrœ'u [perhaps an individuality]. 637 tu₁sk. 639 du₁st.

U'- [D has (âu), H (ú₁u)]. 640 D kâu, H kú₁u. 641 D ₁hâu, H ₁hú₁u. 642 D dhâu, H dhú₁u. 643 D nâu, H nú₁u. 645 du₁v. 646 D bâu, H bóu. 647 D u₁let, H ú₁ul. 648 D âuə₁r, H ú₁uə₁r. 649 D thâuzend, H thú₁u-. 652 ku₁d. 653 bu₁t.

U': [D âu, H ú₁u]. 654 D shʊráud, H shʊrú₁ud [(shr) becomes (shʊr-) in this word only]. 655 D fâul. 656 DH rú₁um. 657 D bráun, H brú₁un. 658 D dâun, H dú₁un. 661 D sháuə₁r, H shú₁uər. 662 hu₁z [emphatic form]. 663 D hâus, H hú₁us [approaching (hóus)]. 664 D lʊus, H lú₁us. 665 D mâus, H mú₁us. 666 hu₁zbʊnd. 667 D âut, H ú₁ut. 668 D râud, H prú₁ud. 669 H u₁nkú₁utht [probably an individuality]. 671 D máuth, H mú₁uth. 672 D sâuth, H sú₁uth.

Y- 673 mitj. 676 D lêi, H lí₁î. 677 drâi. 678 din. 679 D kəə₁rk, H tju₁rtj. 680 bizi. 682 lâil'. Y: 683 midj. 684 brig. 685 H rig. 686 bâi. 687 H flí₁ît. 688 bil'd [(billht), p.p.]. 690 kâind. 691 mâind. 693 sin. 694 wu₁rk. 696 D bəə₁rth, H by₁rth. 697 by₁ri. 699 D réît, H rí₁ît. 700 waars. 701 fəə₁rst. 703 pit. 704 viks'n. Y'- 705 skâi. 706 [what for, used]. 708 hâiə₁r. Y': 709 fâiə₁r. 711 láis. 712 mâis.

## II. English.

A. 713 ba₁d. 714 la₁d. 715 D pa₁d. 716 D a₁d'l. 722 ₁dreen. 723 deeri. 724 D baald, H baa. 725 sí₁á₁l. 728 sha₁m. 729 D frí₁á₁m, H freem. 730 kantə₁r. 734 daar'n. 735 mash. 737 meet. 740 weev. 742 leezi. E. 744 mez'l'zs. 746 H brí₁edh. 748 D fligd, H fledjd. I. *and* Y. 753 [(kit'l') used]. 754 H pig. 759 fit. O. 761 lí₁á₁d. 767 D nóis. 769 móudiwaarp. 771 fon'd. 772 bí₁á₁nfâiə₁r. 774 D pooni, H póuni. 777 D shop. 778 D vfwú₁ə₁rd, H vfú₁-. 783 D páu₁t₁ri₁, H pu₁l₁t₁ri. 789 D róu. 790 D gâun, H gú₁un. U. 793 D hu₁g. 794 dju₁g. 799 sku₁l'. 801 ru₁m. 803 D dju₁mp [also (lóup)]. 805 kru₁dz. 808 pu₁t.

## III. Romance.

A·· 809 ïab'l'. 810 fí₁á₁s. 811 plí₁á₁s. 812 lí₁á₁s. 813 H beek'n. 814 mí₁á₁s'n. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 822 mee. 824 tjeer. 825 D weef, H wí₁á₁f. 827 D ïegə₁r, H ïagə₁r. 828 H eegʊ. 830 ₁treen. 833 paar. 835 ríiez'n. 836 síiez'n. 840 D tjambə₁r. 841 tjans. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj. 844 D ₁trensh. 845 H eenshunt. 847 deendjə₁r. 848 tjeendj. 849 s₁treendjə₁r. 850 dans. 851 ant. 852 a₁pə₁rʊn. 853 D bàrg'n, H bàrgin. 854 barʊl'. 855 karʊt. 856 pàrt. 857 kí₁á₁s. 858 H brí₁á₁s. 859 tja₁s. 860 pí₁á₁st. 861 tí₁á₁st. 862 sí₁á₁f. 864 biko·s. 865 faat. 866 pu₁uə₁r.

E·· 867 D téî, H tí₁î. 871 D gréî, H grí₁î. 874 ríiʊn. 875 fènt. 877 eer. 880 D egzamp'l. 883 dandilâijʊn. 884 H ʊpry₁ntis. 886 H fríiə₁r.

888 sàrt'n. 890 bíiest. 891 fíiest. 892 nefi. 893 D fláuəɹr, H flú₁u. 894 D diséîv, H í₁î. 895 D riséiv, H í₁i.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 dilârt. 899 D néîs. 900 pree. 901 fâin. 902 mâin. 904 D váiɛlɛt. 908 ɛdvâis. 909 D bréîz, H brí₁iz. 910 dʒâist. 911 D síiestəɹrn. 912 râis.

O·· 913 D kwú₁ɛtʒ, H kú₁-. 914 D brootʒ, H brú₁ɛtʒ. 915 stu₁f. 916 u₁niɛn. 917 roog. 918 D féîb'l, H í₁î. 919 D ointmɛnt, H ón-. 920 D pont, H ói. 922 bu₁sh'l. 924 tʒóis. 925 D vóis, H ói. 926 D spóil, H ói. 927 ₜtɹu₁qk. 928 D âuns, H u₁uns. 929 H kú₁uku₁məɹr. 930 D lóin, H ói. 931 D dʒu₁gləɹr. 933 fru₁nt. 935 ku₁nₜtɹi. 938 kornəɹr. 939 klú₁ɛs. 940 kwú₁ɛt. 941 fu₁ul'. 942 D bu₁ttʒəɹr, H bu₁tʒəɹr. 943 tu₁tʒ. 944 D ɛlâu. 945 D váu. 947 D bóil, H ói. 948 D bú₁ul, H bóul. 950 su₁pəɹr. 951 ku₁p'l. 952 D kâuəɹrs, H kú₁əɹrs [coarse]. 953 ku₁zin. 954 D wishɛn, H whi-. 955 D dâut, H dú₁ut. 956 ku₁vəɹr.

U·· 961 grîûɛl. 963 D wâiut, H kw-. 964 síûi₁t. 965 D oil, H ói. 966 frîût. 967 síût. 968 D óistəɹr. 969 síûəɹr. 970 dʒu₁st. 971 flíût.

## Var. iv, Edenside cwl.

Some of the most important words from the 22 cs. Nos. 12 to 17, p. 563, as a help to the student.

S from Kirkby Stephen, No. 12.
C from Crosby Ravensworth, No. 13.
T from Temple Sowerby, No. 14.
M from Milburn, No. 15.
L from Langwathby, No. 16.
E from Ellonby, No. 17.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 5 SCME ma₁k, L mak, T mek. 21 SMLE ní₁á₁m, CT ní₁é₁m. A: *or* O: 64 SE ɹra₁q, C r°àq, T r°aq, M w'ra₁q. A'- 84 S mêeəɹr°, C meeɹr°, MLE meer°, T maar°. 87 SMLE klí₁a₁z, CT klí₁é₁z. 89 SMLE bí₁á₁th, CT bí₁é₁th. 92 SCE noo M nhoo, L tnhoo, T naa. 93 T nhaa, M nhoo, L tnhoo, SE noo, C nò. A': 102 SCTM ăs, LE a₁ks. 110 ii. CTL nu₁t, S nʒ₁t. 113 SML hí₁a₁l, CT hí₁é₁l, E hiɛl. 115 SML hí₁a₁m, TE hia₁m, C hi₁é₁m. 122 ii. S ní₁iɛ, ML ní₁ɛ, T ní₁e₁, CE ni. 137 CTMLE nóu₁dəɹr°.

Æ- 138 SCT fŏd₁dəɹr°, M fad₁dəɹr°, L fă₁dəɹr°, E fa₁dəɹr°. Æ: 161 S dee₁, CTMLE dee. Æ'- 194 S ani, CL oni, TM eni, E eni. Æ': 214 S nee₁dəɹr°. 223 SCTMLE dhí₁iəɹr°. 224 SM whoor°, TL whaar°, CE whɛer°.

E- 233 SCTLE spí₁ik. E: 261 SC see₁, ML see, T sí₁é₁. 265 CE s₁tɹ°ek, S s₁tɹ°ak, M s₁tɹ°éeit. E'- 292 SCTMLE mí₁i. E': 312 SCTMLE hí₁iəɹr°. 314 SCTLE haar°d, M hí₁iəɹr°d.

EA- 320 C kee₁r°, S kéeur°, TMLE keer°. EA: 326 C ool'd, E oold, T aald aad, M aal'd. 330 SCTMLE hod. 338 STML kaa, CE koo. EA': 359 T neebəɹr°, S nee-, C ne-, MLE nee-. 366 SC gr°í₁it, TE gəəɹr°t, ML gjəəɹr°t. EO'- 412 SCMLE shu [before w], T shə₁. EO': 430 S fr°ynd. 437 S ₜtɹ°ú₁uth, CTMLE ₜtɹ°iûuth. EY- 438 SCTMLE dí₁i.

I: 452 STL wad)i, [but E aa wa₁d, the pron. differing according to position]. I'- 494 STL táaim, CME táa₁im. I': STL láaik, C là₁ik, M láa₁ik. 510 TL máain, SE máa₁in, C má₁in.

O- 519 SCTMLE óuəɹr°. 524 SCM wəəɹr°ɛl'd, TL waar°ɛld, E wur°ld. O: 531 SCLE dóu₁təɹr°. 535 SCT fwú₁ɛk, M fwúu₁ɛk, L fwôɛk, E fú₁a₁k. O'- 557 SCTML tíu. 567 SCTMLE tu₁dəɹr°. O': 579 SCTMLE ɛuíuf. 587 SCTMLE díun. 592 SM swí₁á₁r°, S swee₁r°, T swyy₁r°t, L swyy₁əɹr°.

U: 612 SCTMLE su₁m. 616 S gru₁nd, TL gru₁n'd, E gr°u₁n, CT grú₁un'd. 631 S thu₁r°zdɛ, CL thəɹr°zdɛ, TE thəəɹr°zdɛ. 634 SCTMLE thrú₁u, SCTML thr°ú₁u. U'- 641 SC hú₁u, H huu. 643 SCTMLE nú₁u. 651 SC widú₁ut, LE wi₁dú₁ut, TM wɛdhú₁ut. U': 663 SCTMLE hú₁us.

Y: 701 SCTMLE fəəɹr°st.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 862 T *sí*₁e₁f, MLE *sí*₁a₁f. E·· 885 SCTL va₁r°ɐ. 888 SCTMLE saar°t'n. O·· 940 T *kwoot*, CM *kwú*₁ɐt, L *kwú*₁á₁t, E *kú*₁á₁t. 941 SCTMLE *fúl*. 955 SCTMLE *dú*₁uts. U·· 969 STML *síúə*₁r°, E syy₁ə₁r°, C *shú*₁uə₁r°. 970 STM dj*u*₁st.

## VAR v, WEST CUMBERLAND cwl.

The same words as in Var. iv. collected from Nos. 18 to 20 in the 22 cs. p. 563.

K from Keswick, No. 18.
C from Clifton, No. 19.
H from Holme Cultram, No. 20.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 CH mak, K ma₁k. 21 K *ní*₁a₁m, C *ní*ám, H *ní*₁ɐm. A: *or* O: 64 K r°a₁q, CH raq. A'- 84 K *meer*°, C meer, H méeɐr. 87 K *klí*₁a z, C *klí*ₐ₁z, H *klíɐz*. 89 KC *bí*₁a₁th H *bí*₁ɐth. 92 KCH noo. A': 102 K ǎs, H as, C aks. 113 K *hí*₁a₁l, C hiál. 115 K *hí*₁a₁m, C jam, H JEM. 122 ii. K *ní*₁a. H *ní*₁ɐ, C *níɐ*. 137 KH *nóu*₁*d*ə₁r°, C *náu*₁dɐ₁r°. Æ- 138 K fa₁*d*ə₁r°, CH fa₁dɐ₁r. Æ: 161 KC DEE, H dee. Æ'- 194 KC *eni*, H *ani*. Æ': 223 KC dh*í*₁ə₁r°, H dh*íɐ*r°. 224 KC whoor°, H whóoɐr°.

E- 233 K sp*í*₁ik, C sp*íi*₁ik. E: 261 KC SEE, H see. 265 K s₁t₁*réit*, C s₁t₁r*íi*₁it. E'- 292 K *mí*₁i, C *mí*₁i, H mii. E': 312 KC *hi*₁iə₁r°. H *híi*₁ɐr°. 314 K hàr°d, CH haard. EA: 320 K *keer*°, C keer, H kéeɐr°. EA: 326 H ool, K oold, C *áud*. 330 KCH hod. 338 KCH koo. EA': 359 KH NEBə₁r°, H NEBɐr°. C NEEber°. 367 K gr°*í*₁it C gə₁rt, H griit. EO'- 412 [emphatic] KC sh*ii*, H sh*ii*. EO': 430 K fr°e°nd. 437 K ₁t₁r°îûth, C ₁t₁r*iú*th, H ₁t₁r*u*₁th. EY- 438 KC *dí*₁i, H dii.

I: 452 KC a wad, H wad)i [I would, would I]. I'- 494 K táaim, C táim, H téim. I': 500 K lâik, C láik, léikli. 510 K máa₁in, C má₁in, H méin.

O- 519 K *óu*r°, C *áu*ɐr, H *ó*uɐr. 524 K waar°ɐld, C warld, H waar°ld. O: 531 K dóu₁tə₁r°, C d*áu*₁tɐ₁r. 535 K f*wú*₁ɐk, C f*w*ook, H f*ó*uk. O'- 557 K t*iu*. 567 K t*u*₁₁də₁r°, C t*u*₁₁dɐ₁r. O': 579 K ɐn*iu*f, C ɐn*u*₁f. 587 KC d*u*₁n, C d*iu*ɐn, H d*i*₁ɐn. 592 K swyy₁a°r°t, C swoort, H sw*ii*₁ɐr.

U: 612 KCH s*u*₁m. 616 K gr*y*₁nd, C gr*u*₁nd H gr°*u*₁n. 634 K thr°ɐ'ut, C thr*ú*₁ut. H thr°*uu*. U'- 641 KC *hú*₁u. 643 KC *nú*₁u. H n*uu*. 651 K wi₁d*ú*₁ut. C ɐ₁d*ú*₁ut, H ɐ₁duut. U': 663 KC *hú*₁us, H huuz.

Y: 701 K *fu*₁r°st, C *fə*₁rst, H *fúɐ*rst.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 862 K *sí*₁a₁f, C *sí*af. E·· 885 K va₁r°ɐ, CH varɐ. 888 K sar°t'n, CH saart'n. O·· 940 K *kwú*₁ɐt, C *kw*ot, H kŭóout. 941 K *fúl*, C *fiú*₁l, H *fí*₁*u*l. 955 K *dú*₁uts, C d*uu*ts, H d*ù*ts. U·· 969 K shɐûr°, C sh*uu*₁r, H *sí*₁uɐr. 970 KC dj*u*₁st.

## (9) VAR. vi, WEARDALE AND TEESDALE cwl.

St. John's, Weardale (:waard'l), Du., head of the dale, about 12 e-by-n.Cross Fell, Cu., and 24 w-by-s.Durham, wl. pal. in 1878 by JGG. from dict. of Mr. and Miss Harrison, natives, who had lived there 40 years from birth. All words unmarked refer to this.

M Middleton-in-Teesdale (22½ sw.Durham), wl. io. by Rev. John Milner, Rector, in 1878, who had then been there only 2½ years. Only such words in this list as are re-spelled are here given, pal. conjecturally by AJE. M after an unmarked word shews that this agrees with the former, and in

estimating this agreement, as M is very imperfectly known, I disregard any apparent differences where the M may possibly represent the finer analysis given by JGG, for St. John's.

The (r) is (r°), but is left unmarked.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bí,ɐk M. 4 ta,k. 5 ma,k. 6 mí,ɐd M. 7 sí,ɐk M. 8 HEV. 9 bihee*v*. 12 SAA. 17 LAA. 19 tí,ɐl M. 20 lí,ɐm M. 21 ní,ɐm M. 22 tee*m* M, tí,ɐm. 23 sí,ɐm M. 24 sha,m. 25 mi,ɐn M. 27 M ní,ɐv. 28 hee*ɐr*. 31 lí,ɐt M. 32 M bí,ɐth. 33 ree*dhɐr* M. 34 last. 35 AAL'. 36 thó*u* M.

A: 39 kom. 40 kee*m*. 41 THEQK. 43 ha,nd. 44 la,nd. 46 ka,n'l M. 48 saq. 50 TEQZ M. 51 ma,n. 54 want. 55 as. 56 WESH M. 57 a,s.

A: *or* O: 58 fr*ee* M. 59 là,m. 60 la,q. 61 ɐma,q. 62 s,t,ra,q M. 63 thra,q M. 64 ra,q M. 65 M sa,q. 66 wha,q.

A'- 67 ga,n, M ga gang. 69 ní,i, M ní,ɐ, 70 tí,i, M tí,ɐ. 71 wí,i, M wí,ɐ. 72 whí,i, M whí,ɐ. 73 sí,i. 74 twí,i, M twíɐ. 75 s,t,r*oo*k, M s,t,rí,ɐk. 76 tí,ɐd M. 78 *oo*, M ó*u*. 80 HELIDI, M ha,lidi. 81 lonɐn. 84 meer° M. 85 *seer*° M. 86 JETS [(HAVER) gen.]. 87 klí,ɐz M. 88 klí,ɐdh M. 89 bí,ɐth M. 91 m*oo*. 92 M naa. 93 sn*oo*, M snaa. 94 kr*oo*, M kraa. 95 thr*oo*. 96 s*oo*. 97 sóu*l*. 98 n*oo*n, M naan. 99 thr*oo*n. 100 s*oo*n.

A': 101 JA,k M. 102 a,s. 104 róɐd. 105 rí,ɐd M. 106 brí,ɐd M. 107 lí,ɐf M. 108 d*u*,f, M [(pi,ɐst) more usual]. 109 l*oo*. 110 not, M nɐ,t. 111 ó*u*t M. 112 hí,ɐl M. 115 hí,ɐm M. 118 bí,ɐn M. 121 gí,ɐn M. 122 ní,ɐn M. 123 [(nó*u*t) used, M]. 124 stí,ɐn M. 125 [(nobɐt) used]. 127 M hí,ɐs. 128 dhem. 129 gòst. 130 M b*u*có*u*t. 131 gí,ɐt. 132 het M. 133 rí,ɐt M. 134 ò,th. 135 [(klo'*u*t) used M]. 136 o*u*,də,r, M [spelt *oudther*].

Æ- 138 fa,də,r M. 140 h*ee*l M. 141 n*ee*l. 142 sn*ee*l. 143 t*ee*l. 144 ɐgí,ɐn. 146 mí,ɐn. 147 br*ee*n. 148 f*ee*ə,r. 152 wat,tə,r M. 153 SE,tə,rdi M.

Æ: 155 M tha,k. 158 EF,tɐ,r M. 160 EG. 161 d*ee*. 164 m*ee*. 165 sed M. 166 m*ee*d. 167 dí,ɐl M. 168 ta,lɐ. 169 when. 170 haarvi,st. 171 baarli. 172 gəə,rs M. 173 wa,z. 174 ESH M. 175 fast. 179 wha,t. 181 [(t,rod) used].

Æ'- 182 sí,i. 183 tí,itʒ. 184 lí,id. 185 rí,id. 186 brí,ith [used]. 187 lí,iv. 188 NE'*i* [(nikə,r) more used]. 189 WE'*i*. 190 KE'*i* M. 191 hí,il. 192 mí,in. 193 klí,in. 194 oni M. 195 moni M. 197 tʒí,iz. 199 bl*ee*. 200 whí,it. 201 hí,idh'n. 202 hí,it.

Æ': 203 spí,itʒ. 204 dí,id. 205 thrí,id, M thriid. 206 red. 207 ní,id'l. 210 kl*ee*. 211 gree. 212 wh*ee*. 215 tó*u*t M. 216 dí,il. 217 *i*,itʒ. 218 shí,ip. 219 slí,ip. 221 fí,ə,r. 222 h*ee*ə,r. 223 dhiə,r. 225 flesh. 226 mí,ɐst M. 227 wet. 228 swí,it. 229 brí,ith. 230 fa,t.

E- 232 brí,ik, M briik [(bra,k brok'n)]. 233 spí,ik [(spEK spok'n)]. 235 wí,iv. 236 fí,ivər. 237 M tʒilblí,ɐn. 238 hedʒ. 241 r*ee*n. 243 pl*ee* [(l*ee*k) used]. 246 kwí,in [queen and quean]. 247 [(spí,ɐn) used, M]. 248 mí,iə,r, M miir. 249 wí,iə,r M, wiir. 250 swí,iə,r, M swiir. 251 mí,it. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 led,də,r, M -dh-. 255 wed,də,r, M -dh-.

E: 257 edʒ. 259 WEDʒ. 260 lái [evidently a confusion with *lie*] 261 s*ee*. 262 w*ee*. 264 eel. 268 [(*oo*dist) used M]. 270 beli, bel*isiz*, M belɐs. 272 el'm, M AAm. 273 men. 274 bèqk bensh. 275 [(stiqk) used]. 276 thiqk. 277 ,drensh. 278 wensh. 280 ɐlí,ib'n. 281 lenth. 282 s,t,renth. 283 meri. 284 THRE'sh M. 285 kresh. 286 ha,rɐ. 287 b*uz*'m [this is right for a b*e*som]. 288 let.

E'- 289 ʒí,i ʒɐ ʒi. 290 hí,i, ɐ, *i*. 292 mí,i mɐ mi. 293 wí,i wɐ wɐ. 294 fí,id. 295 brí,ɐd. 296 bɐlí,iv. 298 fí,id. 299 grí,in. 300 kí,ip. 301 hí,iə,r. 302 mí,it. 303 swí,it.

E': 305 hé'î, M HE'*i*. 306 hé'ît. 307 ní,i. 308 ní,id. 309 spí,id. 310 hí,iɐl. 311 ten. 312 hí,iə,r. 314 hüə,rd. 315 fí,it. 316 NEKST, M [occ.] n*é*ist.

EA- 319 gí,ɐp M. 320 k*ee*r, M kí,ə,r. EA: 321 [(sí,id) used]. 322 lăf. 323 fí,ɐt, M fó*u*t. 324 EE'it. 325 WAAK. 326 òd M [and (AAd)]. 327 M bó*u*ld. 328 kòd M. 329 M fòd FAAd. 330 hod M. 331 [(sel'd selɐlht)

used] M. 332 [(tel'd, tel|lht) used] M. 333 kaaf M. 334 haaf M. 335 aa M. 336 faa M. 337 waa M. 340 jerd M. 342 er'm. 343 waar'm. 345 daar M. 346 ja|t, M gí|vt.

EA'- 347 hí|id, M hiid. 348 éì, M ii. 349 fíû. EA': 350 dí|id, M diid. 351 lí|id, M liid. 352 rí|id, M riid. 353 brí|id, M briid. 354 shí|iv, M shiif. 355 dí|if, M diif. 356 lí|if. 357 dhoo M. 359 ne'ibə|r M. 361 bí|in. 365 ní|iə|r. 366 gəə|rt, M griit. 367 thrí|it, M thriit. 368 dí|ith, M diith. 369 sloo, M slaa. 370 roo. 371 s|t|réi, M strí|v. 372 áiji, M éi. 373 dheee. 374 néei, M ní|v. 376 beet. EI: 377 st|ívk M. 378 week M. 382 dheer. EO- 383 sí|ib'n. 384 hev'n. 385 bmí|ith. 386 jə'ù M. 387 níuu.

EO: 388 mil|lhk. 390 su|d. 393 bijont M. 396 wark. 397 swəə|rd, M swu|rd. 399 brí|it, M briit. 401 jəə|rnist M. 402 liiə|rn. 403 faar. 404 staar. 405 haarth. 406 jerth. 407 fard'n, M -in.

EO'- 409 béi bi. 411 thréi. 412 shéi shu shu. 413 dí|i'l, M diiv'l. 414 fléi, M flii. 415 lí|i, M lii. 416 dí|iə|r. 417 tjə'u M. 418 brîu. 420 fə'uə|r. 421 forti.

EO': 423 théi, M thii. 424 ru|f. lí|iit, M liit. 426 fe'it M. 427 béi bi. 428 séi. 429 M fí|vnd. 431 bí|iə|r. 432 fóurt M. 433 brí|ist, M briist. 434 bí|it. 435 jéi jv ji. 436 |t|rîu M. 437 |t|rîuth M. EY- 438 dí|ii, M dii. EY: 439 |t|ru|st.

I- 440 wí|ik. 441 sí|iv, M siiv. 443 fráidi, M fréidi. 444 ste'il M. 445 M héi. 446 ne'in. 448 dhù|r. 449 gît M. 450 tîùzdi. 451 sîuu, M sóu.

I: 452 ái, M a. 454 wit|. 455 lái, M líg. 457 máit, M méit. 458 ní|it, M niit. 459 rí|iit, M riit. 460 we'it. 462 sí|it, M siit. 464 whıl|lhk, M whilk. 465 sek, M sáuk. 466 [(beern) used]. 467 we'il'd. 471 timə|r M. 472 [(tv rú|n u|p) used]. 473 blin'd M. 474 [(swà|rd) used]. 475 wáin'd wind. 476 bind M. 477 find M. 478 grú|und, M gru|nd. 479 win'd. 481 fiqə|r M. 484 dhis. 485 this'l. 486 jest, M jiist. 487 jis|tvrdi. 488 ji|t.

I'- 420 bí|i bi|. 491 sái. 493 |d|raiv. 494 te'im. 496 áir'n. 498 re'it M.

I': 500 le'ik. 501 we'id M. 502 fáiv. 503 le'if M. 504 ne'if M. 505 we'if M. 506 wu|mvn. 507 wu|min M. 508 me'il. 509 whe'il. 511 we'in M. 513 wáə|r. 514 e'is M. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdvm.

O- 520 bə'uu, M bóu. 521 fú|vl, M fwú|vl. 522 op'n M. 523 hə'uup. 524 wu|r'l'd. O: 525 kof. 527 bóut M. 528 thóut M. 529 bróut M. 530 róut. 531 dóu|tə|r, M dóuthvr. 532 ku|vl, M kwúvl. 533 dú|l, 534 hú|vl M [apparently, written whoal]. 536 gə'u'l'd. 537 mə'uud, M muuld. 538 wu|d wad. 540 holvn M. 542 bóut M. 545 hop. 548 ford. 549 herd. 550 wu|rd. 551 storm. 552 ku|rn. 553 hu|rn.

O'- 555 shvúu [see 640]. 556 tî|v. 558 lîvk M. 559 mu|də|r, M -dh- 561 blvúum, M blí|vm. 562 mí|vn M. 563 mu|ndv. 564 sí|vn M. 565 nú|vz, M nwú|vz [written nwoas]. 567 t)u|d|d'ə|r°.

O': 569 bî|vk M. 570 tî|vk M. 571 gu|d. 572 blu|d, M blí|vd. 573 flívd. 574 brvúud. 575 stî|vd M. 576 wed'nzdv. 577 bə'uu. 578 plíù M. 579 enî|vf. 580 tí|vf. 581 sóut. 582 kîvl M. 583 tvúul, M tî|vl. 584 stî|vl M. 585 M brí|vm. 586 dî|v. 587 dí|vn M. 588 ní|vn M. 589 spí|vn M. 590 flvúuə|r, M flí|ə|r. 591 mvúuur. 592 [(swévrd) swear'd, used], M swí|ar. 593 [(mu|n) used] M. 594 bí|vt M. 595 fí|vt M. 596 rí|t M. 597 sí|vt M. 598 svúuth.

U- 599 vbî|vn M. 600 lu|v. 601 fvúul, M fíul. 602 svúu, M suu. 603 ku|m. 605 su|n. 606 də'uuə|r° [? vúu], M duur° [see 640]. 607 bu|t|tə|r, M [says 'h sounded,' ? meaning that ter = -ther, or simply that the t is dentalised]. U: 608 u|gli. 609 fu|l'. 610 wə'ûu. 612 su|m. 613 |d|ru|qk. 614 hu|nd M. 615 pu|nd M. 616 gru|nd M. 617 sə'uun'd, M suund. 618 wə'ùu'd. 619 fu|nd M. 620 gru|nd M. 622 u|ndə|r M ['with a slight (h)' that is slightly dentalised (|de|r)]. 625 tu|q. 626 hu|qə|r. 629 su|n. 631 thu|rstv. 634 thrə'uu. 635 wu|rth. 636 [(faardhə|r) used, M]. 639 du|st [(stəóor°) also used].

U'- 640 kvúu, M kuu [JGG. is not quite satisfied with this symbol, which, however, is different from the (ə'uu) of 520, 606, 610, 617, 618, which has more of an (ə'u) effect. Neither of them is supposed to be (æ'u). The present sounds

in 640, 641, 642, 643, etc., are (uu) sounds, as shewn by the M appreciation, but begin with some undefined sound which JGG. could not appreciate after some days of observation. The result is like (ú₁u, æ'u), transitional from (uu) to (a'u)]. 641 hʊúu, M huu. 642 dhʊúu, M dhuu. 643 nʊúu, M nuu. 646 bʊúu, M buu [compare 577 (bəúu)]. 647 ʊ'uul. 648 ʊ'uur, M uur. 649 thaúuzʊnd. 652 ku₁d. 653 bu₁t.

U': 654 sh'rʊúud, M shruud. 655 fʊúul. 656 rəûm. 657 brʊúun, M bruun. 658 dʊúun, M duun. 659 tʊúun, M tuun. 660 bʊúur. 661 shʊúur, M shuur. 662 hu₁z. 663 hʊúus, M huus. 664 lʊúus, M luus. 665 mʊúus, M muus. 666 hu₁zbʊnd. 667 ʊúut, M uut. 668 prʊúud, M pruud. 671 mʊúuth, M muuth. 672 sʊúuth, M suuth.

Y- 673 mik'l, M mitɟ. 674 du₁d. 676 lei, M lii. 677 d₁râi. 678 din. 679 tɟu₁rtɟ. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l. Y: 683 midɟ. 684 brig M. 685 rig M. 686 bâi. 687 flɛ'it. 689 bil'd. 690 kɛ'in'd M. 691 mɛ'in'd M. 693 sin. 694 wəə₁rk, ʊ gu₁d wəə₁rkər ʊv iz waark [a good worker of his work]. 696 bə₁rth. 697 bɛri. 698 məə₁rth. 699 réiit, M riit. 700 wars M. 701 fu₁rst M. 703 pit. Y- 705 skâi. 706 whɛ'i. 707 thə₁rtí₁in. 708 hâiə₁r. Y': 709 fâiə₁r. 711 M lɛ'is. 712 mɛ'is M.

II. English.

[Such words as are entered here all came from M.]

A. 725 sí₁ʊl. 730 kan₁tə₁r [or (-th-) as it is stated that *h* is sounded]. 733 skí₁ʊr. E. 743 skrí₁ʊm. 744 mez'lz. 745 tɟí₁ʊt. O. 761 lí₁ʊd. 764 ku₁d'l. 766 móidhə₁rd. 769 móudiwarp. 774 póuni. 780 dɟu₁s'l. 784 buuns. 786 duus. 787 suus. 790 guun. U. 805 kru₁dz. 808 pu₁t.

III. Romance.

[Such words as are entered here all came from M.]

A·· 809 jab'l. 810 fí₁ʊs. 811 plí₁ʊs. 812 lí₁ʊs. 817 redish. 852 apr'n. 857 kí₁ʊs. 859 tɟas. 860 pí₁ʊst. 861 tí₁ʊst. 862 sí₁ʊf. 865 fʌat. E·· 874 riin. 875 fent. 884 prentis. 887 klarji. 892 nevi. I·· *and* Y·· 910 dɟiist. O·· 913 kwú₁ʊtɟ. 921 ʊkwent. 927 trú₁qk [said to be "as in We."]. 928 uuns. 929 kuu·kʊmbə₁r. 930 luundɟ. 940 kwú₁ʊt. 941 fí₁ʊl. 952 kuurs. 955 duut. U·· 961 grí₁uʊl. 963 wâiʊt. 966 fríut. 969 síuʊr. 971 fliut.

## D 32 = NN. = north Northern.

*Boundaries.* On the n. the L. line 10. On the s. the n. *tee* line 7. On the e. and w. the sea.

*Area.* A small portion of n.Cu., about Carlisle and Brampton, avoiding the northernmost parts about Longtown and Bewcastle. The n. of Du. The whole of Nb. except the n. slopes of the Cheviot Hills.

*Varieties.* This area is again divided into six Varieties: Var. i, n.Cu.; Var. ii, n.Du.; Var. iii, Hexham or sw.Nb.; Var. iv, 'the Pitmen' or se.Nb.; Var. v, m.Nb.; Var. vi, n.Nb.

*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., ‡ per JGG., ‖ so., and ° *io*.

*Cu.* ‡Brampton, ‡Carlisle, *Dalston.

*Du.* *°Bishop Middleham, *Clickeminn, near Lanchester, °Collierly, °Dalton-le-Dale, °Edmundbyers, *Kelloe, °Lanchester, °Shincliffe, *° South Shields, *° Sunderland, °Tyneside.

*Nb.* °Acklington, °Alnwick, °Ancroft, *Berwick-upon-Tweed, °Birtley, °Doddington, °Embleton, °Haltwhistle, °Harbottle, *Hexham, ‡Knaresdale,

*Morpeth, *Newcastle-on-Tyne, *North Shields, *Rothbury, °Stamfordham, °Tyne to Wansbeck, *° Warkworth, ° Whalton, ° Whittingham, ° Woodhorn, °Wooler.

See also the notice of the Burr on p 641.

*General Character.* The essential character of D 32 at present is that of a transition from D 30 and 31 to D 33, from E. and WN. to L. Historically, of course, this must be an incorrect conception. But with historical derivation we have here nothing to do. The L. like the S. has entirely abandoned the (*u*) sound of U and replaced it by (ə), while the (*u*, $u_1$) are retained in D 30 and 31, and the great peculiarity of D 32 is the gradual dying out of this (*u*) into (ɐ). In D 32, Var. i, the (*u*) sound remains, in D 32, Var. vi, it has been quite replaced by (ɐ). Between varieties i and vi the (*u*) very frequently occurs, but is also very frequently replaced by a bad imitation of (ɐ), which I represent by ($œ_1$). I was altogether unprepared for this sound when I reached Newcastle in 1879, and was much puzzled by it. I had considered that the *ŭ* used by my correspondents represented (*u*, $u_1$) alone as throughout Yo. and (except about Longtown and Bewcastle) Cu. The first dt. I attempted to write at Newcastle in February, 1879, disillusioned me. I noted that the new sound was not (œ, ɐ, *u*), but lay among them. When in February, 1883, I wrote to Rev. G. Rome Hall, of Birtley (9 nnw.Hexham, Nb.), to point out in his wl. which of his *ŭ* words had (*u*), and which (ɐ), he observed: "in all these *ŭ* sounds there is a slight approach to the German *ö* and the French *eu* in *beuf*, *fleur*, etc. Also it is not so quickly and crisply uttered as in the rec. pron. It is slightly prolonged in the folk-speech of Hexham and w.Nb. district." This quite agrees with my own observations. The sound is of medial length in general, which it is needless to notice, and adumbrates (œ). To indicate all this I annex an inferior ($_1$) to (œ), thus ($œ_1$), but I was unable strictly to analyse the sound when I heard it, and I cannot venture to do so from memory. There is no labialisation as for (œ), and it will be quite sufficient to use (ɐ') in speech. No doubt in a generation or two ($œ_1$) will have quite given place to (ɐ). In the mean time it is characteristic of the mixed region in n.Du. and Nb, just as (som) is characteristic of the region between lines 1 and 2, and as ($u_o$) is transitional from (ɐ) to (*u*) throughout the M. counties. See the obs. on ($u_o$) on p. 291, and note especially the relation of ($u_o$) to ($œ_1$). The two transitions are obviously closely allied. This ($œ_1$) is not found in Cu., but it is very prevalent in Hexham, Var. iii, and is said to have become general in Alnwick, but it is not till about Wooler, as far as I have been able to ascertain, that (ɐ) becomes permanently installed for the whole of L. The use of (ɐ) in Sunderland is probably due to Scotch influence. See 22 dt., No. 6, Introd.

The fractures ($ɨ_1$i, $ŭ_1$u), the former from E′ sinking to (*éei*), and the latter from U′ rising to (*óu*), or nearly so, probably occur through D 32. But where I possess written accounts only, these sounds are not distinguished from (ii, uu), in fact the natives

consider them as such. In ($\acute{u}_1$u) the ($\acute{u}_1$) approaches at times very close to ($o$), and hence the resemblance which induced me to write ($\acute{o}u$) from dictation in several cases, where I think ($\acute{u}_1$u) was meant. See *now* in par. 1 of 22 dt., Nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15. In Nos. 12, 14 and 17 I have ($\acute{u}_1$u). No. 17 was indeed very carefully dictated to me by Mr. Ridley to bring out the sound. I have thought it best, however, to retain the signs in each case which I first wrote from dictation. The case where the vowel U′ was open, as at the end of a word, *e.g.* in *now* just considered, is different from that in which U′ occurs before a consonant, as we shall see especially in D 33. Hence *about*, *down*, *house*, in the 22 dt. have more frequently (uu) than ($\acute{u}_1$u) or ($\acute{o}u$). But still there is the same tendency, which completely disappears in L., where (uu) or (ù) is universal before a consonant.

The I′ generates a diphthong, generally taken as ($\acute{e}i$, E′$i$), but which I heard as (ə′$i$, á¹$i$), practically the same as in my own speech. But I think that when it occurs in open syllables it may be ($\acute{a}i$). The two sounds of this representative of I′ are discriminated in L., and in the Brampton wl. below ($\hat{a}i$) occurs in *drive*, *wide*, *five*, and (á¹$i$) otherwise, but there is no consistent usage. In the English pron. of Greek it is customary to speak the diphthong ει as (ə′$i$) or (á¹$i$) and αι as ($\acute{a}i$), and hence among the clergymen whom I have had to consult so much, *ei ai* have been considered the proper signs to represent the difference. This is of course rather embarrassing to a Londoner, who has only one long ī, intentionally, though it varies individually, as ($\acute{a}i$, ə′$i$, á¹i, æ′i). But the difference, as we shall see, is highly developed in L, and we already found it in D 31, Var. v.

The treatment of O′ varies as (íu, íɪʊ, ĭœ$_1$). Compare *school*, *soon*, *look*, in the 22 dt. It is curiously enough written *ui* in the *Pitman's Pay*, as *suin* for (s*i*un, sĭœ$_1$n).

The treatment of A-, A′ forms a difference between Var. iii and iv, as will be seen presently.

The guttural (kh, kjh) has practically disappeared even on the very verge of L., but Rev. G. Rome Hall, of Birtley (9 nnw. Hexham, and 8 e. L. border), admits it faintly in Var. iii in *night*, *right*, *sight*, *bought*, *thought*, *brought*, *wrought*, *daughter*, *sought*, etc., see the s.Nb. cwl. No other authority gives it, so it is probably very local. But in the greater part of D 32 the *r* is pronounced gutturally. This pron. does not even determine varieties, and being very peculiar and local, will be considered separately.

The definite article is always (dhʊ). *I am* (a)m) is quite as often *I is* (a)z).

The classical work in the se.Nb. or Pitman's dialect is Thomas Wilson's *Pitman's Pay*, a cheap edition of which, with other poems, was published in 1872 by Routledge, London. It has set the norm for spelling, which, however, is rather confusing to a Southerner. Thus *aw*=(aa¹) or (ˌaa) of JGG., p. 539, the very fine (aa) which prevails over the n. of England, and *not* (AA) as it suggests. Again *ou*=($\acute{u}_1$u) or (uu), not ($\acute{o}u$), which is written *ow*,

and *ui* is generally (ĭu, ĭœ$_1$), as (sĭœ$_1$n, kĭœ$_1$l) suin, cuil=soon, cool; and *never* (yy$_1$) or any approach to French *u*, as the orthography suggests. Also no distinction is made between (*u*$_1$, œ$_1$), but *u* is used for both indifferently. On this point some detailed information will be seen in the s.Nb. cwl. which contrasts sw. and se.Nb.

*Characters of Varieties.* These are not particularly well marked, but I have endeavoured to make them clear by interlinear illustrations.

Var. i, in n.Cu., is so like D 31, except in the use of (dhʊ), that I have thought it best to put the two cs., one for Carlisle, Cu., and one for Knaresdale, Nb., among the 22 cs. illustrating D 31, pp. 562, No. 21, and 563, No. 22. This Var. is distinguished by an absence of (œ$_1$), so that the (*u*$_1$) of Cu. suddenly becomes the (ʊ) of D 33 without passing through any intermediate form. I′ becomes (ᴇ′*i*) as appreciated by JGG. In Carlisle (nɪ́$_1$ʊm, hɪ́ĭʊm) name, home, occur, but in Knaresdale (nii$^1$ᴇm, hii$^1$ᴇm), with a distinct (ᴇ). At Brampton there was the intermediate (nɪ́ie°m, hɪ́ie°m) with an indistinct (e), which was not yet (ʊ), as shewn by (°), the symbol of indistinctness. See the Brampton cwl., p. 669. There is no Nb. *burr*.

Var. ii, in n.Du., see 22 dt., Nos. 1 to 6. The (œ$_1$) begins to assert itself, but (*u*) is more general, the (*u*$_1$u) greatly resembles (*ou*), both (néeʊm) and (nJᴇm)=(nĭᴇm) are employed. The resemblance is rather to Var. iv, the Pitmen's, than to Var. iii the Hexham form. There is not much burr even near Newcastle. Sunderland can hardly be said to be a dialect on account of the mixed population and influence of Scotch and Irish. South Shields has the great peculiarity of losing its *r* altogether except before a vowel, and even then it is much debased.

Var. iii, the sw.Nb., extends e. to about 1 w.Stamfordham, and includes Bellingham (:bᴇ·*l*ndJʊm) on the nw., and Ovingham (:o·*v*ndJʊm) on the se. This is recognised by the Newcastle people as a distinct variety. Their favourite example is the speech of a woman to her daughter as she gives her a penny to buy "a halfpennyworth of salt, and bring a halfpenny back, taking a saucer to put it in." This becomes (ʊ *hoo*·*porth o sóut*, ʊn ʊ *hoo*·*pni* ba$^1$k, ʊn hĭio*r*)z dhʊ *soo*·*sor* tʊ pœ$_1$t *it in*), which in Var. iv is (ʊ haa$^1$*porth o* saa$^1$t, ʊn ʊ haa$^1$*pni* ba$^1$k, ʊn hĭio*r*)z dhʊ saa$^1$*sor* tʊ p*u*$_1$t *it in*). A similar sentence was concocted about the beginning of the century at a school a little n. of Birtley, as related to the Vicar, Rev. G. Rome Hall, by the old churchwarden, Mr. Percy Robson. The sentence was "I went to serve [=feed] the calves, and it snowed and it blowed, and my feet balled [with snow sticking to the soles of the boots], and ah! it *was* cold." At Woodburn, 4 ne.Bellingham, and in the Redesdale district varieties, and the same would be the case in Var. iv, they said

(a$^1$ wᴇnt tʊ sa$^1$*ra*$^1$ dhʊ kaa$^1$z, ʊn *it* snaa$^1$d ʊn *it* blaa$^1$d, ʊn ma$^1$ fiit baa$^1$d, ʊn ᴇᴇ′*i*! *it* ·wa$^1$z kaa$^1$d).

But at Birtley and s. of the Rede in the valley of the North Tyne, they said

(a$^1$ wᴇnt tʊ sa$^1$*ra*$^1$ dhʊ k*oo*z, ʊn it sn*oo*d ʊn it bl*oo*d, ʊn ma$^1$ fiit b*oo*d, ʊn, ᴇᴇ′*i*, it ·wa$^1$z k*oo*d).

Another point of difference which is not brought out in these sentences is well shewn in the s.Nb. cwl. All words having (iiʊ) in Var. iii have (ĭᴇ) or (ĭœ$_1$) in Var. iv, thus *name, home, soon* are in Var. iii (niiʊm, hĭiʊm, sĭiʊn), and in Var. v (nĭᴇm, hĭᴇm, sĭœ$_1$n).

Var. iii also has a great predilection for (œ$_1$). This is remarkable at Haltwhistle (14 w.Hexham), bacause it is close to Var. i, from which (œ$_1$) is absent.

To this var. belong two entertaining but unfinished little stories by Thomas Bewick, the celebrated Newcastle wood engraver (born at Ovingham), called "The Howdy" and "The Upgetting," of which 60 copies were printed in 1850 for Mr. John Gray Bell. I had hoped to give them in a phonetic form, but while I was at Newcastle I could find no one who was able to read them to me, and there are so many curious words in them, that I was unable to pal. them conjecturally. The original MSS. were said to be in possession of Mr. John

Bell, of Gateshead, but I failed to discover him, or the printer or publisher. I owe my transcript to the kindness of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who possesses a copy.

Var. iv, se.Nb. The distinctions between this and Var. iii have just been pointed out. This variety contains the speech of the Pitmen, and is most characteristic of Nb. But the mere writing of this speech conveys very little notion of its peculiarities of intonation, which are different for pitmen, keelmen [=boatmen], and ploughmen. The singsong and musical drawl of the pitmen must be heard to be understood. It is this variety to which the numerous dialectal books, annuals, comic stories, and songs usually refer. But their spelling was intended only for those familiar with the speech, and is scientifically valueless.

Var. v, mid Nb., occupies the county from the Wansbeck to line 9, and is scarcely different in pron. from Var. iv, see 22 dt., Nos. 14 to 21, p. 656. The town of Alnwick seems to have adopted (ɑ), or perhaps (œ₁) exclusively, but that is not yet the habit of the peasantry.

Just before reaching line 9 are the towns of Chillingham and Chatton, which are credited with pronouncing *ch* as (sh). Mr. Allen, of Snitter, dictated the following sentence (dhi shiiz ʊ :shɛt'n is nɛɛ meer lə'ik dhi shiiz ʊ :shi·liqum, nor shaak)s lə'ik shiiz) = the cheese of Chatton is no more like the cheese of Chillingham, nor (than) chalk's like cheese. Chillingham is famous for its wild white cattle, but is also noteworthy phonetically as being the only Nb. name in -ingham, which is pron. with (-iqum), all the others having (-indjum). Mr. Ridley dictated the same sentence the other way over, thus (dhʊ shí₁iz ʊ :shiliqum iz nii meer lá'ik dhʊ shí₁iz ʊ :sha't'n nor shaa'k)s lá'ik shí₁iz). This sentence reminds us naturally of Dr. Murray's for Chirnside (9 nw.Berwick-on-Tweed), (dheer)z ʊz ged shiiz i :shirset ʊz wʊz evʊr shóud wi shafts) there's as good cheese in Chirnside as was ever chewed with chafts, i.e. jaws, Chirnside (:shirset) being celebrated for the same change of (tj) into (sh), as has taken place regularly in French (Dialect of S. Scotl. p. 85).

Var. vi, taking the extreme n. of Nb. and Berwick-upon-Tweed, has adopted (ɑ) throughout, and in other respects much resembles D 33, but differs from it, as will be seen among other things in the absence of (kh) and inability to produce a trilled (r), see the Berwick cs., p. 645, and notes, p. 652.

## The Burr.

In describing and distinguishing the above six varieties I have barely alluded to the Burr, which is commonly looked upon as *the* characteristic of Nb. speech. This is because I consider it a modern accidental growth very conspicuous to a Lowlander or a Southerner, though quite inessential to the dialect. But it requires special consideration, and hence has been placed last.

The Nb. Burr or (kru₁p) is a peculiar pronunciation of the letter *r* in which the interruptions of voice sound, that in my opinion form the essence of the *r*, are made by the flapping of the uvula (instead of the tip of the tongue), as set in motion by the voiced or flated stream of air itself, and not by a voluntary muscular effort. It is really a defect of articulation which tends to become epidemic. As such it exists vigorously in the n. of Germany and n. of France, and especially at Paris. But it is also a peculiarity of individuals that reside in other districts. The Nb. burr is complicated by some labialisation, and by being influenced by some vowels more than others, especially the labial series (ʌ, o, u). It varies much in different parts of Nb. according to accounts which I have received, but I am not able to state what the differences are, as it would require residence for some time in different parts of the

county, and intercourse in each place with a considerable number of natives, to obtain anything like satisfactory results. The burr is said to be "rougher" in se.Nb. than at Alnwick, where it is credited with perfection. Mr. Robson (in the notices to his translations of the *Song of Solomon* for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte) attempts to write the Newcastle burr as "urroond the urrugged urrocks," and the n.Nb. burr as "erroocend th' erruggeed errocks" for *round the rugged rocks.* The Vicar of Embleton for the peasantry there wrote "oowīt, thwoo, oowĕd," his curate for the fishing population used "'rīte, thr'oo, rred," both for *right*, *through*, *red*, and these symbols represented to them distinct differences, but certainly neither these nor Mr. Robson's avail for an outsider.

It is easy to produce great varieties of burr, by varying the form of the tongue on which the uvula seems to lie, to agree with the position for different vowels, and by increasing or diminishing the closure of the lips, as well as the degree of force in the emission of breath. The sharpness of the rattle heard from a young Parisian lad calling "L'Ent*r*acte! P*r*og*r*amme des spectacles, p*r*ix t*r*ois sous," is something remarkable, and this *r* well replaces the Italian tip-tongue trilled *r*. The German uvular *r* is often indistinguishable from a guttural (gh) initial and medial, and (kh) final. Both are combined, at least occasionally, in the Dutch *ch*, *g*, and Arabic ڠ ڬ. The modern Greek γ is very mild. The extent of excursion of the flapping uvula makes a great difference in the effect produced. But there is much difficulty in ascertaining what practice actually prevails in any given place. And, after all, the practice may really vary from speaker to speaker at the same place. As a general rule I shall represent the burr by (*r*) simply, by (*rw*) when the labial element is conspicuous, by ($r_o$, $rw_o$) when in either case the uvula is so stiffened that it serves only to impede the passage of air without definite interruptions. Thus the words *to marry a very merry lass* sounded to me, as pronounced by a Nb. pitman, as (tʊ ma¹$r_o$*i* ʊ va¹$r_o$*i* ma¹$r_o$*i* la¹s), *merry* and *marry* being pronounced identically and rhyming with each other and with *very*, while the ($r_o$) was so inconspicuous that much attention was required to discover the differences of (ma¹$r^o$*i*, va¹$r_o$*i*) from the Italian *mai*, *vai* (mâ¹i, vâ¹i), with which indeed Mr. Swinburne, the poet, a native, identifies them. But the habit is so local, and probably in Europe so modern, that it does not affect general relations of dialect, as the reverted (ʀ) of the S. div. certainly seems to do. The actual usage and its variety in different places is therefore comparatively unimportant, although striking to a stranger.

It is much more important to determine the limits of country over which the Burr extends. I was recommended for information to Mr. Peter Mouatt, 8, Shield Field, Newcastle, as having travelled much about the border, but he could not tell me himself, and when he tried his commercial travellers he found that they all had the burr without knowing it, and were hence unable to detect its presence or absence. At last he found one, Mr. J. R. Dickson, who was a Scotchman, and hence fully aware of the defective uvular

trill. From his notes, assisted by Mr. Gunn of Berwick-on-Tweed, Mr. Lees of Edinburgh, Mr. J. G. Goodchild, who has had experience on the n. slopes of the Cheviots, Mr. Laurence Goodchild, a blind traveller (no relation to the last-named), Mr. Proctor of the *North of England Review*, Mr. Jas. Mearns, son of the minister of Coldstream, some notes and correspondence on the subject by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, Dr. J. A. H. Murray's notes, etc., I obtained sufficient information to draw up the following table.

The places in ( ) have not been identified, those marked * are on the Maps of the Dialect Districts, the others are referred to them.

| Burr Strong. | Burr Weak. | No Burr. |
|---|---|---|
| *Berwick-upon-Tweed | | |
| Spittal (1 se. Berwick) | | |
| Horncliffe (4 sw. Berwick) | | Horndean, Bw. (8 ne. Coldstream) |
| Norham (7 sw. Berwick) | | Ladykirk, Bw. (6 ne. Coldstream) |
| Cornhill (1 e. Coldstream) | | (Newtown) |
| (Donaldson's Lodge) | Wark, Nb. (1 sw. Coldstream) | *Coldstream, Bw. |
| | Carham, Nb. (3 wsw. Coldstream) | Birgham, Bw. (3 w. Coldstream) |
| *Wooler | | *The Cheviots (n. slope), Nb. |
| Keilder (26 nw. Hexham) | | Yetholm, Rx. (10 w. Wooler) |
| Falstone (19 nw. Hexham) | Haltwhistle, Nb. (14 w. Hex.) | (Riccarton) |
| | Allendale, Nb. (9 sw. Hex. | Greenhead, Nb. (17 w. Hex.) |
| | | Brampton (8 ne. Carlisle) |
| | Edmundbyers, Du. (10 sse. Hexham) | (Allenhead, Cu.) |
| | | Blanchland, Nb. (8 s. Hex.) |
| | Minster Acres, Nb. (8 se. Hexham) | Alston, Cu. (17 sw. Hex.) |
| | Castleside, Du. (13 se. Hexham) | |
| | Benfieldside, Du. (13 wnw. Durham) | Iveston, Du. (10 nw. Durham) |
| | Shotley, Nb. (13 nw. Durham) | |
| Whittonstall, Nb. (9 ese. Hexham) | | |
| | Ebchester, Du. (11 se. Hexham) | |
| Prudhoe, Nb. (9 w-by-s. Newcastle), and thence strong to S. Shields | | North Shields, Nb. South Shields, Du. |

This covers the whole inland border of Nb. beginning at the n. Beyond the Tweed, to the n., except in Berwick and its Liberties, there is no burr. Mr. Lees had observed it from some men at Burnmouth and Eyemouth (6 and 9 n. Berwick), but is inclined to think it due to intercourse with Berwick as a market town. Mr.

Gunn and others suppose that the burr dies out suddenly at the b. of the Berwick Liberties, Mr. Lees thinks it only dies rapidly. In the "New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the respective parishes, etc.," 1845, vol. ii. p. 154, as Prince L.-L. Bonaparte pointed out to me, the then Minister of Hutton-on-the-Tweed, adjoining the Liberties of Berwick, says: "The language spoken is the Berwickshire dialect of the Scots, intermixed with the Nb. *burr*." In January, 1876, the then Minister of Hutton, Dr. R. Kirke, wrote to the Prince: "The Nb. *burr* is *not natural* to the natives of this parish, and is *never known* except in the speech of persons who have been born and brought up in Nb. and in the Liberties of Berwick," and that this applies also to the adjoining parish of Mordlington. But as a defect of speech I myself in 1854 heard it very strong indeed from the young son of a Scotch gentleman in Edinburgh. Again the n. slopes of the Cheviots are decidedly Scotch, but a strong burr has been heard at Kielder (Mr. Dickson) and Falstone (JGG.). On the south, Mr. Laurence Goodchild considers that the burr stops at Gateshead. But I myself heard it from a native of Kelloe (18 s-by-e.Gateshead). From Bishopton (5 nw.Stockton, Du.) the Vicar in 1879, Rev. C. H. Ford, who I was told had a strong burr himself, reported its existence there. Finally, at North Shields, Nb., and South Shields, Du., in the midst of a burr country, the entire burr has vanished. But the pitmen just beyond the town burr vigorously.

Hence the burr, like the change of (u) into (ə), or of (uu) into (a'u), cannot be regarded as disrupting a phonetic dialect district. D 32 is therefore held to extend to parts of Cu. and Du. which have no burr. The burr cannot even be regarded as the mark of a variety. The same thing occurs in France and Germany.

*Illustrations.* For Carlisle and Knaresdale I give cs. pal. from dict. by JGG. as Nos. 21 and 22 among the 22 interlinear cs. of D 31, pp. 562, 563.

For South Shields, Newcastle, and Berwick I give also interlinear cs. all pal. from dict. by myself. They are in themselves a good epitome of the whole of Nb. pron.

But I have been enabled to give 22 dt., interlinearly arranged for Var. ii to vi, eleven of which were pal. by me from dict. These serve very well to shew the slight differences and general resemblances and the transition to L.

Finally, there are four cwl. For Var. i a valuable one from Brampton, written from dict. by JGG. For Var. ii a cwl. for South Shields, by Rev. C. Y. Potts, which I had to pal. from an original glossic, by the help of the *vivâ voce* rendering of the cs. for the same place. For Var. iii and iv, contrasting the Hexham and Pitmen usages, two important lists are here thrown together for ease of comparison by Rev. G. R. Hall and Rev. Hugh Taylor, which I have had to pal. from their spellings and indications, and from personal knowledge of these varieties obtained at Newcastle in 1879. For Var. v I give a valuable cwl. settled from the dictation of Mr. Ridley of Warksworth.

## Three Interlinear cs.

1. *South Shields*, Var. ii; n.Du., at the mouth of the Tyne. The original was written in glossic by Rev. C. Y. Potts, then of Ledbury, but born and bred at South Shields. Mr. Potts, who gave himself much trouble to inform me, also sent a lw. given hereafter as a cwl. I transliterated the cs into pal., and then corrected it in Jan. 1879, from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Pyke, Ocean Terrace, South Shields, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Lyell, cousin of the Sec. of the Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Newcastle. The following is from that corrected version, Mr. Potts's principal variants are given in the notes, p. 649. There are, as both Mr. Potts and Mr. Pyke stated, three pron. prevalent at South Shields, viz. those of the Pilots, Middle Town Folk, and Pitmen. The version gives the second, as Mr. Pyke was only partially acquainted with the others, and Mr. Potts considered them "vulgar," but they will be occasionally referred to in the notes.

2. *Newcastle-on-Tyne*, Nb., Var. iv. Great pains have been taken to make this cs. as correct as possible. It was originally written in Dec. 1873 by Mr. William Henderson Dawson, 50 years acquainted with the dialect, then writer of the "Lokil Lettor" [local letter] in the *North of England Advertiser*, under the signature of "a Retiort Keelmin" [a retired boatman]. It was afterwards read to me by Mr. T. Mitcheson, a native of Rothbury, who had lived long at Cramlington (8 n-by-e.Newcastle, and 5 sw.Blyth), where he had become acquainted with pitmen at Blyth (:bléidh) and Bebside (2 w.Blyth). As he had been in London 10 years, during which he had tried to forget his dialectal habits, and had conquered the burr, he was afraid that he might not correctly recollect the pron., and in Jan. 1876, he procured me an interview with two pitmen, John Bryson, of Bebside Colliery, and Ralph Young, of Newcastle, native of Bebside. With them I went over the cs. as written phonetically from Mr. Mitcheson's dict. In Feb. 1876, I had an opportunity of going over the same with Mrs. Ferschel, a native of Newcastle, who had married a German and lived in London. I was very desirous to hear Mr. Dawson read it, and, having to go to Newcastle in 1879, I had arranged to see him, but unfortunately he was taken ill a few weeks previously, and died the day that I arrived, 27th Jan. Under these circumstances I went over the phonetic transcript I had made for Mr. Dawson, after correcting as above, with Mr. T. P. Barkas, of Newcastle, and the following is written from the copy thus corrected. But I have thought it best to give in the notes such variations and information as I received from the sources above named. Probably my ($a^1$, a) would have been heard by JGG. as (a, $a_1$) respectively, and this makes the usage agree with that of D 31, see ($a_1$), p. 539. Observe that natives say *Newcas·tle*, not *New·cas:tle*.

3. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, Var. vi, is now quite included in Nb., giving its name to one of the parliamentary divisions which extends to s. of Alnwick, the old borough having been abolished in 1886. But the town and liberties, which extend into Bw., have their own peculiar character, quite distinct from L., though on L. soil on the n. side of the Tweed. The cs. was pal. by AJE. in Feb. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. G. M. Gunn, a native, who lived there the first 20 years of his life, and has since visited it annually. The roughest part for the dialect and for social position is in the place called Greenses (:grinsɪz), where the fishermen live outside the walls. The next are Shaw's Lane and Walkergate Lane.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0. | S | *South Shields, Du.* | whE'*i* :dʒak hEz n*ii*$_1$ duuts. |
| | N | *Newcastle, Nb.* | h*ú*$_1$u :dʒon hEz ni dùts. |
| | B | *Berwick-upon-Tweed.* | wh*ái* :dʒ*oo*n hEz n*oo* duts. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | S | wiil nə'*i*bʊ, ɹ)el bĭEth laf at mæ'*i* nĭuuz. |
| | N | wiil nĭEbo⌊*rw*, ɹii ʊn h*i*m m*e* bĭEth la¹f ʊt dho⌊*r* nĭuuz |
| | B | weel nèbʊ, ɹuu ʊn hii me b*oo*th l*aa*f ʊt dh*is* nĭuuz |

S wii kɛ'z? it)s nii₁ matʊ—it)s nóudhʊ
N ʊ mə'in. whi keerz? dha¹t)s nóudhor
B ʊ máin. whee kéeʊz? dhat)s nèdhʊ

S hiiʊ nʌ dhɛɛ'ʊ.
N hiir nor dhéeo⌊r.
B hiiʊ nʊ dhéeʊ.

2. S nii₁bodi dii₁iz bikaaz dh)a làft ʊt, wi naa div'nt wi?
N fiúu mɛn dii₁i kà¹z dho)r là¹ft ʊt, wi naa¹ div'nt wʊ?
B fiuw mɛn dái bikɔz dhé)ʊ laaft at, wi kɛn div'nt wʊ?

S what wud mĭɛk dhim? it iz)int vɛ⌊ri lə'ikli is)t?
N wha¹t shu₁d mĭɛk dhʊm? it)s not va¹r₀i lə'ikli is)t?
B whot shʊd meek dhʊm? it iz'nt vɛri láikli iz)it?

3. S onihóu aa)l tɛl jʊ dhi faks ɔn)t, so dʒi₁st haad
N huusi·vor dhor)z dhʊ fa¹ks ʊv dhʊ kees, si dʒu₁st ha¹d
B huɛ·vʊ dhiiz iz dhʊ faks ʊ dhʊ kees, soo dʒist háuld

S jʊ dʒaa ʊn see nóut tiil aa)v dʒœ₁n. dʒi₁st hii:ʊ.
N jor whist, ʊn bi kwáiʊt tiv a¹)z dĭœ₁n. liz'n.
B jʊ nôiz, frind, ʊn bi kwáiʊt til a)m dan. lizin.

4. S aa)m saat'n a haad dhʊm see—su₁m ɔ dhɛm fooks
N aa¹)z saa⌊rt'n a¹ híior̀d dhʊm sɛɛ—su₁m ov dhor fooks
B a)m saat'n a híiʊd dhʊm sè—sam ʊ dhèm fook

S dhat wɛnt th⌊ruu dhi hool thiq f⌊rɔ)dhi fóoʊst dhɛ'ʊsɛlz,
N dhʊt wɛnt thruu dhi hĭɛl thiq fre dhʊ fo⌊rst dhorsɛlz,
B at wɛnt thrù dhʊ hool thiq frè dhʊ forʊst dha)sɛlz,

S dhat a dii₁d, sĭɛf ʊnĭœ₁f.
N dhat a did, sĭɛf ʊnĭœ₁f.
B dhat díd a, seef ʊnɛf.

5. S dhat dhi ju₁qest su₁n hizsɛl, a g⌊riit lad nə'in jii₁ʊz
N dhʊt dhʊ ju₁qist su₁n izsɛl, ʊ griit lad ʊ nə'in
B dhʊt dʊ jɛqest san issɛl, ʊ big ladi ʊ nái)in

S aad nĭuu hiz feedhʊ vʌ'is at jɛns fʊ⌊r aal it wiz sii
N nĭuu hiz fɛdhorz vóis ʊt wons, thoo it ·wa¹z si
B kɛnd iz fèdhʊ)z vóois ʊt wons, althoo it ·wɔz sʊ

S kwíiʊ⌊r an skwiiki, an aa wad t⌊ru₁st ·him tʊ tɛl dhi
N kwíior ʊn skwiiki, ʊn ad tru₁st him tʊ spii₁ik dhʊ
B kwíiʊ ʊn skwiikin, ʊn a wɔd trast im tʊ spiik dhʊ

S t⌊ruuth ɔni dee, ái, ·dhat a wad.
N truuth oni dɛɛ, ee, a¹ wa¹d'.
B trùth òni dee, ææ'i, a wɔd.

6. S an dhi aad wu₁man hʊsɛl il tɛl ɔni oo ɹʊ dhat lafs
N ʊn dhʊ a¹d wə'if horsɛl' ʊl tɛl oni o ɹʊ dhʊt la¹f
B ʊn dhʊ áuld wɜmʊn ʊsɛl ʊl tɛl òni on ɹʊ at laaf

S nuu, an tɛl ɹi st⌊rə'it ɔf, tii, widhuut ɔni bɔdhʊ,
N nú₁u, ʊn tɛl ɹʊ strə'it of', tii, widhuut mu₁tɟ bodhor,
B náu, ʊn tɛl ɹʊ ʊt wons ʊn aa, ʊdhut mɜtɟ bòdhʊ,

S if ɹ)el ooni ask ʊ, oo! winit shi?
N if ɹ)ʊl ooni a¹ks or, oo! winit shʊ?
B if ɹ)ʊl ònli aks ʊ, oo! wɜl shi noo?

7. S ɔnihóu shi tɛld ·mii ɔn)t whɛn ·aa akst ʊ, tuuth⌊ri
N ʊt li₁ist shi tɛld ·mii wɛn a¹ a¹kst or, tú₁u or
B ʊt òni reet shi táuld ·mii whɛn ar akst ʊ, tuu ʊ

S tə'imz óue, æ'i, did shi, an ·shii óut'nt tʊ bi ⌊raq
N thri₁i tə'imz óuʊr, did shi, ʊn shii óut'nt ti bi ra¹q
B thrii táimz áuʊ, did shʊ, ʊn ·shii áut'nt tʊ bi rooq

S ʊbuut sitɟ ʊ matʊ⌊r az dhis, what di ·ɹii thiqk?
N on sek ʊ póint ʊz dhis, wha¹t di ɹii thiqk?
B on sitɟ ʊ pôint ʊz dhis, whot d)ɹʊ thiqk?

8. S wèl, ʊz aa wʊz see)in, ·shii wʊd tɛl ɹʊ hóu whɛɛ'ʊ ʊn
N wiil, ʊz a¹ wʊz sɛɛʊn, ·shii wʊd tɛl ɹʊ hú₁u whéor ʊn
B wɛ'l, ʊz di wʊz see)in, shii wʊd tɛl ɹʊ huu whéeʊ ʊn

S whɛn shi fu₁nd dhi d⌊rœ₁k'n biist shi kaalz hʊ
N whɛn shi fu₁nd dhʊ dru₁qk'n biist dhʊt shi kaa¹lz or
B whɛn shi fand dhʊ drak'n biist ʊt shi kaaz ʊ

S hu₁zbʊnd.
N gu₁d ma¹n.
B hɜzbʊnd.

9. S shi swóoʊ shi saa ʊm widh ʊr aan áiz lái)in aal iz
N shi swor shi siid im wídh or aa¹n ə'iz lə'i)in strítɟt ʊt
B shi swúuʊ shi sìd im wi or áun diz lái)in stritɟt at

S laq lɛnth on dhi g⌊rœ₁nd in hiiz su₁ndɛ kleez, kloos
N fu₁l lɛnth on dhi gru₁nd in iz sœ₁ndʊ kuut, kloos
B fal lɛnth on dhʊ grand in iz gad sandiz koot, kloos

S bi dhi daa⌊r i dhʊ huus duun at dhi kaa'ʊnʊ⌊r ʊ
N bi dhʊ dor iv dhʊ hú₁us, du₁un ʊt dhʊ kornor ʊv
B bái dhʊ door ʊ dhʊ háus, duun ʊt dhʊ kóoʊnʊr ʊ

S dhon leen.
N ɹɔn lĭɛn.
B ɹɔn leen.

10. S hii wʊz whə'inin on, sez shii, fʊ⌊r aal dhi wʌʌ'ʊld
N hii wʊz whindjʊn ʊwee, sez shii, fʊr aa¹ dhʊ woorld
B hi wʊz krái)in ʊwee, seshii·, fʊr ʌ dhi worʊld

S lə'ɪk a púuʊ bee'ʊn, ʊ⌊r a lit'l las f⌊rɛtʊn.
N lə'ɪk a sɪ̄ik béorn, or ʊ bit la¹si in ʊ pɛt.
B láik ʊ béorn ʊt woz'nt wɛl', or ʊ lit'l lasi ut ʊ tɛmpʊ.

11. S an dhat hap'nd az shii an ʊ dóutʊ⌊r in laa kom
N ʊn dha¹t ha¹p'nt iz shɪ̄i ʊn or dóutor in laa¹ kom
B ʊn dhat hap'nt, az shii ʊn ʊ gʌd dáutʊr keem

S th⌊ruu dhi bak jee'ʊd f⌊rɛ hiqʊn uut dhi wɛt kleez
N thrúɪu dhi ba¹k jaa⌊rd fre hiqin úɪut dhʊ wet kleez
B thruu dhʊ bak jéeʊd free hiqin ut dhʊ wɛt kleez

S tʊ d⌊rə'i on ʊ wɛshin dee,
N ti drə'i on ʊ wɛshʊn dee,
B tʊ drái on ʊ wɛshin dee,

12. S wə'il dhʊ kɛt'l wʊz bóilʊn fʊ tii, won boni
N whə'il dhʊ kɛt'l wʊz bóilʊn for tɪ̄i, won fə'in brə'it
B whɛn dhʊ kɛt'l wʊz bôilin fʊ tii, woon fái)in bráit

S suɪmʊ⌊r ʌftʊníuɪn, ooni ʊ wìk sins kuɪm nɛkst
N suɪmor ʌftornĭœɪn, ooni ʊ wiik ʊgĭɛn nikst
B sʌmʊz ɛftʊnuun, oonli ʊ wiik ʊgoo kʌm nikst

S thʌʌ'ʊzdʊ.
N thorzdʊ kuɪmz.
B thʌrʊzdo.

13. S ʊn di)jʊ naa? a nivʊ léeʊnd oni méeʊ nʌ dhis ʊbuut
N ʊn di ji naa¹? a¹ nivor léornd oni méor nor dhis iv
B ʊn d)jʊ kɛn? a nevʊr leornd òni môʊ nʊ dhis ʊbut

S dhat matʊ⌊r uɪp tʊ dhis dee, ʊz shúuʊ)z ma nĭɛm)z
N dha¹t bizris œɪp tʊ dhʊ dee, ʊz shuur ʊz ma¹ nĭɛm)z
B dhat bizris til dhʊ dee ʊz shúuʊ)z mʊ neem)z

S :djʌk :shɛpʊd, ʊn a dinʊt want iidhʊ. dhéeʊ
N :djʌ¹k :shipord, ʊn a¹ dinʊ wa¹nt óudhor, dhéor
B :djʌk :shipʊd, ʊn a dev'nt wʊnt tʊ kɛn nèdhʊ. dhéeʊ

S nuu!
N núɪu!
B náu.

14. S ʊn nuu aa)m gaan jɛm tʊ hee mi suɪpʊ. guɪd niit,
N ʊn soo a¹)z ga¹n hĭɛm tʊ hee mi suɪpor. guɪd niit,
B ʊn soo a)m goon hoom tʊ ma sʌpʊ. gʌd náit,

S ʊn *dinit* bi si kw*i*k tʊ k⌊raa ó*u*)ʊ⌊r ʊ bod*i* ʊgĭɛn whɛn
N ʊn *dinʊ* bi si kw*i*k tʊ kraa[1] ó*ur* ʊ bod*i* ʊgĭɛn, whɛn
B ʊn dev'nt bi sʊ kw*i*k tʊ k*r*oo áu)ʊ*r* ʊ bod*i* ʊgeen, whɛn

S hi taaks ʊbuut dh*i*s A dh*i* t*u*ıdhʊ.
N hi taa[1]ks *iv* dh*i*s dha[1]t o*r* dhʊ t*u*ıdho*r*.
B hi tɑɑks ʊbut dh*i*s dhat ʊ dhʊ ɑdhʊ th*i*q.

15. S hii)z ʊ púʊ fĭœıl dhat bladhʊz w*i*dhuut ⌊riiz*i*n.
N hii)z nobʊt ʊ wiik fĭul dhʊt ba[1]b'lz w*i*dhuut r*i*ıiz'n.
B *it*)s ʊ wiik f*u*l' ʊt gab'lz ʊdhut *r*iiz'n.

S ʊn dhat)s mi last wəəd. g*u*ıd bá*i*.
N ʊn dha[1]t *iz* ma[1] la[1]st wo*r*d. g*u*ıd bə'*i*.
B ʊn dhat)s ma last wo*r*ʊd. gɑd b*ái*.

*Notes to the South Shields* cs., p. 645.

In giving the variants, the name of Rev. C. Y. Potts will be contracted into Po., of Mr. Pyke into Py.

0. *why*, Po. (wá*i*).—*Jack*, Po. (:dɟɑn).—*no*, Po. (nii).

1. *neighbour*, Po. (é*i*), but I heard (ə'*i*), and possibly this sound was meant by Po., no final *r*, but Py. said that he "felt it," that is, he felt his equivalent for (r), just as Londoners do. Po. says "it is lost in mere vocal breath" (') or (ʊ), when not preceding a vowel. When it does precede a vowel, it is apparently a very mild (r, r̥), written ⌊r; it is not burred, except by the pitmen, who burr strongly.—*my*, Po. (maa), Py. also gave (mə'*i*).—*cares*, Po. (kéɛʊz).—*matter*, Po. (mi*i*ıtʊ), which Py. says is Pilot talk; this variant will not be given again.—*it's neither here nor there* was a variant by Po, not corrected by Py.

2. *nobody*, Po. (niibad*i*), the (a) was I think a mistake for (ʊ), which I shall use without further notice.—*dies*, Po. (diiz).—*we*, Po. (*u*ıs).

3. *anyhow*, Po. (huuz*i*ıvʊ), this (ó*u*) pron. of U' final seemed peculiar to a few words, they also say (dhó*u*) thou, though they retain (huus). This resembles Rx. usage, D 33. It will not be noticed hereafter.—*just*, Po. (dɟ*u* st).—*hold*, the pitmen say (had), the pilots (hó*u*ld ɔn).—*done*, Po. (dıun). All the (œı) are due to Py.'s dictation, Po. allowed only (*u*ı).

4. *whole*, town (hool), pit (ɟɛl), which Po. gave.—*I did safe enough*, Po. (aa did sɟɛf en*ju*ıf).

5. *himself*, Po. (hiissɛl).—*years*, Po. (iiʊz).—*knew*, Po. (naad).—*father*, town (feedhʊ), pit. and Po. (fĭʊdhʊ).—*any day*, Po. (ɑni dee) and often.—*aye*, Po. (é*i*).

6. *without*, Po. (wivuut) and afterwards. Py. was strongly against this.—*ask*, Po. (aks).

7. *anyhow*, Po. (ɑnihuu).—*two or three times over*, Po. (twii ʊ th⌊rii téimz ó*u*)ʊ) or (ó*u*)ʊ⌊r ʊn ó*u*)ʊ⌊r ʊgĭɛn) over and over again.—*aye*, Po. (é*i*).—*such*, Po. (s*u*ıtɟ).

8. *well*, Po. (wiil).—*would*, Po. (wad).—*how*, Po. (huu).—*drunken*, Po. (d⌊r*u*ıqk'n), Py. 'the women say this.'—*beast*, makes the pl. (biists).—*husband*, Po. (hu zbʊnt).

9. *lying all his long length*, Po. (lái)in st⌊ritɟt at f*u*ıl ɛnth) lying stretched at full length; to this Py. objected that when a man is dead he is said to be (st⌊ritɟt uut) stretched out. Po. also gave as an alternative (lái)in aal hiz f*u*ıl ɛnth) lying all his full length.—*ground*, Po. (gr*u*ınd).—*he's* Po. (iz), which seems more usual.—*Sunday*, Po. (s*u*ındʊ), and so at the termination of all the weekday names.—*the*, Po. (dh*i*).—*yon*, Po. (dhɑn), Py. admitted both (dhon, dhondʊ) yon, yonder; it is a Scotticism I think.—*lane*, town (leen), country (lonin), pilot (lĭɛn).

10. *whining*, Po. (wéinin), Py. preferred (whindɟin).—*poor*, Po. (púuʊli).—*fretting*, Po. (in a frɛt).

11. *she*, Po. (hɑɑ'ʊ), meaning (hóʊ)

I think, *hor* for her.—*daughter-in-law*, the phrase (*su*ᵢn wə'*if*) son wife is not used.—*hanging*, Po. (haqin).—*dry*, Po. (drii).

12. *bonny*, Po. (*sun*-shéini) sunshiny.

13. *Shepherd*, town (:shepʊd), pilots (:shipʊd').—*don't*, Po. (dıvint).—*either*, Po. (*óu*dhʊ).

14. *home*, I think (hĭɛm) is more correct.—*have*, Po. (ha).—*quick*, Po. (fast).

15. *fool*, Po. (fĭuᵢl).—*blethers*, Po. (taaks on).—*my*, Po. (maa).—*word*, Po. (wAA'ʊd).—*goodbye*, Po. (*gu*ᵢd bA'*i*), Py. said that (sʊ laq') so long was also used.

*Notes to Newcastle* cs., p. 645.

The following was general information gleaned from my informants, whose names will be abbreviated thus, M. = Mitcheson, P. = the two pitmen, Bryson and Young, F. = Ferschell, B. = Barkas.

M. Initial (h, wh) are distinct. Master (meestor), the (*r*) scarcely audible and probably (*rw*), at any rate the labialisation attacked the preceding vowel, and converted it into (o) or (ɔ). The agriculturists are broader in speech, but not so vulgar as the pitmen. There is a countrified speech about them. There is a rising inflexion in speech, higher for questions than for simple affirmation. The (*r*) in (*r*at) had very few beats, but had a suspicion of (g) about it. The fracture (*i*ᵢi) is distinct, but there are words in which (ii) occurs as (tjiik) cheek, Ws. ceáce. In the same way (*ú*ᵢu) was distinct, as in (n*ú*ᵢu, s*ú*ᵢu) now, a sow, (s*ú*ᵢum) swim, that is, float, but (swim) is used for men swimming. Found, ground, had (*u*ᵢ), but round, about, house, had (uu), which did not to me appear to be (*ú*ᵢu). The long *i* is (ə'*i*) or (á¹*i*), not (*ái*). Short *a* is rather (a¹) than anything else. There was a tendency in M. to run into (æ), possibly, I thought, from London habits. The long vowel is (aa). Conjugation of verb substantive (a¹)m, dh*ú*ᵢu)z, hii)*z*, wii)*r*, ɔo)*r*, dhéo)*r*), here (ii) should probably be (*i*ᵢi). M. pronounced the words for 8, 18, 80 with (ə'*it*), and called *alehouse* (ɔɛl)hùs).

P. The French (*r*) is general, but is lost when no vowel follows. Thus they told me that in county (:dóoʊm) Durham, they say (:dɐam). About (:báaik) Berwick, they would say (liɛn). Through (th*rú*ᵢu) was almost (th*róu*). (h*ú*ᵢu d)ɔʊ dii) how do you do, is not much used in the district, the phrase is (h*ú*ᵢu aa ɔi) how are you, or at full (h*ú*ᵢu aa ɔi gitin on dhʊ d*éi*?) how are you getting on to-day. *I am* (a¹)m) is pretty frequent, but *I iz* (a¹)z) is the regular expression. They never use I be, I beant, we'm. In (*u*ᵢ) the lips are very open, almost as much as for (a) [yet the sound was not at all (*u*ₒ) or (*æ*)]. The (*oo*) is sometimes spoken with lips as close as for (u) [but remains distinctly (*oo*)]. *Thou* in addresses is used in anger, it is disrespectful, but may be used from a mother to a child or a father to a baby, he would not use it when the child was ten or twelve years old. *Goodbye* is not used, they say (*gu*d dee) good day, when parting, and (*gu*ᵢd móʊnʊn) good morning in meeting. To children principally (ta¹ ta¹) is said in parting, but it is also used by men, who are beginning to say (sa¹ la¹q) so long [a salutation which I have heard of in the colonies]. There is a slight difference between the farming and mining people. The former have a more sluggish way of speaking with a drawl. [As these men spoke very well, with the exception of (aa) for *er* in *certain*, etc., I asked if they spoke so in the pit. They said] "Oh no! in the pit you must speak as they speak or you will be laughed at. We are allowed to speak properly at the weekly meetings of the Trades Union." [They had come to London in connection with that Union.]

F. If you say (dıv'nt wi) don't we, the *we* refers only to the speaker and person addressed, if you say (dinit wi), the *we* is the speaker and any others. (a¹)z) is more frequent than (a¹)m). (wéif) is a woman, *wench* not used, (la¹s) not (la¹si) even for a little girl. (bodh*or*) is much used. (didn't *óut* ti ʊv d*iu*n) didn't ought to have done = ought not to have done. (ma¹n) is generally employed for husband, which, however, is used. In (ma¹ *su*ᵢnz wáif, mi d*óu*torz ma¹n), my son's wife, my daughter's husband, observe the (ma¹) masculine (mi) feminine. Mrs. Fer-

schell's father, William Carr, then at Glass House Hill Works, Southwick, Sunderland, in 1876 sent me this analysis of the *burr*: "If you let your tongue lie in your mouth quite still, with the tip just touching your teeth, and make a noise from the throat (not by the nose at all), and your mouth moderately open, you will produce the burr just as we Newcastle folk have." He was sixty, a native, and natural dialect speaker. (g*u*d bá*i*) is not general, (ta¹ ta¹) is much used both among men and women; they also say (sʊ lɔq), which F. had chiefly heard in Sunderland. (*ɹu*) is weak, (*ɹii*) is strong. *quarrel* = (kaa¹ˌ*r*l). They say (*lí*ˌit ní*ˌ*it brá¹it fá¹it) light night bright fight.

B. To Mr. Barkas I owe almost all the (œˌ) [the others, except M. at times, gave (*u*ˌ) only], and also nearly all the final (-*or*). He also confirmed the very common use of (ta¹ ta¹) among grown-up people.

The following are the special notes to the cs. distinguishing the variants of my different informants by the same initials as before.

0. *no*, P. (nee), F. (ni).—*doubts*, F. (duuts), ? (d*ú*ˌuts).

1. *neighbour*, P. (nə'*i*- nee-), F. (nâ*i*-).—*this*, P. (dhis), F. (dho*r*).—*mine*, P. almost (mœ'in).—*who*, F. (w*i* i).—*cares*, P. (keeʊz).—*neither*, P. (nóudhor, nə'idhor).

2. *they are*, M. F. (dhor), P. (dhéiˌʊ).—*don't*, B. (div'nt) or (dín't) both used, see F.'s preliminary observations.—*very*, P. F. (va¹*ri*).

3. *of the*, F. (*i* dhʊ).—*till*, P. (*ti*v), B. (til) is better.—*done*, M. F. (di*u*n), P. B. (dĭœˌn).

4. *I am*, B. (a¹m, a¹z) equally often, P. (a¹z).—*certain*, M. and P. no (*r*), B. (*r*).—*heard*, B. (hiiord), and most of the (-*or*) are due to B.—*folks*, P. (fook).—*that did I*, B. put *I did*.—*safe*, P. (seef), saying (sɪɛf) was used further north.—*enough*, P. (ʊnĭuf).

5. *that*, F. (dhit).—*nine*, F. (nâ¹in).—*though*, P. F. (tho*o*), B. says (dho*o*) is equally usual.—*was*, F. (wʊz) unemphatic.—*trust*, F. inclined to (*tru*ˌst).—*aye*, P. (ee), F. (éei), B. or (â¹i).—*I would*, P. (a¹ waa¹d', wà¹d'), mere emphasis.

6. *straight*, F. (strá¹it).—*without*, M. (wiv-), F. B. (widh-).

7. *oughtn't*, B. seemed to say (â*u*t'nt), but (ó*u*-) was heard from the others and is most likely.—*such*, M. (s*i*k), F. B. (sek).

8. *how, where, and when*, F. (*ú*ˌu weer ʊn wɛn), *h* inserted by B.—*drunken*, P. (d*ru*ˌk'n), B. (drœˌk'n) sometimes, but more often (dr*u*ˌqk'n).—*good man*, that is, husband, so in original.

9. *stretched*, P. with (ii) or (*i*), F. B. with (*i*).—*Sunday*, B. with (œˌ).—*coat*, M. (k*oo*t), F. (k*ú*ut) with a very faint indication of a fracture like (k*ú*ˌut).—*lane*, P. (leen), objecting to (lɪɛn), B. (lonʊn); F. (lonʊn) is used in Durham, Gateshead, etc.

10. *whindging*, this was the P.'s word, F. says it's the cry of a sick fretful child, B. says (whə'inʊn) whining is quite as common, F. says it is used for children crying and differs from *whindging*; (bleerʊn) is also crying as a child.—*world*, B. with (oo), the rest with (o).—*bit* inserted by B.

11. *day*, B. (dɛɛ), the rest (dee).

12. *afternoon*, B. (-nìœˌn), the rest (-n*i*un).—*only a week against next Thursday comes*, P. put *a week since* (sins) *next Thursday*.

13. *more than this*, I seemed to hear only (meə nə dhis) from P.—*do not want*, M. had (wa¹nt tʊ), but this *to* was not in the original and was struck out by B.—*there now*, F. says the phrase is very common at Newcastle.

14. *so*, M. (sii), original and P. (s*oo*).—*going*, P. (ga¹n), original and F. (ga¹nʊn).—*to have my supper*, so P. F., original (ti s*u*ˌp).—*quick*, P. (shaa¹p).

*Notes to Berwick-upon-Tweed* cs., p. 645.

0. *no*, 3½ miles beyond they say (nee).—*doubts*, the (u) quite short; when (uu) is said, Berwickers think the speaker comes from Yo. or Cu., of which (uu) is a mark to them.

1. *neighbour*, there was no (*r*), but it seemed as if the speaker opened his mouth at the end; this loss of (*r*) is a marked feature.—*he*, the (ii) very sharp, not at all the (*ii*) or (*i*,i).—*both*, the (*oo*) inclined towards (u).—*laugh*, Berwickers never use (kh) at all, they have the greatest difficulty in pronouncing it, notwithstanding their uvular (*r*).

2. *few*, the mouth seemed to close up to a (w), but I am not certain that it was intentional.—*die*, I have generally written (*ái*), which is, I believe, the regular form of the diphthong. In a few cases, which I shall note, I wrote (ɔ'*i*), but I have given (*ái*) in the text uniformly.—*we ken*, in B. they use *ken* for *savoir*, and *know*, which is rather refined, for *connaître*.—*them*, they never drop the (dh), or rather never use the form *hem* with omitted aspirate.—*what should*, even emphatically, a boy would say (shad,ʊ noo) should I not?—*very*, this (*r*) was light, but still marked, and the trill of the uvula had much the effect of a tongue trill.

3. *these is*, they never think of saying (aa) are, but this is a peculiar case.—*friend*, (m*ái* m*a*n) is more common.—*I am*, they never use *I is* (a)z) in B., they will say (wɪ wi) with us, and never use (ʜaz) for *us*.

4. *certain*, this is refined, (shûʊ) is the common word.—*say*, no inclining to (*i*) at the end.—*that*, (at) is the regular form.—*first*, this inserted (ʊ) is regular, as (wo*r*ʊld, tha*r*ʊzdee).—*enough*, the form *enow* is not known.

5. *nine*, pron. as a dissyllable.—*squeaking*, the distinction between the participle and gerund is not known at B., nor apparently in Nb. generally.—*aye*, this one word (ææ *i*) is the mark of a Berwicker.

6. *now*, they say (nuu) at B. The final U' and its congeners are only partially treated as in D 33, L. now, thou, to bow, a barley mow, the prow of a ship, a row (noise), a vow, have (*áu*), but how however cow brow shower sow *s*. coward cower power have (uu, ù).—*at once*, the usual phrase, *straight* is (str*ái*t).—*and all*, regularly used for *too*, a word unknown to the lower classes.—*bother*, the word is much used.

7. *I asked* (a*r* akst), observe the euphonic (*r*) after (a) = I.—*two or three*, so at Spittal (1 se. Berwick), on s. of the Tweed, but in the Liberties of B., they say (t*áu* ʊ th*rái*); a few miles n. of the Liberties they used a strongly trilled (.r), and cannot pronounce (*r*).—*wrong*, the (*r*) was good and strong with no trace of (*w*). Observe the (oo), which I seemed to hear, not (*oo*). Mr. G. said that (oo), or, as he conceived it, (*oo*), long, is heard in broad, God, cod, on, among, along, strong; but road has (o), so that a broad road becomes (ʊ brood rod), or, as Mr. G. conceived it, (ʊ br*oo*d rɔd), while a fishing rod is (rood).

8. *husband*, this is a polite usage, (ʊ' m*a*n) her man is the regular expression.

9. *eyes*, *lying*, *by*, were noted as (ɔ'*i*) in place of (*ái*), which I think was intended.—*full*, so also (pɑl) pull.—*coat*, rather between (koot, kuut).—*by* (b*ái*), meaning near, (b*i*) applied to the instrument.—*yon*, much used, never becomes (dhon).

10. *crying*, this is the word almost invariably used for making a noise of weeping, (whimpurin) is also used for a fretting child.—*says she*, contracted into *sayshe*.

11. *dry*, this was noted *drai* (drɔ'*i*).

12. *when*, the word *while* is absolutely never used.—*tea*, at Spittal and Tweedmouth, s. of the Tweed, but within the Liberties they use (t*ái*) for *tea*, and (m*ái*) for *me*, and (j*áu*) for *you*. In both B. and Spittal, especially the latter, (hini) honey is a common term of endearment.—*fine*, dissyllable, as *nine* (n*ái*jin), par. 5.—*bright*, similarly night, sight, light, fight, have (*ái*) with a sharp glide on to the *t*.

13. *business*, (meetʊ) matter is the common word.—*the day*, that is, *to-day*, and so the morn, the night, as in L.

15. *without*, (widhut) with a short vowel, could also be used.—*good-bye*, here also (bɔ'*i*) was noted, the phrase is common; (ta taa') is used among men, but not much, *so long* unknown.

## Twenty-two Interlinear dt.

Var. i, n.Cu., is illustrated in Nos. 21 and 22, pp. 562, 563, 602. We begin therefore here with

Var. ii, n.Du., Nos. 1 to 6.

1. *Edmundbyers* (17 wnw.Durham). In io. but with full explanations by the Rector, Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-haf), who came there in 1856, and was still there in 1886. He states that this district is bounded by three watersheds, and includes the villages of Cold Dowley, Castleside, Muggleswick, Daskerby, Edmundbyers, Ruffside, and Hunstanworth in Du. and Blanchland in Nb., and that communication tended rather towards Upper Weardale and Allendale than eastwards. The boundaries of his district are Allansford on the e., Upper Allendale w., and Weardale s., and not further than Minster Acres n., beyond that the influence of Tyneside begins to be felt.

2. *Lanchester* (7 nw.Durham). The place was really a farm house, called (:klik·emin·), or something like it, 10 nw.Durham. The informant, Mr. Robson, was a bailiff or overseer, whose assistance was obtained for me in Feb. 1879, by Rev. Canon Greenwell of Durham (who befriended me dialectally in many ways), but as he did not arrive till late in the evening, and as I had to return to Newcastle that night, I was much hurried. Particularly the diphthong here and at the time written as (*óu*) was not clear to me, and may have been (*ú*ᵢu) or (ʊ́ʊu) as in St. John's Weardale. Also (lɛrn, mɛɛr) were not approved of either by Canon Greenwell or Robson, and I inclined to (lɛrₒn, mɛɛrₒ) at the time. Perhaps indistinct (le°rn, mee°rₒ) might be better. Pal. from dict. by AJE.

3. *Annfield Plain*, near Linz Green (12 nw.Durham), Vic. of Collierly-under-Lanchester, St. Thomas's Vicarage. It is an extensive parish, chiefly of colliers, and the vicarage was so difficult of access (when I was at Newcastle in January, 1879, snow was on the ground, and the vicarage lay four miles from a station, road uphill, with no conveyance), that I was obliged to renounce seeing the old learned vicar, Dr. Blythe Hurst, since deceased, to whom I am indebted for two dt. practically identical (one by H. Leslie, teacher at the National School), and a wl. with a glossary of Tyneside. He had spoken the dialect himself for the first 36 years of his life.

4. *Bishop Middleham* (8 sse.Durham). Through the kindness of the vicar, Rev. C. A. Cartledge, I was taken to see two natives, George Lazenby and William Greenwell, from whose dictation I pal. this dt. They told me that the talk used to be much broader than it is now, and that the school had knocked up the dialect.

5. *Kelloe* (7 se.Durham), pal. by AJE. from the dict. of R. Heightley, a tailor, then living at Bishop Middleham, the vicar of which, Rev. C. A. Cartledge, introduced me to him. Heightley had a decided burr (*r*), but it was very faint.

6. *Sunderland*, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Taylor Potts, 17, Derwent Street, Bishop Wearmouth. Sunderland contains Bishop and Monk Wearmouth. Mr. Potts informed me that I need not pay any attention to Sunderland as furnishing dialectal information, for it was a Scotch colony about the time of the Commonwealth, when it became a port, and most of the people are descended from the Scotch. Most of the queer pronunciations are not native. The Irish are also numerous and mixed up with the 120,000 people that live within the bounds of the union. Hence we have the Scotch element, the Irish element, and the sailor element. But Bishop Wearmouth is ancient, and there are descendants of the old families there. Mr. Brockie (22, Olive Street, an antiquary, to whom I had an introduction) said that Mr. Taylor Potts was a representative of these old settlers. Mr. Taylor Potts rather unceremoniously rejected a wl. given me by the late Mr. Tom Taylor (editor of *Punch*), who told me he "was born there, and lived and was educated there till he went to Glasgow University," saying that Mr. T. Taylor had left young, and that his memory had deceived him, thus Mr. T. T. gave *nā-ām* = (nécem), and Mr. T. P. (nîam) for name. As a specimen of genuine Sunderland Mr. T. P. gave me as the cry of a woman watching two other women fighting: (deg)ʊr in )dhʊ mɛl)ʊr)iin, :bɛt), dig = hit her in the mid of her eyes, Bet.

Var. iii, sw.Nb., Nos. 7 to 9.

7. *Hexham* 1, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Joseph Wright, Keeper of the Natural History Museum at Newcastle, a native.

8. *Hexham* 2, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Dobson, native of Hexham, but Master of the Marine School at North Shields. Although the burr is strong at Hexham, Mr. D. could not pronounce it; hence I have supplied the (*r*) from No. 7.

9. *Haltwhistle*, the town, 14 w.Hexham, and hence near to the Cu. b., written in io. with explanations by Rev. W. Howchin, conjecturally pal. by AJE. from these explanations and Nos. 7 and 8. It is apparently a town speech, and hence, perhaps, the predominance of (œ$_1$). Mr. H. says communication, education, etc., have caused great diversity in the pron.

Var. iv, se.Nb., Nos. 10 to 13.

10. *Stamfordham*, formerly called and still known to the peasantry as Stannerton (12 nw.Newcastle), pal. conj. by AJE. from the writing in io. by Rev. John F. Bigge, vicar, and said to apply to a few miles n., 2 miles e., and only 1 mile w. and s. At one mile w. begins the Hexham Var. iii, the limits of which are thus fixed.

11. *Whalton*, with Belsay and Bolam (5, 8, and 7 sw. and wsw.Morpeth), pal. conj. by AJE. from the io. by Rev. J. Walker, rector, made from notes by Mr. Robert Bewick, of Whalton, with long explanations.

12. *Newcastle*, pal. in Feb. 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. William Lyell, secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

13. *North Shields* (8 ne.Newcastle), at the mouth of the Tyne, on the n or Nb. side the river, pal. in Feb. 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. J. Edington, secretary to the Free Library there.

Var. v, mid Nb., Nos. 14 to 21.

14. *Rothbury* (13 nw.Morpeth), pal. by AJE. Feb. 1879 from the dict. of Mr. Andrew Scott of Debdon farm, 2 m. off, a natural dialect speaker, procured for me by the late Rev. Dr. G. H. Ainger, then rector.

15. *Snitter* (3 w-by-n.Rothbury), serving also for Whittingham (8 w.Alnwick), pal. Feb. 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Allen of Whittingham, a remarkably intelligent man.

16. *Harbottle* (17 wsw.Alnwick), on the w. b. of Nb., written in io. by Dr. F. Richardson there resident, and conj. pal. by AJE. Dr. R. says: "This village is situated at the base of the Cheviots. The inhabitants of those hills to the w. are L. Scotch, and of course from their proximity for a lengthened period it is difficult to distinguish in many words whether or not the pron. has been modified by the intercourse. I have endeavoured to eliminate this element, and hope I have succeeded."

17. *Warkworth* (5 se.Alnwick), representing e.Nb. from Morpeth to Alnwick, pal. in Apr. 1879, and corrected in May, 1887, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. Dawson Ridley, engineer, native, but resident generally at Coatham (21 nw.Whitby, Yo., on the coast), accompanied by a wl.

18. *Alnwick*; written, March, 1879, in io. by Mr. Robert Middlemas, solicitor, Alnwick, and by him taken to represent not only Alnwick, but Felton (8 s. Alnwick), Rothbury (10 sw.A.), Wooler (15 nw.A.), Belford (13 nnw.A.), Ellingham (7 n.A.), and Bamborough (14 n-by-e.A.). This seems rather too wide a range. Certainly all these places do not use (a) for U. Wooler and Belford do, Rothbury uses (œ$_1$, *u*$_1$). But probably the town of Alnwick uses (a), for Mr. M., president of a Young Men's Society at Alnwick, sent me a paper read by Mr. George Thompson before it, on the "Northumbrian Vowel Sounds (applicable solely to Alnwick)," of which I give the substance in the notes, p. 668. It must be recollected that Alnwick is a town of 20,000 inhabitants, and hence speaks "fine." Rev. James Blythe, Greenville, Alnwick, also gave me a cs. in io., said to represent n.Nb. The variants are very slight, and are given in the notes. Both conj. pal. by AJE.

19. *Whittingham* (:wh*it*indɪʊm) (6 w.Alnwick), conj. pal. by AJE. from the version written in io. by Mr. William Dixon, draper, of Whittingham, whom I heard read out a dialect story at an entertainment at Rothbury.

20. *Embleton* 1 (6 ne Alnwick), representing the peasant as distinct from the fishing population, written, 1879, in io. by Rev. M. Creighton, then vicar, and conj. pal. by AJE. Mr. C. had the greatest difficulty with the (*r*), which he describes as "a guttural *oo* prolonged; during the prolongation the tip of the tongue is turned up towards the palate, and is drawn along from the front of the mouth to the uvula." Hence he writes *oowĭt*, *rwooŭd*, *thwoo*, *oowĕd*, right, road, through, red. As (*rw*) is the regular sign for the labialised uvular *r*, I indicate this variety, which I have not heard, by ($rw_1$). If the description is correct, it is complicated with (ʀw). Embleton is the head of a scattered district, where many families have lived for generations. The agricultural population of Nb. is shifting and constantly reinforced by Scotch. My pal. is merely the best I could do from the indications given.

21. *Embleton* 2, the fishing population, see No. 20, written in io. by Rev. C. E. Green, in 1879, then curate, conj. pal. by AJE. This place has had a steady population, subject to very little change. The vicar considered that the *r* was ordinary (*r*), and not the ($rw_1$) quasi (ʀw) of the land peasantry. Mr. Green has also a difficulty with this sound, writing *'rrīte*, *gurrl*, *yondo'rr*, *'rrode*, *th'roo*, *rred*, *'rrong*, *drr'ucken*, *sh'rrivull'd*, *vah'ĕ*, *poo'or*, *tr'oo*, right, girl, yonder, road, through, red, wrong, drunken, shrivelled, very, poor, true.

Var. vi, n.Nb., No. 22.

22. *Wooler* (:$u_1$lʊr) (15 nw.Alnwick), written 1879 in io. with many explanations, by Matthew T. Culley, Esq., of Coupland Castle, Wooler, and pal. conj. therefrom by AJE. Mr. C. says, "The *u* is pronounced as in c*u*t or b*u*tter, the other pron. ending somewhat n. of Newcastle. The dialect bears a strong resemblance to the Scotch of Bw. and Rx., but with a strong guttural accent entirely different to the thrilling sound of the Scotch, and the R is pron. with a guttural difficult or impossible to describe on paper—*barrel* would become *barl* (baar*l*), *baron barn* (baar*n*), but the sound of the letter it is impossible to give. H strongly pron. A very broad like *aw* (*a*). *I* as the personal pronoun, *aw* (*a*), and elided [?] before a vowel or before *will*, as *aw'll* (*aa*)l). *Do* pron. *dee* (dii). *I say* beginning a sentence would be *awsa* (*ai* sʊ)—accent on the penultim. U has the sound of French *u* in syllables like *soon*, but not in *moon* [? mɪan]. Scotch [i.e. L.] is spoken as soon as the border is crossed, and there is a slight admixture of it here." On this I found my n. *sŏŏm* line 9. Mr. Culley was mistaken as to the use of ($u_1$). We find it at Embleton, and hence I draw the line between Embleton and Wooler. In another letter Mr. C. adds: "The guttural *gh* is very mildly pron. compared to what it is on the Scotch side of the border. The sharp *u* in *soon*, etc. [? his French *u*] is more Scotch than Northumbrian, but the two dialects are somewhat mixed. *U* is pron. as in *but*, *cut*, in *bull*, *pull*, *full* (bʊl, pʊl, fʊl)." In May, 1883, Mr. Kirkup, who had been pupil teacher at Yetholm, Rx., only 1 m. from the Nb. border, read me this dt., but seemingly had mixed up Nb. and Rx. I give his variants in the notes.

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As, unfortunately, interviews with all my *vivâ voce* informants were short and hurried, and as I had no opportunities for revision, while the speech was entirely strange to me, and therefore liable to be misheard at first, and as I had in the majority of cases to puzzle out the pronunciation from a great variety of orthographies by the aid of what I had been really able to hear, I must ask indulgence if my palaeotypic rendering is not quite so perfect as could be desired, and contrasts unfavourably with the minute accuracy of JGG.'s and TH.'s contributions.

* *vivâ voce* pal. by AJE.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1 | *Edmondbyers*, Var. ii, p. 653. | sii | a | SEE, | mEEts, |
| | *2 | *Lanchester*, Var. ii, p. 653. | soo | aa | see, | meets, |
| | 3 | *Annfield Plain*, Var. ii, p. 653. | sii | a | see, | marʊz, |
| | *4 | *Bishop Middleham*, Var. ii, p. 653. | soo | a | séeʊ, | méeʊts, |
| | *5 | *Kelloe*, Var. ii, p. 653. | soo | a | see, | méeʊts, |
| | *6 | *Sunderland*, Var. ii, p. 653. | | a | see, | |
| | *7 | *Hexham* 1, Var. iii, p. 654. | soo | a¹ | see, | |
| | *8 | *Hexham* 2, Var. iii, p. 654. | soo | a | sii, | maroz, |
| | 9 | *Haltwhistle*, Var. iii, p. 654. | see | a | see, | la¹dz, |
| | 10 | *Stamfordham*, Var. iv, p. 654. | soo | a¹ | see, | meets, |
| | 11 | *Whalton*, Var. iv, p. 654. | sóoʊ | a¹ | see, | ma¹rʊz, |
| | *12 | *Newcastle*, Var. iv, p. 654. | soo | a¹ | see, | meets, |
| | *13 | *North Shields*, Var. iv, p. 654. | soo | aa | séeʊ, | meets, |
| | *14 | *Rothbury*, Var. v, p. 654. | soo | a | see, | meets, |
| | *15 | *Snitter*, Var. v, p. 654. | soo | a | séeɪ, | meets, |
| | 16 | *Harbottle*, Var. v, p. 654. | soo | a¹ | see, | ladz, |
| | *17 | *Warkworth*, Var. v, p. 654. | sii | a¹ | see, | la¹dz, |
| | 18 | *Alnwick*, Var. v, p. 654. | soo | a | see, | meets, |
| | 19 | *Whittingham*, Var. v, p. 655. | sii | a | see, | nə'iborz, |
| | 20 | *Embleton* 1, Var. v, p. 655. | so | a | see, | mĭeets, |
| | 21 | *Embleton* 2, Var. v, p. 655. | so | a | séeʊ, | méeʊts, |
| | 22 | *Wooler*, Var. vi, p. 655. | SEE | d·)sʊ, | | kalʊnts, |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | JʊI | séi | nuu | dhʊt | a)z | r$_{o}$iit | ʊbuut | dhat | bit |
| 2 | JʊI | séi | nóu | dhat | à)m | ri$_{1}$it | ʊbóut | dhat | lit'l |
| 3 | JʊI | sii | nuu | dhʊt | aa)z | riit | ʊbuut | dhat | lit'l |
| 4 | JʊI | see | nóu | dhʊt | aa)z | réit | ʊbóut | dhat | lit'l |
| 5 | JʊI | see | nóu | dhat | a)m | réit | ʊbóut | dhat | lit'l |
| 6 | JʊI | sii | nɜ'u | dhʊt | à)m | rit | ʊbóut | dhat | lit'l |
| 7 | JʊI | si$_{1}$i | nuu | dha¹t | à¹)m | réit | ʊbuut | dha¹t | lit'l |
| 8 | JʊI | sii | nóu | dhʊt | a)m | riit | ʊbuut | dhat | lit'l |
| 9 | JʊI | si$_{1}$i | nœ$_{1}$'u | dha¹t | a)z | réit | ʊbùt | dha¹t | lit'l |
| 10 | Ji | sii | nuu | it | a¹)m | riit | a¹buut | dha¹t | bit |
| 11 | Jo | sii | nu | it | a¹)z | riit | ʊbuut | dhat | lit'l |
| 12 | JʊI | sii | nú$_{1}$u | dhat | a¹)m | riit | ʊbuut | dhat | lit'l |
| 13 | JʊI | séi | nóu | dhʊt | à)m | ʀiit | ʊbuut | dhat | lit'l |
| 14 | Ju$_{1}$u | séei | nú$_{1}$u | dhat | a)m | réit | ʊbú$_{1}$ut | dhat | lit'l |
| 15 | Ju | see | nóu | dhat | a)m | ráit | ʊbuut | dhʊ | lit'l |
| 16 | Ji | séei | nuu | dhat | a¹)m | réit | ʊbuut | dhat | lit'l |
| 17 | JʊI | si$_{1}$i | nú$_{1}$u | dhʊt | a¹)z | rit | ʊbù$_{1}$t | dha¹t | lit'l |
| 18 | Ji | sii | nóu | dhat | a)m | réit | ʊbuut | dhat | lit'l |
| 19 | Je | séi | nóu | dhat | a)m | rə'it | ʊbuut | dhʊt | lit'l |
| 20 | JʊI | sii | nú$_{1}$u | | a)m | ru$_{1}$ə'it | ʊbuut | dhat | lit'l |
| 21 | JʊI | sii | nuu | dhat | a)m | rə'it | ʊbuut | dhet | lit'l |
| 22 | Ji | sii | nuu | | d)m | rɛ'ikht | ʊbuut | dhat | bit |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | lăs | kumin | fr$_{o}$ʊ | dhʊ | skíul | ɟondhʊr$_{o}$. |
| 2 | lasi | kumen | from | dhʊ | skíʊl | dhondʊr$_{o}$. |
| 3 | las | kumin | fro | dhʊ | skíul | dhondʊr$_{o}$. |
| 4 | las | kumʊn | free | dhʊ | skíʊl | ɟondʊr. |
| 5 | las | kumʊn | free | dhʊ | skíʊl | dhondʊr. |
| 6 | thiq | kamʊn | fro | dhʊ | skíœ$_{1}$l. | |
| 7 | las | kumin | fro | dhʊ | skíul | dhondʊr. |
| 8 | las | kœ$_{1}$mʊn | fre | dhʊ | skĭœ$_{1}$l | ɟondʊr. |
| 9 | las | kœ$_{1}$mʊn | frʊ | dhʊ | skíiʊl | ɟondʊr$_{o}$. |
| 10 | geerl | kœ$_{1}$min | free | dhʊ | skíuʊl. | |
| 11 | lasi | kœ$_{1}$min | free | dhʊ | skul | ɟonʊr. |
| 12 | las | ku$_{1}$mʊn | fo)dhʊ | | skíœ$_{1}$l | dhondʊr. |
| 13 | las | ku$_{1}$mʊn | fʍe | dhʊ | skĭœ$_{1}$l | dhondʊ. |
| 14 | las | ko$^{1}$min | frwom | dhʊ | skuul | ɟondor. |
| 15 | lasi | ku$_{1}$min | frʊm | dhʊ | skuul | ɟondor. |
| 16 | lasi | kœ$_{1}$min | free | dhʊ | skíul | ɟondor. |
| 17 | las | kœ$_{1}$mʊn | fre | dhʊ | skíul | ɟondʊr. |
| 18 | garl | kœ$_{1}$min | free | dhʊ | skuul | dhondor. |
| 19 | lasi | kamin | free | dhʊ | skuul | ɟondʊr. |
| 20 | gĭorl | kœ$_{1}$min | frw$_{1}$om | dhʊ | skúuʊl | ɟondor. |
| 21 | garl | kœ$_{1}$min | free | dhʊ | skíul | ɟondor. |
| 22 | lasi | kamin | frEE | dhʊ | skyy$_{1}$l | uutbE'i. |

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| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | 1 | shi)z | ganʊn | duun | dhʊ | róoʊd | dhiiʊr$_{o}$ | thru | dhʊ |
| | 2 | shi$_{1}$i)z | ganʊn | dóun | dhʊ | rood | dhee'r | thróu | dhʊ |
| | 3 | shʊ)z | ganʊn | doon | dhʊ | róoʊd | dhéeʊr | thruu | dhʊ |
| | 4 | shii)z | ganʊn | dóun | dhʊ | róoʊd | dhEE'ʊ | thruu | dhʊ |
| | 5 | shii)z | ganʊn | dóun | dhʊ | róoʊd | dhéeʊ | throo | dhʊ |
| | 6 | shì)z | gan | dóun | dhʊ | rood | dhéeʊr | thruu | dhʊ |
| | 7 | shi$_{1}$i)z | ganin | duun | dhʊ | rood | dhéeʊr | thruu | dhʊ |
| | 8 | shii)z | ganʊn | duun | dhʊ | rood | dhœr | thru | dhi |
| | 9 | shii)z | ganʊn | duun | dhʊ | r$_{o}$úuʊd | dhéʊr$_{o}$ | thr$_{o}$œ'$_{1}$u | dhʊ |
| | 10 | shii)z | ga$^{1}$nin | duun | dhʊ | rood | dheer | thruu | dhʊ |
| | 11 | shii)z | ga$^{1}$n | duun | dhʊ | róoʊd | dhʊr | thríu | dhʊ |
| | 12 | shi$_{1}$i)z | ga$^{1}$nʊn | duun | dhʊ | rood | dheer | thruu | dhʊ |
| | 13 | shii)z | gAAn | duun | dhʊ | ʍood | dhéeʊ | thʍuu | dhʊ |
| | 14 | shii)z | goo)in | dú$_{1}$un | dhʊ | rwood | dhéeor | thrú$_{1}$u | dhʊ |
| | 15 | shii)z | gaan | ʊlaq | dhʊ | rwood | dheer | thrú$_{1}$u | dhʊ |
| | 16 | shii)z | ganʊn | duun | dhʊ | rod | dheer | thróu | dhʊ |
| | 17 | shʊ)z | ga$^{1}$nʊn | dú$_{1}$un | dhʊ | rood | dheer | thrú$_{1}$u | dhʊ |
| | 18 | shii)z | gan | duun | dhʊ | rood | dheer | thróu | dhʊ |
| | 19 | shii)z | gan | duun | dhʊ | rood | dheer | thróu | dhʊ |
| | 20 | shii)z | goonʊ | duun | dhʊ | rw$_{1}$úuʊd | dhĭeer | thrw$_{1}$uu | dhʊ |
| | 21 | shi)z | gaain | duun | dhʊ | rood | dhéeor | thruu | dhʊ |
| | 22 | shii)z | gáʊn | duun | ɟon | rAAd | | thruu | dhʊ |

1 riid géʊt ʊ dhʊ lɛft han sáid ʊ dhʊ wee.
2 rᵢid géʊt ʊ dhʊ lɛft an sə'id ʊv dhʊ rood.
3 riid gjet ʊ dhʊ lɛft hand séid ʊ dhʊ wee.
4 reed [? riid] geʊt ʊ dhʊ lɛft an sáid
5 reed [? riid] géʊt ʊ dhʊ lɛft an sáid ʊ dhʊ lonʊn.
6 riid gía¹t on dhʊ lɛft hand sə'id ʊ dhʊ lonin.
7 riid gíʊt ʊ dhʊ lɛft hand sə'id ʊ dhʊ wee.
8 riid ɹet, ʊ dhʊ lɛft hand sə'id ʊ dhʊ wee.
9 rₒiid ɹet, on dhʊ lɛft han séid ʊ dhʊ wee.
10 riid ɹet i)dh lɛft hand séid iv dhʊ wee.
11 riid ɹet i)dhʊ lɛft han séid iv dhʊ wee.
12 riid geet o)dhʊ left ha¹nd sə'id ʊ dhʊ wee.
13 riid géeʊt on dhʊ lɛft han sə'id ʊ dhʊ wee.
14 riid geet on dhʊ left hand sə'id ʊv dhʊ wee.
15 riid geet on dhʊ left hand sə'id ʊ dhʊ rwood.
16 riid geet on dhʊ left hand séid ʊv dhʊ weei.
17 riid ɹɛt on dhʊ lɛft ha¹nd sɛ'id i dhʊ wee.
18 riid geet on dhʊ left han sə'id ʊv dhʊ wee.
19 riid geet on dhʊ left hand sə'id ʊ dhʊ wee.
20 rwᵢed gïeet ʊ dhʊ left hand sə'id ʊ dhe wïee.
21 red géʊt ʊ dhʊ left hond sə'id ʊ dhʊ wéeʊ.
22 riid ɹet i)dhʊ left hand sɛ'id.

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3. 1 shuuʊr ʊnœᵢf dhʊ béeʊrn hʊz géʊn stráit uᵢp ti
2 shúᵢuʊr ʊníuf dhʊ bæ'ʊrn)z gíæn uᵢp tʊ
3 shuur inɹœᵢf dhʊ béeʊrn hʊz gɹen stréit up tʊ
4 shuuʊr ʊníuf dhʊ béeʊrn)z gòn strə'it up tʊ
5 shoor ʊníuf dhʊ béeʊn)z gòn strə'it up tʊ
6 wə'i dhʊ béeʊn)z gíʊn strə'it hoᵢ¹p tʊ
7 shuur ʊníuf dhʊ béeʊ⌊rn)z gíʊn strə'it up tʊ
8 shuur ʊnɹœᵢf dhʊ beern)z gíiʊn strə'it œᵢp tʊ
9 shíiuʊr ʊníuf dhʊ béeʊrₒn)z gíiʊn sthrₒeet œᵢp tʊ
10 shuur ʊníuf dhʊ beern)z gïen stréit œᵢp tiv
11 siir ʊníuf dhʊ beern)z géin stréit œᵢp tʊ
12 shuur ʊnïœᵢf dhʊ béeʊn)z gíʊn strə'it up tʊ
13 shúuʊ ʊníuf dhʊ béeʊnz gíʊn stʀə'it uᵢp tʊ
14 suur ʊnúᵢu dhʊ béorn)z gaan stréit tʊ
15 shuur ʊníuᵢf dhʊ béo⌊rn)z gíʊn strə'it ɜp ti
16 shuur ʊníuf dhʊ beern)z gïen stréit œᵢp tʊ
17 shúuʊr ʊníuf dhʊ beern)z gíɛn strɛ'it uᵢp ti
18 shuur ʊnœᵢf dhʊ beern)z gïen strə'it œᵢp tʊ
19 shuur ʊníuf dhʊ beern)z geen strə'it ɜp tʊ
20 shœᵢʊrwᵢ ʊnœᵢf dhʊ tɟə'ild)z gon strwᵢə'it uᵢp tʊ
21 shuuor ʊníuf t' tɟə'ild)z geen strə'it uᵢp tʊ
22 shyyᵢr ʊnuu dhʊ beern)z gúʊn strɛ'ikht ɜp til

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | dhʊ | dúʊr$_{o}$ | ʊ | dhʊ raq | huus, |
| 2 | dhʊ | dɛ̀r$_{o}$ | ʊv | dhʊ raq | h*ó*us, |
| 3 | dhʊ | door | ʊ | dhʊ raq | huus, |
| 4 | dhʊ | d*ó*ua$_{\lfloor}$r | ʊ | dhʊ *r*aq | h*ó*us, |
| 5 | dhʊ | dóoʊ*r* | ʊ | dhʊ *r*aq | h*ó*us, |
| 6 | | | | dhʊ *r*aq | *ó*us, |
| 7 | dhʊ | dóoʊ*r* | ʊ | dhʊ *r*aq | huus, |
| 8 | dhʊ | d*u*$_{1}$ʊ*r* | ʊ | dhʊ *r*aq | huus, |
| 9 | dhʊ | dúuʊr | ʊ | dhʊ r$_{o}$aq | huus, |
| 10 | dhʊ | duu*r* | *i*v | dhʊ *r*a$^{1}$q | huus, |
| 11 | dhʊ | duu*r* | *i*)dhʊ | ra$^{1}$q | huus, |
| 12 | dhʊ | doo*r* | o)dhʊ | ra$^{1}$q | huus, |
| 13 | dhʊ | dóoʊ | ʊ | dhʊ ɹaq | huus, |
| 14 | dhʊ | doo*r* | ʊ | dhʊ *r*aq | huus, |
| 15 | dhʊ | duu*r* | ʊ | dhʊ *r*aq | huus, |
| 16 | dhʊ | duu*r* | ʊv | dhʊ *r*aq | huus, |
| 17 | dhʊ | dò*r* | *i* | dhʊ *r*a$^{1}$q | hʊ̀$_{1}$s, |
| 18 | dhʊ | duuʊ*r* | ʊv | dhʊ *r*aq | huus, |
| 19 | dhʊ | duuʊ*r* | ʊ | dhʊ *r*aq | huus, |
| 20 | dhʊ | duuo*r* | ʊ | dhʊ *rw*$_{1}$aq | huus, |
| 21 | dhʊ | duuʊ*r* | ʊ)dh | *r*aq | huus, |
| 22 | dhʊ | duu*r* | ʊ)dhʊ | *r*aq | huus, |

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| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | 1 | wíʊr$_{o}$ | sh*i*)l | hap'n | | f*i*nd | dhat | dr*u*k'n | diif |
| | 2 | wheer$_{o}$ | me)b*i* | shii)l | | fìnd | dhat | dr*u*k'n | d*i*$_{1}$if |
| | 3 | wéeʊr | sh*i*)l | ʊv ʊ tɟans | tʊ | f*i*nd | dhat | dr*u*k'n | diif |
| | 4 | wéeʊ | shii)l | mɛ)bi | | f*i*nd | dhat | dr*u*k'n | diif |
| | 5 | wéeʊ*r* | shi)l | me)b*i* | | f*i*nd | dhat | dr*u*k'n | diif |
| | 6 | wéeʊr | shii)l | me)b*i* | | f*i*nd | dhat | dro$^{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 7 | wheéʊr | shii)l | mɛ)b*i* | | f*i*nd | dha$^{1}$t | dr*u*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 8 | wheer | shii)'l | hap'n | tʊ | f*i*nd | dhat | drœ$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 9 | wheéʊr$_{o}$ | shi)l | me)b*i* | | f*i*nd | dha$^{1}$t | drœ$_{1}$k'n | d*i*if |
| | 10 | wheer | shii)l | me)b*i* | | f*i*nd | dhat | dr*œ*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 11 | whʊr | shii)l | meviz | | f*i*nd | dhet | dr*œ*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 12 | weer | shii)l | mɛv*i* | | f*i*nd | dhat | dr*œ*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 13 | wéeʊ | shii)l | mɛb*i* | | f*i*nd | dhat | dʁ*u*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 14 | wheéo*r* | shii)l | meb*i*z | | f*i*nd | dha$^{1}$t | dr*u*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 15 | wheer | shii)l | meb*i*z | | f*i*$_{1}$nd | dhat | dr*a*k'n | diif |
| | 16 | wheer | shʊ wœ$_{1}$l | mɛb*i*z | | f*i*nd | dha$^{1}$t | dr*œ*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 17 | wheer | shʊ)l | mɛv*i*z | | f*i*nd | dha$^{1}$t | dr*u*$_{1}$k'n | dìf |
| | 18 | wheer | shi·wœ$_{1}$l | mɛb*i* | | f*i*nd | dhat | dr*œ*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 19 | wheer | shii)l | ɟ*i*b'lz | | f*i*nd | dhat | dr*œ*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 20 | whéo*r* | shi)l | hap'n | tʊ | fə'*i*nd | dhat | dr*w*$_{1}$œ$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 21 | whéo*r* | shi)l | tɟans | tʊ | fə'*i*ʊnd | dhat | dr*œ*$_{1}$k'n | diif |
| | 22 | whaa*r* | shii)l | mɛb*i* | | f*i*nd | ɟon | dr*a*k'n | diif |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | k*i*z'nd | *u*p | fɛlʊ, | b*i* | dhe | néʊm | ʊ :tomʊs. |
| 2 | w*i*z'nd | | fɛlʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | neem | ʊv :tom. |
| 3 | w*i*z'nd | | fɛlʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | nɟem | ʊ :tomʊs. |
| 4 | w*i*z'nd | | fɛlʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | néeʊm | ʊ :tomʊs. |
| 5 | w*i*z'nd | | felʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | néeʊm | ʊ :kɛlʊ. |
| 6 | w*i*z'nd | | d*i*v'l, | ʊ | dhʊ | níàm | ʊ :tomʊs. |
| 7 | w*i*z'nd | | felʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | níʊm | ʊ :tom. |
| 8 | w*i*z'nd | | felʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | níiʊm | ʊ :tomʊs. |
| 9 | k*i*z'nd | | felʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | níiʊm | ʊ :tom*i*. |
| 10 | wuz'nd | | felʊ | *i*)dh | | nĭem | *i*v :tomʊs. |
| 11 | wos'nd | | felʊ | *i*v | dhʊ | néim | *i*v :tom*i*s. |
| 12 | w*i*z'nd | | tɟɛp | ʊ)dhʊ | | nĭɛm | ʊ :tom. |
| 13 | shʀ*i*v'ld | | felʊ | ʊv | dhʊ | nĭem | ʊv :tomʊs. |
| 14 | sh*rwi*v'ld | | fɛlʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | néeʊm | ʊ :tom. |
| 15 | staa*r*vd | | fælʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | níɛm | ʊ :tom. |
| 16 | | | fælʊ | ʊv | dhʊ | níɛm | ʊv :tom. |
| 17 | w*i*z'nd | | fɛlʊ | *i* | dhʊ | níɛm | ʊ :tomʊs. |
| 18 | sh*r*œ₁k'n | | fɛlʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | nĭem | ʊv :tomʊs. |
| 19 | wœ₁z'nt | | felʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | n*ee*m | ʊ :tomʊs. |
| 20 | w*i*dho*r*d | | felʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | nĭ*ee*m | ʊv :tomʊs. |
| 21 | sh*ri*v'ld | | felʊ | ʊ | dhʊ | néeʊm | ʊ :tomʊs. |
| 22 | lɛ'*i*ʊrt | | fælʊ | | | k*aa*d | :tomʊs. |

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. 1 | wi | aal | ken | ʊm | var*i* | wiil. | |
| 2 | wi | ʌʌl | naa)'m | | w*i*₁il | ʊnúuf. | |
| 3 | w*i* | aal | ken | ʊn | var*i* | wiil. | |
| 4 | wi | aal | naa | *i*m | vɛr*i* | weel [? wiil]. | |
| 5 | wi | aal | noo | *i*m | ve*ri* | weel [? wiil]. | |
| 6 | wi | ʌʌl | noo | *i*m | vɛr*i* | wiil. | |
| 7 | wi | *oo*l | kɛn | *i*m | va*ri* | wiil. | |
| 8 | wi | *oo* | kɛn | ʊm | var*ʊ* | wiil. | |
| 9 | wi | œ'₁ | nœ₁')ʊm | | var₀a | wiil. | |
| 10 | wi | aa | ken | h*i*m | ve*rʊ* | wiil. | |
| 11 | wi | aa | ken | *i*m | ve*rʊ* | wiil. | |
| 12 | wi)a¹l | | na¹ | *i*m | va¹*ri* | wiil. | |
| 13 | wi | aal | naa | *i*m | va*ʀi* | wiil. | |
| 14 | wi | aal | naa | *i*m | va[*ri* | wiil. | |
| 15 | w*i*₁ | aal | naa | *i*m | va*ri* | wiil. | |
| 16 | wi | aa | naa)m | | va*rʊ* | wiil. | |
| 17 | w*i*₁i | aa¹l | kɛn | ʊm | va¹*rʊ* | w*i*₁il. | |
| 18 | wi | aa | naa | h*i*m | ve*rʊ* | wiil. | |
| 19 | wi | aa | naa | *i*m | va*ri* | wiil. | |
| 20 | wi | aa | nhoo | *i*m | v*eerw*₁*i* | wiil. | |
| 21 | wi | aal | nhoo | *i*m | vá*i* | wiil. | |
| 22 | wi | *aa* | kɛn | *i*m | va*rʊ* | wiil. | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | 1 | wínʊt | dhʊ | aad | tʃap | síun | tíiʊtʃ | ʊr | not | tʊ | dii)t |
| | 2 | wínʊt | dhʊ | AAd | tʃap | síʊn | lɛrn | ʊr | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 3 | wínʊt | dhʊ | aad | tʃɛp | síun | léeʊrn | ʊr | nʊt | tʊ | di)d |
| | 4 | wínʊt | dhʊ | aad | tʃap | síʊn | teetʃ | ʊr | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 5 | wínʊt | dhʊ | aad | tʃap | síʊn | larn | ʊ | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 6 | wínʊt | dhʊ | aad | tʃap | síun | lərn | ʊr | not | tʊ | trə'i it |
| | 7 | wínit | dhʊ | ood | tʃa'p | síun | léorn | ʊr | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 8 | wu₁nʊt | dhi | ood | tʃap | síiʊn | léorn | ʊr | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 9 | wunʊt | dhʊ | ood | tʃap | síiʊn | líiʊr₀n | hʊr₀ | nit | tʊ | dii |
| | 10 | wœ₁nit | dh)aad | | tʃep | síuʊn | leern | ʊr | nʊt | tʊ | di)d |
| | 11 | wœ₁nit | dh)aad | | tʃap | síun | leen | ʊr | no)ʊ | tʊ | di)d |
| | 12 | wint | dhi | aad | tʃɛp | sĭœ₁n | léorn | ʊr | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 13 | winit | dhʊ | aad | tʃɛp | síʊn | laan | ʊ | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 14 | wi₁nʊt | dhʊ | aald | tʃɛp | síʊn | léœrn | or | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 15 | wad'nt | dhi₁ | aad | man | síʊn | léorn | or | nat | tʊ | di)d |
| | 16 | wœ₁l'nt | dhi | aad | tʃɛp | síun | léorn | hor | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 17 | wínʊt | dhʊ | aa'd | tʃɛp | síun | leern | or | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 18 | wonʊt | dhi | aad | tʃɛp | sĭœ₁n | tiitʃ | or | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 19 | wœ₁nʊt | dhʊ | ad | tʃɛp | síun | tiitʃ | hor | not | tʊ | di)d |
| | 20 | wóʊ)nt | t' | aad | tʃɛp | síun | larn | hor | nu₁t | tʊ | duu it |
| | 21 | wóʊ)nt | t' | óʊd | tʃɛp | suun | teetʃ | or | not | tʊ | duu)t |
| | 22 | wɑl | dh)aald | | tʃap | noo | shyy₁r | laarn | hor | noo | tʊ dii)t |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | ʊgéʊn, | póuʊr | thiq ! |
| 2 | | ʊgíʊn, | poor | thiq ! |
| 3 | | ʊgʃɛn, | púuʊr | thiq ! |
| 4 | | ʊgíʊn, | póoʊr | thiq ! |
| 5 | | ʊgéán, | póoʊr | thiq ! |
| 6 | on | ʊgíʊn, | púuʊ | béeʊn ! |
| 7 | | ʊgíʊn, | piir | thiq ! |
| 8 | | ʊgíiʊn, | pyyr | thiq ! |
| 9 | | ʊgíiʊn, | péeʊr | thiq ! |
| 10 | | ʊgeen, | puur | thiq ! |
| 11 | | ʊgéin, | puur | thiq ! |
| 12 | | ʊgĭɛn, | puur | thiq ! |
| 13 | | ʊgiiʊn, | póoʊ | thiq ! |
| 14 | | ʊgíʊn, | puur | thiq ! |
| 15 | | ʊgi₁ʊn, | puur | thi₁q ! |
| 16 | | ʊgéin, | píur | thiq ! |
| 17 | | ʊgíɛn, | pŭ₁r | thiq ! |
| 18 | | ʊgĭen, | puuʊr | thiq ! |
| 19 | | ʊgin, | puur | thiq ! |
| 20 | | ʊgen, | puur | thiq ! |
| 21 | | ʊgen, | puuor | thiq ! |
| 22 | | ʊgin, | pyy₁r | thiq ! |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | 1 | líuk | *iz*'nt | ʊt | tríu? |
| | 2 | l*u*$_1$k | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*ó*u? |
| | 3 | l*u*k | *iz*'nt | *it* | truu? |
| | 4 | l*u*k | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*uu*? |
| | 5 | l*u*k | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*oo* [? truu]? |
| | 6 | líuk! | *iz*'nt | dhat | truu? |
| | 7 | líœ$_1$k! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*uu*? |
| | 8 | líiʊk! | *iz*'nt | *it* | sii? |
| | 9 | líiʊk! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*iu*? |
| | 10 | líukstʊ! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*uu*? |
| | 11 | líukʊ! | *iz*'n | t)*it* | truu? |
| | 12 | l*u*$_1$k! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*uu*? |
| | 13 | lɜk! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tʀuu? |
| | 14 | luuk! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*uu*? |
| | 15 | lùk! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*ó*u? |
| | 16 | líuk! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*uu*? |
| | 17 | l*u*$_1$kʊ! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*ú*$_1$u? |
| | 18 | luuk! | *iz*'nt | *it* | truu? |
| | 19 | luuk! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*ó*u? |
| | 20 | lœ$_1$k! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*w*$_1$uu? |
| | 21 | luuk! | *iz*'nt | *it* | tr*uu*? |
| | 22 | luuk! | *iz*)t | n*o* | tr*uu*? |

*Notes to* No. 1, *Edmundbyers* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *see* (séi) "very short."—*right*, "no burr, no trill," by that he only means not as in Ireland.—*bit lass*, usual form, but (lit'l gərl) might be said.

3. *enough*, stated to have "*u* in b*u*t," which I interpret as (œ$_1$).

6. *poor*, written "½ power, ½ poor," see subsequent notes.—*chap*, not a common word.

*Notes to* No. 2, *Lanchester* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *mates*, as in the phrase (dhem)z AAl meets ʊ mə'in) they are all mates of mine.—*I am*, Robson said he had never heard (a)z) I is.—*right*, almost (r$_o$éit).—*yonder*, this I think is the southernmost place where I have heard initial (dh) in this word.

2. *of the road*, 'way' would not be used in this connection, though they say (dhʊ wee tʊ :dy$_1$rʊm) the way to Durham; in this word the (y$_1$) was obscure as in German *würde*; and it seemed at times to get mixed up with (ə). The (ʊ) was extremely short. Robson also said (vɛri my$_1$ri) very merry.

4. *wizened*, 'shrivelled' is not used, but (shr-) initial is fully pronounced. —*of the name of Tom*, (kAAd :tom) would be more usual.

6. *to do it agen*, see D 31, Stanhope, p. 617, and notes.

7. *true*, the distinction between this (tr*ó*u) true and (tr*ó*u) a *trough*, was insisted on, in (a)v b*ó*ut ʊ tr*ó*u, tr*ó*u ʊníuf) I've bought a trough true enough. I think the first was (*ó*u), but I am not clear of the last, though (*ó*u) was the nearest I could reach. See D 31, St. John's, Weardale, p. 636, under U'.

*Notes to* No. 3, *Annfield Plain* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *marrows*, meaning 'mates,' both versions have this.—*now*, here, as in No. 1, only pure (ii, uu) are recognised. —*I is*, it is curious that this is given from Nos. 1 and 3, and that No. 2 professed to know nothing of it.— —*yonder*, the other version gave (ɔondʊr).

2. *road*, the other version has (lonɐn) lane.—*gate*, the other version has (geet).

3. *enough*, written *inyuff*, the (œ,) is conjectural.—*straight*, written *streight* and *stright*, and also (riit) given.—*door*, one version writes *dor*, meaning not clear.

4. *have a chance to find*, or (mɛbiz find) perhaps find. —*wizened*, the school-teacher gives (shivild) also.—*fellow* or (tɟɛp).—*of the name of*, or (kaald) called.

5. *learn*, written *lăŭrn*, (tiitɟ) also given.

*Notes to* No. 4, *Bishop Middleham* dt., pp. 653, 656.

2. *red*, I feel a doubt as to whether this (reed) and (weel), par. 5, are correct, they may have been (réiid), (wéiil) meaning (riid, wiil), they may have been wrongly written (reed, weel) from a habit of using glossic. Similarly in par. 5, same words, and par. 7 (troo) may be (truu). But as 1. *say* (*see*) cannot be a mistake, except for (séi), I leave all standing as in my notes.—*gate*, the form (ge¹ɐt) was written twice, possibly it was only an individuality.—*of the way*, omitted, because the informant said "way is not used in the sense of *road*, but only of manner."

4. *door* (dóoɐr) also used.—*house*, all these (*óu*) are liable to the doubt expressed in No. 2, p. 662, but they sounded thus to me.

4. *deaf* or (déif).—*wizened*, (shr-) is rightly pron.—*name* or (né¹ɐm), see *gate*, par. 2.

5. *well*, see *red*, par. 2.

6. *teach*, rather (larn).—*not*, etc., or (not tɐ déi)t oni maa[r).

*Notes to* No. 5, *Kelloe* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *lass*, also (gíæl).—*yonder*, (dh-) most usual, perhaps (-*or*) would be more correct; the late Vicar of Kelloe, Rev. W. L. Kay, wrote "they sound *r* as *aw*."

2. *gate* or (gje't).

3. *gone* or (giá¹n).—*door* or (dóɐr).

4. *wizened*, initial (shr-) pron. correctly.—*name* or (néâm).—*Kelloe*, the name of the village, or (:koksu) Coxhoe (2 wsw. Kelloe).

5. (weel), 7. (troo), see notes to No. 4, par. 2.

*Notes to* No. 6, *Sunderland* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *so*, omitted as not used in this position.—*mates* similarly omitted, but (mɛn, ladz) might be used.—*now*, in this word I heard (ɑ'u), but it was certainly the same sound that I wrote (*óu*) elsewhere. See note on No. 2, par. 7. Otherwise this was a s. Scotchism.—*thing* or (las), (wentɟ) is seldom used.—*coming*, this (ɑ) anticipates Var. v, but it may have been (œ,).—*school*, possibly (skíɐl) was said. — *yonder*, (Jondɐr, dhondɐr) might either be added, but it would not be native; it is, however, heard all over this region.

2. *going* or (gan).—*lane*, (lonin) is the usual word for road in this neighbourhood; *way* would not be used.

3. *well*, like the Cu. (wáiɐ), not for *why*, and was preferred to (shíuɐr ɐnuf).—*up*, this is merely (u,p) up, spoken with much emphasis. — *door of the* (dóɐr ɐ dhɐ) would not be inserted.

4. *maybe*, chance (tɟans) would not be used here.—*devil* or (fɛloo).

6. *learn*, I am not certain that I wrote the sound correctly, see introd. to No. 2, p. 653.—*try it on again* or (di)d) do it, as in the other versions.

*Notes to* No. 7, *Hexham* 1 dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *mates*, omitted as not used, and Mr. Wright could not think of the proper substitute.

2. *way*, this word is in Hexham used for road.

4. *wizened*, (shr-) correctly pronounced.

5. *ken*, more used than *know*.

*Notes to* No. 8, *Hexham* 2 dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *say*, the (sii) was probably an error of the speaker for (*see*).—*school* or (skíiɐl).

*Notes to* No. 9, *Haltwhistle* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *now*, Mr. Howchin writes *nöo*, and says German *ö* or French *eu* comes nearest to it; hence I recognise the sound I have previously written (œ$_1$), here and in "coming through drunken all know," in all of which he uses *ö*, though in the last two (*oo*) was to be expected. The second element of the diphthong *öo* he admits to be (u).—*right*, Mr. H. says "the *r* has no trill in its sound, but is given with the tongue raised and the mouth nearly closed." Hence I write (r$_o$). Mr. H. adds that "the guttural sound," that is (*r*), "is often heard among elder people, but is disappearing among the younger.

2. *hand*, (h) pretty well pron., (d) dropped.

3. *up*, Mr. H. wrote *oup*, but subsequently explained it as *ö* (œ$_1$).—*house*, *home* is (hiiɐm).

4. *kizzened*, (shr-) initial correct except in *shriek* (skrìk).

6. *do it*, the *it* would be dropped in this connection.

*Notes to* No. 10, *Stamfordham*, dt., pp. 654 656.

1. *so*, at the end of a sentence (sii), as (a$^1$ *see* sii).—*bit*, commoner than *little*.—*girl*, they would say 'lass' in speaking to each other.—*school*, Mr. Bigge said, "I think *skuil* better than *skule*; there's a symptom of *i* in the way [it is] pron. about here." I have indicated this by (v), but I think the *Pitman's Pay* orthography deceived the informant, and that (skĭœ$_1$l) would best represent the sound. Mr. B. also writes *suin*, *luik*, soon, look.—*yonder* is not used, but *yon* might be put before *school*.

2. *gate* or (*geet*).

3. *gone*, possibly *gyen*, *nyem*, may have been conventional spellings, from the Pitman's Pay, observe No. 11, notes, par. 2.

*Notes to* No. 11, *Whalton* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *now*, written *nōu*, but explained "sound like in *you* short."—*coming*, with "*u* in *tub*," as Mr. G. Rome Hall said in giving me a list of such words: "in all these *ŭ* sounds there is a slight approach to the German *ö* and the French *eu* in *bœuf*, *fleur*, etc.; also it is not so quickly and crisply uttered as in the received pron."—*yonder*, often, not always, without *d*; and seldom, but occasionally, (dhondɐr).

2. *gate* (ɹet), "with old people, the younger adopt (*geet*)."—*hand*, *h* always sounded except in the personal pronouns *him*, *her*; d lost.—*side*, Newcastle people always write *ey*, which I am bound to render (éi), but I heard (o'i, á$^1$i), see Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, p. 658. Its use here in (géin néim vgéin) going name again, and also (héim) home, Hexham (hiiɐm), Newcastle (hĭem), is peculiar.

3. *up*, "*u* as in *dull*," that is (œ$_1$).—*door*, "*oo* very broad, full *oo* or *ou*," see *now*, par. 1.

4. *she'll*, emphatic (shi wœ$_1$l).—*maybe*, occ. (mebiz).—*wizened* or (wœ$_1$z'nd) for *shrivelled*, not used.

6. *learn*, "the *r* not definite" (? distinct).—*not*, "by old people the *t* is omitted, but a faint *a* is added."—*thing*, but (nœ$_1$thin sœ$_1$mthin) with (n) not (q).

7. *look!*, when used as an exclamation subjoins (v).—*isn't it true*, words written *isn tit trou*, and the *ou* explained by *you*.

*Notes to* No. 12, *Newcastle* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *gate*, (gĭɛt) is gate in the sense of road.

4. *maybe*, both (mɛbi, mɛvi) are used, but the latter is commoner.—*drunken*, when taking this down I noted "this (œ$_1$) puzzles me a good deal; it is not quite (œ) nor (ɑ) nor (u$_1$), but lies in among all these," see p. 638.—*wizened*, (shr-) properly used.—*chap*, commoner than fellow.

*Notes to* No. 13, *North Shields* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *right*. Both n. and s. Shields are celebrated for not pronouncing the letter (r). To me it seemed to be entirely vocalised in n. Shields when *not* preceding a vowel, and *when* preceding a vowel, as here, to become that

stiff lip trill which I now write (ʍ), a turned ʍ, in preference to (ɯ) or turned m, at first proposed. It is different from (brh), and naturally confounded with (w) by ordinary ears, but the speaker always feels the difference between (w, ʍ), for the sides of the upper lip are inflated for (w), but not at all for (ʍ). Here I heard (ʍiit).—*lass*, sometimes but rarely (wentɟ).

4. *maybe*, the word chance is used in such a phrase as (hiiɟz got nii tɟans) he's got no chance.

6. *learn*, or (téitɟ) teach.

7. *look*, I heard (lɜk) and not (lœ₁k); in the pit districts (liʊk).

*Notes to* No. 14, *Rothbury* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *from*, the (*rw*) shews a decidedly labial form of the burr as observed in the particular words where it is written.

2. *red*, they also call 'read, head' (riid, hiid).

3. *enow*, Mr. Scott did not know the two uses of enough sg., and enow pl., but when asked if he knew enough, said (ʊniiuf! aa)z héord it ofʊn) enough! I has heard it often.

4. *fellow* or (felʊ).

6. *learn* or (larn), and I noted that Mr. S. called *both* (bíʊf), and bullocks heifers (boˡlʊks, ɛfʊrz), and used the phrase (ái, a see it) aye, I say it.

*Notes to* No. 15, *Snitter, and* No. 19, *Whittingham* dt., pp. 654, 655, 656.

1. *now*, the words 'now, through' seem more liable to pass into (*óu*) than any other.—*I am* and *I is* constantly alternate.—*coming*, observe the forms (oˡ, *u*₁) in Nos. 14, 15, both written at the time, and the use of (œ₁, ɜ).—*school*, "ten or fifteen miles further nw. towards the Cheviot range, (skíul) is used."

2. *road*, 'way' would not be used here, but it is called (wéei) when used.

3. *up*, and 4. *drunken*, an unmistakable (ɜp), at first however I wrote (ɔp); I had to correct it.

6. *wouldn't*, "we don't use won't."—*man*, (tɟap) is common by Wooler.—*learn*, where they use *teach* they call it (tiitɟ) not (teetɟ). Mr. A. also called our, always (wor, ɛlwi₁z).

*Notes to* No. 16, *Harbottle* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *coming*, "the first syllable rhymes to *hum*," when I have not heard the sound myself, I always suppose that in Var. iv (œ₁) was meant, because it was that I generally heard.

4. *she will*, (shʊ wœ₁l) emphatic form, otherwise (shi)l).—*fellow*, written *falla* with note, "both the *a*'s very broad, probably Scotch," that might be (fala), as however I got (fælʊ) vv. in No. 15, I have interpreted this to mean the same.

5. *very*, written *varra*, with the note, "the *r*'s very guttural, and, though very difficult of pronunciation, in very common use indeed by the natives."

*Notes to* No. 17, *Warkworth* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *so*, (*sii*) rather than (sii), but the latter was intended.—*see now*, the (*í*₁i, *ú*₁u) were carefully explained and read to me slowly.—*right*, the (*r*) was gentle and never labialised, (*ii*) intended for (ii) was given here, not (*í*₁i).—*about*, the vowel being shortened only, (*ù*₁) not (*ú*₁u) was heard.—*little*, not (láɪl).—*lass*, wench is hardly ever used.—*coming* seemed the first time to have (*u*₁), but the second time (œ₁).—*school*, in w.Nb. (skíiul).—*yonder*, (dhondʊr) is heard.

2. *red*, also (*rid*).—*of the way*, the phrase is used.

3. *door*, also (*dù*₁*r*).—*house*, with medial vowel as in *about*, par. 1.

4. *where*, the (wh) distinct.—*may be's* or (mɛbi), they also say (ma'*rv*ɛlz) for *marbles*, that is, they habitually confused (b, v) in some words.—*wizened*, they pron. (sh*r*-) initially.—*of the name of Thomas*, better (dhaˡt dhee kàˡl:tomʊs) that they call Thomas.

5. *know*, (kɛn, naaˡ) are used indifferently.

6. *do it*, they also say (haˡd) for *have it*.—*poor*, the vowel very short.

7. *look* or (líuk).—*isn't it true*, (didn't aˡ see sɪ) would be more used.

*** See specimen on next page.

## Ned White, a Yarn, in Warkworth Speech.

The following specimen, cut from a newspaper, was read to me by Mr. Ridley at the same time as he gave me the above dt. There is a wonderful confusion of the Peninsular War with the Battle of Waterloo, but that is a trifle; the point is the pron., which must here be attributed to Warkworth. I put a translation interlinearly.

ma¹n, a¹ fɛl *in* w*i* :nɛd :whɛ'*it* dh*i* *u*ᵢdhʊ*r* dee. ɟ*i* naa¹
Man, I fell in with Ned White the other day. You know

:ned ʊn *u*ᵢdhʊ*r* t*w*ɛnt*i* f*óur* ʊv :haa¹ks tɟɛps, wɛnt uut t*i* dh*i*
Ned and other twenty four of Hawkes's chaps went out to the

:p*i*n*i*nsíulʊ*r* :wo*r*, who*r* :wɛl*i*ntʊn wa¹s, ɟʊ naa¹. s*ii*, ʊz w*i*
Peninsular War, where Wellington was, you know. So, as we

wo*r* hɛv*i*n ʊ g*i*l tʊg*i*dhʊ*r*, a¹ sɛz t*i* h*i*m, :nɛd d)ɟʊ mɛ'*i*nd
were having a gill together, I says to him, Ned d'you mind

whɛn ɟ*i* wʊr in dhʊ :p*i*n*i*nsíulʊ*r* :wo*r*?—a¹ sh*u*ᵢd theqk a¹ d*ii*,
when you were in the Peninsular War? — I should think I do,

sɛz híᵢi.—d*i*d ɟ*e* *i*vo*r* fà¹l *in* w*i* :wɛl*i*nt'n? sɛz a¹.—:wɛl*i*nt'n!
says he. — Did you ever fall in with Wellington? says I. — Wellington!

sɛz híᵢi, wɛ'*i*, ma¹n, a¹ nà¹d h*i*m. wɛ'i, dj*u*ᵢst dh*i* dee ʊfoo*r* dhʊ
says he, why, man, I knowed him. Why, just the day afore the

ba¹t'l ʊ :wa¹tʊrluu, h*i* sent fo*r* mi.—:nɛd, h*i* sɛz, t*i*ɛk ɟo*r*
battle of Waterloo, he sent for me.—Ned, he says, take your

twɛnt*i* f*óur* mɛn, hi sɛz, ʊn ga¹n œᵢp ʊn sh*i*ft thɛm :f*r*ɛntɟmen
twentyfour men, he says, and go up and dislodge those Frenchmen

ȍf dhʊ top ʊ ɟon h*i*l.—:aa¹l *rii*t sɛz aa¹, b*u*ᵢt *i*t w*i*n*i*t t*i*ɛk
off the top of yon hill.—All right, says I, but it will not take

aa¹l dhi twɛnt*i* f*óur*, a¹ sɛz.—aa¹! b*u*ᵢt *i*tɟs :nʊpool*i*ʊnz kr*a*¹k
all the twenty four, I says.—Ah! but its Napoleon's crack

*ri*dɟmʊnt, h*i* sɛz, ɟ*i*)d bɛtʊ*r* t*i*ɛk plɛnt*i*.—aa¹l *rii*t, a¹ sɛz,
regiment, he says, you better take plenty.—All right, I says,

w*i*i)l síun sh*i*ft dhʊm.—s*ii* d*ú*ᵢun a¹ kœᵢm t*i* dhʊ la¹dz, ʊn
we'll soon shift them.—So down I come to the lads, and

a¹ sɛz—n*ú*ᵢu, m*i* la¹dz, :wɛl*i*ntʊn wa¹nts *u*ᵢz t*i* sh*i*ft ɟon
I says—Now, my lads, Wellington wants us to dislodge yon

:f*r*ɛntɟmʊn ȍf dh*i* top ʊv ɟon h*i*l.—aa¹l *rii*t, dhe sɛz.—h*i*o*r*,
Frenchmen off the top of yon hill.—All right, they says.—Here,

:bob :skot, a¹ SEZ, hú₁u moni :frENtJmen ar dhor œ₁p JONdor?
Bob Scott, I says, how many Frenchmen are there up yonder?

—vbù₁t fóur hœ₁ndord, i SEZ.—hú₁u moni on ù₁s wil it tiEk
—About four hundred, he says.—How many of us will it take

ti shift them? a¹ a¹kses.—oo, tEn, SEZ :bob.—wéi, wi₁i)l tiEk
to dislodge them? I axes. —Oh, ten, says Bob. —Well, we'll take

fiftiin, dju₁st ti híumor dhi aa¹d ma¹n.—aa¹l riit, dhe SEZ. sii
fifteen just to humour the old man. — All right, they says. So

òf wi SEt a¹t dhi dú₁b'l vloq' dhv lonvn; bu₁t dju₁st a'z wi tornd
off we set at the double along the lane, but just as we turned

dhi kornvr a¹t dhv fu₁t vv dhv hil, whii shu₁d wi miit bu₁t
the corner at the foot of the hill, who should we meet but

:bon·ipart hizsEl· on v lìliwhE'it hors, wi v kokt ha¹t on.—
Bonaparte himself on a lily white horse, with a cocked hat on. —

whor a¹r ji òf ti, :nEd? SEZ hi₁i.—wE'i, ti shift JON :frENtJmen
Where are you off to, Ned? says he. — Why, to dislodge yon Frenchmen

òf JON hil?—whaa¹t! hi SEZ, wE'i dha¹t)s mi kra¹k ridJmvnt,
off yon hill?—What! he says, why that's my crack regiment,

hi SEZ.—nivvr mE'ind dha¹t, a¹ SEZ, :wElintvn SEZ wi hEv ti
he says.—Never mind that, I says, Wellington says we have to

shift them, a¹nd shifted dhe)l bi₁i, nú₁u.—Jii)r kodin, SEZ
dislodge them, and dislodged they'll be, now. — You are jesting, says

hi₁i.—ni kodin vbú₁t it, a¹ SEZ, wi₁i)l síun shift dhvm òf, a¹
he. — No jesting about it, I says, we'll soon dislodge them off, I

SEZ, kœ₁m bE'i!—ha¹d on, hi SEZ, vn hi ga¹lvps riit œ₁p dhv
says, come by! — Hold on, he says, and he gallops right up the

hil ti dhEm, ən shuuts uut— ga¹n ba¹k, mv la¹dz, ga¹n ba¹k!
hill to them, and shouts out. — Go back, my lads, go back!

hior)z :nEd :whE'it frvm :haa¹ksiz, a¹nd hiz twenti fóur ladz
here's Ned White from Hawks's, and his twenty four lads

kœ₁min œ₁p ti shift ji. ji hEv'nt v ha¹porth vv tJa¹ns!
coming up to dislodge you. You haven't a ha'p'orth of chance!

—vn ba¹k dhe wEnt. did a¹ ivor si₁i :wElintvn? wE'i, ma¹n,
—And back they went. Did I ever see Wellington? Why, man,

ji shu₁d thiqk shiEm!
you should think shame!

*Notes to* No. 18, *Alnwick* dt., pp. 654, 656.

Variants in Rev. J. Blythe's version.

1. *so* (sii).—*mates* (marʊz) marrows. —*now* (nuu). —*girl* (lasi). — *school* (skiul).—*yonder* (ʒonʊr).
2. *going* (ganin).
3. *gone* (gém).
4. *she will* (shii)l).—*chance* (shans). —*shrunken* (wœ$_1$z'nd) wizened.
5. *all* (aal).
6. *soon* (síun).—*teach* (larn).—not (nu$_1$t).—*again* (ugéin).
7. *look* (luuk).

Substance of Mr. G. Thompson's paper on the Nb. Vowel Sounds.

*a* = "*a* in *fat*, *fan*, very general," probably (a$^1$), used in *father*, *law* (fa$^1$dhur, là$^1$).

*a*, *ai* = "*a* in *fair fare*, unaltered." ? (ee), and often in *gate* (geet), sometimes pron. as *g* prefixed to *yet* (gïɪt).

*o*, "correct" as in *no* (noo). "Some s. country people pronounce it *a-oo*, a in *fan* and *oo* in *root*, (â$^1$u).

*ou*, *ow* in *through* is "adequately represented by *o-oo* pronounced rapidly so as to make one sound, thus thr*o-oo*. So with *ow* in n*ow*, br*ow*, which would be n*o-oo*, br*o-oo* (one syllable in each case)," this must mean (*ou*) as I frequently appreciated it.

*e*, ordinary as in *feat feet*, *pet hen*, and also *ei* as in *height*; but he probably meant (*éi*).

*ī*. In Alnwick it is made up of *eh* and *ee*, thus *fight* is *feh-eet* (fɛ'it), similarly (strɛ'it) straight.

*u*. "We sound in the usual way in such words as *u*ncle; but we sound it the same way in b*u*ll p*u*ll, which is a departure from the classical standard." This should mean (bʊl, pʊl).

*ue* in *true* rhymes to *through* n*ow*, see *ou*, that is, they say (tr*ou*). *blue* is (blíu) not (bluu).

*oo* in *soot* is (iœ$_1$), explained "as one syllable *sy-eut*, taking *eu* according to the French."

*ou* in *you* unemphatic is the same as *e* in *the* (ɪʊ, dhʊ), emphatic (ii).

*h*. The Northumbrians never misplace the aspirate, but omit it in unaccented pronouns, accented *us* is (hʊz).

*Notes to* No. 20, *Embleton* 1 dt., pp. 655, 656.

1. *now*, written *nuoo* and explained the *u* was that in f*u*ll.—*right*, on (*rw*$_1$), see Introduction, p. 655.—*coming*, spelled *cumin*, and stated to have the vowel in *hum*.

2. *red*, the vowel here, and in No. 21, seems doubtful.

3. *sure*, spelled *sheuwŏ*, and *eu* said to be French.—*enough*, vowel conjectural, written *u*.—*child*, I question the use of *child* here and in No. 21.—*bairn* is admitted to be also used.—*up*, the *u* in f*u*ll accepted.

4. *find*, the use of (fə'ind) here and in No. 21 is quite unexpected.

5. *know*, Mr. C. wrote *hn*, and considered that *h* was decidedly but slightly pronounced.

6. *the old*, the use of (t') here and in No. 21 is remarkable, and I inquired about it particularly. Mr. C. says, "The use of *t'* for *thĕ* is by no means uncommon. It is not always used, but often, and apparently in an arbitrary way, *t'* or *thĕ* is used. *T'* is also sometimes used for *that* (conjunction, not pronoun). . . . I am quite clear of its use in this part of Nb." I have not had it given me from any other place in Nb. In the present case it may arise from assimilation to the preceding (t) in (wóent).

7. *look*, written *leuk*.

For a comparison of the peasant and fishing speech see end of notes to No. 21 on next page.

*Notes to* No. 21, *Embleton* 2 dt., pp. 655, 656.

3. *the child*, Mr. Green says, "The *t'* in such expressions as *t' chīld* is of frequent use. In *ordinary* conversation the word 'the' is generally shortened into *t'*, *th'*, *ti*. I may mention that the expression *th' day*, *th' night* is often used instead of *to-day*, *to-night*." This is of course L. The *th'* can scarcely differ from (dhʊ) except in extreme shortness of the (ʊ).

*Differences* in the original spelling of Nos. 20 and 21, which were recognised by Mr. Creighton as representing "real differences of pronunciation." The words are arranged in the order of a cwl., and to the original spellings in italics are added my pal. interpretations. 1. refers to the peasants; 2. to the fishing population.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 1. *nĕāym*, 2. *nāĕm*; 1. nĭem, 2. néeum. A: 43 1. *haand*, 2. *hond or haand*; 1. hand, 2. hond. A: *or* O: 58 1. *fwom*, 2. *frā' frŏ'*; 1. frw$_1$om, 2. free. 64 1. *ŏwong*, 2. *''rong or wrang*; 1. rw$_1$aq, 2. raq. A'- 67 1. *gōĕn*, 2. *ga'in*; 1. gooun, 2. gaain. 92 1. *kno*, 2. *knoh'*; 1. 2. nhoo. A': 104 1. *rwooŭd*, 2. *'rrode*; 1. rw$_1$úuud, 2. rood. 110 1. *nŭt*, 2. *not*; 1. nu$_1$t, 2. not. Æ: 177 1. *thaat*, 2. *thet*; 1. dhat, 2. dhet. E: 262 1. *weay*, 2. *wāā'*; 1. wĭee, 2. wéeu. E'- 297 1. *fello*, 2. *fello'r*; 1. 2. felu. EA: 326 1. *t'awd*, 2. *t'o'd*; 1. t'aad, 2. t'óud. 346 1. *geayt*, 2. *gāet*; 1. gĭeet, 2. géut. EO: 394 1. *yondow*, 2. *yondo'rr*; 1. 2. yondor. I: 459 1. *oowīt* 2. *'rrīt*; 1. *rwə'it*, 2. *rə'it*. 466 1. *thĕ chīld*, 2. *t' chīll*; 1. dhu tjə'ild, 2. t' tjə'il. O'- 558 1. *leuk*, 2. *look*; 1. lœ$_1$k, 2. luuk. 560 1. *skooŭl*, 2. *skeul*; 1. skúuul, 2. skíul. 564 1. *seun*, 2. *soon*; 1. síun, 2. suun. O': 579 1. *eneuff*, 2. *eneugh*; 1. unœ$_1$f, 2. uníuf. U- 606 1. *dowä*, 2. *dōōĕr*; 1. duuor, 2. duuur. U: 632 1. *oop*, 2. *ūp*; 1. 2. *u*$_1$p. U'- 643 1. *nuoo*, 2. *noo*; 1. nú$_1$u, 2. nuu.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 1. *meayts*, 2. *māets*; 1. mĭeets, 2. méeuts. I. *and* Y. 758 1. *geawl*, 2. *gurrl*; 1. gĭorl, 2. gɜrl.

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 885 1. vāwy, 2. vāh'ē; *veerw*$_1$*i*, 2. vái. U·· 969 1. *sheuwŏ*, 2. *shūōr*; 1. shœ$_1$*urw*$_1$, 2. shuuor.

*Notes to* No. 22, *Wooler* dt., pp. 655, 656.

1. *so I see*, K. [*i.e.* Mr. Kirkup] gave (see a$^1$ see).—*you see now*, K. (*i* séi na'u), this is quite Rx.—*right*, K. (*ráit*).—*that*, K. (dhä$^1$t).—*from*, K. (thre), this is also Rx.—*at a distance*, out-by, while (*in*-bɛ'*i*) in by, means close at hand. K. pron. (ùtbái), and said it meant at a considerable distance, and so preferred (jon skyy$_1$l) yon school, which Mr. C. gave as an alternative.

2. *she's going*, K. (shu)z gàn).—*road*, K. (rood).—*through*, K. (thra'*u*) apparently Rx.—*gate*, K. (geet).—*side*, K. (séid).

3. *enough*, K. (uníuf).—*going*, K. (gàn).—*straight*, K. (stráit).—*til the*, K. (tu dhu).—*door*, K. (door).

4. *liard*, grey-haired, grisled, properly a grey horse, Scotch.—*fellow*, K. (falu).—*called*, K. gave (níum) for name.

5. *we*, K. (wéi), which is Rx.—*all*, K. (à).—*very*, K. (veri).

6. *soon*, K. (síun).—*learn*, K. (lern).

7. *look*, K. (lu$_1$k).—*true*, K. (trɛ'u).

Altogether Mr. Kirkup's pron. is hardly safe.

VAR. i. BRAMPTON, CU., cwl.

(:bra$_1$mtun) (9 ene.Carlisle), just where the Scotch-Cu. dialect begins. This cwl. was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Spottiswood, Hale Grange, Kirkby Thore, We. (4 w.Appleby), (:heel' :greendj, :kə$_1$rbu :*fiur*), who had been 40 years acquainted with the dialect.

The (r) is trilled in all positions, medial and final, as well as before a vowel, as in L.

The (a, a$_1$) are here used as on p. 539, for which I should probably have

written (a¹, a) respectively, as there noted. They certainly correspond with my (a¹, a) in what I wrote from Mr. Ridley, No. 17, pp. 656, 666, 678. The (e°) is an indistinct attempt at (e), which is hardly separable from (ʊ), and seems to represent an individuality. The ($e_1$) is also scarcely separable from (e) or even (ᴇ).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bíie°k. 4 ta$_1$k. 5 ma$_1$k. 6 míie°d. 7 síie°k. 8 hᴇv. 9 bihee$_1$v. 10 hᴀᴀ. 12 sᴀᴀ. 17 lᴀᴀ. 18 kíie°k. 19 tíie°l. 20 líie°m. 21 níie°m. 22 tíie°m 23 síie°m. 24 shíie°m. 25 míie°n. 27 níie°v. 28 hee$_1$r. 30 kee$_1$r. 31 líie°t. 32 bèdh [(dùk) used]. 33 ree$_1$dhʊr. 34 last. 35 ᴀᴀl [(ᴇls'n) used]. 36 thóu. 37 klᴀᴀ.

A: 39 kíie°m. 41 thᴇqk. 43 ha$_1$n'd. 44 la$_1$n'd. 46 ka$_1$n'l. 48 sa$_1$q [pret.], hi sa$_1$q ʊ saq [he sang a song]. 53 ka$_1$n. 55 a$_1$s. 56 wᴇsh. A: *or* O: 59 la$_1$m'. 60 là$_1$q'. 61 e°màq'. 62 s$_1$t$_1$raq'. 63 thraq'. 64 w'ràq ʊràq'. 65 saq'. 66 whíie°q'.

A'- 67 tʊ gàn, ga$_1$n. 69 noo. 70 tíie°. 71 wee. 72 whíie°. 73 síie°. 74 twíie°. 76 tíie°d. 77 lwú$_1$ʊrd. 78 ᴀᴀ. 80 hᴇlide°. 83 míie°n. 84 mee$_1$r. 85 see$_1$r. 86 [(kwú$_1$ʊrn) corn, used]. 87 klíie°z. 88 klìd. 89 bíie°th. 90 bloo [blìu bloon]. 91 moo [mìu moon]. 92 noo [nîu, noon]. 93 snoo [snìu]. 94 kroo [krìu, kroon]. 95 throo. 96 soo [sîu, soon]. 97 sóul.

A': 101 ĕek. 102 as. 104 rú$_1$ʊd. 105 ríie°d. 106 bríie°d. 107 líie°f. 108 [(píie°st) paste, used]. 109 loo. 111 óut. 113 híie°l. 115 híie°m. 118 bíie°n. 119 gíie°n. 122 níie°n. 123 [(nóut) used]. 124 stíie°n. 128 dhòz. 129 goost. 132 hᴇt. 133 [(rit) used]. 134 ooth. 135 kléeʊth [klùt]. 136 óudhʊr.

Æ- 138 fadhʊr. 140 hè$_1$l'. 142 snè$_1$l'. 144 ʊgíie°n. 146 mee$_1$n. 147 bree$_1$ʊn. 148 feer. 149 blíie°z. 150 liist. 152 wa$_1$tʊ$_1$r. 153 sᴇ$_1$tʊ$_1$rde°.

Æ: 155 tha$_1$k. 157 ree$_1$v'n. 158 ᴇf$_1$tʊ$_1$r. 160 ᴇ'g. 161 dee$_1$. 164 mee$_1$. 165 sed. 167 díie°l. 168 ta$_1$lʊ. 169 whᴇn. 170 ha$_1$rvist [(i) distinct]. 171 baarli. 172 gᴇ°rs. 173 waz. 174 ᴇ'sh. 175 fast. 179 what. 181 [(t$_1$rᴇd, fet-rwú$_1$ʊd) tread, foot-road, used].

Æ'- 182 séii. 183 tìtɟ. 184 lìd. 185 riid. 186 brᴇnth [assimilated to length]. 187 liv. 188 [(ni$_1$kʊr) used]. 189 wè$_1$i. 190 kè$_1$i. 191 hìl. 192 mìn. 193 klìn'. 194 oni. 195 moni. 197 tɟiiz. 199 blìt. 200 whit. 202 hìt.

Æ': 203 spiitɟ. 204 diid. 205 thrìd. 206 rᴇd. 207 niid'l'. 210 klee$_1$. 211 gree$_1$. 212 whéeʊ. 216 dìl. 218 shìp. 219 slìp. 221 fiir. 222 hee$_1$r. 223 dhee$_1$r. 224 whee$_1$r. 226 míie°st. 227 wᴇt. 228 swìt. 229 brᴇth bri$_1$th. 230 fa$_1$t.

E- 232 brᴇk. 233 spiik [pure (ii)]. 234 [(wu$_1$rk u$_1$p) used]. 235 wíiev wiiv. 236 fiivʊr. 238 [(dá$_1$ik) dyke, used]. 241 reen [(ríá$_1$n), grass left beyond the furrows in ploughed land]. 243 plee [leek]. 246 kʊcin. 247 [(spíie°n) used]. 248 míie°r. 249 wíie°r. 250 swyy$_1$'e°r. 251 mìt. 252 kᴇt'l'. 253 nᴇt'l'. 254 lᴇdhʊr. 255 wᴇdhʊr.

E: 257 ᴇdtɟ. 259 wᴇdtɟ. 261 see$_1$. 262 wee$_1$. 264 ee$_1$l. 265 s$_1$t$_1$ree$_1$it. 270 i. bᴇliz, ii. bᴇl'i. 272 ᴇlʊm. 273 mᴇn. 274 bᴇnttɟ. 276 thiqk. 280 elii·v'n. 281 lᴇnth. 282 s$_1$t$_1$rᴇnth. 283 mᴇri. 284 thrᴇsh. 285 krᴇs. 286 ha$_1$rʊ. 287 bu$_1$z'm [bosom is (booz'm), see No. 287 on p. 635]. 288 lᴇt.

E'- 289 jᴇ°. 290 héii [(e) distinct in this and the three following words]. 291 dhéii. 292 méii. 293 wéii. 294 fìd. 295 brᴇd. 296 bìliiv. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 kìp. 301 híie°r. 302 mìt. 303 swìt.

E': 305 héii [the same as 290]. 306 héiit. 308 nìd. 309 spìd. 310 hiil'. 311 tᴇn. 312 híie°r. 314 híie°rd. 315 fìt. 316 nᴇkst.

EA- 319 gíie°p. 320 keer. EA: 321 sᴀᴀ. 322 lakich. 323 fóukicht [also (fit)]. 324 ée$_1$it. 325 wᴀ'k. 326 òld. 327 bóul'd. 328 kool'. 329 fool'd. 330 hod. 331 [(sᴇlt) used]. 332 [(tᴇlt) used]. 333 kᴀᴀf. 334 hᴀᴀf. 335 ᴀᴀ. 336 fᴀᴀ'ʊ. 337 wᴀᴀ'ʊ. 340 jee$_1$rd. 342 ᴇrʊm. 343 wàrʊm. 345 dàr. 346 jᴇt.

EA'- 347 hìd. 348 âi. 349 fíuu. EA': 350 dìd. 351 lìd. 352 rìd.

353 brìd. 354 shíie°f. 355 dìf. 356 lìf. 357 [(fər AA) for all, used]. 359 nê₁ibər. 360 tìm. 361 bìn. 363 tjìp. 365 nîie°r. 366 grìt. 367 thrìt. 368 dìth. 369 sloo. 370 rAA. 371 s,t,ríie°.

EI- 372 E''i [with a long glide from (E) through (i) to (i)]. 373 dhee. 374 nee₁. 376 béeət. EI: 377 stíie°k. 378 week. 382 dhEER.

EO- 383 suv'n. 384 hEV'n. 385 [(ənu₁n,dv,r) on under, used]. 386 jóu.

EO: 388 millhk ["(llh) very distinct as a glide from the vowels to the voiceless (k)."—JGG.]. 389 jòk. 390 sud [not (sud)]. 393 bijont. 396 wu₁rk. 397 sùərd. 398 staarv. 399 bræ'it. 402 laarən. 403 faar. 405 haarthstíie°n [not used without stone]. 406 è°rth. 407 fàrdìn. 408 nîu.

EO'- 409 béii. 411 thréii. 419 shéii [emph.], she shə shu [unemph.] 413 dìv'l. 414 fléii. 415 léii. 416 diiər. 417 tjóu. 420 fóuər. 421 forti.

EO': 423 théii. 424 rùf. 425 lE'iit. 426 fæ'it. 427 béii. 428 séii. 430 fri₁n'. 431 bíiər. 432 fóut. 433 briist. 434 bet. 435 juu. 436 trìù. 437 triùth. EY- 438 dé₁ii. EY: 439 ,t,ru'st [see 701].

I- [There are two (a'i) diphthongs, fine and broad, JGG. wrote the first as (E''ii) = (E''i) with a long glide from (E) to (i), and also as (æ'i), and as he thinks the latter form preferable, although he is not perfectly satisfied with the analysis, it is here adopted. This n. diphthong is usually taken as (E'i, éi), but in Nb. I heard (ə'i) or (â¹i), I could not determine which. The broad form is always (âi) or (ái), and JGG. prefers the first form, here written.] 440 wik. 441 siiv [not (siiv)]. 442 hâivin. 444 stæ'il. 446 næ'in. 448 [(dhooz, dhoor) used]. 449 git. 450 tîuzdə°. 451 sóu [sóud].

I: [see note after I-]. 452 a, aa [(a)z) I is, is used in all the district]. 454 witj. 457 mæ'it. 458 næ'it. 459 ræ'it. 460 wê₁it. 462 sæ'it. 464 whitj. 465 sEk. 466 [(beerən) used]. 467 wæ'ild. 471 ti₁mər. 472 [(ru₁n u₁p) used]. 473 blin'. 475 win'. 476 bind [ba₁n'd, bu₁n]. 477 fin'd [fa,n'd, fu,nt]. 478 grin' [gra₁n'd, gru₁n']. 479 win' [wa₁n'd, wu₁n']. 481 fi₁qər. 485 this'l. 486 ĭEst. 487 ĭEs,tə,rde°. 488 ĭi,t.

I'- [see note after I-]. 491 sæ'ikjh sâi. 493 drâiv. 494 tæ'im. 496 âirən. 498 ræ'it.

I': [see note after I-]. 500 læ'ik. 501 wæ'id. 502 fâiv. 503 læ'if. 504 næ'if. 505 wæ'if. 506 wumən. 507 wumen [the (u) remaining from the sg.]. 508 mæ'il. 509 whæ'il. 511 wæ'in. 513 wâiər. 514 æ'is. 515 wâiz. 516 wizdəm. 517 juu.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fwú₁e°l. 522 op'n. 523 hoop. 524 wu₁rəl'd word'l. O: 526 kokwch. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 530 róut. 531 dóu,tə,r. 532 kwú₁əl. 533 du₁l'. 534 whú₁e°l' [JGG. preferred writing (hwú₁e°l'), but I did not hear his (hw) as different from my (wh)]. 536 gùld. 537 móud. 538 wad. 539 bóud. 540 holin. 542 bóut. 545 hop. 547 by₁'ərd. 548 fwú,ərd, fy₁''ərd. 549 horəd. 550 wu₁rd. 551 storəm. 552 kwúərn. 553 whú₁ərn [(hw-) see 534]. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shú₁u. 557 ty₁''u. 558 lùk. 559 mu₁dhər. 561 bly₁'um. 562 mîun. 563 monde°. 564 sîun. 565 nwú₁əz. 566 u₁dhər.

O': 569 by₁'uk. 570 ty₁'uk. 571 gud gə'd. 572 bly₁'úd. 573 fly₁'ud. 574 bry₁'ud. 575 sty₁'ud. 576 wED'nzde°. 577 buu. 578 plîu. 579 eníuf [and (eníuu), but doubtful whether sg. or pl.] 580 tîukwch. 581 sóut. 582 ky₁'ul. 583 ty₁'ul. 584 sty₁'ul. 585 bry₁'um. 586 dy₁''u. 587 dîun. 588 nîun. 589 spîun. 590 fly₁''e°r. 591 my₁''ur. 592 swy₁''ər. 593 [(mu₁n) used]. 594 by₁''ut. 595 fy₁''ut. 596 ry₁''ut. 597 sy₁''ut.

U- 599 vbiún vby₁'un. 600 lu₁v. 601 fóul. 602 sóu [older form (síuu)]. 603 ku₁m. 605 su₁n. 606 dy₁''ur. 607 bu₁t,tə,r.

U: 608 u gli. 609 ful'. 610 wuu. 611 bu₁lək. 612 su₁m. 613 ,d,ru₁qk. 614 hu,n'. 615 pu₁n. 616 gru₁n'. 617 sú₁un'. 618 wu,n'. 619 fu₁n'. 625 tu₁q. 626 hu,qər. 629 su₁n. 631 thu,rzdə. 632 u₁p. 633 ku,p. 634 thruu. 637 tu₁sk. 639 du st.

U'- 640 kú₁uu. 641 hú uu. 642 dhú,uu. 645 du₁v. 646 buu. 647 huulut. 648 ú uur. 649 thú₁uz'n. 652 kud. 653 but [unemph.].

U': 654 shuróud. 656 rùm. 657 brùn. 658 dùn. 661 shú₁uur. 662 hu₁z [emphatic, also (hi₁t) = it emph.]. 663 hùs. 665 mùs. 666 hu,zbund.

667 ùt. 668 prùd. 669 *u*₁qkʊ *u*₁qkʊth [(*u*₁qkʊt) at Temple Sowerby, We.]. 671 mùth. 672 sùth.

Y- 673 m*u*₁tɟ m*u*₁k'l. 675 ˌd₁râi. 676 lí₁ii. 678 din. 679 tɟ*u*₁rtɟ ke°rk. 680 b*i*₁zi. 682 lit'l [obs. neither (láa·l) nor (laal)]. Y: 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bâi. 687 flæ'it. 689 bi₁l'd. 690 kæ'n'. 691 mâin'. 693 sin. 696 bɛrth. 697 bɛr*i*. 699 r*i*₁it. 700 w*u*₁rs. 701 f*u*'rst [for (*u*') the tongue is advanced midway between (*i*) and (*u*) positions]. 703 pit. Y'- 705 skâi. 706 ['what for,' used]. 707 tha₁rtiin. 708 hâiʊr. Y': 709 fâiʊr. 712 mæ'is.

II. English.

A. 713 ba₁d. 714 la₁d. 723 deeri. 724 bɛ'l'd. 725 s*ii*e°l. 730 ka₁nˌtʊ₁r. 734 dàrn. 735 ma₁sh. 737 m*ee*₁t. 740 w*ee*ʊv. 742 *lee*zi. E. 744 mez'l'z. 745 tɟit. 746 brîidh. 750 bɛg. I. *and* Y. 753 [(kit'l) used]. 754 pig. 759 fit. 761 l*ii*e°d. 767 nóiz. 769 mó*u*diwarp. 771 fon'd. 772 b*ii*e°nfâir. 774 pó*u*ni. — n*i*uk [nook]. 777 shop. 778 ʊf*iwú*₁ʊrd. 783 p*u*₁lˌtˌri. 789 r*ó*u. 790 gùn. U. 793 h*u*.g. 794 dɟ*u*₁g. 799 sk*u*₁l. 801 r*u*₁m. 802 r*u*₁m. 803 dɟ*u*.mp. 805 kr*u*₁dz. 808 p*u*₁t.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 ĭɛb'l'. 810 f*ii*e°s. 811 pl*ii*e°s. 812 l*ii*e°s. 813 b*ee*k'n. 814 m*ii*e°s'n. 818 ĭɛ'dɟ. 819 r*ee*dɟ. 824 tɟ*ee*₁r. · 825 w*ii*e°f. 830 ˌtˌreen. 833 p*ee*₁r. 835 rìz'n. 836 sìz'n. 838 ˌtˌrit. 852 *ee*pʊr'n. 853 bàrgin. 854 ba r'l' ba₁ril. 855 ka₁rʊt. 8 6 pàrt. 857 k*ii*e°s. 858 br*ee*s. 859 tɟ*ii*e°s. 860 p*ii*e°st. 861 t*ii*e°st. 862 s*ii*e°f. 865 fɛat. 866 py ʊr.

E·· 867 t*ii*. 871 gr*ii*. 874 rɛ'in ræ'in. 875 fɛ''ʊnt. 877 *ee* r. 881 sɛns. 888 sàrt'n. 890 bìst. 891 fist. 892 nɛvi. 893 flùʊr. 894 d*i*siiv. 895 r*i*siiv.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 dlæ'it. 898 næ'is. 899 nìs. 900 pr*ee*. 901 fæ'in. 902 mæ'in. 908 ʊdvæ'is. 909 briiz. 910 dɟiis. 912 ræ'is.

O·· 913 k*wú*₁ʊtɟ. 914 brootɟ. 915 st*u*₁f. 916 *u*₁ni*j*ʊn [not (*u*₁nɟʊn), and so (ril*i*dɟ*i*)ʊn) religion]. 917 *roog*. 919 ôˌntmʊnt. 920 pôint. 921 ʊk*w*ɛnt. 922 b*u*₁sh'l. 924 tɟóis. 925 vôis. 926 spôil. 933 fr*u*₁nt. 935 k*u*₁nˌtˌri. 939 kl*ú*₁ʊs. 940 k*wú*₁ʊt. 941 f*iu*l. 942 bùtɟʊr [not (b*u*₁tɟ-)]. 943 t*u*₁tɟ. 947 bôil. 948 bùl'. 950 s*u*₁p [the last syllable of *supper* being omitted]. 951 k*u*.p'l'. 952 k*wú*₁ʊrs. 954 k*u*₁shʊn. 955 dùt. 956 k*u*₁vʊr.

U·· 960 kee. 961 gr*ú*₁ul'. 963 k*w*âi*j*ʊt. 964 síuu*j*ʊt. 965 ôil. 966 fríuut. 967 síuut. 969 syy₁*ur*. 970 dɟ*u*₁st. 971 flíuut.

## Var. ii. South Shields, Du., cwl.,

formed from the lw. given me by Rev. C. Y. Potts, native, and constantly corrected and augmented from 1868 to 1883, written in glossic and pal. by AJE., see the cs., pp. 645, 649.

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 tĭɛk'n [taken]. 5 mĭɛk. 6 mĭɛd. 7 nĭɛm sĭɛk [namesake]. — krɛd'l [cradle]. 8 hɛv. 17 laa. 18 kĭɛk. 21 nĭɛm. 23 sĭɛm. 24 shɛm shĭɛm. 28 hĕɛʊ. 30 kĕɛʊ. 34 last.

A: 39 kom. 43 [pl.] hanz. 44 land [pl.] lanz. 46 kan'l. 49 hiq. 50 tĭɛqz. 51 man. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wɛsh. A: *or* O: 58 frɛm. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 ʊmaq. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 64 raq. 65 saq.

A'- 67 gan. 69 na' [in answer to a question]. 72 wii w*oo*. 73 sii. 75 str*oo*k. 76 tĭɛd. 77 laa'ʊd. 79 aan ô*u*n. 81 lɟɛn. 87 kl*ee*z. 89 bɟɛth. 90 blaa. 91 máa*u* môʊn [p.p. mownʊ]. 92 naa. 93 snaa snô*u*. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 97 sô*u*l. 100 saan sô*u*n.

A': 102 aks. 104 r*oo*d. 113 h*oo*l w*oo*l. 115 hĭɛm. 117 won. 118 bĭɛn.

121 gĭɛn. 122 nĭɛn [none], nii [no]. 123 nɔthin. 124 stĭɛn. 125 *oo*ni. 132 hɛt. 134 *oo*th. 136 ó*u*dhʊ.

Æ- 138 fadhʊ [best], f*ee*dhʊ [intermediate], f*i*dhʊ [worst]. — lɛdhʊ [ladder]. — blɛdhʊ [bladder]. 140 h*ee*l. 144 ʊgĭɛn. 148 f*ee*ʊ. 149 bliiz. 150 liist. 152 watʊ waatʊ. — whɛdhʊ [whether]. Æ: — wɛk'n [waken]. — st*i*di [steady]. — tʊgidʊ [together]. 161 d*ee*. 164 m*ee*. — sl*ei*t [sleight]. — emp*i* [empty]. 169 whɛn. — glas [glass]. — k*ee*ʊt [cart]. 179 what. Æ'- — rĭtʃ [to reach]. 184 liid l*i*d. — r*i*di [ready]. 187 liiv. 189 w*ei*. 190 kii. 191 hiil. 192 miin. 194 on*i*. 195 mon*i*. Æ': 205 thriid thr*i*d. 206 rɛd. 208 ivʊ. 209 nivʊ. 210 kl*ee*. 215 t*ou*t. 216 diil. — miil [meal]. 222 h*ee*ʊ. 227 wiit. — hilth [health].

E- 232 brɔk. 233 spiik. 234 nɛd. — triid [to tread]. — stiid st*i*d [stead]. — wɛdhʊ [weather]. 235 wiiv. — hɛv*i* [heavy]. 239 s*ee*l. 243 pl*ee*. 244 wiil. — tíiʊ [to tear]. — bíiʊ [to bear]. — píiʊ [a pear]. 248 míiʊ. 249 wíiʊ. 250 swíiʊ. — iit [to eat]. — fɛdhʊ [feather]. 254 lɛdhʊ.

E: — hiiv [to heave]. 258 sɛg. 260 l*ee*. 261 s*ee*. — biid [a bead]. 262 w*ee*. 266 wiil. — fiild [field]. 267 iild. — wɛl [a well]. 272 ɛlʊm. 281 lɛnth. 282 strɛnth. 284 thrɛsh. — br*u*ˌst br*u*ˌs'n [burst, pres. and p. part.]. E'- 301 híiʊ. E': 305 h*ai*. 306 h*ei*t. — bl*i*s [bless].

EA- — haak [hawk]. — jɛl [ale]. EA: 322 laf. 323 f*ou*t f*i*t. 324 *ei*t. 325 waak. 327 b*ou*ld. 328 k*ou*ld. 329 f*ou*ld. 330 had [occ.] h*ou*ld [gen.]. 331 s*ou*ld. 332 t*ou*ld. — hɛltʊ [halter]. 337 waal. 338 kaal. — ʊmĭɛst [almost]. — bíivd [beard]. 340 j*ee*vd. — haad [hard]. 342 *ee*ʊm. — haam [harm]. 343 waam. — waan [warn]. 345 dʌʌ'ʊ. — j*ee*ʊn [yarn].

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii [Newcastle]. 349 fiù. EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 riid. 353 briid br*i*d. 355 diif. 356 líif. — t*ai* [tie]. 359 n*ei*bʊ. — hiip [a heap]. — íiʊ [year]. — tíiʊ [a tear]. — l*ou*s [loose]. 366 griit. 367 thriit. 368 diith d*i*th. 369 slâ*u*.

EI- 372 *ee*i. 373 dh*ee*. 375 r*ee*z. 376 b*ee*t. EI: 378 wiik. 382 dh*ee*ʊ.

EO- 384 hiv'n. 386 j*ou*. 387 nĭù. EO: 389 j*oo*k. 390 shuud. — daak [dark] 397 swʌʌ'vd s*ú*ʊvd. — kaav [carve]. 398 staav. 399 briit. — *ee*vl [eel]. — faam [farm]. — br*u*ˌnt [burnt]. 402 l*ee*ʊn laan. 404 staa. — smaat [smart]. 406 *ee*ʊth [earth]. 407 faadʊn. EO'- 413 d*i*vil. 414 flii. 416 diiʊ. 417 tj*ou*. 420 f*ou*ʊ. EO': 425 liit. 426 f*ee*t. — whiil [wheel]. 430 fr*i*nd. — d*i*pnis [Ws. deópnyss, for depth]. 432 f*ou*vth. 433 briist br*i*st. 434 bɛt. 437 truuth. EY- 438 dii.

I- 447 hʌ'ʊ. — j*i*s [yes]. 449 gɛt'n [gotten]. 451 s*ou*. I: 452 a aa. 453 w*i*k [alive], k*i*wik [rapid]. — thʌʌ'vd [third]. — bʌʌ'vd [bird]. 458 niit [in fort*night* often (fʌ'vtnith), see Part II. p. 477*a*]. 459 riit. 462 siit. 464 whˌitʃ. 465 s*i*k. 466 tj*ei*ld. 473 blˌnd. 476 b*i*nd. 477 f*i*nd. — b*i*h*i*nd [behind]. 478 gr*i*nd ['very low'], gr*u*ˌndsʊn [grindstone]. 479 w*i*nd. 481 f*i*qʊ [and generally as in (s*i*q'l, straqʊ, lʌqʊ), *ng* is (q) not (qg)]. 485 th*i*s'l. 488 jˌit. — dʌʌ'vti [dirty].

I'- [(*ei*) may be (ɛ'*i*)]. 490 b*ai*. 492 s*ei*d. 498 r*ei*t. — thʌʌ'vt*i*. I': 500 l*ei*k. 502 f*ai*v. 504 n*ei*f n*ei*vz. 505 w*ei*f. 506 wˌu*u*ˌmʊn. 508 m*ei*l. 510 m*ei*n. 511 w*ei*n.

O- — brɔk'n [broken]. — shˌu*u*ˌv'l shˌu*u*ˌl [shovel]. — jˌu*u*ˌv'n [oven]. 519 ó*u*jʊ. 520 bô*u*. 523 h*oo*p. — fʌʌ'ʊ [fore]. 525 wʌʌ'vld. O: 527 b*ou*t. 528 th*ou*t. 529 br*ou*t. 531 d*ou*tʊ. 532 k*oo*l. 533 dˌu*u*ˌl. 536 g*ou*ld, g*ou*ldsmith. 538 wad. 539 bôd. 542 b*ou*lt. — skʌʌ'ʊ [score]. 550 wʌʌ'vd. 552 kʌʌ'vn. 553 hʌʌ'vn.

O'- 556 tiv [(tˌi)d) to it]. 558 lĭˌu*u*ˌk. — fɔdhʊ [fodder]. 559 mˌu*u*ˌdhʊ. 560 skĭˌu*u*ˌl. 562 mĭˌu*u*ˌn. 566 *u*ˌdhʊ. 568 brˌu*u*ˌdhʊ. O': 569 bĭˌu*u*ˌk. 570 tĭˌu*u*ˌk. 572 blˌu*u*ˌd. 578 pluu. 579 vnĭuf [pl. and sg.]. 584 stĭˌu*u*ˌl. 586 d*i*v, d*i*v'nt [don't], *ei* d*i*v)ʊ [yes do I], *ei* ʊ dii [yes I do]. 587 dĭˌu*u*ˌn d*i*)d [do it]. — bˌu*u*ˌzʊm [bosom].

U- — wˌu*u*ˌd [wood]. 599 ʊbˌu*u*ˌv. 600 lˌu*u*ˌv. 602 suu. — thˌu*u*ˌm [thumb].

— th*u*nv [thunder]. — hin*i* [honey as a term of endearment]. 605 s*u*ₗn. — n*u*ₗt [nut].

U: — p*u*ₗl [pull]. 610 w*u*ₗl. 612 s*u*ₗm. 615 puund [refined], p*u*ₗnd [vulgar]. 616 gruund [ref.], gr*u*ₗnd [vulgar]. 618 wuund. 619 fuund [ref.], f*u*ₗnd [vulgar]. 620 gruund [ref.], gr*u*ₗnd [vulgar]. 621 wuund [ref.], w*u*ₗnd [vulgar]. 625 t*u*ₗq. — fAA'v [fir].

U'- 640 kuu. 641 huu. 644 s*u*ₗk. 646 buu. 648 úuv WAA'v. 650 vbuut. 652 kuud. 653 b*u*ₗt. U': 657 bruun. 658 duun. 659 tuun. — súuv [sour]. 662 h*u*ₗz. 664 luus [but *loose* is lóus]. 667 uut.

Y- 675 dʒii [in N. Shields]. 676 lin. 679 tjAAvtj. Y: 685 rig. [occ.]. 689 biild. 690 kéind. 691 méind. 694 wáavk. — WAA'vm [worm]. 700 WAA'vs. 701 fAA'vst. — shAA'vt sháavt [shirt]. — tjist k'st. 702 wiv [often]. Y': 709 féiv. 712 méis.

II. English.

A. 726 taak. 734 daan. E. — wELth [wealth]. 747 *indi*'vv. 748 fligd. O. 774 pó*uni*. — p*u*ltis [poultice]. 783 p*u*ₗltri. — puur [to pour]. U. 794 dj*u*ₗg. 796 bluu. — b*u*ₗlk [bulk]. — tiun [tune]. 808 p*u*ₗt.

III. Romance.

A·· 810 fiES. 813 biEk'n. 822 m*ee*. — f*ee*l [fail]. — éev [air]. — tj*ee*n [chain]. — pliiz [please]. — plizhv [pleasure]. — m*ee*stv [master]. 840 tjEmv. — léevdj [large]. — tjéevdj [charge]. — mEr*i* [marry]. — waand [warrant]. — kEr*i* [carry]. 854 barvl. — éevmi [army]. — baa [bar]. — skéevs [scarce]. 856 péevt. — géevtv [garter]. — mas [mass]. — pas [pass]. 860 piEst. — mitv [matter]. 862 siEf. 865 falt. — fals [false].

E·· — kriitv [creature, and so *-ture* gen.]. — p*ee*n [pain]. — str*ee*n [strain]. — tr*i*m'l [tremble]. — héevl haal. 886 friiv. 887 kláadji. — péevl paal [pearl]. tr*ee*k'l [treacle]. — hiivs [hearse]. tr*i*zhv [treasure]. — pr*i*z*i*ns [presence]. — niit [neat]. — mEzhv [measure]. 890 biist. 893 flúuv. — úuv [hour]. 894 disiiv. 895 risiiv. I·· *and* Y·· 898 néis.

O·· 914 br*oo*tj. — f*ee*th [faith]. 922 b*u*ₗshel. 928 iins. 935 k*u*ₗntri. — skAA'vdj [scourge]. 239 kl*oo*s. — r*oo*st [roast]. — t*oo*st [toast]. 940 k*oo*t. 941 fiu*u*ₗl. 942 b*u*ₗtjv. 943 t*u*ₗtj. 947 bA'ₗl. — faa'v [fur]. — tAA'vn [turn]. 953 k*u*ₗzin. — p*u*ₗsh [push]. 954 k*u*ₗsh'n.

U·· — diu [due]. — truun [truant]. — sh*u*ₗgv [sugar]. — dj*u*ₗdj [judge]. — waa [war]. — p*u*ₗlpit [pulpit]. 969 shúuv. 970 dj*u*ₗst.

## South Northumberland, cwl.,

Embracing and contrasting Var. iii and iv.

H. Var. iii, wl. by Rev. George Rome Hall, Birtley Vicarage, Wark-on-Tyne (9 nnw.Hexham). District bounded by the river Rede to n., by Watling St. to e., by North Tyne river to w., and by Barrasford Crags (6 n.Hexham) to s.; applying to most of the district of North Tynedale from Bellingham to Hexham, written in 1877, after 17 years' acquaintance with the dialect, with numerous explanations in io. and conjecturally pal. by AJE.

P. Var. iv, Pitmen's speech in se.Nb., between rivers Tyne and Wansbeck, for about 10 miles from the coast, written in 1877, with numerous explanations in io. by Rev. Hugh Taylor, of Humshaugh (5 nnw.Hexham), who had been acquainted with the dialect 40 years, and revised by Mr. John Taylor, of Earsdon (7 ne.Newcastle, Nb.), and Mr. G. B. Forster of Backworth, in the same parish, both mining engineers, and in constant communication with the pitmen. Pal. conjecturally by AJE.

Where no letter is prefixed, the pron. is common to both H and P.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 H bíiuk, P bĭɛk. 4 H tíiuk, P tĭɛk. 5 H míiuk, P mĭɛk. 6 míiud, P mĭɛd. 7 H síiuk, P sĭɛk. 8 hɛv. 9 H bíhéeuv, P bíhĭɛ·v. 10 H *hoo*, P haa. 11 H m*oo*. 12 H s*oo*, P saa. 13 H n*oo*, P naa. 14 H d*roo*, P d*r*aa. 16 H [b*r*ik *u* d*ee*) used], P daan. 17 H *loo* laa, P laa. 18 H kíiuk, P kĭɛk. 19 H tíiul, P tĭɛl. 20 H líium, P lĭɛm. 21 H níium, P nĭɛm. 22 H tíium, P tĭɛm. 23 H síium, P sĭɛm. 24 H shíium, P shɛm. 25 H míiun, P mĭɛn. 26 H w*ee*un. 27 H níiuv. 28 H h*ee*o*r*. 31 H líiut, P lĭɛt. 32 H b*ee*dh. 33 H *ree*dho*r*, P *r*ɛdho*r*. 34 H last. 35 H [(iilsin, ɛlsin) used], P aal. 36 H th*oo*, P thaa. 37 H kl*oo*, P klaa.

A: 39 H kom, P kam. 40 H kíium ["as in *real*," but also said to be distinct (kíiam), but I take *real* to be the proper type, see (níum) p. 660, Nos. 7 and 8]. 41 H thaqk, P thɛqk. 43 H han. 44 H lan. 46 kan'l. 47 H wandu*r*, 48 saq. 50 H tɛqz, P tĭɛqz. 51 H man, P mun. 52 H waan. 54 want. 55 H as [pl. and sg.]. 56 wɛsh. 57 H [(kœ$_{\text{I}}$di) used].

A: *or* O: 58 f*r*e. 59 H lam. 60 laq. 61 umaq. 62 s*tr*aq. 63 th*r*aq. 64 raq. 65 saq. 66 H thaq, P thaq thɛq.

A'- 67 gan, P gii [(gii jo*r* w*ee*z tu skĭœ$_{\text{I}}$l) go your ways to school]. 69 nii. 70 H tii. 71 H w*oo*. 72 whii. 73 sii. 74 twii. 75 H st*roo*k. 76 H tíiud, P tĭɛd. 78 H *oo*, P aa. 79 H ó*u*n, P aan, 80 hal*i*d*e*. 81 [(lon*i*n) used]. 83 H míiun. 84 mee*r*. 85 see*r*. 86 jɛts [H occ. (hav*or*)]. 87 H kliiuz, P kl*ee*z. 88 H kliieth klɛd, P kl*ee*dh. 89 H bíiuth, P bĭɛth. 90 H bl*oo*, P blaa. 91 H m*oo*, P maa. 92 [H *ken* used], P naa. 93 H sn*oo*, HP snaa. 94 H k*roo*, P k*r*aa. 95 H th*roo*, P th*r*aa. 96 H s*oo*, P saa. 97 s*ó*ul. 98 [H (kɛnd) used], P naan. 99 H th*roo*n, P th*r*aan. 100 H s*oo*n, P saan.

A': 101 H jɛk. 102 aks [H axe=(*ee*ks)]. 104 H *roo*d. 105 *ri*d. 106 b*r*íiud. 107 H liiuf, lĭɛf. 108 H doo, P duu. 109 H *loo*, P laa. 111 ó*u*t [H with slight (kɪcht)]. 113 H híiul, P hĭɛl. 115 H hiium, P hĭɛm. 116 H hiium. 118 H bíiun, P bĭɛn. 121 H gíiun, P gĭɛn. 122 H níiun, P nĭɛn. 123 [(nó*ut*) used]. 124 H stíiun, P stĭɛn. 125 onl*i*. 126 H *oor*, P o*r*. 127 hiir*s*. 128 H dh*oo*z, dhii, P dho*r*. 129 H giiust, P g*ee*st. 130 H búust. 131 H g*oo*t. 132 hɛt. 133 *rit* [used]. 134 *ee*th. 135 H kliiut, HP kluut. 136 ó*u*dho*r*.

Æ- 138 H f*ee*dho*r*, P fɛdho*r* [but children say (H dad*i*, P dɛdi)]. 139 H d*ree*. 140 H h*ée*ul. 141 H n*ée*ul, P nĭɛl. 142 H sn*ée*ul. 143 H tíiul [as *real*]. 144 H ugíiun, P ugĭɛn. 145 H sl*ee*un. 147 H br*ee*n. 148 H fee*r*. 149 H bl*ee*z. 150 H liist. 152 wɛto*r*. 153 sɛto*r*d*e*.

Æ: 155 thak. 157 H *ree*v'n. 158 ɛfto*r*. 160 H ɛg. 161 H d*ee*. 164 H m*ee*. 165 *see*d. 166 H m*ee*d. 168 H talu. 169 H whɛn. 170 H haa*r*vest. 172 H gras ga*r*s. 173 H [(waa*r*) used)], P was [with (s)]. 174 ɛsh. 175 H fast. 178 [(midj) used]. 179 what. 180 [not used]. 181 H pɛth.

Æ'- 182 H sii. 183 H tiitj. 184 H liid. 185 H *ri*id. 186 H b*r*iidth, P b*r*idth. 187 H liiv. 188 H [(nɪko*r*) used]. 189 H wĕi$_{\text{I}}$kh, P wii. 190 H kii. 191 H hiil. 192 H miin. 193 H kliin. 194 on*i*. 195 mon*i*. 196 H o*or*, P we*r*. 197 H tjiiz. 199 H bliit [occ. (blee*r*), but that gen. applies to cattle]. 200 whiit [(wh) fully heard]. 201 H hiidh'n. 202 H hiit.

Æ': 203 spiitj. 204 diid. 205 H th*r*iid, P th*r*id. 206 *r*ɛd. 207 niid'l. 210 H kl*ee*. 211 H g*r*ee. 215 H t*oo*t [and (tiitjt)], P tó*u*t. 216 diil. 217 H iitj. 218 H shiip. 219 H sliip. 222 h*éo*r. 223 dh*éo*r. 225 H flɛsh. 226 H m*ee*st, P mĭɛst. 227 wiit. 228 swiit. 230 H fat.

E- 232 b*ri*k [brak]. 233 H spik [spak]. 235 H wiiv. 236 H fiiv*or*. 237 H tjilblɛn. 238 H hɛdj. 239 *see*l. 240 H l*ee*d, P lĭɛn. 241 *ree*n. 242 H tw*ee*n. 243 pl*ee*. 246 kwiin. 247 H spíiun. 248 miir. 249 wiir. 250 swiir. 251 H miit. 252 H kɛt'l. 253 H nɛt'l. 254 lɛdho*r*. 255 wɛdo*r*.

E: 257 H ɛdj. 258 H sɛg. 259 H wɛdj. 260 H l*ee*. 261 H s*ee*. 262 w*ee*. 264 H *ee*l. 265 str*é*it. 268 [H *oo*dust, P aadust]. 270 i. bɛlusis, ii. bɛl*i*. 272 H ɛlm. 273 H mɛn. 274 H bɛntj. 276 H thiqk. 277 H d*r*ɛntj. 278 H wɛntj. 280 ili·v'n. 281 H lɛnth. 283 ma*ri*. 284 th*r*ɛsh

[H *to berry* is most usual, see *Brockett's* Glossary]. 285 kʀɛs. 286 haʀv. 287 bœ,z'm [or possibly (bu,z'm)].

E'- 289 ɟʊ. 290 hi. 291 dhʊ. 292 mʊ. 293 wi. 294 H fiid. 295 H bʀɛd. 296 H biliiv. 298 H fiil. 299 H *g*riin. 300 H kiip. 301 hío*r*. 303 H swiit. E': 305 H hii. 306 H héi⌊kjht. 307 néi. 308 H niid. 310 H hiil. 311 H tɛn. 314 H híio*r*d, P ho*r*d. 315 H fiit. 316 H nɛkst, P nɪkst.

EA- 317 [*flay* not used except in sense of *frighten*]. 319 H gíiʊp. 320 keer.

EA: 321 H s*oo*, P saa. 322 H laf. 323 fó*u*t [fit'n], [H slight (kjh)]. 324 á¹it [H slight (kjht)]. 325 H w*oo*k, HP waak. 326 H *oo*d, P aad ad. 327 bó*u*ld. 328 H k*oo*d, P kaad kad. 329 H f*oo*d. 330 H h*oo*d, P had. 331 P só*u*ld, H [(sɛld sɛlt)] used. 332 [(H teld, HP tɛlt) used]. 333 H k*oo*f. 334 H h*oo*f [or (h*oo*) in (h*oo*pni) halfpenny], P h*ee*f. 335 H *oo* [and (aa)], P aal. 336 H f*oo* [and (faal)], P faal. 337 H w*oo* [and (waal)], P waal. 340 ɟ*ee*rd. 342 *ee*rm. 343 waarm. 345 H deer, P daar. 346 H giiʊt, P gĭɛt.

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii. 349 H fíu. EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 *r*iid. 353 b*r*iid. 354 shɛf. 355 diif. 356 H liif. 357 H th*oo*. 359 H néib*o*r, P niib*o*r. 360 H tiim. 361 H biin. 362 H sl*ee*. 363 H tɟiip. 365 H niir, P [(néi) used]. 366 H g*r*iiʊt, P g*r*iit. 367 H th*r*iit. 368 diith. 369 H sl*oo*, P slaa. 370 H *roo*, P raa. 371 H st*ree*, P straa.

EI- 372 ɛ'i [P "half a dozen accents and tones according to meaning"]. 373 H dh*ee*. 374 H n*ee*, P naa. 375 H *ree*z. 376 H b*ee*t. EI: 377 H stiiʊk, P. stĭɛk. 378 w*ee*k. 382 H dh*eeo*r.

EO- 383 siv'n. 384 hiv'n. 385 ʊniith. 386 ɟó*u*. 387 H níu. EO: 381 H m*i*lk. 389 H ɟó*u*k. 390 H sh*u*,d s*u*,d. 393 ʊɟont. 396 waa*r*k. 397 H suurd, P sw*o*rd. 398 B staa*r*v, P steer*v*. 399 H brĕi⌊kjht. 400 aarnest. 402 H laa*r*n, P l*ee*rn. 403 H faa*r*. 404 H staa*r*. 405 H h*a*rth, P heerth. 406 H ɟɛrth, P earth. 407 faa*r*d'n.

EO'- 409 H bii. 411 H th*r*ii. 412 shii shʊ. 413 H di*v*il diil, P diiv*i*l. 414 flii. 415 lii. 416 diio*r*. 417 tɟó*u*. 418 b*r*uu. 420 fó*uv*r. EO': 423 thii. 424 H *r*œ,f. 425 H léi⌊kjht, P liit. 426 H féi⌊kjht, P féit [fit]. 427 H bii. 428 H sii. 429 fiind. 430 f*r*iind. 431 biio*r*. 432 fó*uv*rth. 433 briist. 434 bɛt. 435 ɟʊ. 436 t*r*uu. 437 t*r*uuth. EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 H t*r*œ,st.

I- 440 H wiik. 441 H siiv. 442 H áivi. 443 H fréide. 444 stéil. 445 H hii. 446 H néin. 448 H dhii, P dho*r*. 449 H git. 450 H tíuzde. 451 síu.

I: 454 H witɟ. 455 [*to lay* used]. 457 P miit. 458 H néi⌊kjht, P niit. 459 *r*iit [H slight (-kjht)]. 460 H wéi⌊kjht, P wéit. 461 H vliit [slight (-kjht)]. 462 H séi⌊kjht, P siit. 464 H whitɟ. 465 sik. 466 [*bairn* used]. 468 [*bairns* used occ.], P tɟildo*r*. 471 tim*o*r. 472 H sh*r*iqk. 473 blind. 475 wind. 476 bind. 477 find. 478 g*r*ind. 479 wœ,nd. 481 fiqo*r*. 484 H dhis. 485 H th*r*is'l. 486 H ɟɛst, P ɟist. 487 ɟistorde. 488 ɟit.

I'- [instead of (éi) I heard (ə'i) or (á¹i.] 490 béi [H (uutbéi) at a distance, (inbéi) near]. 491 séi. 493 d*r*éiv. 494 téim. 496 éirʊn. 498 *r*éit [H used generally (a)m *r*ɛtʊn) I'm writing]. I': [instead of (éi) I heard (ə'i) or (á¹i).] 500 léik. 501 wéid. 502 féiv. 503 léif. 504 néif. 505 wéif. 506 H wœ,mʊn. 507 H wœ,mœ,n. 508 méil. 509 whéil. 511 wéin. 513 wéi*r*. 514 éis. 517 ɟíu.

O- 520 bó*u*. 521 fúuul. 522 op'n. 523 h*oo*p. 524 world. O: 526 H kof. 527 H bó*u*⌊kht, P bó*u*t. 528 H thó*u*⌊kht, P thó*u*t. 529 H b*r*ó*u*⌊kht, P b*r*ó*u*t. 530 H *r*ó*u*⌊kht, P *r*ó*u*t. 531 H dó*u*⌊khto*r*, P dó*u*to*r*. 532 kúuul. 533 dœ,l. 534 H húuul. 536 H gó*u*d, P gó*u*ld. 537 H mó*u*ld. 538 H w*u*,d, P wad. 539 bó*u*l. 542 H b*oo*lt. 545 hop. 547 H buurd. 549 H h*oo*rd. 550 w*o*rd. 551 H st*o*rm. 552 H k*o*rn. 553 H h*o*rn. 554 H kros. O'- 557 tii. 558 H liiʊk, P lĭœ,k. 559 P midhor [a child says *mammy*, H P]. 562 H miiʊn, P mĭœ,n. 564 H síiʊn, P sĭœ,n. 565 H n*oo*z. 566 H *u*,dho*r*.

O': 569 H biiʊk, P bĭœ,k. 570 H tíiʊk, P tĭœ,k. 571 H giiʊd, P gĭœ,d. 572 P blĭœ,d. 573 H flœ,d, ? fl*u*,d. 574 H b*r*uud. 575 H stœ,d, ? *u*,. 576

wɛdínzde. 577 buu. 578 H plíiuf, P pluu. 579 H uníiuf, P unĭœ₁f. 580 H tíiuf, P tĭœ₁f. 581 H só*u*[kht, P só*u*t. 582 H kíiul. 583 H tíiul. 584 H stiiul, P stĭ*u*₁l. 586 dii, H [also] *di*v. 587 H diiun, P dĭœ₁n. 588 H níiun. 589 H spíiun, P spĭœ n. 590 H fluur. 591 H m*oo*r. 592 H sw*o*r. 593 [(mœ₁n men mun) used]. 594 bíiut bĭœ₁t. 595 H fœ₁t fit. 596 H *rœ*₁t. 597 H síiut, P sĭœ₁t.

U- 599 H ubíiun. 600 H lœ₁v, P lĭuv. 601 fuul. 602 suu. 603 H kœ₁m. 605 H sœ₁n. 606 duu*o*r. 607 H bœ₁t*o*r b*u*₁t*o*r. U: 608 H œ gl*i*. 609 H fœ₁l. 610 uu. 611 H bœ₁luk [also (stiir, nó*u*t)]. 612 H sœ₁m. 613 H dr*œ*₁qk. 614 huund, H hœ₁nd [also especially (gr*ee*hœ₁nd) greyhound]. 615 pœ₁nd. 616 H gr*œ*₁nd, P gr*u*₁nd. 617 suund. 618 uund. 619 fœ₁nd. 620 H gr*œ*₁nd, P gr*u*₁nd. 622 unœ ndo*r*. 625 H tœ₁q. 626 hœ₁qo*r*. 628 H nœ₁n. 629 H sœ₁n. 631 thorzde. 632 H œ₁p *u*₁p. 633 H kœ₁p k*u*₁p. 634 H thruu [occ. thrœ₁f]. 636 worth. 636 fordho*r*. 638 H bœ₁sk. 639 H dœ₁st.

U′- 640 kuu. 641 huu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 645 H dœ₁v. 646 buu. 647 uul [nearly always (dʒíni huulet) Jenny howlet]. 648 wo*r*. 649 thuuzun. 652 H k*u*₁d. 653 H bœ₁t b*u*₁t. U′: 654 sh*r*uud. 655 fuul. 656 *r*uum. 657 b*r*uun. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 661 shuuo*r*. 662 hœ₁z. 663 huus. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 H mœ tʒ mœ k'l. 674 H did. 676 lii. 677 H dr*éi*. 679 tʒ*o*rtʒ [H (kərkfiild) field next the church]. 680 H bi*zi*. 682 H *lit*'l. Y: 683 H m*i*dʒ. 684 H br*ig*. 685 H *rig*. 686 H b*éi*. 687 H fl*éi*[kht. 689 biild. 690 H k*é*ind. 691 H m*é*ind. 693 H *sin*. 696 b*o*rth. 697 H bɛr*i*, P b*a*r*i*. 698 P m*o*rth. 699 H *réi*t. 700 H wa*r*s, P wo*r*s. 701 fo*r*st. 703 H pit. 704 H viiks'n. Y′- 705 sk*éi*. 706 wh*éi*. 707 th*o*rtiin. 708 h*éir*. Y′: 709 f*éir*. 711 l*éis*. 712 m*éis*.

## II. English.

A. 724 baald. 725 H síiul. 733 H ska*r*, P skii*r*. 737 H [occ. (maru) marrow]. 740 H w*ee*v. E. 744 mɛz'lz. 746 b*r*iidh. 747 *i*ndi·vo*r*. 748 H flɛgd, P fli*g*d. 751 pii*r*t [=bright looking]. I. *and* Y. 753 H [usually (*kit*'l)]. 758 *geer*l. O. 761 H líiud, P lĭɛd. 762 H m*ou*dir*a*t. 774 p*ou*n*i*. 783 H pœ₁lt*ri*, P p*u*₁lt*ri*. 784 buuns. 785 luundʒ. 786 duus. 787 suus. 790 guun. U. 799 P skĭœ₁l. 803 H [usually (lo*u*p)]. 804 H dr*œ*₁k'n. 805 kr*œ*₁dz. 807 H pœ₁s, P p*u*₁s. 808 H pœ₁t p*u*₁t, P p*u*₁t.

## III. Romance.

A·· 809 jɛb'l. 810 H fíiɛs, P fĭɛs. 811 H plíiɛs. 812 H líiɛs. 815 faks. 816 H fiiɛd, P fĭɛd. 817 *r*ɛdish. 824 P tʒi*ir*. 828 H *ee*g*i*. 832 míio*r*. 838 P trɛt. 840 H tʒambo*r* tʒamo*r*, P tʒɛmo*r*. 843 H brɛntʒ. 845 H *ee*nshun. 846 H tʒaanulo*r*. 847 H daandʒo*r* [so also (aandʒul) angel]. 853 P beergin. 854 P ba*r*l. 856 pee*r*t. 857 H kíiɛs. 859 H tʒíiɛs. 860 H píiɛst, P pĭɛst. 861 H tíiɛst, P tĭɛst. 862 H síiuf, P sĭɛf. 863 tʒaf. 864 H bikoo·z, P bika·z. 865 H fóout, P falt. 866 H píio*r*.

E·· 874 H *reen*. 878 salu*ri*. 879 P fɛm'l. 883 dandil*éi*un. 884 P prɛntis. 887 klardʒi. 888 sartin. 892 nɛv*i*. 893 flúuo*r*.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 H dil*éi*[kjht. 898 H n*éis*. 906 H v*éi*po*r*. 907 H tr*éis*. 908 H adv*éis*. 910 H dʒiist, P dʒ*éi*st. 912 H *réis*.

O·· 921 ukɛɛnt. 922 H bœ₁sh'l. 928 uuns. 929 k*ou*kumo*r*. 932 umuunt. 934 buunti. 941 H fiiul, P fĭœ₁l. 942 H bœ₁tʒo*r*. 944 uluu. 945 vuu. 948 H buul. 949 H muuld, P m*ou*ld [? confusion with 537]. 952 k*ú*uo*r*s. 954 H kœ₁sh'n. 955 duut. U·· 969 síio*r*.

## VAR. v, WARKWORTH (5 se.Alnwick), NB., cwl.

representing m.Nb. from Morpeth to Alnwick; from a wl. written 1877 in io. by Mr. Th. D. Ridley, of Coutham, Redcar, native of Warkworth, and gone over vivâ voce with AJE. in 1879 and 1887, whence it was pal. I am not quite sure whether some of the sounds marked (*ii*, uu, *u*$_1$) should not be (*i*$_1$i, *ú*$_1$u, œ$_1$); those marked in this latter way are, however, correct.

*Note.*—(a$^1$)m a$^1$)z) are both common, but the first is rather educated, after a plural *pronoun* the pl. form of the verb is used, but after a pl. *noun* the sg, as "the men is come, they are come."

R A few words marked R were pal. vivâ voce by AJE. from John Ramsay, a labourer at Rothbury, and belong to the same variety.

The (a$^1$, a) here correspond to JGG.'s (a, a$_1$) respectively.

### I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 b*i*EK. 4 t*i*EK. 5 m*i*EK. 6 m*i*ED. 7 s*i*EK. 8 HEV, HE [more commonly]. 9 bi*hee*v. 10 haa$^1$. 11 maa$^1$. 12 saa$^1$. 13 naa$^1$. 14 draa$^1$. 15 aa$^1$. 16 daa$^1$n. 17 laa$^1$. 18 k*i*EK. 19 t*i*EL. 20 l*i*EM. 21 n*i*EM. 22 t*i*EM. 23 s*i*EM. 24 shEM. 25 m*i*EN. 27 n*i*EV. 28 hee*r*. 33 *ree*dhUr. 34 la'st. 35 aa'l. 36 thó*u*. 37 klaa$^1$.

A: 39 ka$^1$m. 40 k*i*EM [(kiium) at Hexham)]. 43 ha$^1$nd. 44 la$^1$nd. 46 ka$^1$n'l, ka'nd'l. 47 wa$^1$ndUr. 50 t*i*Eqz. 51 ma$^1$n. 54 wa$^1$nt. 55 a$^1$s. 56 WESH. 57 a$^1$s.

A: *or* O: 58 f*r*om, f*r*e. 59 la$^1$m. 60 la$^1$q. 61 Uma$^1$q. 62 st*r*a'q. 63 thra$^1$q. 64 *r*a'q [(w'*r*a$^1$q), heard years ago, in w.Nb. not in Warkworth]. 65 sa q. 66 thoq.

A'- 67 gan [going, R (góoUn)]. 69 n*oo*. 70 t*ii*. 71 w*ii*. 72 wh*ii*. 73 s*ii*. 74 tw*ii*. 76 t*i*ED. 77 l*ú*$_1$Urd [(lee*r*d) small landed proprietor]. 78 aa$^1$ [(ó*u*n) to own, possess]. 79 a$^1$n. 80 ha$^1$lidU. 81 lonUn. 83 moon [evidently a modern form for (m*i*EN)]. 84 mee*r*. 85 see*r*. 86 JET, oots. 87 klèeUz. 88 kl*ii*d. 89 b*i*Eth. 90 bla$^1$ [(bl*ú*$_1$u) pt.] 91 ma$^1$ [(mà$^1$d) pt.]. 92 na$^1$ [(níu) pt.]. 93 sna$^1$ [(sníu) not so common as (snà$^1$d) snowed]. 94 kr*á*$^1$. 95 thra$^1$. 96 soo. 97 só*u*d. 98 nà$^1$n. 99 thr*à*$^1$n. 100 sà$^1$n.

A': 101 JEK, ook. 102 a$^1$ks, a$^1$sk. 104 *r*ood, R *r*óoUd. 105 *r*id. 106 b*r*ood. 107 l*i*EF, loof. 108 d*ú*$_1$u. 109 laa$^1$. 110 i. nó*u*t, ii. not. 111 ó*u*t. 113 h*i*EL. 115 h*i*EM, h*ù*$_1$m. 118 b*i*EN. 121 g*i*EN. 122 i. n*i*EN, ii. n*ii*. 124 st*i*EN. 126 oo*r*. 127 h*i*UrS. 128 [(dho*r*) used]. 129 GEST. 130 boot. 131 goot. 132 HET. 133 *r*oot. 134 ooth. 136 ó*u*dhUr.

Æ- 138 faa$^1$dhUr, f*ee*dhUr. 139 d*r*ee. 140 heel. 141 neel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 vg*i*EN. 145 sleen. 146 meen. 147 b*r*een. 148 f*ee*r. 149 bl*ii*z. 150 l*ii*st. 152 waa$^1$tUr, w*ee*tUr.

Æ: 155 tha$^1$k. 157 *ree*v'n. 158 EftUr [no dental (t,r)]. 160 EG. 161 dee. 163 lee. 164 mee. 165 seed. 167 d*i*EL, R deel [wh. Mr. R. said is not used]. 168 ta$^1$lU. 170 ha*r*vist. 171 ba*r*li. 172 ga$^1$*r*s [(*r*) distinct]. 173 wa$^1$s. 174 ESH. 175 fa$^1$st. 178 na$^1$t. 179 wa$^1$t. 180 ba$^1$th. 181 PEth.

Æ'- 182 s*ii*. 183 t*ii*tj. 184 l*ii*d. 185 *r*iid. 186 b*r*iith. 187 l*ii*v. 188 [(nikUr) used. 189 w*ii* WE'*i*. 190 k*ii*. 191 h*ii*l. 192 m*ii*n. 193 kl*ii*n. 194 on*i*. 195 mon*i*. 196 wee*r* [(wa z) gen. used for pl.]. 197 tj*ii*z. 199 bl*ii*t. 200 wh*ii*t. 201 h*ii*dh'n. 202 h*ii*t.

Æ': 203 sp*ii*tj. 204 d*ii*d. 205 thr*ii*d. 206 *r*ED. 207 n*ii*d'l. 210 kl*ee*. 211 g*r*ee. 216 d*ii*l. 217 [not used]. 218 sh*ii*p. 219 sl*ii*p. 221 f*ii*r. 222 hee*r*. 223 dhee*r*. 224 whee*r*. 225 flESh. 226 m*i*EST. 227 WET. 228 SWET. 229 b*r*iith. 230 fa$^1$t.

E- 232 b*r*ik [(brœ$_1$k, brœ k'n) broke, broken]. 233 sp*ii*k. 234 n*ii*d. 235 w*ii*v. 236 f*ii*vor. 237 bleen. 238 HEDj. 239 seel. 241 *r*een. 242 tween. 243 plee. 246 kw*i*in. 247 wiin [but (spíUn) is more used, and

always for lambs]. 248 mee*r*. 249 wee*r*. 250 swee*r*. 251 miit. 252 kɛt'l. 253 nɛt'l. 254 lɛdhʊ*r*. 255 wɛdhʊ*r*.

E: 257 ɛdʒ. 259 wɛdʒ. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 265 str*ɛ*'it. 268 ɛldest [occ. both forms used]. 270 i. bɛlʊsez, ii. bɛl*i*. 272 ɛlm. 273 mɛn. 274 bɛntʒ. 275 stɛntʒ. 276 thɛqk. 277 d*r*ɛntʒ. 278 wɛntʒ. 280 ʊl*i*iv'n. 281 lɛnth. 282 str*ɛ*nth. 283 ma'*ri* [the refined sound is (mo*ri*)]. 284 th*r*ɛsh. 285 kra's ka'rʊ. 286 ha'*r*ʊ. 287 bu₁z'm. 288 lɛt.

E'- 289 *ji*₁i. 290 hi₁i. 291 dhi₁i. 293 wi₁i. 296 bʊli₁iv. 298 fi₁il. 299 gri₁in. 300 ki₁ip. 301 h*iir*. 302 mi₁it. 304 [(klok) always used]. E': 305 hi₁i. 306 hɛ'*i*t. 307 nái. 308 ni₁id. 309 spi₁id. 310 hi₁il. 311 tɛn. 312 h*iir*. 314 hàrd. 315 fi₁it. 316 nɛkst.

EA- 317 [(flee) to frighten only]. 319 gíɛp. 320 kee*r*. EA: 321 sa'. 322 la'f. 323 fó*u*t. 324 ɛ'it. 325 wa'k. 326 a'd, *oo*ld. 327 bó*u*ld. 328 ka'd, R kó*u*ld. 330 ha'd, R ó*u*ld. 331 [(sɛld) used]. 332 [(tɛld) used]. 333 ka'f. 334 ha'f. 335 a'l, aa', R aal. 336 fa'l faa'. 337 wa'l waa'. 340 *ja*rd. 342 eerm. 343 warm. 345 da*r*. 346 gíɛt, jɛt, R géent.

EA'- 347 h*iid*. 348 ái. 349 fíu. EA': 350 d*iid*. 351 l*iid*. 352 *riid*. 353 b*riid*. 355 d*iif*. 356 l*iif*. 357 dhoo. 359 nɛ'*i*bʊr. 360 t*iim*. 361 b*iin*. 363 tʒ*iip*. 366 gr*iit*, R gr*é*ut. 367 th*riit*. 368 d*iith*. 369 slaa'. 370 *raa*'. 371 str*aa*'. EI- 372 ɛ'*i*. 373 dhee. 374 nee. 375 ɛecz. 376 beet. EI: 377-stíɛk. 378 week. 379 heel. 382 dhee*r*.

EO- 383 *si*v'n. 384 h*i*v'n. 385 bin*iid*h. 386 jó*u*. 387 níu. EO: 388 milk. 389 jook. 390 sh*u*₁d. 393 bɛjont. 396 wàrk. 397 sw*o*rd [occ.]. 398 tàrv. 399 brɛ'it. 401 àrnest. 402 làrn, léorn. 403 fàr. 404 stàr. 405 hàrth. 406 àrth. 407 fàrd'n. 408 n*iu*. EO'- 409 bi₁i. 411 thri₁. 412 shi₁i. 413 d*i*v'l, d*iiv*'l. 414 fl*iii*. 415 l*iii*. 416 d*iir*. 417 tʒóu. 420 fó*ur*. 421 fórt*i*. EO': 423 thi₁i. 424 *r*œ₁f. 425 lɛ'it. 426 fɛ'it. 427 bi₁i. 428 si₁i. 430 fr*i*nd. 431 b*iir*. 432 fó*ur*th. 433 b*riist*. 434 bɛt. 435 *já*₁u. 436 tr*iu*. 437 tr*u*th, tr*úu*th. EY- 438 di₁i. EY: 439 tr*œ*₁st.

I- 440 w*iii*k. 441 s*iiv*. 442 áivin. 443 frɛ'idʊ. 444 stɛ'il. 446 nɛ'in. 448 [(dho*r*) used, for both *these* and *those*]. 449 gɛt. 450 tíuzdʊ. 451 síu [and (soo), the last probably modern]. I: 452 ái [but generally (á')]. 454 w*i*tʒ. 457 mɛ'it. 458 nɛ'it. 459 *riit*. 460 wɛ'it. 462 sɛ'it. 464 whitʒ. 465 sɛk. 466 tʒɛ'ild. 467 wɛ'ild. 468 tʒildʊ*r* [and (tʒildrʊn)]. 471 t*im*ʊ*r*. 472 sh*ri*qk. 473 bl*i*nd. 475 w*i*nd. 476 b*i*nd. 477 f*i*nd. 478 gr*i*nd. 479 wáind. 481 fiqʊr. 484 dhis. 485 this'l. 486 jɛst. 487 jístʊrdʊ. 488 *jit*. I'- 490 bɛ'*i*. 491 sái. 493 d*r*áiv. 494 tɛ'im. 496 ɛ'*ir*ʊn. 497 *v*ráiz. 498 *rɛ'it*. I': 500 lɛ'ik. 501 wɛ'id. 502 fáiv. 503 lɛ'if. 504 nɛ'if. 505 wɛ'if. 506 w*u*₁mʊn. 507 w*u*₁mʊn [sg. and pl. alike]. 508 mɛ'il. 509 whɛil. 511 wɛ'in. 513 wɛ'*ir*. 514 ɛ'is. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdʊm.

O- 520 bó*u*. 521 fool. 522 opʊn. 523 hoop. 524 world. O: 526 kof. 527 bó*u*t. 528 thó*u*t. 529 br*ó*ut. 530 *ró*ut. 531 dó*u*tʊr. 532 kool, k*w*ol. 533 dœ₁l. 534 hool. 536 gó*u*ld, guuld. 537 mó*u*ld. 538 w*u* d. 539 bó*u*l. 540 holʊn. 542 bó*u*lt. 545 hop. 548 ford. 550 word. 551 st*o*rm. 552 korn. 553 h*o*rn. 554 kros. O'- 555 sh*ú*₁u. 557 tú₁u. 558 líuk. 559 mœ₁dhʊ*r*. 561 bl*u*₁m. 562 míun. 564 síun. 565 nooz. 566 *u*₁dhʊ*r*. O': 569 bíuk. 570 tíuk. 571 g*u*₁d. 572 bl*u*₁d. 573 fl*u*₁d. 574 br*u*₁d. 575 st*u*₁d. 579 ʊnœ₁f. 580 tœ₁f. 581 só*u*t. 582 kíul. 584 stíul [(stíʊl) in Hexham)]. 585 br*u*₁m. 586 dú₁u. 587 díun. 589 spíun. 590 floor. 591 moor. 592 swoor. 593 [(m*u*₁n) used]. 594 bíut. 595 f*u*₁t. 596 rœ₁t. 597 s*u*₁t.

U- 599 ʊb*u*₁v. 601 fú₁ul. 602 sú₁u. 605 sœ₁n. 606 door. 607 b*u*₁tʊr.

U: 608 œ₁gli. 609 fœ₁l. 610 w*u*d. 611 bœ₁lʊk. 612 s*u*₁m. 613 drœ₁qk. 614 h*u*₁nd. 615 p*u*₁nd. 616 gr*u*₁nd. 617 s*u*₁nd. 618 *u*₁nd. 619 f*u*₁nd. 620 gr*u*₁nd. 622 œ₁ndʊr. 625 t*u*₁q. 626 h*u*₁qʊr. 628 nœ₁n. 629 sœ₁n. 631 dhorzdʊ. 632 œ₁p. 633 kœ₁p. 634 thr*ú*₁u. 635 worth. 636 fordhʊr. 637 t*u*₁sk. 638 b*u*₁sk. 639 d*u*₁st.

U'- 640 k*ú*₁u, [R (kuuz kóuz), probably (k*ú*₁uz)]. 641 h*ú*₁u. 642 dh*ú*₁u. 643 n*ú*₁u. 646 b*ú*₁u. 647 hù₁let. 648 wor [both accented and unaccented]. 649 thuuzʊnd, R thó*u*zʊn. 652 k*u*₁d. 653 b*u*₁t.

U′: 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 *r*uum. 657 b*r*uun. 658 d*ú*₁un d*ù*₁n. 659 t*ú*₁un t*ù*₁n. 660 b*ú*₁u*r*. 661 sh*ú*₁u*r*. 662 *u*₁z. 663 h*u*₁s. 665 muus. 666 h*u*₁zbund. 667 uut, R *ú*₁ut. 668 p*r*uud. 669 [(œ₁nkɐt used]. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 mœ₁tɟ m*u*₁tɟ, R mœ₁k'l. 674 dìd. 675 d*r*ái. 676 lí₁i. 678 din. 679 tj*or*tɟ. 680 bi*z*i. 682 lɪt'l. Y: 683 midɟ. 684 bri*g* bridɟ. 685 *r*i*g* [gen.]. 686 bá*i*. 687 flɛ'it. 689 biild. 690 kɛ'ind. 691 mɛ'ind. 693 sin. 694 w*a*rk. 696 bo*r*th. 697 ba'*r*i. 698 mo*r*th. 699 *r*ɛ'it. 700 wa*r*s. 701 fo*r*st. 703 pit. Y′- 705 skɛ'*i*, R skə'*i*. 706 wɛ'*i*. 707 tho*r*tiin. 708 hɛ'*ir*. Y′: 709 fɛ'*ir*. 711 lɛ'is. 712 mɛ'is.

II. English.

A. 716 eed'l. 724 ba'ld. 737 m*ee*t. 740 weev. E. 744 mɛz'lz. 746 briidh. 747 indiv*ur*. 748 flígd. 751 pi*ir*t. I. *and* Y. 758 go*r*l [gen. (la's)]. O. 761 líɛd lood. 769 [(mó*u*di*r*a't) used]. 772 boonfɛ'*ir*. 774 pó*u*ni. 784 buuns. 787 suus. 789 ró*u*. 790 guun.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 jɛb'l. 810 fíɛs. 812 líɛs. 814 míɛs'n. 817 rɛdish. 818 jedɟ. 843 b*r*ɛntɟ. 846 tɟanl*ur*. 854 ba*r*l. 856 pee*r*t. 860 pí*ɛ*st. 861 tí*ɛ*st. 864 bika's. 865 fa'lt. E·· 867 t*í*₁i. 874 *r*iinz [always in pl.]. 879 fiimul. 884 p*r*ɛnt*i*s. 887 klardɟ*i*. 888 sa*r*tin 892 nevi. 893 fl*ú*₁u*r*. I·· *and* Y·· 898 nɛ'is. 901 fɛ'in. 902 mɛ'in. 903 dɛ'in. 904 váilɛt. 906 vɛ'ipu*r*. 908 a'dvɛ'is. 910 dɟist. 912 rɛ'is. O·· 921 vk*w*ɛnt. 922 bishul. 926 spóil. 928 uuns. 929 k*ú*₁uk*u*₁mbu*r*. 930 luundɟ. 932 umuunt. 934 buunt*i*. 935 kuuntr*i*. 942 fíul. 944 ul*ú*₁u. 945 v*á*₁u. 947 bóil. 948 buul. 952 i. kuu*r*s. 955 duut [? (d*ú*₁ut)]. U·· 960 ki*i*. 965 óil.

## VI.

# THE LOWLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, BEING CHIEFLY THOSE LYING IN SCOTLAND.

The Lowland Dialects are commonly called Scotch, because they are spoken in a country which has acquired the name of Scotland, from the Scots, an Irish Gaelic tribe which gradually acquired the ascendancy. In the Highlands, as the Celtic Border shews [*suprà* p. 14], Gaelic is still spoken; but in the Lowlands, English imported from England is the sole speech, and it was called Inglis up to the time of Barbour 1513. Dr. Murray (*Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, 1873, henceforth cited as DSS), p. 50, says: "The tongues of the Highlands and Lowlands were distinguished down to the XIV th century as Scottish and English —during the XV th century as Yrisch or Ersch and English—and during the XVI th century by some as Ersch and Inglisch; by others probably as Ersch and Scots." But although a mere offshoot of the language of Northymbria, which had its domain in e.Yo. and Nb., the language at the present day is remarkably different in pronunciation and intonation from that spoken s. of the L. line 10 (p. 21), so that even an educated Lowlander, who thinks he speaks English only, and certainly does not speak dialect, is as a general rule instantly detected among Southrons. As therefore I have, for convenience, denominated the first five Divisions S., W., E., M., N. English, as spoken in England, I call the present L. or Lowland, that is, English as spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland.

Of the intonation, with a rising inflection at the end of affirmative sentences, and a remarkable sing-song, I am, as usual, unable to give any proper explanation, and hence I pass it over. As to the pronunciation, of which details follow, the general characters are U=(ɑ) and some (sɑm); U′=(uu) quite pure with no tendency towards (*ú*ᵢu), the change in Cu. being quite sharp and sudden; vowels generally of medial length, and when prolonged much longer than in England, with little or no tendency to fractures; a strongly trilled tip-tongue *r*, even when not preceding a vowel, forming a most marked feature even in educated speech; and a constant use of (kh), sometimes in the forms (kjh, k*w*h). These are however only some of the most marked features, which distinguish the L. from the other five divisions.

There are four distinct groups of pronunciation, SL. = South Lowland in D 33, ML. = Mid Lowland in D 34 to 37, NL. = North Lowland in D 38 to 40, and IL. = Insular Lowland in

D 41, 42. The first is the subject of Dr. Murray's book, which furnishes mere indications of the next two, but not of the last. It must be remembered that I have taken all I possibly could from Dr. Murray's treatise, without which, and his personal kind assistance, I could not have attempted to give an account of L. My original intention was merely to supplement Dr. Murray's account of the other dialect districts by a few illustrations. I have been able to accomplish a little more than this, and to introduce the Orkneys and Shetlands, D 41, 42, which Dr. M. had omitted. But the supplementary character of my illustrations remains. With a very slight exception I have adopted Dr. Murray's Districts, merely changing their names and numbering them in sequence to my dialect districts in England, and this at once marks the subordination of this part of my work to Dr. Murray's. Taking his bounding lines, I had no occasion to examine changes of pron. with such care as in England, nor, as a general rule, to enter upon a consideration of varieties. I hope that this may be accomplished by some well-qualified Lowlander, taking Dr. Murray, who is now absorbed by his New English Dictionary, as *dux et auspex*.

In order to obtain a bird's-eye view of the various L. pronunciations, and their difference from English, I place first eight interlinear comparative specimens, from different parts of Scotland, and Shetland, and five versions of the first chapter of Ruth, the first three of these being taken from Dr. Murray, the other two from the English M. and S. Div. in Cheshire, D 25, and West Somerset, D 10. These illustrate all the districts except D 37 and 41, and hence shew the nature of their difference from each other and the forms used in England in a most striking manner.

## EIGHT INTERLINEAR CS.

1. D 33, V i, *Bewcastle* (16 ne.Carlisle, Cu.) *to Longtown* (8 n.Carlisle, Cu.). This specimen was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Sinclair, of Keilder, Nb. He resided in the Bewcastle district for the first 20 years of his life, and then 10 years in n.Tynedale. He says this mode of speech extends sw. to Longtown, but that se. of a line nearly passing through Bewcastle the dialect is somewhat different. He considers the Brampton dialect (D 32, V i) different. The Rev. R. D. Hope gave me a Longtown cs. in io., and where this spelling seems to confirm or oppose this version, attention is drawn to the fact in the notes.

2. D 33, V ii, *Hawick*, pal. by Dr. Murray from personal knowledge, about 1875-6. To this he subjoined the following important note, here placed first, with remarks of my own between [ ]. The consideration of these points belongs to D 33, V ii, in especial, where the vowel system will be more fully considered.

"1. All the short vowels [that is, the vowels written as short] are *medial* in quantity, [hence they have, in this example only, been printed with the grave accent].

"2. What I have marked (*u*) seems to be really (*o*) with the lip closure for (u), [that is, ($o_u$), for which I have here, as usual, written ($u_1$)].

"3. As to *i* I am not satisfied yet; it is something between (i, *e*), an attempt to say (*e*) in the (i) position or to say (i) in the (*e*) position, but the former by preference, [hence I have written ($ii_1$, $i_1$)].

"4. All the (*ee*) are *low*, tending towards (EE), query (*ee*$^{E}$)? [These I have

written ($ee_1$), and they may be (ee), at any rate an Englishman will hardly get nearer].

"5. All the (e) in accented syllables are *high*, tending towards (*i*), query ($e^i$)? [These are written ($e^1$).]

"6. I cannot distinguish unaccented (e, ə), and so have made all (e), it seemed to me on the whole better, but I have written (ə, ʊ) over those that are specially obscure." [I should prefer using (ʊ) in all these cases, but as in the Teviotdale sentences, see D 33, (ə) was used, and as Dr. Murray very rarely superscribed (ʊ), I have adopted (ə) throughout all the last 7 of these 8 cs., without at all implying that I heard (ə) as distinct from (ʊ), for in unaccented syllables this would be difficult and uncertain, but the sound was clearly *not* (e) to southern ears. The other special signs apply only to No. 2.]

3. D 34, *Edinburgh*, pal. by Dr. A. H. Murray from the dictation of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Charles A. Murray, native. Dr. Murray notes:

"1. (*ee*, *oo*) are very high [hence I have used ($e^1$, $o^1$)]. There is a great difference between Teviotdale (d*ee*$_E$) and Lothian (d*eei*) [for which I write (d*ee*$_i$, d*ee*$^1$) respectively].

"(E) is also high = ($E^e$) [for which then I write ($e_1$) as higher than (E)]. *till* is almost (tel), but very unlike (tel) as distinctly non-wide [I write ($te_1$l) as distinct from (tel)].

"3. I take Melville Bell's authority for *a* in *twaa*, *blaa*, etc., being (AA), for myself I am not clear about it."

The difficulty Dr. Murray has felt in giving D 34, which is usually considered typical of Lowland Scotch, shews how much remained to be done in the minute analysis of L. pron. beyond D 33.

4. D 36, *Stranraer*, Wg., pal. in 1874 by AJE. from the dict. of Messrs. Boyd of Stranraer, Armstrong from near Dumfries, and Caddow from near to Kirkcudbright. As this was taken at an early period of my investigations, and by a Southron, and was also written rapidly, the Wick version, No. 7, having been taken down the same evening, and as I had no opportunity for revision, I am afraid it cannot be relied upon for very fine distinctions. The three gentlemen were collected by the Rev. R. Macbeth at Hammersmith, and the dictation was joint, each approving or suggesting differences, but the agreement was very close. I transcribe my notes literally without attempting to improve them conjecturally.

5. D 38, *Arbroath*, Fo. This was written in io. by Mr. W. J. Anderson of Arbroath, acquainted with the dialect from childhood, from which it was pal. by Dr. Murray, with considerable difficulty, as he was not personally acquainted with the pron.

6. D 39, *Keith* (:kìth), Ba., written in Oct. 1873 by Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo (:pitslii·go) (34 ne. Keith, 5 wsw. Fraserburgh, Ab.), native of Keith, and at that time 14 years at Pitsligo, author of the *Banffshire Glossary*; pal. from io. by Dr. Murray in 1875, and corrected by a cwl. pal. by AJE. in Feb. 1878 from Mr. W. Gregor's dict., which will be given under D 39. See also Buchan in the translations of *Ruth* chap. i. immediately following.

7. D 40, *Wick*, Cs., pal. in Feb. 1874 by AJE. from the dictation of Mr. A. Meiklejohn, who was 30 before he left Cs., Rev. J. Sinclair, who lived there till he was 20, and has been there since, and Rev. R. Macbeth of Wick, then at Hammersmith, who collected the others, and also those that gave me the Stranraer version, No. 4. In consequence of my taking down two cs. in one evening, I was rather hurried, and as it was also an early attempt, some of the finer shades probably escaped me.

8. D 42, *Dunrossness*, Sd. This parish, about 20 s-by-w. of Lerwick. includes Cunningsburg, Sandwick, and Fair Isle. This version was written io. in Nov. 1877 by Robert Cogle, an intelligent fisherman of Cunningsburg, Sd., from whom it was procured by Mr. W. C. Smith, advocate, Edinburgh. Although it was carefully written, and although RC. was kind enough to answer numerous questions, I should not have been able to make use of it, had not Miss A. B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, Sd., a friend of Mr. Laurenson, of whom more under D 42, carefully read it to me, with other specimens, in Oct. 1878, and allowed me to pal. it from her dictation.

*** The notes to the eight cs. follow them immediately.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0. | 1 | *Bewcastle*, D 33, V i, pp. 682, 693 | ˌkwhat for | :dúuən |
| | 2 | *Hawick*, D 33, V ii, pp. 682, 694. | kwhdt foor | :dˌuı'n |
| | 3 | *Edinburgh*, D 34, pp. 683, 695. | dhy wee¹ ət | :dɟo¹k |
| | 4 | *Stranraer*, D 36, pp. 683, 695. | huu it iz | :dɟon |
| | 5 | *Arbroath*, D 38, pp. 683, 695. | | |
| | 6 | *Keith*, D 39, pp. 683, 695. | fat wáai | :dɟon |
| | 7 | *Wick*, D 42, pp. 683, 696. | whéi | :tɟon |
| | 8 | *Dunrossness*, D 42, pp. 683, 696. | wha¹i | :dɟòni |

1 hez nì dùts.
2 hez nii' dùts.
3 hyz nee¹ dùt.
4 həz nee duuts.
5
6 hyz nee duts.
7 hez nii duuts.
8 hez nee dùts.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1 | wiil, | néıe¹ibe°r | ĭuu | ʊn | hiım | mʊ | biıɪ'th | lakwh | ʊt | dhiıs |
| | 2 | wìl, | nìbər, | ɟɜ'u | ən | hèm | me | biıth | lakwh | ət | dher |
| | 3 | wìl, | nìbər, | ɟuu | 'n | hèm | me | bee¹th | laakh | a¹t | ma¹ |
| | 4 | wil, | nibər, | ɟuu | ən | him | me | beeth | lakh | ət | dhər |
| | 5 | wil, | nibər, | ɟuu | ən | hɜm | me | beeth | laakh | ət | dhes |
| | 6 | wil, | nipər, | ɟuu | ən | hee¹m | my | beth | lakh | at | dhes |
| | 7 | wil, | nibər, | ɟii | ən | hii | me | beeth | làkh | ət | dhes |
| | 8 | wiil, | bói, | du | ən | hii | mə | bɛɛth | ljàkh | ət | dɜs |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | niuuz | ʊ mɛ'in, | ˌkwhii | keerz? | dhaıt)s | nóudhe°r | híie°r |
| | 2 | nə'uz | ə méıin. | kwhiiı' | keeırz? | dhàt)s | neıdhər | hiir |
| | 3 | niúuz. | | whaa | kee¹rz? | dhat)s | nee¹dhər | hiir |
| | 4 | niúuz | ə méin. | whaa | keerz? | dhat)s | nedhər | hiir |
| | 5 | nuuz, | ə mə'in. | faa | keerz? | dhat)s | needhər | hiir |
| | 6 | niúuz | ə méin. | faa | keerz? | et)s | needhər | hiir |
| | 7 | niúuz | o mainz. | faa | kjee'rz? | atɟs | nedhər | hiir |
| | 8 | níuz | | wha | keerz? | dat)s | nèdər | hiir |

1 nʊ dhíie°r.
2 nɜr dhiiı'r.
3 nɜr dhee¹r.
4 nər dheer.
5 nɜr dheer.
6 nər dheer.
7 nə eer.
8 or deer.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | 1 | dhʊ | fíu | fuuık | dɛ'iz | wə | béiən | lakwht | aıt | wʊ |
| | 2 | dhər)z | fə'u | fuıı'k | déiz | kɜz | dhe)r | ləkwh'n | ɜt | wéi |
| | 3 | noo¹ | moni | fa'uk | diiz | bikə'z | dhe)r | laakht | a¹t, | wi |
| | 4 | | fiú | men | dii | bika·z | dhee)r | lakht | at, | wi |
| | 5 | | fĭɜu | mɛn | diiz | bikɜz | dhe)r | laakht | a¹t, | wi |
| | 6 | | fĭə'u | men | diiz | fɜr | bii'n | lakht | yt, | wy |
| | 7 | | fĭáu | men | dii | koz | dhee)r | lakht | ət, | wi |
| | 8 | | fíu | men | diiz | bika¹z | dɜ)r | ljakht | a¹t, | wi |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | kɛn dha₁t | di₁v)'nt | wʊ? | ˌkwhat)s | tʊ | mii₁ɛk |
| 2 | kæ'n, | dèv)'n | wêi? | kwhdt)s | tə | gàr) |
| 3 | AA ke₁n | dhat, ji | ke₁n. | kwhʊt | shəd | mak |
| 4 | kɛn, | doo)nt | wi? | what)l | | maak |
| 5 | kɛn, | de)nə | wi? | fat | sɛd | mak |
| 6 | ken, | de)ny | wy? | fat fɛr | sɛd | |
| 7 | ken, | di)nə | wi? | fat | shed | mak |
| 8 | ken, | dœ)nə | wi? | what | sud | mak |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | dhʊm dɛ'ii? | it)s | not | va₁rʊ | lɛ'ikli₁ | iiz)t nù? | | |
| 2 | dhem? | et)s | noo | værə | lè¹kli | ès)t? | | |
| 3 | dhym? | et)s | noo¹ | ve₁ri | lə'ikli | e¹s)t? | | |
| 4 | dhəm? | et)s | noo | vera | léikli | es)t? | | |
| 5 | dhəm? | et)s | noo | vɛrə | ləkli | es)t? | | |
| 6 | dhy? | et)s | nee | vɛrə | léikli | e¹s)t? | | |
| 7 | əm? | he¹d)z | noo | verə | léikli | e¹z)d? | | |
| 8 | dəm? | it)s | no | veri | lɛkli | iz)ət? | | |
| 3. 1 | ə'uze₁ve°r | dhii₁ɛz | ʊ)dhʊ | fa₁ks | ʊ)dhʊ | kii₁ɛs, | sii | dʒʊst |
| 2 | hɛ'usɛmè¹vər, | dher)z | dhə | fdks | ə dhə | ki₁'s, | sii₁' | də'st |
| 3 | huuzivər, | hiir)z | dhy | fàks | ə dhə | kee¹s, | see | dʒyst |
| 4 | huue·vər, | dhat)s | | faks | ə dhe | kees, | see | dʒist |
| 5 | huuzəme·vər, | dhər)z | dhə | faks | ə dhə | kes, | see | dʒyst |
| 6 | nuu | dhe¹s)yz | dhy | faks | ə dhy | kes, | see | dʒist |
| 7 | fuu)ən)evər, | ez)e¹z | e¹ | faks | o e¹ | kees, | so | dʒest |
| 8 | whidər ə no, | dɛs es | də | faks | o də | kɛs, | see | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ha₁d | ji₁r | nôiz, | | frɛn, | ʊn | bi₁ | kwâiʊt | ti₁l |
| 2 | hdd | ir | blæ'dhər, | | frìnd, | ən | kaa | kaani | kwhəl |
| 3 | hàd | jir | gàb, | my | màn, | ən | bi | kwái ət | t'l |
| 4 | had | jər | whisht, | | frin, | an | bi | kwéit | til |
| 5 | had | jər | nóiz, | | frind, | ən | bi | kwái·ət | t'l |
| 6 | had | jɛr | dʒaa, | | frin, | yn | bi | kwe)ət | təl |
| 7 | had | jər | tɛq, | | frin, | ən | bi | kwéit | fel |
| 8 | hɛ'd | di | nóis, | | bói, | ən | bi | whá¹iət | ti₁l |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | a)z | dyy₁n. | | | | |
| 2 | aa)m | də'n | wə mə | stu₁'ri. | hiir)i dhen! | |
| 3 | a¹)m | dyn. | | | whysh't ən lès'n! | |
| 4 | a)d | di₁n. | | | hiir tə dhes, lis'n ə wii! | |
| 5 | a¹)m | dyn. | | | hark'n! | |
| 6 | áai | he diin. | | | hark'n! | |
| 7 | a)v | din. | | | husht! | |
| 8 | ə)m | dy₁n. | | | lɛs'n [whisht]. | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. 1 | a)z | sàrt'n | a | hɛrd | dhʊm | see, | sɛ¹m | ʊ | dhʊ |
| 2 | aa)m | səər | a | hdrd | dhem | see₁, | sɛm | ə | dhii₁' |
| 3 | aa)m | shyyr | a¹ | hàrd | dhym | see¹'n, | sɛm | o | dhʊm |
| 4 | a)m | shy'uur | a | hard | dhem | see — | sɛm | ə | dhee |
| 5 | aa)m | sɛrt'n | a¹ | hard | dhəm | see — | sɛm | ə | dhee |
| 6 | áai)m | shuur | a' | hard | dhym | see — | sɛm | ə | dhes |
| 7 | a)m | shuur | a | hard | əm | see — | sɛm | o | e¹ |
| 8 | a)m | shəər | ət ə | hɛrd | dəm | see·ən — | sɛm | o | dat |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | *fuu*$_1$'k | ʊt | g*ii*$_1$ʊd | thruu | dhʊ | h*ii*$_1$EL | on)t |
| 2 | vær$_1$ə | *fu*$_1$'k | ɛt | gi$_1$'d | thrɑ'u | dhə | h*ie*$^1$l | thèq |
| 3 | | | ət | g*ee*'d | thruu | dhə | h*ee*$^1$l | thèq |
| 4 | | fook | what | gid | thruu | dh*i* | heel | thiq |
| 5 | | fɑ'uk | ət | gj*ee*d | thruu | dhə | h*ee*l | theq |
| 6 | | fɑ'uk | *y*t | giid | thrɑ'u | dh*y* | h*ee*l | theq |
| 7 | | fóuk | at | gid | thrɑ'u | e$^1$ | heel | mètər |
| 8 | | fok | ət | g*əə*d | tru | də | whool | th*i*$_1$q |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | frʊ | dhʊ | fee°rst | dhərsEl'z | — | ·ʊt | d*i*$_1$d)ʊ, |
| 2 | | thre | dhə | fèrst)oo)d | dher sæ'lz | — | ət | dè$^1$d)*a*, |
| 3 | dhərse$_1$lz | *fe* | dhə | fèrst)*oo*)t | | — | ææ$_1$ | dè$^1$d)a$^1$, |
| 4 | | free | dhə | ferst | dhersElz | — | dhat | d*i*d)ə, |
| 5 | | fre | dhə | ferst | dhəmsElz | — | dhat | ded)a$^1$, |
| 6 | | *fe* | dh*y* | ferst | dh*y*msElz | — | a$^1$t | a ded, |
| 7 | | fee | *e*$^1$ | fersht | dhəmsElz | — | at | d*i*d)ə, |
| 8 | | fEE | də | farst | dəmsElz | — | ·dàt | did á$^1$*i*, |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | wiil | ʊn*iu*k*w*h. |
| 2 | *see*r | ənək*w*h. |
| 3 | shyyr | ənĭakh. |
| 4 | sh*y*'uur | ənĭukh. |
| 5 | s*e*f | əniúkh. |
| 6 | shuur | iníukh. |
| 7 | seef | ənío̧kh. |
| 8 | sEE'f | ənío̧kh. |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | 1 | ʊt | dh*i*$_1$ | Jɑ$^1$qʊst | sɑ$^1$n | h*i*$_1$zsEl', | ʊ | grèt | b*ui* | ʊ |
| | 2 | ət | dhə | Jaqest | sɑ'n | ez-sæ'l, | ə | mak'l | kàlənt | ə |
| | 3 | ət | dhə | Jaq*y*st | san | h*y*zse$_1$l, | a$^1$ | mak'l | làdi | *o* |
| | 4 | dhat | dhə | Jaqest | san | h*i*msEl, | ə | beg | bói | *e* |
| | 5 | ət | dhə | Jaqəst | san | həmsEl, | ə | mak'l | l*a*dh*i* | *o* |
| | 6 | *y*t | dh*y* | Jaq*y*st | se$^1$n | h*y*msel, | ə | mak'l | lun | ə |
| | 7 | ət | *e*$^1$ | Jaqest | se$^1$n | h*i*msEl, | ə | greet | bói | ə |
| | 8 | ət | də | Jaqest | bói | h*i*msEl, | ə | mak'l | shiild | əbuut |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | nE'in | iie°rz aal, | kEnt)*i*$_1$z | | fEEdhe°rz | vó*i*s | ʊt | ĭEns, |
| 2 | n*é*$_1$in | ir aald | kæ'nd | ez | *fe*'dhərz | taq | ət | Jè$^1$ns, |
| 3 | nɑ'*in* | Jir AAld, | ke$_1$nt | *yz* | *fe*'dhərz | və'is | a$^1$t | Jèns, |
| 4 | néin, | | kEnt | h*i*s | fadhərs | taq | ət | Jens, |
| 5 | nə'*in*, | | kEnt | əz | fadhərz | werd | a$^1$t | *e*ns, |
| 6 | néin | | k*e*nt)s | | fadhərz | wɑrd | a$^1$t | *e*ns, |
| 7 | náin, | | kent | *iz* | feedhərz | wáis | ət | *é*ins, |
| 8 | ná$^1$in | | kEnt | his | feedhərz | vóis | ət | wans, |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | fe°r | aa | t)wʊz)sʊ | | k*w*iir | ʊn | sk*w*iikʊn, | ʊn)a)wʊd | |
| 2 | for | aa | et wɑz | s*i*$_1$ | k*w*iir | ən | sk*w*ææki, | ən | *aa* wɑd |
| 3 | fɑr | AA | et w*y*z | se$_1$ | k*w*iir | 'n | sk*w*iik*i*, | ən | a$^1$ wəd |
| 4 | thoo | | et wəz | se | k*w*iir | ən | sk*w*ilen, | ən | a wəd |
| 5 | th*oo* | | et w*y*z | se | k*w*iir | 'n | sk*w*iik'n, | ən | ái wəd |
| 6 | th*oo* | | et w*y*z | *see* | k*w*iir | *y*n | sk*w*iik'n, | *y*n | a w*y*d |
| 7 | thoo | | t)wez | sə | k*w*iir | ən | sk*w*ii·kʊn, | ən | a wəd |
| 8 | altoo | | it wəz | see | whiir | ən | skarlən, | ən | ə w*i*$_1$d |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | trɑ¹st)$i_1$m | | tʊ | spìk | dhʊ | try$_1$'th | oni | d*ee*', á¹*i*, |
| 2 | lè¹p'n | hè¹m | tə | spìk | dhə | trə'th | oni | d*ee*$_1$, ət |
| 3 | trɑst | hè¹m | te | te$_1$l | dhə | try'th | *o*ni | d*ee*, ææ', |
| 4 | trɑst | hem | tə | tel | dhe | trəth | oni | dee, did, |
| 5 | trɑst | hɑm | t'l | spik | dhə | truth | *o*ni | d*ee*, áa*i* |
| 6 | trɑst | h*e*¹m | t*y* | spéik | dh*y* | tró*u*th | *o*ni | d*ee*, áa*i* |
| 7 | tɹɑst | hé¹m | tə | speek | *e*¹ | trɑ'uth | *o*ni | d*ee*, ái, · |
| 8 | trɑst | h*i*m | tu | spɛk | də | trəəth | oni | dee, ·dat |

1 a ·w*a*d.
2 wìl wàd)ə.
3 wàd)a¹.
4 w*u*d)a.
5 wad)a¹.
6 wɑd)a¹.
7 at a wəd.
8 á¹*i* w*i*$_1$d.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. 1 | ʊn | dhʊ | aal | wumʊn | he°rsɛl' | wɑl | tɛl | on*i*$_1$ | o)ɹʊ |
| 2 | en | dhə | aald | wé$_1$if | hersæ'l | 'l | tæ'l)i, | oni | o)i |
| 3 | ən | dhə | ɑɑld | wɑ'if | hərse$_1$l | *y*l | te$_1$l | *oni* | *o*)ɹuu |
| 4 | ən | dhi | al | wéif | hərsɛl | wəl | tɛl | on*i* | o)i |
| 5 | ən | dhə | *aa*ld | wɑmən | hərsɛl | 'l | tɛl | *oni* | ə)ɹə |
| 6 | *y*n | dh*y* | aal | ɑmən | h*y*rsɛl | 'l | tel | *oni* | *y* ɹ*i* |
| 7 | ən | *e*¹ | | g*i*d wáif | hərsɛl | əl | tɛl | on*i* | o)ii |
| 8 | ən | də | aald | wá¹if | hersɛl | əl | tɛl | ɹuu or | on*i* o |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | ʊt | lak*w*hs | nɑ'*u*, | ʊn | tɛl)ɹʊ | s$_1$t$_1$r*é*$_1$*e*¹*it* | of |
| 2 | | ət | l*aa*k*w*hs | dhə nɑ'u, | ən | tæ'l)i | stræ'kjht | of |
| 3 | ɹenz | a¹t)s | laakh'n | nuu, | ən | tɛl)ɹ*i* | re¹kht | af |
| 4 | | dhat | lakh | nuu, | ən | tɛl)i | street | of, |
| 5 | | a¹t | laakhs | nuu, | ən | tɛl)ɹə | strekht | af |
| 6 | | *y*t | lakhs | nuu, | *y*n | tel)ɹ*i* | a¹t | *e*ns |
| 7 | | ət | làkh | nuu, | ə | tel)ɹ*i* | streekht | af |
| 8 | ɹuu | ət | ljaakhs | nuu, | ən | tel ɹuu | streekjht | af |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | t*ə*$_1$ | w*i*$_1$dhùt | mɑk'l' | bodhe°r | *i*$_1$f | ɹʊ)l | nobʊt | às)e°r, |
| 2 | t*ə*ə, | əthù·t | mɑk'l | bòdhər | e¹f | i)l | onli | spiir |
| 3 | t*yy*, | wəthù·t | mɑk'l | a¹d*yy*·, | gen | ɹ*i*)l | onl*i* | aks)ər, |
| 4 | ti, | ədhu·t | mɑk'l | bodhər, | ef | ɹi)l | onl*i* | aks)ər, |
| 5 | tyy, | wəthu·t | mɑk'l | badhər, | ef | ɹə)l | onl*i* | spiir |
| 6 | tii, | *y*n n*ee* | m*ee*¹r | əbu·t *y*t, | gen | ɹ*i*)l | | spiir |
| 7 | | widhuu·t | mɑk'l | bodhər, | g*e*¹f | ɹi | onl*i* | aks |
| 8 | t*ə* | əthuu·t | mɑk'l | bodər, | *i*f | ɹii)l | ònli | aks |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | *oo*! | ·wɑ¹nʊt shyy$_1$? |
| 2 | a¹t)ər, | æ'i, | wɑl)sh*i*? |
| 3 | | *ee*¹, | wɑl sh*y* n*oo*? |
| 4 | | o, | wud)'nt shi? |
| 5 | a¹t)ər, | *oo*, | wəl)shi n*oo*? |
| 6 | a¹t)*y*r, | aa', | w*i*)nə shi? |
| 7 | hər, | o, | wɑl shi no? |
| 8 | hər, | *o*! | w*i*l)nə sh*ə*? |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | 1 | oni$_1$ | wee | shy$_1$ | tɛlt | ·méii | sii$_1$ʊ | ˌkwhɛn)a | ast e°r |
| | 2 | oni | we | shə | tæ'ld | méi | kwhæn | a | akst)ər |
| | 3 | ət oni | rë't | shə | tel̀t | mii, | kwhən | aa spiird | a$^1$t)ər |
| | 4 | liistwez | | shi | tɛlt | mi sii, | whən | a | akst)ər |
| | 5 | oni | wáai | shi | tɛld)it | mii, | fən | a$^1$ spiird | a$^1$t)ər |
| | 6 | a$^1$t oni | ret | shə | tal) ty | mii, | fyn | a$^1$ spiirt) | a$^1$t)yr, |
| | 7 | ət ɛni | reet | shi | tɛlt it | mii | fan | a | asket |
| | 8 | ət lɛst | | shə | taald | ·mii ət | whi$_1$n | á$^1$i | akst her |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | twii$_1$əthréii | | tɛ'imz | óuə$_1$r | di$_1$d)shʊ, | | ʊn | shyy$_1$ |
| 2 | twii$_1$' or thréi | | téimz | óur, | et dè$^1$d | shi, | ən | shəə |
| 3 | twaa)khrii | | ta'imz | ɜ'ur, | shə ded, | | ən | shii |
| 4 | twaar | thrii | téimz | óur, | did)shi, | | an | shii |
| 5 | twaa ər | thrii | tə'imz | ə'ur, | ded shi, | | ən | shii |
| 6 | twaa ər | thrii | téimz | óur, | ded shə, | | yn | shii |
| 7 | twaar | thrii | táimz | óur, | shi did, | | en | shii |
| 8 | twartri | | tá$^1$imz | óuər, | dat shə | di$_1$d, | ən | shee |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | óut'nt | tʊ | béi | sʊ va$_1$rʊ | fa$^1$r ràq | on | si$_1$k)ʊ |
| 2 | sùd(ne [səd)nə] | | béi | | w'ràq | ən | sè$^1$k'n e |
| 3 | shud)ne | | bi | | ràq | on | sek'n a$^1$ |
| 4 | okht nət | tə | bi | | raq | on | sekən ə |
| 5 | ɔkht)nə | tə | bi | | vraq | on | sek ə |
| 6 | sɜd)ny | | by | | vraq | on | sek ə |
| 7 | okht nə | tə | bi | | r$_{\llcorner}$waq | on | sek ə |
| 8 | óukht nə | tə | bi | | wræ·q | ɜpə | sɛk ə |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | póint | ʊz dhi$_1$s, | ˌkwhat | dʊz ·dhɜ'u | thi$_1$qk on)t ? |
| 2 | point | əz dhè$^1$s, | kwhdt | | thèqk)i ? |
| 3 | pə'int | əz dhàt, | di)i | noo | thèq ? |
| 4 | theq | əz dhəs, | what | d)i | theqk ? |
| 5 | pə'int | əz dhes, | fat | də ɹi | theqk ? |
| 6 | péint)sz | dhes, | fat | dy ɹi | theqk ? |
| 7 | me$_{\llcorner}$tər | əz is, | fat | dɹi | thiqk ? |
| 8 | póint | əz dɜs, | what | | tɛqkst du ? |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | 1 | wiil, | ʊz)a)wʊz | | tɛlʊn | dhʊ, | shu)wud | tɛl)ɹʊ, | hɛ'u |
| | 2 | əwìl, | əz aa | wəz | see$_1$n, | | shəə wəd | tæ'l)i, | hə'u, |
| | 3 | wìl, | əz aa | | sè'd, | | shii wəd | te$_1$l)ɹi, | huu, |
| | 4 | wil, | əz a | wəz | see·ən, | | shii wəd | tel)i, | huu, |
| | 5 | wil, | əz aa | wəz | see'n. | | shii wəd | tɛl)ɹə | fuu, |
| | 6 | wil, | əz a$^1$ | wyz | see'n | | she wəd | tel)ɹi, | fat wáai |
| | 7 | wil, | əz a | wəz | se$^1$ən, | | shii wəd | tɛl ɹi, | huu, |
| | 8 | wiil, | əz á$^1$i | wiz | seeən, | | shəə wəd | tɛl ɹu, | fuu |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ˌkwheer | ʊn ˌkwhɛn | shy$_1$ | fa$^1$n | dhʊ | ˌdɹa$^1$k'n | bìst | ʊt |
| 2 | kwheer | ən kwhdn | shə | fdnd | dhə | drakən | bìst | ət |
| 3 | ·kwhàn | ən kwhee$^1$r | shi | fàn | dhy | drak'n | bry't | |
| 4 | whaar | ən whan | shi | fan | dhi | drak'n | biist | |
| 5 | faar, | ən fan | shi | fand | dhə | drak'n | beest | |
| 6 | fan | yn faar | shə | fan | dhat | drɜq$^1$k'n | beest | et |
| 7 | faar, | ən fan | shi | fan | e$^1$ | ˌdɹɛqk'n | beest | fat |
| 8 | whaar | ən whan | shə | fɛn | də | ˌdrak'n | bɛst | ət |

1 shy$_1$ kàz)ə°r ·hɜ$^1$zbʊnd.
2 shə kaaz ər mdn.
3 shə KAAZ ər màn.
4 shi kaaz hər gəd man.
5 shi kaaz ər man.
6 shə kaaz ər man.
7 shi kaaz ər man.
8 shə KEEZ hər mE'n.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | 1 | shy$_1$ | swœ$_1$'r | | shy$_1$ | saa)i$_1$m | widh | ə$_1$r | aan | iin, |
| | 2 | shə | swəər | | shə | saa)'m | wə | ər)n)een | | ìn, |
| | 3 | shi | tùk ər | ee$^1$th ət | shə | SAA)əm | wy | ər | ee$^1$n | ìn, |
| | 4 | shi | suur | | shi | sa)m | wi | her | een | in, |
| | 5 | shi | swoor | | shi | saa)m | wi | ər | een | in, |
| | 6 | shə | swiir | | shə | saa)ym | wi | yrn | een | in, |
| | 7 | shi | swoor | | shi | sa)m | wi)ər | | een | in, |
| | 8 | shə | swəər | | shə | SEE him | wi | hər | EE'n | in, |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | lâivn | strìkt | ùt | vt | iz | fɜ$^1$l' | lenth | on | dhʊ | grɜ$^1$n |
| 2 | lái·ən | strìkit | ùt | | ez | fɜl | læ'nth | onə | dhə | grand |
| 3 | | strìkət | ùt | | yr | hee'l | le$_1$nth | on | dhə | gran, |
| 4 | lái·ən | striikit | ət | | | fuu | lenth | on | dhə | gran |
| 5 | lái·ən | strikyt | ət | | | fɜl | lenth | on | dhə | grand |
| 6 | lái·ən | stréikyt | ut | | | aa)z | lenth | oo | dhy | gran |
| 7 | lái·ən | st$_1$reetɟt | | | | aa iz | lenth | on | e$^1$ | gran |
| 8 | lá$^1$iən | st$_1$retɟt | ət | | hiz | heel | lent | apə | də | grand |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊv)ʊz | gy$_1$'d | sɛ$^1$ndʊ | kliiz. | klú$_1$ʊs | bi$_1$ | | dhʊ | dœœ$_1$r |
| 2 | e$^1$n əz | gəd | sdbdhədèz | ku$_1$'t | klu$_1$'s | bi | | dhə | hùs |
| 3 | yn yz | gjyd | sɜndez | be$_1$st, | dɟy$_1$st | fərne$_1$n·t | | dhə | door |
| 4 | in hiz | gəd | sabith | kleez, | dɟəst | bi | | dhə | door |
| 5 | en əz | gjyd | sɜnde | kot, | klos | bi | | dhə | door |
| 6 | wii)z | gwid | sɜndy | kot | klos | a$^1$t | | dhy | door |
| 7 | in iz | gid | sa·bith | kleez | klooz | at | | e$^1$ | door |
| 8 | ənti·l hiz | gy$_1$d | sɜnde | kot, | klòs | bi | | də | door |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊ)dhʊ hùs, | duun | ʊt | dhi$_1$ | korne°r | ʊ | JON | loni$_1$n. |
| 2 | door | dùn | ət | dhə | korner | ə | JON | [dhon] li$_1$'n. |
| 3 | o dhə hùs, | dùn | | dhə | klɔ̀s | JɔNdər | a$^1$t | dhə ko$^1$rnər. |
| 4 | o dhə huus, | duun | ət | dhi | korner | ə | dhe | loonin. |
| 5 | ə dhə hus, | dun | a$^1$t | dhə | korner | ə | JON | leen. |
| 6 | y dhy hus, | dun | yt | dhy | kornər | ə | JON | leen. |
| 7 | o)e$^1$ huus, | duun | ət | ə | kornər | ə | JEN | rodi. |
| 8 | o də huus, | duun | ət | də | kòrnər | o | JON | rod. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. | 1 | hi$_1$ | wʊz | | kwhindɟʊn | ʊwee | SEZ | shyy$_1$, |
| | 2 | héi | wɜz | | kwhìnzhən | əwee$_1$, | | kə)shəə, |
| | 3 | ən hi | wyz | | whɜmp'rn | a$^1$waa·, | | shə diklee$^1$rz, |
| | 4 | hii | wəz | | whɜndɟən | əwAA, | | sed shii, |
| | 5 | hi | wəz | | whə'inən | əwaa, | | sez shii, |
| | 6 | hi | wyz | | meenən | əwaa, | | sez shə, |
| | 7 | hii | wəz | kóunən ən | whéinən | əwaa, | | sez shii, |
| | 8 | hi | wi$_1$z | | whindɟən | əwaa, | | sez)shə, |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | fʊr | àl | dhʊ | wɜ¹r'l̀ | dhʊ | sí₁ʊm)ʊz)ʊ | sik | beern, |
| 2 | | for | *aa* | dhə | wor'lt | léik | ə | noo-wìl | bèrn, |
| 3 | | fɜr | AA | dhə | warld | lə'ik | a¹ | noo¹-wìl | be¹rn, |
| 4 | | fər | aa | dhi | wɜrl | léik | ə | sik | wensh, |
| 5 | | fɜr | *aa* | dhə | war'ld | lə'ik | ə | sik | ween, |
| 6 | dʒist | fɜr | aa | dh*y* | word'l | léik | ə | sik | le¹tl)ən, |
| 7 | | fər | aa | *e*¹ | warl | le¹k | ə | sík | beern*i*, |
| 8 | | fər | aa | de | wɜrld | lEk | ə | sík | beern, |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊr)ʊli₁t'l̀ | | las | *i*₁n)ʊ | frE'*i*t. |
| 2 | or ə | bè¹t | wè₁nsh | en ə | fri₁'t. |
| 3 | *or* a¹ | bèt | lasək | *y* dh*y* | pe₁t. |
| 4 | ər ə | bet | las*i* | en ə | pEt. |
| 5 | ər ə | wii | lasi | en ə | teg. |
| 6 | or ə | bet | lasi | *y*n ə | pet. |
| 7 | ər ə | p*i*r*i* wii | lasi. | | |
| 8 | or ə | p*i*·r*i* | las | *i* də | dorts. |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | 1 | ʊn | dha₁t | hE'p'nt | | ʊz | hœ₁'r | ʊn)ʊ | | |
| | 2 | en | dhè¹s | hdp'nt | də'st | əz | her | en | ər | gə'd |
| | 3 | ən | dhat | w*y*z | dʒy'st | əz | her | 'n | ər | gjyd |
| | 4 | ən | dhat | hapənd | | az | hɜr | ən | hər | gəd |
| | 5 | ən | dhat | hap'nt | | əz | hɜr | 'n | ər | gyd |
| | 6 | *y*n)t | | hap*y*nt | | əz | hɜr | 'n | ər | g*w*id |
| | 7 | ən | at | hapend | | fan | hər | ən | hər | gid |
| | 8 | ən | dat | hap'nd | | əz | shə | ən | hər | gy₁d |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | dóu₁te°₁r)*i*₁n)laa | | kom | thruu | dhʊ | ba₁k | faal |
| 2 | dòk*w*hter | wəz | kamen | thrə'u | dhe¹ | bdk | ʒeerd |
| 3 | dòkhtər | | kàm | thruu | dhə | bàk | ʒee¹rd |
| 4 | dokhtər | | kam | thruu | dhə | bak | ʒard |
| 5 | daakhtər | | kam | thru | dhə | bak | ʒeerd |
| 6 | doothər | | kam | thró*u* | dh*y* | bak | ʒeerd |
| 7 | dokh₁tə₁r | | kam | fee | *e*¹ | bak ʊv | *e*¹ hus |
| 8 | dáukhtər | | kE'm | tro | də | bak | ʒeerd |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | fr*e* | h*i*₁q*i*₁n | | dhʊ | wEt | kl*ii*₁ez | uut | tʊ | ₁drâi | ʊv)ʊ |
| 2 | thre | heqin | ùt | dhə | wdt | kl*ii*₁'z | | tə | dr*ái* | on ə |
| 3 | f*e* | hèq'n | ùt | dh*y* | | kl*ee*¹z, | | | | et w*y*z |
| 4 | free | haqən | uut | dhə | w*a*t | kl*ee*z | | tə | drái | on ə |
| 5 | f*e* | heq'n | ut | dhə | wit | kl*ee*z | | t'l | dráa*i* | on ə |
| 6 | *e*ftər | heq'n | ut | dhy | wit | kl*ee*z | | t*y* | dráa*i* | on ə |
| 7 | fee | haqən | uut | *e*¹ | wit | klees | | tə | ₁drái | on ə |
| 8 | fEE | hEqən | | də | wit | klEEz | ut | tə | drá¹i | wh*i*₁n |

1 wEshin d*ee*',
2 wæ'shin d*ee*₁,
3 wàsh'n d*ee*¹ ʒi ke₁n,
4 wEshən dee,
5 wash'n d*ee*,
6 wash'n d*ee*,
7 washən dee,
8 d*ee* wər biin waash'n,

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. | 1 | ⌊kwhɛ'il | dhʊ | kɛt'l | wʊz | bóilʊn | for | téii | | | |
| | 2 | əz | dha | kæ't'l | wəz | bóilən | for | dhə | téi | | |
| | 3 | ən | dhy | ke₁t'l | wyz | bə'il'n | fɑr | | tii | ən et | wyz |
| | 4 | whən | dhə | ket'l | wəz | bóilən | fər | | tii' | | |
| | 5 | fən | dhə | kɛt'l | wyz | bəil'n | fɑr | dhə | tii | | |
| | 6 | fyn | dhy | ket'l | wyz | béilyn | fɑr | dhy | tee | | |
| | 7 | fan | e¹ | ket'l | wez | bóilən | fa | | tii | | |
| | 8 | i | də tá¹im | ət | də | tceket'l | wəz | bóilən | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ĭɛn | | brɛ'it | sɑ¹mɛ°r | a¹fte°rnyy₁n, | onli₁ | | |
| 2 | jee | féin | brèkjht | sè¹mər | æftərnə'n, | nii₁' | meer | dhən |
| 3 | a¹ | brɑɑ 'n | brekht | sèmər | èftərnyn, | ən | nee¹ | far'r |
| 4 | jee | féin | brekht | sɑmər | ɛftərnin, | djest | | |
| 5 | ee | fə'in | brekht | semər | eeftərnyn, | onli | | |
| 6 | ee | féin | brekht | semər | eftərnin, | onli | | |
| 7 | éi | fáin | brekht | semər | eftərnin, | onli | | |
| 8 | ii | fá¹in | | sɑmərz | eftərnəən, | onli | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | ʊ | wìk | | kɑm | | thœ₁rzdʊ. | |
| 2 | [ner ez] | ə | wìk | óur | gi₁'n | kɑm | nìst | fərzdə. |
| 3 | | ge¹n | dhyn | | | | làst | thɑrzde¹. |
| 4 | | ə | wik | | kɑm | ferst | dhərzdee. | |
| 5 | | ə | wik | sə'in | kɑm | nikst | fyyrzde. | |
| 6 | | ə | wik | sə'in | kəm | | fiirzdy | ferst. |
| 7 | | ə | wik | sin | séin | kɑm | fərsht | fíurzdee. |
| 8 | | ə | wìk | whi₁n | də | nìst | fərzdə | kɑmz. |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | 1 | ʊn | di)jʊ | kɛn ? | a | ni₁vɛ°r | leernd | oni | méir | |
| | 2 | ən | dé)i | kæ'n ? | aa)v | nè¹vər | hàrd | nii₁' | meer | dhən |
| | 3 | ən | di)i | ke₁n ? | a¹ | | hard | ne¹ | mee¹r | dhyn |
| | 4 | an | d)i | kɛn ? | a | nevər | hard | oni | meer | |
| | 5 | ən | di)jə | kɛn ? | ái | nevər | leernt | oni | meer | dhən |
| | 6 | yn | div)ji | ken ? | a | nivər | kent | oni | mee¹r | nər |
| | 7 | ən | d)i | kɛn ? | a | nevər | hard | eni | meer | dhən |
| | 8 | ən | də ji | kɛn ? | á¹i | ni₁vər | kɛnt | oni | meer | əs |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | ʊ | dhi₁s | bi₁znʊs | til | dhʊ | | dee', | ʊz |
| 2 | dhè¹s | ə | dhə | bè¹znəs | t'l | dhè¹s | gəd | dee₁, | əs |
| 3 | dhat | ə | dhy | bé¹znəs | t'l | dhy | | dee¹, | əz |
| 4 | | o | dhi | bizni̇s | ɑp tel | dhə | | dee, | az |
| 5 | dhes | əf | dhat | beznes | ɑp t'l | dhə | | dee, | az |
| 6 | dhes | ə | dhat | beznys | ɑp ty | dhes | vɛrə | dee, | əs |
| 7 | is | o | at | me₁tə₁r | əp tə | is | | dee, | əz |
| 8 | dɑs | o | dat | wark | tə | də | tá¹im | ət)s | kɑm, əz |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | sœœ₁r | ʊz | mi₁ | ni₁'mz | :djúu₁ʊn | :shepe°rd | ʊn)ʊ | |
| 2 | səər | əz | mə | ni₁'m)z | :dju₁'n | :she'pərd, | ən | a |
| 3 | shyyr | əz | dhe | kɑɑ mii | :djok | :she¹pərd, | ən | a¹ |
| 4 | shəər | əz | ma | neem)z | :djoni | :shipərd, | an | a |
| 5 | syyr)z | | mə | neem)z | :djoon | :shepərd, | ən | a¹ |
| 6 | shuur)z | | my | neem)z | :djon | :shepərt, | yn | fat)s |
| 7 | shuur)z | | ma | neem)z | :tjok | :shipərd, | ən | a |
| 8 | shəər | əz | má¹i | nɛm | əz | :djòni | :shɛperd, | ən | á¹i |

1 d*i*$_1$v'nt w*a*nt tʊ kɛn áudhʊr, dh*ee*r nɜ'u!
2 de¹)nə wànt tə ne$_1$dhər, dhii$_1$'r nə!
3 de)nə wànt t*y* n*ee*¹dhər, sə dh*ee*¹r!
4 dɜ)nə wənt tə edhər, dheer nə!
5 də)nə want t'l *ee*dhər, dh*ee*r nu!
6 m*ee*¹r, a¹ də)nə went t*y* k*e*n.
7 d*i*)nə want tə hiir meer edhər, nuu dhen!
8 do)nə want tə d*əə* it nɛ'dər, deer nuu!

14. 1 ʊn s*ii*$_1$ʊ, à)z gaan hi*i*$_1$ɛm tʊ m*i*$_1$ sɜ¹pe°r.
2 nɜ'u dhe¹n, *aa*)m g*aa*n hĭe¹m tə mə sɜpər.
3 wìl! a¹)m gaan h*ee*¹m t*y* m*y* sɜpər.
4 an see a)m gan əwa· hem tə ma sɜpər.
5 ən s*ee* a¹)m g*ee*'n əw*aa*· h*ee*m tə mə sɜpər.
6 *y*n s*ee* a)m dʒaain əw*aa* h*ee*m tə mə sɜpər.
7 ən see a)m gjaan heem tə ma sɜpər.
8 ən see a¹*i*)m geeən heem tə m*i* sɜpər.

1 gyy$_1$d nɛ'*i*t, ʊn d*i*$_1$)nʊ bé*i* sʊ shàrp ʊt krà)*i*$_1$n
2 g*ə*d nè¹kjht, ən wè$_1$t ə wii əf*uu*$_1$'r i kr*aa*
3 gyd ne¹kht, ən dè)nə bi *y*n sè¹k a¹ hɜr*i* t*y* kraa
4 g*ə*d nekht, ən d*i*)nə bii dʒəst se fast tə kraa
5 gjyd nekht, ən də)nə bi s*e* kwek tə kr*aa*
6 g*w*id nekht, *y*n de)n*y* bi s*ee* krus t*y* kr*aa*
7 gid nekht, ən d*i*)nə bi in set ə hɜri tə kraa
8 gy$_1$d ná¹*i*kjht ən do)nə bi see reedi tə kraa

1 ó*u*e°r ʊ bodi ʊg*ee*ʊn, ⌊k*w*hɛn)i tàks ʊ
2 s*i*$_1$' krùs óur ə b*u*$_1$'di əg*i*$_1$'n, k*w*hən héi kràks ə
3 s*e*¹ krùs ɜ'ur a¹ bəd*i* a¹g*e*¹n, whən hii)z spìk'n a¹
4 ó*u*r ə bodi əgen, wən hi tɛlz)i ə
5 ɜ'ur ə bɜdi əg*e*n, fən i kraks o
6 ó*u*r ə bəd*i* əg*e*n, f*y*n i spéiks
7 ó*u*r ə bodi əge·n, fan hi speeks o
8 ó*u*r oni iin əgɛn, wh*i*$_1$n hii)z spɛkən o

1 dh*i*$_1$s dha$_1$t e°r dhʊ tɜ¹dhe°r.
2 dhè¹s or dh*a*t, or dhə t)ɜdhər thè¹q.
3 bù·t dhès, dhàt, or dh*y* ɜdhər thèq.
4 dh*i*s dhat ər ɜdhər.
5 dhes dhât or dhə *i*dhər.
6 dhes dhat or dhy t)*i*dhər theq.
7 *i*s or at.
8 dɛs dat or d*ə* *i*də thɜq.

15. 1 *i*ts ʊ w*ee*k fyy$_1$l ʊt kla$_1$t te°rz wi$_1$dhùt riiz'n.
2 héi)z ə sè¹l*i* f*ə*'l et blæ'dhərz əwee$_1$ wəthù·t ri*i*$_1$'z'n.
3 hii)z a¹ sèli gɜ'uk *y*t ble$_1$dhərz w*y*thù·t se$_1$ns.
4 et)s ə s*i*l*i* f*ə*l dhat klatərz ədhu·t rez'n.
5 et)s ə w*ee*k fyl ət blɛdhərz wəthu·t rez'n.
6 et)s ə wéik fiil *y*t gandʒez wənt'n rez'n.
7 hed)z ə week fil ət kla$_1$tərz withut ə reez'n.
8 et)s ə wee'k fəl ət shɛɛrks ədhu·t r*ee*z'n.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ʊn | dha$_1$ts | m*i*$_1$ | last | w*u*$_1$rd. | gyy$_1$d | nɛ'*it*. |
| 2 | | dhdt)s | m*aa* | hè$^1$nmest | wɜrd. | gəd | b*ái*! |
| 3 | ən | dhàt)s | AA | a$^1$v *ty* *see*$^1$, | sə | gjyd | baa'! |
| 4 | an | dhat)s | ma | last | word. | gɜd | nekht, əgɛ·n. |
| 5 | ən | dhat)s | ma' | henməst | wɜrd. | gjyd | bə'i t)jə. |
| 6 | | dhat)s | máa*i* | h*i*nm*y*st | wɜrd. | g*w*id | báa*i*. |
| 7 | ən | at)s | ma | last | wɜrd. | gid | nekht, əge·n, |
| 8 | ən | dat)s | má$^1$*i* | h*i*dmest | wɜrd. | gy$_1$d | ná$^1$*i*kjht! |

*** The above 8 cs. should be studied as part of the districts to which they have been referred on p. 684, and similarly for the 5 phonetic transcripts of the first chapter of the Book of Ruth on p. 698. They are inserted here, out of order, to render the comparison easier. The reader should observe, in No. 1, *Bewcastle*, the sudden cessation of (*u*, *u*$_1$) and its replacement by (ɜ), the cessation of (*u*$_1$u) and appearance of pure (uu) before consonants or (ɜ'u) when no consonant follows, all strongly against Cu. habits. In No. 2, *Hawick*, the peculiar (*i*$_1$', *i*$_1$') vowels, and U' = (ɜ'u) when not before a consonant not found in the rest of L. In Nos. 5, 6, 7, *Arbroath*, *Keith*, and *Wick*, the use of (f) for (wh), and especially in No. 7, *Wick*, the use of (e$^1$, is) for *the*, *this*, and (he$^1$d) for *it*, the old (h) being restored, not a new *h* inserted, but in No. 8, *Dunrossnēss*, the frequent use of (t, d) for (th, dh).

*Notes to* No. 1, *Bewcastle*, cs. pp. 682, 684.

The Longtown version is cited as LT., and the words are put in italics.

0. *what* (kwh) is almost (wh) when initial, not otherwise.—LT. *whey John hes nē doots*. No doubt *what for* would be the phrase used. Instead of *nē*, *nae* was first written.

1. *well neighbour*, so LT. JGG. considers (*é*$_1$*e*$^1$*i*) to represent the received diphthongal long *a*, only with a longer glide. I should probably have simply written (*éi*). The (e°) which occurs frequently in this version is an obscure (e), and in fact does not sensibly differ from (ʊ) or (ə), but JGG. wished to represent the impression he received.—*both*, both elements accented, LT. *bēaith*.—*mine*, LT. *meyne*. This thin (ɛ'i) diphthong, with a tendency towards (æ'i), is very characteristic of nw.Cu. See Holme Cultram, p. 562, No. 20.—*neither here nor there*, LT. *nayder hēēr nor thēēr*.

2. *die*, LT. *dee*.—*we know, don't we*, LT. *we ken, div'nt we*.—*make*, LT. *mēäke*.—*very likely*, LT. *varra leykely*.

3. *howsoever*, etc., LT. *howsoever* or *huzsever*, *thē err the fācs o' the kēäse, sē just hod your noise, frēēnd*. Observe Mr. Sinclair's (ha$_1$d, frɛn). (fri$_1$nz) in the pl. at Milburn, We.—*I is done*, LT. *ā've dun*, both words perhaps literary. In (dyy$_1$n) JGG. considers the vowel to be (*uu*) with the tongue obliquely advanced towards the (*ii*) position, and he writes it ($_1$*uu*'), but consents to (y$_1$) as merely a generic symbol representing 'something like' French (y), and this was the effect to my ear when I heard him pronounce it. Observe (a)z) = 'I is,' which runs quite into Liddesdale.

4. *I is*, LT. *I am*, which is educated. —*certain*, etc., LT. *certain ā heerd*. The (r) is trilled throughout regularly as in Scotland. —*some*, JGG. considers this (ɜ$^1$) to lie between (o) and the Teviotdale value of (ɜ), and might be (o$_1$) as well as (ɜ$^1$), reminding him more of (o, *o*) than the Teviotdale (ɜ) does.—*the folks*, etc., LT. *thē fōōäks whē gēēid*.—*whole*, LT. *hēäl*.—*first*, the vowel is very difficult owing to the disturbance of (r). JGG. has tried many ways of symbolising it. But he finally admits (e°) as an indistinct and indefinite (e). It sometimes reminds him of the Nb. sound, which he thinks is (ɔ$_2$) or (ɔ) pronounced with a widened pharynx, LT. *f'e'rst*, where the ' ' are unexplained.—*well enough*, the (*iu*), says JGG., is the same as in general NW. of England, but only occurs before (kwh) in this district, as in (d*iu*kwh, pl*iu*kwh, kl*iu*kwh, t*iu*kwh, s*iu*kwh, un*iu*kwh) = dough, plough, cleugh, tough, sough, enough; LT. *sēēäfe enuff*.

5. *youngest*, etc., LT. *youngist son himsel, a greet bōōēe o' neyne*—*knew*, etc., LT. *kent hēēs fayder's voice at yince*; the *d* in fay*d*er was probably dental, it is only occasionally marked in Mr. Sinclair's version, but JGG.

considers the omissions to be due to Mr. Sinclair's residence in Nb. Observe that *'s* of the possessive is used, it is omitted in D 31.—*queer*, the (ii) is quite pure throughout, never ($i_1$i).—*truth*, LT. *trŭth*, JGG. wrote (tr,$i^1$th), see par. 3.—*I is done.*

6. *old*, LT. *āl.*—*will*, LT. *wull.*—*now*, LT. *now*, this (ɑ'u) for (uu) occurs only in an open syllable, before a consonant it remains (uu, ù), as in Rx.—*too*, LT. *too*, with a 'guttural sound.' JGG. has attempted several ways of noting the sound, which in Rx. Dr. Murray assumes to be the French (ə) = *eu* in p*eu*. JGG. says it is *not* labialised, but may lie between (ə, *u*), or among (ɔ, *i*, *u*) or ($u_1$, $i_1$), but consents to writing ($ə_1$) frequently in D 31, p. 541, as a variant of (ə) produced without rounding the lips.—*without*, LT. *withoot muckle bodder.*—*won't she*, LT. *wunnet shoo.* JGG. writes (shyy$_1$) here, describing it as "low ($i_1$), high-rounded," but writes (sh,$u^1$) in par. 7. See note, par. 3, *I is done.*

7. *she*, LT. *shoo*, see par. 6, *won't she.*—*me*, LT. *mēē*, just as dialect writers use 'mee' in Cu. and Yo.—*when*, LT. *whōne*, on which Rev. Mr. Elwood, of Torver, Coniston, n.La., says in a letter of 20 March, 1874, "There is one word *whone*, the word for *when*, which occurs in his [Mr. Hope's] version, the sound of which (though I understood what sound he meant to convey the moment I saw it) I fear neither he nor I will be able to convey to you in the compass of a letter. It is pronounced something like *whāūn*, with a deep inflection." This may be (whoo·.·n) with a fall of pitch on (oo) and then a rise. Mr. Sinclair seems to have used an altogether different sound.—*two*, etc., LT. *twō or three teymes ōur, dud she, and shoo.*—*wrong*, etc., LT. *rang on sic a.*—*dost thou think*, LT. *dēē yah think.*

8. *she would*, LT. *shoo wad.* JGG. says the (u) was distinct in both words, we have seen in other parts, p. 596, par. 8, that *she* becomes (shu) before (wud).—*how*, etc., LT. *how, where, and whōne shoo fun the drucken.*—*she calls*, LT. *she cās.*

9. *she swore*, etc., LT. *shoo swore she sāw him, with her āan e'en, lying streakit, at full length on the grun in his gŭd Sunday cōōāt clōōs by the dūr* (guttural sound) *o' the hoose doon at the coorner o' yon lonning* (or *loo-ning*).—*lying*, observe not (lıga°n).—*good*, JGG. wrote (g,$i^1$d), see note, par. 3, *done.*—*door*, JGG. considers this a variant of the French *œu* in *sœur.*—*house down*, observe (hùs, duun), not (hɑ'us dɑ'un), because the word is followed by a consonant.

10. *whingeing*, LT. *wheyning.*—*she*, etc., LT. *shoo, for a' the woorld.*—*sick*, LT. *seek cheyld.* Observe (sik) with short (i), not (si$_1$k, sik).—*fright*, LT. *fret*, which is perhaps not dialectal, but Hawick (fri$_1$'t) is 'fret.'

11. *her*, LT. *shoo.*—*daughter-in-law came*, LT. *doughter-in-lāw cam'.*—*fold*, LT. *yaird.*—*clothes out*, LT. *clēs oot.*—*washing*, LT. *weshing.*

12. *while*, LT. *wheyle.*—*one bright*, etc., LT. *yin feyne breet simmer efternūn.* — *Thursday*, LT. inserts *neist* = next before Thursday.

13. *and do you ken*, etc., LT. *a and dē ye ken? ā niver lairned ony mair.*—*till to-day*, LT. *up too* (guttural sound).—*as sure*, LT. *as sūr as my nēāme.*—*and I don't want*, etc., LT. *and ā div'nt want too ader, thēēr now.*

14. *and so I is going*, LT. *and sē ā'm gan hēāme ta sup. Gude nēēt and div'nt be sē quick to-o* (guttural sound) *crāw ōur a body again whone he tāks o' this that or t' other.*

15. *weak fool*, LT. *weak fūl*, JGG. writes (f,$uu^1$l), see note, par. 3, *done.*—*that clatters*, LT. *that prates withoot reason.*—*my last word*, LT. *my last word. gud b'oy.*

*Notes to* No. 2, *Hawick*, cs., pp. 682, 684.

2. *likely*, (lèıkli) is also used, I have however heard (lè$^1$kli) from Lowlanders myself.

3. *just*, Dr. M. says "commonly (dəst) when unemphatic and gen. even if emphatic, though (dɟəst) may then be heard from some. The vowel is the ordinary Scotch *u*, currently assumed = French *u*. When I learnt French at school, I was taught to pronounce French *juste* with the same vowel."—*call canny*, that is, *drive gently* (or be still).

4. *first of it*, the (oo) was marked long by Dr. M.

5. *that well would I.*

8. *aweel*, (əwil, àwil) both given.

9. *Sabbath day's.*

13. *than*, (dhɛn, ɛz, nɛr, bi) all used after the comparative.

*Notes to* No. 3, *Edinburgh* cs., pp. 683, 684.

0. *the*, Dr. M. uses (*y*) rather vaguely where I should put (*i*) or ($i_1$), but I leave it.—*at*, I have changed Dr. M.'s (ah) into ($a^1$) as more suggestive. —*who cares*, etc., or better (whAA mɑ'indz dhat? dhat)s $a^1$ smAAme$^1$tʊr)."

2. *because*, I rather doubt the appreciation (bikə·z).

3. *just*, the shade of (y) in (dɟyst) is doubtful here and elsewhere.

4. *sure enough*, or (nee$^1$ dùt ʊbùt *yt*) no doubt about it.

6. *you yons*, apparently, you that are yonder.—*ask*, both (aks, ask) are used.

8. *when*, (kwhàn) or (whàn).—*where* (kwhee$^1$r) or (whee$^1$r).

10. *no-well*, that is, unwell, or sick.

13. *the day*, that is, to-day.

*Notes to* No. 4, *Stranraer*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

5. *big*, (greet) is also used *deed would I*=indeed I would, as a variant (ái, wed ə) aye, would I.

6. *now*, (nii) is used at Kirkcudbright.

7. *leastways* or (oni wez) any ways. *wrong*, the *w* is not heard.

8. *found* (fan) or (fan).—*beast* (bé'st) in Wigton.

9. *lane*, yonder (ɟonər) might be added.

10 *pet* or (tef) tiff.

14. *do not be* I had transcribed (did)nə), a manifest error, and hence I adopt the reading of No. 7.

15. *silly* or (wik) weak.

*Notes to* No. 5, *Arbroath*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

Mr. Anderson is referred to as A.

1. *you and him*, A. wrote *you an'he.* —*both*, A. *baith* with the sound *ãe*, explained as "somewhat like English *ay* in *say*, but has a more shut sound," probably ($e^1$) is meant, but Dr. M. uses (*ee*) throughout. The words which A. specifies as having this *ãe* or say ($ee^1$) sound are in his spelling: *baith, nather, hãill, ance, straicht, lane, bairn, yaird, fae, afternune, mair, aither, wake*: both, neither, whole, once, straight, lane, bairn, yard, from, afternoon, more, either, weak. He also uses *ẽa* to express a sound "somewhat similar to *ãe* or French *de* prolonged," which is a very different sound from ($ee^1$), and assigns it to: *learned, name, hame.—laugh*. A writes *lauch.—it*, this use of (e) for (*i*) is not recognised by A.

5. *laddy*, Dr. Murray notes the pron. (ladhi) as "authentic," A. merely writes *laddie*.

7. *wrong*, A writes simply *wrang*, the (vraq) is M.'s insertion.

10. *tig*, "a pet, a fit of sullen humour," Jamieson's Dictionary.

12. *when*, A. has *fan.—boiling*, A. has *boilin'* not *bilin'*.

13. *don't*, A. has *dinna* not (dɑnə).

*Notes to* No. 6, *Keith*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

Rev. Walter Gregor's spelling is cited as G; Dr. Murray's as M; vv. the vivâ voce cwl. as heard by AJE.

2. *likely*, G. *li'ckly*. The *i* of Ab. writers and that neighbourhood is used in at least three manners, which will be discussed under D 39. Dr. M. has apparently in despair used (*y*) where Mr. Gregor wrote *i*, with the following explanation, which neither Dr. M. nor I succeeded in understanding: "*i* has several sounds, one sound in *fill, mill*, another in *wint* (wont), and a third in *fin* (when) hinmist. The sound in *fill, will, him*, comes nearest to the sound of *yes, yet*; the sound in *wint* may be represented by the sound of the *i* in *window*. In *fin* the sound comes nearest the sound in *pin*." In English the last two are identical. In all cases Mr. Gregor probably refers to the pron. in more southern parts of Scotland. M (ləkl*y*), vv. (lɛ́ikli).

3. *quiet*, G. *quai'et*, M. (kwaa·'t), vv. (kwe·et).—*done*, G. *dĕĕn*, M. (din dyyn), vv. (dɪin).

4. *enough*, G. *ănyuch*, M. (*y*nɟekh), vv. (iníukh).

5. *son*, G. *sin*, M. (see'n), vv. (se$^1$n), and *sun* was absolutely the same. —*loun*, "a boy," Jam. Dict.—*word*,

G. *wird*, M. (wyrd), vv. (ward), this is one of the three pron. of *i* in D 39, which sounds to me like (ɐ).—*was*, G. *wiz*, M. (wyz), vv. (wez), this is another of the three pron. of *i* in D 39.—*truth*, G. *trauth*, M (trə'uth), vv. (tróuth).—*would*, G. *wid*, M (wyd), vv. (wad).

7. *told it*, G. *taul't*, M. (*taal*)t), vv. (tal)t).

8. *found that*, G. *fan that* or *tat*, this is a case of assimilation of (dh) to (t) after (n), found elsewhere.

9. *her own eyes*, G. *ir nain een*, M. (*yr*-n- *een* in), I should have probably heard (ər ne'n ìn).

9. *in his good Sunday coat, close at the door*, G. *in's gweed Sunday quite close at tha door*, M. (wii)z gwid sandy kwéit, klos a¹t dhy door). Unfortunately the word *coat* was skipped in my vv. wl., but in a num. wl. which G. had previously sent me it was marked (kot), which I have adopted. But in *Johnny Gibb, quite* is used for coat.

10. *little one*, G. *littlõn*, as well as I could read it, but the writing was indistinct, and M. gave it up.

11. *as her and her*, G. *iz hir ăn hir*, M (*yz* heer 'n *yr*), probably (əz hər ən hər) would be more correct, and I have introduced it.

14. *going*, G. *djahin*, M. (djaan, dzshaan), vv. the word *to go* was written both (gĭaq, djan), hence I adopt (djaa·in) as most probably what was intended; of course it is an alteration of (gjaan) heard at Wick, Cs.—*don't*, G. *dinnă*, which M. here represents by (deny), but just at end of par. 13 by (dənə). The sound is perhaps (də¹nə).—*crouse*, "brisk, apparently brave," Jam. Dict.

15. *ganjis*, as G. writes it here, is in his *Dialect of Banffshire, with a Glossary of Words not in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, "GANNYIE, *n.* (1) much pert foolish talking, (2) a pert talker.—GANNYIE, *v.n.* to talk much in a foolish, pert fashion (*Gandy* is the form given by Jamieson). GANNYIEIN', *a.* given to pert, silly talking (Jamieson gives the noun, *ganien*)."—*reason*, G. *rizzin*, M. (rizyn), vv. (rez'n).

*Notes to* No. 7, *Wick*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

0. *John*, (:tɟon) is remarkable, because initial (tɟ) generally becomes (sh).—*no doubts*, (nee duuts) more common in Wick, according to Micklejohn and Sinclair.

1. *mine*, the form (máinz) is only occ. used, (má¹in) is most frequent.

2. *should*, (sed) is an older form.—*it is*, observe the retention of the aspirate in *it*, Ws. *hit*.

3. *how and ever*, for *howsoever*, (fuu) is the regular form for *how* and *why*.—*these is the*, observe omission of (dh) in *these*, *the*, which is regular in Cs.—*till* (fel) is not a form of *till*, but of *while*, commonly used in the N. for until.

4. *some of the*, (sim) also used.—*that*, (fa) who, also used.—*from*, (fre) also used.—*enough*, (əniókh) also used.

5. *voice*, the form (wáis) is archaic.

6. *straight off* or (ət éins) at once.—*if* or (ge¹n) given.—*ask*, (aks) is common among the older people in Cs.

7. *any* or (oni).—*telled* or (tóuld) told.—*ought* or (shud) should.—*matter* or (póint), the (ˌtˌr) occurs in this district.—*as this, what*, obs. (dh) omitted in *this*, and (f) used for (wh).

8. *tell you*, never (tɛl)í), the (ɟ) always inserted.—*how*, the (huu) is possibly an error for (fuu), as in No. 5.

9. *swore*, (sweerd) is rarely used.—*Sabbath* (sandə) is used, instead of *Sabbath clothes* they also say (hiz hee¹nd koot) his hind or spare coat.—*close* or (djest).—*yon little road*, (dhon) is heard in Fi. and Ab.

10. *cowning and whining*, I don't find to *cown* in glossaries, (fimpər) whimper means to cry.—*or a little wee lassie*, (pirı) is an old word for small, and occurs in D 42, (ən el-neˌtəˌrˌd lassigi) an ill-natured small lass, is also used.

11. *from the back of the house*, or (thróu e¹ ɟeerd) through the yard.

13. *more than this*, or (nər) may be used for than.

*Notes to* No. 8, *Dunrossness*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

1. *why*, the (wh) is forcibly uttered, but the sound is not quite (kıch); the (á¹i) is fine, very far from (ái) and might be almost written (æ'i).—*Johnny*, the (ò) medial, as the vowels generally are, but the (n) not doubled;

final (i) pure, not (ɪ).—*has*, on account of the want of emphasis both (h) and (E) were rather indistinct, and (ez) would perhaps be nearer, not (ɐz, əz). *doubts*, the vowel medial in length; in many cases where I have used short or long vowels from the feeling of the moment, probably medial vowels would have been more correct.

1. *both*, the (th) quite distinct, not (t, d, dh), but occasionally (dhth) in the pause.—*this*, the (dɑs) was very distinct, though all Shetland writers use *dis*; this is probably the *i* of D 39, there explained.—*cares*, there, with distinct (ee) not (EE), no insertion of (ʊ) before (r), which was quite trilled, though not so strongly trilled as before vowels, or as in L. speech.

2. *they are*, this is a common contraction.—*do not*? For the distinctions (ə, œ, $y_1$) which Shetlanders generally write as *ü*, I give whatever struck my ear at the time, but of course I may have often been wrong.

3. *facts, case*, neither word is in gen. use, hence Miss M.'s own pron. was conjectural.—*till I am done*, (til) almost (tel); (əm ɐm) unemphatic for I am; ($dy_1$n), with a deeper (y), almost (ə), but with a difference difficult to determine.

4. *sure*, the vowel is very long.—*whole*, though not very long the vowel was not so short as medial.—*safe*, the fracture was very slight, but certain.—*enough*, the vowels were both marked and distinct, but the first is shorter and has the stress.

5. *father's*, the vowel might have been written ($ee_1$), it seemed to lie between (*ee*, EE).—*queer*, obs. the change of *qu* into (wh).—*skirling*, "crying with a shrill voice," *Jam. Dict.* R. Cogle also suggested (pestʊrɪn).—*him*, the aspirate never seems to disappear even in unemphatic syllables.

7. *two or three*, in the sense of a few, if strictly *two or else three* were meant an (or) would be inserted, thus (twartri) a few, (twaa or trii) two or else three.—*over, ought*, in these two words I recognised (ôu), otherwise I generally heard (âu, âʲu).—*wrong*, the *w* with a distinct syllabic value, and the (æ) fully as fine as in s.England.

8. *how*, as far as I could ascertain this was the only word in which (h) was replaced by (f), and I do not understand why (fuu) should have been used here and in No. 5, and not in No. 6 and No. 7. It is evident that (f) must arise from the older form *hwi*, which also = why, in which sense also (fuu) is used.—*calls*, Miss M. knew (kEEz) best, Mr. Laurenson (kaaz).—*man*, obs. (mE'n) sg. and (mEn) pl., the word *husband* is not used.

9. *own*, a slight fracture as in *safe*, par. 4.—*eyes*, (in) not (*in*), vowel short.—*stretched*, this was the only word in which I observed dental (ˌtˌr). *road*, the vowel decidedly short; *lane* is not used in the country, in towns it is called a (klo's) close.

10. *in the dorts*, in the dumps; "DORT, s. pet, commonly in pl." *Jam. Dict.* Miss M. considered this paragraph the best Shetlandish of the whole version as far as words go.

11. *daughter*, those who affect English say (dakhtʊr).—*they were been washing* for *they had been*, this is regular, the compound past tenses of *to be* are formed with *be* and not *have*, similarly *I am done* (əm $dy_1$n) par. 3.

12. *kettle* or (bóilʊr) boiler.—*one*, (ii), RC. wrote *ae*, implying (ee); obs. also (iin) in par. 14. The numerals are: (iin, twa, tri, fóur, fâʲiv, sæks, siiv'n, akht, nâʲin, tE'n, ɐliiv'n, twɛl, twanti, hændʊr, thuuz'n).—*Thursday*, this seems to be the only word in which *th* becomes (f), compare Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, which make the same change.

13. *the time that) is come*, the present time.—*do not*, (donə) here and in par. 14, but (dœnə) in par. 2. These variations depend upon the position of the words in a sentence, but no rule could be given.

14. *night* (nâʲikjht), obs. both the diphthong and the palatal, which I do not recollect elsewhere.—*thing*, this is one of the words which generally retains (th), but in pitying a child people will often say (pəər tEq) poor thing with a (t).

15. *shargs*, so Miss M. gave the word, saying that the *g* is generally preserved; here, however, she pron. (shEErks), and interpreted: scold, prattle, chatter. I cannot find the word in glossaries.—*hindmost*, (hinmest) is also said.—*good-bye* is only said when parting for some time on a journey, but (sE læq) so long is a very usual farewell expression.

## FIVE INTERLINEAR VERSIONS OF CHAP. I. OF THE BOOK OF RUTH.

Arranged to compare three characteristic Lowland Scotch with two characteristic English dialects, one M. and the other S.

1. D 33, *Teviotdale*, from the pal. version in Dr. Murray's *Dialects of S. of Scotland*, p. 241, written by him from personal knowledge as a native. In this pal. Dr. M. introduces *é è*, é è in a sense different from that which I assign to these symbols, I have therefore replaced them by ($e^1$ $e_1$, $e^1$ $e_1$). The notation is however still slightly different from that adopted in the Hawick cs., suprà, pp. 682, 684, which was written subsequently by Dr. Murray. The medial vowels are here written short for convenience.

2. D 35, *Ayr*, pal. by Dr. Murray from the dict. of Messrs. Heron Duncan and W. Duncan, and revised by Mr. Giffen, of whom more under D 35, printed in Dr. M.'s DSS., p. 240, intended to represent the Central Group, D 34 to 37.

3. D 39, *Buchan*, ne.Ab., now called Deer and Ellon, beyond the rivers Dovern and Ythan, once a county by itself, pal. by Dr. Murray from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Forrest, and revised by his brother Mr. W. Forrest, with the assistance of Mr. Alexander Melville Bell, by whom the sounds were written in Visible Speech characters. For further remarks on Buchan speech see under D 39.

4. D 25, *s.Ch.*, written in glossic by Mr. T. Darlington from personal knowledge as an illustration of his *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, and here transliterated into pal. from p. 97 of that work. For the characters of D 25, see p. 409, and Beckley dt., p. 411. The (r) was probably (ɾ), although (r) was written.

5. D 10, *w.Sm.*, written in glossic by Mr. F. T. Elworthy from personal knowledge for the purpose of comparison with Nos. 1, 2, 3, printed in his *Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset*, p. 105, whence it was pal. by AJE., and finally corrected from Mr. Elworthy's dictation. See pp. 146 to 153.

1. 1 *Teviotdale*, D 33. nɜ'u, et kam əbu·t e)dhe)dee$_1$z
2 *Ayr*, D 35. nuu, et kam əbu·t, 'n)dhe)dee$^1$z
3 *Buchan*, D 39. nuu, et hap'nt y)dhe)dee$^1$z
4 *s.Cheshire*, D 25. nái it apʊnt i)th diiz
5 *w.Somerset*, D 10. nɛ'u ʊt vaald e'ut in dhee deez

1 kwhan dhe dʒədʒiz rə'uld, et dhe wɜr e
2 kwhan dhe dʒadʒez ruult, dha$^1$t dher wɜz ə
3 fyn dhe dʒiudʒez ruu'lt, et dher wyz ə
4 wen)th dʒu$_o$dʒiz wʊn ræ'ulin, ʊz dhʊr wʊz want ʊ
5 han dhʊ dʒə$^1$dʒez wʊz ʊryy$_1$'ʊlin, in)s dhʊr wʊz ʊ

1 dærth e)dhe)laand en)e)sært'n man thræ
2 dee$^1$rth y)dhe)laan ɜn)ə)sert'n man bilaqən te
3 fee$^1$men y)dhe)laan. yn dher wyz e man bilaqen ty
4 bred i)th ku$_o$ntri, ʊn ʊ saartin mon ʊ
5 díʊrth in dhʊ kan·tri. ʊn)ʊ)saartin mɛ'ʊn o

1 :bæthlem :dʒə'udə gi'd əwee$_1$ te bé$_1$id e kwhé$_1$il
2 :bethləm :dʒuudə, gje$^1$d əwaa te stɛ'i ə kwhɛ'il
3 :bethlem :dʒuudə$^1$ gje$^1$d ty bə'id ə fə'il
4 :be·thliʊm :dʒæ$^1$udʊ went liv
5 :bæthlɛ'ʊm :dʒyy$_1$dʊ, i ween vúuʊth vʊr tʊ bá$^1$id

1 e)dhe)kən·tri ə :moob, he¹m, en)ez)wé₁if, en)ez)twii'
2 y)dhe)kyntrah ə :moob, hem, en)ez)wə'if ən)ez)twaa
3 y)dhe)kwintre¹ ə :moob, hee¹m yn)yz)wə'if yn)yz)twaa
4 i)th ku₀ntri ʊ :mooʊb, im ʊn iz wéif ʊn iz tæ'u
5 in dhʊ kəntʀi ʊ :moo·əb, ii dɛd, ʊn ʊz wá¹if, ʊn ʊz tyy₁

1 sɛnz.
2 sɛnz.
3 see¹nz.
4 su₀nz ʊlu₀qg widh im.
5 zə¹nz lʌʌq)we)ʊn.

2. 1 en dhe manz ni'm wəz :eli·melek, en)dhe)kaad
2 ən dhe nem ʊ dhe man wɛz :ilə·melek, en ez gjyd
3 yn dhe manz ne¹m wyz :eli·melek, yn dhe kaad
4 ʊn th)mən)z niim wʊz :eli·mʊlek, ʊn iz wéifs
5 ʊn dhíki mɛ'ʊn wʊz ʊkjaal :elə¹mʊlik, ʊn ə¹z wá¹iv

1 dhe gəd we₁if :naoo·mi en dhe twii' kaləns
2 wɛ'ifs ne¹m wɛz :náoo·me, en dhe kʌʌd ez ladez
3 yz wéif :neoo·mi, yn dhe twaa ladiz
4 niim wʊz :nee)oo·mái, ʊn iz tæ'u ladz wʊn kʌʌd
5 ɛʀ wʊz ʊkjaal :neoo·má¹i, ʊn ʊz tyy₁ bwóiz wʊz ʊkjaa·l

1 :maakwhlen en :kilien, :ii'freth é₁its
2 :makhlən ən :kil'n :ɛ·frəthɛ'its
3 :meelen yn :kilien :ee¹fretho'its
4 :maalʊn ʊn :tʒilʒʊn, ʊn dhi wʊn ʌʌ ən ʊm :iifrʊthái̇ts
5 :méʊlʊn ʊn :tʒə¹lʒʊn, dhe wʊz ʌʌl o)'m :eefʀʊthá¹its

1 thræ :bæthlem :dʒə'udə. en dhe kam entə dhe
2 ə :bɛthləm :dʒuudə. ən dhe kam ənt'l dhe
3 fi :bethlem :dʒuude¹. yn dhe kam ent'l dhe
4 áit ʊ :be·thlivm :dʒæ'udʊ ʊn dhi kæ'um intʊ)th
5 ɛ'ut o :bæthle'ʊm :dʒyydʊ ʊn dhe kʌmd intʊ dhʊ

1 kəntri ə :moob, en bed dhii'r.
2 kyntrah ə :moob, en stɛ'it dheer.
3 kwintre¹ ə :moob, yn be¹d dhee¹r.
4 ku₀ntri ʊ :mooʊb, ʊn dhíiʊr dhi meed'n dhʊr wəm.
5 kəntʀi ʊ :moo·əb ʊn dhéʊʀ dhe bá¹id.

3. 1 en :əli·melek, :naoo·miz gədman déid, ʊn shə wɛz
2 ən :ilə·melek, :naoo·mez gjydman diit, ən shy wɛz
3 yn :eli·melek, :neoo·miz man diit, yn shi wyz
4 ʊn :eli·mʊlek, im ʊz wʊz u₀zbʊnd tʊ :nee)oo·mái déid,
5 ʊn :eelə¹mʊlik, dhat)s dh)ɛzbʊn ʊ :ne)oo·má¹i zo tʊ

1 læft wə dhe twii' laadz.
2 lɛft hɜr'n ɜr twaa kɜl'nz.
3 lɛft yn er twaa see¹nz.
4 ʊn soo æ'u wʊz left bi ʊrse·l, ɜr ʊn ʊr tæ'u ladz.
5 speek ii dá¹id; ʊn ɜʀ wʊz ʊla·f, ɜʀ waaz, ʊn ʊʀ tyy₁ zə¹nz laaq)weʊʀ.

4. 1 en dhee₁ tək dherselz wé₁ivz thræ maq dhe wəmin
2 ən dhee¹ tɜk dhərselz wɜ'ivz ʊ)dhe wimen
3 yn dhe meret wymen bilaqen ty dhe kwintre¹
4 ʊn dhee tæ'uk'n éitɟ ʊn ʊm ʊ :mooʊb wu₀mʊn fʊr dhʊr
5 ʊn dhe tə₁kt dhʊrzalz ʊ wá¹iv ʊ piis, ɛ'ut ʊ dhʊ wumin

1 ə :moob, dhe ni'm ə)dhe)ti'n wɜz :orpə, en dhe ni'm
2 ə :moob, dhe nem ə)dhe)ɟen wɜz :orpə, ən dhe nem
3 ə :moob, dhe ne¹m ə)dhe)tin wyz :orpe¹, en dhe ne¹m
4 wéif; t)ənz niim wʊz :aarpʊ ʊn t)u₀dhʊrz wʊz :ræ'uth;
5 ʊ :moo·əb, waan ʊ dhee wʊz ekjaa·l :ɜʀpʊ, ʊn dhʊ t)ɜdhʊʀ

1 ə)dhe)tɜdher :rəth, en dhe bed dhii'r dhe fææk ə
2 ə)dhe ydhər :ruth; ən dhe stɜ'it dheer dhe fɛɛk ʊ
3 ə)dhe tidher wyz :ruth, en dhe dwalt dhee¹r niir əbut
4 ʊn dhi livd i dhat ku₀ntri ʊbáit ten ɟiʊr.
5 o)'m wʊz ʊkjaa l :rə₁th, ʊn dhe liivd in dhiki plɛʊs

1 tæn iir.
2 tɛn iir.
3 ten iir.
4
5 bɛ'ud ʊ teen ɟɜr.

5. 1 dhan :maakuhlen ən :kilien déid təə, bi'th dhe
2 ən :makhlən en :kil'n diit tee¹, bee¹th
3 yn :meelen yn :kilien bee¹dh diit tii',
4 ʊn :maalʊn ʊn :tɟilɟʊn déid ʊz wel,
5 ʊn :mɛ'ʊlʊn ʊn :tɟə¹lɟʊn dhee dá¹id tyy₁ dhʊ

1 twii' ə dhem; en dhe wamen wɜz læft er li'n,
2 ə dhem; ən dhe wəmən wɜz lɛft əle·n,
3 yn dhe wə'if wyz left er lii'n,
4 bæ'uʊth ən ʊm; soo dhʊ wu₀mʊn wʊz left aa ʊlæiin,
5 búʊdh o)'m; ʊn so dh')ɜmʊn wʊz ʊla·f ʊdhɛ'ut

1 wə nedher bern ner man bila·qen er.
2 wy nee¹dher man nərween.
3 wythut ee¹dher be¹rn or man.
4 nái ʊr tæ'u su₀nz ʊn ʊr ə'ud mon wʊn gon djed.
5 ɜdʊr wan ʊv ʊʀ tyy₁ zə¹nz ʊʀ ìt ʊʀ ɜzbʊn.

6. 1 dh*æn* sh*ə* r*ee*$_1$z ɜp, her en er tw*ii*' g*ə*d dok*w*hterz,
2 dhɛn sh*y* r*ee*'z wy ər twaa gj*y*d d*oo*khterz,
3 dh*en* shi g*o*t ɜp wii er g*w*id daatherz,
4 dhen *æ*'u g*o*t *u*$_o$p w*i* ʊr *ə*'*u*tʊr in laaz
5 dhan ɛr gaat ap w*e* ʊr daartʊrlaaz

1 te g*a*q hĭem *ə*g*i*'n thræ dhe laand
2 far t*e* gjæq əwaa hem f*e* dhe k*y*ntrah
3 t*y* gjɛq h*e*'m *ə*gj*e*'n f*i* dhe k*w*intr*e*'
4 fʊr g*oo* bak á*i*t ʊ)th k*u*$_o$ntr*i*
5 in)s ɜr mə'd g*ə*$_1$ bak ʊgíʊn vrʊm dh*i*ki kɜntri

1 *ə* :m*oo*b, for sh*ə* ed hard e dhe kɜntri ə :moob,
2 ə :m*oo*b, far sh*yy*)d h*a*rd trl *y* dhe k*y*ntrah ə :m*oo*b,
3 ə :m*oo*b, far shii)d hard trl *y* dhe kwintr*e*' ə :m*oo*b,
4 ʊ :m*oo*·ʊb, fʊr *æ*'u)d íʊrd wel *æ*'u wʊz dhíʊr, ʊt
5 ʊ :m*oo*·əb, vʊr ɜr)d ʊjɜ·rd

1 hɜu ət dhe :l*oo*rd hed lə*k*it æfter ez
2 dha't dhe :l*oo*rd hɜd t*ee*'n th*oo*kht t*e* ez
3 et dhe :l*oo*rd h*y*d luket *e*ftr)*yz*
4 á*i* dhʊ :laard ʊd t*ee*n éid ʊn *i*z *oo*n
5 ɛ'*u* dhʊt dhʊ :la'ʊrd ʊd t*ee*d ʊmá'*i*nded ə'z *oo*n

1 f*u*'k, en gin dhem brid.
2 f*o*k, ən gin dhem brid.
3 f*o*k, *y*n gin dhem brid.
4 f*oo*ks, ʊn ʊd gjʊn ʊm bred.
5 v*o*ks, in gi)in *o*)'m brɛ*e*d.

7. 1 s*ii*' sh*ə* g*i*'d əw*e*$_1$ ut thræ dhe pl*i*'s ʊt sh*ə*
2 s*ee*' shy gj*e*d əwaa f*e* dhe ple's k*w*haar sh*y*
3 *y*n shii gj*e*d ut ə dhe ple's faar shi
4 ʊn s*oo* œ'u staart*i*d of á*i*t ʊ)th pliis wéiʊr *æ*'u
5 z*o* ɜr w*ee*n v*ú*ʊth ɛ'*u*t ʊ dh*i*ki plɛ'ʊs wɜr ɜr

1 wɜz *a*t, ən dhe tw*ii*' g*ə*d dok*w*hterz ə*la*·q w*ə*ə)r;
2 wɜz stop'n, w*y* ər twaa gj*y*d d*oo*khterz ə*la*·q w*yy*)r;
3 w*yz*, her 'n er tw*aa* gwid daatherz wii)er;
4 wɔz, ʊn ʊr t*æ*'u d*ə*'*u*tʊr *i*n laaz ʊl*u*$_o$qg w*i*dh ʊr;
5 waz, ʊn ɜr ty$y_1$ daartʊrlaaz laq)w*e*) ʊr

1 en dhe t*ə*k dhe g*i*'t te g*a*q b*a*k te dhe
2 ən dh*e* tɜk dhe wɜ'i te gjæq əwaa b*a*k hem te dhe
3 *y*n dh*e* tuk dhe gj*e*'t b*a*k ʊgj*e*'n t'l dhe
4 ʊn dh*i* gɔt'n ʊpʊ)th r*oo*d fʊr k*u*$_o$m bak tʊ)th
5 ʊn dh*e* w*ee*nt aan pʊn dhʊ rh*oo*ʊd vʊr tʊ g*ə*$_1$ bak tʊ dhʊ

1 l*aa*nd ə :dɟə'udə.
2 l*aa*nd ə :djuudʊ.
3 laan ə :dɟuud*e*ˡ.
4 land ʊ :dɟ*æ*'udʊ.
5 læn ʊ :dɟyy₁dʊ.

8. 1 dh*a*n kwə :n*a*oo·mi tə*ə* er tw*ii*' gə*d* dok*w*hterz :
2 dhɛn :na*oo*·m*e* sed t*e* ɜr TWAA gj*y*d d*oo*khterz :
3 *y*n :n*eoo*·m*i* sed t'l er tw*aa* gwid dAAtherz :
4 ʊn :n*ee)oa*·m*ái* sed tʊ ʊr t*æ*'u də'*u*tʊr-*i*n-lAAz :
5 ʊn :n*eoo*·má¹*i* ZED TY₁ ʊR TYY₁ daARTʊRLAAz :

1 "g*a*q əw*ee*₁! g*ii*' b*a*k elk JEN o)i te ir *ee*₁n
2 "gj*æ*q əWAA! b*a*k *e*lk *e*n *e*)Jə t*e* Jər
3 "gjeq əw*aa*! en gj*e* bak b*ee*ˡdh ə)J*i* t*y* Jir *ee*ˡn
4 "k*u*₀m, g*oo* JʊR wiiz bak, b*æ*'uʊth ən)J*i* tʊ JʊR
5 "gə₁! gə₁ bak *ee*tɟ WAN *o*)i tʊ JAR

1 madherz hus! dhe :loord béi gə*d* te)i ez ii)v
2 m*y*dherz hus! ən dhe :l*oo*rd bi gj*y*d t*e*)Jə əz J*i*· h*e*
3 m*i*dherz hus! dhe :l*oo*rd bi gwid t*y*)Jʊ əz J*i* h*e*
4 m*u*₀dhʊrz á*i*s, dhʊ :lAard déivl kéindl*i* w*i* J*i* ʊz J*ee*)n
5 mADhʊRz E'uz! dhʊ :lA'ʊRd dE'ʊl ká¹*i*nli lAAq)w*ee*)i,

1 bin gə*d* te méi, en te dh*e*m et)s g*i*'n.
2 bin gj*y*d t*e* mii, ən t*e* dh*e*m dhaht)s əWAA.
3 bin t*y* mii, *y*n t*y* dh*e*ˡm et)s əw*aa*.
4 delt w*i* dhem ʊz b*i*n dɟed, ʊn w*i* mé*i*.
5 sE'ʊm)s JYY₁)v ʊdEˡʊlʊd LAq w*e* dh*ee* dhʊt bi d*ee*d, ʊn LAq)w*e*)mii.

9. 1 dhe :loord gr*a*nt et ii mæ fend ræst, elk in o)i
2 dhe :l*oo*rd gii Jə t*e* fən rest b*ee*ˡth *e*)Jə
3 dhe :l*oo*rd grant Jʊ, ət J*i* m*e* fen rest, elk*e* in *y*)Jʊ
4 dhʊ :lAard grant J*i* tʊ f*ái*nd rest b*æ*'uʊth on J*i*
5 dhʊ :lAˡʊRd gRant)i, in)s i məˡd váˡ*i*n RAS, *ee*tɟ WAN)*o*)i

1 e ir *ee*₁n hus, w*ə*ə e m*o*n ə ir *ee*₁n." dh*a*n
2 w*y* ə hus ən ə m*a*n ə Jər AAn." dhɛn
3 w*y* ə man *y*n ə hus *y* J*i*r *ee*ˡn." sə'*i*n
4 *i* JʊR *u*₁zbʊndz á*i*s." dhen
5 in dh)E'*u*z ʊ JAR ɜzbʊn." dhæn

1 sh*ə* kest dhem, en dh*e* big*ə*·d ə-gri·tin lud en s*ee*₁r.
2 sh*y* kest dh*y*m, ən dh*e* bigu·d ə-gri·tin ən gr*a*t s*ee*r s*ee*r.
3 shi kest dhem, *y*n dh*e* r*oo*rt *y*n grat.
4 *æ*'u k*i*st ʊm, ʊn dhi *oo*p'nt á*i*t ʊn skr*ái*kt.
5 ɜR kiiST ʊn, ʊn dh*e* lEftʊd AP dhʊr VAˡ*i*s ʊn w*ee*pʊd.

10. 1 en dhe sed tel)er: "æ·bət, wéi)l gaq hĭem
2 ən dhe sed te)er: "naa! naa! wi)l gjæq
3 yn dhe sed t'l)er: "ee·byt! wii)l gjɛq he'm
4 ʊn dhee sed'n, "wéi)n saartinli goo wi)ɹʊ bak
5 ʊn dhe zɛd tʊ ɜɪ: "shíiʊɹlá'i wi wul gə₁ bak

1 wə ɹɜ'u tə ir ee₁n fu'k!"
2 we ɹə bak te ɹər frinz!"
3 wy ɹʊ ty ɹuur fok!"
4 tʊ ɹoor ku₀ntrifooks."
5 lʌq)we)i tʊ ɹiiʊɹ voks!"

11. 1 bɜt :naoo·mi sed: "tɜrn əgi'n mɜ dokwhterz!
2 ən :naoo·mi sed: "ɹi mʌn tɜrn mɜ dookhterz!
3 yn :neoo·mi sed: "gjɛq bak əgje'n my dakhterz!
4 ʊn :neeɹoo·mái sed: "tərn ɹi bak ʊgɹen mi də'utʊrz, ʊn
5 ʊn :neoo·mi zɛd: "tɜrn ɹʊrzəlz bak ʊgíʊn, mi daartʊrz;

1 kwhat wad ii gaq wə méi for?
2 kwhat fɜr wɜd ɹi gjæq wy mii?
3 fat wyd ɹi dii', gjaan wy mii?
4 goo ɹʊr wiiz; wət)'n ɹi want goo ʊlu₀qg wi méi fʊr?
5 wʌ)d)i wìsh vʊr gə₁ lʌq)o)mii vʌr?

1 em aa gaan tə hææ oni mii' bernz te béi mæn
2 dyy ɹə theqk aa)'l hee one mee'r wee'nz te bii lʌʌdz
3 ym áai gjaan ty hee' oni mee'r be'rnz ty bi mɛn
4 iz dhʊr ani mæ'uʊr su₀nz i)mi wu₀m ɹet tʊ béi ɹʊr
5 ə'z ʊr ə'ni máʊr zə'nz in má'i ə₁m nɛ'u in)s dhe mə'd

1 for i?
2 tʊ ɹə?
3 t'l ɹʊ?
4 u₀zbʊndz?
5 kʌʌm vʊr tʊ bi ɹʊr ɜzbʊnz?

12. 1 tɜrn bak, mɜ dokwhterz, gaq ir
2 gjæq əwʌʌ, mɜ dookhterz, gjæq ɹər ʌʌn
3 gjɛq bak, my dakhterz, gjɛq ɹir
4 tɜrn ɹi bak ʊgjən, mi də'utʊrz, goo ɹʊr
5 tɜrn ɹərzəlz bak ʊgíʊn, má'i daartʊrz, gə₁ ɹʊr óʊn

1 wee₁z, for aa)m our aald te hææ ʊ
2 gjet, fɜr aa)m fʌʌr ɜ'ur ʌʌl te hee ənydher gjyd
3 waa'z, fər aa)m ɜ'ur aal ty hee' ənidher
4 wiiz, fʊr ái)m tæ'u ə'ud tʊ av ʊ
5 weez, vʊr ái bi tyy₁ ool vʊr t)ee'ʊ ʊ

1 m*a*n. ef *aa* wɜz te s*ee*, "*aa*)v
2 m*a*n. ən g*i*n aa sh*y*d s*ee*, "aa h*ee*
3 man. g*i*n áa*i* s*y*d s*ee*[1], "áai he[1]
4 $u_o$zbʊnd. *i*v *ái* wɔz tʊ sii, "*ai*)m *i* $gu_od$
5 ɜzbʊn. nif á[1]*i* wʊz vʊr zee, E'*u* "á[1]*i*)v ʊgA·t

1 hŭɜp," æ'i, en ef *aa*)d e m*a*n
2 h*oo*p," ææ, ən g*i*n áa' hɜd ə m*a*n
3 hɜ'ups," *ái*, g*i*n áa*i* s*y*d h*ee*[1] ən*i*dher man
4 b*i*j*oo*ps," *i*v *a* wɔz tʊ av ʊ $u_o$zbʊnd
5 *oo*ps," nif á[1]*i* wʊs t)E'ʊ ʊ ɜzbʊn,

1 dhes væ·rə nekjht, en wɜz te hæ b*e*rnz ɜs wil,
2 dhe nekht, ən hɜd sɜnz t*ee*[1],
3 dhe nekht, *y*n s*y*d h*e*[1] b*e*[1]rnz əs wil,
4 dh*i*s ver*i* n*éi*t, ʊn b*ee*r s$u_o$nz ʊn AA,
5 tyy$_1$, dhíiʊz vɜRi n*ee*t, ʊn if á[1]*i* wʊz vʊR tʊ béʊR zə[1]nz,

13. 1 w*a*d)i we$_1$t on dhem k*w*həl dhe grə'u ɜp?
2 wɜd)jə w*e*t fɜr dhem tɛl dh*e* hɜd grɜ'*u*n ɜp?
3 w*y*d)j*i* wə'*i*t fər dhem t'l dh*e* w*y*r grɜ'*u*ən ɜp?
4 w$u_o$d j*i* wiit on ʊm dhʊn dh*i* wʊn gr*oo*n $u_o$p?
5 wə[1]d jy$_1$ wA'*i*t vAR)ʊn gə[1]n dh*e* wʊz ʊgRóʊd AP?

1 w*a*d)i st*é*$_1$i thræ hææ·in mæn for
2 wɜd)j*i* kip f*ə* taak'n mɛn fɜr w*e*[1]t'n
3 w*y*d)j*i* bə'*i*d f*i* tak'n *i*dher m*e*n t*y* wə'*i*t
4 w$u_o$d j*i* stəp fər)ʊm ʊn bé*i* bá*i*t $u_o$zbʊndz?
5 wə[1]d jy$_1$ staap vʊR dh*ee* vʊʊm ee·in ʊ ɜzbʊnz?

1 dh*e*m? n*aa*! n*aa*! mɜ dok*w*hterz, for *aa*)m s*ee*$_1$r
2 ən dh*e*m? naa! naa! mɜ d*oo*khterz, fɜr aa')m
3 fɜr dh*e*m? naa! naa! m*y* dakhterv, fɜr aa'm s*ee*[1]r
4 nii, m*i* də'utʊrz, fʊr *aa*)m t*ee*rb'l
5 n*oo*! má[1]*i* daaRtʊRz, vɜR ʊT

1 vækst for jɜ'ur s*i*'ks, et dhe h*aa*nd
2 gɜ'i ən pɜt əbut fɜr juur s*e*ks, dha[1]t dhe hAAn
3 v*e*kst on juur əkunts, ət dhe haan
4 gré*i*vd fʊr j*ee*ʊr siiks ʊz dh)ɔnd
5 griivth mi tɜRʊb'l vʊR j*ii*ʊR sE'ʊks, E'*u* dhʊt dhʊ)æn

1 ə dhe :l*oo*rd hez g*i*'n s*ii*' əg*i*'n ez."
2 ə dhe :l*oo*rd h*y*z gj*e*n s*e* s*ee*[1]r əgj*e*nst m*i*."
3 *y* dhe :l*oo*rd h*y*z gj*e*[1]n əgj*e*[1]n m*y* s*e*[1] mɜk'l."
4 ʊ dhʊ :lAArd)z gɔn ái*t* ʊgen m*i*."
5 ʊ)dhʊ :lA'ʊRD)z ʊgə[1]· E'*u*t ʊgə[1]n mi."

14. 1 en dhe kráid ut lud, en grat əgi'n, ən
2 sɜ'in dhe bigu·d ə-grit'n əgjen, ən
3 yn dhe bigu·d ʊ-grit'n əgje'n, yn
4 ʊn dhi liftid $u_o$p dhʊr váis ʊn skráikt ʊgen, ʊn
5 ʊn dhe lɛftʊd ʌp dhʊʀ vʌ'is, ʊn weepʊd ʊgiʊn, ʊn

1 :orpə kest er gəd mɑdher, bɑt
2 :orpə kest ɜr gjyd mydhʊr, ən gjed əwʌʌ, bɑt
3 :orpe kest ər gwid midher, byt
4 :ʌʌrpʊ kist ʊr $mu_o$dhʊr-in-lʌʌ, bʊ
5 :ʌʀpʊ kiist ʊʀ mʌdhʊʀlʌʌ, bʊt

1 :rəth haq béi)er.
2 :ruth hɜq tee)ər.
3 :ruth wyd)ne gjɛq əwaa fii)ər.
4 :ræ'uth $u_o$q tæ'u ʊr.
5 :rə$_1$th ʊʀ kleevʊd tyy$_1$ ʊʀ.

15. 1 en shə sed: "séi, ir gəd sester)z gi'n əwe$_1$
2 ən shy sed: "lək-sii, jər gjyd syster hyz gjen əwʌʌ
3 yn shi sed: "luk, jir gwid sester hys gje'n
4 ʊn æ'u sed: "si)dhi, dhi sistʊr-in-lʌʌ)z gən
5 ʊn ɜʀ zɛs: "lə$_1$k)i, zii, ɛ'u dhi zə'stʊʀlʌʌ)z ʊgə$_1$

1 hĭem tə)er ee$_1$n fu'k, en tə)er goodz;
2 bak tə)er fok, ən te)er goodz,
3 bak t'l)er ee'n fok, yn t'l er goodz,
4 bak tʊ ʊr oon $ku_o$ntri fooks ʊn ʊr oon gədz;
5 bak ty$_1$ ʊʀ voks, ʊn ty$_1$ ʊʀ gʌdz;

1 gi' wee$_1$ jɜ'u təə æfter)ir gəd sester."
2 gjæq juu əwʌʌ æftr)ər.
3 gjɛq ii bak eftr)er.
4 goo dhi wiiz bak ʊgen af‚tʊ‚r dhi sistʊr-in-lʌʌ."
5 dyy$_1$)i ɛɛ'u gə$_1$ bak ʌʌdʊʀ dhi zə'stʊʀlʌʌ.

16. 1 en :rəth sed: "oo, de)nə trit on)əs te
2 ən :ruth sed: " de)nə aask mə te gjæq əwʌʌ
3 ən :ruth sed: " de)ne sik my ty gjɛq əwʌʌ
4 ʊn :ræ'uth sed: " $du_o$)nʊ beg ʊ mi tʊ
5 ʊn :rə$_1$th zɛd: " doo)ni bæg)o)mi vʊʀ tʊ

1 liiv)i, or te gaq bak thre kɜmin æfter)i, for
2 fe)jə, or te tɜrn bak ən noo gjæq wy)jə, fɜr
3 fi)jʊ, or ty gjɛq bak fi folə‚jen)jʊ, for
4 líiʊv jʊ ʊr tʊ goo bak frʊm fəlʊ)in af‚tʊ‚r jʊ; fʊr
5 lɛf)i, ʊʀ vʊʀ tʊ gə$_1$ bak vʀʊm vʌʌli)in ʌʌdʊʀ)i; vʊʀ

1 kwher ever ·ii gaq aa)l gaq, en kwhee₁r·ii
2 kwhar yver ɹuu gjæq aa)l gjæq, ən kwhar ɹuu
3 faar ii gjɛq aa)l gjɛq tii', yn faar ii
4 wíiʊr ɹoo gən ái)l goo, ʊn wíiʊr ɹoo
5 wʊr)ə'vʊr ɹy₁ dʊ gəə₁ aa)ʟ gə₁ tyy₁; ʊn wəʀ ɹy₁ dʊ

1 be₁id aa)l bé₁id; ɹuur fu'k)'l béi maa fu'k en
2 bɜ'id aa)l bɜ'id; ɹuur fok ɜl bii maa' fok ən
3 bɔ'id aa')l bɔ'id; ɹuur fok)'l bii máai fok yn
4 lodʒ'n, ái lodʒ; ɹoor fooks)s'n bi mái fooks, ʊn
5 lʌdʒi aa)ʟ lʌdʒi tyy₁; ɹóʊʀ voks)shʊl bii má'i voks, ʊn

1 ɹuur :good maa :good.
2 ɹuur :good maa' :good.
3 ɹuur :good máai :good.
4 ɹoor :gəd mái :gəd.
5 ɹóʊʀ :gʌd má'i :gʌd.

17. 1 kwhee₁r ·ii déi aa)l déi, en béi led e dhe
2 kwhar ɹuu dii aa')l dii, ən bi led y dhe
3 faar ii dii aa)l dii, yn bi byrit dhee'r
4 wíiʊr ·ɹoo déin, ái)l déi, ʊn dhíiʊr
5 wɜʀ ɹyy₁ dʊ dá'i a)l dá'i ʊn dhɛ'ʊʀ

1 grii'v dhii'r əsé₁id)i: dhe :loord də sii' te méi
2 ɹərth əsɜ'id)ɹə. ən dhe :loord dyy ty mii ɜs
3 tii' dhe :loord dii see' ty mii,
4 a)l bi berid; dhʊ :lʌʌrd dæ'u soo tʊ méi,
5 aa)l bi vbɜʀid, dhʊ :lʌ'ʊʀd ɒy₁ zo tʊ mi

1 en mee₁r ef okwht bɜt
2 mɜk'l, ææ', ən mee'r tee', ef one theq bɜt
3 dai, yn mee'r tii', gjin əkht byt
4 ʊn mæ'ʊʊr ʊn ʌʌ, iv óut bʊ
5 ʊn móoʊʀ ɹyy, nif óoʊʀt bʊd

1 di'th kɜm ətwin ɹɜ'u en méi!"
2 de'th pe'ɪts əs!"
3 dəth pert ɹuu yn mii."
4 dʒeth paarts ɹoo ʊn méi."
5 dæth dʊ pɜ'ʊʀt ɹyy₁ ʊn mii!"

18. 1 kwhɜn shə saa ət shəə wɜz sæt on ə-gaqin
2 kwhɜn shy saa dha't shy)d feerli med ɜp ər mɜ'in tə gjæq
3 fyn shi saa ət shi wyz bent on gjaan
4 wen æ'u séid ʊt ái æ'u wʊz set ʊpʊ gæ'u)in
5 hʌn ʊʀ ziid ɛ'u ɜʀ wʊz vəl má'indʊd vʊʀ

1 wəə)r, shə gæ óur spi·kin tel)er.
2 wyy ər, shy lɛft af spik'n tee)er.
3 wii)er, dhen shi gje a'u·ə'r spi·k'n t'l er əbut it.
4 widh ur, dhen æ'u gen oor taakin tæ'u ur.
5 gə$_1$ laaq)wee)ur, dhoo ur læf oof speekin ty$_1$ ur

19. 1 sii' dhe twii'sam gi'd, t'l dhe kam te :bæthlem,
2 see$^1$ dhe twaa gjed on, tɛl dhe kam te :bɛthləm,
3 see$^1$ dhe gje$^1$d on dhegidher, t'l dhe kam ty :bethlem,
4 soo dhi went'n bæ'uɛth ən um tugjedhur tun dhi kæ'umin
5 zoo dhe tyy$_1$ weent ulaaq, gin dhe kaam tu :bæthléum,

1 en kwhan dhe wan te :bæthlem, kwhat bat
2 ən kwhan dhe wan te :bɛthləm,
3 yn fyn dhe kam ty :bethlem,
4 tu :bethlium. un soo it kæ'um ubə'ut uz wen dhi wun
5 un ut apt in)s dhe wuz ukaam tu :bæthléu·m, dhut

1 dhe hĭel tun waz en)e stiir əbut dhem; en kwə dhee$_1$,
2 dhe hee$^1$l tun waz en)ə stiir əbut dhem; en dhe sed te
3 dhe hee$^1$l tun wyz yn)ə stiir əbut dhem; yn dhe sed
4 ku$_o$m'n tu :bethlium, dhur wuz u star i)dh æ'u·ul táin ubáit
5 dhu wool sə$^1$ti wuz uzaat ap ubɛ'ud)um, un dhe zɛd,

1 "ez dhes :naoo·mi, theqk we?"
2 jen ənydher, "es dhat :naoo·me?"
3 "kyn dhes bi :neóo·mi?"
4 um, un fooks wun sii)in: "iz dhis :nee)oo·mái?"
5 "ə$^1$z dhə$^1$shjɜ·r :neoo·má$^1$i?"

20. 1 en shə sez te dhem: "de)nə kaa méi :naoo·mi,
2 ən shyy sed ty dhem: "de)nə kaa mii :naoo·me,
3 yn shi sed ty dhem: "de)ne kaa mii :neoo·mi,
4 un æ'u sed tæ'u um: "du$_o$)nu kaa mi :nee)oomái,
5 un ɜr zɛd ty)um "doo)n)i kjaal mi :neoo·má$^1$i,

1 kaa)me :maa·rə, for dhe :alme·kjhti hez
2 byt kaa)mi :maa·rə, far dhe :alme·khti həs
3 kaa)my :maare$^1$, far wil)a)wə'it dhe :alme·khti hyz
4 kaa mi :mee·uru: fur :gəd :aamáiti uz
5 kjaal mi :mɛ'uru, kaz dh) :aalmá$^1$iti)th

1 di'lt wə)me være beterli.
2 delt wi)mi gə'i ən beterli.
3 delt wy)my beterli ynjukh.
4 delt veri bĭtur wi mi.
5 udɛ'uled tarub'l bə$^1$tur laaq we)mi.

21. 1 *aa* g*i*d ut fɐ'u en dhe :loord hez brok*w*ht
2 aa gj*e*d ut fuu, en dhe :l*oo*rd hez braq
3 aa gj*e*'d ut fuu, *y*n dhe :l*oo*rd)z brokht
4 *a* went á*i*t f*u*$_{\circ}$l, ɐn dhɐ :lɑɑrd)z brə'ut
5 á'i w*ee*nt ɛ'*u*t və$_{\imath}$l ɐn w*oo*l ɐn dhɐ :lɑ'ɐrd)dh ɐbraat

1 me hĭem tə̆m: hɐ'u wɐd i k*aa*)me
2 m*i* h*e*m əgj*e*n t*y*m: k*w*hɐt wɐ'i wɐd jə kɑɑ ·m*i*
3 m*y* h*e*'m t*yy*m: fuu k*aa* m*i*
4 m*i* wəm ɐgen emp*i*. wot)n j*i* kɑɑ m*i*
5 mi ɑ'm ɐgíɐn *ee*mpti ændɐd: wá'*i*)d)i kjaal mi

1 :n*a*oo·mi, sen dhe :loord hez
2 na*oo*·m*e* dh*y*n, s*y*n dhe :l*oo*rd h*y*z
3 :n*eo*o·m*i*, sen dhe :l*oo*rd)z
4 :n*ee*j*oo*·m*ái* fɐr, kɐns*i*·dɐr*i*n á*i* dhɐ :lɑɑrd)z gen
5 :n*eo*o·má'*i* dhæn? VAAR i dɐ zii ɛ'*u* dhɐ :lɑ'ɐrd)dh

1 wɐtnest əg*i*'n me, en dhe :almekjhti hez gin
2 tɛst*i*f*i*t əgj*e*nst m*i*, en dhe :alme·kht*i* həz bin
3 wɐtnest əgj*e*'n m*y*, *y*n dhe :alme·khti h*y*z bin
4 w*i*t'ns ɐge·n m*i*, ɐn á*i* :gəd :ɑɑm*ái*·t*i*)z
5 ɐtæstifá'*i*d ɐg*i*n mi, ɐn dh) :ɑɑlmá'*i*ti)th

1 me s*ee*$_{\imath}$r trɐb'l."
2 s*ee*'r *o*n m*i*?"
3 s*e*' s*ee*'r ɐpo·)m*i*?"
4 a·m*i*ld [='ill-treated, abused, overworked,' *Glossary*] m*i*.
5 ɐflɛ·ktɐd mi.

22. 1 s*ii*' :n*a*oo·mi k*a*m hĭem, en :rəth dhe
2 s*ee*' :na*oo*·m*e* k*a*m b*a*k, ən :ruth dhe
3 s*ee*' :n*eo*o·m*i* kam h*e*'m, *y*n :ruth dhe
4 ɐn s*oo* :n*ee*j*oo*·m*ái* kæ'um bak, ɐn :ræ'uth dhɐ
5 z*oo* :n*eo*o·má'*i* w*ee*n bak, ɐn rə$_{\imath}$th dhɐ

1 :mooəbé$_{\imath}$ites, her gəd dok*w*hter wəə)r,
2 :m*oo*əbə'ites, ər gj*y*d d*oo*khter əla·q w*yy*)r,
3 :m*oo*əb la's, her gwid dɑɑther wii)er,
4 :m*oo*·ɐb w*u*$_{\circ}$mɐn, ɐr də'uter-*i*n-lɑɑ w*i*dh ɐr,
5 :m*oo*·ɐbá'*i*·tis, ɜr DAARTERLAA lɑq w*ee*)er,

1 ·her et k*a*m ut e dhe k*ə*ntri ə :moob;
2 ·h$_{\imath}$ər ət k*a*m ut ə dhe k*y*ntrah ə :m*oo*b;
3 ·her *y*t kam f*i* dhe kw*i*ntr*e*' *y* :m*oo*b;
4 ɜr wət k*æ*'um bak á*i*t ɐ)th :m*oo*·ɐb k*u*$_{\circ}$ntr*i*.
5 wɑt ɐd ɐkɜm bak· ɛ'*u*t *o* dhɐ kɜntɐi *o* :m*oo*·əb;

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | en | kwhən | dhe | kam | te | :bæthlem, | et wəz ʊbut |
| 2 | ən | kwhən | dhe | kam | te | :bɛthləm | et wəz niir baa' |
| 3 | yn | | dhe | kam | t'l | :bethlem | 'n |
| 4 | ʊn | | dhi | kœ'um | tʊ | :bethlium | djuₒst ʊt)th fɔst |
| 5 | ʊn | | dhe | kʌm | tʊ | :bæthléʊ·m | djə's tʊ |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | dhe | fuu'r | ænd ə | dhe | baarli hærst. |
| 2 | dhe | foor | EEN ə | dhe | baarle hee'rst. |
| 3 | dhe | bige·nen | ə | dhe | baarli hee''rst. |
| 4 | | staart | ʊ)th | | baarli aarvist. |
| 5 | dhʊ | bigii·nin | ʊ | | baaɛli aɛ·ʊs. |

## D 33. = SL. = South Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties.*

*Boundary.* Begin on the Tweed by Carham near Coldstream on the nw. angle of Nb. Follow the Tweed by Kelso, Rx., and Melrose, to a spot about 2 s. Inverleithen, Pb. Then turn sw. along Quair Water to n. of St. Mary's Loch, Se. Continue along the border of Pb. and Lk. to Queensberry Hill, Df., at the s. of Lk. Then go s. and se. to e. of Dumfries, to Caerlaverock on the Solway Frith. Continue along the s. coast of Df., to join the s.L. line 10 (p. 21), and continue along that line to the starting-place, Carham.

The s. boundary here differs from that assigned by Dr. Murray, which at Gretna, Df., turns n., and goes w. of Langholm, Df., when it turns e. along the Cheviots to Peel Fell, and then crosses into Nb. almost as far as Otterburn, Nb., whence it turns n. to the Cheviot Hill itself, and then follows the Nb. b. to Carham. The part of D 33 which is thus excluded by Dr. M. as part of England lying between his s. b. and mine, I will distinguish as Var. i, the rest of the district being Var. ii. Dr. Murray's exclusion of V. i makes Canobie (6 s.Langholm), and Liddesdale, together with Bewcastle to Longtown, Cu., English and not L. It seems that the inhabitants regard these s. parts as English in character, just as the speech about Carlisle and Brampton, Cu., is called Scotch by the natives. Both conceptions are incorrect as will be seen. To keep my division distinct from Dr. M.'s, I have, as just stated, erected two varieties, his English L. being V. i, and his Scotch L. being V. ii. But so far as I have been able to obtain information, there seems to be no real difference in speech between these two varieties.

*Area.* In England a strip of the n. of Cu. and the n. slopes of the Cheviots. In Scotland, Rx., Se. and e. and m. Df. Or, as Dr. M. expresses it (DSS. p. 80), "the dales of the Teviot, the Esk, and the Anna, the Ettrick and the Yarrow," to which I add that of the Liddle, which he excludes. The n. b. separating D 33 from D 34 is indistinct. The w. b. dividing Df. is very sharp.

*Authorities.* Dr. J. A. H. Murray's "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," 1873 (abbreviated to DSS.), with the pron. in systematic spelling or palaeotype, is the principal authority, and he has given me much additional information by word of mouth. This is one of the very few books which conveys trustworthy accounts of pron.

Mr. A. Melville Bell's Visible Speech contains several sentences in this dialect, dictated by Dr. M., and afterwards transliterated into pal. by me, and corrected for this work by Mr. A. Melville Bell, his son, Prof. A. Graham Bell (now of telephonic celebrity), and Dr. Murray, by word of mouth in conclave, 13 June,

1868. Similar sentences from other dialects inserted in Visible Speech were corrected in the same way by the same persons, at the same time, and will be referred to hereafter.

See also the Alphabetical County Lists for Scotland, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., ‡ per JGG., ‖ per Dr. Murray, ° io.

*Cu.* ‡ Bewcastle to Longtown, ° Longtown.

*Se.* ‡ Selkirk town.

*Rx.* ‖ Hawick, ‡ Liddlesdale Head, ‡ Roxburgh town, ‡ Teviotdale Head, * Yetholm.

*Characters.* The vowel system is described by Dr. M. in DSS. pp. 103–117. See Introd. to Hawick cs., p. 682. He considers it to be (1i, 2*i*, 3*i'*, 4*e*, 5e, 6æ, 7*a*, 8ɜ, 9*o*, 10*u'*, 11u, 12*ə*), and those are the vowel signs which are used in his Hawick cs. [except that in the cs. (*i'*₁, *u'*₁) are used for (*i'*, *u'*)], the Ruth chap. i., and the cwl., p. 716. In unaccented syllables, however, he employs (ə), for which in the cwl. (ʊ) has been used. This analysis is rather rough, and he has supplemented it by additional observations, here abstracted. The vowels are generally medial in length, and should therefore be written (ì *i̗* *i̗'*) etc., as in the Hawick cs., but this grave accent is generally dispensed with. Occasionally they are long, and are then much longer than in English, and should be written (iì, *iì*) etc., but this grave accent indicating the drawl is also usually omitted.

1. (i), the pure Fr. and It. sound, even when short (medial) in closed syllables, in which case it sounds as (ii) to an English ear. Stopped and medial in length (sìk, fìt, dìp, lìn, fìst) seek, feet, deep, lean, feast, before voiceless consonants and (l, m, n). Brief, and generally really short, in prefixes, as (bil*a*·q, dimi·n, rig*ə̀*'rd) belong, demean, regard. Long, when final accented, as (wii, ii) wee, ye, or before (r, z, dh, v), as (wiir, liiz, miidhz, diiv, weir, leeze, meethes, deeve (in Dr. M.'s spelling). The medial (i) case is the only one which offers difficulty to an Englishman. It seems also to occur final, see (*i*).

2. (*i*), Dr. M., in deference to the opinions of Mr. Melville Bell and myself, admits (*i*) in final accented syllables, but Dr. M. himself inclines to (i) in such cases. I think in my own case the (*i*) arose from a misapprehension, and a confusion of D 33 with D 34. JGG. used (*i*ⁱ) in such cases for D 33, which is practically not easily separable from (i). If this latter view is correct, (*i*) does not exist in D 33, except as part of the next vowel.

3. (*i'*), this is a decided fracture, the same as (*i*ʊ) in D 30, but the second element is far more fugitive in D 33, and hence I reduce it to (') in writing. The fracture is so rapidly pron. that the (') is scarcely heard in closed syllables as *beat* (b*i*'t), so that the effect is almost like (*i*₁, *e*ⁱ) At Liddlesdale Head JGG. used (*ii*₁*y*, *ee*ⁱʊ, *ii*₁ʊ), and finally (*i*₁e°) for this fracture. I had often great difficulty in separating the sound from (*ii*₁, *ee*ⁱ) in Dr. M.'s own pron. At the beginning of a word the (*i'*) develops into (*i*ʊ, *i*é, *i*ɑ'), the latter being more recent forms, as (*i*'n, ɹen) one, written ane. D 33 differentiates many words as (i, *i'*), thus (mil, m*i*'l) meal flour, and meal repast; (sin, s*i*'n) seen, scene, (hil, h*i*'l) heel, heal, (bit, b*i*'t) beet, beat, (fit, f*i*'t) feet, feat.

4. (*e*), this is rather (e) to my ear, Dr. M. considers it an opener sound than Fr. *é*. It is perfectly simple and has no tendency to fall into (*ee*'j) with a vanish, as in English. It occurs both long and stopped (medial) in D 33, as (w*ee*r, b*ee*dh, w*ee*; w*è*t, t*è*l) were, bathe, way; wait tail, these last two words being quite different from Engl. wet, tell.

5. (e). Here there is considerable difficulty. The sound is not (ɛ), but Dr. M. considers it to be the received (e) as used in London (net, men) as distinguished from (nɛt, mɛn). It is at any rate a degradation of (i), passing to (*i*, *i*₁, eⁱ), and as I heard it in L. *fill pit* was rather (feⁱl peⁱt) than (fel pet). But then Dr. M. identifies it when final unaccented with (ʊ); "in emphasizing

and prolonging the final vowel in such words as *America, dynna, weido,*" America, do not, widow, "the sound I hear," says he, "is the same as that in *hyll, bynd,*" where he uses *y* for this sound. I must own that his pron. did not strike my ear in the same way. To Dr. M. also the (ə, ah) or (aᵗ) are all "so near when brief and unaccented that it is difficult to distinguish them." This vowel replaces written *i* frequently, written *y* in old books, and it seems the beginning of an obscuration of *i* which is more developed in D 39, where it will be specially considered; it occasionally sounded to me as (*i*, e, ə, ɜ). After (w) this sound regularly develops (ɜ), as (wɜl, wɜt, wɜn, k*w*hɜn) will, wit, win, whin.

6. (æ), here again when I heard Dr. M. pron. I did not recognise my own (æ), or any trace of that quality. I rather heard (ɛ, ɛ₁), or a very deep form of (ɛ). The quality of sound seems to belong to my *men* as different from my *man*. But I have judged it right to retain Dr. M.'s (æ).

7. (*a*) is the deeper French form of *â*, it is decidedly broader than (a), and is sometimes identified with German (*a*) in M*a*nn. It is constantly confused with (ɔ) by Londoners, who hear (m*a*n) as (mɔn) and write it *mon*, which conveys the very different sound (mon) to L. ears.

8. (ɑ). This occurs only as a stopped vowel, it is the deep form common in England, but sometimes appears to be somewhat higher (ɑᵗ).

9. (o). This is fully identified with Italian *o aperto* by Dr. Murray; it is always pure, and never vanished into (*oo'w*).

10. (*u'*). This is another fracture, of which the first element seems to be rather (*u*₁), while the second is as hurried and obscure, as in the third vowel (*i'*). The result is very like Italian *o chiuso*, a sort of (*oo*ᵗ) or (*uuh*). It distinguishes pairs of words in L., as (boor, b*uu'*r), boar, bore, (room, :r*u'*m) roam, Rome.

11. (u). The long and short (medial) forms have the same quality in L., where (*u*) is never heard. Compare English p*oo*l, Fr. p*ou*le, Eng. p*u*ll (puul, pul, p*u*l), but as the L. makes the vowel rather medial in length, it seems to an Englishman to have no short (u) at all. And certainly Scotch writers on English pron. (as the late Prof. Clarke, of Aberdeen) do not use a mark to differentiate either the length or quality of the vowels in f*oo*t, f*oo*d (f*u*t, fuud).

12. (*ə*). This identification did not seem quite correct to my ears, and (y₁) or (*ə*ᵗ) seemed nearer, but (*ə*) will be retained. This replacement of O' in L. varies much in the different dialects, ranging from (ɪ) to (œ) or deeper.

The diphthongs in D 33 are heard by Dr. M. with final (i, u) and not (*i*, *u*) as in England, doubtless from the absence of these vowels. He recognises the following forms.

The (i) series: 1. (*ëi*) nearly (*e'*j), and hence resembling the vanishing received *ã*. 2. (éi) having the vowel No. 5 for the first element, so that the distinction (*ëi*, éi) is delicate; this is however common. 3. (æ'i) is rare except in contractions (hæ'i, mæ'i) have you, may you. 4. (*ãi*), the regular "broad ī," as distinguished from (éi), the "thin ī." 6. (ói), distinct from Engl. (ɔ'*i*, ʌ'*i*).

The (u) series: 1. (óu). 2. (ɜ'u). 3. (*ãu*). 4. (æ'u) occurring in (mæ'u) to mew. 5. (*ə*'u).

Of the consonants only *h*, *ch*, *r* need be noticed. The aspirate is never omitted, except, as almost universally, in *it*, but even here it is found occasionally in D 39, 40, and regularly in D 41. In one word *us*, when emphatic, it is inserted as (hɜz). This also happens in the N. div.

The guttural (kh) appears in three forms (kh, kjh, k*w*h), but does not follow the usual German rule. Thus:

1. faugh! ugh! = (fikh, hukh).
2. high, eight = (hekjh, ækjht).
3. laugh, lock, rough, laughed, low, dough = (lak*w*h, lok*w*h, rak*w*h, lək*w*h, l*ii*'k*w*h, d*ii*'k*w*h).

and (k*w*h) frequently occurs initial. In ML. dialects, D 34 to 37, (kjh, k*w*h) appear not to occur.

The trill of *r* is always strong, whether before or not before a vowel, but a sound of (ʀ) is generally developed before the (r) in the latter case, which, however, Dr. M. does not write in.

The general characters of the D 33 are these:

A- = (*i'*) as (n*i'*m, t*i'*l) name, tale, as in D 30, p. 496.
A: = (*a*) as (l*a*nd) land, peculiar.
A′ frequently = (*i'*) as (t*i'*, t*i'*d) toe, toad, as in D 30.
E′-, EO′- = (éi), this is also frequent in N. div.
I generally (i), or at most (*i*¹).
I′ = (*á*i) when open accented, or before voiced consonants, otherwise generally (éi) or perhaps (ɛ′i).
O = (*u'*) frequently, especially before (r), the (′) being slightly heard, but also often (o).
O′ frequently (*ə*), occ. (oo).
U: regularly (ɑ), even in cases when (*u*) is heard in rec. sp. as (fɑl) full.
U′ when final and open is regularly (ɑ′u), which is a special feature in D 33; it is occ. met with in D 32, V vi; but when a consonant follows, it is (ù), as a brown cow=(ʊ brùn kɑ′u), and never (*ú*ᵢu).

It is by all these characters together that D 33 must be defined, and comparing the subsequent Liddlesdale Head cwl. with Dr. Murray's, it will be found that they both agree in these characters.

The essential characters which distinguish the L. from N. are the regular use of (ɑ) for U, the regular use of (uu, ù) for U′ before a consonant, and absence of (*ú*ᵢu, *ó*u) from U′ words, the regular use of the guttural (kh), the strong trill of the (r).

The difference of D 33 from D 34 is shewn by the fractures (*i'*, *u'*), the use of (éi), which JGG. writes (*é*ii), for E′ EO′, and of (ɑ′u) for U′ when final, and the three forms of the guttural (kh, kjh, k*w*h).

## Treatment of Unaccented Syllables.

The examples given by Dr. M., DSS. p. 135, are here transcribed in his order and groups without comment.

1. (viizʊb'l, f*ii*'zʊb'l) visible, feasible; (ʊbi·lʊti) ability.
2. (st*a*mʊk, m*ə*ə*z*ik) stomach, music.
3. (pelʊs, :forbʊs, notis, h*a*gis) palace, Forbes, notice, haggis; (pɑltʊs) poultice.
4. (pri*i*'lʊsi, polʊsi, fr*e*nʊsi) prelacy, policy, phrenesy.
5. (m*a*nidɟ, m*e*riɟ, kolidɟ) manage, marriage, college; (k*a*bitɟ, poritɟ) cabbage, porridge; (bondidɟʊr) bondager.
6. (h*a*·lʊn, særtʊn, b*aa*rʊn, g*e*rtʊn, :l*e*tin, s*e*qin, béi·in) hallan [a screen], certain, baron, garter, Latin, singing, being [as verbal noun]; (h*ə*m*e*·nʊti, d*u*vinʊti) humanity, divinity; (m*ə*·tʊni, h*e*·rmʊni) mutiny, harmony; (gerdin, tɟeldrin, lenin, ulin, fl*a*nin) garden, children, linen, woollen, flannel; (setʊn, béiʊn, kamʊn) sitting, being, coming [as participle]; (w'ret'n, st*ə*d'n, h*a*d'n, op'n, w*ee*k'n, k*w*hét'n) written, stooden, holden, open, weaken, whiten.
7. (óurʊns, empidʊns, s*a*pirns) owerance [=superiority], impudence, sapience.
8. (k*a*lʊnt, p*aa*rʊnt) callant, parent.
9. (-ʊr) -ar, -yr; (ʊri) -ary, -ery, -ory; (hestʊri) history.
10. (kɑ'uʊrd, g*é*izʊrt) coward, guisart.
11. old (m*i*'rit, :dɟ*a*kʊbit) merit, Jacobite; new (pupʊt, vomʊt, r*a*bʊt, hærmʊt) pulpit, vomit, rabbit, hermit.

12. (fedhur, redhur, kuntus, weekust) father, rather, countess, weakest.
13. (muthfu, thokwhtfu) mouthful, thoughtful.
14. old (tærufi), new (tæriféi) or (-féi) terrify.
15. old (man)hid, meedun)hid) manhood, maidenhead; new often (-həd).
16. older (rapid) rapid; newer (viivud, tipud) vivid, tepid.
17. (wi'krif, kaaldrif) wakerife [=watchful], cauldrife [=causing the sensation of cold, cool=indifferent].
18. (komənius) communion.
19. (perish, finish) parish, finish.
20. (ol·iv) olive.
21. accented (baptii·z, siivelii·z, eksersii·z) baptise, civilise, to exercise; unaccented (e·ksursiz) an exercise sb.
22. new (teeb'l, han'l, mor'l, bar'l, diiv'l dil) table, handle, moral, barrel, devil deil; old with (-ul).
23. (thóulus) thowless [=inactive].
24. (fe·tlenth) foot-length.
25. purposely accented (trə'u·lái) truly; unaccented (-li).
26. (-mun) both *-man* and *-men*.
27. (djədjmunt) judgment.
28. (hérmuni, a·grimə·ni) harmony, agrimony.
29. (bənmust, henmust) boonmost [=above most, uppermost], hindmost.
30. (switnus) sweetness.
31. (aamus) almous=alms; (-ius) -ious, -eous gen. but (rekjhtwus, pitues pitwus) righteous, piteous.
32. (frindshup) friendship; old retained (ha·ziskup, eerskup) housewifeship, heirship.
33. (disii·ziv) decisive, and so often (-ziv) for *-sive*.
34. (téiursam, -sum) tiresome.
35. old (:galaa·shunz) Galatians; new (neeshun, neeshunul) nation, national; (-ashun, -iizhun, -oozhun, əəzhun) -assion, -ession, -ition, -otion, -ution, but (okeeshun, tranzishun) occasion, transition; (peeshunz) patience.
36. (preeshius, gloorius) precious, glorious; (-tius, -djius) -teous, -geous, -gious, as (plentius, prodidjius) plenteous, prodigious.
37. (ofishiul, parshia·luti) official, partiality.
38. (kanti, kantuli) canty [=cheerful], cantily; old remaining (buntuth, pəərtuth, dentuth) bounty, poverty, dainty.
39. (neetur, leezur, mezur) nature, leisure, measure.
40. (dunwurt) downward.
41. (léikwuz lekwuz, séidwuz) likewise, sidewise.

## *Illustrations.*

1. *Bewcastle* cs., in the 8 interlinear cs. in the introduction to the L. div., No. 1, pp. 682, 684.
2. *Hawick* cs., in the same 8 cs., No. 2, pp. 682, 684.
3. *Teviotdale* version of Ruth, chap. i., in the 5 versions of this chap. in the introduction to L. div., No. 1, p. 698.
4. Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences as written in his *Visible Speech*, and corrected in the manner already detailed, see bottom of p. 709. These sentences are given on the next page.
5. Dr. Murray's arrangement of the Scotch Hundredth Psalm, p. 715.
6. Dr. Murray's wl. from his DSS. rearranged as a cwl. and augmented by many new words supplied by himself, p. 716.
7. JGG.'s Liddlesdale cwl., shewing the essential similarity between V i and V ii, p. 721.

## Melville Bell's Teviotdale Sentences as corrected, p. 713, No. 4.

1. dhʊ beernz wəz laakʷhən ən skraakʷhən a'ma'q dhʊ saakʷhs dun e)dhʊ haakʷh.

2. dhe)r təkʷh saakʷhs gróuən e)dhʊ :rəkʷh :həkʷh :haakʷh.

3. whʊt ʊr i oond əm? ʊ)m oond əm nokʷht.

4. héi ləkʷh ʊt dhʊ liʔ'kʷh door-hid.

5. hæ i enəkʷh ʊ diʔ'kʷh.

6. *ee* whóu, beernz, et)s a[1] rəkʷh nekjht. hɜ'u dhe wɜnd)z sɜ'ukʷh'ən e)dhʊ tʃimle hid.

7. héi)l béi óur dhʊ nóu nɜ'u

8. ɹɜ'u ʊn méiɹl gaq óur dhʊ déik ʊn pɜ'u ʊ péi.

9. kɜm tə méi ə)dhʊ mɜnth ʊ méei.

10. pɜ'u ir tʃéi'r foret tʊ dhʊ féi'r.

11. əz ir feedhʊr ʊt hĭem dhʊ hĭel dee loq?

12. héi giʔ'd tʊ dhʊ w'ra'q séid ʊ dhʊ giʔ't fʊr dhʊ w'rekjht's shop.

13. elkə bliʔ'd ʊ gærs keeɹps əts *ee*'n drop ʊ dɜ'u.

14. miiʔ beernz ʊn meer tʊ giiʔ dhʊm.

15. ii)v enɜ'u ə putʃez, ef ii)d enəkʷh tʊ fel dhʊm.

16. dhʊ wækjht garz dhʊ streq heq strækjht.

17. dhʊ kat mæ'uz ʊn dhʊ ketlen wæ'uz.

18. uur :kersti wʊz wæshʊn ʊt dhʊ wæshin ʊ dhʊ blaqkets.

19. kʷheer)i gaan?

20. ʊ dəl mərk nekjht ʊn niʔ' mən.

1. The bairns were laughing and scratching among the willows down in the haugh [=meadow].

2. There are tough willows growing in the Reugh Heugh Haugh [name of a meadow near Hawick].

3. What are you owing him? I'm owing him nought.

4. He laughed at the low door-head [=lintel].

5. Have you enough of dough?

6. Ah woe! bairns, it is a rough night. How the wind is soughing in the chimney head [=top].

7. He will be over the knoll now.

8. You and me [I] will go over the dyke [wall] and pull a pea.

9. Come to me in the month of May.

10. Pull your chair forward to the fire.

11. Is your father at home the whole day long?

12. He went to the wrong side of the gate [street] for the wright's [carpenter's] shop.

13. Each blade of grass keeps [=catches] its own drop of dew.

14. Mo [more pl.] bairns and more [sg.] to give them.

15. You have enow [pl.] of pouches if you'd enough [sg.] to fill them.

16. The weight gars [makes] the string hang straight.

17. The cat mews and the kitten wews.

18. Our Christie was washing [participle] at the washing [verbal noun] of the blankets.

19. Where are you going?

20. A sad [*deuil*, Fr.] mirky night and no moon.

## The Scotch Hundredth Psalm

in Liturgical or Scotch English, Genuine SL., pron., and Vernacular SL. From Dr. Murray's DSS., pp. 138-140.

This Scotch-English is mainly liturgical, or used for the language of the Bible: "It is English read with a northern [or L.] conception of the southern [or received] vowels. As a specimen I [Dr. M.] give the Hundredth Psalm as it was read in school and from the pulpit, within my own recollection, and may still [1873] be heard in any cottage in Teviotdale." The versions are here printed interlinearly, omitting the received English pron.

1. Liturgical Scotch-English.
2. SL. pron. of the word, leaving the English idioms.
3. Idiomatic SL. rendering, from DSS. p. 140, transliterated from Dr. Murray's peculiar spelling.

1. 1 *Liturgical.* *aa*l piip'l dh*a*t on ærth du dwæl,
2 *Local Pron.* *aa* f*u*'k ət on ɹerth dez dw*a*l,
3 *Idiomatic.* *aa* f*u*'k ət liivz [dw*a*lz, wonz] onʊ dhʊ ɹerth,

1 siq tu dhʊ :loord with tʒiirful vóis;
2 seq tʊ dhʊ :l*uu*'rd wə tʒiirfʊ vóis;
3 seq tə dhʊ :l*u*'rd wə ʊ tʒiirfʊ vóis;

1 him særv with merth, hiz pr*ee*z forth tæl,
2 hem sæær wə merth, hʊz pr*ee*z farth tæl,
3 sær ʊm wə merth, tæl farth ez pr*ee*z,

1 kam ii bifoor him and ridʒóis.
2 kam ii ʊf*uu*'r ʊm ʊn ridʒóis.
3 kam ii ʊf*u*'r em ʊn ridʒóis.

2. 1 noo dh*a*t dhʊ :loord is :good indi·d,
2 kæn ʊt dhʊ :l*uu*'rd ʊz :good ʊndi·d,
3 kæn ii dhʊ :l*u*'rd əz :good en tróuth,

1 witha'ut a'ur əd hi dʊd as m*ee*k;
2 wʊthuu·t uur hælp héi dʊd ʊs m*iʊ*k;
3 héi m*i*'d as wathuu·t ooni hælp o uurz;

1 wi *aa*r hiz flok, hi doth as fid,
2 wéi er hez hers'l, héi dez ʊs fid,
3 wéi)r hez hers'l, ʊt héi fidz,

1 ænd foor hiz ship hi doth as t*ee*k.
2 ʊn foor hez ship héi dez ʊs t*iʊ*k.
3 ʊn héi t*i*'ks ʊs for ez ship.

3. 1 oo! æntʊr dhæn hiz g*ee*ts with pr*ee*z,
2 oo! kam en dhʊn ʊt ʊz ɹææts wə pr*ee*z,
3 oo! kam en, dhʊn, *a*t ez- ɹææts wə pr*ee*z,

1 ʊpro·tɟ with dɟói hiz korts ɜntuu·!
2 gaq forʊt wə dɟói hʊz kurts təə,
3 gaq forʊt tə ez koorts wə dɟói,

1 preez, laad, ʊnd bles hiz nem aalwee·z,
2 preez, láud, ʊn bles ʊz nívm éi,
3 éi preez ʊn láud ʊn bles ez ni'm,

1 for it iz simli soo tu duu.
2 for et ez farʊnt si' tʊ dəə.
3 for et)s farʊnt tə dəə sívʊ.

4. 1 for whái? dhʊ :loord ɜ'ur :good iz gud,
2 for kwhái? dhʊ :luu'rd uur :good ez gəd,
3 kwhat for? dhʊ :lu'rd uur :good'z gəd,

1 hiz gudnʊs iz for evʊr shə'ur,
2 hʊz gədnʊs ez for evʊr səər,
3 hez gədnʊs ez səər for éi,

1 hiz trə'uth at aal táimz fermli stud,
2 hez trəth ʊt aa téimz fermli stəd,
3 hez trəth stəd sekʊr ʊt aa téimz,

1 ænd shal from edɟ tu edɟ ʊndə'ur!
2 ʊn sal fræ ívdɟ tʊ ívdɟ ʊndəə·r!
3 ʊn et)'l læst fræ i'dɟ tə i'dɟ.

## South Lowland cwl.

Hawick, Rx. This contains the words excerpted from Dr. Murray's *Dialects of S. Scotland*, pp. 142–149, being the wl. there given, rearranged and placed in order of the cwl., with many additions given to me by Dr. Murray. All words in Dr. Murray's list belonging to "Central Scotch" are given in a separate cwl. under D 34. All Dr. M.'s indications of pron. are transliterated into pal. As this was not constructed from my original wl., many words are omitted, and large additions are made, especially in the English and Romance sections. In this list I have used (ʊ) instead of (ə) for the unaccented "obscure" vowel. The medial length has not generally been marked, all vowels marked short should probably be read as medial.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- — ti'n [taken]. — kræd'l [cradle]. — sed'l [saddle]. 8 hæv. 10 haakwh [a haugh or low lying enclosure]. 17 laa. 19 ti'l. 25 mi'n. — ívp ĭep [old people, (ap) ape]. — kepʊn [capon]. 28 her. — fer [fare]. — wer [ware]. 32 bedh. 33 redhʊr [emphatic (ree-)]. 34 last.

A: — kran [crane]. — baand [band]. 43 haand. 44 laand. — staand [stand]. — geenʊr [gander]. 50 taqz [old], teqz [new]. — maqʊr [monger] 51 man. — èrk [an ark]. 55 as. 56 wæsh.

A: *or* O: 60 laq. 61 amaq. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 65 saq. 66 thwaq, whaq [old], wheq whéʊq whéiq [new].

A'- 67 gi'. — sli' [a sloe]. 70 ti'. 71 wi'. 72 kwhi'. 73 si'. 74 twi'. — krook [croak]. 75 strook. 76 ti'd. 77 lu'rd. 78 áuun. 79

*áa*un *aa*n [later (*ee*n)]. — poop [pope]. 84 m*ee*r. 85 s*ee*r. — sor*i* [sorry]. — roor [roar]. — uuz [ooze]. 92 k'n*aa*. 93 sn*aa*. 94 kr*aa*. 95 thr*au*. 96 s*aa*. — bl*aa*'n [blown]. — m*aa*'n [mown]. 100 s*aa*'n. — l*ee*vrʊk [the lark, bird].

A': 104 rood. 105 r*e*d. 106 br*i*'d. — lædi [lady]. — groov [grove]. — dr*uu*'v [a drove]. 108 d*ee*kjh di'k*w*h. 109 l*aa* l*ee*kh li'k*w*h. 113 hi'l. — pol [pole]. — fi'm [foam]. — l*oo*m [loam]. 117 *i*'n JEN. 118 bi'n. — h*u*'n [hone]. 122 i. ni'n, ii. ni'. — sh*e*n [shone]. 124 st*i*'n. 126 oor. — boor [a boar]. — g*a*rlik [garlic]. 129 gi'st. — r*ee*z [rose, pt.]. — blʊstʊr [bluster]. 135 kli'th. — r*aa* róu [a row or rank]. 136 ii. or.

Æ- 138 f*e*dhʊr. — lædhʊr [ladder]. — blædhʊr [bladder]. 144 ag*i*'n. 148 f*e*r. — *a*nt [an ant]. 149 bliiz. 150 list. 152 w*e*tʊr.

Æ: — w*i*'k'n we'- w*aa*- [waken]. 156 glææd. — ædhʊr [adder]. — hæd [had]. — gædhʊr [gather]. 158 æftʊr. 159 hæz. 160 æg. 161 d*ee*. — slekjht [sleight]. — hælth [health]. 169 k*w*h*a*n. — *e*p'l [apple]. 171 b*a*rli. 172 gærs græs. — list [lest]. 174 æsh. — læs [less]. — glæs [glass]. — fæs'n [fasten]. — k*e*rt [cart].

Æ'- 182 séi [(sii-shoor) sea-shore]. — blitɟ [bleach]. 185 rid. 187 liiv. 189 wé*i*. 191 hi'l. 192 min. — lin [lean]. — w*a*pen [weapon]. — tiiz [tease]. — tiiz'l [teasle].

Æ': — spræd [spread, pt.]. 206 ræd. 210 kléi. 211 gr*ee*. 213 *e*dhʊr. 214 nedhʊr. — fə'ud [feud]. 216 di'l. — mi'l [meal, food]. 222 hèr. 223 dh*ii*'r. 224 k*w*h*ee*r. — læst [to last]. 227 wit [v. and sb.], w*a*t [adj]. 229 br*e*th. — slooth [sloth]. — w'r*ee*th [wrath].

E- 232 brek. 233 spik. — brækfest [breakfast]. 234 næd, [older form (k'næd)]. — træd [to tread]. — w*a*dhʊr [weather]. 235 w*ii*v. — hev*i* [heavy]. 239 s*e*l. 243 pl*ee*. 244 wil. 245 mil. 247 wi'n. — biir [to bear]. — piir [a pear]. — tiir [to tear]. 248 mir. 249 wiir. — w*ee*zel [weasel]. — it [to eat]. — bit [beet]. — fædhʊr [feather]. 254 læthʊr.

E: — w'r*a*tɟ [wretch]. — w*a*b wob [web]. 256 strik [stretch]. — hiiv [to heave]. 259 w*a*dɟ. 260 l*ee*. 261 s*ee*. — bæd [bed]. — bid [a bead]. — w*a*d w*a*din [to wed, a wedding]. 262 w*é*i. — w*e*lkʊm [welcome]. — fild [field]. — sæl [to sell]. — w*a*l [a well] — hæm [a hem]. — w'r*e*nsh [wrench]. — kw*e*nsh [quench]. 278 w*e*nsh. — sænd [send]. — pæn [a pen]. 284 thræsh. — w*a*st [west]. — sæt'l [settle]. 288 læt. — bæst [best]. E'- 290 héi. 292 méi. 293 wéi. — sik [to seek]. 301 hiir.

E': 305 héikjh héi h*á*i, [(hii) in (hiilant) highland]. 306 héikjht. — sin [seen, pp.]. 312 hiir. — briir [a briar]. 313 hærk. 316 nikst nist.

EA- — h*aa*k [hawk]. 320 k*e*r. — n*e*rʊ [narrow]. EA: — dɟóul [jowl]. 322 l*a*k*w*h. 324 ækjht. — l*a*k*w*htʊr [laughter]. 325 w*aa*k. 327 b*aa*ld. 328 k*aa*ld. 329 f*aa*ld. 330 h*aa*ld. 331 s*aa*ld [(sæld) selled]. 332 t*aa*ld [(tæld) telled]. — h*a*pni [halfpenny]. 337 w*aa*. 338 k*aa*. — m*aa*t [malt]. — s*aa*t [salt]. — bíʊrd [beard]. — mærk [mark]. — spærk [spark]. 340 J*ee*rd. — h*a*rd [hard]. — wèrd [a ward]. 342 èrm. — hèrm [harm]. 343 w*a*rm. — swèrm [swarm]. — t*e*rn [fern]. — shèrp [sharp]. — wèrp [warp]. — J*e*rn [yarn]. — wèrn [warn]. 345 d*aa*r. — pérk [park]. — sh*aa* [to shew]. — *e*ks [an axe].

EA'- 347 hid. 348 éi. — d*á*i [to dye]. — d*á*iʊr [dyer]. 349 fə'u.

EA': 350 did. 351 lid. 352 rid. 355 dif. 356 lif. — t*á*i [tie]. 357 th*oo*. — hip [heap]. — lóus [loose]. 366 gret. 367 thri't. 368 di'th. 369 sl*aa*. EI- 372 æ'i. 375 rèz. 376 b*e*t. EI: 378 w*ee*k. 379 h*e*l. 380 dhem. 382 dh*ee*r.

EO- — tær [tar]. 387 nə'u. EO: — Jook [yoke]. — wik [candle wick]. 389 Jóuk. 390 sʊd. 395 Jæq. — dærk [dark]. 396 w*a*rk. — bærk [to bark]. 397 s*u*'rd. — kærv [carve]. 398 stærv. — færm [farm]. — ívr'l [earl]. — k*e*rl [churl]. 402 lívrn. 403 fær. 404 stær. — sh*u*'rt [short]. — hært [heart]. — smært [to smart]. 405 hærth. 406 ívrth. 407 færdin. — str*aa* [to strew].

EO'- 409 béi. — k'néi [knee]. — fréi [free]. — tréi [tree]. — fléi [to flee and fly]. 415 léi. — Jəl [yule]. 416 i. ii. diir. — tɟóiz [to choose]. — friiz [to freeze]. — siidh [to seethe]. — rə'u [to rue]. 420 fóur.

EO': 422 sik [sick]. — krùd [crowd]. — thif [thief]. 423 théi. 426 fækjht. 427 béi. 429 fint. 430 frind. 432 fourt. 433 brist. 434 bi't. 435 ɹa'u. — tróu [to trow]. 437 trə'uth. EY- 438 déi.

I- — stærn [stern]. 447 her [neither (hɛr) nor (hər)]. — ɹes [yes]. 449 get gi't. I: 455 lái. — med'l [middle]. 458 néikjht. 459 réikjht. 460 wækjht. — skil [skill]. — geld [to guild]. 469 wal [to will]. — suum [to swim] — steqk [stink]. — sweqk [swink]. 473 blend. 475 wand. — wandu [window]. 476 bend. 477 fend. 478 grend. — hent [hind]. — a-hénť [behind]. — kern [to churn]. — ren [run]. — ræsh [a rush, plant]. 485 thres'l. 488 ɹet. — brə [bree broth]. — set [sit]. — wat [wit]. — watnes [witness].

I'- 490 bái [of place], béi [of agency]. 491 séikjh sái. — stái [sty]. — péip. 497 réiz. 498 w'reit. I': 500 lek [(lekli) likely]. 502 fáiv. 505 wéif wéivz. 506 waman. — héi [hay]. 508 méil. — réim. 511 wéin. — bléidh. 517 ɹa'u.

O- — bròk'n [broken]. 518 bu'di [(bu'dis) bodice, properly pl.]. — ən [oven]. 520 bóu. — su'l [sole of foot]. 522 u'p'n. 523 hu'p. — papi [poppy]. — fuu'r [fore]. — buu'r [to bore]. — tu'rn [torn]. — snuu'r [to snore]. — bu'rn [born]. — shu'rn [shorn]. — forlu'rn [forlorn]. 524 wor'ld warld. — hooz [hose]. — ku't [cot]. — rot'n [rotten]. — smər [smother].

O: — trokɪch [trough]. 527 bokɪct. 528 thokɪcht. 529 brokɪcht. 531 dokɪchtur. 532 kuu'l. 533 dal. 535 fu'k. 536 guuld. 538 wald wad. — k'nóu [knoll]. — tol [toll]. 542 bolt. — kóut [colt]. 544 dhan. — su'p [sop]. 546 for. — goor [gore]. 548 fərd. 549 hərd. 550 ward. — boro [borrow]. — soro [sorrow]. 551 stu'rm. 552 ku'rn. 553 hu'rn. — mu'rn [morn]. — thu'rn [thorn]. — pu'rt [port]. — nu'rth [north]. — fru'st [torst]. — boks [box]. — foks [fox]. — post [post]. — bodum [bottom].

O'- 555 shə. 556 tə. — fodur [fodder]. 559 madhur. — uu [to woo]. — gəm [gum of teeth]. 562 mən. — manth [mouth]. 564 sən. 566 adhur. 568 bradhur. — glou [to glow]. — glóur [to glower]. — gróun [groan].

O': 569 bək. 570 tək. 571 gəd. 572 blæd. 573 flæd. 575 stəd. — koov [a cove of the sea]. 578 pləkɪch [sb.], plə'u [vb.]. 579 anəkɪch [sg.], anə'u [pl.]. — flóun [flown]. 584 stəl. — dəm [doom]. — buun [boon]. 586 du. 587 dən. 590 flər. 592 swər. — bu's'm [bosom]. 595 fet [in some dialects (fat)]. — stóu [a stow or store place].

U- 599 abə'n. — wad [wood]. 600 lův. 602 sa'u. 603 kam. — maqk [monk]. — heni [honey]. 605 san. 606 dər. — net [nut].

U: — snub [to snub]. — waf ulf [wolf]. 609 fal fa'u. — pal [to pull]. 610 ul. — fulur [a fuller]. 612 sam. 612 hand hund. 615 pand. 616 grand. 617 sùnd. 618 wund. — ban [bound]. 619 fand [pp.], fand [pt.]. 620 gran [ground, pt.]. 621 wan. — wandur [wonder]. 625 taq. — tan [ton]. 630 wan. — brakɪch [broch brough borough]. — fer [fir]. 634 thrau thruu. — marn [mourn].

U'- 640 ka'u. 643 na'u. 644 suk [to suck]. 646 ba'u. — thum [thumb]. 648 uur. — plum [plum]. 650 abùt. 652 kəd. 653 bat.

U': — klad [cloud]. 657 brùn. 660 buur. 663 hùs. 665 mùs. 667 ùt.

Y- 673 mak'l. Y: 686 bái. — rəth [ruth]. 688 bəld [(bəlt) built]. — gelt [guilt]. — hel [hill]. — kamli [comely]. 695 hærk'n. — wari [worry]. — warm [worm]. 700 wars [(warst) worst]. 701 ferst. — wart [wort]. — kest [a chest]. Y'- 705 skái. — héid [hide]. — fóurtin [fourteen]. — drip [drip]. Y': 709 féir. 712 méis.

## II. English.

A. :izaa·k [Isaac]. :bulaa·m [Balaam]. :kunaa·n [Canaan]. bab [babe]. :bab'l [Babel]. kebin [cabin]. deb'l [dabble]. ba·bi [baby]. heek [hack]. kææk'l [cackle]. teek'l tak'l [tackle]. :a'dum [Adam]. dedi [daddy]. ded'l [daddle, a pinafore]. ped'l [paddle]. 717 djad. 718 træd. lèd'l [ladle]. neeg [a nag]. kreeg [a crag]. deeg'l [daggle]. heg'l [haggle]. weg'l [waggle].

*maak* [maggot]. *pleed* [plaid]. *dreg'l* [draggle]. *vi'grunt vagrunt* [vagrant]. :*abruhaa·m* [Abraham]. bæld [bald]. :*pada·n*-:*araa·m* [Padan-Aram]. glæns [glance]. *waand* [wand]. *meenur* [manure, formerly spelled 'mainer']. :*pi's* [Pasch=Easter]. *berd* [bard]. skær [scare]. særk [sark]. *snarl* [snarl]. dærn [darn]. *nesti* [nasty]. :*sat'n* :*saathun* [Satan]. *puta·tur* [potatoes]. ræv'l [ravel]. *si'vin* [savin or willow]. *kreez* [craze].

E. træd'l [a treadle]. wælth [wealth]. pit [peat]. *breedth* [breathe]. hædhur [heather]. *ende·vur* [endeavour]. *walt* [welt]. jærk [yerk, jerk]. bles [bless]. pæt [pet].

I. *and* Y. váiul [phial]. *tráiul* [trial]. weked [wicket]. *pái* [pie]. *vái* [*vie*]. wheg [whig]. rig [rig]. *kwhim* [whim]. *whan* [whin]. prin [pin]. weq [wing]. *whap* [whip]. *kwhisht* [whisht]. wasp [wisp]. dril [to drill]. split [splitj]. *spái* [spy]. *prái* [pry]. *trái* [try]. w'*rái* [wry].

O. ad*ə*· [ado]. 761 *li'd*. sook [soak]. room [roam]. roon [roan]. bost [boast]. flot [float]. *tokwhur* [tocher, dower]. klok [clock]. kod [cod]. *su'd* [sod]. sòdu [soda]. sòfu [sofa]. *bu'g* [bog]. *ku'g* [cog]. flog [flog]. *bu'g'l* buug'l [bogle]. kok [coke]. bóu [boll of a plant]. skoold [scold]. dəlfu [doleful]. góuf [golf]. dol [doll]. pol [poll]. strol [stroll]. *ku'lier* [collier]. kron [crone]. *dru'n* [drone]. *maqrel* [mongrel]. *maqki* [monkey]. want [wont]. póuni [pony]. luup [loop]. gruuv [groove]. kop [cope]. skop [scope]. *ku'rd* [cord]. *bu'rdur* [border]. kork [cork]. warn [worn]. warset [worsted]. snort [snort]. *spu'rt* [sport]. *pu'rtli* [portly]. *toori* [tory]. tos [toss]. *lu'st* [lost]. *pu'si* [posy]. troth [troth]. bòdhur bòdur [bother]. sekwh [to sough]. pæltes [poultice]. flans flæ'uns [flounce]. pans pæ'uns [pounce]. buunduri [boundary]. *mæ·ntibaqk* [mountebank]. sprət [sprout]. roov [rove]. slæ'u·un [sloven]. tóu [tow]. dróun [drown]. gróul [growl]. próul [prowl]. bói *bái* [boy].

U. rəbish [rubbish]. dək [duck]. kəd [cud]. pədin [pudding]. həd'l [huddle]. blə'u [blue]. gi·ni [guinea]. buk [bulk]. buldj [bulge]. bəlwark [bulwark]. təp [tup]. bloor [blur]. karl [curl]. bəsh [bush]. *pusi* [pussy]. fləstur [fluster]. 808 pet. stət [stutter]. bez [buzz].

III. ROMANCE.

A·· *ebi* [abbey]. *laabur lebur* [labour]. *labrur lebrur* [labourer]. *iste·blish* [establish]. *febrik* [fabric]. *vi'kunz vi'gunz* [*vacance*]. plekurd [placard]. sææk [sack]. 810 *fi's*. *sugaa·shius* [sagacious]. :*djaa·kubit* [Jacobite]. *sekrfis* [sacrifice]. *vi'gubun* [vagabond]. *a·djunt* [agent]. *pedjunt* [pageant]. :*speenjurd* [Spaniard]. *dreegon* [dragon]. *tri'z'n* [treason]. *géi* [gay]. *méi* [May]. 824 *tjeir tjéir* [chair]. *ti'liur* [tailor]. *fi'l* [fail]. *tjin* [chain]. sant [saint]. *èr* [air]. kliir [clear]. pliiz [please]. *fi'z'n* [pheasant]. *si'sin* [scisin]. *plizur* [pleasure]. *di'zurt* [desert]. 835 *ri'z'n*. 836 *si'z'n*. *fi't* [feat]. *fi'tur* [feature]. pis [pease]. *pi'lin* [paling]. *baa* [ball]. *aam* [alum]. *veli* [valley]. *halu* [halo]. *velu* [value]. *demish* [damage of fruit, other damage (*da·midj*)]. *kambrik* [cambric]. *keem'l* [camel]. *fem'li* [family]. *feemin* [famine]. *feemish* [famish]. *enfla·mub'l* [inflammable]. *demson* [damson]. *tjaamur* [chamber]. *hensh* [haunch, to jerk from the hanch]. *brensh* [branch]. *mendjur* [manger]. tensh [tench]. *stensh* [to staunch]. *enzh'l* [angel]. *graand* [grand]. *demaand* [demand]. *komaand* [command]. 847 *dendjur*. 848 *tjendj*. *rendj* [range]. *menur* [manner]. 851 *ant*. *tjant* [chant]. *dant* [daunt]. *drepur* [draper]. *tjeplut* [chaplet]. *meri* [marry]. *hant* [haunt]. *vant* [vaunt]. *tjep'l* [chapel]. *sapient* [sapient]. *keri* [to carry]. 852 *eprun*. *bar* [bar]. *par* [par]. *fars* [farce]. *ertj* [arch]. *gerdin* [garden]. *dert* [dart]. *mə·rtjant* [merchant]. *merket* [market]. *lerdj* [large]. *waran* [warrant]. 854 *barel*. *marl* [marl]. :*tjerli* [Charley]. *alerm* [alarm]. *hermuni* [harmony]. *ermi* [army]. *sku'rn* [scorn]. *perish* [parish]. *nerutiv* [narrative]. *skersh* [scarce]. *gertun* [garter]. *kerd* [card]. *ert* [art]. *pert* [part]. *tjertur* [charter]. :*mertinmes* [Martinmas]. mæs [mass]. *pas* [pass]. *past* [past]. *sti't* [state]. *bat'l* [battle]. *pi'st* [paste]. *kas'l* [castle]. *straatu* [strata]. *fat'l* [fatal]. :*letin* [Latin]. *setin* [satin]. *neeshun* [nation]. *neeshunul* [national]. *raashunul* [rational]. *raashunz* [rations]. *láand* [land]. *láudnum*

[laudanum]. *áu*diens [audience]. p*aa*triark [patriarch]. m*aa*trən [matron]. p*aa*trən [patron]. m*e*tər [matter]. st*ee*tə [statue]. st*ee*tər [stature]. s*i* v [save]. h*ákw*hti [haughty]. st*ái* [stay]. p*áu*pər [pauper]. *áu*tog*raa*f [autograph]. gr*aa*·vət [cravat]. t*ee*vrən [tavern]. h*e*zərd [hazard].

E·· i- di- pri- ri- si- [e- d*e*- pre- re- se- unaccented]. *i*'- ri'- pri'- [e- re- pre- accented]. di'- [de- accented, except when followed by two consonants, when it is (dæ)]. si'- [se- accented]. idiiə [idea]. r*í*əl [real]. dj*ái*ənt [giant]. th*í*ətər [theatre]. kr*í*ətər [creature]. sil [seal]. pil [peel]. ri'konsiil [reconcile]. preshəs [precious]. di'sənt [decent]. si'kənt [second]. si'kret [secret]. deræ·k [direct]. p*e*n [pain]. 872 tjif. 874 rin. v*e*n [vein]. strind [strained]. 877 *eer*. dii·ist [deist]. plæt [plait]. di'əti [deity]. *i*'ligənt [elegant]. i'limənt [element]. *i*'lifənt. pælæt [pellet]. ski'm [scheme]. thi'm [theme]. konti·n [contain]. menti·n [maintain]. fi'mənin [feminine]. d*e*ms'l [damsel]. mænd [mend]. si'n [scene]. av*e*ndj [avenge]. v*e*ndjəns [vengeance]. dji'nəs [genius]. *i*'fi'·mərə [ephemera]. sænt [scent]. vænt [vent]. tænt [tent]. pl*e*nti [plenty]. væntər [venture]. sərv*ee*· [survey]. ditæ·r [deter]. :vi'nəs [Venus]. *i*'rb [herb]. pi'rtj [perch]. si'rtj [search]. mærsi [mercy]. pi'trik [partridge]. revi'·r [revere]. friir [friar]. sensi'r [sincere]. pi'rs [pierce]. prifæ·r [prefer]. *e*rbər [arbour]. nærv [nerve]. si'rdjənt [sergeant]. tr*ái*k'l [treacle]. pi'riəd [period]. kl*e*rk [clerk]. mærl [merle, blackbird]. pi'ər'l [pearl]. f*e*rm [firm]. konzæ·rn [concern]. særpənt [serpent]. ær [err]. hi'rs [hearse]. særten [certain]. al*e*·rt [alert]. dizi'·rt [to desert]. ensi'·rt [to insert]. asi'rt [assert]. deskonsi'·rt [disconcert]. divæ·rt [divert]. ensi'·rshən [insertion]. sær [serve]. pri'·zənt [a present]. dæ·spərət [desperate]. æm [aim]. r*u*'set [resin]. træ·zər [treasure]. pæst [pest]. mezər [measure]. rist [to rest = be restive]. ræst [to rest = be quiet]. krist [crest]. tæst [test]. ræstles [restless]. n*e*t [neat]. djit [jet of water]. komplit [complete]. bist [beast]. fist [feast]. di'zərt [desert]. deskr*e*shən [discretion]. dæ·stitət [destitute]. ari·st [arrest]. 893 fluər [flower and flour]. flarish [flourish]. :*ə*'urop [Europe]. konsi'·v [conceive]. konsi'·t [conceit]. 894 disi'·v. 895 risi'·v. læv'n [leaven]. tækst [text].

I·· *and* Y·· din*ái*əl [denial]. poli·t [polite]. librəri [library]. fizi·shən [physician, and so on for -ition, -ician], b*e*nefit [benefit]. difáiənt [defiant]. pl*ái*ənt [pliant]. pl*ái* [ply]. sp*ái* [spy]. kr*ái* [to cry]. kr*ái*ər [a crier]. gr*ii*v [grieve]. oblidj [oblidge]. konde·q [condign]. fi'rs [fierce]. piir [pier]. djig [jig]. pil [pill]. pin·iən [pinion]. finish [finish]. l*ái*ən [lion]. r*ái*ət [riot]. tip [type]. fr*ái* [fry]. si·lendər [cylinder]. mele·q [malign]. bine·q [benign]. sæspi·shəs [suspicious, and so generally for final -icious, -itious]. séiv'l [civil]. kritik [critic]. sáiz [size]. tjəstii·z [chastise]. *a*dvərtii·z [advertise]. bəptii·z [baptise]. siivəliiz [civilise]. advərtii zmənt [advertisement]. miizər [miser]. siti [city]. sit [cite]. envi·t [invite]. piti [pity]. posi·shən [position, and so for all -ition].

O·· rab [rob]. rabər [robber]. proob [probe]. goblet [goblet]. kootj [coach]. kròkəs [crocus]. br*u*'tj [brooch]. ood [ode]. kod [code]. mòdern [modern]. ladj [lodge]. koor [core]. 916 eqən. 917 roog. droog [drug]. fèth [faith]. st*ú*'ik [stoic]. buund [to bound]. 920 póint. djook [joke]. st*u*'ri [story]. l*ee*zər [leisure]. 922 bashel. s*u*'djər [soldier]. kòloni [colony]. dramederi [dromedary]. pamel [pommel]. kampəni [company]. toon [tone]. əns [ounce]. fuund [to found]. koon [cone]. dipoon [depone]. spandj [sponge]. onər [honour]. mani [money]. b*u*'ni [bonny]. mant móunt [mount]. frant [front]. k*ə*ntri [country], fanten fóunten [fountain]. 936 fant fóunt. m*u*'nimənt [monument]. stoor [store]. f*u*'rs [force]. ordər [order]. stork [stork]. skardj [scourge]. soor [soar]. f*u*'rdj [forge]. bərn [bourn]. 938 kornər. kornet [cornet]. skorpiən [scorpion]. korps [corpse]. horid [horrid]. rip*u*'rt [report]. s*u*'rt [sort]. p*u*'rtent [portent]. p*u*'rtər [porter]. p*u*'rshən [portion]. k*ə*·rəl [coral]. farm [form, seat]. form [form, shape]. f*u*'rtin [fortune]. d*uu*'z [a dose]. kl*u*'s [close, adj.]. kl*uu*'z [to close]. prooz [prose]. komp*uu*'·z [compose]. səp*uu*'·z [suppose]. r*uu*'z [rose, flower]. kl*u*'set [closet]. p*u*'setiv [positive]. kr*u*'zier [crozier]. koot [quote]. kost [coast]. host [host]. oslər [ostler]. n*u*'t [note]. r*u*'st [roast]. t*u*'st [toast]. k*u*'t [coat]. vu't [vote]. kloov [clove]. tau·el [towel].

kɑ'uərd [coward]. trəb'l [trouble]. 942 butɹər. ku·kuu [cuckoo]. tatɹ [touch]. sóudər [solder]. hóu [hoe]. fə'u·el [fuel]. 947 bóil. 948 bóul. róu [roll]. kaləɹ [colour]. truup [troop]. sùp [soup]. 951 kap'l. fəridɹ [forage]. tormənt [torment]. dɹarnel [journal]. fər [fur]. nərish [nourish]. tuur [tower]. pəsh [push]. gəshet [gusset]. 953 kəzin. 954 kəshun. bot'l [bottle]. kətləɹ [cutler]. ku'st [cost]. gətər [gutter]. ku'vi [covey]. məv [move]. puur [power]. prəv [prove]. kevər [cover]. kòvet [covet]. dezen [dozen]. dɹa'u·el [jewel]. emplói [employ]. ba'u·el [bowel]. free [to fray].

U·· də'u [due]. tra'u·an-d [truant, the (d) sometimes added]. gra'u·el [gruel]. wig [wig]. ski'litən [skeleton]. da'u·el [duel]. kra'u·el [cruel]. tra'u·el [trowel]. embrə'u· [imbrue]. wet [wait]. kwestin [question]. kwist [quest]. 965 óil. kwel [quill]. brəəz [bruise]. 966 frət. dɹədɹ [judge]. məl [mule]. kum [culm]. konsəm [consume]. tən [tune]. pupet [pulpit]. skrəp'l [scruple]. kəər [cure]. endəər [endure]. 969 səər. dɹóis [juice]. əəs [the use]. əəz [to use]. refəə·z [refuse]. dɹəst [just]. fəsti [fusty]. rikrət [recruit]. lət [lute].

## Liddesdale Head cwl.

Near Thorlishope (12 sse. Hawick), pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Jackson, of Catcleugh, Keilder (27 nw. Hexham, Nb.), then 75 years acquainted with the dialect. This was gone over by AJE. with JGG. It was not originally intended for publication. It is here reproduced to shew that Liddesdale is distinctly L. and not N. Only the Wessex and Norse section was written.

To facilitate comparison with Dr. Murray's cwl. several of his pal. signs have been adopted, but JGG. analysed the sounds differently. Thus (*i'*) became to JGG. ($i_1$e°), which was very closely compressed so as to feel like a single vowel, the glide being extremely short, the ($i_1$) being a deep form of (*i*), and (e°) being some indistinct form of (e) not sensibly different from (') or (ʊ). The (ə), which I retain, JGG. preferred to write (ə¹) between ($u_1$) and (e¹) or ($i_1$), but "distinctly not rounded." There was a variety of this which was a 'rounded' form of (e¹) or ($i_1$), which I write ($œ_1$); it seemed to be due to the influence of (r), see Nos. 547, 590. The (*u'*), also retained, was written (*ú*$u_1$ə) very close, and resembling (*oo*), the last element "brief, but very distinct (ə)." These are all clearly slight varieties of Dr. Murray's sounds, (e¹) is used for Dr. M.'s (e) or *y* as he writes it.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 *bi'k*. 4 *ti'k*. 5 *mi'k*. 6 *mi'd*. 7 *si'k*. 8 *ææv*. 9 *bihi'v*. 10 *haa* [(*aa*) very slightly broader than (aa) throughout]. 12 *saa*. 15 *aa*$_1$ [intermediate between (*aa*, AA)]. 16 *daan*. 19 *ti'l*. 20 *li'm*. 21 *ni'm*. 23 *seem*. 24 *shi'm*. 25 *mi'n*. 26 *wi'n*. 27 *ni'v*. 28 *heer*. 30 *keer*. 33 *reedhur*. 34 *last*. 35 [(ɛlsyn) used]. 36 *thóu*. 37 *klaa*.

A: 39 *kam*. 40 *ki'm*. 41 *tha¹qk*. 43 *haan*. 44 *laan*. 46 *kàn'l*. 48 *saaq*. 50 *ti'qz*. 51 *man*. 55 *as*. 56 *wæsh* 57 *as*. A: *or* O: 58 *thræ'*. 59 *lam*. 60 *laq*. 61 e°*màq*. 62 s$_t$t$_r$*àq* [this ($_t$$_r$) was not acknowledged by Dr. Murray]. 64 *wràq*. 65 *sàq*. 66 *kwhi'q*.

A'- 67 *gàq*. 70 *ti'*. 71 *woo*. 72 *whi'*. 73 *soo*. 74 *twi'*. 75 s$_t$t$_r$*ook*. 76 *ti'd*. 77 *luu*$_1$*rd*. 78 *aan*. 80 *ho*$_1$*lydu*. 81 *loonyn* 83 *mi'n*. 84 *meer*. 85 *seer*. 86 ĭɛts. 87 *kli'z*. 88 *kli'dh*. 89 *bi'th*. 90 *blaa* [(*blíúu*) pt.]. 91 *maa* [(*míúu*) pt.]. 92 [(kɛn) used]. 93 *snaa* [(*sníúu*) pt.]. 94 *kraa* [(*kríúu*) pt.]. 95 *thraa* [(*thríúu*) pt.]. 96 *saa* [(*síúu*) pt.]. 97 *sool*.

A': 101 *i'k*. 104 *rod*. 105 *ri'd*. 106 *bri'd*. 107 *li'f*. 108 *dúkwh*. 109 *lúkwh*. 111 *oo*$_1$*kwht*. 112 *hi'l*. 115 *hi'm*. 118 *bi'n*. 121 *gi'n*. 122 *ni'n*. 124 *sti'n*. 125 *onli*. 127 *hi'rsh*. 129 *goost*. 130 *bóvt*. 132 *hɛt*. 133 *wri't*. 134 *ooth*. 135 *kli'th*.

Æ- 138 fɛ'dhur. 140 *hèl*. 142 *snèl*. 144 *egèn*. 145 *slèn*. 146 *mèn*. 147 *brèn*. 148 *feer*. 150 list. 152 *wa*$_t$*tu*$_r$. Æ: 155 *tha¹k*. 157 *rèv'n*. 158 *æf*$_t$*tu*$_r$. 160 *ææg*. 161 *dee*. 164 *mee*. 165 *sèd*. 166 *mèd*. 167 *di'l*. 168 *talu*. 169 *kwhan*. 170 *ha¹rst*. 171 *baarle¹*. 172 *gærs*. 173 *waz*. 174

æst. 175 *fast*. 178 *nat*. 179 *kwhat*. 180 bàth. 181 pæ'th. Æ'- 182 *sée*ᵢi. 183 tìtɟ. 184 lìd. 185 rìd. 186 brĕith. 187 liiv. 190 *kée*ᵢi. 191 hi'l. 192 mìn. 193 klìn. 194 *oni*. 195 *mo*ᵢ*ni*. 196 *war* wər. 197 tɟìz. 199 [(bl*eer*) used]. 200 *kwhìt*. 201 hi'dh'n. 202 hìt.

Æ': 203 spìtɟ. 204 dìd. 205 thrìd. 206 RED. 207 nìd'l. 210 kl*ée*ᵢi. 211 gr*ee*. 213 èdhur. 215 tàk*w*ht 216 *di*'l. 217 [not used]. 218 shìp. 219 slìp. 221 fi'r. 222 h*eer*. 223 dh*i*'r. 224 *kwheer* wh*eer*. 226 mi'st. 228 sw*i*'t. 229 breth. 230 fa'l.

E- 232 BREK. 233 spik. 234 NEᵢd. 235 *weèv* wi*i*v. 236 fevur. 237 bl*een*. 238 hæædɟ. 239 *seel*. 241 *reen*. 243 pl*ee*. 246 *kwìn*. 248 mi'r. 249 w*i*'r. 250 sw*i*'r. 251 mìt. 252 KEᵢt'l [almost (kæt'l)]. 253 næt'l. 254 ledhur. 255 wadhur.

E: 257 æædɟ. 259 wadɟ. 261 *see*. 262 *wee*. 263 *eel*. 267 iild. 268 [(*aa*lde'st) = oldest, used]. 270 i. bɛli₁z, ii. bɛle'. 272 æl''m. 273 mæn. 274 *b*ensh. 276 the'qk. 277 dr*e*nsh. 278 *w*ensh. 280 eli·v'n. 281 lɛnth. 282 sᵢtᵢrɛnth. 283 mɛre'. 284 thræsh. 285 krɛsh. 286 *h*arɛ. 287 bazɛm. 288 lɛt.

E'- 289 ii. 290 héii. 292 méii. 293 wéii. 294 fìd. 296 beliiv. 299 grìn. 300 kìp. 301 hi'r. 302 mìt. 303 swìt. 304 bìt'l. E': 306 hɛ'ɪkh. 308 nìd. 309 spìd. 310 hìl. 311 tææn. 312 hiijur. 314 hæærd. 315 fìt. 316 nɛkst.

EA- 319 *gi*'p. 320 *keer*. EA: 322 làk*w*h. 323 *fíukwht*. 324 ækjht. 325 w*aak*. 326 *aald*. 327 bòᵢl'd. 328 k*aal*'d. 329 f*aal*'d. 330 hod. 331 [(sɛl'd) selled, used]. 332 [(tæl'd) telled, used]. 333 kàf. 334 hàf. 335 *aa*. 336 f*aa*. 337 w*aa*. 340 ĭEERd. 342 *eerm*. 345 d*aar*. 346 ĭæt.

EA'- 347 hìd. 348 E'i. 349 fíúu. EA': 350 dìd. 351 lìd. 352 rìd. 353 brìd. 354 sh*i*'f. 355 dif. 356 lif. 357 th*oo* 359 nibur. 360 tɪm. 361 bìn. 363 tɟìp. 365 ni'r. 366 gr*eet*. 367 thr*i*'t. 368 *di*'th. 369 sl*aa*. 379 r*aa*. 371 str*i*'.

EI- 372 ææ'i. 373 dh*ee*. 375 rìz. 376 b*eet*. EI: 377 sti'k. 378 w*eek*. 382 dh*eer*. EO- 383 siv'n. 384 hɛv'n. 385 enɛɛ·th. 386 ĭó*u*. EO: 388 me'lk 389 ĭook. 390 shud. 393 ìont. 396 wœᵢrk. 397 s*u*'rd. 398 stæærv. 402 la'rn. 403 fæær. 404 stærn. 405 haarth. 406 ĭerth. 407 f*aa*rdiᵢn. 408 níuu. EO'- 409 béii. 411 thréii. 412 shéii. 413 div'l. 414 flɛ'i. 415 lɛ'i. 417 tɟó*u*. 418 bríuu. 420 foor. 421 forte'. EO': 423 théii. 424 rak*w*h. 425 kækjht. 426 fækjht. 427 béii. 428 séii. 430 frin'd 431 biiur. 432 fòrth. 433 bree'st. 434 bæt. 435 ĭa*u*. 436 ᵢtᵢríuu 437 ᵢtᵢríuuth. EY- 438 dɛ'i. EY: 439 ᵢtᵢrast.

I- 440 wìk. 441 siiv. 442 *âive*'. 446 nɛ'*in*. 448 dh*i*'. 449 gɛt. 450 tíuuzde'. 451 síuu. I: 452 *dai*. 454 watɟ. 455 lâi. 457 mækjht. 458 nækjht. 459 rækjht. 460 wækjht. 462 sækjht 464 k*w*hatɟ. 465 sek. 466 [(b*eer*n) used]. 467 wɛ'il'd. 471 te'mur. 472 shre'qk. 473 ble'n'd. 474 rɛ in'd. 475 wan. 476 *be*'n'd. 477 fe'n'd. 478 gre'n'd. 479 wan'd. 481 fe'qər. 485 thre's'l. 486 ĭest. 487 ĭɛsᵢtuᵢrde'. 488 ĭet.

I'- 490 *báai*. 491 sækjh. 493 dr*ái*v. 494 tɛ'*ɪm*. 496 ærɛn. 497 erɛ'*iz*. 498 wrɛ'*it*. 499 bìt'l. I': 500 lɛ'ik. 501 wɛ'id. 502 fâiv. 503 lɛ'ɪf. 504 nɛ'if. 505 wɛ'ɪf. 506 womɛn. 507 wime'n. 508 mɛ'il. 509 k*w*hɛ'il. 511 wɛ'in. 513 *wáai*ur. 514 E'is. 515 wɛ'*is*. 516 we'sdɛm. 517 ĭuu.

O- 520 b*ó*u 521 f*u*'l. 522 *oop*'n. 523 h*oop*. 524 war'l'd. O: 526 kok*w*h. 527 bok*w*ht. 528 thok*w*ht. 530 wrok*w*ht. 531 dok*w*hter. 532 k*u*'l. 533 dɛl. 534 h*u*'l. 536 *gool*'d. 538 ùd *wad*. 539 bó*ul*. 540 hole'. 542 b*o*lt. 545 hop. 547 bœœᵢrd. 548 fœœᵢrd. 550 ward. 551 st*u*'rm. 552 k*u*'rn. 553 h*u*'rn. 554 kros. O'- 555 shəə. 557 *təə*. 558 ləək lùk. 559 madhur. 561 bləm. 562 mən. 563 mande'. 564 sən. 566 adhur.

O': 569 bək. 570 tək. 571 gəd. 572 bləd. 573 fləd. 574 brəd. 575 stəd. 576 wɛd'nzde'. 577 b*ó*u. 578 pl*iú*k*w*ht. 579 ɛn*iú*k*w*h. 580 t*iú*k*w*h. 581 sok*w*ht. 582 kuul. 584 stəl. 585 brəm. 586 dəə. 587 dən. 588 nən. 589 spən. 590 fłœœᵢr. 591 mœœᵢr. 592 swœœᵢr. 593 mast. 594 bət. 595 fe't. 596 rət. 597 sət.

U- 599 ebə·n. 600 lav. 601 fuul. 602 sɛu. 603 kam. 605 sɛn. 606 door. 607 batᵢtuᵢr. U: 608 agle'. 609 fal. 610 uu. 611 balɛk.

612 sam. 613 draqk. 614 hand. 615 pan. 616 gran. 617 sa'*u*nd [Dr. Murray gives (sùnd), but JGG. got (*sú*$_1$und) from Selkirk town, and (sə$_2$'ùn'd) from Roxburgh town, where (ə$_2$) is nearly (a), but these seem town pron.]. 618 uund. 622 andur. 625 taq. 626 haqur. 629 san. 630 wan. 631 tharzde$^1$. 632 ap. 633 dap. 634 thra'*u*. 636 [(fæærur) is used for both farther and further]. 637 tǫsk. 639 dast.

U'- 640 ka'*u*. 641 ha'*u*. 642 dha'*u*. 643 na'*u*. 645 da'*u*. 648 uur. 649 thùzunt. 652 kud. 653 bat. U': 654 sh'rud. 656 rùm. 657 brùn. 658 dùn. 661 shuur. 662 az [never (haz) as in Dr. Murray's DSS., p. 188, but this may have been an individuality]. 663 hùs. 664 lùs. 665 mùs. 666 hazbunt. 667 ùt. 668 prùt. 669 a·nkuuth. 670 bùth.

Y- 673 mak'l. 674 le'*i*. 675 ˌdˌr*dai*. 678 de$^1$n. 679 kark. 680 be$^1$ze$^1$. 682 le$^1$t'l'. Y: 683 me$^1$dj. 684 bre$^1$g. 685 re$^1$g. 686 b*dai*. 687 flækjht. 689 bəl'd. 690 ke'*in*'d. 691 me'*in*'d. 693 se$^1$n. 696 berth. 697 bəre$^1$. 698 merth. 699 wràkjht. 700 w*dar*. 701 ferst. 703 pe$^1$t. Y'- 705 sk*dai*. 706 [replaced by (*kwhat* fær) what for]. 707 therfin. 708 h*aiur*. Y': 709 f*aiur*. 711 le'*is*. 712 me'*is*.

II. English.

A. 737 m*ee*t. E. 746 br*ee*dh. 750 bææg. O. 761 li'd. 769 m*ó*ude$^1$. U. 808 pat.

III. Romance.

E·· 874 rìn.

## D 34 = e.ML. = eastern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Lothian and Fife.*

*Boundary.* Begin just n. of the Liberties of the town of Berwick, and, joining the Tweed, follow it to a spot about 2 s.Inverleithen, Pb., then turn along Quair Water to n. of St. Mary's Loch, and continue along first the e. b. of Pb. and then the e.b. of Lk. to Kirkintillock, Dm. (18 e.Dumbarton), and to the head of Carron Water. Then suddenly back to ne. and pass just s. of Stirling and n. of Allod, Cc., and Kinross and w. of Cupar, Fi., to fall into the Firth of Tay a little w. of Newport, Fi. (opposite Dundee, Fo.). Of course this boundary is merely approximative, and means that the ne. part divides Sg. and Fi., so that the whole country for some miles on each side of the Firth of Forth is included.

*Area.* Most of Bw., Cc., Ed., Hd., Kr., Ll., and Pb., or in Scotch parlance the Lothians (Ll., Ed., Hd.) and Fife, whence Dr. Murray's name *Lothian and Fife.* The country included was the seat of government under the Scotch Kings, and was hence the centre of its English Literature.

*Authorities.* Dr. M.'s DSS. is very scanty on this dialect, because it furnishes "received Scotch," and is hence as well known to a Lowlander as "received English" to an Englishman. But I have made the best use I could of his scattered hints. Next I had 18 sentences for the Lothians and 4 for Fife from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 709, at bottom. For the rest see Alphabetical County List under.

*Bw.* °Chirnside.
*Ed.* ‖Edinburgh.
*Hd.* °Haddington.

*Illustrations.*

1. The cs. for Edinburgh pal. by JAHM. from dictation of Mrs. C. Murray, a native, p. 683, No. 3. The Hd. cs, which was in io., is almost exactly the same word for word as the Ed. cs., and hence is not given.

2. Melville Bell's Lothian and Fife sentences.
3. The numerals 1 to 12 with 20 from Pb., Ed., Fi., compared with those from Rx. and Ab. from Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*.
4. The Chirnside dt.
5. A cwl. made up of the words thus obtained, and a wl. from Chirnside.

*Characters.* From these illustrations, especially the last, the following have been deduced.

A- generally (*e*, *è*, *ee*) or according to JAHM. (*e*[1]) as (*te*[1]l, n*e*[1]m) tale, name. This is quite distinct from the (*ɪ*') of D 33. There is no fracture in D 34.
A: regularly (a, à) and not (*a*) as in D 33, nor (AA).
A' regularly (*e*, *ee*) the same as A-, though (*a*, AA, o) are also heard, as (wh*a*, whAA, tood, ròd) who, toad, road.
Æ- tends the same way as A-, as (f*e*dhɐr, w*ee*tɐr d*ee*[1]) father, water day.
Æ' is usually (ii), but there are many exceptions.
E' is normally (ii), as *he*, *me*, and not (*éi*) as in D 33.
EAL is usually (AA) as (AA, AAld, SAAt) all, old, salt.
EA', EO' normally (ii) with a few exceptions.
I' has two sounds (*âi*, *éi*) or (ɐ'*i*, ɐ'*i*), informants differ. (*éi*) or (ɐ'*i*) is used before voiceless consonants and mutes.
O' is regularly (yy) inclining to ($y_1$, *ə*), and varying as (iu, i) as (sk*ə*l, s$y_1$n, uníukh, fit) school, soon, enough, foot.
U: closed, is regularly (ɐ) as (gr*a*n, ɐp) ground, up.
U' is always (uu, ù) even in open syllables, and at the end of a word as (kuu, hùs) cow, house, thus differing from D 33.

Among the consonants there is only one form of (kh) used in all positions, (kjh, k*w*h) are unknown. At Chirnside initial *ch* is pron. (sh), as (dher)z ez g$y_1$d shiiz i :shirset az waz ev*ɐ*r shóud wi shafts) there is as good cheese in Chirnside as ever was chewed with jawbones. We have a similar usage at Chillingham, Nb., D 32, V v, p. 641.

Mr. Collette, a Fifeman, in Oct. 1880, informed me that he had often heard (aa)z) for *I am* from Fife lads. But possibly it was only for *I shall*, which is common. It has however been heard as far north as Dumfries.

## Lothian Sentences from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as those in D 33, p. 709.

Here ($i_1$, a[1], *ʊ*) are used for (*y*, ah) and unaccented (*ə*).

| Lothian. | Translation. |
|---|---|
| 1. hers'l *i*$_1$n ba'' JɐR kripi [kriipi], *i*$_1$n bers'l JɐR t*ee*z *i*$_1$t dhi eq'l. | 1. Hustle in by [push forward] your creepy [stool] and warm your toes at the ingle [fire]. |
| 2. ee fikh ! kle·pshiirz 'n golakhs ! | 2. Ah faugh ! earwigs and clocks [beetles]. |
| 3. dJɐst a[1] rek'l *ʊ* st*e*nz. | 3. Just a loose heap of stones. |
| 4. h*oo*ht, mʊn ! whœm'l)t œp ! | 4. Hout, man ! turn)it up ! |
| 5. sek n*eer*$i_1$l$i_1$ ne·p$i_1$tn$i_1$s b*e*ts AA dh$i_1$t $i_1$vɐr *ʊ* hard *o* ! | 5. Such narrowly niggardness beats all that ever I heard of ? |
| 6. n*i*vɐr ky·lJi)z n*ee* kenni$_1$s. | 6. Never coax is no kindness. |
| 7. shʊ)z n*oo* skrem*i*$_1$t *o* kynzi [kyn*i*] b*i*$_1$t kana[1] bi fasht ! | 7. She)s not stingy of coin [money], but cannot be bothered. |

8. ʊ)l n*oo* fɛkht ɹi b*ee*th ʊt ɹens, b*i*$_1$t a)l tak ɹ*i* b*i* ɹens*i*$_1$z.

9. whar i *i*$_1$ gaan?

10. shʊ)z ʊ siv'l wid*i* wamʊn.

11. *ee*! sek a$^1$ pit*i*! t*i*$_1$ sii dh*i*$_1$ wii b*i*$_1$t laami steket.

12. fr*e* :d*e*midek̓s, dh*i* *i*dhʊr d*ee*, t*i*$_1$ :dʒin*i* :diinz ʊ bɛn't m*i* wéi, bat dil)hed k*u*hd á$^1$*i* d*əə*, *o*hr s*ee*, bat—whɛs'l a'ur dhi l*ee*v *o*h)t.

8. I'll not fight you both at once, but I'll take you by onces [one at a time].

9. Where are you going?

10. She's a civil widow woman.

11. Ah! such a pity! to see the wee bit lambkin stuck.

12. From Dumbiedykes the other day
To Jeanie Dean's I bent my way,
But devil)head [devil a bit] could I do or say,
But—whistle over the leave [remainder] of it.

13. k*a*nt*i* karl [k*e*rl] kam prii m*i*$_1$ muu.

14. hee, mʊn! kaa dh*i*$_1$ ɹa'uz t*i*$_1$ dh*i*$_1$ na'uz.

15. wh*a* whə'pʊt dh*i*$_1$ laadh*i*? hiz f*e*dhʊr did wəz)d, tʊ mak *i*$_1$m gaq t*i*$_1$ dh*i*$_1$ skəl.

16. huu)z aa wi *i* ʊt h*ee*m? gé*i*l*i*z', thaqk ɹ*i* fʊr spiir'n.

17. gaq ʊw*aa*·, lad*i*, g*ee* tʊ dh*i*$_1$ h*o*hrs, see ʅ! ʅ! ʊn shuu *i*$_1$m bak ʊg*i*·n.

18. ʊ braa shərt-gun aa dɹœ'upet wi glaar.

13. Lively fellow, come prove [make trial of] my mouth [=kiss me].

14. Heh, man! call thy ewes to the knolls.

15. Who whipped the laddy? His father indeed was)it, to make him go to the school.

16. How is all with you at home? Gaily [very well], thank you for speering [asking].

17. Go away, laddy, go to the horse, say, cl'ck, cl'ck! and shoo [scare] him back again.

18. A brave [smart] shirt-gown [bodice] all besprinkled with mud.

## Fife Sentences from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as those in D 33.

1. *o*d, dh*i*$_1$r)z twaa :wəl*i* :wəlis'nz, ʊn twaa :r*o*b*i* :r*o*b*i*s'nz, ʊn twaa :dʒim*i* :dʒim*i*s'nz, ʊn twaa kœt lœgʊt suuz.

2. œr ɹi en, :dʒin*i* :w*i*l'ms'n? —whœt ʊr ɹ*i* wan;'n? di *i* n*o* kɛn et's dh*i*$_1$ saab*i*$_1$th d*ee*? — ʊ)m wan;'n a$^1$ baabi wərth ʊ saat ʊn a$^1$ pɛniwərth ʊ məstərht, a$^1$ lɛn *i* ʊr [ɹʊr] kɛt'l, ʊn a$^1$ blaa *i* ʊr [ɹʊr] bɛlʊs, ʊn hiir)z m*i*$_1$ m*i*dhʊrz matʒ t'l mən*i*$_1$nd*ee*!

3. dh*i*$_1$)r k*i*ntr*i* kəz'nz ɹʊ k*i*$_1$n.

4. *o*d)*i*v)*i*)k*e*r)*i*)mii·! sek ʊ blɛɛdher'n tʒil!

1. 'Od, there's two Willy Willison's, and two Robby Robisons, and two Jamie Jamiesons, and two cut-lugged [crop-eared] sows.

2. Are you in, Jeanie Williamson? What are you wanting? do you not know it)s the sabbath day? I'm wanting a bawbeeworth of salt, and a pennyworth of mustard, a loan of your kettle, and a blow of your bellows, and here's my mother's cap till Monday.

3. They are country cousins you know.

5. 'Od-have-a-care-of-me! such a blethering chiel [fellow].

## Numerals.

Mid L. compared with south and north L. numerals from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, where they had been written from the dictation of natives, 1, Peebles, D 34, from Mr. G. Elphinstone; 2, Midlothian, D 34, from Mr. Archibald Bell; 3, Fife, D 34, from Rev. D. S. Drysdale; 4, Teviotdale, D 33, from Dr. Murray; 5, Aberdeen, D 39, from Mr. J. Forrest.

| | *one* | *two* | *three* | *four* | *five* | *six* | *seven* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 *Peebles.* | ɟen | tw*ee* | thrii | fɑ'ur | fa''v | seks | siv'n |
| 2 *Midlothian.* | ɟen *en* | twɔɔ | khrii | fɑ'ur | fa'v | seks saks | siv'n |
| 3 *Fife.* | *e*'n | twAA | thrii | fœ'ur | fʊ'v | seks | siv'n |
| 4 *Teviotdale.* | ɟen | tw*ee*' | thr*é*i | f*ó*our | fɑ'iv | seks | siv'n |
| 5 *Aberdeen.* | in | tw*aa* | thrii | fɑ'u'r | fa''v | sa'ks | séiv'n |

| | *eight* | *nine* | *ten* | *eleven* | *twelve* | *twenty* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | aa'kht | néin | tɛɛn | *i*ˌli·v'n | twɔhl | tw*i*ˌnt*i*. |
| 2 | *ee*kht | néin | tɛn' | *i*ˌli·v'n | twɛl | tw*i*ˌnt*i*. |
| 3 | *e*kht | nɛ'in | tɛɛn | ʊli·v'n | twɛl | tw*i*nt*i*. |
| 4 | aakjht | néin | tæn' | *i*ˌli·v'n | twɔhl | tunt*i*. |
| 5 | *a*kht | nɛ'in | tɛn | *i*ˌléiv'n | tw*a*l | tw*i*ˌnt*i*. |

## Chirnside (8 wnw.Berwick) dt.

Written by Rev. George Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce, or Old Luce (15 w-by-n.Wigton), and palaeotyped by AJE. from his explanations and notes. The dialect is "broad and slow."

1. See a *see*, nibʊrz, i sii náu at a)m r*i*kht abùt dhat lat'l wɑnsh kɑm*i*n thre [fre] dhʊ skyl dhonʊr.
2. shy)z gaq'n dùn dhʊ ròd dheer thruu dhʊ r*i*d ɟeet on dhʊ w'raq séid *o* dhʊ geet (rood).
3. shyyr ʊníukh dhʊ beern)z geen strekht ɑp tʊ dhʊ d*oor* *o* dhʊ w'raq hùs,
4. wheer shy)l ɟ*i*b'lz [me)bi] f*i*nd dhat drak'n dif wɑz'nd fal*i* at)s kAAd [at dh*e* kAA] :tam.
5. u AA kèn h*i*m vèrʊ wìl.
6. wɑ)na dhʊ AAld shA'p syn lern ʊr noo tʊ dy)d ʊgen, pyyr theq!
7. sii! *iz*)na dhat truu? [*iz* dhat noo truu?].

## e.Mid Lowland cwl.

This is made up from the following sources:

E Edinburgh cs. in introduction to L., No. 3, p. 683.
L Lothian sentences from A. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected. The Lothians are the counties of Ll., Ed., Hd., respectively, w., m., and e.
F Fife, ditto.
C Chirnside wl. and dt. by Rev. G. Wilson.

M Words marked Central Scottish in Dr. Murray's wl., in his DSS., of which the parts for D 33 are given on p. 716. Possibly many of these words belong properly to D 35. Probably all the words in Dr. M.'s D 33 list, not here specially marked as different, have the same sound in D 33 and D 34.

The pron. of all these places is presumed to be practically identical, and as I have no means of discriminating them, I put them all together in one list, distinguishing the sources.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 L tak. 5 LE mak. — M te'n [taken]. 19 M te'l. 21 C neem. 25 M me'n. — C geet [roadway]. A: 39 E kàm. 41 L thaqk. — C fan [fand, pt. of find]. 49 E hèq'n [hanging]. — L kana' [can't]. 51 E màn. 54 E wànt, F wan;in [wanting]. 56 C waash, E wàsh'n [washing].

A: *or* O: 58 E fe, C thre fe. 59 L laami. 60 M laq. 61 M ama·q. 62 M straq. 63 M thraq. 64 E ràq, MC w'raq. 65 M saq.

A'- 67 L gaq, [(gee) imper.], LE gaan, C gaq'n [going]. 70 LC tee. 72 E whaa, L wha. 73 EC see, C soo. 74 EF twaa, C twee. 76 C tood. 77 M leerd [lord of the soil]. 79 E ee'n. 82 E jèns. 86 C jits. 87 EC kleez. 88 C kliid. 89 E bee'th, L beeth. 90 FC blaa. A': 102 E aks, C aask. 104 C ròd. 110 E noo'. 111 C ookht. 113 E hee l. 115 EL heem. 122 ii. E nee, L noo. 124 L sten. 125 E onli. 133 M w'ret. 134 E ee'th.

Æ- 138 ELC fedher. 144 L egy·n. 152 C weether. Æ: 154 E bàk. 160 M eg. 161 E dee', FC dee. 164 E me. — M slekht [sleight]. 169 EC whan, E kwhon, C whan. 173 E wyz. 174 C eesh. — M les [less]. 177 E dhat, L dhyt. 179 E kwhut. Æ'- 182 M sii. 187 L leev. 189 C wii. 194 E oni. 195 E moni, C mani. 197 C shiiz. 200 C whiit. Æ': 204 L did [indeed]. 205 C thrìd. 208 L iver. 214 E nee'dher. — F len [a loan]. 223 E dhee'r, C dheer. 224 E kwheer, EC wheer, L whar. 227 C wa't. 228 C swiit.

E- 232 C brik. 233 C spik, E spik'n [speaking]. 234 ne'd. 235 wiiv. 244 E wil. 248 E mee'r, C miir. 252 EF ket'l. — M set'l [settle]. E: 256 strìket [stretcht]. 261 E see', LC see. — M bed [bed]. 262 E wee', C wéi. 263 L ewaa·, C a'waa. 265 C strekht. 270 F i. belves. — M sel [sell]. 271 E tel. — M hem [hem]. 276 E the'qk. 278 C wanish. — M send [send]. 281 E lenth. 287 C biz'm. 288 M let. — M best [best]. E'- 289 C ii. 290 M hii. 292 EM mii. 293 EM wii, C uu. E': 305 C hái, M hekh hii [M (hiilan) highland]. 306 hekht. 312 E hiir, F hir. 314 EL hard.

EA- — L neeryly [narrowly]. 320 E kee'r. EA: 321 E saa. 322 EM laakh, C laakh. 324 M ækht. 326 EC aald. 330 E hàd. 335 L aa. 338 ELC kaa. — F saat. 340 E jee'rd. 345 C daar. 346 C jet jeet. EA'- 347 C hiid. 348 M ii, E in [eyes]. — L bet. EA': 350 C diid. 352 C rid. 355 C diif. 357 C thoo. 359 E niber. 364 C sha'p. 366 C grit. 367 C thret. 368 C dreth. EI- 372 E ææ. EI: 378 C week.

EO- 386 L ja'u, C jáu. 387 E níuu. EO: 390 shod. 394 E jonder, C dhonvr. 395 E jaq. 399 E brekht. 402 C lern. 409 M bii. — M frii [free]. — M k'nii. 411 E khrii [in the phrase (twaakhrii) two or three, *i.e.* a few], C thrii. — M trii [tree]. 412 C shii shy$_1$, L shv. 413 L dil. 414 M flii. — M flii [to flee]. 415 M lii. EO': 423 MC thii. 424 C rakh. 425 C likht. 426 MLC fekht. 427 M bii. 428 C sii. 435 EM juu [E (jir) your]. 436 C truu. 437 EC try'th. EY- 438 MEC dii. EY: 439 E trast.

I- 446 E na'in. I: 452 E a', C a. 454 C waty. — L widi [widow]. 458 E ne'kht, M nekht. 459 C rikht, M rekht. 460 C wekht, M wækht. 465 E sèk'n, L sek. 466 C shéild. — L *yn*, F en [in]. 477 C find. 480 EC theq. 482 E e's. 484 E dhe's. — L whas'l [whistle].

I'- 490 L ba'. M bii [by, agent]. 491 M sa'ikh sái. 492 C séid. 494 E ta'im. — M pe'ip [pipe]. 497 M ra'iz. 498 M w'ra'it. — M bla'idh [blithe]. I': — M da'ik. 500 E la'ikli. 502 C fáiv. 503 léif. 505

[M (wa'ivz) wives]. 506 LC wamen. 508 M ma'il. — M ra'im [rhyme]. 510 ii. ma¹. 511 M wa'in.

O- 519 E a'ur. 520 C ba'u. 524 C warldt, E warld. O: 531 C dòkhtur, E *dookhtur*. 535 E fa'*u*k. 536 M góud. 538 E wad wed. — M hóu [hollow]. — L na'uz [knolls]. — L hohrs [horse]. O'- 555 C shy. 557 E t*yy*. 559 E midhur. 560 L skəl, C skyl. 563 L man*y*nd*ee*. 564 C syn. 566 E adhur, L idhur. O': 570 C tyk. 571 E gj*y*d, EC gyd. 577 C buu. 578 C plakh. 579 E eniakh, C uniukh. 580 C tiukh. 586 EF di, L dəə, [C (dy)d) do it]. 587 E dyn. 588 E efternyn. 594 C byt. 595 C fit.

U- 602 MFC suu. 603 L kam. 604 E se'mur. 605 C san. 606 EC d*oor*. U: 616 E gran. 629 E san. 631 E tharzde'. 632 C ap. 634 EC thruu. 635 F warth. U'- 640 MC kuu. 641 EL huu. 643 ME nuu. 645 C duu. 646 M buu. 650 E a¹bù·t, C abùt. 651 E wathùt. 652 L k*u*hd, C kyd. 653 C bit. U': 658 EC dùn. 663 EC hùs. 667 E ùt. 671 L muu.

Y- 673 E mak'l. 674 E ded. 681 E be'znus. 682 C lit'l lat'l. Y: — L kenn*y*s [kindness]. 697 C byr*i*. 700 C w*aar*. 701 C farst fèrst. Y'- 705 C skái. — M ha'id. Y': 709 M fa'ir, C féir. 712 M ma'is, C méis.

II. English.

A. 714 L laadh*i*. 736 M las. E. — M pet [pet]. I. *and* Y. — L eql' [ingle, fire]. — L wha'pət [whipped]. O. — M póu [poll, head]. 790 L gun. U. 797 E sk*ueek*in. 798 E k*u*iir. 804 EC drak'n. — E hari [hurry].

III. Romance.

A·· 810 M f*e*'s. 815 E fàks. 820 [L (géiliz) gaily]. — M pe'l*i*n [paling]. 857 E k*ee*'s. 860 M pe'st. — rè't [rate]. 862 M se'f. 864 E bikə·z. — M h*aa*khti. 866 C pyyr. E·· 867 E tii. — M derek [direct]. — M pelet [pellet]. — M pen [pen]. — M mend [mend]. — M sent [scent]. — M tent [tent]. — M vent [vent]. — M venturr [venture]. 885 E v*e*ri. — pest [pest]. — M test [test]. — M restles [restless]. — M tekst [text]. I·· and Y·· — L sivl' [civil]. O·· 920 E pə'int, M pe'int. 925 E və'is. 935 M k*y*ntr*e*. 938 E k*o*rnur. — M kuuerd [coward]. 947 M be'il. 950 E sapur. 953 F kaz'n. — F mastarht [mustard]. 955 E dùt. — L priiv [prove, try]. — M buuel [bowel]. — M tuuel [towel]. U·· 961 M gruuel. — M truuel [trowel]. 963 E k*u*áiut. 969 EC shyyr. 970 E dyyst, L dyast. — E bry't [brute].

## D 35 = wML. = western Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Clydesdale.*

*Boundaries.* Begin at the s. extremity of the CB. or Celtic Border in Scotland, and proceed along it as far as Glendouglas, between Lochs Long and Lomond. Then skirting first the w. and then the se. side of Loch Lomond to the b. of Sg., run e. across Sg. over the Campsie Hills to join the sharp angle at the w. of D 34, about 12 w. of the se. angle of Loch Lomond. Then go sse. to b of Lk. near Kirkintillock, Sg. Pursue the border of Lk. till it reaches Ay., and then cross Ay. to the w., s. of Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Ayr to the sea, separating the Ayrshire district of Kyle on the n. from that of Carrick in the s. Then by the sea coast to Bute again. Of course the b. across Ay. is not very distinct, and the pron. of the n. of this extensive district may be in several respects different from that in the s., which has most literary interest as the land of Burns.

*Area.* A narrow slip to se. of Ar., the s. of Bt., the n. of Ay., the e. and s. of Dm., Lk. and Rf.

*Authorities.* Mr. Melville Bell's Clydesdale sentences in his *Visible Speech*, corrected as for D 33 and 34, p. 709. Dr. Murray's notes and Ayrshire Ruth, p. 698, No. 2. Account of pron. in Kyle by Wm. Simson, schoolmaster in Cumnock, given on pp. 681-693 of Wm. Aiton's "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Air," Glasgow, 1811. The above are from printed books. The following are special communications. See Alphabetical County Index under the following names, where ‖ indicates systematic and ° informants' orthography.

*Ay.* °Coylton, ‖Kilmarnock, °Ochiltree.
*Lk.* °Glasgow.
*Rf.* °Lochwinnoch.

*Characters.* Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says: "1. The Clydesdale dialect [D 35] is distinguished from that of Lothian [D 34] chiefly by its broader vowels. 2. The long (aa) especially is almost, if not quite, (AA) in (twAA, awAA, wAAk) two, away, wake. 3. It is heard also in the combination *-and*, where the *d* is regularly dropped, as (lAAn, hAAn) land, hand; so 4. (*ee*n, méin, fen) end, mind, find. 5. Long *i* becomes broad (ɜ'i), (wɜ'ivz, bɜ'id, stɜ'i) wives, bide, stay. 6. The (yy, *əə*) is scarcely labial (d*əə*, t*əə*, w*əə*), etc., being undistinguishable from (d*ee*, t*ee*, w*ee*) or (d*ii*, t*ii*, w*ii*). 7. Short *o* before a consonant has a tendency to be replaced by (a, *a*), as in (p*a*t, t*a*p, st*a*p, p*a*rit*j*, dr*a*p, b*a*net, *a*f, *a*ft, h*a*p, w*a*rlt) pot, top, stop, porridge, drop, bonnet, off, oft, hop, world. This change does not appear in the Early or Middle Scotch, and is probably of Celtic origin. In modern times it has gained a wide currency from being used by Burns in this dialect."

These characters shew the salient points of difference between the n. forms of D 35 and those of D 34. But a comparison of the cwl. already given for D 34 with that given below for D 35 will shew that they do not quite agree for the s. parts of D 35. To take each point separately, as I have numbered them, we find 1. that it is not quite possible to attach a meaning to 'broader vowels' generally; 2. that in the particular instances given, although they all occur in Dr. M.'s Ruth, yet at any rate (twa) is repudiated at Ochiltree (11 e.Ayr), where (tw*ee*) is used, and that this form is also found at Coylton (5 e.Ayr), though (twaa) seems to have been also heard, as well as at Glasgow. I think the (AA) was due to Mr. Giffen, who represents s.Rf. The (wAAk) wake was heard by Dr. M. (DSS. p. 77, note) from some "Wast Cuintric folk," when travelling, but the precise locality of the speaker is not given, and was probably not known. 3. (lAAn, hAAn) land, hand, occur at Coylton and Ochiltree, but Dr. M. gives (l*aa*n, h*aa*n) in D 33, which is nearly the same. I have not got the words for D 34, nor can I compare for *end, mind*, but *find* has the *d* at Chirnside, Bw. The omission of *d* after *n*, as in the pp., is so common that it scarcely becomes a character 5. Long *i* = (ɜ'i) I have continually as "central Scottish" from Dr. M.'s lw., but perhaps he meant D 35 rather than D 34. My own accounts from s.D 35, as Coylton and Ochiltree, give (éi) or (E'i) generally, and (ái) before voiced

consonants, in fact the prevalence of (éi) is very conspicuous; my examples of (ɑ'i) are from Dr. M. 6. As to the pron. of (yy, *əə*) as (*ii*, *ee*), this seems to belong to w.Lk. or Rf., that is, to Mr. Giffen, see notes to Tam o' Shanter below, especially v. 89, 122, 143, 183, but on the contrary (yy, *əə*) are constantly given from Coylton and Ochiltree. 7. Here I have from Simson, quite independently of Dr. M. or Mr. Giffen, (drap, hap, stap, lapstʊr) drop, hop, stop, lobster, but this use of (a) for O: does not seem to be the rule, on the contrary (*o*) is more frequent, as (hȯl, f*o*k, b*o*lt, st*o*rm, k*o*rn, h*o*rn, kr*o*s) hole, folk, bolt, storm, corn, horn, cross. And Simson gives (a'u) which I cannot further analyse, but which may be (óu, ɑ'u) in (ha'up, fa'uk, ga'ud, ta'ul, ba'ul, ha'u, ha'um, ka'ult) hope, folk, gold, toll, bowl, hollow, holm, colt, where the diphthong is mainly due to a suppressed (l). For myself, I have not been able to ascertain any certain characters by which D 35 as a whole can be separated from D 34 as a whole. But then in these extensive districts there must be much local variety, some notion of which may be obtained from Mr. D. Patrick's Lochwinnoch, Rf., below, and also from the differences given in the cwl. below for the places there named.

## *Illustrations.*

1. Dr. Murray's Ruth, chap. i., for Ay., has been already given in Introduction to Lowland, p. 698
2 Mr. Melville Bell's few Clydesdale sentences, immediately below.
3. Rev. Neil Livingston's dialect test from Coylton (5 e.Ayr) on next page.
4. Tam o' Shanter, from several sources, see the Introduction to it on next page.
5. Cwl. for all D 35, compiled from Dr. Murray's Ruth, and notes, Rev. Neil Livingston's Coylton wl., Mr. J. Alexander's Glasgow wl., Simson's Kyle, and Mr. David Patrick's valuable and complete wl. for Ochiltree.
6. Mr. D. Patrick's notes on Lochwinnoch, Rf.

The three principal wl. by Messrs. Livingston, Alexander, and Patrick, have been of great service to me. Mr. Patrick, who had special opportunities when young of becoming perfectly familiar with the dialects of Ochiltree and Lochwinnoch, took the greatest pains, by long notes and illustrations, to convey the sounds to me. The version of Tam o' Shanter has been executed with much care from several sources, and probably represents Burns's district as well as can be hoped. The notes explain the varieties.

### Mr. A. Melville Bell's Clydesdale Sentences, corrected as in D 33, p. 709, at bottom.

| Clydesdale. | Translation. |
|---|---|
| 1. a)m gʊn ɑp dhi₁ :gal·ʊgi₁t tʊ kɔɔ ʊpi₁n :sani :makfe·rs'n. | 1. I am going up the Gallowgate to call upon Sandy (Alexander) Macpherson. |
| 2. wʊ)l *et* wʊr bred 'n bɑ;ʊr dun dhʊ wa;ʊr. | 2. Wi'll eat our bread and butter down the water. |
| 3. maa' konshʊns! haq ʊ bɛ'ili! | 3. My conscience! hang a Baillie! |

## District of Kyle, Ayrshire, dt.,

Written in io. by Rev. Neil Livingston, Free Church Manse, Coylton (5 e.Ayr), pal. by AJE. from the indications furnished.

1. *see* a *see*, m*ee*ts, ji sii nuu dhat a)m re¹kht ʊbù·t dhàt wii ge¹rl kamʊn fre dhe¹ skyyl jonʊr.

2. shii)z gaan dùn dhe¹ *rood* dh*ee*r thruu dhe¹ rid jɛt *on* dhe¹ lɛft haan séid *o* dhe¹ wéi.

3. shyyr ʊnïakh [ʊnakh] dhe¹ w*ee*n he¹z g*ee*n strakht ap to dhe¹ d*oor* *o* dhe¹ raq hùs.

4. whaar shi)l me)bi fe¹n dhàt drak'n diif we¹z'nt fal*o* *o* dhe¹ n*ee*m *o* :tamʊs.

5. wi aa kɛn)ʊm vera wìl.

6. wa)nʊ dhe¹ aal tjap shyyn l*ee*rn ʊr n*oo* tʊ d*ee*)t ʊg*ee*n, pyyr the¹q!

7. lak, *e*¹z)nʊ it truu?

## Tam o' Shanter.

In this land of Burns (b. 25 January, 1759, in a small cottage near Ayr, d. 21 July, 1796), an attempt must be made to give the pron. of one of Burns's poems. But Burns is a very difficult writer to deal with. He is the typical modern Scotch poet, yet his writings are generally much more than half ordinary English. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 76) gives the following figures:—

| | has different words, | | of which the un-English are only |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. A man's a man for a' that | 115 | ..... | 18 |
| 2. Duncan Gray | 117 | ..... | 30 |
| 3. Auld Lang Syne | 80 | ..... | 24 |
| 4. Scots wha hae | 100 | ..... | 9 |
| 5. The Death of Poor Mailie | 461 | ..... | 71 |
| | 873 | | 152 = 17·88 p. cent. |

"And yet," says Dr. M., "if a countryman of the poet were to recite these poems to a Southern audience, it is not too much to say that not more than three words in a hundred would be heard as the same as the English words with which they are identified in spelling."

And not only are the words chiefly English, but the construction is often merely English. "Scots wha hae," remarks Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 71 note), "is *fancy* Scotch—that is, it is merely the English 'Scots who have' spelled as Scotch. Barbour (1489) would have written 'Scottis at hes,' Dunbar (1475) or Douglas (1474–1522) 'Scottis quhilkis hes,' and even Henry Chatteris, in the end of the xvi th century, 'Scottis quha hes.' . . . The vernacular is still 'Scots at hæs,' which Burns apparently considered ungrammatical, and therefore shaped the words after an English model. Much of the contemporary Scotch is of this character; it is Scotch in spelling, English in everything else."

Now what was to be done with this English, in the disguise of Scotch or L. In 1838 Mr. Thomas Lang, now of Melbourne, Australia, but then resident at Kilmarnock, where Burns's poems were first published in 1786, and in a house built by one of Burns's heroes, Tom Samson, in sending me a phonetic transcript in the alphabet I then used (explained above in Part IV. p. 1183), adopted the principle of giving the English words in English Scotch (see D 33, p. 715), and the L. words in the local pron. Subsequently on the suggestion of the late

Mr. Carstairs Douglas (then a student at Glasgow, and subsequently a missionary in China), who, with a committee of six other Ayrshire students, carefully reviewed the version, he adopted local pronunciation throughout. The version was published by me in the *Phonetic Journal* for 1848, with a glossary and observations on pron. (pp. 145–152, and 227–229). It was submitted to several other Scotch gentlemen, and finally was pal. with corrections. Afterwards, in November, 1883, Mr. R. Giffen (the well-known statistician), a native of Strathavon (:streeth'n), Avondale (12 w.Lanark), who had revised Dr. Murray's Ayrshire Ruth, chap. i. DSS. p. 239, note 1, had the kindness to go over the whole with me, though he feared that long residence in the s. of England had taken off the edge of his memory of the pron. As thus revised and corrected I now present it as the best I have been able to accomplish. But I am still not satisfied, especially with the treatment of the English portion of the poem. In fact the poem would have to be rewritten to reduce it to vernacular L. of D 35. I have considered it best to follow "the original MS., reproduced by the Photo-Chromolith Process, with an Introduction by Moy Thomas, Esq.," and published by Adams & Francis, 59, Fleet Street, no date (but the MS. was written in 1790), with the exception of four lines following v. 142, here and usually omitted, and not given by Mr. Lang. This original has been printed by side of the pronunciation in smaller type, following its usage of spelling, capitals, and punctuation. The small capitals represent larger handwriting. The words in [] are alternatives written over the preceding word in the MS. The italic *o'*, verse 55, was accidentally omitted in the MS., when making an alteration of *laden wi'* into into *wi lades o'*. In the following notes referring to the numbers of the lines, I have endeavoured to explain the varieties of pron. and the difficulties of meaning.

:tam *o* :shantur.

whun tjapmun b*i*l*i*z liiv dhu strit,
un druth*i* niburz niburz mit.
az market d*ee*z er wii)run l*e*t
un fok big*i*n tu tak dhu g*e*t:
whéil wi s*i*t buuzun at dhu nap*i*,
un getun fuu un ɜqku hap*i*,
wi th*i*qk)nu on dhu laq :sk*o*ts méilz,
dhu m*o*s*i*z, waturz, slaps, un stéilz,
dh*i*t lái bitwin us an ur h*e*m,
whar s*i*ts ur sɜlk*i* sɜlen d*e*m,
g*e*dhrun hur bruuz léik g*e*dhrun st*o*rm,
nɜrsun hur rath tu kip *i*t warm.
dhe's truth fan *o*nest :tam *o* :shantur
az hii fre :*ee*r Jee ne'kht d*i*d kantur,
(AAl :*ee*r wham niir u tun surpa·suz.
far *o*nest men, un bɔ́n*i* la·suz).
*o* :tam! hadst dhuu bat bin se wéis
az t*ee*n dhái *ee*n wéif :k*ee*ts advéis!
shi tAAl dhi wil dhu wɜz a ske·lum
a bl*E*dhrun, bl*ɜ*strun, dr*ɜ*k'n bl*E*·lum,
dhut free :n*o*vEmbur t*i*l :oct*oo*bur
Jee market d*ee* dhu wɜz)nu s*oo*bur;
dhut *i*lku mEldur w*ii* dhu m*i*lur,
dhu sat az laq az dhuu had s*i*lur;
dhut evr*i* n*e*g wuz kAAd a shyy *o*n,
dhu sm*i*th un dhii gat r*oo*r*i*n fuu *o*n;
dhut at dhu :l*oo*rdz hus in *o*n :sɜnd*e*,
dhu draqk w*i* :kert'n :dJin t*i*l mɜnd*e*.

TAM O' SHANTER—A tale.

WHEN chapmen billies leave the street,
And drouthy neebors, neebors meet; 2

As market-days are wearing late,
And folk begin to take the gate; 4

While we sit bowsing at the nappy,
And getting fou, & unco happy, 6

We think na on the lang Scots miles,
The mosses, waters, slaps & styles, 8

That lie between us & our hame,
Where sits our sulky, sullen dame, 10

Gathering her brows like gathering storm,
Nursing her wrath to keep it warm.— 12

This truth fand honest TAM O' SHANTER,
As he frae Ayr ae night did canter: 14

(Auld Ayr whom ne'er a town surpasses,
For honest Men, & bonnie lasses). 16

O Tam! hadst thou but been sae wise,
As taen thy ain wife KATE's advice 18

She tauld thee weel thou was a skellum;
A bletherin, blusterin, drunken blellum: 20

That frae November till October,
Ae market day thou was na sober: 22

That ilka melder, wi' the Miller
Thou sat as lang as thou had siller': 24

That every naig was ca'd a shoe on,
The Smith & thee gat roarin fou on 26

That at the L—d's house, even on Sunday,
Thou drank wi' Kirkton Jean till Monday.—

shi pro·fesáid, dhʊt leet ar shyn
dhu wad bi fan dip drund in :dyn,
ar katɟt wi waarlʊks ii dhʊ merk
bi :a·lowʊz aal hantid kerk.
aa! dɟent'l demz! it garz mi grit
tʊ thiqk hu mani kuns'lz swit,
huu mani lenth'nd seedɟ advéi·sʊz
dhʊ hazbʊn fre dhʊ wéif despáizʊz!
bʊt tyy₁ wʊr teel:—ɟee market ne'kht,
:tam had got planted ankʊ re'kht,
fast bái an iq'l, bliizin féinli,
wi riimʊn swats, dhat draqk divéinli;
and at hiz elbʊ, sutʊr :dɟoni,
hiz anshʊnt, trasti, druthi kroni:—
:tam lyyd him léik a vara bridhʊr;
dhee had bin fuu far wiks dhigi·dhʊr!
dhʊ ne'kht dreev on wi saqz an klatʊr,
ʊn éi dhi ɟel wəz gra'uʊn batʊr:
dhi la·nladi ʊn :tam gru greeshəs,
wi siikret feevʊrz, swit ʊn preshəs,
dhʊ sutʊr taald hiz kwiirest storʊz,
dhʊ lanlʊrdz lakh wʊz redi korʊs:
dhʊ storm ʊdhu·t me'kht reer ʊn ras'l—
:tam didɟnʊ méin dhʊ storm a whas'l.
:keer mad tʊ sii a man se hapi,
in drund himse·l ama·q dhʊ napi!
az biiz fli heem wi leedz o trezhʊr,
dhʊ minits wiqd dher wéi wi plezhʊr.
kiqz me bi blest, bʊt :tam wʊz gld·riəs
or aa dhi ilz o léif viktó·riəs.
bʊt plezhʊrz ar léik popiz spred,
ɟu siiz dhʊ fluur, its bluum iz shed;
ar léik dhʊ snaa, fa'z in dhʊ rivʊr,
a mómʊnt whéit—dhen melts far evʊr;
ar léik dhʊ borià·lis rees
dhat flit iir ɟuu kan péint dhʊr plès,
ar léik dhʊ reenbooz lavli form,
iva·nishin ami·d dhʊ storm.
ne man kan tedhʊr téim ar téid.
dhʊ uur aprotɟez :tam mʊn réid.
dhat uur, o ne'khts blak eertɟ dhʊ kii-steen,
dhat driiɟri uur hi mants hiz biist in.
an sik a ne'kht hi tuk dhʊ rood in.
az niir pyy₁r sinʊr wʊz abrood in.
dhʊ wan bluu az t)wʊd bla'n its last;
dhʊ ratlin shuurz rooz on dhʊ blast;

She prophesied, that, late or soon,
Thou wad be found, deep drown'd in Doon; 30

Or catch'd wi' warlocks in the mirk,
By Aloway's auld, haunted Kirk.— 32

Ah, gentle dames! it gars me greet,
To think how mony counsels sweet, 34

How mony lengthen'd, sage advices,
The husband frae the wife despises! 36

But to our Tale: ae market night,
Tam had got planted unco right; 38

Fast by an ingle, bleezin finely,
Wi' reaming swats that drank divinely: 40

And at his elbow, Souter Johnie,
His ancient, trusty, drouthy crony; 42

Tam lo'ed him like a very brither,
They had been fou for weeks thegither.— 44

The night drave on wi' sangs & clatter,
And ay the ale was growing better: 46

The landlady & Tam grew gracious,
Wi' secret favors, sweet & precious: 48

The Souter tauld his queerest stories;
The Landlord's laugh was ready chorus 50

The storm without might rair & rustle,
Tam didna mind the storm a whistle.— 52

Care, mad to see a man sae happy,
E'en drown'd himsel amang the nappy: 54

As bees flee hame, wi' lades o' treasure,
The minutes wing'd their way wi' pleasure:

Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious,
O'er a' the ills o' life victorious! 58

But Pleasures are like poppies spread,
You sieze the flower, its bloom is shed; 60

Or like the snow, falls in the river,
A moment white, then melts for ever; 62

Or like the Borealis' race,
That flit ere you can point their place; 64

Or like the rainbow's lovely form,
Evanishing amid the storm: 66

Nae man can tether Time or Tide,
The hour approaches Tam maun ride; 68

That hour, o' Night's black arch the key-stane,
That dreary hour Tam mounts his beast in;

And sic a night he took the road in,
As ne'er poor Sinner was abroad in.— 72

The wind blew as 'twould blawn its last,
The rattling showers rose on the blast, 74

dhʊ spid*i* glimz dhʊ daarknes swALʊd,
luud, dip, an lA'q dhʊ thɜnʊr bELʊd.
dhàt ne'kht a tʃéild me'kht ɜnʊrstAAn
dhʊ dil had b*i*znes on h*i*z hAAn!
wìl mɜnted *o*n h*i*z gr*ee* miir, :mEg,
ʊ bEtʊr nEvʊr l*i*ft*i*d lEg,
:tam skElp*i*t *o*n thruu dʊb an máir,
dispái·zʊn wɜn, an *ee*n, an f*á*ir,
whéilz hAd*i*n fast h*i*z gyd bluu banet,
whéilz kryyn*i*n ɜ'ur ʊn AAl :sk*o*ts s*o*net;
whéilz glɜ'ur*i*n run w*i* aqshʊs k*ee*rz,
lest b*o*g'lz katʃ h*i*m ɜnaw*ee*rz;
:ke'rk :al*o*wʊ wʊz drAA*i*n nái,
whAr g*ee*sts an hulets ne'khtl*i* krái.
bái dhe's téim hii wʊz kr*o*s dhʊ fyyrd,
whAAr *i*n dhʊ snAA dhʊ tʃapmʊn smyyrd;
an past dhʊ be'rks an mik'l st*ee*n,
whAAr drɜk'n :tʃ*ee*rl*i* brak)s nEk b*ee*n;
an thruu dhʊ whɜnz, an bái dhʊ k*ee*rn,
whAAr hɜntʊrs fan dhʊ mɜrdʊrd b*ee*rn;
an niir dhʊ thorn abyn dbʊ wæl,
whAAr :mɜ·qʊz m*i*dhʊr haqd hersE·l.
bif*oo*r h*i*m :dyn p*oo*rz AA hiz flɜdz,
dhʊ dɜblʊn st*o*rm r*oo*rz thruu dhʊ wɜdz;
dhʊ lekhtninz flash fre p*oo*l tʊ p*oo*l,
niir an m*oo*r niir dhʊ thɜnʊrz r*oo*l,
whɜn gl*i*mrʊn thruu dhʊ gr*oo*nʊn triiz
:ke'rk :al*o*wʊ sìmd *i*n a bliiz,
thru *i*lkʊ b*oo*r dhʊ bimz wʊr glɜnsʊn,
an lud risu·n*i*t me'rth an dɜnsʊn!
inspái·r*i*n bAAl :dʃ*o*n :barl*i*korn!
what d*ee*ndʃʊrz dhuu kanst mak ʊs skorn!
w*i* t*i*pen*i* wi fiir nee iiv*i*l,
w*i* ɜ·skwib*ee* wi)l f*ee*s dhʊ diivil!
dhi swats se riimd *i*n :tam*i*z nod'l,
f*ee*r pl*ee*, hi k*ee*rd)nʊ dilz a bod'l.
bɜt :mag*i* styd re'kht s*ee*r asto·nisht,
tel bái dhʊ hiil an hAAn admo·n*i*sht
sh*i* vEntʊrd fArwʊrd *o*n dhʊ le'kht:
an, wɜ'u! :tam sAA an ɜqkʊ se'kht!
wAArlʊks an wɜtʃ*i*z *i*n a dɜns—
n*e* kotilʃo·n brEnt níuu fre :frɜns,
bɜt hAArnpéips, dʃ*i*gz, straspéi·z an riilz,
pɜt léif an mEt'l *i*n dhe'r hiilz.

The speedy gleams the darkness swallowed,
Loud, deep, & lang, the thunder bellowed: 76
That night a child might understand
The deil had business on his hand.— 78
Weel mounted on his grey meare, Meg,
A better never lifted leg, 80
Tam skelpit on thro' dub and mire,
Despising wind, & rain, & fire; 82
Whiles holding fast his gude blue bonnet;
Whiles crooning o'er an auld Scots sonnet, 84
Whiles glowring round wi' anxious cares,
Lest bogles catch him unawares: 86
Kirk-Aloway was drawing nigh,
Where ghaists & houlets nightly cry.— 88
By this time he was cross the ford,
Where in the snaw the chapman smoor'd; 90
And past the birks, & meikle stane,
Where drunken Charlie braks neck-bane, 92
And thro' the whins, & by the cairn,
Where hunters fand the murder'd bairn; 94
And near the thorn, aboon the well,
Where Mungo's mither hang'd hersel.— 96
Before him Doon pours all his floods;
The doubling storm roars thro' the woods; 98
The lightenings flash frae pole to pole;
Near, & more near, the thunders roll: 100
When, glimmering thro' the groaning trees,
Kirk-Aloway seem'd in a bleeze, 102
Thro' ilka bore the beams were glancing,
And loud resounded mirth and dancing.—104
Inspiring, bold John Barleycorn!
What dangers thou canst make us scorn! 106
Wi' tippeny, we fear nae evil;
Wi' usquabae, we'll face the devil! 108
The swats sae ream'd in Tammie's noddle,
Fair play, he car'd na deils a boddle; 110
But Maggy stood, right sair astonish'd,
Till, by the heel & hand admonish'd, 112
She ventur'd forward on the light,
And, wow! Tam saw an unco sight. 114
Warlocks & witches in a dance,
Nae cotillon brent new frae France, 116
But hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys, & reels,
Put life and mettle in their heels.— 118

a wənək bəqkər *i*n dhi ist
dhe'r sat AAL :n*i*k, in sh*ee*p *o* bist;
a tuuz*i* téik, blak, gr*i*m ən l*ee*rdɟ,
tə g*ii* dhəm myyz*i*k wəz hiz tɟ*ee*rdɟ,
hi skruud dhə péips ən gert dhəm
ske'rl,
t*i*l ryf ən ràftərz AA de'd de'rl.
kof*i*nz styd run, léik *o*p'n pres*i*z,
dhat shAAd dhə dìd in dhe'r last dres*i*z.
an bái səm diivl*i*sh kantr*i*p sle'kht,
itɟ *i*n *i*ts kAald hAAn hAAd a le'kht.
bái whətɟ hir*oo*·*i*k :tam wəz *ee*b'l
tə n*oo*t ɔpo·n dhə h*ee*l*i* t*ee*b'l,
a mərdrərz b*ee*nz in dɟ*i*bet *ee*rnz;
tw*ee* span-laq, wii, ənkr*i*s'nd b*ee*rnz;
a thif níu-kət*i*d fre a r*ee*p,
w*ii* h*i*z last gasp h*i*z gab de'd g*ee*p;
fáiv tomahAA·ks, w*i* bly₁d r*i*d rəst*i*d,
fáiv s*i*m*i*tarz, w*i* mərdər krəst*i*d;
a g*ee*rtər whətɟ a b*ee*b had straq'lt;
a néif, a f*ee*dhərz thr*oo*t had maq'lt,
wham h*i*z *ee*n sən *o* léif birE·ft,
dhə gr*ee* h*ee*rz JEt stak tyy dhə hEft,
wi m*ee*r *o* hor*i*b'l an AAfə,
whətɟ in tə n*ee*m wad bii ənlAA·fə.
az :tam*i* glə'urd am*ee*zd an kyyrinz,
dhə me'rth an fən gru fast an fyyrinz:
dhə péipər lud an ludər bluu,
dhə dansərz k*w*i*k an k*w*i*kər fluu,
dh*e* riilt, dh*e* set, dh*e* kr*o*st, dh*e* klik*i*t,
t*i*l *i*lkə k*ee*rl*i*n swat an rik*i*t,
an kyst hər dədiz *o*n dhə wark!
an l*i*qk*i*t at *i*t *i*n hər s*ee*rk!
nu :tam, *oo* :tam! had dh*ee* bin
k*w*inz,
AA plamp an strap*i*n in dhe'r tinz,
dhe'r s*ee*rks, instid *o* kriish*i* flan'n
bin snAA-whéit siiv'ntin hənər l*i*n'n!
dhe'r briks *o* méin, mái *o*nl*i* p*ee*r,
dhat JIns wər pləsh, *o* gyd blə h*ee*r,
ái wad he gin dhəm af mái hərd*i*z,
fAr JEe bl*i*qk *o* dhə bɔ̀n*i* bərd*i*z!
bət w*i*dhərd bEldemz, AAl an drol,
r*i*gwə·d*i* hagz, wad sp*e*n a f*o*l,
lə'upən an fl*i*qən *o*n a krəmək
ái wənər, de'd)nə tərn dhái stəmək.
bət :tam kənt what wəz what fu
brAAl*i*,
dhe'r wəz JEe wənsəm wEnsh an
wAAl*i*,

A winnock-bunker in the east,
There sat auld Nick in shape o' beast: 120

A towzie tyke, black, grim, & large,
To give them music was his charge: 122

He screw'd the pipes & gart them skirl,
Till roof & rafters a' did dirl.— 124

Coffins stood round, like open presses,
That shaw'd the Dead in their last dresses;

And by some devilish cantraip slight,
Each in its cauld hand held a light.— 128

By which heroic Tam was able
To note upon the haly table; 130

A murderer's banes, in gibbet-airns;
Twa span-lang, wee, unchirsten'd bairns; 132

A thief, new-cutted frae a rape,
Wi' his last gasp his gab did gape; 134

Five tomahawks wi' blude red-rusted;
Five scymitars wi' murder crusted; 136

A garter which a babe had strangled;
A knife a father's throat had mangled, 138

Whom his ain son of life bereft,
The gray-hairs yet stack to the heft: 140

Wi' mair of horrible & awfu',
Which even to name wad be unlawfu'.—142

As Tammie glowr'd, amaz'd & curious,
The mirth & fun grew fast & furious; 144

The Piper loud & louder blew,
The Dancers quick, & quicker flew, 146

They reel'd, they set, they cross'd, they cleekit,
Till ilka Carlin swat & reekit, 148

And coost her duddies on the wark,
And linket at it in her sark.— 150

Now Tam! O Tam! had thae been queans,
A' plump & strappin in their teens! 152

Their sarks, instead o' creeshie flainen,
Been snaw-white, seventeen-hunder linen;

Thir breeks o' mine, my only pair,
That ance were plush o' gude blue hair, 156

I wad hae gien them off my hurdies,
For ae blink o' the bonie burdies, 158

But wither'd beldams, auld & droll,
Rigwoodie hags, wad spean a foal, 160

Loupin & flingin on a crummock,
I wonder did na turn thy stomach.— 162

But Tam kend what was what fu' brawlie;
There was ae winsome wench & walie, 164

dhat ne'kht enli·sted in dhu koor,
(laq EftUr kEnt on :karik shoor!
far mani a biist tu did shi shot,
an pErisht mani a boni bot,
an shuk beeth mik'l korn an biir,
an kEpt dhu kintra séid in fiir).
her kati seerk, o :peesli harn,
dhàt whéil a lasi shii had worn,
in londjityd thoo seerli skanti,
it wAz her bAst, an shii wOz vanti.—
aa! lit'l thokht dhái reevrend grani,
dhàt seerk shi koft far her wii :nani,
wi twee pAn :skots (t-wAz AA her ritjiz)
shud evUr greest a dans o wAtjiz!
bAt hiir mái myyz her wiq mAn kuur,
sik fle'khts ar far bijont her puur,
tu siq huu :nani lap an flaq
(a sup'l djAAd shi wAz an straq),
an huu :tam styd, léik jen biwatjt
an thokht hiz vari in enri·tjt,
in :sAAtan gla'urd an fidjd fu feen,
an hotjt an blyy wi me'kht an meen,
til farst jee keepUr, séin ani·dhUr,
:tam tint hiz riiz'n AA dhigi·dhUr,
an roorz ut: "wil dyn, :kati :seerk!"
an in an instUnt AA wOz daark:
an skeersli had hi :magi ralid,
whUn ut dhu hElish liidjUn salid.
az biiz be'z ùt wi aqri féik,
whAn planrUn herdz aseel dhe'r béik,
az op'n pusiz mortal fooz
whAn, pop! shi steerts bifoor dhe'r nooz,
az iigUr rinz dhu market krud
whAn "katj dhu thif" risuunz alu·d;
see :magi rinz, dhu watjiz falu
wi mani an eldritj skriitj an holu.
aa :tam! aa :tam! dhuu)l get dhái feerin!
in hEl dhee)l rost dhii léik a herin!
in veen dhái :keet awets dhái kamUn!
:keet shyn wil bii a weefu wamUn!
nuu, dy dhái spidi atmOst, :mEg,
an wAn dhu kii-sten o dhu bre'g;
dheer at dhUm dhuu dhái teel mee tos,
a rinin striim dhe daar)nu kros!
bAt iir dhu kii-sten shii kOd mak,
dhu fiint a teel shi had tu sheek!

That night enlisted in the core,
(Lang after kend on Carrick-shore, 166
For mony a beast to dead she shot,
And perish'd mony a bonie boat, 168
And shook baith meikle corn & bear,
And kept [held] the Country-side in fear:) 170
Her cutty-sark o' Paisly harn,
That while a lassie she had worn, 172
In longitude tho' sorely scanty,
It was her best, & she was vaunty.— 174
Ah, little thought thy reverend grannie,
That sark she coft for her wee Nannie, 176
Wi' twa pund Scots, ('twas a' her riches,)
Should ever grac'd a dance o' witches! 178

But here my Muse her wing maun cour,
Sic flights are far beyond her power; 180

To sing, how Nannie lap & flang,
(A souple jad she was, & strang;) 182
And how Tam stood, like ane bewitch'd,
And thought his very een enrich'd; 184
Even Satan glowr'd, & fidg'd fu' fain,
And hotch'd, & blew wi' might & main: 186
Till, first ae caper, syne anither,
Tam lost his reason a' thegither, 188
And roars out—"Weel done, Cutty-sark!"
And in an instant all was dark: 190
And scarcely had he Maggie rallied,
When out the hellish legion sallied.— 192

As bees bizz out, wi' angry fyke,
When plundering herds assail their byke; 194
As open Pussie's mortal foes,
When, pop, she starts before their nose; 196

As eager runs the market-croud,
When, "catch the thief!" resounds aloud; 198
So Maggy runs, the witches follow,
Wi' mony an eldritch skriech & hollo.— 200

Ah, Tam! Ah, Tam! thou'll get thy fairin!
In hell they'll roast thee like a' herrin! 202
In vain, thy Kate awaits thy comin!
Kate soon will be a woefu' woman! 204
Now, do thy speedy utmost, Meg,
And win the key-stane o' the brig; 206
There, at them thou thy tail may toss,
A running stream they dare na cross; 208
But ere the key-stane she could make,
The fient a tail she had to shake! 210

far :nan*i*, far bif*oo*r dhi rɛst,
hard ɑpɐ n*oo*b'l :mag*i* prɛst,
an flu at :tam w*i* fyyriəs ɛt'l,
bɑt l*i*t'l wɑst shi :mag*i*z mɛt'l—
*ʒee* spr*i*q br*o*kht af her m*ee*stɐr h*ee*l,
bɑt lɛft bih*i*·nt—her *ee*n gr*ee* t*ee*l!
dhi k*ee*rl*i*n klɑɑkht hɐr bái dhɐ rɑmp,
an lɛft pyyr :mag*i* sk*ee*rs a stɑmp.
nuu, wh*ee* dh*e*'s t*ee*l *o* tryth shɐl rid,
*i*lk man an m*i*dhɐrz sɑn, tak hid:

wh*ɑ*nii·r tɐ dr*i*qk ʒi er *i*nkléi·nt,
ɑr kɑt*i*-s*ee*rks r*i*n *i*n ʒuur méin,
th*i*qk, ʒi me bái dhɐ dʒóiz ɑ'ur diir—
rimɛ·mbɐr :tam *o* :shantɐrz miir!

For Nannie, far before the rest,
Hard upon noble Maggie prest, 212
And flew at Tam wi' furious ettle,
But little kend [wist] she Maggie's mettle; 214
Ae spring brought off her master hale,
But left behind her ain grey tail: 216

The Carlin claught her by the rump,
And left poor Maggie scarce a stump.—

Now, wha this Tale o' truth shall read,
Each Man, and Mother's son take heed. 220
Whene'er to Drink you are inclin'd
Or Cutty-sarks rin in your mind, 222
Think, ye may buy the joys o'er dear,
Remember Tam-o'-Shanter's meare.

*Notes to Tam o' Shanter.*

The references are to the lines. For brevity TL means Mr. T. Lang, and RG Mr. R. Giffen.

1. *when* (wh*ɑ*n) acc., (wh*ɐ*n) unacc. RG.—*chapman billies*, pedlars; 'chapman' is like the German *Kaufmann*, a trader of any sort, 'billies' used for young fellows, in a good sense.—RG. pron. all his close *a* as ($a^1$) or even (æ). This was probably due to English habits, and I have not followed it.—*street*, RG. pron. (strit) quite short, not medial, and this was his general habit before voiceless consonants, and as this could not be an English infection, I follow it.

2. *droughty*, thirsty, *neighbours*. RG. pron. something like (dry,th*i*), but I leave the (u).

3. *wearing*, RG. kept (ii, r) quite pure, with no glide between. The *-ing* of the part. and vb. noun he did not distinguish, but made (-ɐn) in both cases, compare 103–104 (glansɐn, dansɐn), the first a part., the second a verbal noun. It will be observed that Burns himself constantly wrote *-ing* for both participle and noun.

4. *take the gate*, that is, take the street, or leave their shops, *gate* as a doorway is (ʒɛt).

5. *while*, RG. objected that this is not L., though *whiles* 83, 84, 85, is so, perhaps (ɐz) *as* would be L.—*drinking or tippling at the ale*, 'nappy' is said to be ale with a head, *nap*.

6. *unco*, very, according to Jamieson, properly 'uncouth,' *i.e.* unknown.

7. *Scots* always, not (:skɔtʃ).—*miles*, RG. did not pron. (éi), but rather ($á^1i$, ə'*i*), and, except in the one word *knife*, which he called (nâif), always used this sound even before voiced letters, as in *five*. This may have been acquired in England. On the other hand TL. always distinguished (éi, âi) as he wrote them; just as in English Greek we distinguish *ει*, *αι*, the first as the London *i* long, and the second as the Midland or German *ei*.

8. *slap*, a narrow pass between two hills.—*stile*, which RG. did not know, is used as a gap or gangway between walls in the n. of England.

10. *gathering*, or knitting, *her brows*, RG. thought that the original was (nitɐn hɐr bry,z), but it is not so in the facsimile of the MS.; as to (bry,) as in (dry,th) v. 2, I may have mistaken RG.'s intention, as he did not use (y) where it was expressed, see v. 29; and here (y,) seems improbable, so that I have preserved TL.'s (uu).

12. *wrath* is a school or Bible word only.

13. *this*, RG. said (dhis), not (dhe¹s), see cwl. p. 744, No. 484, but I retain (e¹) here and elsewhere.—*truth*, I think RG. said (try,th), but it may have been (trith), see cwl. p. 744, No. 437.

14. *night*, TL. wrote (nêikht) in all these words, but I think he merely implied, with Mr. Carstairs Douglas, that the vowel was between (*e*) and (*i*) as in Mr. Patrick's (e¹) in the cwl. p. 744, No. 458, which I retain.

15. *whom*, an Anglicism, the (wham) being like (wha) in *Scots wha hae*; (dhʊt, ʊz) would be vernacular, p. 731*c*.

16 *bonny*, RG. used full medial (ò), almost long (*oo*), TL. wrote and said (*boon*i) like our English *bony*, which however would have been (*bee*ni) to a Lowlander.

17. *hadst thou*, this was a mere poetic fancy, *thou* is not used at all in the district, and RG. corrected to (had ɹuu), but as *thou* occurs in the MS. I keep it here and elsewhere; it must however be remembered that it was not vernacular.—*wise*, observe final (s), not (z), see p. 744, No. 515.

19. *well* (wil) as the adv. in both senses, (wæl) as the noun.—*skellum*, a worthless fellow.

20. *a blethering*, boasting, *blustering, drunken idler*.

22. *one*, thou wast not sober a single market day.

23. *each*.—*melder*, properly the quantity of corn sent at one time for grinding, here used for the grinding time.

25. *every nag that was driven a shoe on*, that had a shoe driven (kaad) on it. *shoe* is so written by Burns, who makes it rhyme with *fou*, and hence meant it for (shuu), and so Mr. Livingston gives it at Coylton, but Mr. Patrick at Ochiltree has (shəə, shee), the latter being common and given by RG, see p. 744, No. 555.

26. *roaring*, (roo·rɪn) is more common, but (*ree*rɪn) was known to RG. Burns writes *roarin* here, but *rair* v. 51.—*fou*, spelled *fow* in Jamieson, =full, drunk, not connected with Fr. *fou*, mad.

28. *Kirkton Jane* is supposed to be the landlady—Jane of Kirkton, the church town, name of a village in parish of Kilmaurs, near Kilmarnock. —*Monday*, RG. had heard (manundɛ), but it was not common.

29. *soon*, Burns evidently meant (sun :dun), as he writes *soon, Doon*, but TL. and others gave (shyn). RG. had (sin), Ochiltree gave (shə'n), but often (shin), and Coylton had (syyn), see p. 745, No. 564. RG. continually uses (*i*, *ee*) for (y, yy) or (*ə*, *əə*) of others, apparently a local peculiarity, see DSS. p 239, l. 5.

30. The Doon rises in Loch Enoch, Kb., and passes thirty miles to nw. through Loch Doon, Ay., then along the Carrick b. by Dalmellington, Alloway Kirk, the Old Bridge, and Burns's Monument to the sea, 2 s.Ayr.

31. *warlocks*, wizards or male witches.—*mirk*, darkness. TL. used (er) in this and similar words, C. Douglas used (ir), perhaps (e¹) is best.

33. *it makes me weep*.

35. *lengthened*, TL. (lɛqth'nd), all the rest (lɛnth'nd).

36. *husband*, without the (d) if used at all, but RG. had not heard it.

37. *but to our tale*, RG. as usual said (*tee*), but (tyy, *təə*, tuu) may be heard; (wʊr) *our*, is used only when unaccented.

39. *ingle*, the fire itself, *ingle nook* is the fireside.

40. *reaming*, creaming, frothy, Ws. reâm, cream.—*swats*, newly-brewed ale.

41. *souter*, cobbler, Latin *sutor*.

42. *ancient*, TL. wrote (*ee*nshʊnt).

46. *ale*, the (ɹ) is not prefixed to Ailsa Craig.—*better*, (bɛ;ʊr), with the catch (;) for (t), is also heard. Compare (wan;'n) wanting, p. 725, No. 2, and (ba;ʊr) butter, p. 730, No. 2, also p. 743, Nos. 152, 154.

47. *landlady*, though (laan) land, is said, in landlord, landlady, which are not L. words, (lan) is used.

49. *told*, (d) not to be omitted, RG.

51. *storm*, generally applied to a snow storm, hence RG. thinks (wan) wind, here and in 52, would be better. —*without*, not (widhu t), but (ʊdhu·t), RG.—*roar*, here Burns wrote *rair*, and TL. (*ree*r), but none of the C. Douglas committee had heard anything but (*roo*r), and *oar*, Ws. *ár*, is called (*oo*r). The storm without might roar and rustle.

52. *Tom didn't mind the storm a farthing;* a *quhissel, whissle, wissel*, German *Wechsel*, change, small change, any coin, however small; 'gone to pigs and whistles' means gone to potsherds and small change, *pig* being the common word for an earthen pot.

54. *among*, RG. says (ʊma·q) is

emphatic, and (ʊmɑ·q) would be used here.

55. *As bees fly home with loads of treasure*; the *of* was accidentally omitted in the MS. when the first writing *laden wi' treasure* was intended to be altered to *wi' lades o' treasure*. The (trɛzhʊr, plɛzhʊr) are suspicious to me, but RG. was certain the last was right, and thought the first was also, and none of the others objected, though the forms must be very modern, compare (plizʊr, trɛ̃zʊr) in D 33, pp. 719*c*, 720*b*. The whole passage 53–66 is quite English.

54, 55. *glorious victorious*, English words, the vowel modern.

56. *way*, TL. (*wee*), in Dr. M.'s Ruth (wɑ'i), in the cwl. (wéi), p. 743, No. 262.

60. *flower*, TL. gave (flɑ'ʊr), the cwl. has (fluur), p. 746, No. 893.

61. *river* as a foreign word is apt to be quite (rii·vʊr).

62. *or like the snow*, [which] *falls* in the river, a moment white, then melts for ever. The editions read:

Or like the snow-falls in the river
A moment white, then melts for ever,

in which case the plural subject *snow-falls* relates to the singular verb *melts*, which cannot be right. Also if the *snow-falls* were already *in the river*, they would not be white at all. In the MS. a comma, not a hyphen, is placed between *snow* and *falls*. The sense is then perfect, though the construction is rather harsh; compare a similar one in v. 160.

64. *point*, like my *pint*, never like *point*.

66. *evanishing*, an ultra-foreign word.

68. the hour approaches Tom *must* ride, (mAAn) emphatic.

70. *mounts*, TL. wrote (mɑ'unts), C. Douglas corrected.

72. *poor sinner*, RG. pron. (*peer* senʊr). Ochiltree gave (pɔ̃ɔ̃r), Coylton (pyyr), and both had (sin), p. 746, No. 866.

73. The wind blew as [if] it would [have] blown its last, see v. 178.

77. *child*, as this is not L., RG. suggested (*ween*) wean.

79. *grey mare*, (miir) is regular N. and L. form, the (ee) in the s. seems to be a remnant of Ws. *mere*.

81. Tom jogged on at a shaking pace through pool (dɑb) and mire.

83. holding.

84. *an old Scotch sonnet*, so the MS., the editions read *some*, etc., perhaps a later correction; *crooning* is singing over in a low humming tone, properly applied to the hollow moaning of a bull.

85. *anxious*, so the MS., the editions have *prudent*.

88. *howlet* for *owlet*, this is also found in English, the (h) is adventitious.

88, 90. *ford smored*, TL. gave (fyyrd smyyrd), and the cwl. agrees, but RG. read (*feerd smeerd*) as he generally replaces (ɔɔ, yy) by (*ee*). This seems to be peculiar to his own locality, 10 w.Lanark, see note on v. 29.—*smored* is smothered.

93. *whins*, greenstones, the name given to trap, etc., ragstones or toad-stones.—*cairn*, heap of stones.

95. *thorn*, 'tree' simply was first written.—above the well.

96. *Mungo*, a common Scotch first name, after St. Mungo. Compare the living of St. Mungo at Glasgow, and Mungo Park, the African traveller.

97. *before*, RG. prefers *afore*.—*floods*, so RG., the cwl. p. 745, No. 573, has (flyyd).

98. *woods*, TL. had (wudz), which can hardly be right. Dr. Murray's cwl. p. 718, after No. 599, has (wɑdz), which is true to analogy.

102. *seemed* is not Scotch, RG. preferred *looked* (lɑkt).

103. *bore*, hole, crack.

104. *loud*, *resounded*, that is, if the words follow analogy.

105. *bold*, without the (d).

106. *twopenny*, ale at 2*d*. a pint.—*civil* and *devil* have the last (i) distinct.

107. *usquebaugh* or *whiskey* (whɑskʊ), from Gaelic *uis ge-beathar* (ushge-bi·a) water of life, *eau de vie*, distilled from malt, and hence one of the products of John Barleycorn.

110. *devil a farthing*, the *boddle* was a Scotch coin value 2*d*. Scotch, or ⅓*d*. English, and is said to derive its name from a mintmaster called Bothwell (:bodh'l). RG. said (nɔd'l bɔd'l), which are English corruptions.

113. *forward*, RG. said (forit).

114. *wow*! in the MS., an exclamation, not related to *vow*, which I find in the printed copies.

117. *strathspeys*, quick highland dances. I take TL.'s pronunciation, RG. had not heard the word in L.

119. *windowseat*, (wanokh) window, (bɑqkʊr) large box used for a seat in the window.

121. *towzie tyke*, a shaggy tousled dog.

122. *music*, RG. says (*meezik*), using (*ee*) for (yy) as before.

123. *he screwed the pipes and made them scream*; *skirl* "to cry with a shrill voice" (Jamieson) is usually applied to the scream of the bagpipe.

124. *roof and rafters all did dirl*, tingle, vibrate, thrill.—*roof*, RG. pron. (rif). Here was inserted originally in the MS.:

The torches climb around the wa',
Infernal fires, blue bleezing a',

but these were struck out and the four lines 125-128 written in the margin to be inserted in their place.

125. *like open presses* or cupboards, a very common word in Scotland.

127. *cantraip*, *cantrap*, juggle, charm, spell.—*sleight*, trick, by some magical trick.

128. *each in its cold hand held a light*.

129. *which*, *heroic*, neither word is L.

130. *holy table*, communion table, altar.

131. *a murderer's bones in gibbet irons*.

132. *two*, RG. (twaa), see cwl. p. 742, No. 74.

133. *a thief newly cut down from a rope*.

134. *gab*, mouth.

135. *with blood red rusted*.

136. Here Burns had originally inserted the lines—

Seven gallows pins three hangman's whi . . . .
A raw of weel seal'd Doctors' bottles,

which are scratched out in the MS. The word *whi* . . . was left incomplete.

137. *which* and *babe* not being Scotch, RG. read *that* and *wean* (dhat, wiin).

138. *knife*, here RG. said (náif) contrary to analogy.

139. *wham*, a Scottishly written Anglicism.

140. *to*, RG. reads (*tee*).

142. *which*, not L. After this line, which appropriately ends the par., the original MS. contains the following lines which have been cut out in the printed copies, and hence were not phonetically transcribed by TL.:

Three Lawyers' tongues, turn'd inside out,
Wi' lies seam'd like a beggar's clout,
Three Priests' hearts, rotten black as muck,
Lay stinking vile, in every neuk.

143, 144. *curious*, *furious*, RG. pron. (*keeriʊs*, *feeriʊs*), see v. 29.

145, 146. *blew*, *flew*, RG. pron. (bluu, fluu), and said he remembered these words by a rhyme on the Glasgow coat of arms, which apparently has a bird sitting on a tree (a trii dhʊt nevʊr gruu, ʊn ʊ bard dhʊt nevʊr fluu). TL. gives the same pron., but it looks as if it should be (blyy, flyy). Instead of 'loud and louder,' Burns first wrote 'quick and quicker.'

147. *they reeled*, *they set*, *they crossed*, *they caught hold of each other*; *to cleik*, *clek*, *cleek* (tʊ klik), is to catch or lay hold of, after the manner of a hook.

148-150. *till every old woman sweated and reeked* = smoked, *and cast off her duds* = ragged clothes, *on the work*, *and linked* = tripped *at it in her sark* = shift. RG. felt quite sure of the pron. (*seerk*). The editions read *to the wark*.

149. *cast*, RG. (kist).

151. *now*, so MS. and printed copies. RG. reads (*oo*).

153. *greasy flannel*, the original Welsh is *gwlanen*, made of *gwlan* wool, so the L. form is more correct than the received.

154. *snow white* 1700 *linen*, linen with 1700 threads to a yard, and hence very fine.

155-158:

*these breeches of mine, my only pair,*
*that once were plush of good blue hair,*
*I would have given them off my buttocks,*
*for one blink of the bonny birds.*

159-160:

*but withered beldames, old and droll,*
*shaft-horsey hags, would wean a foal,*

—*rigwoodie*. According to Jamieson *rigwoodie* (which he considers to be a wrong spelling for *rigwiddie*, both would be pronounced in the same way), literally ridge or back withy or willow, meant originally the rope made of willow withs crossing the back of the horse to keep up the shafts; the word was then applied to the horse itself, which was necessarily thick-set, strong, "one of a durable frame, that can bear much fatigue," also used metaphorically for one of a stubborn disposition as a "rigwiddie body" or person. Also *widdie* was used as a halter, and hence for the gallows, so that "a rigwiddie carlin" is stated to be used in Ab. as "an old wife who deserves to be hanged." Here, how-

ever, it seems to be "possessed of shafthorse properties," as opposite to the light figures of Burns's *queans*, v. 151, and the following phrase, *would spean* or wean *a foal*, seems to carry on the metaphor. The glossary to the Globe edition of Burns explains the word as "withered, sapless," for which there is no authority in Jamieson.

161. *leaping and flinging* (as in the Highland fling) *on a crook-stick;* the MS. has *crum*mock, some printed copies *cum*mock, Jamieson gives both forms.

162. *I wonder didn't turn thy stomach*, make you sick.

163. *bravely* = well.

164. *there was one winsom* = comely *wench*, not Scotch, *and handsome.*—"*walie*, excellent, large, ample; *a waly bairn*, a fine child," Jamieson.

165. *corps*, which Burns spells *core.*

166. *long after known on Carrick shore;* popularly the n. of Ay. is called Cunningham, the middle Kyle, and the s. Carrick.

167–169:

*for many a beast to death she shot*
*and perished* = wrecked *many a bonny boat.*
*and shook* (the grains from) *both much corn* = wheat *and barley.*

TL.'s (shuk) seems an Anglicism, but see cwl. p. 745, Nos. 569, 570.

171. *Paisley harden*, the refuse of the coarser parts of flax and hemp.

172–3. *scanty*, *vaunty* = fond of shew. TL. had (skanti, vaanti), and perhaps on the analogy of (haan, laan) hand, land, (aa) would be used in both words, but neither of them is L.—*while* is here English, RG. read (whan).

175. *thought*, so in the MS., usually have *kent.*

176. *coft* bought, or *coped.*

177. *two*, RG. says (twaa), see cwl. p. 742, No. 74; two pounds Scotch are two shillings English.

178. *should*, so the MS., *wad* is usual, the *have* is omitted before graced, as in v. 73.

179. *muse*, not L., pron. uncertain, RG. (míuz); *her wing must droop, cower* not L.

180. RG reads (ajont), but *beyond* is in MS.

181. *leapt and flang*, as in v. 161.

182. *supple jade*, TL. (sup'l djaad), RG. (sup'l djeed), (sup'l) follows the French, and (sap'l) is English; on *jade*, see cwl. p. 745, No. 717.

183. *stood*, RG. (stid).

184. *very*, the last vowel doubtful, TL. (vera), RG. (veri).

185–7. *Satan*, RG. (:seetan), *glowered and fidgetted full fain* = very pleased, *and hitched his body from side to side, and blew with might and main, till first one caper, then* = afterwards *another.*

188. *tint* = lost, from *tine* to lose.

189. *done*, RG. (din).

191. *rallied*, recovered.

193. *buzz*, RG. (biz).—*fike*, restlessness; *bike*, hive.

196–197. *before*, RG. (afoor).—*eager*, RG. (iigur), Coylton gives (eegur), see cwl. p. 746, No. 827.

199–200. *follow*, RG. (falu), TL. (folo).—*eldritch*, so MS., TL. had (eldrit) at first, and then accepted Carstairs Douglas's (eldrikh). Jamieson says: "*elrishe, elriche, elraige, elrick, alrisch, alry*, expressing relation to evil spirits, preternatural, as regarding sound; hideous, respecting appearance; frightful, respecting place; uncouth, in relation to dress; surly, austere, fretted applied to a sore."

201. *fairing*, properly, a present from a fair or market; here, rewarded for your doings after the market.

204. *Kate soon will be a woeful woman* = a widow. RG. reads (sin) and (wumun), yet (wamun) occurs in Ruth, see cwl. p. 744, No. 506.

205. *do*, RG. (dee).

206. *win* or gain; *bridge*, RG. (brig).

210. *the devil a tail she had to shake.* Burns rhymes as if *make* had its English pron.

213. *furious*, RG. (feerius); *ettle*, aim, purpose, design, intention.

214. *knew she*, the MS. has *kend* with *wist* written over, printed copies have *wist.*

215–216. *whole*, safe, untouched; RG. (ahin·t), her own gray tail.

217–218. *the carlin* = witch, *clutched*, compare v. 147 (klikit); RG. (peer), see cwl. p. 746, No. 866.

219. *who*, RG. (whaa), which Mr. Patrick, of Ochiltree, especially prohibits.

221–222. *you are inclined*, RG. uses (ji er), and puts (t) at end of (inkléint), and omits (d) in (méind), though it spoils the rhyme.

223–224. *over dear, mare.*

## Western Mid Lowland cwl.

Compiled from

A Dr. Murray's first chapter of Ruth, given above in Introduction to L., 5 versions, No. 2, p. 698.
C Coylton (5 e.Ayr), Rev. Neil Livingston's wl. and dt.
Cl Clydesdale, Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences from his Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 714.
G Glasgow, Mr. John Alexander's wl., omitting those words said to have rec. pron. as shown in C. and O.
K Kyle, words from W. Simson, schoolmaster, of Cumnock, Kyle (15 e.Ayr), given in W. Aiton's "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr," Glasgow, 1811, pp. 681–693.
M Dr. Murray's DSS., p. 239.
O Ochiltree (11 e.Ayr), Mr. David Patrick's wl.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 CO bèk. 4 CO tak. — A *tee*ˈn [taken]. 5 CO mak. 6 O mèd, A med. 7 CO sèk [acc.], O sik [unacc.]. — M waak [wake]. 8 A he, C heev hiv, O he hi. 9 CO bih*eev*. — K graf [to grave]. 10 CO haa. 11 C maa. 12 CO saa. 13 C naa. 14 CO draa. 15 C aa [O (aafu) awful]. 16 C daan. 17 CO laa. 18 CO *keek* [applied to oat-cake]. 19 C *teel*. 20 CO lèm. 21 A nem, CO nèm. 22 CO tèm. 23 CO sèm. 24 CO shèm. 25 O mèn. 26 C w*een*. 27 C nèv. 28 CO heer, G her. — A gj*et* [gate=road]. 31 CO lèt. 32 C [often] b*eeth*. 33 CO rèdher. 35 C aal. 36 C thaa, KGO thaˈu. 37 C klaa.

A: 39 A kam, CGO kam. 40 CGO kèm. — K weem [womb]. 41 CO thaqk. 43 CO haan. 44 ACO laan. — O wan [did wind]. 46 C kanˈl, GO kanˈl. 47 C wanur, O wanur. 48 CO saq. 49 CO haq. 50 CGKO taqz. 51 AC man, O man. 52 CO wan [adj.], O wan [did win]. 54 GO want, C want. 56 CGO wash. 57 O aaz, C ashez.

A: *or* O: 58 A fe, CG free, O free fri. 59 CO lam. 60 CKO laq, G laaq, [A (vlaq) along]. — bila·q [belong]. 61 CO amaq. 62 CO stroq, O [occ.] straq. 63 CGKO thraq. 64 CGO raq. 65 CO saq. 66 CO whaq.

A′- 67 A gjœq, CO gaq [not (gjaq)] g*ee*, [Cl (gun) going, A (gj*e*ˈd) goed=went]. — K sl*eez* [sloes]. 70 CGKO t*ee*. 71 CKO w*ee*. 72 C whaa, KO wh*ee* [not (wha)]. 73 A s*ee*ˈ, CG [often], s*ee*, CO s*oo*. 74 CK tw*ee* twaa, G twaa, O tw*ee* [not (twa)], A twaa tw*aa*. 75 C str*oo*k, O [rare] str*ee*k. 76 CGO t*eed*. 77 ACO l*oo*rd. 78 CGO aa, C *oo*. 79 A aan, CO *een*. — K h*ee*li [holy]. 80 C h*o*lidu. 81 C l*een*. 83 CGO m*een*. 84 A m*ee*ˈr, CGO m*eer*. 85 A s*ee*ˈr, CO s*eer*. 86 CO *ee*ts, [occ.] *oo*ts. 87 CGO kl*eez*. 88 CO kliid. 89 A b*ee*ˈth, CGO b*eeth*. 90 CGKO blaa. 91 CGKO maa, G máu. 93 CGKO snaa. 94 CGKO kraa. 95 CO thr*oo*, C thraa. 96 CGKO saa. 97 K saal, O s*oo*l [rarely (saal)], CG sául. 99 O thraa, C thraan, [occ.] thr*oo*n. 100 GO saan.

A′: 101 CGO *ee*k [oftener (*oo*k)]. 102 A aash, K aks. 104 CO r*oo*d. 105 CO r*ee*d. 106 CGO br*ee*d. 107 CO l*oo*f, G l*ee*f. 108 CGO d*ee*kh, C d*oo*. 109 GO l*ee*kh, C l*oo*. — K f*ee* [foe]. 110 O nu ni, C [oftenest] nat. 111 CGO *o*kht [if used, rather (sud)]. 112 C h*ee*l. 113 A h*ee*ˈl, CGO hèl. 115 A hem, CGKO h*ee*m. 116 C huum. 117 O sin see [not (*een*, *ee*)], [(A vlen, K vl*een*) alone]. 118 CKO b*een*. 121 CGKO g*een*. 122 i. CGKO n*een*, ii. A naa, CKO n*ee*. 123 CGKO n*ee*then. 124 CGKO st*een*. 125 CO *oo*nli [if used]. — K r*ee*p [rope]. 126 CO *oo*r. 127 CGO h*ee*rs. — r*ee*ˈz [rose, did rise]. 128 [CGO (dh*ee*) used]. 129 CO g*ee*st. 130 CO b*oo*t. 131 O g*oo*t, C [often] g*ee*t. 132 CGO her. 133 CO r*ee*t. 134 CO *ee*th. 135 CGO kl*ee*th.

Æ- 138 CGO fedhur. 141 CO n*ee*l. 142 CO sn*ee*l. 143 CO t*ee*l. 144 Aˈugjen, C ugèn, O agin. 145 C sl*een*. 146 C m*een*. 147 C ugèn, O agin

[again]. — A feerli. 149 O bliiz, C bl*eez*. 150 CO liist. 152 CGO watʊr, Cl wa;ʊr. 153 CGO se;ʊrd*i* [very common].

Æ: 154 A b*a*k. 155 CGO thak thik. — K rak [wreck]. 158 CGO eftʊr. — K haft [haft, handle]. 161 A dee[1], CO d*ee*. 163 CO l*ee*. 165 A s*e*d, CO s*ee*d, O s*i*d. 166 C m*ee*d. 167 C d*ee*l. — K smAA [small]. 168 C tàlʊ. 169 A k*u*hʊn, CGKO whan [interrog.], O whʊn [relative]. 170 CO herst, O heerst, G hervest. 171 A baarl*e*, CG -*i*. 172 GO gress, CO [occ.] gers. 173 A wʊz, O w*e*z, C [often] waz. 174 CO ès*h*. 175 CO fast. 176 O a h*ee*m [at home]. 177 A dha[1]t, O [as a conjunction only, never as a relative], *at*, *èt*. 178 C nat. — K rat'n. 179 CG what, O whit. 180 C bath. 181 C path, O pEth.

Æ'- 182 CO sii. 183 CO tiitj. 184 CO liid. 186 CGO briidth. 187 C liiv, O lii. 188 [CO (ne[1]kʊr) used]. 189 CGO wii. 190 O k*ee*, C kii. 191 CO h*ee*l. 192 CO miin. 193 CO kliin. 194 CKO *oni*. 195 K m*oni*, CO mʊn*i*. 196 CO war wʊr, C w*ee*r. 197 CO tjiiz. 199 C bliit. 200 CO whiit. 201 CO h*ee*dh'n. 202 CO hiit.

Æ': 203 CO spiitj. 204 CO diid. 205 CGO thrid. 206 CO rEd. 207 CO niid'l. 210 CGO kl*éi*. 211 CO gr*ee*. 212 CGO whé*i*. 213 CGO *ee*dhʊr. 214 A nee[1]dhʊr. 215 O t*o*kht [in school reading only], C takht. 216 CO d*ee*l, [A (d*e*lt) dealed]. 217 A *e*lk, C iitj. 218 CO shiip. 219 CO sliip. 221 CO fiir. 222 CO h*ee*r, G her. 223 A dh*ee*r dher. 224 A k*u*hAAr, O whAAr, C wh*ee*r. 225 CO fFesh. 226 CGO m*ee*st. — K wars'l [wrestle]. 227 CGKO wat. 228 CGO swiit. 229 CO br*ee*th. 230 CGO fat.

E- 232 CGO brEk. 233 CO spiik, A spik. 234 CG ne[1]d. — K wadhʊr [weather]. 235 CO wiiv. 236 CGO fivʊr. 237 C tjilbleen. 238 C hEdj. 239 CKO s*ee*l. 240 O l*ee*n, C l*éi*n. 241 CO r*ee*n. 242 C tw*ee*n. 243 O pl*ee*. — K wal [a well]. 246 i. ii. CO kwiin. 247 CO w*ee*n. 248 CGO miir. 249 CGO wiir. 250 CGO swiir. — Cl *et* [eat]. 251 CO miit. 252 CO kEt'l. 253 CO nEt'l. 254 CO lEdhʊr. 255 O wadhʊr, C wEdhʊr. — O be;ʊr [better].

E: — K wab [web]. 257 C Edj, O *ee*dj. 258 C sEdj. 260 CO l*ee*. 261 CO s*ee*. — K wadin [wedding]. 262 A wa'i, CGO w*éi*. 263 A EwAA. 264 CO *ee*l. 265 CO str*ee*kt, GO strakht, O straakht. 267 C iild, O il. — K twal [twelve]. 270 i. CO b*e*l*i*s, ii. O b*e*l*i*. 272 CO El'm. — K whalp [whelp]. 273 ACO mEn. 274 O b*i*nsh, C b*i*ntj. 276 A theqk, C thiqk, O th*éi*qk. 277 C dr*i*ntj. 278 C w*i*ntj. — A EEn. 280 CKO *u*liiv'n. 281 CGO lEnth. 282 CGO strEnth. — K penʊrth [pennyworth]. — K ran [a wren]. — O kEn [ken, know]. — K g*i*rn [grin]. 283 CO mEr*i*. 284 GO thrEsh, C thrash. 285 C [often] kr*a*s k*a*rs. 286 O her*o* herʊ, C har*o*. 287 C b*e*z'm, GO b*i*z'm. — K wast [west]. — K whatsten [whetstone].

E'- 289 A *ii*, CO *ii*. 290 O hii hi. 292 ACO mii. 293 CO wii [O never (u)]. 294 CO fiid. 295 CO bred. 296 CO b*i*liiv. 297 K f*a*l*o*. 298 O fiil [but gen. (fin) find], C fiil. 299 CO griin. 300 A kip, CO kiip. 301 CO hiir. 302 CO miit. 303 CO swiit.

E': 305 CO hiikh. 306 CGO he[1]kht. 308 CO niid. 309 CO spiid. 310 CO hiil. 311 AC tEn. 312 CO hiir. 313 CO hark'n. 314 A h*a*rd, CO hard. 315 C fiit. 316 CO nEkst, O [rarely] niist.

EA- 317 C fl*ái*. 319 CO g*ee*p. 320 CO k*ee*r, G ker. — K shAA [to shew].

EA: 321 A s*aa*, O sAA. 322 CO lakh. 323 CGO f*o*kht. 324 O *ee*kht ikht [never (akht)], C akht, G *ee*kht. — K kAAk [chalk]. 325 CO wAAk. 326 AC AAl, C AAld, O AAd. 327 CO bAAld, C bAAl. 328 C kaald kAAl, O kAAd. 329 CG fAAld fAAl, O fAAd. 330 CO hAAd. 331 K sAAld, CO [use (sElt) selled]. 332 CGO [use (tElt) telled], O [rarely] tAAl. 333 CGO kAAf. 334 CGO hAAf. 335 CGO AA. 336 CGKO fAA. 337 CGO wAA. 338 Cl kɔɔ, AK kAA. — K sa'ut [salt]. 340 CO *ee*rd. 342 CO *ee*rm, G erm. 343 CGO warm. 345 CO dAAr, G der. — O w'rAAt [a wart]. 346 O jEt [not (*ee*t)], C g*ee*t.

EA'- 347 CO hiid. 348 CGO ii. 349 C fiuu. — O skruumùs [shrew-mouse]. EA': — K rak [rick], O re[1]k. 350 CGO diid. 351 CO liid. 352 C riid, O rid. 353 A brid, CO briid, Cl bred. 354 CO sh*ee*f. 355 CGO diif. 356 CO liif. 357 CO th*oo* [not (dh*oo*)], O thu. 359 CGO niibʊr.

360 C tiim. 361 CO biin. — A ʊgjenst [against]. 362 C slee. 363 CO tjeep. — A iir [year]. 365 AC niir, O ner'. — K na'ut [neat cattle]. 366 CO greet. 367 O threet. 368 A deth, CGO deeth. 369 CO sloo. 370 CO rʌʌ. 371 CO stree.

EI- 372 G éi. 373 ACO dhee. 374 C nee, O na. 375 C reez, O réiz. 376 CO beet. EI: 377 CGO steek. 378 CGO week. 379 C heel. 381 C sween. 382 CO dheer, dhar, G dhɛr.

EO- 383 CGO siiv'n. 384 CGO hiiv'n, C hiv'n. 385 C biniith bineeth, O ʊnooth. 386 CGO ʃa'u. 387 CO níu. EO: 388 C me'lk, O [rarely] malk. 389 CO ʃok. — K silʊr [silver]. 393 CO ʊʃont. 396 K wark. 397 C swoord, O swʊrd soord. 398 CGO stɛrv. 399 CGO brèkht. — CO fardhʊr [farther]. 400 CO eernest. 402 CO leern. 403 CGO fʌʌr. 404 CGO stʌʌr. 405 CO hɛrth [only in (hɛrthsteen) hearthstone]. 406 A ʃʊrth, O ʃe'rth ʃe'rd, C eerth. — A si,stʊr [sister]. 407 CGO fʌʌrd'n.

EO'- 409 CO bii. 411 CO thrii. 412 A shii,, CO shii. 413 CO diiv'l diil, G diivil. 414 CG flii. 415 CGO lii. 416 CO diir. 417 CGO tja'u. 418 CO bruu. 420 CO fa'ur. 421 CO forti.

EO': 422 O sik [only feverish, not ill in general, nor nauseated]. 423 CGO thii. 424 CGO ra'ukh. 425 CGO le'kht. 426 CGO fɛkht. 427 CO bii bi. 428 CO sii. 429 O fiint [only in such phrases as (fint ʊ heet) devil a bit, *hait* = atom]. 430 CGO friin, O frend [A (frinz) friends]. 431 CO biir [when used, generally (ʃɛl) ale]. 432 CO fort. 433 CGO briist. 434 CGO beet [meaning excelled, only]. 435 CO ʃuu ʃi [not (ʃo)]. 436 CO truu. 437 O trʊth [often nearly or precisely (trith)], C [often] tryyth.

EY- 438 CGO dii [A (diit) died]. EY: 439 CO trʊst [O gen. (lip'n)].

I- 440 CO wik. 441 C siiv, O si [in composition as (me'lsi) milksieve]. — A gin [given]. 442 C éivi. 443 O fréidi. 446 O náin. 448 C thir. 449 CO gɛt. 450 O [old] teezdi [giving way to (tíuzdi)]. 451 CGO shuu.

I: 452 ClKO a, C ái. 454 CO watʃ. 455 C lái, O léi. 457 CGO me'kht. 458 A nekht, CGO ne'kht. 459 CGO re'kht. 460 wɛkht. 462 CGO se'kht. 463 A tɛl. 465 CO sik, CG sitʃ. 467 CO wéil. 468 CO tʃildʊr [but rare now]. 470 A hem, O him. — O sklim [climb]. 471 CGO timʊr. 472 C shriqk. 473 CO blin. 476 CO bin. 477 A fən, CGKO fin. 478 CO grʌn. 479 CO wʌn, G win, C wáind. 480 O théiq. — O réiq [ring]. — O bréiq [bring]. — O séiq [sing]. — OK rin [run]. — O le'p [lip]. — K kirn [churn]. 484 CO dhe's, G dhee. — A kest [kissed]. — K rashez [rushes sb.]. 485 G this'l, O thrʌs'l. — K girs'l [gristle]. 487 C ʃe'stʊrdi, O jesturdi. 488 CO ʃet. 489 A et. — O wat [wit].

I'- 490 O béi [acc.], bi [unacc. of place], baa [of agent]. 491 CGO se'kh. — A ba'id [abide]. 492 A sa'id. 493 CO dréiv. 494 CO téim. 496 CO eern ern, G ern. 498 CO réit.

I': 500 CO léik [like]. 501 CO wéid. 502 CO fáiv. 503 CO léif. 504 CO néif. 505 A wa'if, CO wéif. 506 A wamʊn, CGO womʊn. 507 CO wimʊn. 509 A kwhe'il, CO whéil. 510 ii. máa'. 511 CO wéiu. 513 CO weer, G wer. 514 CO éis. 515 CO wéis [not (wéiz), see *Tam o' Shanter*, v. 17]. 516 O whéit. 517 C ʃíuu.

O- 519 A a'ur. 520 CGO ba'u. 521 CO fòl. — K stʌʌ [stolen]. 522 CO op'n, K eep'n. 523 A hoop, O ha'up. — K smoor [smother]. 524 CGO worl [occ. (warlt)], M warlt.

O: 526 CG kokh. 527 CGO bokht. 528 CGO thokht, A thookht. 529 CGO brokht. 531 A dookhtʊr, CGO dokhtʊr, K dokhtʊr. 532 CO kòl. 533 CO dʌl. 534 CO hòl. 535 A fok, K fa'uk. 536 CGO gunld, K ga'ud. 537 O mùlz mʌʌlz [earth, especially grave], C ma'uld. 538 O wad wid, C wud, A wʌd. — K ta'ul [told]. — K ha'u [hollow]. 539 CGO ba'ul. 540 C holi. — K ha'um [holm]. 542 CO bolt. — K ka'ult [colt]. 544 A dhɛn, K dhan. — KM drap [drop]. — M krap [crop]. — M tap [top]. 545 MO hap, C hop. — A stop, KM stap. — K lapstʊr [lobster]. 547 O bəərd, C byyrd buurd. 548 O fəərd, C fyyrd. 549 C hord. 550 O ward. 551 CGO storm. 552 CGO korn. 553 CGO horn. 554 C kros.

O'- 555 O shəə [often nearly (shee)], C shuu shee. 557 O təə, C tuu, A tee'. 558 CO lak. 559 A mi,dhʊr, CO midhʊr. 561 O blə'm, C blyym. 562 O

mə'n min, C myyn. 563 CO mandi, O [rarely] manendi. 564 O shə'n [often] shin, C syyn. 565 CO nooz. 566 A i,dhur, CGO idhur.

O': 569 O buk bĭak. 570 AC tak, O tuk, [very rarely] tĭak. 571 A gji,d, OG gə'd, O gid, C gyyd. 572 OG blə'd, KO blid, C blyyd. 573 C flyyd. 574 C bryyd. 575 O stə'd, C styyd. 576 KO wanzdi, C wenzdi, G wenzde. 577 C ba'u bakh. 578 C pla'u plakh, O pluu piu pĭakh. 579 CO unjakh, C unokh. 580 CO tĭakh, CG takh. 581 CGO sokht. 582 OG kə'l, O [often nearly (kil)], C kyyl. 583 O tə'l [often nearly (til)], C tyyl. 584 GO stəəl, C styyl. 585 O brə'm, C bryym. 586 GO dəə [and when emphatic (div)], C duu. 587 O də'n din, C dan. 588 C nyyn, K nin. 589 O spə'n spin, C spyyn. 590 GO fləər, C flyyr. 591 GO məər, C myyr. 592 O swəər, C swoor. 594 GO bə't, C byyt. 595 GO fe'l't, C fit fat. 596 GO rət, C ryyt. 597 GO sə't, C syyt.

U- 599 O ubəən ubin, C ubyyn. 600 O :lə'v [as a family name, otherwise (lav)]. 601 CG fuul. 602 O su, CG suu. 603 CO kam. 604 K simur. — K hini [honey]. 605 AO san. 606 CO door. 607 CO batur, OCl [slovenly] ba;ur. — K nit [a nut].

U: 608 O agli. 609 O fu, C fuu. 610 O u [*w* sometimes sounded]. 611 C balak. 612 CO sam. 613 O draqk. 614 CO ha'un. 615 CO pan, G pand. 616 CO gran, G grand. 617 CGO sùn. 618 C wuund. 619 CO fan, G fand. 620 CO gran. 621 O wan. 622 O anur, C [often] unur. 625 O taq. 626 O ha'uqur [not (huqer)]. 628 O nan. 629 O san, K sin. 631 CO thazdi, O [formerly (fəərzdi)]. 632 CClO ap. — apu [upon]. 633 CO kap, K kap. 634 CO thruu. 635 CO warth. 637 C task. 638 CO bask [applied to fish-hooks]. 639 C dast.

U'- 640 CGO kuu. 641 CGO huu. 642 CO dhuu [seldom used]. 643 ACGO nuu. 644 CO duu. 646 CGO buu. 647 CG uul. — O huulet [owlet]. 648 OCl wur, CGO uur. 649 CGO thuuzen. 650 A ubu·t. 652 CO kud. 653 ACO bat.

U': 654 O skruud. 655 OC fùl. 656 OC ruum. 657 CGO brùn. 658 CClGO dùn. 659 CGO tùn. 660 CGO buur bùr. 661 CGO shuur shùr. 662 AO as, C [often] az. 663 CGO hùs. 664 CGO lùs. 665 CGO mùs. 666 C [often] hazbunt. 667 CGO ùt. 668 CGO prùd. 669 O a'uqku, C ankuuth. 670 O [rare] bəəth, C buudh. 671 CGO muuth. 672 CGO suuth.

Y- 673 ACO mak'l, C mik'l. 674 O did. 676 CGO lii. 677 CO drái. 678 CO din. — O kiq [not (kiq kéiq)]. 679 CO ke'rk, K kirk. 680 C bizi, O [(thraq) used]. 681 O biznes. 682 CGO le'l't.

Y: 683 CO midj. 684 GO bre'g, C bridj. 685 CO re'g. 686 CO bái. — CO be'g [to big = build]. 687 CGO fle'kht. 690 O kin. 691 CO méin, A ma'in. 693 CO sin. 694 CO wark. 696 C barth. 697 O biri, C byri. 698 C marth. 699 CGO re'kht. 700 CGO waar. 701 CO farst. 702 A wy. 703 CO pe'l't. 704 C viks'n.

Y'- 705 CO skái. 706 O whéi [when used, but ordinarily (whit wéi) what way]. 707 O thurtiin. 708 CO háir. Y': 709 CO fáir. 711 CO léis. 712 CO méis.

II. English.

A. — O skréib [crab apple]. — K krabit [crabbed]. — K sabuth [sabbath]. 713 CO bad. 714 CO la'd, A lad laad. 715 C pad. 716 C ad'l. 717 CO djaad. 718 CO tred. 719 C tadpol. 720 C fag. 722 CO dreen. 723 O déiri, C deeri. 724 O belt [in (belt-hiidit) bald-headed], C baal. 725 C seel. 727 CO djam. 728 C sham. 729 CO freem. 730 CO kantur. 731 CG wantun. 733 C skeer. 734 CGO dern. — O bòru [barrow]. — O sklaash [clash]. 735 CO smash. 737 C mèt. — A grat [did greet, wept]. 738 C preet. 740 CO weev. — K baa [bawl]. 741 C meez. 742 CO leezi.

E. 743 C skriim. — A ween [a wean, child]. — A dee'rth [dearth]. 744 CO miiz'lz. 745 CO tjiit. 746 CO breeth. 747 O endeevur [but consciously a 'lang-nebbit' word, if used]. — A gritin [greeting, weeping]. 749 A left. 750 CO beg. 751 C pert.

I. *and* Y. — O pe'k [pick]. 754 CO pe'g. — O whap [whip]. 756 C

shre'mp. — O pin, K prin [pin]. — O réiqk [rink for curling]. — K tiqkler [tinker]. 758 C gerl. — O pe'shmol [pismire]. 759 CO fe't.

O. 761 CO *leed*. 762 CO *ookem*. 763 C *room*. — K lokh [loch=lake]. 767 CO néiz. 769 O ma'udi, ma'udiwarp, C *modiwart*. — K pa'u [poll, head]. — K skra'u [scroll]. 771 CO *fond*. 772 CO benféir. 773 C daqki. — M banet [bonnet]. 774 CGO pa'uni. 775 C buubi. — O nĭak [not (níuk) nook]. 777 CO *shop*. 778 G afaard, C afyyrd. — M paritj [porridge]. — KM pat [pot]. 781 CO bodher. — O klĭakh [not (klíukh) clough]. — K ma'ult [moult]. 783 C puultri. 784 CO ba'uns. 785 C luundj. 786 C duus. 787 C suus. 789 C ra'u. 790 CGO guun.

U. 792 C *kwab'l*. — C *kwéi*, G kéi [quey, *quy*, *quoy*, *quyach*, *quoyach*, *quevek*, *quyok*, a cow 2 years old]. 793 O hag. 794 O djag, G djug. — O be'l [bull]. 799 O skal. 803 CO djamp. 805 CO kradz. 806 C fas. 807 CG pus. 808 ACGO pat, CK pit.

III. Romance.

A·· 809 CO *eeb'l*. 810 CO *fees*. 811 A ple's, CO *plees*. 812 O *lees* — K klaat [caught]. 813 CO *beek'n* [rare]. 814 CO *mees'n*. 815 CO faks. 816 CO *fed*. 817 C radish. — CO *peel* [pail]. 818 CO *eedj*. 819 CO *reedj*. 821 C dil*ei*. 822 CO méi. 823 C bee, G béi. 824 O tjéir, CG tjeer. 825 C waf. 826 CO iig'l. 827 C *eeger*. 828 C *eege*. — Cl be'ili [baillie]. 829 C *geen*. 830 CO *treen*. 831 C distr*een*. 832 C [rare] *meer*. 833 CGO *peer*. 834 C *sheez*. 835 CGO *reez'n*. 836 CO *seez'n*. 837 C lash. 838 CGO *treet*. 839 C *beel*. — K haat [halt]. 840 CO [rare] tjaamer, G tjamer. 841 CO tjans. 842 C plaqk. 843 O bréinsh, CG *breensh*. 844 O trensh, C trentj. 845 O aanshent, C ənshent. 847 O déindjer, C *deendjer*. 848 CGO tjéindj. 849 O stréindj. 850 CO dans. 851 C aant aanti. — K kabten [captain]. 852 O *eepren* [not (*eeperen*)]. — K babtist [baptist]. 853 O bargin, C -en. 854 CO barl. 855 CGO karet. 856 CO *peert*, G part. 857 CO *kees*. 859 CO tj*ees*. 860 CO *peest*. 861 CO *teest*. 862 CO *seef*. 863 C tj*eef*. 864 C bikaaz. 865 CO faat. 866 GO paar, C pyyr.

E·· 867 CO tii. 868 C dj*ee*. 869 CO viil. 870 CO bíuti [O said only of a handsome woman]. 871 CO ugrii. 872 CO tjiif. 874 O réin, C *reen*. 875 GO fent, C *feent*. 876 CGO denti. 877 CO *eer*. 878 C selveri. 879 O *feemel*. 880 CO eksamp'l. — Cl konshens [conscience]. 881 CO sens. 882 CO panzi. 883 CO dandilái·en. 884 O prentis. 886 C fréir. 887 C klerdji. — CO *feer* [a fair]. 888 AC sart'n. 889 C siis. 890 CO biist. 891 CO fist. 892 CO *neefu*. 893 CGO fluur. 894 CO [rare] *diseev*. 895 CO [rare] *riseev*.

I·· *and* Y·· 898 O náis. 899 CO niis. 900 CO *pree*. — O pil [not (pil) pill]. 901 O fáin féin. 902 O máin, C méin. 903 O dáin déin. — K opan·jren. 904 O váí·olet. 906 O viipur véipur. 907 C tréis. 910 CGO djist. 912 O ráis.

O·· 913 CO *kootj*. 914 CO *brootj*, G *brotj*. 915 CO staf. 916 iq'n. 917 CO *roog*. 918 C fiib'l. 919 CGO eintment. 920 CGO péint. 921 GO akwa·nt, C akw*ee*·nt. 922 CGO bash'l [not (*bush'l*)]. 923 O móist. 924 O tjéis. 925 CO véis. 926 CGO spéil. 927 CO traqk. 928 CGO ans. 929 C kíukumbur. 930 CO léin [if used]. 931 O djaglur, CG djuglur. 932 C uma'unt. 933 CO frant. 934 C buunti. 935 A ki,ntra', CO kintru kintra. 936 C *fonf*. 937 CO *kok*. 938 CO *korner*. 939 CO *kloos*. 940 CO *koot*. 941 GO *faal*, C fyyl. — K stib'l [stubble]. 942 CO batjer [not (*butjer*), usually fleshur)]. 943 O tatj, C titj. 944 CGO uluu·. 945 CO vuu. 946 C méil. 947 CGO béil. 948 CGO bùl [in case of carpet balls in use at teaparties, but (ba'ul) for a bowl at a (ba'ulen grin) bowling green]. 950 CO saper. 951 CO kap'l. — A tarn [turn]. 952 i. CGO kuurs. 953 CO kizin. 954 CGO kashen. 955 CGO duut. — K va'ut [vault]. 956 CO kavur. 957 O emplói. 958 C *frei*. 959 O kenvee kenvéi.

U·· 960 CO kii. 961 O gruu·el. 962 C míuuz. — A wet [wait]. — A djadj [judge]. 963 O *kweet*. 964 CGO shuu·et. 965 CGO éil. 966 O fr*at* fr*et*, C fryyt. 967 O shat shit, C shyyt. 968 CGO éistur. — A ruult [ruled]. 969 GO sh*aar*, C shyyr. 970 O djast djist, C djyst. 971 O flat flit, C flyyt.

LOCHWINNOCH (:lokh·enĭɜkh), 6 sw.Renfrew, Rf.

From Mr. David Patrick, old spelling Lochquhinzeoch.

The whole intonation is different from 30 miles s., but agrees with adjoining n.Ay. parishes. "More modulation passing from high to low, tone stronger, sounder, coarser, more vulgar, yet fuller and pithier than in Ochiltree. Pron. broader."

Vocabulary different from Ochiltree:

O (bɛnféir), L (tɑɑn'l) bonfire.
O (minɛnz), L (gatiz) minnows.
O (gɑd'l), L (gin'l) dip for trout with the hands below stones and cavities of rock.
O (huusifs, déikis), L (spĭɜgz, spragz) house and hedge sparrow.
O (kokwiid), L (kaluuri) a kind of weed.
O (piin), L (loz'n) pane or lozenge of glass.
O (séiboz), L (iqɛnz) onions.
O (lóupit), L [flap] leaped.

Old forms used at L (hant'l, laqsɛm, tɑɑl, kɑɑ), many, late, told, quoth. Use of (tuu, dhu) thou in L, unknown, at O. L (what)s at?) what's that, L (duun i geet) down the street. L (ɛnoth athoort), O (ablоo, ɛkros) below, across. L (hɑɑf thrii) half-past two o'clock, etc. L (twal, twal uurz) twelve o'clock, German usage. L (dhɛ sɛl o)t, dhɛ hid o er, dhɛ beenz o)m), the self of it, the head of her, the bones of him. L (ɜe, ɜin) one, never (ee, en). They find the e. dialect strange.

A few words follow.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A: 43 hɑɑn. 44 lɑɑn. A'- 72 whɑɑ. 74 twɑɑ [tendency to (kwɑɑ)]. Æ: 179 what. E: — twal [tendency to (kwal) twelve]. EO': 435 ɜɛ, ɜă [not (ɜi), as (heest ɜɛ, bigɑɑn) haste you, begone]. I: — saks [six]. O: 538 wad.

## D 36 = s.ML. = southern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Galloway and Carrick.*

*Boundary.* On the n. the s. b. of D 35, on the e. the w. b. of D 33, elsewhere the sea-coast.

*Area.* The s. of Ay. or Carrick, w.Df., Kb., and Wg. or Galloway.

*Authorities.* Dr. Murray's brief note (DSS. p. 239) and Alphabetical County List under * vv. AJE., ‖ systematic, ° informants' orthography.

*Ay.* ° New Cumnock.
*Df.* ° Tynron.
*Kb.* ° Kirkpatrick Durham.
*Wg.* * Stranraer, ‖ Glenluce.

*Characters.* Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 239) mentions that *the* is contracted into (ii) especially after (*i*) for *in*, as (*i*)ii) in the, as in Cs. Also that final consonants are lengthened, or doubled "even more strikingly than in Cs.," so that *gang* becomes (gan'), and that *his*, *her* are contracted to simple *s*, *r*, as (hi kan gan' tel)z feedhɛr) he can go to his father. In taking down the cs.

from Stranraer, already given (No. 4, p. 684), I observed none of these points. Having been hurried, I might easily have failed to observe all but the omission of *th* in *the*. This, however, was not the case, and as I had my Cs. specimen the same evening, I think I should have been struck by this similarity.

I have been able to get a tolerably extensive wl. from Glenluce, Wg., and Kirkpatrick Durham, Kb., but I find that there is no decided point in which D 36 differs from D 35 and D 34. While therefore accepting Dr. M.'s district, I must express my own feeling that D 36 is a mere variety of D 34, closer indeed than D 35. In fact this district was conquered by the English language at a much later period than the others. The names of places in Df., where the b. of D 33 and D 36 occurs, are sharply Gaelic on the w. and English on the e. Hence it was to be expected that the mode of speech adopted would be in fact the language of the L. literature.

Under these circumstances I do not draw up a brief set of characters for D 36, but refer to the following wl. as containing, however defectively, all that I have been able to collect.

*Illustrations.*

1. The cs. from Stranraer already given, *suprà* p. 684, No. 4.
2. The pronunciation of Burns's *Duncan Grey* as taken from the lips of a New Cumnock man, but it is perhaps not a characteristic specimen of Carrick, D 36, as distinct from Kyle, D 35.
3. Two wl. from Glenluce and Kirkpatrick Durham, which however I have had to interpret with considerable difficulty at times, and the words extracted from No. 1, above.

## Burns's Song of Duncan Grey,

written by AJE. in his extended Phonotypic Alphabet of 1847, from the dictation of John Love, of New Cumnock, Ay. (18 ese.Ayr), and published in the *Essentials of Phonetics* that year, pp. 171–177, and now transcribed in palaeotype. This was my first attempt to write dialect from dictation, long before this book was thought of; the first for this book are given on pp. 275, 276, 277. It can certainly be only approximatively correct, but I leave it unaltered. I have been told *Ailsa* should be (:èl·sv) without prefixed (ɹ).

| | |
|---|---|
| :dəqkan :gr*ee* kam hiir tə wuu | Duncan Grey came here to woo, |
| *o*n bláith ɹyl n*e*kht when wii wer fuu. | On blythe yule night when we were fou, 2 |
| :mag*i* kjœst her hid fu hikh, | Maggie coost her head fu' high, |
| l*u*kt asklent an ɜqke skjikh, | Look'd asklent and unco skeigh, |
| gert pœœr :dəqkan stAAn abikh. | Gart poor Duncan stand abeigh. 5 |
| :dəqkan flitɹt an :dəqkan pREED, | Duncan fleech'd, and Duncan pray'd; |
| :meg wəz dif az :ɹelza :kr*ee*g. | Meg was deaf as Ailsa Craig, 7 |
| :deqkan s*e*kht bEEth uut an *e*n, | Duncan sigh'd baith out and in, |
| graat h*e*z iin bEEth bliirt an bl*e*n, | Grat his een baith bleer't and blin', |
| spaak *o* l*oo*p*e*n á*u*r a l*e*n. | Spak a lowpin o'er a linn. 10 |

tə'im an tɟaans aar bət a tə'id,
slekhted ləv *ez seer* tə bə'id.
shal ái, lə'ik a fyl, kw*o* hii,
fər a haakht*i* h*ezi* dii?
shii m*ee* g*ee* tə—:fraans fər mii!

Time and chance are but a tide,
Slighted love is sair to bide, 12
Shall I, like a fool, quoth he,
For a haughty hizzie die?
She may gae to—France for me! 15

huu *et* kəmz let dəktərz tel,
:meg gr*é*uu sik—az hii gr*é*uu h*ee*l
səmth*e*q *e*n her booz'm r*e*qz,
for riliif a s*e*kh shii br*e*qz,
and *oo*, her iin, dh*ee* spaak s*e*k th*e*qz!

How it comes let doctors tell,
Meg grew sick—as he grew well, 17
Something in her bosom wrings,
For relief a sigh she brings;
And O, her een, they spak sic things! 20

:dəqkan wəz a laad *o* gr*ee*s,
:magiz wəz a pit*i*əs k*ee*s,
:dəqkan k*u*d na bii her d*ee*th,
swelin pit*i* smœœrd h*e*z r*ee*th
nuu dhee)r kruus an kanti beeth.

Duncan was a lad o' græ,
Maggie's was a piteous case, 22
Duncan could na be her death,
Swelling pity smoor'd his wrath;
Now they're crouse and canty baith! 25

*Notes to Duncan Grey.*

1. (wuu) should, I think, be (uu), compare (uu) for *wool*.

2. *fou* were full, had had our supper, not *drunk*, see *Tam o' Shanter*, p. 732, v. 6 and note.

4. *looked askant and very shy.*

5. *made poor Duncan stand aside.*

6. (flitɟt) *begged in a flattering cajoling manner.*

7. Ailsa Crag, a basalt rock in the Firth of Clyde, 10 w.Girvan, Ay., 1098 ft. high, 2 m. in circuit, inaccessible except on w. side, abounds in sea-fowl, goats, and rabbits, has a ruined castle at the top. This should not have prefixed (ɹ) I believe, see D 35, but be pron. (:èlsɐ).

8. *Duncan sighed both out aloud and silently,*
*wept his eyes both bleared and blind,*
*spoke of leaping over a waterfall.*

17. *hale*, spelled *heal*, in the copy I then used, the Globe ed. of Burns, printed in the right hand col., has *well*, which comes to the same thing.

24. *smothered his wrath*
*now they are brisk and jolly both.*

## Southern Mid Lowland cwl.

From the following sources.

G Glenluce (:glɛnlyy$_{ı}$s) (15 w.Wg.), from the numbered wl. by Rev. G. Wilson, for Glenluce and the Rhinns, or Rhynns, of Galloway, the long and narrow peninsula w. of Luce Bay, Wx.

K ne.Kb., by Rev. W. A. Stark, Kirkpatrick Durham (4 n.Castle Durham), numbered wl.

S Stranraer, Wg., words from the cs. pal. by AJE. from dict., printed on p. 684.

T Tynron, Df. (5 wsw.Thornhill), notes and lw. by Mr. James Shaw, schoolmaster, Aug. 1868, but the words he principally gave belong to Lk., Rf., Ay., and Df., that is, principally D 35, where they agree with what is there said.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 G beek. 4 GK tak. 5 S maak, GK mak. 17 G laa. 21 S neem. 34 S last. 36 G tha'u. A: 39 G ka'm, K kæm. 40 G k*ee*m. 41 G thanqk, K th*e*qk. 43 G han, K haan. 44 G lan, K laan. 49 S haq. 54

S wont [? (want)]. 56 GK wesh. A: *or* O: 58 GKS f*ree*. 60 S laq. 64 S raq, K *w*iraq raq. 65 GK saq. A'- 67 S gan [going]. 72 S wh*ee*. 73 K *see*, GS see. 74 S twaa, K tw*ee* twaa, G twaa tíu. 78 SK *een*, G aan. 79 G *een*. 81 ii. S loon*i*n. 82 jens. 84 S m*ee*r. 85 GK *seer*. 87 SGK klees. 88 GK kliid. 89 S beeth. 94 S kraa. 97 GK saal. A': 101 GK *eek*. 102 S aks. 106 GK br*ee*d. 109 GK l*ee*kh. 110 ii. S noo. 111 S okht, GK akht. 113 GKS heel. 115 S hem, GK h*ee*m. 117 S jee. 118 GK b*ee*n. 122 ii. S n*ee*. 124 GK st*ee*n.

Æ- 138 S fadhur, G fedhur, K f*ee*dhur. 141 GK n*ee*l. 144 S uge'n. 150 S liist. 152 GK watur. Æ: 154 S bak. 158 S eftur. 161 GKS d*ee*. 165 S sed. 169 GKS whan. 170 GK h*ee*rst. 172 G gres gers [with strong (s)], K gres. 173 G waz, K waz. 175 S fast. 177 S dhat. 179 S what. Æ'- 182 G sii. 186 G briith. 187 G l*ee*v l*ee*. 191 G h*ee*l. 192 G miin. 193 G kl*ee*n. 194 S on*i*. 200 G whit. 202 G heet. Æ': 204 S did [indeed]. 205 GK thriid. 209 S nevur. 212 GK whéi. 213 S edhur. 214 S needhur. 215 GK takht. 218 GK shiip. 223 S dh*ee*r. 224 GS whar, K whaar. 226 GK m*ee*st. 227 GKS wat. 228 G swit. 230 G fat.

E- 236 GK fivur. 240 G l*ai*n l*ee*n, K léin. 243 G pl*ee*. 244 S wil. 248 GK miir. 249 GK wiir. 250 GK swiir. 251 G miit, K [occ.] m*ee*t. 252 S ket'l. E: 256 S strik*y*t [stretched]. 261 SGK *see*. 262 GK wéi. 263 S uwaa. 265 G straakht, K straakht, S str*ee*t. 271 S tel. 276 S theqk. 278 S w*e*nsh. 281 GKS lenth. 282 GK strenth. 283 K m*i*r*i*. E'- 290 G hii, K he. 292 G mii, K me. 293 SG wii. 301 S hiir. E': 312 S hiir. 314 S hard. 316 G nikst, K nist.

EA- 317 GT fléi [frighten]. 320 S keer. EA: 321 S sa. 322 S lakh. 326 S al. 330 SG had, K hæd. 333 GK kaf. 335 GS aa, K aa. 337 G waa, K waa. 338 S kaa. 340 S jard. 342 GK er'm. 343 GK war'm. 345 GK dar. EA'- 347 G h*ee*d, K hid. 348 GK ii, GS iin [eyes]. 349 S fiu. EA': 350 G diid, K did. 352 G riid, K rid. 355 G diif, K dif. 357 S thoo, G th*oo*. 359 S nibur. 368 GK d*ee*th. 371 GK str*ee*. EI- 372 G e*j*i, K éi. 373 S dh*ee*. EO- 383 G s*ee*v'n, K siiv'n. 384 GK hiiv'n. 386 GK ja'u. 387 S níu. EO: 388 G me'lk, K malk. 394 S joner. 395 S jæq. 396 GK wark. 398 G steerv, K sterv. 399 S brekht. 402 GK lern. 405 GK herth. 406 GK erth, G je'rth. EO'- 411 GS thrii. 412 G sh*ee*, KG shii. 413 G diivil, K diiv'l. 414 G fiii. 415 GK lii. 417 GK tja'u. EO': 422 S sik. 423 G thii. 424 G rakh. 425 G le'kht, K lekht. 426 GK fekht. 428 GK sii. 430 S frin, G friin, K friind. 433 G briist, K brist. 434 S bet. 435 S juu. 437 S tr*ə*th. EY- 438 GKS dii. EY: 439 S trast.

I- 440 S wik. 443 GK fréid*e*. 446 S néin. 448 [(G dh*e*'r, K dh*ee*) used]. 450 GK [occ.] téizd*e*. I: 452 ST a. 454 G watj. 455 ST lái. 457 S nekht. 459 G rikht, K rekht. 460 GK wekht. 465 S sekun. 467 GK wéil. 469 S wal. 475 GK wand. 477 GK fin. 480 S thiq theq. 481 GK fiqur. 484 [S (dhe) used]. 485 G th*i*s'l, K thras'l. I'- 490 GK bái. 494 S téim. 496 G er'n, K *ee*r'n. 498 G [gen.] w'réit, K vréit. I': 500 S léik. 502 G fáiv. 504 GK néif. 505 GKS wéif. 506 GK wamun. 507 GK wiimun. 510 ST méin. 511 T wéin. 515 GK wéis.

O- 519 S óur. 520 GK ba'u. 524 S warl. O: — T la'u [low, a flame]. 529 G bróukht, K braakht. 531 S dokhtur. 535 S fook. 536 G guuld, K ga'uld. 537 G ma'ul. 538 S wud wed. 550 S word. — T ta'u [tow from hemp]. O'- 557 S ti. 559 GK midhur. 562 GK myn [the (y) was probably not pure here and elsewhere, but rather (y$_1$)]. 563 GK manund*e*. 564 GK syn. 566 S edhur. — T gróu [to grow]. O': 571 S g*ə*d gad, GK gyd. 572 GK blyd. 578 GK plíuu. 579 S eníukh, G unja'ukh, K uníuukh. 580 GK tíuukh. 581 G sóukht, K saakht. 582 G kyyl. 583 G tyyl. 586 S doo)nt [don't]. 587 S din. 588 S nin. 589 GK spyn. 590 G flyyr, K fluur. 592 GKS suur. 594 G byt, K bit. 595 GK *ît*. 596 G ryt. 597 G syt, K sat.

U- 601 G fiuul. 602 GK suu. 604 S samur. 605 S san. 606 S d*oo*r. U: 609 S fuu, G fu, K fal. 610 G uu. 612 S sam. 614 G ha'und. 616 S gran. 617 GK suun. 619 S fan [pt. (fan)]. 625 S tæq. 626 GK hæqur.

— G a'un [to own=grant, confess]. 631 S dhərzde. 632 S əp. 634 S thruu. U'- 640 GK kuu. 641 GKS huu. 643 GK nuu. 646 G buu, K ba'u. 651 S ʊdhu·t 652 GK kəd. U': 658 S dun. 659 GK tun. 663 S hus. 667 S uut. 671 GK muth.

Y- 673 S mək'l. 674 S did, G de'd. 677 S dráí. 679 GK kirk. 680 K bəsi. Y: 684 G brig. 686 G báí. — GK big [to big, build]. 687 GK flikht. 690 GK kéind. 691 GK méind. 694 GK wərk. 701 S ferst.

II. English.

A. 714 GK lad. 717 G dʃaad. 724 G beld, K baal. 727 G dʃaam. 736 S lasi. E. — S pɛt [pet]. I. *and* Y. — S tef [tiff]. — S beg [big]. — S whəndʒ [whinge]. O. 778 G afyyrd, K afuurd. 781 S bodhʊr. 783 G pa'ultri, K puutri. 790 GK gun. 791 S bói. U. 798 S kwiir. 804 S drak'n. 805 GK kradz. 808 GK pit.

III. Romance.

A·· 815 S faks. 822 K méi. 823 K béi. 835 S rez'n. 845 G aanshʊnt, K ansh'nt. 848 G tʃéindʒ. 857 S kees. 864 S bika·z. E·· 867 S tii. 874 G rɛ'in, K réin. 885 S vera. 887 G klɛrdʒi, K kleerdʒi. 890 S biist be'st, G beest, K bist. 895 GK riseev. I·· *and* Y·· — T kráí [to cry]. 901 ST féin. 910 G dʒeest, K dʒiist. O·· 916 GK iqin. 926 G spóil, K spéil. 928 GK ans. 939 GK klos. 941 S fəl, G fyl, K fil. 942 G botʃʊr, K bətʃʊr. 947 SG bóil, K béil. 950 S səpʊr. 952 i. GK kuurs. 953 G kyzin, K kiz'n. 954 GK kəshin. 955 S duut, GK dut. U·· 960 K kii. 963 S kwéit, G kweejit. 965 G óil, K éil. 966 GK fryt. 968 G óistʊr, K éistʊr. 969 S shəər shí,uur, G syyr. 970 S dʒist dʒəst, GK dʒyst. 971 GK flyt.

## D 37 = n.ML. = northern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Highland Border.*

*Boundaries.* On the w. and nw. the CB. or Celtic Border, on the s. the n. b. of D 35 and D 34, to the Firth of Tay. Afterwards through Fo. to the Grampians. In his Map Dr. Murray took the b. to lie to the w. of Dundee, and e. of Forfar, and afterwards to be indeterminate to the Grampians. But he subsequently informed me that he considered the line to lie too much to the e., and that the town of Forfar properly belongs to the NL. or D 38. I therefore draw the b. between D 37 and D 38 from just a little w. of Dundee northward, just e. of Glammis and Kirriemuir, and w. of Clova, by the valley of the Esk to where the CB. strikes the s. b. of Ab. To determine the b. accurately would require much more examination than has hitherto been made, or is likely to be made.

*Area.* A small portion of nw. Fi., of w. Fo. and of w. Sg., and a strip on the e. and se. of Pr. It is a district in which English is asserting itself against Gaelic to such an extent that the CB. has receded westward within living memory.

*Authorities.* Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 239; Dr. Alexander Laing's dt. for Newburgh-on-Tay, a *vivâ voce* dt. from three students of Whitelands from the neighbourhood of Perth, and a wl. written from their pron. of words in the novel *Enga*, constitute all I could collect.

*Characters.* The small amount of information which I have obtained is clearly insufficient to determine the characters of this extensive region, which would require minute examination. Dr. Murray merely says (DSS. p. 239): "In the Highland border,

along the se. of Pr., we find (1) ɛ̄ regularly pron. as (ɜ) in (hɜl, mɜl, mɜlk, sɜlk) hill, mill, milk, silk. (2) *Ea*, which in more Southern dialects is (i), here remains (*ee*) as (br*ee*d, h*ee*d, m*ee*l) for (brid, hid, mil) bread, head, meal. (3) The article *the* is commonly contracted into (ii), especially after *in*, as in (*i*)ii) in the." I presume (1) relates to these particular words only, and as such they were confirmed, see following cwl. No. 469, by the Whitelands students, but *kill* is not (kɜl), and *silk, milk* are EO words, while *hill, mill* are Y words. Of course after *w* we get (wɜl, whɜp) will, whip, but that is general. As regards (2) there is also a mixture of classes, *bread* and *head* being EA′ words, the first was not given by my students, and the second, though they pron. it (hèd), was written *heid*=(hid) in *Enga*. *Meal*, when it means an 'eating time,' is an *Æ′* word, and when it means 'flour,' an E word, and I have not the pron. of these words in other districts, nor do I know which of the two is here meant. (3) The Whitelands students and Dr. Laing did not leave out *th* in *the*.

The cwl. I am able to give is so brief and imperfect, and relates to such a small e. portion of the whole district, that I do not feel justified in drawing any conclusions from it as to the characters of the whole district, and refer to the wl. itself.

*Illustrations.* Dr. Laing's and the Whitelands students dt., and the cwl. from Enga.

## North-West Fifeshire dt.

Test by Rev. Dr. Alexander Laing, Newburg-on-Tay (8 wnw.Cupar), Fi., in io., pal. from his notes by AJE.

1. soo ʊ sá*i*, lʌ'dz, i sii nuu dhʊt a)m r*i*kht ʊbùt dhàt lasi kɜm*i*n fe dhʊ sky'l dhondʊr.
2. sh*y*)z gʌ'n dheer thruu dhʊ r*i*d gèt on dhʊ left hʌ'nd sé*i*d o)dhʊ rood.
3. shyyr enɜkh dhʊ beern)z gèn strekht ɜp tʊ dhʊ door ʊ)dhʊ raq hùs,
4. whaar shi)l lé*i*kl*i* f*i*nd dhat drɜk'n def w*i*z'nd fel*i* ʊ)dhʊ niim ʊ :tamʊs.
5. wi ʌ ken)'m ver*i* wìl.
6. wɜ)nʊ dhʊ ʌʌld tɟap shy'n leern)ʊr noo tʊ dyy *i*t ʊgen, pyyr th*i*q!
7. luk, i sii *i*t)s truu!

*Notes.*

1. *say*, especially marked as Greek *ai*, English aye.
2. *way*, called (wéi), implies direction only.
3. *straight*, the alveolar (t̪r) were specially noted, but it seemed to me that there was a misconception, so I merely note the fact here.

## Neighbourhood of Perth dt.

palaeotyped 21, 22, 23 June, 1881, by AJE., from the dict. of Miss Miles, native of Manchester, but 13 years in Perth, Miss Pollar, of town of Perth, and Miss Kidd, native of Crieff, who had lived 18 years at Errol, all three students at Whitelands Training College.

1. s*oo* ái sêi, mèn, ɹuu sii nuu dhàt à)m r*e*kht abuu·t dhàt wii làsi kɜmen fee dhʊ shy$_{ɪ}$'l dhondʊr.

2. shii)z gee'en [gɑɑn K.] dun dhʊ rood dheer thrù dhʊ rɛd gívt [ɹɛt] on dhʊ lɛft h*a*nd séid *o* dhʊ wê*i*.

3. sh*ə*ər ʊnɜkh [ʊnokh, K ] dhi beern hez gèn [geen K] strɛkht ɜp ti)dhʊ dooʊr *o* dhʊ ràq hùs,

4. whɑɑr shi)l mɛ)bi fend dhàt drɜk'n dèf w*i*z'nd fɛli *o* dhʊ nèm *o* :tomʊs.

5. wi ɑɑ ken)ʊm ver*i* wil.

6. wɜl dhʊ ɑɑld)'n n*oo* sy$_{ɪ}$n leern er noo tʊ d*ii*)t ʊgɛ'n, pyy$_{ɪ}$r theq !

7. lùk *i*z)t n*o* truu ?

### *Notes to Perth* dt.

1. *so* (*soo*) in this sense, but (see mɛk'l) so much.—*I* (hâi téid) high tide, distinguished as in Edinburgh.—*say*, *way*, and *side* in (2) seem to have the same diphthong differing very slightly from received *i* in *wide*, but shading more towards (êi). Never heard *marrow* or *mate*; but (màn, mɛ'n) man, *men*, are used.—*thou* for *you* is never used.—*that* (at) is never used for (dhàt).—*wee*, when (little) is used, it is called (lɜt'l).—*lass*, but (kw*ee*n) is still used for woman in a good sense, heard at Methven (5 wnw. Perth).—*coming*, the participle ends in (-en), verbal sb. (-ʊn), (wɔshen on ʊ woshʊn dêi), thus (lóupen) leaping is used.—*from*, a grandfather of Miss K. used (free), not (three) for *from*.—*school* (sk*i*l*i*) is a slate pencil.—*yonder*, but they say (ɹondʊrz dhʊ màn, ɹon màn óuʊr dh*ee*r).

2. *red* (rɛd) has a tendency towards (ə), almost (rəd), but not (rɜd).—*hand*, the (d) remains in the sg., but is lost in the pl. (hànz).—*side*, see *say*, par. 1.—*way*, see *say*, par. 1.

3. *enough* (ʊnɜkh, ʊníu) are used as sg. and pl.—*bairn*, (wi'n) is also used for little child.—*wrong*, (w'r-) has been heard from old people, but not (vr-) in *write*, *wright*, *wrong*. This makes a decided difference between D 37 and D 39, if not D 38.—*house*, (h) is never omitted; (hɜz, hɛz) are both used for us.

4. *where*, (wh) always clear, not (k*w*h); and still less (f), and this is another difference between D 37 and D 39.—*find* (fend, fɜnd), pr. and pret.—*deaf* sounded very like (di$_{ɪ}$f).—*wizened*, although *shrivelled* is not used, (shrɜb) shrub is said, so there's no difficulty about (shr-).—*name*, (nèm, neem, ni'm) all used.

## Neighbourhood of Perth cwl.,

from "Enga, a Novel," by the author of Harbour Bar, 1880, in which the scene is apparently laid at Essie, Essey, or Eassie, Fo. (7 wsw. Forfar), just within the b. of D 37. I extracted the following words, and then got the three students of Whitelands (see Perth dt. above) to pronounce them to me. The writer was evidently well acquainted with the dialect, and I have thought it best to give the words first as printed in the novel, but in italics, and then as pronounced by the students, prefixing a † to the latter when it apparently differed considerably in pron. These words from *Enga* are not otherwise marked.

P words from the Perth dt.
N words from the Newburgh dt. introduced for comparison.
S words given by the students, but not found in 'Enga.'

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *tak* tàk. 5 *mak* màk. 21 *neme*, †neem, P nèm, N niim. A: — *fand* fand [pt. of find]. 43 *hans* hànz [pl.], P hand, N ha'nd. A *or* O: 58 *frae*, †fee, PN free. 60 *lang* làq. 64 *wrang vrang*, PN [w'] ràq. A'- 67 *gane gèn, gyaun gieng*, hi gàqz hiz leen [he goes alone], P gee'en, PN gaan, PN gèn, P geen [gone]. 73 PN soo. 74 *twa* twaa. 79 *ain* een. 82 *anes*, †jens ens. 84 *mair* meer. 85 *sair* seer. 86 *aits* eets. 87 S kleez. 88 *claidh* klɛd. 89 *baith* beeth. 93 *snaw* snaa. 97 *sowl soo'l*. A': 104 PN rood. 111 *ocht* okht [owned], ood [owed]. 113 *hale* heel. 115 *hame* heem. 117 [(jen) is not used, only (en), see No. 82]. — *alane* ʊlɛ·n [alone]. 122 i. *none*, †nɛn [*nône* has not been heard], ii. *nae* nee. 134 *aith* eeth.

Æ- 138 *fayther* feedhʊr. Æ: 156 *gled* glɛ'd. — *gither* gedher [gather]. 158 *æfter* æfter. 161 *day* déi. 169 *fan* fan [vulgar but common], whan. 170 *ha'est* hee'st. 173 *wast* wast [wast]. 177 *that* dhàt, PN dhat. Æ'- 194 *ony* oni. 200 *fite*, †wheit. Æ': 209 *niver* nivʊr neer. 221 *afeerd* feerd [afraid]. 224 P whaar, N whaar. 226 *maist* meest.

E- 244 *weel* wil. E: 261 P sêi, N sái. 263 *awa* ʊwa· [compare P (wêi)]. 265 P strɛkht, N s,t,rekht [? dentals]. — *twal* twɛl. 273 P mɛn. 280 *elieven* †ʊlɛv'n. E'- — *kep* kɛp [used for catch, or catch in the hands, applied in *Enga* to a catch water among rocks]. E': 305 *haich* hái hìlondz [highlands]. 306 *heicht* kikht hɛkht. 314 *heerd*, †hard, †hɛ'rd. 315 *fit* fìt.

EA: 322 *lach* làkh. 326 PN aald. 328 *cauld* kaald. 330 *hoald haud* had haᵊd. 335 PN aa. 336 *fa'* faa. 341 *marrow* mari. 342 *airm* eerm. — *hairm* heerm [harm]. 345 *daur* daar. 346 *gate*, †gívt, P jɛt, N gèt. EA'- 347 *heid* [implying (hìd)], †hèd. EA': 352 P rɛd, N rid. 355 PN dêf. 359 *neebor* niibʊr. — *lôse* lòs [loose]. — *naut* [cattle, not heard], 368 *deith* [implying (dìth)], †dèth. EO- 383 *sieben* [implying (siv'n)], †sev'n. 384 *hieven* [implying (hìv'n)], †hèv'n [(hiv'n) not common, but heard]. EO: 394 PN dhondʊr. 396 *wark* wark. — *fermer* feermʊr [farmer]. — *hert* hɛrt [heart]. EO'- 415 *lee* lii. EO': 425 *licht* lèkht. 426 *fecht* fecht [pt. (fokht)]. 428 PN sii. 429 *fient* fint. 430 *freend* frind. 435 P juu, N i.

I: 462 P ái. — *weedow* widi [widow]. — *dicht* dekht [dight, common in the sense of wiped up, cleaned up]. 458 *nicht* nekht. 459 P rekht, N rikht. 460 *wecht* wèkht. 462 *sicht* sekht. 469 *nll* ɜl [*il* is generally (ɜl), as (salk malk mal) silk milk mill, of which the first two belong to EO and the last to Y]. 471 *timmertuned* tim·ʊrty'nd ["having a harsh, unmusical voice," *Jamieson*, (timʊrjerd) is also used]. 477 P fend, N find. 487 *yestreen* dhestrìn [yesterday evening]. I'- — *forbye* forba'i. 492 PN séïd. — *wite* [to blame, ? (wáit) not heard]. 498 *vritin'* ráitʊn. I': 500 *licly*, †láikli. 506 *wumman* wamʊn. 507 S wìmʊn.

O- 519 *ower* óuʊr. — *thole* thool [suffer, endure, a common word]. 523 *houp* hóup [has been heard, but (hop) is more common]. O: 528 *thocht* thokht. 535 *fouk* fóuk fòk. 538 *wud* wʊd [not (wad)]. 541 S wani [and similarly] shani dani [won't shan't don't]. 550 *woord* †ward. O'- 555 S shy' [pl. (shy$_{1}$n)]. 557 *tae tee* tii. 559 *mither* midhʊr. 560 PN sky$_{1}$'l. 564 *sune* shy$_{1}$n, P sy$_{1}$n, N shy$_{1}$n. O': 571 *gude* gy$_{1}$d. 572 S bly$_{1}$d. 574 S bry$_{1}$d. 578 *pleugh* plakh [sb.], plu [vb.]. 579 P ʊnokh, N ʊnakh. 586 P dii [*div ye ken* (di i ken)]. 587 *dône dun* †dy$_{1}$n. 591 *muir* myy$_{1}$r. 595 *fut* fat [*not a fit further* (noo ʊ fat far)]. 596 S ry$_{1}$t. 597 S sy$_{1}$t.

U- — *wud* wʊd [wood]. 603 P kamʊn, N kamin [coming]. 605 *sôn* †sʊn. 606 P duuʊr, N door. U: 614 *hound* hóund. 619 S fand. — *wunner* †wy$_{1}$ndʊr. 629 S sʊn. 632 PN ap. U'- 640 *coo* ku [pl. (kái)]. 643 *noo*, PN nuu. 645 *doo* duu. 648 *oor* uur. 650 *aboot* ʊbù·t. U': 658 *doon*, PN dùn. 659 *toun* tùn. 663 *hoose*, PN hùs. 667 *oot* ùt.

Y- 673 *muckle* mak'l. 679 *kirkyerd* kerkjèrd [churchyard]. 682 P lat'l. Y: — *freit* [implying (frèt)], † frekht. 699 *vricht* rekht [(w) old]. — *speer* spiir [to inquire]. 700 *waur* waar. Y': 709 *feier* fáir [(féir) highland].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 N lʌ'd. — *caller* kâlər [fresh, applied to fish, vegetables, and the morning air]. — *saumon* samən [salmon]. — *hantle* hant'l [many, applied to *peas*, called (piiz) from the garden, and (peez) from the field]. — *ger gert* gar gàrd [make made]. — *shawlie* shʌʌli [meaning not noted]. — *dawtie* dʌʌti [dearie]. E. 749 PN left. O. 774 *powney* póuni. — *dowie* dóui [dull]. — *cknowledge* †noledɟ [(kn) occurs as an old form in (knéif) knife]. 804 PN drak'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 820 *gey* gêi [in the sense of rather considerably]. 833 *pairt* peert [paired]. — *maister* mɛ'stər. — *me'em* me'm [ma'am]. — *dambrod* dambròd [draught board, *dames* draughts]. — *marry* mèri [marry]. — *gyarden* gjeerd'n. — *heeste* hist [haste, vb.]. 866 *puir* pyɪr. — *ill-faured* el-fʌʌrd [ill-favoured, bad-looking]. E·· — *trevel* trɛv'l [meaning only to walk, not to go on a journey]. — *tremmle* †tram'l. 885 *verra* †vɛri. — *hoor* ùr [hour]. I·· *and* Y·· — *envy* envâi· [vb. but (en·vi) sb.]. 903 *dinner* denər. — *minute* mìnit [minute of time, old]. — *speeritless* spìritles. O·· — *roond* rùnd [round]. — *bonnie* boni [bonny]. — *coont* kùnt [count]. 935 S kantri [students]. — *positeef* positive. — *coort* kùrt [court]. 952 i. ii. *coorse* kùrs. U·· 963 *quete* kweet. 969 P shɔər, N shyyr.

## D 38, 39, 40 = NL. = north Lowland,

constituting Dr. Murray's North-Eastern Group (DSS. p. 237).

The peculiarities are most fully developed in D 39. The one character of (f) for (wh), runs with more or less completeness through all of them. They form the whole mainland of Scotland that lies e. of the CB., and from the e. b. of D 37, already discussed, to Cs.

## D 38 = s.NL. = southern North Lowland, = Dr. Murray's *Angus*.

*Boundaries.* On the w. the e. b. of D 37, already discussed, p. 751. For the n. b. begin where the CB. intersects the Grampians and go e. along the b. of Fo. and Ab. to Mt. Battock on the w. b. of Kc. (19 w.Stonehaven), and then sweep to the e. to about Skateraw on the coast (5 ne.Stonehaven), running from 4 to 6 m. south of the Dee. This line I take from Dr. M.'s map, and I have had no means of verifying it.

*Area.* The greater part of Fo. to the e., and of Kc. to the sw., from the Forth of Tay to the Grampians, the ancient Angus and Mearns, the ancient names for Fo. and Kc.

*Authorities.* Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 238, and see Alphabetical County List under

*Fo.* ° Arbroath, ° Brechin, *° Dundee.
*Ke.* ° Glenfarquhar.

*Characters.* Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says with regard to D 38:

"In the dialect of Angus, s. of the Grampians, (1) the consonantal peculiarities of the *North-Eastern* group are still found, but (2) the vowel system is more like that of the Central Scottish (D 34–37), English *oo* being (y) as in *good* (gyd).

(3) The ĭ or *y* (i, e) of other dialects is often widened into ŭ (ɐ) as (hɐm, tɐl, hɐr, mɐlk), etc., for him, till, her, milk. (4) D between vowels is sometimes softened into (dh) as (l*a*dh*i*z) laddies."

This is all the information he gives. On this we may observe:

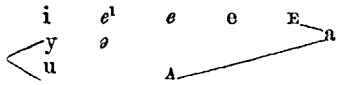
1. That the great consonantal peculiarity of (f) for (wh) is, according to Mr. Ross, native of Glenfarquhar, confined to the following words: who, when, where, what, whose, which, whether, how used for why, (fa, fe¹n, faar, fat, fus, fɐl, fodhɐr, fuu), with the substantives 'weasel wheel,' or rather 'quhitred or -et, whorl' (fɐtɐret, foorl), and, so far as Mr. Ross knows, in no other sb. or in any vb. Hence the dialect is distinctly separable from D 39, where no such limitation occurs.

2. That *good* according to Mr. Ross is not (gy$_1$d), but (gɐd gjɐd), as in (blɐd, flɐd, stɐd, stɐl, flɐr) blood, flood, stood, stool, floor, but that the D 39 (*gw*id) is also heard. These (ɐ) were very distinctly given in two different manners, and I get (flɐd) from Ba.

3. Seems to be the appreciation of the ($i_{11}$) as (ɐ), and the people in D 38 distinguish the two sounds, or believe they do so; thus in the Glenfarquhar wl. we have (m*i*$_{11}$lk), but the Brechin wl. has (mɐlk); they are no doubt identical sounds, of which more hereafter.

4. Of this I have no other example.

The phonesis of this D 38, which is certainly transitional between D 34 and 39, presents some peculiar points of difficulty. Mr. Ross, who has taken great pains to indoctrinate me with them, uses a vowel triangle, which I give as a trigram and represent thus:




He says that (*e*) "is the English long *a* in *same* only without the vanish; (*e*¹) is nearer (i) in quality; (e) as in there, (E) a shade broader." One of the most peculiar vowels is here not placed, he says of it, "ɤ is my mark for *sit*, *fit*, *pin*, etc., an ugly thick sound compared with the English, but very extensively used in Scotland," that is, in NL. only. "An Englishman says *sŭt*, *fŭt*, *pŭn* (sɐt, fɐt, pɐn) as his nearest approximation. *ă* on the other hand I must have used for an obscure unaccented vowel, I should think, as in *ăliven* eleven. *Perhaps the difference is more in accent than in quality.*" This vowel in transliterating Mr. Ross's wl. I shall represent by ($i_{11}$) to distinguish it from ($i_1$), and to retain the NL. appreciation of it, as a kind of (*i*). Mr. Ross says it is nearly the English *u* in *pun*, *but*, and "lies between *i* in p*i*ty, *a* in gn*a*t, and *u* in *nut*," by which he probably means (*i*, a, ɐ), "and there is a sort of jerked drop of the jaw in producing it." Dr. M. in transliterating Mr. Anderson's Arbroath cs., p. 684, has generally represented this sound by (e), which he also uses for his own *y* in D 33, but occ. by (E, *y*, ə). In the two dt. given below I find I use (e) in r*i*ght, com*i*ng, going, (fe)=from, f*i*nd, th*i*ng, *i*s, but (e')—which cannot be right, as fractures do not seem to be

recognised—in *gate*, and used (ʊ) in *e*nough, h*i*m, but I have (*i*) in w*i*zent. I cannot think that the vowel is the same in all positions, and when unaccented as in (w*i*$_{11}$ra·q), it is rather (ʊ). More upon this difficult vowel in D 39, p. 767.

Another difficulty arises for ($e^1$ *e* e). Mr. Ross was kind enough to classify a number of words, and I give the classification.

1. (e) English there, "only it seems to me that an Englishman begins his *there* with a slender sound, and then makes a broad vanish towards *r*. In Scotch the sound is uniform from beginning to end." I add the numbers in the cwl. Long in 3 bake, 7 sake, 8 have, 9 behave, 23 same, 32 rather, 108 dough = daigh, 140 hail, 146 main, 163 lay, 166 maid, 170 harvest = hairst, 210 clay, 222 hair, 243 play, 248 mare, 260 lay, 722 drain, 729 frame.

2. ($e^1$) "The sound is slenderer than the English *ā* and shorter with no vanish." In 19 tale, 40 comb = kaim, 73 so, 115 home = hame, 121 gone = gane, after 151 seat, after 348 beat, 500 like, 838 treat, etc.

3. ($ee^1$) "Same sound as 2, but long." In 71 wae, 161 day, 211 gray, 221 feard = afraid, 261 say, before 340 beard, 402 learn, after 825 pay, etc. "But in Arbroath day, say, are pron. even broader than No. 1" (DEE, SEE).

4. (i) "The sound is *ee* short." In 118 bone, 315 feet, 571 good = gweed.

5. (ʞ) "Sound of *u* in b*u*t." In 464 which = fŭl, 571 good = gyŭd, flood, 616 ground, 805 curds = cruds, 928 ounce, 935 country, 954 cushion, 956 cover.

6. (ə) "Sound, the well-known Scotch sound, nearly *eu* in the French *peu*." Although to my ear it is more like (y$_1$), I give (ə) as in D 33. In 594 boot, 596 root, 597 soot, 966 fruit, 970 just.

7. (əə) "Same sound, but long." In 557 too, 586 do, 591 muir, 969 sure = sheur, before 969 cure.

8. (éi) "*almost* as in English, but it does not please a fastidious English ear; it seems to be *ăy*, *a* being as in *man*," this would make it (æ'i) or (ʞ'i), but I retain the (éi) to harmonise with Mr. Clarke's indications, below. In 246 ii. quean, 690 kind, 691 mind.

9. (ái) "The sound is *ay* where *a* is the short of *a* in father." In 677 dry, 686 buy, 705 sky, after 760 try, before 900 cry, etc.

10. (áai) "The sound, very long, is *ây*, *â* as in *father*, not as in *fall* as you will sometimes hear it elsewhere." In 212 whey, 262 way, 502 five, after 505 thrive, after 911 strive.

11. (*é*i) "This is an Aberdeen sound, found with us in a few words. It seems to be *ey*, *e* as in *met* or slenderer. It is likest the English *a* in *wave*, etc., when there is a vanishing glide (*ee*'j), but is not the same." Hence I use (*é*i) as in D 33. In 235 weave, 450 Tuesday, 708 hire, 709 fire.

"The series of sounds I [Mr. Ross] think is this:

1. (*ee*'j) wave, same, etc., as in English with vanish.
2. (*é*i) weave, fire, tire, see No. 11 } First Group.
3. (éi) kind, mind, No. 8 }
4. (ái) sky, dry, No. 9 } Second Group."
5. (áai) five, whey, etc., No. 10 }

I have left the second element of these diphthongs as pure (i) as in D 33, but Mr. Ross says, "The second component of the diphthong is not so clear in Scotch as in English. It is a duller sound, except in [the last] No. 3, of which we have only a few words." If this is correct, we should read (*éi*, éi, á*i*, á*a*i), or something like it. These four (a'i) sounds are very curious and peculiar. But the marked features are ($e^1$, $i_{11}$), the former being heard by Englishmen as (*i*), and the latter often as (e, ʞ). The absence of (ʌʌ) in contrast with ML. usage is also conspicuous. The Brechin wl. apparently gave (ʌʌ) in some cases, writing *aw*, but this seems to be only the NL. fashion of symbolising (baa).

For the consonants both (kh, kjh) occur according to the preceding vowel, but I do not find (k*w*h) except as an occasional initial. Mr. Ross indicates (ˌtˌr, ˌdˌr) in some cases, and says that (ˌt, ˌd) also occur independently of (ˌr),

but he gives no instances. As regards the use of (f) for (wh) in provincial words, Mr. Melville Bell thinks that the real sound is (fh), that is, (f) complicated by the raising of the back of the tongue nearly into the position for (kh). In that case the difference between (wh, fh) or (kwh, fh) would be slight, consisting almost entirely in interposing the action of the teeth. The initial (wr-) is used with the help of an auxiliary vowel written ($i_{11}$), but sounding (ʊ). But in the Arbroath cs. it is (vr-).

## *Illustrations.*

1. Arbroath. A cs. written by Mr. Anderson and pal. with some hesitation by Dr. Murray, given in the Introduction to L., No. 5, p. 684.
2. Dundee. A dt. written from dict. by AJE.
3. Glenfarquhar. A dt. pal. by AJE. from the indications furnished by Mr. Ross.
4. A wl. chiefly from Mr. Ross, of Glenfarquhar, with some words by Mr. Guthrie of Brechin, and, for comparison, the words from the Arbroath cs. as interpreted by Dr. Murray.

## Two Interlinear dt.

D Dundee, pal. June, 1881, by AJE. from dict. of Miss Begge, student at Whitelands Training College, but 16 years (almost all her life) at Dundee.
G Glenfarquhar pal. by AJE. from the writing and description of John Ross, Esq., native, who gave the following wl. for the same place.

These are placed in juxtaposition to shew how the indications agree with the vv. Observe particularly the different appreciations of ($i_{11}$) in (1) right coming from, (2) going gate, (3) enough to, (4) find wizened, (5) him, (6) will her, (7) is.

1. *Dundee.* soo ʊ *see*, nibʊrz, ɟi sii nu dha't a)m rekht
*Glenfarquhar.* soo ʊ *see*', s$i_{11}$rs, ɟʊ sii nuu ʊt ái)m r$i_{11}$kjht

D ʊbuut dha't wi làsi kɜmen fe dhi sky$_1$l dhonder.
G ʊbut dhat l$i_{11}$t'l lasi kɜm$i_{11}$n f$i_{11}$)dhʊ skɟ*ee*l ɟɜndʊr.

2. D shi)z ge·en diin dhʊ ròd dh*eer* thru dhʊ rìd ge't on dhʊ
G shʊ)z gɛ'$i_{11}$n dun dhʊ wâi dheer thráu dhʊ rid ɟ$i_{11}$t o)dhʊ

D lɛft han séid dhʊ wái.
G left haand sɛ'*i*d $i_{11}$)dhʊ rod.

3. sh*er* ʊnukh dhʊ bèrn)z *gen* strɛkht ɜp ti dhʊ dòr
sh*ee*r $i_{11}$nɟukh dhʊ l$i_{11}$tl)$i_{11}$n)z gee'n strakht ɜp t$i_{11}$)dhʊ door

D ʊ dhʊ ràq hùs,
G $i_{11}$)dhʊ w$i_{11}$ra·q hus,

4. D fàr shi)l léikli fen dha't dr*ɜ*k'n dif wiz'nd fɛli
G faar shʊ)l me)b*e*' f$i_{11}$nd dhat drɜk'q d*e*'f w$i_{11}$z'nt felʊ

D kàd :tomʊs.
G $i_{11}$)dhʊ n*e*'m ʊ :tam.

5. D wi à kɛn)ʊm re¹ʊl wìl.
G we aa kèn $hi_{11}$m vera wil.

6. D wɛl)ni dh)àld tɟap $sy_1$n lɛ'rn)ʊr noo ti di)t ʊgɛn,
G $wi_{11}$)nʊ dhʊ aald tɟap shəən le'rn)$i_{11}$r nee¹ tʊ dii)d ʊge'·n,

D pèr theq!
G pəər $thi_{11}$q!

7. D lùk, es)t no truu?
G luk, $i_{11}$z)'n)t truu?

Dundee Miscellaneous Notes and Phrases by Miss Begge.

1. (ɟu dhʊt kenz) you that know, always so used as in Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 212 and p. 71, note 1.
2. (ái)v dind) I have done, never heard dône. *thou* not used, (aɟm hiɟz wiɟr ɟiɟr dheeɟr).
3. (àɟz dheer) never used.
4. (lái) not (lig), fowls (lee), but fowls are called (hɛnz) of both sexes. (pɛt dhʊ hɛnz, tɟik'nz, dùn pliiz) put the hens, chickens, down please.
5. (giɟt ti hez), not (hɛz), give it to us.
6. (àld ʊn leem) old and lame.
7. (tak)s heem wi ɟi) take us home with you.
8. (ái see, làdiz, rɛn ʊwà ʊn plè ɟʊrsɛlz) I say, lads, run away and play yourselves, reflective verb.
9. (wi hà)nʊ oni ʊ dhem) we have not any of them. (wi)v tʊ gàq) we have to go.
10. Verbal noun and participle, are not distinguished (-en) is used in both.
11. (a)m den, $dy_1$n) I have done.
12. (shan)t) not much used, (shanʊ) might be used, but is not so generally, (dɛ)nʊ méind) don't mind=remember.
13. (hi)z tʊ dii dhʊ dee) he's to die to-day. (dhʊ nuu) just now, (dhʊ dee, dhʊ morning) this day, this morning.
14. (get) gate not heard.
15. (fan fàr) when where, commonly used even by children.
16. *find* is sometimes heard without (d), as (ái fan) or (fand), but (ái)v fɛnd).
17. *shr-* initial presents no difficulty, (shrimps) is said.
18. (vɛri) not (vɛra) very.

*Notes by Mr. Ross to the Glenfarquhar* dt.

1. *sirs*, final (s) not (z).—*you* (ɟuu) emphatic.—*lassy*, wench is ($wi_{11}$ntɟ).—*from*, (fee¹, free¹) emphatic, ($bi_1$) unemphatic.—*school*, some old people said (skwiil).—*yonder* is not (dhondʊr), though *yon* is (dhon).

2. *she* is emphatic; conjugation of the vb. *to be*, (ái am, ɟʊ ar, e¹ iz, wʊ ar, ɟʊ ar, dhʊ ar).—*going*, pres. (ge¹), inf. (geq), pret. (ged), pp. (ge¹n), go away (ge¹ waa).—*hand*, the (d) pronounced, but not towards Aberdeen.—

*side*, the ī in fire is (éi), slenderer than in *side*. "I have heard (sé¹id) for *scythe*."—*road*, "we have just one sound of *o* long and short, intermediate between English *o* in *toll* and *a* in *tall*."

3. *sure*, this is referred to French *eu*, and I merely conjecture that it is (əə) rather than (œœ), but it is perhaps more probably ($y_1$), compare D 33.—*enough*, plural (enJuu·).—*little one has;* usual conjugation of *have*, (ái)v, Jʊ)v, hii)z, wʊ)v, Jʊ)v, dhʊ)v), emphasised (ʊ $hi_{11}$v, Jʊ $hi_{11}$v, e¹ $hi_{11}$z, wʊ Jʊ dhʊ $hi_{11}$v·), negative (ʊ $hi_{11}$)nʊ, e¹ $hi_{11}$z)na, wʊ $hi_{11}$)nʊ), etc.

4. *she'll*, emphatic (ʊ $wi_{11}$l, ʊ $wi_{11}$)nʊ).—*maybe*, the word *chance* is not used; they call *lance* (lans).—*find* pp. (fan) without *d*.—*drunken*, this assimilation of final *-en* to the preceding consonant is also found in (oop'm, $l_1$p'm, :eek'qhid) = open, lippen, Aikenhead, etc.—*wizened*, no words beginning with *shr-* exist in the locality, *shriek*, *shred*, *shrill* become (skritʒ, skrid, ski$_{11}$rl).

5. *we*, they say ($i_{11}$t)s mii, $i_{11}$t)s Joo, $i_{11}$t)s $hi_{11}$m, $i_{11}$t)s $hi_{11}$:z) or ($i_{11}$t)s os), but this "I think was an attempt at fine speaking. When a Scotchman wants to be emphatic, or gets angry, he tries to speak English."—*ken*, (k) is pronounced before (n) sometimes with the interposition of ($i_{11}$) as (k$i_{11}$néif), and sometimes with a change of (n) to (q) as (kqok).

6. *won't*, (ʊ $di_{11}$)nʊ, ʊ $di_{11}$v, dii ʊ ken dhat? éei $di_{11}$v)ʊ; fat)s ʊ dəə?) = I don't, I do, do I know that? aye, do I; what)shall I do?—*learn* they use *teacher* (tiitʒ$i_{11}$r), but *master*, *domine* (me'st$i_{11}$r, dom$i_{11}$ni) are the L. words.

*Notes by Mr. G. Clarke, M.A., of the West End Academy, Dundee, in June*, 1876.

ī not before a consonant is (ái) as (ái mái), before a consonant is (éi) as (méin); five (fáiv) is an exception, but (néin) is correct; bible (béib'l) confirms the rule, though the consonant is not in the same syllable. Observe *hire* = (héir), but *higher* = (hái·ur).

Dundee school boys have a lazy negative formed by an inspired f, as (¡f), but sometimes the tongue is raised into the position of an imperfect *n* or (t), that is, about ($rh_o$), and the suction takes place through the whole passage, quasi (¡$r_o$hf).

The region of (f) for (wh) begins in the country region about Dundee, and extends beyond the town of Aberdeen. [He should say beyond the county of Ab., for I have it in Arbroath, Fo., and Wick, Ct.]

## Glenfarquhar cwl.

(11 w-by-s.Stonehaven, Kc.), from wl. by John Ross, Esq., M.A., Rector of the High School, Arbroath, Fo., native. "The inhabitants have till lately (1877) been subject to very little change and intermixture. My (Mr. Ross's) own ancestors had been in the glen for 300 years at least. The glen is divided from Deeside, Ab., by a mountain range taking 3 or 4 hours to cross. The language in the main, both in words and pron., is the same as prevails both in Angus and Mearns," old names for Fo. and Kc. Thus the Angus and Mearns Synod contains the presbyteries of Meigle (e.Pr., 5 ne.Cupar Angus), Forfar, Dundee, Brechin (all three Fo.), and Fordoun (10 sw.Stonehaven, m.Kc.). Mr. Ross has taken great pains with this wl. and with the explanations appended and the correspondence which ensued. He considers the difference between Glenfarquhar and Errol (e.Pe.) less than between the former and Deeside.

B is prefixed to a few words given by Mr. James Guthrie, of Brechin (ne.Fo.), and added to words pron. in the same way as at Glenfarquhar.

A is prefixed to words from the Arbroath cs., and added to words in the other lists which have the same pron.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 beek. 4 tak. 5 mak A. 7 seek. 8 heev [or ($hi_1$) when written *hae*]. 9 biheev. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 gnaa [(g) pronounced]. 15 aa [the

vowel (AA) is not used]. 16 daan. 17 laa. 18 keek. 19 *te*ˡl. 20 *le*ˡm. 21 *ne*ˡm, A *neem*. 22 *te*ˡm. 23 seem. 24 *she*ˡm. 25 MEN. 28 heer. 30 keer. 31 *le*ˡt. 32 beedh, B baadh. 33 reedʊr *ree*-. 35 aal. 36 thaa. 37 klaa.

A: 39 kam. 40 *ke*ˡm. 41 thaqk. 43 haand. 44 laand. 46 kan'l. 48 saq. 49 heq. 50 teqz. 51 man A. 53 kan. 54 *wi*$_{11}$nt, A want. 55 *e*ˡsh. 56 *we*ˡsh, AB wash. 57 as. A: *or* O: 58 foo *fi*$_{11}$, A fre fe. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 ʊmo·n. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 64 *wi*$_{11}$ra·q, A vraq. 65 saq.

A'- 67 ga *ge*ˡ [A (gjeed) goed, went; (*gee*'n) going]. 69 naa. 70 taa *te*ˡ. 71 *wee*ˡ. 72 faa, A *faa*. 73 soo *si*$_{11}$ *se*ˡ sʊ, A *see*. 74 twaa A. 75 strook. 76 ted. 77 leerd [as owner of the soil]. 78 èn, A *een*. 80 hoole*ˡ*di. 81 *le*ˡn, A *leen*. 82 A *ens*. 83 meen mìn. 84 moor, A *meer*. 85 soor. 86 *ee*ˡts. 87 kl*e*ˡz, A kl*eez*. 88 kliid. 89 *be*ˡth, A *beeth*. 90 blaa. 91 máu. 92 [(ken) used]. 93 snaa. 94 kraa A. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 sául. 98 knoon [(k) pron.]. 99 throon. 100 saan.

A': 101 eek ook. 104 rood. 105 red. 106 bred. 107 loof. 108 deekh. 109 leekh. 110 A *noo*. 111 okht, A *o*kht. 112 *hee*ˡl. 113 hool, A *heel*. 114 mool. 115 *he*ˡm, A *heem*. 118 bin. 121 *ge*ˡn. 122 i. niin. 123 nothiq *ne*ˡthiq. 124 stiin. 125 onli, A *onli*. 126 oor. 127 *he*ˡrs. 128 dh*e*ˡs. 129 *ge*ˡst. 130 bot. 132 het. 133 *wi*$_{11}$ro·t [(wʊrò·t) would perhaps better convey the sound to an Englishman]. 134 oth *e*ˡth. 135 kloth kl*e*ˡth.

Æ- 138 faad*i*$_{11}$r faadhʊr. A fadhər. 140 heel. 142 sneel. 144 ʊg*e*ˡn, A ə*gen*. 146 meen. 147 [(harnz) used]. 148 feer. 149 bl*ee*ˡz. 150 best. — *se*ˡt [seat]. 152 wa,tʊ,r. 153 se,tʊ,rd*e*ˡ.

Æ: 154 A bak. 155 thak, B thik. 157 [(korbi) used]. 158 eftʊr, A *ee*ftər. 160 eg. 161 d*ee*ˡ [(DEE) in Arbroath], A d*ee*. 163 lee. 164 mee*ˡ*, A m*e*. 165 sed. 166 meed. 167 dee*ˡ*l. 168 talʊ. 169 k*w*h*i*$_{1}$n ["the (kh) quite marked," yet in a later list (f*i*$_{11}$n) and afterwards (fʊn) was admitted with (i)], A fən fan. 170 heerst. 171 b*ee*ˡr. 172 g*i*$_{11}$rs. 173 w*i*$_{11}$z, A w*yz*. 174 ash. 175 fest. 177 A dhat a'ˡt. 179 fat A. 180 baath.

Æ'- 182 sii. 184 lèd. 187 lee*ˡ*v. 188 [(n*i*$_{11}$kjhʊr) nicker, used]. 189 wéi. 190 kéi. 191 *he*ˡl. 192 miin. 193 kliin. 194 oni, A *oni*. 195 mani. 196 w*i*$_{11}$r. 197 tjiiz. 200 k*w*héit. 201 heedh'n. 202 *he*ˡt.

Æ': 203 spiik. 204 did. 205 thrid. 207 nid'l. 210 klee. 211 gr*ee*ˡ. 212 k*w*háai, B whéi. 213 A *ee*dhər. 214 A *ne*edhər. 215 takht. 218 shiip. 219 sliip. 220 A shepərd. 221 f*ee*ˡr [(f*ee*ˡrd) feared afraid]. 222 heer. 223 dheer, A dh*eer*. 224 faar A. 226 m*e*ˡst. 227 wat, A wit. 228 swéit. 229 br*e*ˡth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brak. 233 spiik, A spik. 235 wéiv. 236 f*i*$_{11}$vʊr. 238 HEDJ. 239 SE'l. 241 RE'n. 243 plee. 244 A wil. 246 i. k*w*iin, ii. k*w*éin. 248 m*ee*ˡr. 249 w*ee*ˡr. 250 sw*ee*ˡr. 251 miit. 252 ket'l, A KET'l. 253 n*i*$_{11}$t'l. 254 ledhʊr. 255 wedhʊr.

E: 256 A strik*yt* [stretched]. 257 EDJ. 258 seg. 259 wadj. 260 lee. 261 *see*ˡ [in Arbroath SEE, A (see'n) saying], A *see*. 262 wáai. 263 A ə*waa*. 264 E'l. 265 strakht, B streekht, A str*e*kht. 267 iild. 270 i. belʊs, ii. beli. 271 A tEl. 272 elm. 273 men, A MEN. 274 b*i*$_{1}$ntj. 275 [(st*i*$_{11}$qk) used]. 276 th*i*$_{11}$qk, A theqk. 277 [(druk) used]. 280 vle*ˡ*v'n. 281 l*i*$_{11}$nth, A LENTH. 282 str*i*$_{11}$nth. 283 m*i*$_{11}$ri. 284 thrash. 286 harʊ. 287 b*i*$_{11}$z'm. 288 lat.

E'- 289 i. 290 hii. 292 mii. 293 wii, A w*i*. 294 fiid. 296 biliiv. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 kiip. 301 hiir. 302 miit. 303 swiit.

E': 305 hiikjh. 306 h*i*$_{11}$kjht. 308 niid. 309 spiid. 310 hiil. 311 ten. 312 hiir A. 314 hard A. 315 fit [pl., for sg. see 595]. 315 niist, A nikst.

EA- 319 [(gaaf) used]. 320 keer, A k*eer*. EA: 321 saa, A s*aa*. 322 lakh, A laakh. 323 fokht. 324 akht. 325 waak. 326 ald, A aald. 327 baald. 328 kaald. 329 faald. 330 had A. 331 sat. 332 taald. 333 kaaf. 334 haf. 335 aà [very long], A *aa*. 336 faà. 337 waà. 338 k*aa*. — b*ee*ˡrd [beard]. 340 JEERD, A JEERD. 342 eerm. 343 waarm. 345 daar. 346 g*i*$_{11}$t.

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii A. — b*e*ˡt [to beat]. 349 fiáu A. EA': 350 diid. 351 led. 352 red. 353 briid. 354 sh*e*ˡf. 355 d*e*ˡf. 356 l*e*ˡf. 357 thoo, A th*oo*. 359 niipʊr, A nibər. 361 biin. 363 tj*e*ˡp. 365 niir naar. 366 gréit. 367 thr*e*ˡt. 368 d*e*ˡth. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 str*ee*ˡ.

EI- 372 éi, A áai. 373 dhʊ. 375 reez *ree*ˡz. 376 bɛˡt. EI: 378 wɛˡk, A *wee*k. 380 A dhəm.

EO- 383 seˡv'n. 384 heˡv'n. — *téir* [to tire]. 385 ʊneth. 386 jáu B. 387 A nuu. EO: 388 m*i*₁₁lk, B malk. 390 sad A. 392 A *jon*. 393 ʊjɑ·nt. 395 A jɑq. 396 w*i*₁₁rk. 397 suurd. 398 sterv. 399 A brekht. 402 *lee*ˡrn, A *leern*. 403 far. 404 star. 405 herth B. 406 jerd. 407 fardi₁₁n. 408 níu.

EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii A. 412 shii A. 413 diiv'l. 414 flii. 415 lii. 416 diir. 417 tjáu. 418 bruu. 420 fáur. 421 forti.

EO': 422 A sik. 424 rokh. 425 l*i*₁₁kjht. 426 fekjht. 428 sii. 429 fiind. 430 friind, A frind. 431 biir. 432 foort. 433 briist B. 434 bet. 435 juu A. 436 truu. 437 truuth, A truth. EY- 438 dii A. EY: 439 ˌtˌrast, A trast.

I- 440 wiik, A wik. 441 s*i*₁₁v. 442 éivi. 444 stéil. 446 néin, A nə'in. 448 [(dhee¹) used]. 449 g*i*₁₁t. 450 téizdeˡ. 451 shuu.

I: 452 éi. 453 A kwek. 454 w*i*₁₁tj, B watj. 455 léi, A lái. 457 m*i*₁₁kjht. 458 n*i*₁₁kjht, A nekht. 459 r*i*₁₁kjht. 462 s*i*₁₁kjht. 463 A təl. 464 fal [which, as an interrogative only]. 465 s*i*₁₁k, A sek. 467 wéild. 470 A ham. 471 t*i*₁₁mʊr. 473 bl*i*₁₁nd. 474 rand. 475 w*i*₁₁nd. 476 b*i*₁₁nd. 477 f*i*₁₁nd. 478 gr*i*₁₁nd. 479 wéind. 480 A theq. 481 f*i*₁₁qʊr. 484 A dhes. 485 th*i*₁₁s'l. 487 j*i*₁₁stʊrdeˡ. 488 j*i*₁t. 489 A et.

I'- [for the 4 sets of sounds here concerned, see Introduction to D 38, p. 757]. 491 s*i*₁₁kjh. 492 séid. 493 dráiv. 494 táim, A taˑim. 495 A whə'inən. 496 éirʊn. 498 w*i*₁₁réi·t [the (w*i*₁₁) strikes an Englishman as (wʊ)]. 499 biit'l.

I': 500 leˡk, A lek. 501 wéid. 502 fáaiv. 503 léif. 504 knéif [(k) sounded]. 505 wéif. — thráaiv [thrive]. 506 a·mʊn. 507 wiimen, B wamʊn. 508 méil. 510 A méin. 511 wéin. 514 éis. 515 wéiz. 516 w*i*₁₁zdʊm.

O- 519 A ə'ur. 521 fool. 522 oop'n. 523 háup. 524 waarld.

O: 527 bokht. 528 thokht B. 530 w*i*₁₁rókht. 531 dokhtʊr, A daakhtər. 532 kool. 533 dal. 534 hol. 535 A fa'uk. 536 gáuld. 537 muuld. 538 A wəd wad. 539 bául. 541 A wəl n*oo*. 542 bolt. 545 hap. 548 fərd. 550 w*i*₁₁rd, A wərd. 551 storm. 552 korn. 553 hoorn. 554 kros.

O'- 555 sh*əə*. 556 tʊ. 557 t*əə*, A tyy. 558 luk. 559 m*i*₁₁dhʊr. 561 blʊm. 562 mən. 563 mʊnʊndeˡ. 564 sh*əə*n. 565 nooz. 566 A idhər.

O': 569 buk. 570 tuk. 571 gad gɑad g*ee*d, A gjyd. 572 blʊd. 573 flad. 575 stad. 577 buu. 578 plu plukh. 579 enjukh A [sg.], enjuˑ [pl.]. 580 tiukh B. 581 sokht. 583 tul. 584 stal. 585 brʊm. 586 d*əə*, A denə [don't]. 587 dən, A dyn. 588 nən, A nyn. 589 spʊn. 590 flar. 591 m*əə*r, B míur. 592 A sw*oo*r. 594 bət. 595 f*i*₁₁t [sg., for pl. see 315]. 596 rət. 597 sət, B sat.

U- 601 fùl. 602 suu B. 603 kam A. 604 A semər. 605 son [distinctly stated to have (o)], A sʊn. 606 door, A d*oo*r. 607 baˌtʊˌr.

U: 601 agli. 609 fuu, A fal. 610 uu. 612 sam, BA. 615 B pand. 616 grand, A gran. 617 suund. 618 uund. 619 A fand. 622 andʊr. 625 taq. 627 A sand*e*. 629 san [and hence differing from 605]. 630 wan. 631 tharzdeˡ, A fyyrzd*e*. 632 ap A. 633 kap. 634 thráu, A thruu. 637 task. 639 d*i*₁₁st.

U'- 640 kuu B. 641 fuu [used also for why] A. 642 [not used]. 643 nuu A. 646 B buu. 647 ul. 648 uur. 651 A wəthuut. 652 kad.

U': 655 fùl. 656 rùm. 657 brùn. 658 dùn A. 660 buur. 661 shuur B. 662 B hiₗs. 663 hùs BA. 664 lùs. 665 mùs. 667 ùt A. 668 prùd. 669 ankù·thi. 671 muu. 672 sùth.

Y- 673 mak'l [(a) but with lips more protruding, not (*i*₁₁) as in some parts] A. 674 A ded. 676 lii. 677 drái, A dráai. 678 d*i*₁₁n. 679 k*i*₁₁rk. 681 A beznes. 682 l*i*₁₁t'l. Y: 683 m*i*₁₁dj. 684 br*i*₁₁g. 685 r*i*₁₁g. 686 bái. 687 fl*i*₁₁kjht. 689 [(big) used]. 690 kéind. 691 méind. 693 s*i*₁₁n. 695 hark'n A. 696 b*i*₁₁rth. 697 bəri. 698 m*i*₁₁rth. 699 w*i*₁₁r*i*₁₁kjht. — spiir [speer]. 700 waar. 701 f*i*₁₁rst, A ferst. 703 p*i*₁₁t. Y'- 705 skái. 707 thertii·n. 708 héir. Y': 709 féir. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad, B lʌʌd, A ladhi. 715 pad. 717 djad B. 719 [(páuiₗt) pow-head, used]. 720 fag. 722 dreen. 723 déiri B. 724 bald. 725 se'l. 727 djam. 728 sham. 729 freem. 730 kantur. 731 wantun B. 734 daarn. 735 smash. 737 mee'l. 740 weev. 741 meez. 742 B lɛzi. E. 743 B skreem. — ween [wean, little one]. 744 [(niₗrlz) used]. 745 tje'l. 746 bree'th. 747 endee'vur. 750 beg. I. *and* Y. 754 piₗₗg. 759 fiₗₗt. — trái [try]. O. 761 lood. 764 B kad'l. 767 nóis A. 771 foond. 772 B boonféir. 774 páuni B. 777 shop. 778 afəərd. 780 B djóis'l. 781 AB badhur. 783 puultri B. 785 B luundj. 789 ráu. 790 gun. U. 792 skwab'l. 793 hag. 794 djag. 797 A skwiik'n. 798 A kwiir. — bal [bull]. 800 skal. 801 ram. 803 djamp. 804 A drak'n. 805 kradz B. 806 fas. 807 pus. 808 pet, B piₗₗt.

III. ROMANCE.

A·· 809 e'b'l. 810 fè's. 811 plè's. 812 le's. 814 me's'n. 815 BA faks. 816 fèd. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 821 diléi. 822 méi B. 823 béi. — pee' [to pay]. 824 tje'r, B tjéiur. 825 wɛf. 826 ɛg'l B. 827 e'gur. 828 eegu, B eegiu. 830 B t'reen [ʔ]. 833 B péiur. 835 riₗₗz'n, A rez'n. 836 siₗₗz'n, B seesiₗn. 838 tre'l, B treet. 840 tjamur. 841 tjans, B tjʌʌns. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj, B brentj. 844 triₗₗntj. 845 anshunt, B ʌʌnshunt. 847 deendjur. 848 B tjiindj. 849 streendjur B. 850 dans, B dʌʌns. 851 B anti. 852 aprun. 853 bargiₗₗn. 855 kariₗₗt. 856 peert B. 857 ke's, A kes. 859 tje's. 860 B pèst. 861 te'st. 862 sef, A sef. 864 bika·s B, A bikaz. 865 faat B. 866 pəər, B peer.

E·· 867 tii BA. 869 ve'l, B veel. 870 bĭáuti. 871 ugrii. 872 tjiif. 874 re'n. 875 fiₗₗnt fant, B fènt. 876 diₗₗnti. 877 eer. 879 B feemeel. 880 eksamp'l, B eksʌʌmpl. 881 siₗₗns. 882 B pʌʌnsi. 883 B dandiláiun. 885 A vɛrə. 888 A sɛrt'n. 890 be'st, A beest. 891 fe'st, B feest. 892 niifu, B neve. 893 fluur B. 894 disee·v. 895 risee·v.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 diliₗₗkjht B. 898 néis. 899 niis. — krái [cry]. 900 pree. 901 féin, A fə'in. 902 méin. 903 déin. 904 véilet. 905 réi·ut. 906 véipur B. 910 djóist, B dja'ist. — stráaiv [strive]. 912 réis.

O·· 913 kotj. 914 brotj. 916 iₗₗqiₗₗn B. 917 roog. 918 fiib'l. 919 óintmiₗₗnt, B éint-. 920 B péint póint, A pə'int. 921 akwa·nt B. 922 bash'l. 923 móist. 924 tjóis, B tjéis. 925 vóis, B véis. 926 spóil, B spéil. 927 traqk. 928 ans B. 930 B léin. 932 umuu·nt. 933 frant. 934 buunti. 935 kantre'. 938 A korner. 939 klos, A klos. 940 kot, A kot. 941 fool, B ful, A fyl. 942 báutjur. 943 tatj. 944 uluu·. 945 vuu. 946 móil. 947 bóil, B béil, A bə'il. 948 bul. 949 muuld. 950 sapur A. 951 kap'l. 952 i. kurs B.. 953 kaziₗₗn, B kyziₗₗn. 954 kashiₗₗn, B kíushiₗₗn. 955 dùt. 956 kaver. 957 emplóoi. 959 konvói.

U·· 961 gruu·ul, B gruul. 963 kwéit, A kwa·iət. 964 sət, B shuunt. 965 óil, B éil. 966 frət. 967 B shuut. 968 óistiₗₗr, B eistur. — kəər [cure]. 969 shəər, A syyr. 970 djəst, A djyst. 971 fləst.

## D 39 = m.NL. = mid North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Moray and Aberdeen.*

*Boundaries.* On the s., the n. b. of D 38. On the w., the CB. or Celtic border as far as the town of Cromarty. On the e. and n. the sea-coast.

*Area.* All Ab., Ba., El. (or Moray) and Na. except the sw. portions (which are w. of the CB.), with the extreme e. of Cr.

*Authorities. Printed sources:* Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 237 and 241, Rev. Walter Gregor's Glossary to Ba. in Trans. of Philol. Soc. 1866, Mr. Melville Bell's sentences from *Visible Speech*, the novel *Johnny Gibb of Gashetneuk*, and the same author's *Sketches of Life among my ain Folk.* The last two are

admirable specimens of dialect writing, and should be read by every one who wishes to understand the nature of the dialect and its speakers. Cheap editions are published by Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. The site of Gashetneuk is in the fictitious parish of Pyketillim, but we find that it was only half a day's journey from Turriff on the Doveran; that Culsalmond, m.Ab. (8 se.Huntly), was familiar to the characters, as also the Strathbogie district containing Huntly, and that it was about halfway between Marnock, Ba. (on the Doveran, 11 e.Keith), and Kintore, Ab., which would bring it near to Rayne (12 se.Huntly), At any rate the dialect perfectly corresponds to this neighbourhood.

In Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii. pp. 396–7, art. Parish of Duffus, county of Moray (otherwise Elgin), "by a friend to statistical inquiries," there is an account of the pron. of the east coast of Moray, shewing that, except in intonation, it is the same as that of Ab.

*Manuscript sources*: Keith, Ba., the Rev. W. Gregor's cs. as pal. by Dr. Murray, and his wl. with notes and phrases as pal. by AJE. from his dict.

Buchan, Ab., or the district n. of the Ythan and e. of the Doveran, a complete num. wl. by Dr. Findlater, formerly editor of Chambers's Cyclopædia, native, where he lived to 20 years old, and which he has frequently visited since.

Cromár, or the low part of the Marr district, containing Coull, Migvie, Logie, Coldstone, Tarland (5 nw.Aboyne, 30 w.Aberdeen), and part of Tulloch, about 12 m. long and 4 m. wide. A careful alphabet of sounds by the late Mr. Innes, of Tarland, who was acquainted with phonetics, and wrote the pron. in a modification of my Ethnical Alphabet (read before the British Association in 1849), with explanations written according to the 9th ed. of Mr. Isaac Pitman's *Phonography*, with which I am familiar, was accompanied by very carefully written examples. The MS. was kindly given me by Mr. T. H. Ridge, for whom it had been written about 1864, as a contribution to a phonographic magazine, to give an idea of the language and pron. of that district. The whole of the examples are given and fully considered below, together with Mr. Innes's explanation of his alphabet. I had also the advantage of hearing a great part of this read to me in 1883 by Jane Morrison (a servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, mentioned to me by Mr. E. L. Brandreth, brother-in-law to Sir P. L.), who had arrived four days previously from her native place, Tarland, never having been previously in London.

For such an extensive and remarkable district these sources of information are very few, but so far as they go they are first-rate. No doubt there are many varieties, some of which are pointed out by Rev. W. Gregor in the preface to his Ba. Glossary, and I have no information for El., Na., and Cr., but the examples and cwl. given must convey a tolerably complete idea of the dialect.

*Characters.* The following is Dr. Murray's account (DSS. p. 237):

"(1) The most prominent distinction of the North-eastern dialects [my NL.] is the use of *f* for *wh*, and of *vr* for *wr*, as in "fat's vrang," what's wrong? (2) This peculiarity is current from the Pentland Firth [n. of Cs.] to the Firth of Tay, and the dialect is most typically represented in Ab. and the district to the nw. toward the Murray Firth. (3) Here the 12th vowel (*ə*, *y*) of the Central and Southern dialects [p. 711] loses its labialisation, so that long English *oo* (in centre and s. of Scotland *ui*) is represented by *ee*, as in *do*, *boot*, *roof*, here *dee*, *beet*, *reef*; short *oo* by ĭ, or the high mixed wide vowels (ɤ, *y*) *moon*, *stool* (min, myn, stil, st*y*l). (4) The back consonants *k*, *g*, affect a preceding or following *oo*, changing *koo*, *ook* into *kwee* *kwĭ*, and *yook*, as in good, coal, school, book, general Scottish guid, cuil, scuil, buik, here gweed, queel, squeal, byook. (5) The sound of *cō*, in the s. *cuo* (*ku'*), is often changed to cwey (kwə'ĭ) as *cweyte*, *cweyle* (kwə'it, kwe'il) for *coat*, *cool*. (6) As the *ai* (*ee*) of the other dialects corresponding to Eng. *ō*, also often sinks into *ee*, thus *bone*, *stone*, Central Sc. *baene*, *staene* (b*e*en, st*e*en), here *been*, *steen* (biin, stiin), the long *ee* is a prominent feature of the dialect. (7) But this latter change is not found all over the district; and the Rev. Walter Gregor, in the preface to his "Dialect of Ba.," distinguishes *three* dialectal varieties within the area, in the lower or coast variety of which *stone* and *bone* are *steen*, *been*, while in the middle they are stëhn, bëhn (st*e*n, b*e*n) and *meal*, *peats*, *fear*, *bear*, etc., *mail*, *paits*, *fehr*,

*behr* (mel, pets, *feer*, beer). (8) The short u (ə) of the other dialects often becomes *i* (e, *y*) as in mother, son, bull, full, here *myther*, *syn*, *byll*, *fyll*, often with the vowel long. (9) The long *aa* (*aa*) of the South of Scotland is often replaced by *ai* as *gayn*, *aicht* for *gaan*, *aawcht* (gaan, aakwht) going, ought. (10) The hard *g* is strongly palatalised, so much so that I have often found it difficult to distinguish the pronunciation of *g*eng or gyang, go (gjEq, djEq) from *jeng* (djEq). (11) In the coast districts there is also a strong tendency to substitute *d* for *th* in *fadder*, *mudder*, *widder*, etc., for *father*, *mother*, *weather*."

On this we may remark:

(1, 2) That the use of (f) for (wh) is limited in D 38, and that in D 38, *wrong* is rather (w'raq), while in D 40 it sounded to me like (r*w*aq) or labialised (r), and in neither as (vraq). (3) In *moon*, *stool*, the *oo* is not short, and I do not find the peculiar (ʏ, *y*) referred to in any of my authorities. Also, it is not absolutely correct to consider (ii) as merely delabialised L. (ə, $y_1$); it is something different, and it is doubtful whether the sound was thus obtained. (4) The (k*w*, g*w*) certainly occur, and so does (bĭuk, tĭuk, bĭukh, tĭukh) book, took, bough, tough, but the phenomena seem to be entirely different. (6) These refer to the treatment of A':, the corresponding treatment of A- has been overlooked, and the reduction to (biin, stiin) is by no means general, although it is an old joke to say that in Aberdeen people fall on the *steens* and break their *beens*. (7) The last words, *meal*, etc., are none of them of the same category as *stone*, *bone*; Mr. G.'s words are, "*meal* becomes *mehl*; *peat*, *peht*; *beast*, *behst*; *beat*, *beht*, etc., in the middle district [of Ba.], while these words retain their English pron. in the lower. The inhabitants of the lower district [or coast of Ba.] twit those of the middle on their pron., and throw in their teeth the words *meal*, *peats*, and *kail*, as if pron. *maile*, *paites*, and *kaile*." The last word seems to be a mistake, it is (kjel) in Cromár. But taking Dr. M.'s words *meal*, flour, is Ws. *melu*, *peat* is of unknown origin, *fear* is Ws. *fa'r*, and to *bear* is Ws. *beran*, so that they have no connection with *stone*, *bone*, Ws. *stán*, *bán*. (8) Here again the analogy is imperfect, *mother* is an O' word, *son* an U- word, *bull* unknown, and *full* an U: word; I also do not understand the long vowel. (9) These indications are imperfect, see Nos. 67 and 78 in the following cwl. (10) I found (dạan) going was admitted by Mr. G. (11) Observe that (d) is the original letter in all these words, Ws. *fæder*, *módor*, *weder*. Hence it is the ordinary pron. which has substituted (dh) for (d), and not the dialectal, which has replaced (dh) by (d).

The most striking points to a stranger in the *vowels* are, the absence of (AA), which is familiar in ML., so that Dr. M.'s (dAAtherz) p. 701, l. 3, is an error; the use of (ii, ì) for O'; the strange way in which ($e^1$, e, ə) are treated and written as one vowel *i*, fully considered below, p. 767; and the singular substitution of (ái) where we use (*ee*) in many words without perceptible rule or principle. As this seems to have escaped Dr. Murray, I give all the instances I have found referring them to the original vowels. The italics indicate words from *Johnny Gibb* in the original spelling.

### Peculiar use of (ái, á¹i, ɛ'i).

A: *wyme*, wame, womb. (wə'it) I wot.

Æ: (déi) day.

Æ' (kéi) key, (táitjər) teacher, who however does not 'teach' but (liirnz). (wháit) wheat, with an exceptional use of (wh) about Keith, but some say (fáit). (swáit) sweat. (wái, wáit) weigh, weighed.

E. (spáik) speak, but Æ' (spitj) speech. (wáiv) weave. (plái) play, as used by old people. (kwáin) quean, used for a woman without offensiveness. (séi) say, old people. (wái) way, the usual pron. (á¹ɹlɔyr) a church elder, of which (eJər) is the more common pron.

EA' *gryte* (gréit) great.

EI (wáik) *wykness*, weak, weakness.

EO' (*thái*) thigh, rec. pron., but many dialects have the more regular (thíi).

I (stéil) stile, for which several other dialects have the more regular (stiil). (tə'izdu) Tuesday. (áivi, grandii·vi) ivy, ground-ivy, but JM. used (á¹i) in both cases.

O *quile*, coal.

O' *hive*, hoof.

English—*swye*, sway.

Romance—*chyne*, chain. (tjáindj) *cheenge*, change. (konvái·) convey. (gjá¹ili) gaily, quite. (wə'it) *wyte*, wait. *viakle*, vehicle. (ráin) *ryne*, the rein of a horse. *kwite*, coat. *jilein*, sending to gaol.

To these I have not added Johnny Gibb's *deykn*, *seyvn*, deacon, seven, because JM. pronounced them with (deek'n, sev'n), but perhaps (déik'n, séiv'n) may also be said.

Among *consonants* the use of (f, vr-) for (wh-, wr-), and the variation of the guttural, as (kh, kjh), according to the preceding vowel, are most striking.

### Pronunciation in Cromar.

As the pron. in Ab. is very peculiar, and Mr. Innes has analysed it with great care, I give his elements numbered, and with brief observations, or none when my transcription from his characters to pal. appears certain, as confirmed vv. by Rev. Walter Gregor and Jane Morrison, reserving the observations on Nos. 19 and 20 till the end.

Vowels and Diphthongs. 1, 2 (ii, i). 3, 4 ($ee^1$, $e^1$). 5, 6 (ee, e). 7, 8 ($aa^1$, $a^1$). No. 7 heard only from old people, No. 8 always before (q), and generally, not always, before (b, d, g). 9, 10 (aa, a). 11, 12 (oo, o) "between English *au* in *caught*, and *o* in *note*." 13, 14 ($oo^1$, $o^1$) "it lies as to quality between English *goat* or *good*." 15, 16 (uu, u). 17 (ə). 18 ($y_1$) seems to be deeper than (y). 19, 20 ($i_{11}$, *y*) considered hereafter. 21 (ái) in *sighed*, *tied*, the second element in these L. diphthongs appears to be (i, u) rather than (*i*, *u*), which do not occur. 22 (á¹i) *side*, *tide*, generally conceived as (éi, ɛ'i). 23 (áe) "deep open diphthong, composed of Nos. 9 and 5, used in *aye* yes, and *I* pronoun." 24 (iu, ĭuu). 25 (á¹u) "composed of Nos. 8 and 16, or perhaps in some people's mouths of Nos. 8 and 18," (á¹$y_1$), which would resemble the Dv. (ɔ'$y_1$) in its second element.

Consonants. 26 (ɹ). 27 (w). 28 (h) "before *w*, as in when=(hwen), it is almost the same as the guttural No. 37," but in fact (wh) does not occur in the dialect. 29, 30 (p, b). 31, 32 (t, d). 33, 34 (tj, dj) assumed as =(tsh, dzh). 35, 36 (k, g). 37 (kh), "when it takes the higher sharp palatal sound in the *y* position, (j) is attached (kjh)." The voiced (gh) is not heard. 38, 39 (f, v).

40, 41 (th, dh). 42, 43 (s, z). 44, 45 (sh, zh). 46 (l). 47 (r) "*always* trilled, whether initial or final." 48, 49 (m, n), which when vocal are marked ('m, 'n). 50 (q). After (k) Mr. Innes always writes (q) in place of (n), as (kqif) for *kneef*=active, alert. 51 (j), in (tj dj, kj gj, lj nj). "The (lj) is now very rare, and (tj, dj) I have heard only from people who themselves or their parents have come from Gaelic-speaking districts. The pron. of this district has nothing of the Gaelic intonation, but 15 miles west of us, about Balmoral," which is 16 sw. Tarland, and 18 wsw. Aboyne, "Gaelic is still spoken by old people, and the English spoken is very different from ours," *i.e.* rec. sp.

The crux of the D 39 pron. consists in Nos. 19, 20, here transcribed ($i_{11}$, *y*) and both usually written *i*. We have already encountered the difficulty in D 38, but there they had not been distinguished as they are by Mr. Innes. The following are his explanations: 19. ($i_{11}$) "Obscure sound in *sir*, *her*, *fit*, not the English *i* in f*i*t, but a deader sound, something between *net* and *nut*. It is the vocal heard in *butt'n* prolonged into a vowel." 20. (*y*) "This is near to but distinct from No. 19. The final *a* in ide*a* is this sound in careless colloquial conversation. The English *i* in f*i*t is the best substitute for this sound. It has as nearly as may be the value attached to *ë* in the Ethnical Alphabet," which I there defined as "the natural vowel, an obscure murmur," and would be most like (ʊ). Mr. M. Bell used the equivalent for (*y*) considered as the sound in house*s*, good*n*ess, in his writing of the Buchan Ruth, chap. i., given in the introduction to L., p. 698. I have therefore used (*y*) for No. 20 in this transliteration, but I have used the new symbol ($i_{11}$), a doubly deepened (*i*), for No. 19, to keep it separate, and in the Cromár example by Mr. Innes I have carefully distinguished ($i_{11}$, *y*) as he did. But he is not quite consistent, as will appear by the subsequent examination.

1. The following words have both ($i_{11}$) and (*y*); *there*, dh$i_{11}$r dh*y*r; *of*, *a*, *have* ($i_{11}$, *y*); *the* (dh$i_{11}$ dh*y*); *so* (s$i_{11}$, s*y*); *no*, *do not* (n$i_{11}$, d$i_{11}$n$i_{11}$, d$i_{11}$n*y*); *ye* (ɹ$i_{11}$, ɹ*y*) *and* ($i_{11}$n, *y*n); *was* (w$i_{11}$z, w*y*z, wez), *but* (b$i_{11}$t, b*y*t).

2. The following unaccented initials are spelled both ways, *a* in *assure*, *about*, *among* ($i_{11}$ssii·r, $i_{11}$but, *y*but, $i_{11}$moo·, *y*moo·); *a* in *again*, *amends* has only *y* (*y*gje'n, *y*ma'nz).

3. In the termination *-er* I find ($i_{11}$) in *better*, *younger*, *father*, *mother* (bet$i_{11}$r, ɹʌq$i_{11}$r, faad$i_{11}$r, m*y*d$i_{11}$r), but on the other hand (*y*r) in gathering, ever, older, tother, cankered (gaa'd*y*r*y*n, *y*v*y*r, aal*y*r, t*y*d*y*r, kaqk*y*rt), which I find accented in (s$i_{11}$r, th*y*rd, w*y*rd, ɹ*y*rd) sir, third, word, yard.

4. The following have generally unaccented ($i_{11}$), but sometimes (*y*), as (mak$i_{11}$n, moorn$i_{11}$n, stop$i_{11}$t, part$i_{11}$t, lj*oo*'m*y*nz, stock*y*t, *y*nta'n*y*t) making, morning, stopped, parted, limbs, stocked, intended.

5. In accented syllables the following have ($i_{11}$) (l$i_{11}$t'l, r$i_{11}$st, n$i_{11}$kjht, b$i_{11}$t, w$i_{11}$n, $i_{11}$t, w$i_{11}$tj, p$i_{11}$th, r$i_{11}$p, l$i_{11}$kjht, skr$i_{11}$mt, :b$i_{11}$l$i_{11}$z, ɹ$i_{11}$st*y*rde, $i_{11}$l, r$i_{11}$p$i_{11}$t, la·keem$i_{11}$nee, d$i_{11}$st, t$i_{11}$l, sh$i_{11}$nz, f$i_{11}$t, l$i_{11}$t, h$i_{11}$p, dh$i_{11}$s) little, rest, night, light, bit, win, it, witch, pith, reap, light, scrimpt, Billies, yesterday, ill, rippit=row, confusion, luckie-minnie, dust, till, shins, fit, let, hip, this. And the following have (*y*); (*y*lkji, kj*y*b'l, g*y*n, sn*y*b*y*t, dh*y*g*y*dh*y*r, d*y*d, n*y*v, dr*y*qkj, m*y*d$i_{11}$r, h*y*d he'd, *y*d*y*r, f*y*n) ilka, kibble, gin=if, snubbed, together, did, neave, drink, mother, had, other, when.

This analysis shews that the separation is not complete. We must therefore have recourse to vv. which is rather hazardous, because such complex differences generally require a very long while to hear with certainty, and my opportunities of hearing natives were necessarily few and short, in fact I heard only two,

Rev. W. Gregor, of Keith, and Jane Morrison of Tarland, and perhaps Mr. Innes might have objected that both were much more modern than the time he aimed at illustrating, 1780.

Now, first, Rev. W. Gregor sent a cs. in writing, which was transliterated by Dr. Murray, and has been given among the cs. in the introduction to L., p. 684, No. 6. To this Mr. G. added the note (p. 695*d*): "*i* has several sounds, one sound in *fill, mill,* another in *wint* (want), and a third in *fin* (when) *hin*mist. The sound in *fill, mill, him* comes nearest to the sound of *yes, yet*= *i*ᵉ; the sound in *wint* may be represented by the sound of *i* in *window.* In *fin* the sound comes nearest to the sound in *pin.*" Dr. Murray conjectured that (feeᵉl, meeᵉl, heeᵉm, wənt, f*y*n) might be meant. In actually hearing Mr. G. read his wl. I wrote (re*ᵉ*kjht, me*ᵉ*lk, we*ᵉ*l, dhe*ᵉ*s, se*ᵉ*v, fe*ᵉ*qʊr, fe*ᵉ*n, se*ᵉ*k, we*ᵉ*k, fe*ᵉ*lk) for right, milk, wild, this, sieve, finger, find, such, week, which; but (wənt, thrəs'l, wətʃ) want, thistle, witch, where (ə) ought possibly to be (ɐ), though I distinctly heard (ə). The author of *Johnny Gibb* has also *wunt.* This implies two sounds (*eᵉ*) answering to Mr. G.'s *i*ᵉ, and (ə), but leaves the third sound unexplained, which may be (*y*), and this does not very perceptibly differ from (*eᵉ*).

In observing Jane Morrison, when only four days from Tarland, Mr. Innes's ($i_{11}$, *y*) seemed to be identical, but I was unable to analyse the sound I heard from her. It struck me occasionally as (*i*, *i*ᵊ, e, eᵊ, ʊ, ɐ), but most frequently as (e, ɐ). This would seem to imply that there are at least two accented sounds approaching, if not coinciding with, (e, ɐ), and an unaccented sound (ʊ), which cannot be considered generically distinct from unaccented (ɐ).

Now I think that if an Englishman were hearing for the first time the Welsh words *dyn, dynion,* man, men, pronounced in North Wales, he would hear (d*iin*, dɐnɹɔn), instead of Dr. Sweet's (dɪɪn, dəhnion). Of these vowels Dr. S. says: (ɪ) "is the most difficult of the North Welsh vowels for South Welshmen as well as Englishmen. It is advanced from the normal high mixed position towards (i), with which it is confused farther south;" and (əh) "occurs long only as the name of the letter *y*, in which it sounds deeper than the E. vowel in *sir*, being apparently more retracted, but the difference is very slight. Quite distinct from our vowel in *but*," by which he means (ɐ) (Trans. Philol. Soc. 1882–3–4, 'On Spoken North Welsh,' p. 415). The phenomena in Ab. and North Wales seem to me entirely similar, though far from being identical. In both we have an (ii) vowel verging to an (ə) vowel. And in South Wales this verging is neglected. In North Wales the same letter *y* is employed for two sounds decidedly resembling the two we get in D 39. In D 39 there is a persistence of the use of *i* to represent two or three different sounds, which are considered as varieties of the same. And it may possibly happen somewhere in D 39 that, as in South Wales, they really form but one sound. As Mr. Melville Bell heard the Buchan Ruth, he only distinguished one sound (*y*).

*Illustrations.*

1. Keith cs., by Rev. W. Gregor, pal. by Dr. M., above, in the Introduction to L., No. 6 of the 8 cs., pp. 683, 684, 695.
2. Buchan, Ruth, Chap. i., from Dr. Murray, after Mr. Melville Bell, above, in the Introduction to L., No. 3, p. 698.
3. Cromár, three examples by Mr. Innes, the first pal. from the dict. of Jane Morrison only, the second and third transliterated from Mr. Innes's spelling, and the second also pal. from dict. of Jane Morrison.
4. Ab. sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 709*d*.
5. Notes and phrases obtained and pal. from Rev. W. Gregor, while dictating his cwl. No. 6.
6. General cwl. from Rev. W. Gregor, Dr. Findlater, Buchan, Cromár, and Bell, Jane Morrison, and *Johnny Gibb*.

## Cromár Examples

written by Mr. Innes in his variation of my Ethnical Alphabet, p. 764*b*, and transliterated in the way explained on p. 766*d*. The first short example written by Mr. Innes before he had completed his alphabet is given only as read to me by Jane Morrison. The second longer example is given interlinearly (1) as transliterated from Mr. Innes, (2) as read to me by Jane Morrison, (3) in Mr. Innes's translation. Jane Morrison read to me from the ordinary spelling, not from my transliteration of Mr. Innes, which she could not have understood, hence where she agrees with Mr. Innes she confirms him; where she disagrees it may be only that her pronunciation is much younger, for Mr. Innes aimed at giving the sounds of about 1780; and especially with regard to Mr. Innes's ($i_{11}$, *y*) it gives my own appreciation of what I heard as explained, p. 768*c*. The third example is the continuation of the second; but as it was not read to me by Jane Morrison, I give it only in my transliteration of Mr. Innes's spelling, in parallel columns, with Mr. Innes's own translation.

## First Example. *The Meeting.*

"Suppose that two men meet in a fair, who have not seen each other since they left an Aberdeenshire parish school, say 50 years ago [that is, about 1816]. We shall name them John and Thomas," *J.* and *T.* in the headings.

| From Jane Morrison's dictation. | Translation. |
|---|---|
| *J.* wìl, :tam, fat wái ar ɟe? ən fuu hee ɟi bin dhes laq tá'im? | *J.* Well, Tom, what way [=how] are you? and how have you been this long time? |
| *T.* a, nee dhat el, :dɟok, fat wái ar ɟi ɟerse·l? en fuu)z ɟer wá'if en dhe let'l enz? | *T.* Ah, not that ill [=very well] Jack, what way are you yourself? and how's your wife and the little ones? |
| *J.* dhe wer aa bràli fen ái kam ʊwaa. ái hi)ne sin ɟe dhes laq tá'im. di ɟe má'in, men, fan wi | *J.* They were all gaily [bravely] when I came away. I haven't seen you this long time. Do you mind |

ist te fekjht kɜmen fe dhe skwil? en fuu dhe me'ster skelpet)s dhe nisht dee?

*T.* braali di)i má'in dhat, :dɹok. en ái haard et dhe me'ster diit a twalvmɜnth sá'in past en lent'n,[1] en wez ne vere wil of *or* hi ded dii.

[=remember], man, when we used to fight coming from the school? and how the master beat us the next day?

*T.* Bravely do I remember that, Jack. And I heard that the master died a twelvemonth since past in spring, and was not very well off ere he did die.

*Note.* [1] Mr. Innes wrote *lentren*, which JM. did not know, but Jamieson has "*lentryne, lentyre,* Lent, still used to denote Spring," the original meaning of Lent.

## Second Example. *Yule-tide.*

"A piece in the conversational dialect of the end of the last century as I [Mr. Innes] had it from an old person. The names are fictitious, but the circumstances are such as frequently happen on such occasions.

"Dialogue between a Laird [=proprietor] and his Tenant Farmer, illustrative of the Dialect, Manners and Customs of the Rural Districts of Aberdeenshire, about 1780." The Laird calls upon his tenant about New Year's day [old Christmas and old style New Year's Day are still celebrated here] and salutes him, saying [not in the dialect], "A happy new year to you, John. What sort of a Christmas have you had?" The whole of the second and third examples is a reply to this question, so that there is no proper dialogue.

C. Transliteration of Mr. Innes's writing.

J. Jane Morrison's pron.

T. Translation by Mr. Innes, on which a few notes are given, p. 775, referring to the paragraphs into which I have broken it.

1. C *Mr. Innes.* *y* wiil, si$_{11}$r, li$_{11}$t'l oo)t. dhi$_{11}$r)z
J *Jane Morrison.* a wìl, mèstɜr, let'l *o*)t. dheer)z
T *Mr. Innes' Translation.* Oh well, sir, little of it. There's

C li$_{11}$t'l w*y*rd *y* ɹil biiz dh*y*r is)t*y* bii.
J let'l werd *o* ɹiil bisá'id dhɜr ist tɜ bii.
T little word of Christmas besides there used to be.

2. C áae)v siin dhɜ tá'im f*y*n wii w*y*d)*y* had'n f*o*'rtin
J áai)v siin dhe táim fen wii wɜd ɜ had'n f*o*'rtin
T I-ve seen the time when we would have holden fourteen

C deez oo)t. naa, naa! dh*y* f*o*'k)s nee si$_{11}$ herte *y*z)dh*y*
J d*ee*'z *o*)t. na naa! dhɜ f*o*'k)s nee si herte es dhe
T days of it. No no! the folk's not so hearty as they

C is)t*y* bii.
J ist tɜ bii.
T used to be.

3. C i$_{11}$ máae ɹɜqi$_{11}$r deez dh*y*r w*y*z li$_{11}$t'l ri$_{11}$st dhi$_{11}$ ni$_{11}$kht
J en máai ɹoqɜr deez dher wez let'l rest dhɜ nekjht
T in my younger days there was little rest, the night

C *y*foo'r ɹil, bi₁₁t *y*lkjʊ bo'di tráait faa w*y*d w*i*n
J ʊfoo'r ɹil, bet ɔlki bɔdi tráait faa wed wen
T before Christmas, but every person tried who would get

C first t*y* dh*y* wal *y* dh*y* moorni₁₁n. áae kjen ni₁₁
J ferst tʊ dhʊ wa'l en dhe moornen ái kjen ne
T first to the well in the morning. I know not

C g*y*n)t ma'd oone o'dz, bi₁₁t dhi₁₁ mest *y* fo'k thokht
J gen)t me'd oni odz, bet dhe me'st ʊ fo'k thokht
T if it made any difference, but the most of folk thought

C i₁₁t gjá'i *y*n lɜke.
J et gjái en lɜke.
T it rather fortunate.

4. C *y*n sá'in dh*y*r w*y*d *y* bin dh*y* teri₁₁bli₁₁st gaa'd*y*r*y*n
J en sá'in dher wʊd ʊ bin dhʊ tereblest gedhʊrʊn
T And then there would have been the terriblest gathering

C *y* dh*y* moorni₁₁n t*y* dh*y* soo'*y*nz *y*t *y*v*y*r ɹ*y* saa. en
J en dhe moornʊn tʊ dhʊ soo'ʊnz dhʊt evʊr ɹʊ saa. ʊn
T in the morning to the sowans that ever you saw. And

C dhem i₁₁t d*y*d n*y* dr*y*qkj ut dh*y*r soo'*y*nz w*y*z shuur t*y*
J dhem et did ne driqk ut dher soo'ʊnz wʊz shuur tʊ
T them that did not drink out their sowans was sure to

C hee bá'ilz e heerst.
J hee bá'ilz en heerst.
T have boils in harvest

5. C áae)z i₁₁sii·r ɹ*y* dhy aa got e gwid brakfi₁₁st i₁₁
J áai)z enshuur ɹe dhe aa got ʊ gʊid brakfest en
T I shall assure you they all got a good breakfast of

C dr*y*qkjen soo'*y*nz *y*n *y* faq af i₁₁ dhi₁₁ ɹil kja'b*y*kj.
J dr*i*qkʊn soo'ʊnz ʊn ʊ faq of ʊ dhʊ ɹil kjàbʊk.
T drinking sowans and a slice off of the Christmas cheese.

6. C *y*n *y*lkji b*ee*'st *y*bu·t dh*y* tun got *y* ri₁₁p i₁₁ koorn, *y*
J en elki bist abùt dhe tùn got ʊ rep *o* koorn, ʊn
T And every beast about the farm got a reap of corn, and

C dh*y* wá'iner á'us got dhi₁₁ glá'iek shef.
J dhe wáiner ɔ́ks got dhe gláiʊk shef.
T the wainer ox got the glyack sheaf.

7. C *y*n g*y*n deeli₁₁kjht aa dhi₁₁ ɹɜq tɹiilz ga'd*y*rt t*y* dh*y*
J en gen deelekjht aa dhe ɹoq tɹilz g*i*dhʊrd tʊ dhe
T And by daylight all the young lads gathered to the

C lá'i *y* :maam*oo*'r t*y* dh*y* baa, *y*n áae kan tel ɹ*i*ₙ dhee
J lá'i ʊ dhʊ park tʊ dhʊ baal, ʊn áai kan tel ɹe dhʊ
T lea of mamore to the foot-ball, and I can tell you they

C skr*i*ₙmt *i*ₙt ɜp. dh*y*r w*y*d n*y* bin *y* drá'i heer
J skrempt et ɜp. dher wʊd ne bin e drá'i st*i*k
T scrimpt it up. There would not [have] been a dry hair

C *i*ₙpo·n)z.
J ʊpo·n)z.
T upon us.

8. C *y*n fá'ilz dh*y*r w*y*z le'kj t*y* b*y* dushts *y* dh*y* tel *y* dh*y*
J ʊn fá'ilz dher wez le'kj tʊ bi dushts et dhe tèl en dhe
T An whiles there was like to be blows in the tail of the

C tulɹi, fen twaa met *y*t h*y*d one grɜm'l at *y*dh*y*r.
J bɜm'l, fʊn twaa met ʊt hed one grɜm'l.
T struggle when two met that had any ill will at each other.

9. C áae má'in az wil)z thoo t)w*y*r ɹ*i*ₙstyrde, *i*ₙpoo·
J áai má'ind ez wìl az thoo et wez ɹestʊrde epo·n
T I mind as well as though it were yesterday upon

C dh*i*ₙ r*i*ₙp*i*ₙt *i*ₙt làq :dɹ*o*'n :sha'qks ʊn :dɹ*e*'mi :bris
J dhe repet dhet la'q :dɹ*o*k :sha'qks en :dɹemi :bris
T the row that long John Shanks and James Bruce

C reezt at dh*i*ₙ :baa ɹil moornin ekht*y* twaa.
J reezt et dhe :baal ɹil moornen akhte twaa.
T got up at the Football Christmas morning, 1782.

10. C dhat w*y*z dh*y* ɹiir *y*)dh*y* let heerst, f*y*n wi wez
J dhat wez dhe ɹiir ʊ)dhe let heerst, fen wi wez
T That was the year of the late harvest, when we was

C sh*ee*'r*y*n *y*moo· dh*i*ₙ snaa eft*i*ₙr t)wez niir ɹil
J sheeren amɔq dhe snaa èftʊr et wez niir ɹil
T cutting the corn among the snow after it was near Christmas

C *y*n dh*y* me'l w*y*z as blak)s d*i*ₙst.
J en dhe mii'l wez ez blak)s dest.
T and the meal was as black as dust.

## Third Example. *The Fight.*

| Original. | Translation. |
|---|---|
| 11. *yz* áae w*yz* see*i*ₙn :dʒ*o*ˈn :shaˈqks w*yz* on uur sáˈid, *yn* :dʒ*y*mi :bris w*yz* *y*po·)dh*y* t*y*d*y*r sáˈid. | 11. As I was saying, John Shanks was on our side, and James Bruce was upon the t'other side. |
| 12. wii h*y*d kaat dhem twáaiz, *yn* dh*y* baa w*yz* niir ut dh*y* th*y*rd táˈim, f*y*n :dʒ*e*ˈmi :bris kjep*i*ₙt :shaˈqks, *yn* gjaa h*i*ₙm *i*ₙ f*y*zl*y*t *yn* dh*y* sh*i*ₙnz wii)z f*i*ₙt, t*i*ₙl dh*i*ₙ blid kam thráˈu)z h*oo*ˈz. | 12. We had driven them twice, and the football was nearly out the third time, when James Bruce met Shanks and gave him a smart blow along the shin bone, with his foot, till the blood came through his hose. |
| 13. sáˈin :shaˈqks hii ɜp wii)z hand *i*ₙn gjaa :bris *y* sklaf*i*ₙrt *yn* dh*y* kɜg wii)z st*e*ˈkj*y*t n*y*v, t*i*ₙl)t ráˈq *y*gj*e*ˈn. | 13. Then Shanks he up with his hand and gave Bruce a sclafferd along the ear with his clenched fist, till it rang again. |
| 14. :bris hii seez t*i*ₙl *i*ₙm: "aáe w*y*d *l*ˈkj t*y* kjen fat ɹ*i*ₙ min b*y* ɹon, ɹ*y* yₙgli *i*ₙl-*y*ntaˈ·n*y*t skláˈip, for a)m nee t*y* bii áˈurg*e*ˈn w*y* ɹuu, nɜr one fuul háˈip*y*l *l*ˈkj ɹ*y*. a)l mee)be gar ɹ*i*ₙ w*i*ₙs *i*ₙt j*i*ₙ haˈd n*y* kɜm s*i*ₙ faar fee ɹ*y*r m*y*d*i*ₙrz h*i*ₙp dh*i*ₙs moorn*i*ₙn." | 14. Bruce he says to him: "I would like to know what you mean by you, you unseemly ill-intended slype, for I'm not to be insulted with you, nor any foul hanger on like you. I'll perhaps make you wish that you had not come so far from your mother's hip this morning." |
| 15. :shaˈqks spakɜp baal, *y* saˈd: "ɹʊ shaaˈrger *l*ˈkj, *i*ₙl-d*y*záˈint vratɟ, ɹ*y* hee nid t*y* b*y* sn*y*b*y*t, ɹ*y* bin st*y*qkj*y*n for ɹ*y*r l*i*ₙkjs dh*i*ₙs fáˈil. fat d*y*d ɹ*y* min b*y* tak*i*ₙn ɜp ɹ*y*r f*i*ₙt *i*ₙn gjii·*y*n mii *y* dh*y* sh*i*ₙnz? a)l l*ee*ˈrn ɹ*y* fa t*y* t*y*g wii: gj*y*n ɹ*y* plee as mɜk'l, a)l tɜrn ɹ*y*r lj*oo*ˈm*y*nz t*y* dh*y* min, *yn* mee)be gjii ɹ*y* ɹ*y*r haarnz h*e*ˈm wii)ɹ*y* t*y* kreesh ɹ*y*r broogz." | 15. Shanks stuck up ball and said: "You lean undergrown like, ill-designed wretch, you have need to be checked, you (have) been ripe for your punishment this while. What did you mean by taking up your foot and giving me in the shins? I will learn you who(m) to meddle with, if you do as much, I will turn your legs to the moon, and perhaps give you your brains home with you to grease your shoes." |
| 16. :bris hii w*yz* *y* kj*y*bˈl stɜmp oo *i*ₙ tɟili, *yn* wil hert*i*ₙt, *yn* hii seez: "dh*y*r)z meer w*y*n ii ɹ*y*r tɟikjs nor dh*y*r)z p*i*ₙth ii ɹ*y*r brikjs! tráˈi ɹ*y*rse·l." | 16. Bruce he was a well-built stump of a little man, and well hearted, and he says: "There's more wind in your cheeks than there's ability in your breeches! try yourself." |
| 17. dh*y* baa w*yz* stop*i*ₙt nuu, *yn* wii aa gaˈdert run dhʊ twaa rampeedɟ*y*s rask*i*ₙlz, *yn* :sɜne :fáˈit g*ee*ˈz *yn*-báˈi, *yn* seez t*y* | 17. The football was given up now, and we all gathered round the two quarrelsome rascals, and Alexander White goes in about, and says to them, says he, "What's all this |

dhym, seez hii, "fat)s aa dhi₁₁s i₁₁bu·t :bi₁₁li₁₁z? ɹy)r spá'ilyn dhy plee aadhygy·dyr, yn meer nor dhat ɹy)r maki₁₁n i₁₁ belbá'iz-mynt y dhy leev oo)z, yn farbá'i aa dhat, dheer)z :tybi :blak, dhy á'ilɹyrz wá'if, y dhy door á'urbá'i dheer ljy₁kyn at)s, yn gjyn ɹy di₁₁ ni₁₁ drop i₁₁t wii)l by aa te'n ty dhy :seshi₁₁n i₁₁ sandi₁₁, ylkji be'n (beee'n) oo)z."

18. :bris wyz y pakhte tɹape, yn y bite gwid wyd oo)z sá'iz, un seez hii: "di₁₁ ni₁₁ ɹii barn ɹyr muu i₁₁moo· ydyr fo'ks kjel ar dhans ɹ)il mee be get dhu ra'·dyn streekɹ ɹyrse·l. had ut bá'i yn lat mii at i₁₁m, for a)l hee yma'nz oo i₁₁m yfoo'r ii by twaa uurz aalyr. a)l faal i₁₁m ap le'kj u dɹokti₁₁lá'igj."

19. dhys het :sha'qks blid á'i war, yn hii lá'ust on i₁₁m wii)z taq, yn hii seez: "trá'i dhat, ɹy i₁₁ltaqt ka'qkyrt shaard. a)l leern ɹy ty kjer e beti₁₁r haq taq ii ɹer he'd. ɹyr faadi₁₁r wyz y ryglyn, yn ɹyr mydyr wyz y wi₁₁tɹ, yn ɹyr lakkee-mi₁₁nee wyz y thif."

20. sá'in uur best baami₁₁n gjee'z yn bá'i, yn seez: "dhyr)z nee is trá'iyn ty peert dhi₁₁ twaa fashi₁₁s kqeevz, for dhi₁₁)r beedh gjaan ti₁₁ :wi₁₁lee :ani₁₁rsi₁₁nz ɹil dhu ni₁₁kjht, y dhy wyd by siir to fá'il dhe fe'st. dhy wyd bi₁₁ fest y ydhur as siir)z taatez. lat dhym dant i₁₁t ut ii·nuu· dɹy₁st y feer shak yn dhy best man ii·myst, yn my₁gynykh ty dhy njoo'mest."

21. wiil fyn dhy saa i₁₁t dhy wyr ty win ti₁₁l ydyr, dhy wyr ny sy kqif on)t, byt fytyvyr dhy gyd ti₁₁l)t wy vi₁₁r yn dhy fi₁₁rst wali₁₁p i₁₁t :bris gjaa :sha'qks, gart i₁₁m dyrd ty dhy gran ti₁₁l)z hed pleet kqip on i₁₁ ron, yn)z a'lbyk ɹarki₁₁t on i₁₁ kqoorli₁k

about, lads? you're spoiling the play altogether, and more than that you're making a world's wonder of the rest of us, and besides all that, there's Elizabeth Black, the elder's wife, in the door across there looking at us, and if you don't drop it we'll be all taken to the Session on Sunday, every bone of us."

18. Bruce was a spirited little man, and a bitty good wood of his size, and says he: "Don't ye burn your mouth among other folks greens (or soup), or else you'll perhaps get the ridding-stroke yourself. Hold off and let me at him, for I'll have amends of him before he be two hours older. I'll fold him up like a big spring knife."

19. This heated Shank's blood always worse and he loos'd upon him with his tongue, and he says: "Try that, you ill-tongued, ill-tempered scrophulous dwarf. I'll learn you to carry a better [hung] tongue in your head. Your father was a riglan and your mother was a witch, and your grandmother was a thief."

20. Then our best ballman goes in about, and says: "There's no use trying to part the two quarrelsome knaves, for they're both going to William Anderson's Christmas feast to-night, and they would be sure to foul (or spoil) the feast. They would be fixed in each other as sure as potatoes. Let them fight it out just now, just a fair wrestle, and the best man uppermost, and fudgy or beaten to the lowermost."

21. Well, when they saw that they were to win to (or at) each other, they were not so keen on it, but, however, they went to it with activity, and the first swinging throw that Bruce gave Shanks made him dash to the ground till his head played knock on a piece of ice, and his elbow struck till it rebounded on a rough knob of frosted earth. I am sure they both must have

$i_{11}$ frost$i_{11}$t ɹyrd. a)m siir dh*y* beeth bii)t*y* b*y* d$i_{11}$rl$i_{11}$n, kas f*y*n dh*y* glá'id reez, hi he'd *y*n alegruug*y*s lɹy$_1$k.

22. it w*y*z n*y* aft $i_{11}$t wii striiv at dh$i_{11}$ baa, thoo dh*y*r w*y*z *y* py$_1$lgj*y*t *y* dh*y* tel *y* dh*y* tuulɹi dhat dee, b$i_{11}$t wii griit fá'in eft$i_{11}$r)t, *y*n g*y*n :sha'qks ha'd n*y* bin *y* fuu·z*y*nl*y*s stram, hi w*y*d n*y* lat'n :bris skr$i_{11}$m $i_{11}$m dhat dee.

23. áae unersti·d eft$i_{11}$r h*y*n $i_{11}$t dh*y*r w*y*z sɜmth$i_{11}$q meer *y*twin dh*y*m; for ɹy sii :dɹo'n (:dɹok) :sha'qks ha'd te'n :bete :gree t*y* dh*y* :hal$i_{11}$iiv'n bal *y*foor dhat, en :bris stak ɜp t*y*l $i_{11}$r—áae d$i_{11}$n$i_{11}$ th*y*qkj hii w*y*z one $i_{11}$l $i_{11}$but $i_{11}$r, b$i_{11}$t dɹy$_1$st t*y* pr*y*vo·k :sha'qks for fɜn t$i_{11}$l $i_{11}$mse·l, *y*n dh*y* wá'l kɜ·*tee* wez sɜm t*y* blem tii.

24. sh$i_{11}$ promist f$i_{11}$rst t*y* e'n, *y*n sá'in t$i_{11}$l $i_{11}$n*y*d*y*r t*y* lat dh*y*m p$i_{11}$t $i_{11}$r hem, en fen waa·gjaan tá'im kam :sha'qks had $i_{11}$r at dh*y* door set$i_{11}$n ut, b$i_{11}$t :bris w*y*z s$i_{11}$t$i_{11}$n dheer, *y*n dh*y* slá'i kɜtee ty$_1$k $i_{11}$ tit oo)z hw$i_{11}$sk$i_{11}$rz *y* dh*y* bá'igjaan, en hi got ɜp t$i_{11}$lz f$i_{11}$t, en dhe' dɹa'di swa'q h$i_{11}$rse·l ut *y* :sha'qks feekj, en kl*y*kj*y*t :bris b*y* dh*y* gaa·rdee, en g*y*d af wii *y*m, en feerle lɜnt$i_{11}$t :sha'qks, en hii á'i ha'd *y* gruuqɹi eft$_{11}$r)t at :bris.

been pained to quivering, because when the actionless fellow rose, he had a sour woe-begone look.

22. It was not often that we strove at the football, though there was a fight in the tail [end] of the ball-match that day, but we agreed fine after it, and if Shanks had not been a weak nerveless tripe of a lad, he would not (have) let Bruce thoroughly beat him that day.

23. I understood afterwards that there was something more between them, for you see John (Jock) Shanks had taken Miss Elizabeth Gray to the Hallowe'en ball before that, and Bruce made rival suit to her—I don't think he was any in love [lit. ill] with her, but just to provoke Shanks, for fun to himself, and the wild coquette was partly to blame too.

24. She promised first to one, and then to another, to allow them to accompany her home, and when away-going time came Shanks had her at the door setting out, but Bruce was sitting there, and the sly (faithless) coquette took a nip of his whiskers on the going past, and he got up to his feet, and the loving little girl swung herself out of Shanks' plaid, and clutched Bruce by the arm, and went off with him, and fairly gave the slip to Shanks, and he always had a deep revengeful feeling after it at Bruce.

*Notes to the Second and Third Cromár Examples.*

The figures refer to the paragraphs.

3. *folk* "or people."—*rather fortunate*, literally fine and lucky.

4. *terriblest*, i.e. largest.—*gathering* (gaa'-) or (ga'-).—*sowans*, usually (soo·ɜnz), oatmeal porridge.—*them that*, etc., those that did not drink up their porridge.—*boils* "or open sores."

5. *slice*, "a large slice" or cut.—Jamieson gives the forms "cabback, kebbuck, keback," and refers to the Gaelic *cabag*, a cheese.

6. *town*, farm.—*reap*, "a small bundle," apparently as much as was cut with one stroke of the sickle.—*the wainer ox*, "the ox who led the others in the plough."—*glyak sheaf*, "the last sheaf cut in harvest."

7. *gathered* "or collected."—*mamore* "or big field," evidently of Gaelic origin, unknown to JM.—*scrimped it up*, to scrimp is to make narrow, to straighten, here it must mean, kept it up, or something equivalent.—*dry hair*, "from sweat."

8. *whiles* "or sometimes." — *tail* "or end."—*struggle*, Jamieson, *toolye*, a broil, *tuilyie*, *tulye*, *toolyie*, a quarrel or broil; the word was not known to JM., who proposed "bundle"; the meaning is "scrimmage."

10. *we was*, "we were."—*meal* or (mee'l), flour.—*dust*, "oatmeal bran."

12. *driven*, (kaa) is to 'drive' as well as to 'call,' compare Tam o' Shanter, suprà, p. 732, v. 25, it has nothing to do with 'caught.'—*met*, Jamieson, "*kep*, *kepp*, *keip*, to intercept, to meet in a hostile way," or friendly or accidental way. — *gave*, (gjaa, gaa). — *smart blow*, not in Jamieson, but Mr. Gregor's Glossary has "*fussle*, a sharp blow," and "to beat sharply," "*up* is often added as '*fussle up*, the ill-getit slype.'"—*hose*, "stockings."

13. *sclafferd*, "a swinging blow," Jamieson has "*sclaffert*, a stroke on the side of the head with the palm of the hand."

14. *slype*, "lounger," Jamieson has "*slyp*, *slype*, a coarse fellow," Johnny Gibbs's glossary '*slype*, a contemptible fellow, a peculiarly opprobrious epithet."—*insulted* "domineered over," lit. overgone.—*hanger on*, so Mr. Innes, Mr. Gregor has "*hype-*, a big person of a not very comely appearance; used sometimes by way of approval, and sometimes as a mark of disrespect; as, 'she's nae an ill *hype* o' dehm aifter a'; he's a cantakerous *hype* o' a cheel.' *Hyppal* is the augmentative." —*hip*, "protection."

15. *lean*, *undergrown like*, Jamieson has "*shargar*, *sharger*, a lean person, a scrag."—*punishment*, lit. licks, "or pandies," Jamieson has "*pawmie*, *pandie*, a stroke on the hand with the ferule."—*meddle*, Jamieson "to *tig*, to touch lightly, to dally with; to trifle with, to treat in a scornful and contemptuous manner."—*as*, "not (az)." —*legs*, "or lower extremities." Compare *lomos*, hands, in *Paety Toral*, v. 22, in D 41.

16. *pith*, force, vigour, strength.—*try yourself*, "do your worst."

17. *drop it*, "give it up."

18. *big spring knife*, Jamieson says *jockteleg*, a folding knife, from Jacque de Liège, the name of a celebrated cutler."

19. "*cankert*, *cankerrit*, cross, ill-conditioned," Jamieson.—*riglan*, half emasculated animal. — *grandmother*, Jamieson says, "*luckie*, *lucky*, a designation given to an elderly woman, a grandmother, often *luckie-minnie*," and "*minnie*, mother, a fondling term."

20. *just now* (ii·nau·), "this word has two accents like *Amen*."—*fudgy or beaten one*, so Mr. Innes translates (my$_1$gr*y*n*y*kh), a word that I can find nowhere. — *lowermost* or *nethermost*, Jamieson *newmost*, Ags. niðemest neoðemest.

21. *activity*, Jamieson says "*beir bere bir birr*, force, impetuosity, often as denoting the violence of the wind, *vir virr*, Aberdeen."—*swinging throw*, Jamieson, "*wallop*, *walop*, to move quickly, with much agitation of the body or clothes."—*dash*, Jamieson '*dird*, a stroke, Aberdeen'; Gregor "*dird*, to strike with a sharp blow, to throw with violence."—*piece of ice*, Jamieson "*rone*, a run of ice."—*struck till it rebounded*, Jamieson, "*yerk*, *yark*, to beat, to strike smartly." —*rough knob*, this seems related to Jamieson's "*gnarr*, a hard knot in wood."—*must have been pained to quivering*, this is a very free translation by Mr. Innes, literally 'be to be tingling or thrilling,' according to Jamieson's "*dirle* to tingle or thrill," p. 735, v. 124.—*the actionless fellow*, Jamieson "*gleyd*, *glyde*, an old horse"; Gregor "a person of a disagreeable temper, metaphorical of Jamieson's meaning."—*sour*, *woebegone*, Jamieson "*allagrugous*, grim, ghastly."

22. *ball-match*, see *toolye*, par. 8, note.—*weak*, *nerveless*, Jamieson "*fowsum*, *fousum*, luscious, gross, nauseous, English *fulsome*."—*tripe of a lad*, Gregor "*stram*, vb., to walk with rude noisy step, sb. a big person, as 'he's a brow [rather pleasing in manners] stram o' a cheel'; *strammil* is the augmentative." — *thoroughly beat*, Jamieson "*skrim*, to scud, to move quickly; *scrym* to skirmish."

23. *between them*, "as the cause of quarrel."

24. *arm*, Jamieson cites "*gardy*, the arm," from Douglas.—*deep revengeful feeling*, the nearest word to *grungy* in Jamieson is "*grunye*, promontory, mouth ludicrously, a grunt." After this Mr. Innes adds, "The narrative here enters on another subject, and I believe you have had more of it than can be of interest to you. I shall therefore not follow it further."

## Mr. Melville Bell's Sentences

from his *Visible Speech* corrected as in D 33, p. 709*d*.

| Original. | Translation. |
|---|---|
| 1. w*i*)r gaan t' dh*y* kw*i*ntr*i* dh*y* morn. | 1. We're going to the country the-morn = to-morrow. |
| 2. m*y* m*i*dh*y*r)z vrit'n a[1] let*y*r t'l *y*r gwid dakht*y*r. | 2. My mother has written a letter to her good daughter = daughter-in-law. |
| 3. dh*y* stɹupid ladi)z brɔkht dh*y* vraq bjuk f*i* dh*y* skwil. | 3. The stupid lad has brought the wrong book from the school = who is your father. |
| 4. a)l gi *ʉ* a[1] baabi g*i*n ɹ*i* tɛl)z faa)z *e*ht ɹ*i*. | 4. I will give you a bawbee if you tells us who is owned you. |
| 5. dh*y* pi'r aal bɜd*i* g*o*ht fuu 't :iki :fi'r last fi'rzd*i*, *y*n dit 'n dh*y* waa' hɛm. | 5. The poor old body got drunk at Icky Fair last Thursday, and died on the way home. |
| 6. far i *i* g*ee*n ? | 6. Where are you going ? |
| 7. fat *o* diid i ? fat dit (diit) i *oo* ? | 7. What of died he ? What died he of ? |

## Notes and Phrases

furnished by Rev. W. Gregor, when the following cwl. was pal. from his dictation 14 Feb. 1878.

1. The palatal and guttural (kjh, kh) are used as in German, dependent on preceding vowel.
2. (h) in the fishing villages is left out, but not by older people elsewhere, the younger people are beginning to insert it.
3. Variable length of vowels. The vowels are quite short in rapid speech, but otherwise lengthened to medial length, and this is varied. The quality of the vowel is sometimes changed for emphasis, as (skrindɹ skruundɹ).
4. Alphabet at Keith 100 years ago; Mr. G. learned it in 1836 from a woman between 60 and 70: (mɜk'l a, le[1]tl a, be, se, de, e, ef, dɹe, itɹ, i, dɹáai, ke, ɛl', ɛm', ɛn', oo, pe, kiú, ɛ.r [rather a hard rattle], es, te, u, *e*[1]v, u'lu, ɛks, wái, e[1]ze[1]t, epersɹhan[d). An old woman of Pitsligo said (persean·dre).
5. Counting: (*e*[1]n, twa, thri:, fóur [*not* fóuɛr], fáiv, saks, se[1]v'n [seev'n *emphatic*], akht, ná[1]ˌin, te[1]n, ɛlee·v'n, twa*l*, thertin, fortin, fáiftin, sakstin, seev'ntin, akhtin, ná[1]ˌintin, twɔnti [little glide from (wɔ) to (n) as in (wɔnt) for 'want'], [then say "one and twenty," but not in enumerating, then it is twenty-one], hɜ'nɔr [vowel lengthened for emphasis], thoozɛn(z).
6. (fat)s dhɛ meetɛr wi i kreeter ?) what's the matter with the creature ?

7. Mr. Gregor's mother had heard (i) for (dhi)' as in Caithness, thus (pe't e't e'n tʊ i hid o i pres), put it into the head of the press. (gan t)e' wɛl for water) gone to the well for water.
8. She had also heard (tat, te's, he't) for 'that, this, it,' but never heard (dat).
9. (ái)l di)t, mʊn) I'll do it, man.
10. (ái, wal)ʊ) aye, will-I, the (ʊ) being used for the unaccented pronoun.
11. (bèth i ʊ mʊn gján) both of you must go.
12. (len) loan with short n.
13. Biblical words: (pro-werbs, :daawid, :izraa·l) Proverbs, David, Israel.
14. (kno kno·ledʒ) know knowledge, with the *k* when the word is used, (knok)=Knock Head, near Banff.
15. *girl* is replaced by (lasi). (*iz it* ʊ ladi or ʊ lasi?) is it a boy or a girl?
16. (we'l ʊ wáit, ái)l di)t, mʊn, tʊ pleez)ɹʊ) well I wot [see p. 766, under A:], I'll do)it, man, to please you.
17. (ɹi vratʒ, ɹʊ)v vrɔt'n dhat aa vraq) you wretch, you've written that all wrong. *wr*=(vr) in all NL.
18. (fat)ʊ i di o? fat o d*i*d)i di? o fat d*i*d)i di?) what)did he die of? What of did)he die? What of did)he die?
19. (tʊ shaav korn) to sow corn.
20. (dh*i* sk*i*m'lz)=slaughter houses, shambles?
21. Verb substantive (ái wɔz, i wɔz, hi wɔz), even emphatic (wi wɔz), thou never used. (dhi men wɔz, dhe wer), change (wer) to (we'z) after a noun. Similarly (*iz*) after plural nouns, but (aar) after pronouns.
22. (if ái biiz at hem) if I am at home, has been heard from children in two or three instances, not commonly; more regular (e'v a)m ʊt hem, ái)l di)t) if I)am at home, I)will do)it.
23. (se'k ʊ modiwert ʊv)ʊ bern) such a mole of a child.
24. (dhat biúks *iz* máin) those books are mine, (dhe's, dhat) are used for both sg. and pl. all over Ab. and Ba.
25. (hi)z diú mi twa she'lenz) he owes me two shillings.
26. (fol o i d*i*d *it*) which of you did it? has been heard, (fol) is a strange alteration of Ws. *hwylc*.
27. (kam e'n)zh)i go bái) come in)as)you go by. The (zh) is here developed from ('z)i). This is like (shuuet, shuu shuuster), from *suet*, *sew sew-ster*=seamstress.
28. (hi weeted ʊ laq fáil. wet ʊ wi féili) he waited a long while. Wait a wee while-y.
29. (fadʊr, midʊr, brɛdʊr) occur close to the sea-side. (midhʊr) is used at Keith.
30. (farʊr, fare'st ʊwa·) farther, farthest away.
31. (hi)z ne ɹaav ov dh*i* beernz) he)has no awe, fear, of the children. (ái gar)em stan in ɹaav o mi) I make them stand in fear of me.
32. (sk*w*il me'stʊr, táitʒʊr) schoolmaster, teacher.

33. (hɐz) is not used for (us), as in Hawick.
34. (hi)l izili wɔn óur tɐ si i dhi₁ nekjht. hi wan óur dhi₁ strim) he'll easily get over to see you the (this) night. He got over the stream.
35. (gri₁n, grɐn) grind, ground.
36. (ɹi)l di dhat, tii) you'll do that too.
37. (:dʒon gjaa he'z twaa kjaaks te'l twaa lunz, and :sani gjaa he'z twaa tii te'l twaa tii) John gave his two cakes to two boys, and Sandy gave his two too to two too. It is only in received speech that in this case the last five words are alike, at least in quality.
38. (gwid siith ái)l gar ɹi di)t w[i ɐ dant o ɹɐr ri₁gi₁n) good sooth I'll make you do it with a blow on your back.
39. fe'n ɐz fan bliimz) when as whin blooms; whin or quhyn in Scotland is ragstone or basalt, in England it is furze; the phrase is probably purposely ambiguous, and means 'never.'

## Mid North Lowland, cwl.

From the following sources.

Palaeotype unmarked. Keith, Ba., pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. W. Gregor, native, then resident at Pitsligo (:pitslii·gɐ), (4 w-by-s.Fraserburgh, Ab.), author of the Dialect of Banffshire (Trans. Philological Society, 1866, Part II.), with variations for Pitsligo.

* Buchan, numbered wl. by Dr. Findlater, while editor of Chambers's Cyclopedia, native of the district between the Ython and Doveran, nw.Ab., pal. by AJE. from the author's indications, and compared with Mr. Gregor's list, with which it was found almost identical, hence only the words in which Dr. F. differed are given, marked * to be conspicuous.

M Dr. Murray's Buchan example, Ruth, chap. i., p. 698, No. 3, finally representing Mr. Melville Bell's appreciation of the sounds. When the sound agrees with any of the others M. is subjoined.

*Italics unmarked.* Words extracted from *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* (=gusset nook, a triangular piece of ground), preserving the original orthography which the preceding pal. will generally sufficiently interpret. The spelling is very good, but not quite free from ambiguity.

*Italics with † prefixed.* Words extracted from the preface to Rev. W. Gregor's Banffshire Glossary, in his own spelling, where "*ch* has the sound of *ch* in the German *sehr*," by which probably (*ee*) is meant.

*Italics with* ‡ prefixed, from Sir J. Sinclair's Moray or Elgin words, see p. 764*a*.

C Cromár. Words extracted from Mr. Innes's Cromár examples.

J Jane Morrison's pron. of these C. words.

B Words from Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences in Visible Speech corrected as in D 33, p. 709*d*.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 3 bèk, *bĭak, J beek. 4 tak, [with] M tak'n, C taki₁₁n te'n [taken, taking, ta'en]. 5 mak [with] med, C maki₁₁n [made, making]. 6 C ma'd, J mèd. 7 seek. 8 M hee', C hee [*hinna*, J (hɐ)ne) haven't, have]. 9 bihee·v *bihi·v. 12 saa [but (shaav te'mɐr) saw timber]. 13 gnĭaav [obs. (g) pron.], J gnaa. 14 draa [draught, see before 560]. 15 ɹaav. 16 daan. 17 laa, ‡*lă* [=(laa') I believe]. 19 tel C. 20 le'm. 21 nèm, M ne'm. 22 tèm. 23 sèm. 24 shèm. 27 kneev [obs. (k) pron.], C kqeev, J kneev. 28 heer. 30

keer. — gĭé$_{i}$it, M gje$^{l}$t [gate=road, pathway]. 31 let CJ. 32 baadh. 33 rèdhʊr. 35 aal. 36 thóu. 37 klaa.

A: 38 C as [obs. (s) not (z)]. 39 kam MC. 40 kèm [*kaimin* combing]. 41 thaqk. 43 han C. 44 lan, M laan. — *san'* [sand]. 46 kan'l. 47 wanʊr. 48 saq. — C ra$^{l}$q. — C swa$^{l}$q [swang]. 49 [pt. C (hʊq), hung]. 50 tjaqz. 51 ma$^{l}$n, M mʊn. 52 won. 54 wʊnt [the (ə) runs on very lightly to the (n), but the word when emphasised does not become (wʊnt) as is implied by] *wunt*, †*wint* [and may have been pron. (wi$_{11}$nt)], J wʊnt. — C got [got].

A: *or* O: 58 fe *fae*. 59 lamb. — *wyme* [womb=belly]. 60 laq. 61 ʊmo·n, C *y*moo·. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 vraq B, *vrang*, †*vrang*, C ra$^{l}$q, J vraq. 65 saq. 66 thoq, C faq.

A′ 67 gjaa dɹan, †*geh geed gane*, M gjaan C, M t*y* gjʊq gje$^{l}$d, *gae* B gaan, J gjan gjaan gjed [go, going, went]. 69 naa CJ [negative 'no'], ‡*nŏ*. 70 te. 71 we [*waefu'* woe woeful]. 72 fa, CBJ faa [interrogative only], *fa*. 73 se, M *see*$^{l}$, C si$_{11}$. 74 twa, M tw*aa*, *twa*, CJ twaa. 75 strok *strook, C streekj, J streek. 76 ted J, *tod. 77 lord, M *loord*, *laird* [the last merely as landowner]. 78 ɹaa, *yauchts*, B eɹht [own, owns, owned]. 79 èn *áuʊn, M *ee*$^{l}$n, *nain* [(m)èn) my own], J een [J does not know *nain*]. — C hal)$_{11}$iiv'n [hallowe'en]. 81 lèn. 83 mèn *miin. 84 meer C, †*mehr*, M mee$^{l}$r, *mair*. 85 seer, †*sehr*, M *see*$^{l}$r, *sair*. 86 its *ʊts, *aits*. 87 klèz. 88 kled [pr. t. and p. t.]. 89 beth *beedh, M bee$^{l}$dh, *baith*, CJ beedh. 90 blĭaav. 91 móu. 92 kno [used in reading only, otherwise (ken, M kʊn, C kjen)]. 93 snĭaav sna, CJ snaa. 94 kra. 95 thro. 96 shaav [evidently through (sĭaav), compare No. 451]. 97 sóul. 99 throu. 100 shaav'n.

A′: 101 ok. 104 red, J ròd ‡*rŏd*. 105 re$^{l}$d *red J ['rid' for 'rode']. 106 bred. — *lave*, C leev [the leaves, the remains]. 107 lef lof, lòvz [loaves]. 108 do, J doo. 109 lekh *lĭakh, J leekh. 110 ii. not, C nee J. 111 okht M. 112 he'l. 113 hel, M h*ee*$^{l}$l [*halesome* wholesome]. 114 mo'l, J mool. 115 he$^{l}$m *h*ee*m, M he$^{l}$m, *hame*, C hem he$^{l}$m, J hèm. 116 [(at, ʊt) used]. 117 in, tin, *ain* [one, the one, J (en) unacc.], [M lii'n, *aleen* [alone, solitary]. 118 bèn, bin [Ba.], †*behn* [in m.Ba.], †*been* [in n.Ba.], biin *bane*, C be$^{l}$n, J bèn. 121 gèn, *gyaun*. 122 i. nen, *niin, *neen*; ii. *nae*, C nee [no, adj.]. 123 ne$^{l}$thiq *nothiq. 124 sten stin, *stiin, *stane*, †*stehn* [m.Ba.], †*steen* [n.Ba.], J ste$^{l}$n. 125 onli. — rehp [straw rope]. 126 oor [(eer) in the fishing villages. — M r*oo*rt [roared=wept, *reesie* [uproar], J roor [roar]. 127 herse. 128 [those, these, not used, but that and this for sg. and pl. as in Johnny Gibb *that marks, this three towmons*]. 129 geest. 130 bo't. 131 go't. 132 het †*hait*. 133 vrat [obs. vr-]. — M wə'it [I wot, *weel a wat* well I wot]. 134 oth [(e$^{l}$th) is not so common]. 135 kloth [very short vowel], J kleth. 137 ii. C nʊr.

Æ- 138 fedhʊr J [with short vowel, is common along the sea-coast], *feedhʊr, C faad*i*$_{11}$r. — M dhegidhʊr [together]. — [(C ga$^{l}$d*y*rt gaa$^{l}$d*y*r*y*n, J gidhʊrd gedhʊrʊn) gathered gathering]. 140 heel, J he'l. 141 ne'l. 142 sne'l J. 143 te'l, C tel, J tèl. 144 ʊge$^{l}$n, C *y*gje$^{l}$n, M ʊgje'n. 145 sle'n. 146 me'n. 147 bre'n. 148 feer C [adj.]. — *stap*, J stap [step]. 149 bleez [about Keith, but oftener (bliiz) in n.Ba.]. 150 lʊst. 152 wate$^{l}$r [approaching (ˌt), but J made no such approach]. 153 setʊrde. — *fuder* [whether].

Æ: 154 M b*a*k, *baak*, J bak. 155 thek *thak. — CJ blak. 157 reev'n. 158 efter, M *e*ftr, *aifter*, C efti$_{11}$r, J èftʊr [(efti$_{11}$rnyn) afternoon]. 160 ʊg. 161 dee C, déi, M d*ee*$^{l}$ J, [also] J dee$^{l}$ [final]. 163 lee. 164 me, C mee. 165 sed. 168 talʊ. 169 fan C, †*fahn* [when, interrogative only], C fʊn J, M f*y*n C [when relative]. — *aweers* [awares]. 170 heerst C, M h*ee*rst, *hairst*. — J beer [bare]. 171 barli, M baarl*i*. 172 gers, †*giss* [s.Ba.], *girss*. 173 wez J, M w*y*z [J. was rather between (wiz) and (wəz), that is with (ɪ) inclining to (ə)]. 174 eesh. 175 C fʊst. — *cairt* [cart]. 177 M et, C i$_{11}$t. 178 gnat [obs. (g) pron.]. 179 fat MJ, *fat* ‡*fat*. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ′- 182 si. 183 [not used, replaced by learn]. — táitɹʊr [in schools]. 184 led. 185 ri'd [pr. t.]. 186 br*ee*dh. 187 leev [M (lʊft) pp.]. 188 [(nekʊr) used]. 189 wái [(wáit) weighed]. 190 kéi. 191 heel. 192 min C. 193 klin. 194 oni, M on*i*, CJ one, [also] J oni. 195 moni, *mony*. 196 wer

[very short]. 197 tjiiz. 199 blèt. — †*greet* [*grat grutten*, weep wept]. 200 whâit [an exceptional (wh), heard about Keith, in some places (f), but] J fâ'it. 201 heedh'n. 202 het.

Æ': 203 spitɟ. 204 did. — ‡*meedow* [meadow]. 205 thrid. 206 rɛd [pt.]. 207 nid'l. 208 C *yvyr*, J evər [C (*fyty·vyr*) however]. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 fâi. 213 edhur, M *ee*'dher. 214 *nedder* [*nedderin* neither one]. 215 takht. 216 deel. — M *delt* [dealed]. — C mee·'l, †*mehl* [m.Ba], †*meel* [n.Ba]. 217 itɟ, M elk*e*, C *y*lkji, J əlki. 218 ship. 219 slip. — *or* [for *eror* earlier, rather, as in: *or than no* rather than not], J *or*. 221 feer *fii'r [*fernothing*, a dreadnought coat]. 222 heer C. 223 dh*ee*r, M dh*ee*'r, C dh*i*$_{11}$r, J dheer. 224 faar M, †fahr, *faur*, B far. 225 flɛsh. 226 meest, C mest, J mèst. 227 wit [occ. (wat)]. 228 swâit, J swâ'it. 229 breth. 230 fat [fat, the same pron. as 179 what].

E- 231 C dhe [Mr. Gregor's mother had heard (i) as in Cs.], B dh*y*. 232 brack. — brakf*i*$_{11}$st [breakfast]. 233 spâik. 234 kne'd [obs. (k) pron.] — †*widder* [weather, fishing population]. 235 wâiv. 236 fevər. 237 blèn blàn [as in chillblain]. 238 he'dɟ. 239 seel. 241 re'n. 243 plee [older people say (plâi)], C plee [C (pleet) played]. 244 M wil *weel*, C *y*wiil, J wil. 246 ii. kwâin, *quine quyne*, J kwâ'in [quean, with no offensive meaning]. 247 [(spiin) used]. — i. †*behr* [to bear, m.Ba.], J bee'r, ii. J bar [a bear]. — C shee'r*y*n, J sheeren [shearing]. 248 meer [about Keith, but (miir) in n.Ba.] *mear*. 249 weer wiir. 250 sweer swiir. 251 me't [about Keith] *maet*. 252 ke't'l *kɛt'l. 253 ne't'l. 254 ledər [frequently]. 255 we'dhər.

E: — *fesh*, *fuish up* [fetch, brought up=educated]. — C vratɟ, *vratch* [wretch]. 257 èdɟ. 258 sèg. 259 wèdɟ. 260 lee. 261 séi [from old people], M see sed [said], C seez [says]. — *redd*, C ra'd*y*n [rid, ridding, clearing out]. 262 wâi, J *wye*, B waa'. 263 M əwaa·, C waa' [(waa·gjaan) going away]. 264 *e*'l. 265 straakt. 266 J wil [well, in a good manner]. — C a'lb*y*k [elbow]. — *feedle* [field]. 267 ild. 268 [(al'st) oldest used]. — *twal*, *towmons*, C toom*y*nz [twelve, twelve months, (toomənth) not known to J, who said (twalvmənth)]. 269 C *i*$_{11}$mse·l ɟ*y*rse·l [himself, yourself], J ɟersɛ·l. 270 i. belis, ii. beli. — C wal J [a well]. 271 tɛl. 272 ɛlm. 273 men. 274 bentɟ. 275 ste'qk [stink used for stench], C st*y*qkj. 276 the'qk. 277 drentɟ, C dr*y*qkj. — M bent [determined]. — *sen's* [those sent as forerunners]. 280 ɛleev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. — ɟerd [yard measure]. 283 məri *miri. 284 thrash. 286 harə. 287 biiz'm. — C ri$_{11}$st [rest]. 288 lat C, †*lat*▸*lut latten* [did let, and pp.], *leet* [let, allow]. — C met [met]. — C set*i*$_{11}$n [setting]. — †*sattle*, *sattlet* [settle, settled].

E'- 289 *i*. 290 hi, C hii. 292 mi, M mii. 293 w*i*, C wii, B w*i*ɟr [we're]. — M sik [to seek]. 294 fid. — nid [to need]. 296 biliiv. 297 *folla*. 298 [(fe'n) find is used for feel]. 299 griin. 300 kip. 301 hiir. 302 mit. 303 swit. 304 bit'l.

E': — C brikjs [breeks]. 305 hikjh [*heicher* higher]. 306 hekjht. 308 nid [sb.]. 309 spid [sb.]. 310 hil. 311 M ten. 312 hiir. 313 hark'n. 314 hard M [heard], J haard. 315 fit. 316 nakst *niist, *neist*, J nisht.

EA- — *deykn*, J deek'n [deacon]. — shak J [shake]. 317 flee [flay]. 319 geep [(gaap) when very emphatic]. 320 keer.

EA: — *cauf* [chaff], J kàf. — gjaa [gave]. — *chafts* [jaws]. 321 sa, M saa CJ. 322 lakh *lauch* [*leuch* laughed]. 323 fokht. 324 akht [C (akht*y*, J akhte), eighty]. 325 waak. 326 al [(alst) oldest], M aal CB, *aul*, [C (aal*y*r) older]. 327 bàl. 328 kal. 329 faal C. 330 had C [*haud'n*, J (had'n) holden]. 331 saal [(selt) selled]. 332 taal *taal'*. 333 kaaf, J kàf [same pron. as for chaff, before 321]. 334 haaf. 335 a, C aa, ‡*ăl* [=(a'l)], [J (ɛvaa·) *ava*, of all, meaning at all]. — *shell* [shall]. 336 fa. 337 wa. 338 M *kaa* [(*kaad*) pt.], *ca'*. — *maut* [malt]. — *saut* [salt]. 340 ɟaard. 342 eerm, †*airm*, *airm*. — *hairmless* [harmless]. 343 warm. 344 M be'rn, *bairn*. 345 daar. 346 gĭé$_{11}$it, *yett*.

EA'- — C tjikjs [cheeks]. 347 hid, *heid*, C he'd. 348 i [(in J), *een* eyes, only pl. form]. — *loup* [*lap luppen* leap leapt], J la'up. — †*beht* [m.Ba.], †*beet* [n.Ba.]. 349 fiau, *fyou*, J fia'u.

EA': — *ruck*, J rak [a rick]. 350 de'd, *deid*, J did. 351 le'd, J lid.

352 reᵢd *rid. 353 breed *brid M, *breid*. 354 shef C. 355 def. 356 lef. 357 tho, CJ thoo. — CJ láᵢi [a lea, or meadow]. 359 nipʊr J, *neepour, neibourheid*. 361 bin [(boon) at Pitsligo Ab.]. 363 tɟèp. — C ɟiir J, M iir [year]. 365 niir CM, *naar*. — *nowt* [neat, cattle]. 366 greet *gryte*. 367 thrɛt. 368 deth, M dɛth, *deeth*. 369 slo. 370 ra. 371 stre.

EI- 372 éei [(âi) emphatic], C áᵢi. 373 dhe J. 374 néei. 375 rèz [C (reezt) raised]. 376 beet. EI: 378 wáik [*wyknesses* weaknesses]. 382 dher. EO- 383 sèv'n *seyven*, J seev'n. 384 hèv'n. 385 ʊnèth. 386 ɟóu. 387 níu.

EO: 388 meᵢlk *mɑlk, J mɑlk [but I could not properly catch J's sound, a curious variation of (e)]. 390 sɑd sɛd, M *syd*. 392 C ɟon. 393 ʊɟont [(t) sometimes omitted]. 395 C ɟɑqᵢ₁₁r, J ɟoqʊr. 396 wark. 397 suurd sverd. 398 steerv. 399 breᵢkyht. — C bɛrn [burn]. 400 *eernest*. 402 lern *leern*, C leern leeᵢrn. 403 faar. 404 star. — *hert* [heart, CJ (herte) hearty]. 405 herth. 406 erth, C ɟyrd. — M sester [sister]. 407 fard'n.

EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii. 412 shĭ [very short], M shii, C shᵢ₁₁. 413 diiv'l *dev'l. 414 fli *flee* [(flekh) is a flea, Ws. fleá fleó]. 415 li. — ‡*yeel* [Yule, Christmas]. 416 diir *daar*. — *sheet* [shoot]. 417 tɟóu *tɟɑɑ [probably meant for (tɟaa), as (ɑɑ) is said not to occur in the dialect], J tɟaa. 418 bruu *bree* [J (breth) broth, always treated as pl., and J (brii)]. 420 fóur. 421 forti.

EÖ': — thif C [thief]. 423 thái. 424 ròkh, *roch*, J rokh. 425 lekjht, *lichtet*, C lᵢ₁₁kjht, J lekjht. 426 fekjht. — *yeel*, C ɟil J [yule, Christmas time]. 427 bi, C bii. 428 si [C (siin) seen]. 429 fin, fent, *fient*. 430 frin *freen*. 431 biir. 432 foort *foort* [(feᵢlt, seᵢkt, sev'nt, akht, náint, tent) fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth]. 433 brist [(brisht) has been heard, *forebriest* fore breast]. 434 bet [pr. t. (bit) pt.]. 435 M ɟi [(ɟir) ye, your]. 436 truu. 437 tróuth *trowth*. EY- 438 dii, M dii, diit J, B dit [die, died]. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 weᵢk *uk, *ouk*, J uk [common word ? belongs to Ws. *wuce*]. — *chucken* [chicken]. — M gin, C gjii·*yn*, gjaa, J giv, gjaad [give, given, giving, gave]. 441 seᵢv. — *leevin* [living]. 442 áivi [but (grɑ·ndee vi) ground-ivy, J pron. (áᵢivi) in both cases]. 443 fráide. 444 stáil. 446 náᵢin [(nóin) at Pitsligo and Rosehearty, both 4 w.Fraserburg, Ab.]. — shᵢ₁₁nz [shins]. 447 C ᵢ₁₁r. 448 [not used]. — bit. 449 get [C (got) got]. — M sen [since, Ws. siþen]. — M beterli [bitterly]. — C bit [a bit = portion]. — *wuddie* [withy]. — C pᵢ₁₁th [pith]. 450 tèzdi *teᵢ'izdʊ, J táᵢizde. 451 shuu [formed from (sĭu) to sew, (shuuster) a sewster or seamstress].

I: 452 ái, M áai, *aw* [meant for (aa)], C áae. 454 wɔtɟ, C wᵢ₁₁tɟ. 455 lái. — C thyrd. — C twánis [twice]. 457 meᵢkjht [M (almekhti) Almighty, might, sb.] — *mith* [might, vb.]. 458 neᵢkjht, M nekht, JC nᵢ₁₁kht. 459 reᵢkjht [*oonrichteous*, unrighteous]. 460 wɛkjht *wecht*. 461 *lichtit* [alighted]. 462 seᵢkjht. 463 M tel, C tᵢ₁₁l. 464 feᵢlk [but (fol o)i) which of you? J knew the phrase], ‡*futch*. 465 seᵢk *sic*. 466 C tɟiil, J [chiel, child is replaced by bairn]. 467 weᵢl *wil'*, C wáᵢil, J wel. 469 ‡*wull* [will]. 470 M heeᵢm. 471 teᵢmʊr. — C stɟqkjɟn [stinking]. — C drɟqkj, J drɟqk [drink]. 472 shreᵢqk. 473 bleᵢn. 475 weᵢn win, C wɟn *win'y* [windy]. 476 beᵢn. — C ɟtwiin [atween]. 477 feᵢn, M fen. 478 greᵢn. — *hin* [hind]. 479 win. 481 feᵢqʊr [finger]. — M bige·nen [begin]. — †*rin rin* [run]. — C wᵢ₁₁n [win = arrive at, reach], J wen. 484 C dhᵢ₁₁s, J [used for sg. and pl.]. — *rashes* [rushes]. 485 thros'l *thris'l. — †*fussel* [whistle]. 487 ɟeᵢstʊrde, C ɟᵢ₁₁stɟrde, J ɟestʊrde, *the streen* [yestere'en, (dhestr)iin), (dh) for (ɟ) as in (dhondʊr)]. 488 ɟet. 489 M et. — *wut* [wit]. — *wutness* [witness]. — B vrit'n [written]. — C sᵢ₁₁tᵢ₁₁n [sitting]. — sax [six].

I'- 490 bái. 491 sekh. 492 C sáᵢid [C (biiz), J (bisáᵢid) besides]. 493 dráiv. 494 téim [(tóim) at Pitsligo, Ab.], C táᵢim J. 496 áir'n [(óir'n) at Pitsligo]. 497 CJ reezt [raised]. 498 vréit vrit, *vreetin* [writing, both (éi, i) are used]. 499 bit'l.

I': 500 léik, *lickly* [likely], CJ leᵢkj. 501 wéid. 502 fáiv J [(fóiv) at Pitsligo, J was not aware that she pron. (fáiv knáᵢivz) with different diphthong]. 503 leᵢif, ‡*leif*. 504 knáif [(k) pron.], ‡*kneif*. — ‡*streif* [strife]. 505 wɛif, M weᵢif, J wáᵢif. 506 oman J [the (a) quite distinct] '*oman*. 507 wimin,

M *wymen*, J wimen. 508 méil [(móil) at Pitsligo]. 509 féil, M fə'il, *filie* [a little while], CJ fá'il. 510 ii. M máai, C máae [emphatic], B my [unemphatic]. 511 wéin. 512 [(spóir) at Pitsligo]. 513 wéir *weer*. 514 éis. 515 wéiz, J wéis [with an (s)]. 516 wizdum. — *file* [white].

O- 518 C bo'di J, B badi. 519 M a'ur [over]. 520 bóu. 521 fol. — C drop [drop]. 522 òp'n. 523 hop *hóup, M ha'up. — C *yfoo'r* [before, *forrit* forward]. 524 word'l *ward'l, *wardle* [*war'dly* worldly]. — C *hoo'z* [hose].

O: — *kyeuk* cook, J kek. — M *good*, *gweed*, [God]. — *af'en*, C aft [often]. 526 kokh. 527 bookht M. 528 thokht C, J thokht. 529 brookht, M brokht, *brocht*, B brokht. 530 vrokht. 531 dòthur, M dʌʌthur [the (ʌʌ) must be wrong, probably for (oo), which I used], dakhter, B dakhtyr. 532 kol †*quile*. 533 dal. 534 hol. 535 M fo'k CJ, *fowk*. 536 góud. 537 muuld. 538 wad. — *knowe-heid* [knoll-head]. 539 bóul. — *crap* [crop]. 545 hop *hip. — C stop$i_{11}$t [stopped]. 547 bĭuurd. 548 fĭuurd. 550 ward, C wyrd, J werd. 551 storm. 552 korn, C koorn, J koorn. 553 horn. — C morn$i_{11}$n, J moornen, B morn. — ‡*hoss* [horse, *r* suppressed]. 554 kros. — *bree* [broth, Ws. broð]. — *boddom* [bottom]. — C ā'us [ox, this pron. not known to J, who pron. (òks)].

O'-. 555 shi *shee* [(shiin), *sheen* shoes, *sheein* shoeing], J shi shin. 556 tu, M ty. 557 tii, M tii', C tii. 558 lĭuk [M (luket) looked *luikin*, C (ljy$_{\text{I}}$kyn) looking]. 559 midhur [(midur), †*mudder* in the fishing villages], *mither* midher, C m*y*di$_{11}$r, B midhyr. — *draucht* [draught]. 560 †*squeel*, B skwil J. 561 bliim. 562 miin, C min, ‡*meen*. 563 manunde. 564 siin. 565 nooz J, *niz [*nizzen*, noseing = wigging]. 566 idhur [M (ənidher tidher) another, t'other, *tithers*], C $i_{11}$n*y*dyr [another]. 568 †*brēēther* [*ēē* very long in m.Be.], †*brither brudder* [in fishing villages]. — M gra'uun [grown].

O': 569 bĭuk J, *buk, B buuk. 570 tuk M [(tĭuk) Pitsligo and Roschearty] *tyeuk*. 571 gwid CMB, *gweed*. 572 blid CJ, †*bleed*. 573 flad. — *reed* [rood = gibbet, cross]. 574 brid. 575 [*un'ersteed*, C (unerstid) understood]. — *wudden* [wood = mad]. 576 wʌd'nzdi. — †*hive* [hoof]. — *beheef* [behoof]. — *reef* †*reef* [roof]. 577 bĭukh [J did not know the word]. 578 plĭu pliukh [(plĭakh) Keith for both vb. and sb.] *plewing*, *pleuch*, *pleuchin*, *ploo*. 579 inĭu· [enow, number], inĭukh [enough, quantity], M ynju·kh *aneuch* [J knew the distinction of number and quantity]. 580 tĭu kh. 581 sokht. 582 kwil †*queel* [cool]. 583 til *teel* [(tilsum) toolsome, easily worked]. 584 stiil. 585 briim, *breem*. 586 di, de)ne [don't], M dii', *dee* [*dizna deester* does not, a do-er, J did not know *deester*]. 587 diin, *deen*. 588 [(foorniin) forenoon]. 589 ·spiin ‡*speen*. 590 fliir [(fluur) has been heard, but it is not common]. 591 mĭur *miir. 592 swiir. 593 [(mon) used]. 594 bit †*beet*, *beet*. 595 fe't, †*fit*, *fit*, C fi$_{11}$t [sg. the pl. is (fit) 315]. 596 rit, †*reet*, *reet*. 597 sit [(sat) about Roseneath]. 598 siith [(gwid siith) good sooth]. — †*teeth* [tooth, sg.]

U- 599 vbi·n. — *wuds*, C wyd [wood, forest], J wed. 600 lov *lav. 601 fuul *fool*. 602 suu. — *bridegreem* bridegroom, Ws. bry'd-guma]. 603 kam CJ. 604 *simmer* [summer]. 605 se'n *sən, M see'n. — †*cuss* [curse, s.Ba.]. 606 door 607 bater.

U: 608 agli, C y$_{\text{I}}$gli. — *shooders*, J shadherz [shoulders]. 609 fol fu, *fuu M, †*fill*, J fal. 610 uu J. 612 sam. 613 draqk [(drak'n) not used]. — *droont* drowned. 614 han J. 615 pan. 616 gran C. 617 sun. 618 wun. 620 gran. 621 wan. 622 [(vnè·th) replaces under]. 623 fan. 624 gran. — *won'er* [wonder]. 625 taq [C ($i_{11}$lltɛqt) ill-tongued]. 626 haqer. 627 C sandi$_{11}$ [Sunday]. 629 se'n *sən [*sindoon*, sundown], J sen. 630 won. 631 firzde, B fi'rzdi. 632 ap MCJ [C ($i_{11}$po·n) upon]. 633 kap. — *broch* [burg, borough]. 634 thróu [(throkh) has been heard] *throu*, C thrá'u. 635 warth. — J wardhi [worthy]. 636 †*forther*. 637 task. 638 bask. 639 dast, C di$_{11}$st, J dest.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 [(fat wái) what way, replaces how, but we find] *hoo* [*hoorer*], C fuu J. 643 nuu M, *noo no*, [†*ehnoo*, *eenoo*, J enuu, the now, just now]. 645 duu. 646 buu. 647 uulet. 648 uur C. 649 thuuzund. 650 M vbu·t, C $i_{11}$but, J abùt. 652 kad. 653 bat, M b*y*t, *but*, C bi$_{11}$t, J bet.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul C. 656 ruum. 657 bruun. 658 duun, *doon*. 659 M tun C, J tùn, *toon*. 661 shuur, *shooer*. 662 [(æs) is not (hæz) as in D 33, to us (te'lɹz)]. 663 huus, M hus, *hoose*. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut, M ut CJ, *oot*. 668 pruud. 670 tóubith, bothi [toll-booth, tent, not known to J]. 671 muu, *mou*, C muu. 672 suuth, *sooth*.

Y- 673 mak'l M. 674 C dɹd [(dɹd)nɹ) didn't], J ded [emph.]. 675 drai'. — C $i_{11}$l [ill, evil], J el. 676 li. 677 drái, C dráᵃi. 678 de'n. — C $hi_{11}$p, J hep. — M stiir [stir]. 679 kerk. 680 be'zi. 681 *buzness*, J beznes. 682 *le*'t'l, B $li_{11}$t'l, J let'l.

Y: — C stamp. 683 me'dɹ *midɹuk. 684 bre'g. 685 re'g. 686 bái. 687 flekht. — *full* [fill]. — báᵃilz [boils, sores]. 689 *biel'* building, shelter]. — *el'yer*, C áᵃilɹyr [elder of a church]. — M folə,ən [following]. 690 kjáin. 691 máin †*moind* [(móin) at Pitsligo], C máᵃin J. 693 *se* n, J sen. 696 berth. — birn [burden]. 697 biri [bury]. 698 mərth *mirth. 699 vrekht, *vricht*. 700 war, *waur*. 701 ferst J, †*fisst* [s.Ba.], C $fi_{11}$rst, ‡*fist* [meant for *fust*?, the same as the C with (r) suppressed]. 702 C wii. 703 pæt *pit, ‡*pet* [rather than *pit*, the English (i) not being used].

Y'- 705 skái. 706 fu [(fat for) used gen.]. — *foifteen* [fifteen]. — C *fo*'rtin J. 708 háir [(hóir) Pitsligo], J háᵃir.

Y': — †*filth* [filth]. 709 fáir [(foir) Pitsligo], J fáᵃir. 711 láis. 712 máis. — *wuss*, C $wi_{11}$s [wish], J wəsh [vowel something like (i)].

II. English.

A. — *Aiberdeen* [Aberdeen]. 714 M ladiz [laddies]. 717 dɹaad, C dɹaᵃdi, *jaud*. 718 tred. 719 [(póult)=poll-head, used]. — C kjel [kail]. — *baak* [balk, bawk]. — C blem [blame]. — CJ faq [a whang or slice]. — *thropple* [thrapple]. — *dauring* [daring adj.]. — C kqoorl$i_{11}$k [gnarlock]. — *trag* [trash]. 736 las. — C taatez [potatoes]. — *cowshus* cautious. 740 [waves are usually called (dɹarz) of the sea]. — *swye* [sway].

E. 743 skreem. 744 marlz *miz'lz. — herte [hearty]. 745 tɹčt. — — †*pcht* [m.Ba], †*peet* [n.Ba]. 746 breedh. 747 ende·vur. 749 M left. 750 beg.

I. *and* Y. — C $li_{11}$kjs [licks=blows]. — C ste'kjɹt [stuck]. — tráᵃi [(tráaᵃit), J (tráait) try, tried]. — C sláᵃi [sly]. — C kqif [keen]. 753 te'k'l [ticklish]. — *triffle* [trifle]. — [(big) for (bild) occ.], *biel'* [building shelter]. 754 pe'g. — *slicht*, C sláᵃi [slight, sly]. — *ticht* [tight]. — *preen* [pin]. — M sə'in [syne, since], J sáᵃin. — C kqip [knip]. — †*fup*, *fup* [whip]. — *wup* [wipe or wrap round]. — *fuskers*, C hw$i_{11}$sk$i_{11}$rz [whiskers]. — *fusky* [whisky].

O. 761 lèd [as (ʊ lèd ʊ stre) a load of straw, vb. the same]. — laft [loft]. — C broogz [brogues, thick shoes]. — *scaad* [scold]. 769 modiwurt, J ma'dimort. — mon [must]. 773 [only (as) used]. 774 póuny. — *lowst*, C láᵃust [loosed], J la'ust. — *queet*, *quiyte*, *coote* [in Jamieson *coot cute*=ankle]. 777 chop choppie [shop], J tɹòp. 778 afuu·rd, *affoord*. — *furms* [forms to sit on]. — *wordy woorthies* [worthy worthies]. — *not* [needid]. 781 badhur *badur, *bather*. 783 paltri. — *bun'* [boun, going]. — *roose*, rouse. 789 J ra'u [row, noise]. — C soo'ynz, J soo'unz [sowans, oatmeal porridge]. 790 guun.

U. — C snybɹt [snubbed]. — *Brees*, C :bris [Bruce]. — C stack [stuck]. — M bigu·d [began]. — C gruugɹi [grudge]. — be'l *bol, †*bill* [bull], J bal. — C fan [fun]. — M ent'l [unto]. 805 krùdz. — *neeps* [turnips]. 806 fas. — *busses* [bushes]. 807 pùs. 808 pèᵃt, †*pit*, *pat*, *pitten*, *put pat*, *pitten*, C $pi_{11}$t [put prt. and pt.]. — C klykjɹt [clutched].

III. Romance.

A·· — M grant [grant]. — *spawcious* [spacious, here *aw* represents (aa)]. — *saacred* [sacred, here *aa* represents (aa)]. — *wager* [wager]. 821 dilei·. 822 méi. 823 béei. 824 tjiir [occ.]. 826 eeg'l *eg'l. 827 eegur. — *compleen* [complain]. — *chyne* [chain]. — *saunt* [saint]. — *clacr* [clear]. — *plesour* [pleasure]. 835 rez'n. 836 sez'n *sizzon*. 838 tret. — C baa, J baal [football], C bal [ball=dance]. — *vailue* [value]. — †*maister* [master]. 839

C baa [as a football], C bal [a dance]. — mèster [master]. 840 tjaamer *chaum'r*. — M *fee*ˡmin. 841 tjaans. 842 plĭaqk. 843 brentj *branch*. 844 trentj [*truncher* trencher]. 845 anshunt. 848 tjáindj *cheenge*. 849 *strunge* [so spelled in Gl. to *Johnny Gibb*, ? *streenge*, sour, surly]. — *arreengin* [arranging]. 851 ant. — *cawpable* [capable]. 852 aaprun. — *pawrent* [parent]. — C kjer [carry]. — M meret [married]. — *pairis* [parish]. 856 M pert, C peert [*pairty* party]. — C raskiₗₗlz [rascals]. — aisp [asp]. — *fattal* [fatal]. — *moderawtor* [moderator]. — *pawtrons* [patrons]. 864 bika·z, C kas. 865 *owthoreest* [authorised]. 866 piir *peer*, B pi'r. — *fawvour*, *weel faur't* [favour = looks, well-looking]. — J braali [bravely, right well].

E·· 867 tee, *tae*. 869 veel. 870 bĭaati * bĭyₗti. — *eleckin* [electing]. 871 C griit [agreed]. — *viakle* [probably (vái·ɪk'l) vehicle]. 874 rám, *ryne*. — *obaidient* [obedient]. 879 feemeel. — *blaspheemous* [blasphemous]. — *seenit* [senate]. — C *y*maˡ·nz [amends]. — *konvainient* [convenient]. — *mainteen* [maintain]. — *enterteenment* [entertainment]. — *obteen* [obtain]. — *susteenance* [sustenance]. — C *y*ntaˡ·nyt [intended]. — *envious* [envious, but accent on second syllable]. — *jilein* [gaoling, putting into gaol]. 885 J vere [very]. — *sairious* [serious]. — *sair't* [served]. 889 sees. — C seshiₗₗn [session]. — *mizzour* [measure]. 890 †*behst* [m.Ba.], †*beest* [n.Ba.], C beˡst, F bèst. — *reest* [arrest]. 891 feest. — B lɛtyr [letter]. 892 nĕfu. — C fáˡil [foil, leaf]. — *oor* [hour]. 893 fluur. — *preef* [proof]. 894 disee·v. 895 risee·v.

I·· *and* Y·· — †*scrabble* [scribble]. — *leeberty* [liberty]. 898 nóis [at Pitsligo]. — *seecophant* [sycophant]. 900 pree [(preerz) prayers]. — C siₗₗr [sir]. — *diffeekwalty* [accent on second syllable]. — *obleeg't* [obliged]. — C viₗₗr [vigour]. — C *dy*záˡint [designed]. — *fortigging* [fatiguing]. — *seelence* [silence]. 901 C fáˡin, †*foine* [(fóin) at Pitsligo]. — *prenciples* [principles]. 902 [(móin) at Pitsligo]. 903 [(dóin) at Pitsligo]. — *opingan* [probably (opiq·ɪn) opinion]. — *oonjustece* [injustice]. — *inquaries* [inquiries, accent first syllable]. 904 váilet [violet]. 908 [(advóis) at Pitsligo]. —‡*fuscal* [fiscal]. — *preceesely* [precisely ? with (z)]. — *idoleest* [idolised]. — *practeese* [practise]. — *adverteese* [advertise]. *exerceese* [exercise]. — *martyreesin* [martyrising]. — C sáˡiz [size]. — *veesitin* [visiting]. 910 djist. — *seet* [site]. — *inveetit* [invited]. — *teetle enteetled*, ‡*teetle* [title, entitled]. — C striiv [strive]. — *ceevil* [civil]. — *preevilege* [privilege]. 912 [(vóis) at Pitsligo].

O·· 913 kòtj. 914 brôtj. — *joukin* [joking]. 915 stof. 916 iqɪn. — *drogs* [drugs]. 918 fibˡl. 919 éintment. 920 péint. 921 akwa·nt. — B fi'r [fair = market]. — *pushion't* [poisoned]. 924 tjéis. 925 véis. 926 spéil, C spáˡil. — *stamackie* [little stomach]. — C promist [promised]. — *soom* [sum]. — CJ grɛmˡl [grumble]. — M əkuu·nt [account], *coont*. 928 ons *ans. — run, *roond* [round]. — *expoondin* [expounding]. — *coontin* [counting]. 930 léin. — *croon* [crown]. — *ordeen* [ordain]. 934 bantí. 935 kantri, M kwintreˡ *countra kwintra*, B kwintri. 937 kok. — ‡ *chŏck* [choke]. — C pryvok [provoke]. 938 kornər. — ‡*pŏst* [post]. 939 kloos ‡*clŏs* [v(klos) perhaps]. — †*nŏt* [note = (not) or (nɔt) perhaps]. — ‡*rŏt* [rote]. 940 *kwite*. 941 fiil [*feelish* foolish]. — *tribbles* troubles. 942 butjɪr. 943 tatj. — *pooder* [powder]. 944 aluu·. 945 vuu. 947 béil. 948 bul [a ball, glass marble]. 949 muuld. 950 sapɪr. 951 kap'l. — tarn [turn]. — *puss* [purse, *r* suppressed = (pas)?], †*puss*, [purse, s.Ba.]. 952 ii. *coorse*. 953 kaz'n. 954 kashɪn. — *stoot* [stout]. 955 dut. — *pooers* [powers]. 956 kavɪr, *courin* [recovering]. — *dizzen* [dozen]. 959 i. konvái.

U·· 960 kéei. — M wə'it *wyte* [*wytin*, wait waiting]. — M djáudj *jeedge* [judge]. 963 kweₗet *quate* [*quaetness* quietness]. 954 shuut. 965 éil. 966 frit ‡*freet*. 967 sit [(sit v kleez) suit of clothes]. 968 éistɪr. — M ruu'lt *rowle* [ruled rule]. — *poopit* [pulpit]. — *multiteed* [multitude]. — *shoopreme* [supreme]. — B stjupid [stupid]. 969 *seerli*, C shuur siir [(iₗₗsiiˑr) assure]. — *keerious* [curious]. — *feerious* [furious]. — *exkeesable* [excusable]. — C is, *ees eeseful*, ‡*eess* [use useful, C (is)ty), J (ist tu) used to]. — *refeesin* refusing. — *eeswal* [usual]. — ‡*agust* [august, possibly meant for (aaˡgast)]. 970 **joost*, C djyₗst. — *breet* [brute]. — *constitcetion* [constitution].

# D 40. = n.NL. = northern North Lowland, = Dr. Murray's *Caithness.*

*Boundaries.* On the w. the CB. or Celtic Border, elsewhere the sea-coast of Cs.

*Area.* The ne. part of Cs. This was of course originally Celtic, as the rest of Cs. is. Then it became Norse, afterwards Celtic again, and finally Lowland.

*Authorities.* Printed, Dr. Murray's brief note (DSS. p. 238) cited below, under *Characters.* The Wick cs. pal. by AJE. from the dict. of three men of Wick, and given previously in the Introduction to L., No. 7, among the 8 cs, pp. 683, 684, 696. Notes obtained in a previous interview with Rev. R. Macbeth, Feb. 1874.

*Characters.* Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says: "In Cs. in addition to the consonantal peculiarities of the North-East [D 39], we find (1) the use of *sh* for *ch*, *shylder*=children, and (2) the singular dropping of initial *th* in the demonstrative class of words, so that *the*, *they*, *them*, *there*, *that*, appear as (i, *ee*, *em*, *eer*, ət). (3) The pairs made maid, tale tail are distinguished as (méid m*ee*$_1$d, téil t*ee*$_1$l), a very different distinction from that used in the South [D 33, p. 710*d*]. (4) So the words *one*, *home*, *bread*, *head*, *place*, *way* are *eynn* (éin éin'), *heyme*, *breyde*, *heyd*, *pleyce*, *wey*. (5) *While*, *bide*, *wife* are foyle or fhoyle, boyd, woyfe (woh*i*f)."

On this I observe (1) and (2) are confirmed; of (3) I could get no confirmation; (4) the words are from very heterogeneous sources, and I only heard (é*i*); (5) I did not hear (ói) for (E'*i*) or (á*i*).

The following are the notes obtained from Rev. R. Macbeth, see p. 683, No. 7.

1. *ch* initial becomes (sh) as (sháild, sh*i*ldər, sha'pel sh*ee*pəl) child, children, chapel.

2. *th* initial in the pronominal words *the*, *this*, *that*, *they*, *them*, *there* is generally altogether omitted, the words appearing as (*e*', *i*s, at, em, eer) as (*e*' man, *e* diit) the man, they died. See D 39, Rev. W. Gregor's notes, Nos. 6, 7, *suprà* pp. 777, 778.

3. *tr-*, *dr-* are decidedly dental (t̪r-, d̪r-), as they were indicated in D 38, p. 757, last line, and, I believe, found partly in D 39, so that the dentality may have extended over all NL.

4. (k, g) are not labialised into (k*w*-, g*w*-) before an (i) which replaces O', hence (gid, skil) are said, and (k*w*éit, kwéil) coat, cool are not used.

5. *wr-* initial does not become (*vr-*). I heard (wra'q, r*w*a'q) distinctly, not (w'ra'q) is used as in Ab., and I ascertained that it was distinctly labio-dental, not a pure labial (ph), but I did not examine for (fh).

7. For A' words the forms (bin, stin) were not used, but only (been, steen) bone, stone.

8. Instead of confusing both the son of a man and the sun in the sky under one form (se¹n), as in D 39, they use (sin) for the man and (sɜn) for the star.

9. I was not able to verify Dr. M.'s differences of *made*, *tale* and *maid*, *tail*, as the last class of words do not occur in the cs. But *name*, which belongs to the first class, I heard as (neem), and I also heard his *home* as (heem), but *once* was (éins), the other words did not occur.

10. *Wife* I heard as (wáif) not (wóhif), but I was told that (póip) pipe was very common.

11. No distinction was made between the verbal noun and the participle.

12. The high (a¹) which I marked from Rev. R. Macbeth, I did not afterwards notice in the dictation of the cs.

13. In other respects D 40 seems to resemble D 39.

*Illustrations.* The cs. already referred to.

A cwl. containing the words in the cs. and a few others heard from Rev. R. Macbeth.

## Wick, Cs., cwl.

containing the words in the Wick cs., No. 7, p. 684, and others heard from Rev. R. Macbeth.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 5 mak. 21 neem. 34 last. A: 49 haq. 51 man. 54 want. 56 wash. A: *or* O: 58 fee. 64 rɯaq wraq [not (w'raq)]. A'- 67 gid [went], gjaan [going]. 72 faa. 73 so. 74 tɯaa. 79 een. 82 éins. 84 meer. 87 kleez. 89 beeth. 92 [(ken) used]. 94 kraa. A': 102 aks. 104 rodi. 110 ii. noo no. 111 okht. 113 heel. 115 heem. 117 éi. 118 been. 122 ii. nii. 124 steen. 125 onli. 137 ii. nə [(r) dropped].

Æ- 138 feedhɯrz. 144 ɯge·n. Æ: 154 bak. 158 eftɯr. 161 dee. 162 is dee [=this day]. 164 me. 169 fan. 173 wez. 177 at [(dh) dropped]. 179 fat. Æ'- 194 oni ɛni. Æ': 209 nevɯr. 213 edhɯr. 214 nedhər. 223 eer [(dh) dropped. 224 faar. 227 wit.

E- 231 e¹ [(dh) dropped]. 233 speek. 244 wil. 252 ket'l. 256 s,t,ret,t [stretched]. 261 see [(se¹un) saying, (sez) says]. 263 ɯwaa. 265 streekt. 269 himsɛl. 271 tɛl. 273 men. 276 thiqk? 281 lɛnth. E'- 290 hii. 292 mi. 293 wi. 301 hiir. 312 hiir. 314 hard.

EA- 320 kjee'rz. EA: 321 sa. 322 làkh. 330 had. 332 [(tɛlt) used]. 335 aa. 338 kɛɛ. 344 beerni. EA'- 348 [(in) eyes]. 349 fía'u. EA': 357 thoo. 359 nibər. 366 greet. EI- 373 ɛ. EI: 378 week. 380 əm [(dh) dropped]. EO- 387 nĭuu. EO: 390 shed. 392 ɹen [(dhon) in Fi. and Ab.]. 395 ɹaq. 399 brekht. EO'- 411 thrii. 412 shii. EO': 422 sik. 427 bi. 430 frin. 435 ɹii. 437 tra'uth. EY- 438 dii [(diit) died]. EY: 439 ,t,rast.

I- 440 wik. 446 náin. 447 hɯr. I: 452 a)m [I am], did)ɯ [did I]. 455 lái. 456 ge¹f. 458 nekht. 465 sɔk. 466 sháild [shildɯr) children]. 469 wal. 470 he¹m. 477 [(fan) found, pt.]. 482 e¹z)d [is it]. 484 dhes [(dh) not dropped, and is [with (dh) dropped]. 489 he¹d. — sin séin [since]. I'- 494 táim. 495 whéin. — póip [pipe, common]. I': 500 léik le¹k. 505 wáif. 506 gid wáif. 509 fel [in the sense of until, unacc.]. 510 mâin.

O- 518 bodi. 519 ɯr. 524 warl. O: 531 dokh,tɯ,r. 535 fóuk. 538 wɯd. 544 i. dhen, ii. dhen. 546 fa. 550 ward. O'- 556 tyy.

560 skil. O': 571 gid. 579 ɐníokh. 586 dı)nə [don't]. 587 din. 588 nin. 592 swoor.
U- 603 kam. 604 semur. 605 se'n sin. 606 door. U: 612 sam. 616 gran. 625 taq. 629 san. 631 fiurzdee. 634 thrau. U'- 641 fuu huu. 643 nuu. 651 widhuut. U': 658 duun. 663 huus. 667 uut.
Y- 673 mak'l. 674 did.. 675 ˌdˌrái. 682 [(piri) old word for little]. Y: 701 fersht. 702 wi. Y'- 706 whéi.

II. English.

A. — sabith [Sabbath]. 732 hapen. O. 765 :tjok. 781 bodhur. 791 bói. U. 797 skwíikun. 798 kwiir. 804 draqk'n. — heri [hurry].

III. Romance.

A·· 815 faks. 835 reez'n. — sha'pel sheepul [chapel]. 857 kees. — reet [rate]. — me'tər [matter]. 862 seef. E·· 867 tii. 885 verə. 890 best. I·· *and* Y·· 901 fáin. O·· 925 wáis. 938 korner. 939 klooz. 941 fil. 947 bóil. 950 sapur. 955 duut. U·· 963 kwéit. 969 shuur. 970 djest.

## D 41 & 42 = IL. = Insular Lowland.

The languages of the two groups of islands at the ne. of Scotland known as the Orkneys and Shetlands stand in a peculiar relation to that of the mainland, but are nevertheless decidedly L. in character. These islands were discovered and reduced by Agricola, A.D. 89. In A.D. 396 the Saxons seem to have been established in Or. In A.D. 682 the islands were laid waste by Brude, a Pictish king, apparently a Christian. All these events were without influence on present speech, the history of which commences with the conquest and settlement by the Norse. From 872 to 1231 there were Norse Jarls in Or., but subsequently the islands were governed by the Scotch Earls of Angus (1231–1321), Strathern (1321–1379), and St. Clair (1379–1468), but owned allegiance to Denmark. On 8 Sept. 1468, when the language of the people was distinctly Norse, Margaret, daughter of Christian I., King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, married by contract James III. of Scotland, and, by way of marriage dower, Or. was pledged for 50,000 florins of the Rhine and Sd. for 8000. The pledge was intended to be temporary, and the language, laws, and customs of the island were strictly protected in the deed of pledge. But the pledge was never redeemed; after 1611 the Norse laws and customs were not respected, and the two groups of islands now form an English borough with 7394 voters, returning one member to parliament. The Norse language is extinct. Thomas Flell, of Furso in Harray, Pomona, Or., who died an old man in 1810, spoke Norse. In 1858 Prince L.-L. Bonaparte met at Unst, Sd., and in Or. some decrepit old men, who still recollected having heard "Norn," that is, Norse, spoken by very old people about 1780. The present language is English, taught by Lowlanders, chiefly from NL. to Norwegians. It is therefore an acquired tongue, and has not lasted long enough to

be a true dialect. It is however by no means a book English, and the two groups of islands have points of difference. From the islands lying between these groups, Foula and Fair Isle, which are said to present some interesting varieties, I have been unable to obtain information.

Leaving the particulars for my examination of D 41 and D 42 separately, the general and distinctive character of both groups consists in the treatment of *th*, which is not quite the same in each group. Five cases may be distinguished. The following contains a list of all the words in each case which I have observed, arranged alphabetically in each group. The ordinary spelling precedes in Roman. The pal. refers to D 42 Sd. only. The unmarked italic are in Mr. Dennison's orthography, and refer to D 41, Or. only. The italic with † prefixed are in Mr. Stewart's spelling, and are exclusively Sd.

I. *th* = (d).

blithe †*blide* †*blied*.
bother (bodʊr).
brother (bridʊr).
father (fɛdʊr) †*feader*.
farther †*farder*.
gathered (gadʊrd).
mother (midʊr) †*midder*.
neither (nèdʊr, nɛ'dʊr).
other (idʊr) †*idder*.
rather (rɛdʊr).
that *dat* '*at* (dat) †*dat*.
the *de* (dʊ) †*da*.
thee *dee* (dii, di).
them *dem* (dʊm) †*dem*.
their *der* †*der*.
then *dan* †*den*.
there *dere der* (deer).
they *déi*, they're (dɛr).
thine (dâ'in).
this *dis* (dɛs) †*dis*.
thou (du) †*doo*.
thy *dee di* (dâ'i) †*dy*.
*together* (tʊge·dʊr).
whether (whidʊr).
worthy (wardi).

NOTE. The words *the, them, their, then, there, they, this*, have also initial (d) in D 9, p. 131, but there is no known connection between the two cases. The (d) is going out in D 41.

II. *th* = (t).

athwart *at'wart*.
earth *ert'* †*eert* †*ert*.
firth *firt'*.
fourth (fort).
length *lent'* (lɛnt) †*lent*.
mouth †*mout*.
north *nort'*.
strength *strent'*.
thanked *t'ankit*.
thanks †*tanks*.
thatch *t'aik*.
thick *t'ick*.
thief *t'ief* †*tief*.
thigh *t'ee*.
think *tink* †*tink*.
thinkst (tɛqkst).
thirst *t'irst* [sometimes].
thirty *t'retty*.
though *t'o'* (too).
thought *t'ought* (tâukht) †*tocht*.
thread (trid) †*treed*.
threat (trɛt).
three *t'ree* (tri).
thrashing *t'reshen* †*trashin*.
thrift †*trift*.
thrive *t'rive*.
through *t'rou'* (tru tro) †*trow*.
thropple *t'rapple*.
thumb *t'oom* †*toom*.
unearthly †*uneartly*.
worth *wirt'* †*wirt*.

III. *th* = (th).

beneath *eneath*.
both *baith* (bɛɛth) †*baith*.
nothing *naethin naithen* (nɛ'thʊn).
froth *froth*.
heathen (hɛthen).
oath (ooth).
thing (thiq thɛq), rarely (tiq).
thole *thole*.
thousand *thoosan*.
troth *trath*.
truth *treuth*.
without (vthuut).
wrath *wraith*.

| IV. *th* = (dh). | V. *d* or *t* = (dh) observed in Or. only. |
|---|---|
| both (bee[dhth), (dh) touched lightly. | body *bothy*. |
| mother *mither*. | bottom *bodhom*. |
| neither *naither*. | lady *lethy*. |
| weather *wather*. | shoulder *shuther*. |
| without (ʊdhuut) †*withoot*. | steady *stathy*, ȣȣ in Ws. |

*Ch* initial becomes (sh) in Sd. only, and not in Or., although the latter is much closer to Cs., where the change also occurs.

*Th* becomes (f) in Thursday (førzdʊ) in both Sd. and Or., but some old Or. people use (t).

*kn-*, *gn-* have (k, g) pron. in both.

The intonation in both dialects is distinctly not L., but much more like English, so far as I could judge by hearing Miss Malcolmson of Sd. read: The intonation of Mr. Dennison of Or. was not so like English.

## D 41 = s.IL. = southern Insular Lowland.

*Boundary and Area*, those of the Or. Islands. On the principal island, Pomona, and the islands to the s. of it, dialect is nearly extinct, and fairly good book-English prevails. It is only in the n. islands that the genuine dialect is yet heard. Hence, properly speaking, perhaps these only should be included in D 41.

*Authorities.* My chief authority is Mr. Walter Traill Dennison's "The Orcadian Sketch-Book, being Traits of old Orkney Life, written partly in the Orkney Dialect," Kirkwall (Pomona, Or.), 1880. This is an excellent specimen of a dialect book, well spelled, as may be seen by the cwl. below, though not always quite free from ambiguity, but fortunately I was able to see the author in August, 1884, and June, 1888, and, although both interviews were inevitably hurried, I thus obtained the solution of nearly all my difficulties, and I was enabled to correct two long specimens given below from his dictation. I have also consulted Tudor's "The Orkneys and Shetlands," Stanford, London, 1883, kindly lent me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which contains an interesting account of the physical features of these islands, but neglects the language entirely.

*Characters.* The chief character of the whole group with respect to *th* has already been given, p. 789. The principal points in which Or. differs from Sd. are the use of (hid) for (it), the treatment of A- and A′, and the absence of (sh-) for (tɹ-). Referring for particulars to the cwl. below, and using * to point out usages which are different in Sd.

A- generally *(ii, ì, i) as (mìd, tìl, nìm) made, tale, name, but occasionally (a, à) as (kɯak, wad, sam) quake, wade, same.

A′ generally (1) *(ii, ì, i); (2) occ. (ee, è, *ee*, *è*), but I do not use (*ee è*) forms, being uncertain about this; (3) rarely (aa, à). Thus, (1) (nii, miin) no, moan; (2) (see, leekjht) so, low; (3) (whaa, raarʊn) who, roaring.

Æ′ generally (ee) as (leev, sweet) leave, sweat, but occ. shortened to (a), as (stadhi) steady.

E′ generally (ii, ì, i) also, as (fit) feet.

EA before L, when L is lost, is usually (aa), as (aa, aald) all, old.

EA′ is usually (ii, ì, i), as (did, lid) dead, lead (the metal), occ. (ee), as (teerz) tears.

EO′ is usually (ii, ì, i), as (tii) thigh, (trii) three, but occ. (*əə*, *ə*) as (shəə, jəəl) she, yule, so that the combinations A-, A′, Æ′, E′, EA′, EO′ are all usually (ii, ì, i).

I: is possibly ($i_1$), but I have generally contented myself with writing (*i*). Mr. D. seems to use *i* in the north L. manner, see p. 767, for example *(hid), in Sd. (hit) once only, but in *night* and such words I: becomes (á$^1$i), as (ná$^1$ıkjht) night.

O: generally (o), but occasionally varies as (tap, drip, óus′n) top, drop, oxen.

O′ regularly (*əə*, *ə*), which may be ($yy_1$, $y_1$); but *look* is exceptionally (lɜk), and the sound is delabialised in (bridhur, fit) broken, foot.

U: is regularly (ɜ), and U′ is (uu).

Among the consonants the principal usages have been explained, suprà, p. 790.

*Illustrations.* The story of *Paety Toral's Travellye*, from Mr. Dennison's book, my palaeotypic rendering of which was corrected in a vv. interview. This little story is comparable in many respects with *Tam o' Shanter* already given, but is superior as an illustration, because it is throughout written in dialect without any admixture of English, as in Burns's poem, and furnishes an insight into peasant life and superstitions, without any tincture of real supernaturalism. After my first interview with Mr. Dennison he translated John Gilpin into the Orkney of 50 years ago, and at my second interview we went over the whole of it carefully together and hence I add it here.

## Paety Toral's Travellye=Peter Toral's Tumble.

Written by Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, and published in his *Orcadian Sketch-Book* (Kirkwall, Pomona, Orkney, 1880). It is here printed in pal. as corrected from Mr. Dennison's dictation. There are so many dialectal words that the original spelling is not given, but a literal *translation* is added in the right hand column, and special difficulties are explained in notes at the end referring to the number of the lines. In the title *Paety* (:peeti) is short for Peter. *Toral* (:too·ral) is a common name. *Travellye* (truvɛl·i) is a noisy tumble, accompanied with much force; the *tra*, which may be *through* indistinctly pron. (with *t* for *th* as usual, see v. 10), seems to be employed as an intensitive prefix, for *vellye* occurs separately, v. 187, and is translated 'force' in Mr. D.'s glossary, and may be related to Jamieson's "*Vele, veyl*, a violent current or whirlpool." In *traboond*, v. 85, we have the same *tra* prefixed to *boond*, see note there.

Generally, Mr. D.'s (a′i, a′u) sounded like (á$^1$i, á$^1$u), and have been so written. His short *o*, I appreciated as (o) rather than (ɔ), but I cannot be certain. It seemed to me that he used (ee) rather than (*ee*), and (e) rather than (ɛ), but I was unable to ascertain exactly, and my ear is very likely to have been deceived. The (*əə*) is also doubtful, and may be ($yy_1$). The participle usually ends in (-ɛn), written *-an*, and the verbal noun in (-*in*) written *in*', compare vv. 9, 11 (mogsɛn, wirkin), but this distinction is not observed consistently. The short *i* sounded to me ($i_1$), between (*i*, e), but I have left it (*i*); it was not (i). It was very often variable, like the n.L. *i*, see above, p. 767. The separation of the vowels into long and short is rather uncertain. In my second interview with Mr. Dennison it seemed to me that the vowels were generally of medial length, as in SL=D 33, and I have therefore so marked many of them. Much longer time and the hearing of genuine native *peasants*, instead of a highly educated native gentleman, would have been necessary for me to arrive at certainty. On the whole I fear that my transcriptions can only be considered approximations in the points just mentioned.

| PALAEOTYPE. | TRANSLATION. |
|---|---|
| hid fɛl on ʊ dee, ii tá'im laq sá'in, | It fell on a day, one time long since, |
| when bodhi ʊn beest wi hɑqʊr dəd pá'in 2 | When man and beast with hunger did pine |
| i dʊ ɹiir ʊ dʊ laq snaa, | In the year of the long snow, |
| (mini in deer biir 4 | (Many in their bier |
| leed dat ɹəlles ɹiir, | Laid that Christmasless year, |
| :gəd gee dem sliip, 6 | God give them sleep |
| ʊn fee wʊs kiip | And from us keep |
| sik seer gaan ɹiirz ʊwaa !) 8 | Such sore going years away !) |
| ʊt :peeti :tooral mogsʊn heem | That Peter Toral wading home |
| ʊtrá'u dʊ snaa, wi hɑqgri weem, 10 | All-through the snow, with hungry belly, |
| fe warkin on-ka wark, | From working job work, |
| wʊz géili glɑft, ʊn seerli stand. 12 | Was much frightened, and sorely astounded. |
| dʊ snaa lee diip ʊpo· dʊ grand, | The snow lay deep upon the ground, |
| dʊ lift wʊz ɑqkʊ dark, 14 | The sky was extremely dark, |
| ʊ muur hed faan aa dʊ hiil dee, | A snow-cover had fallen all the whole day, |
| an i dʊ fiis o ʊ stéi bree 16 | And in the face of a steep hill |
| stəd :peetiz huus in dʊ lii, | Stood Peter's house in the lee (shelter), |
| ʊn hid wʊz feerli muurd ʊʊandʊr, 18 | And it was fairly snowed under, |
| see dʊt tʊ find hid—ʊn nʊ wandʊr | So that to find it—and no wonder— |
| fu seerli paalt wʊz hii. 20 | Full sorely posed was he. |
| hi mogzd ʊbut ʊmaq dʊ snaa | He waded about among the snow |
| wi loomʊs kaald hiz hid wʊd klaa, | With hands cold his head would claw, |
| dan wi dɑmfandʊrd glá'uʊr | Then with dumbfounded glower, |
| hi gand ʊrund him i ʊ stimis, 24 | He stared around him in a fix |
| til hii wʊz feerli i ʊ fimis, | Till he was fairly in a fuss |
| ʊn neerlinz kiived á'uʊr. 26 | And nearly caved (toppled) over. |
| ":gəd i me foorwéi bii !" ko hii, | "God in my foreway be !" quoth he, |
| ":gəd tak ʊ siilfu grip o mii ! 28 | "God take a blessed grip of me ! |
| ":gəd piti mii ʊn má'in. | "God pity me and mine. |
| "dʊ diil dəd neer ʊ sinʊr duus 30 | "The devil did ne'er a sinner gore |
| "se sikʊrli dʊt hii hiz huus | "So severely that he his house |
| "ʊn aa itee)d sʊd tá'in ! 32 | "And all into-it should lose. |
| "hói ! :dɹini lass, oo ! dəəs du hiir ? | "Hoy ! Jenny lass, oh ! dost thou hear ? |
| "oo ! ar du diid ? á'i niid nʊ spiir, 34 | "Oh ! art thou dead ! I need not ask, |
| "dhʊ tòkht o)t maks mi shak ! | "The thought of it makes me shake ! |
| "ʊn aa dʊ beernz ! pəər bits ʊ tiqz ! 36 | "And all the bairns ! poor bits of things ! |
| "lá'ik dʊ tɑq o ʊ bɛl mi hert nuu diqz, | "Like the tongue of a bell my heart now dings, |
| "ʊn səərli hid maan brak." 38 | "And surely it must break." |

hiz een wá'if :dʒini, whin shə saa
ərùnd də huus də muurən snaa 40
ái há'ikjh ən há'ikjhər kam,
shə tòkht dət hii ə waf wad sii, 42
ən wipən hər buuto tee də see-trii,
shə reekt hid ap də lam, 44

His own wife Jenny, when she saw
Around the house the covering snow
Ever high and higher come,
She thought that he a waving-signal would see,
And wrapping her head-shawl to the pail pole,
She thrust it up the chimney,

ən duun shə sat i də mark huus,
hər beernz ərund, no vero kruus, 46
her brat əpo· her iin.
"whiist, beer'nz, whiist! t)wad bi ə shiim 48
"tə eet də lempits or hii kamz hiim,
"də :bɛst kɛnz whar hii)z giin."

And down she sat in the dark house,
Her bairns around not very cheerful,
Her apron upon her eyes.
"Whisht, bairns, whisht! t-would be a shame
"To eat the limpets ere he comes home,
"The Best knows where he's gone."

nuu :peeti səərli tòkht hi saa sanin,
hi tək hid farst for də laqz o ə kanin, 52
bit waflən i də wand.
ən dan hi tòkht it wəz :dʒiniz buuto, 54
on glá'uərd ən stəd, hid i mak'l duut o,
a piiri miinit stand, 56

Now Peter surely thought he saw something,
He took it first for the ears of a coney,
Slightly fluttering in the wind.
And then he thought it was Jenny's head-shawl,
And glowered and stood, it in much doubt of,
A little minute astounded,

ən dan hi krá'iz on hiz :meekərz niim,
də griit i hiz kreeg, whá'il sàt teerz fiim 58
se seer fe beeth hiz iin.
"oo, :dʒino, bado! hiiv'nz ləək on aa! 60
"ən ar du feerli smuurd in de snaa?
"ən diid di liivən liin? 62

And then he cries on his Maker's name,
The sob in his throat, while the salt tears stream
So sore from both his eyes.
"Oh, Jenno, birdie! heavens look on all!
"And art thou fairly smothered in the snow?
"And diedst thou wholly alone?

"gin du bi livən, ruuz di, ruuz!
"what tempəd di tə leəv də huus, 64
"whái kam du hiir tə dii?
"á'i)m feerd tə tatʒ di, gin dhu)r diid. 66
"las, gin dhu)r livən, tarn dhi hiid,
"oo :dʒino, speek tə mii! 68

"If thou be living, rouse thee, rouse!
"What tempted thee to leave the house?
"Why came thou here to die?
"I'm afraid to touch thee, in case thou'rt dead.
"Lass, if thou'rt living, turn thy head,
"O Jenno, speak to me!

":gəd bii wi mii, əz á'i tiqk laq."
wi dat hi gee ə makil spaq, 70
"dhu)r səərli diid or dam."
dan wi ə spret, glamd at də trii, 72
whin duun hid giid, ən duun giid hii,
trave·li trá'u də lam. 74

"God be with me, as I think long."
With that he gave a great jump,
"Thou'rt surely dead or dumb."
Then with a spring, clutched at the pole,
When down it went, and down went he,
Tumble through the chimney.

duun :peet*i* kam w*i* s*i*k ʊ ral*i*,
h*i*z faa*i*n miid ʊ mak'l spali, 76
hi kam lá¹*i*k ʊ gan shot!
w*i* snaa ʊn sət miist lá¹ik tʊ war*i*, 78
ʊn st*i*k*i*d h*i*z hìd, aa *i* h*i*z har*i*,
duun *i* dʊ lempit pot, 80

Down Peter came with such a rush,
His falling made a great spoliation,
He came like a gun-shot!
With snow and soot most like to choke,
And stuck his head, all in his hurry,
Down in the limpet pot,

dhat w*i* ʊ eer ʊ lempit brəə
for k*i*tʃ*i*n w*i* rəəth*i* brid tʊ dəə 82
wʊz h*i*qʊn *i* dʊ krək,
h*i*z mak'l hìd geed s*i*k ʊ tʃund 84
intee dʊ pot w*i* ʊ trʊbund,
dʊ krəkʊl band hi brək, 86

That, with a taste of limpet broth,
For flavouring with mustard bread to do,
Was hanging in the crook,
His big head gave such a jolt
Into the pot with a rebound,
The hook-chain he broke,

see in dʊ fá¹*i*r dʊ pot fel dun,
b*i*t kam noo af o :peet*i*z krun; 88
hi pat'ld *i* dʊ fá¹*i*r,
ʊn fark*i*d *i* dʊ amʊrz see 90
dat aa hiz fok bigan tʊ pree,
ʊn tək him for dʊ gá¹*i*r. 92

So in the fire the pot fell down,
But came not off of Peter's crown;
He paddled in the fire,
And jerked in the embers so
That all his folk began to pray,
And took him for the devil.

ʊz on h*i*z r*i*g*i*n hii fel á¹*u*ʊr,
hi *i*lkʊ n*i*st ʊ fá¹ir dəd sá¹*u*ʊr, 94
ʊn lee flat az ʊ flək.
h*i*z kleez wʊr wiit ʊn wʊd noo lá¹*u*,
b*i*t dhʊ het amʊrz med h*i*m rá¹*u*
t*i*l hi wan *i* dʊ nəək. 98

And on his back he fell over,
He every spark of fire did scatter,
And lay flat as a flounder.
His clothes were wet and would not flame,
But the hot embers made him roll
Till he got in the nook.

dʊ lempit brəə bigan tʊ r*i*n
ʊtwii·n h*i*z harn sark ʊn h*i*z sk*i*n,
h*i*z hìd ap in ʊ skíu,
atoo· h*i*d wʊz noo skaldʊn het, 102
awiil á¹*i*i wat, h*i*d miid h*i*m swet,
for h*i*d wʊz breev ʊn líu. 104

The limpet broth began to run
Between his harden shirt and his skin,
His head up in a skew,
Although it was not scalding hot,
Well I wot, it made him sweat,
For it was brave and lukewarm.

*i* dʊ bad piis hi tòkht h*i*mse̱l,
h*i*z s*i*qgʊn kleez miid s*i*k ʊ smel,
dʊ het as glaft h*i*m meest,
hi tòkht dhi trii had bin dʊ trá¹*u*.
ʊn fee h*i*z já¹*u*l*i*n wad no stá¹*u*,
b*i*t boog'ld lâ¹ik ʊ beest. 110

In the bad place he thought himself,
His singeing clothes made such a smell,
The hot ash frightened him most.
He thought the pole had been the devil,
And from his yowling would not cease,
But bellowed like a beast [ox].

whi*n* :peet*i* fel w*i* aa d*i*s ral*i*,
h*i*z beer'nz miid ʊ fiirfu bral*i* 112
ʊn gr*i*ped iin ʊn*i*dhʊr,
ʊn ran, de kent no whar tʊ r*i*n, 114
w*i* lòpʊn hert, ʊn k*w*akʊn sk*i*n,
ʊn skrikʊn, "mam!" ʊn
"m*i*dhʊr!" 116

When Peter fell with all this rush,
His bairns made a fearful uproar
And gripped one another,
And ran, they knew not where to run,
With leaping heart and quaking skin,
And shrieking, "Mammy!" and "Mother!"

dee *i* ʊ *sinlə* lep lá'*i*k fəəlz,
kaad á'uʊr dʊ kri*q*lʊz ʊn dhʊ stəəlz, 118
ʊn gard aald gi*b*i spəndʊr.
de krá'*i*d: "de gá'*i*r)z kam tróu dʊ rəəf," 120
ʊn duun de fel feerl*i* *i* grəəf,
der hìdz dʊ bɛd strɛɛ ʊndʊr. 122

They in a huddle lapped like fools,
Drove over the straw seats and the stools,
And made old gibeat gallop.
They cried: "the gyre's come through the roof,"
And down fell fairly face downwards,
Their heads the bedstraw under.

nuu :d*ɟi*n*i* gloomʊrd for dʊ lamp,
too shəə kud barl*i* gaq ʊ stamp 124
fər as ʊpo·n dʊ fləər.
ʊn dan tʊ lá'*i*kjht dʊ lamp shə ròkht, 126
shə wɛz noo vero feerd shə tòkht,
ʊn jɛt shə wɛz noo səər, 128

Now Jenny groped for the lamp,
Though she could barely go a step
For ash upon the floor.
And then to light the lamp she wrought,
She was not very afraid she thought,
And yet she was not sure,

tʊ t*i*q*k* on what kam trá'*u* dʊ lam.
meb*i* hʊr hert m*i*sgeed hʊr sam, 130
ʊz on dʊ kol shə bləə,
ʊn too twʊz :peet*i*z taq shə tòkht 132
dat miid s*i*k miin lá'*i*k een uut-mòkht
shə wɛz ʊ litʊr grəə. 134

To think on what came through the chimney.
Maybe her heart misgave her somewhat
As on the coal she blew,
And though 'twas Patey's tongue she thought
That made such moan like one exhausted,
She was a little afraid.

shə wɛz se skaard, shə dəd no hiist hʊr,
ʊn wh*i*n dʊ kol bigu·d tʊ bliistʊr, 136
shə wɛz wiil bɛrsʊn w*i* blaa*i*n,
shə lá'*i*khted dʊ lamp at de laq ʊn de lent, 138
b*i*t or shə tɛrnd tʊ tak ʊ tent,
hʊr bak lɛg niided klaa*i*n. 140

She was so scared, she did not hasten herself,
And when the coal began to blaze
She was nearly bursten with blowing,
She lighted the lamp at the long and the length,
But ere she turned to take a look,
Her back ear needed clawing.

shə sɛd ʊn iir*i*s*i*n fu luud,
ʊn dan shʊ tɛrnd hʊr rund ʊbut 142
whaar hii *i*n aavʊl lee.
dhe sá'*i*kjht hʊr vero sá'*u*l dəd d*i*q,
for whidhʊr h*i*d wɛz ʊn ertl*i* t*i*q
nee b*i*t ʊ her kud see. 146

She said an orison full loud,
And then she turned herself round about
Where he in helplessness lay.
The sight her very soul did smite,
For whether it was an earthly thing,
No bit of her could say.

shə kent dʊ r*i*vl*i*nz hii hed on,
too swiiʊn lá'*i*k ʊ gliidʊn skon, 148
shə tòkht h*i*d wɛz h*i*z lɛg,
b*i*t hor'nz on h*i*z hid shə saa, 150
ʊn fint ʊ b*i*t o fiis ʊvaa·,
dʊt gee hʊr s*i*k ʊ flɛg. 152

She knew the hide-shoes he had on,
Though scorching like a smouldering cake,
She thought it was his leg,
But hornz on his head she saw,
And devil a bit of face at all,
That gave her such a fright.

beeth səət ʊ snaa lee on his djuupʊn,
dʊ riik fiimd uut fee aa hiz kruupʊn,
dʊ buulz haq á¹ʊr hiz briist,
duun fee dʊ pot, tʊ hiz wandjói, 156
djəəst lá¹ik dʊ djaa-striqz o ʊ tói
hɜq laq intee· dhʊ riist. 158

Both soot and snow lay on his loose coat,
The smoke foamed out from all his body,
The hooks hung over his breast
Down from the pot, to his misery,
Just like the jawstrings of a cap
Hung long into the smoking place.

hii pat'ld wi hiz loomʊz laq,
ʊn i dʊ pot hiz rəəfu saq 160
suunded see drol ʊn há¹u.
dʊ teez o dʊ pot stəd ɜp á¹ʊr aa, 162
troth :djini tòkht shə səərli saa
dʊ mɜk'l horned trá¹u! 164

He paddled with his hands long,
And in the pot his rueful song
Sounded so droll and hollow.
The toes of the pot stood up over all,
Truth Jenny thought she surely saw
The big horned devil!

ɹit :djini tək hert whar shəə dəd stand,
shə kloozd hʊr iin, hʊr ɹak'lz grand,
ʊn lokt hʊr handz on her briist,
"gin ɹi bi gəd, i :gədz niim kɜm on, 168
"ʊn gin ɹi bi bad, i :gədz niim bigon!"
kod :djini wi ʊ kriist. 170

Yet Jenny took heart where she did stand,
She closed her eyes, her teeth ground,
And locked her hands on her breast.
"If ye be good, in God's name come on,
"And if ye be bad, in God's name begone,"
Quoth Jenny with a squeeze.

"whaa)z ɹin ʊt spak?" ko :peeti dan,
"ʊz á¹i)m ʊ pəər ʊn sinfu man, 172
"hid)z :djini, á¹i kʊn sweer!
"oo, tɛl mi, :djino, bɜdo, tɛl 174
"if di een :peeti)z faan i hɛl!
"ʊn aar du wi him deer?" 176

"Who's yon that spake?" quoth Peter then,
"As I'm a poor and sinful man,
"It's Jenny, I can swear!
"Oh tell me, Jenno, birdie, tell
"If thy own Peter's fallen in hell!
"And art thou with him there?"

:djini bigu·d tʊ draa ʊ fee,
ʊn dan shə təək tʊ laakhin see, 178
shi whiild hʊr on a stəəl.
"ɹi witles bodhi, wil ɹi ruuz? 180
"du)r i dʊ nəək o di een huus,
"ɹi mɜk'l gaapis fəəl! 182

Jenny began to draw a [conclusion] from,
And then she took to laughing so
She seated herself on a stool.
"You witless body, will you rouse?
"Thou'rt in the nook of thy own house,
"You big uproarious fool!

"taqks for)d, du)r hiim ʊn hiir, bii)z wɜd,
"aatoo· du hiz no ʊ hiil dɜd, 184
"ʊpo· di lɛgz ʊn kruupʊn.
"what ɜndʊr dʊ sɜn on ɛrt kud tɛl di 186
"tʊ kɜm tróu dʊ kɜm wi sik ʊ vɛli?"
sed :djini á¹ʊr him stuupʊn, 188

"Thanks for it, thou'rt home and here, be [it] as would,
"Although thou hast not a whole dud,
"Upon thy legs and body.
"What under the sun on earth could tell thee
"To come through the chimney with such a force?"
Said Jenny o'er him stooping.

"wil du lá¹i deer, til du bi brænt?
"du)r riikən lá¹ik ə wiit kiil rænt. 190
"what maks di lá¹i se dæf?
"bit ar du hərt di, :peeti, gili? 192
"az for mesəl, á¹i mee bi sili,
"á¹i)m got'n sik ə glæf." 194

"Wilt thou lie there, till thou be burned?
"Thou'rt smoking like a wet cabbage stalk
"What makes thee lie so dull?
"But hast thou hurt thee, Peter, boy?
"As for myself, I may be silly,
"I've got such a fright."

:dʒini wi aa her hert, gəd did,
wad pùd də pot fe af hiz hid,— 196
shə lá¹iked :peeti wəl;—
bit dan hiz fiis shə hed no siin, 198
for aa shə kənt, hid má¹ikjht he biin
a plæqki o də diil. 200

Jenny with all her heart, good deed,
Would [have] pulled the pot from off his head,—
She liked Peter well;—
But then his face she had not seen,
For all she knew, it might have been
A trick of the devil.

shə weeted :peetiz fiis tə sii,
az see ənlá¹ik himsəl wəz hii, 202
se blak ən bluu ən tani,
me bii de :trə¹u wəz in də pot, 204
ən if hiz kləəks on her hi got,
hid wad no bii so kani. 206

She waited Peter's face to see,
As so unlike himself was he
So black and blue and tawny,
May be the devil was in the pot,
And if his clutches on her he got,
It would not be so comfortable.

pəər :peeti harled tee him nuu,
too hii wəz narlinz lá¹ik tə spəə, 208
wi səət əpo· hiz stamo,
hi fand hiz biinz aa mertərd seer;
ə wilnes in hiz hid and meer,
a thraa i hiz rá¹ikjht gamo. 212

Poor Peter dragged to him now,
Though he was nearly like to spew,
With soot upon his stomach.
He found his bones all martyred sore,
A dizziness in his head and more,
A sprain in his right foot.

twa)r)trii taq-ká¹uz əfoo·ər him lee,
i dem hi daq hiz rivlin tee, 214
ən miid ə nəə kirmash.
tə pal hi gloomərd for ə stəəl, 216
ən skwandrən, lá¹ik iin fù i jeel,
duun giid hii wi ə klash. 218

Two or three seeweed branches before him lay,
In them he thrust the toe of his cow-hide shoes,
And made a new disturbance.
To get-a-purchase, he groped for a stool,
And staggering, like one drunk at Christmas,
Down went he with a clash.

hiz hìd tək ep on də bak stiin;
də bodhəm o də pot ətwiin 220
də bakstiin ən hiz skəl,
seevd :peetiz hid, lá¹ik ə bòtfendər.
hi daq hidz bodhəm kliin i splendər,
ən leed hid aa i krəl. 224

His head took up on the back stone;
The bottom of the pot between
The back stone and his skull,
Saved Peter's head, like a boat defender.
He struck its bottom clean in splinter,
And laid it all in pieces.

dan :dʒini saa hiz fiis wi glii,
ko shəə : "oo :peeti, nuu hid)z dii,
"oo :gəd bi taqkt du)r hiir!
"ʊn aa wʊr glaf sal bii forgot. 228
"diil kon di taqks for brakin dʊ pot!
"de lá¹ik o)d)z á¹uʊr diir!" 230

"oo :dʒino, las," koo hii tʊ hɛr,
"á¹i mɜk'l tòkht hid ʊ bin wɛr, 232
"whin á¹i wʊr glɜft see seer!
"á¹i tiqk mi harnz wʊr səərli deezd,
"nuu dʒói bi taqkt! ʊn :gəd bi preezd,
"á¹i)m hiim wi dii iins meer!"

du)l tiqk mi tiil)z tiin laq tʊ tɛl,
á¹i)m rəəʊn á¹uʊr wi sliip misɛl, 238
ʊn meer á¹i sino tɛl di.
á¹i dut no widut mɜk'l strá¹if, 240
i boosʊmz :peeti kist hiz wá¹if.
see ɛnded hiz travɛl·i. 242

Then Jenny saw his face with glee,
Quoth she, "Oh! Peter, now it's thee,
"Oh God be thanked thou'rt here.
"And all our fright shall be forgot.
"Devil give thee thanks for breaking the pot!
"The like o' 't's over dear!"

"Oh, Jenno, lass," quoth he to her,
"I much thought it had been worse,
"When I was frightened so sore!
"I think my brains were surely dazed,
"Now joy be thanked! and God be praised,
"I'm home with thee once more!"

Thou'lt think my tale's taken long to tell,
I'm rolling over with sleep myself,
And more I shall not tell thee.
I doubt not without much strife,
In bosoms Peter kissed his wife.
Thus ended his Tumble.

*Notes to Paety Toral's Travellye.*

The numbers refer to the lines. Gl. Mr. Dennison's Glossary, Edm. Edmondson's, Jam. Jamieson's Dictionary.

1. *It*, retaining the old aspirate; as to (i) throughout it may be rather ($i_1$), and was sometimes difficult to distinguish from (e) or (ə) like the NL. ($i_{11}$). *One*, this is sometimes (ii) and sometimes (ee), but (ii) was the older form.

2. *Body*, used for the human body, or man.

3. *the*, Mr. D. used *the* much oftener than *de*, but it seems that *the* is a modern Scotticism, and *de* (dʊ) is the correct old form, and hence it is used throughout. Similarly (du, deer) thou, there, etc.

6. *God* is confounded with *good*, compare 'the Best,' v. 50.

9. *wading*, Gl. "implies, I rather think, the idea of wading through a soft substance as mud or snow."—*home*, often pron. (hiim), but as *wame* (weem) is never (wiim), the not uncommon pron. (heem) is selected.

11. *working*, *work*, written *wirkin*, *wark*, the vb. and sb. are frequently so distinguished; there seems to be a tendency to the Ab. "thick *i*." Throughout, the verbal noun ends in (-in) and the participle in (-ʊn), which Mr. D. illustrates by this example: "This is a muckle biggin, wur Tammy's biggan at hid noo; he was fishan lapsters i' the first of the summer, but the fishing paid peurly the year." This agrees with SL. = D 33, p. 712, No. 6.—*job*, that which he is 'called on" to do, in distinction from *bowman wark*, the bowman = ploughman, being a constant, the *on-ka'*, one called in, an occasional servant.

14. *sky*, in German *luft*, is the air generally, but it seems to be properly the sky or heavens which are 'lifted up.'—*extremely*, properly 'un-couth,' unknownly.

15. *snow cover*, a *moor* is a heavy and a dense cover of snow.

18. *snowed under*, or as we say *over*, the house being below.

19. *wonder*, written *winder*, another example of the NL. thick *i*, which here, as shewn by the rhyme, sounds (ɜ).

20. *posed*, Gl. "in difficulty, without the possibility of extrication."

22. *hands*, Edm. "*loamicks*, the hands, a cant word," Sd. The final *o* of the text is a termination which seems to vary as (*i*, o, *v*), compare Jenno 60, 68, 174, 231, generally Jenny; buddo = birdie, 60, 174; gamo = foot 212, stammo = stomach 209, vero = very 46, 127, 144, sinlo = confused heap 117, cringlos 118; *booto* 54 rhymes with *dubt o*, which ought to imply an *o* pron., I follow Mr. D.'s spelling.——*head*, spelled *heed* 67, 79, 84, 150, 196, which implies (hiid) long, but *heid* 101, 122, 211, 219, 222, which implies (hid) short or (hìd) medial.

24. *stared*, Gl. "*gan*, to stare with upturned face, eyes and mouth wide open." Edm. "*gaan*, to stare, gaze vacantly," Sd.—*fix*, Gl. "*stimmis*, that state of doubt and uncertainty which brings a person into what we call a fix." Edm. "*stumst*, taken aback, stupefied with astonishment," Sd.

25. *fuss*, Gl. "*fimis*, a state of great excitement and irritation." Edm. "*fimmish*, a hurry, a perplexity," Sd.

26. *toppled*, fell into a faint, evidently the slang "caved," or bent over.

27. *foreway*, the way before me, it is the prayer "prevent us," that is, go before us.

28. *blessed*, Jam. "*seelfu' seilfu'*, pleasant, but "*seile, seyle, sela*, happiness," German *seligkeit*.

30. *gore*, so in glossary, it is to butt at with his head and horns, and hence gore like a bull. Jam. "*douss*, a blow or stroke," comparing "*doyce*, a dull heavy stroke, Angus; the flat sound caused by the fall of a heavy body, Angus."

31. *severely*, Gl. "*sicker*, severe, harsh; not *secure* as in Scotch." Jam. "*sickerly*, firmly; smartly regarding a stroke."

39. *when*, I think this is pron. (whan), but I keep (whin) as in original, which implied most probably the "thick *i*," p. 767.

40. *covering snow*, see the note on verse 15.

42. *signal*, something that waves as a flag.

43. *head-shawl*, Gl. "*booto, boota, bootie*, a square woollen cloth worn by females, sometimes over the shoulders, but more frequently over the head," called (buut-o, -i, -ek) in different islands. Edm. writes "*buitie buito*."—*pail pole*, *sae* is a pail or bucket, Fr. *seau*, and *tree* the pole by which it was carried, a large pail by two persons, but two small ones, one at each end of the pole, by one person passing the pole over one shoulder like the water carriers of Venice.

44. *thrust*, Gl. "*rakid*, to thrust in."—*chimney*, lum is the regular L. word.

49. *home*, see v. 9.

53. *wind*, although (wind) was given me, the rhyme, v. 56, requires (wand), and that is the common L. form.

56. *little*, (pii·ri) is a common IL. form, and is even found in NL., p. 788, No. 682.

58. *the sob in his throat*, that is, I presume, the hysterical sob, and though I find no authority for the sb. (griit), the vb. meaning 'to weep' is quite common.—*throat*, Jam. "*crag, crage, craig*, the neck, the throat."—*stream*, Gl. "*feeman*, pouring, streaming; applied to the flowing of blood," the pron. (fiim) shews that the word is *foam*, Ws. *fám*.

60. *birdie*, a common term of endearment.

62. *wholly alone*, so Gl.; Edm. "*lief-on* quite alone," in that case (liiv-ʊn liin) seems to have a repetition in (-ʊn) and (liin) one and alone. The phrase is obscure.

69. *as I think long*, Mr. D. translated to me "help, for my need is great," possibly "God help me, as for ever." Mr. D. also put it as "in proportion to the terrible fear which I have." But after all, I don't understand how the phrase comes to mean anything of the kind.

72. *spring*, Or. *spret*, possibly related to spurt, sudden effort.—*clutch*, Jam. "*glamp*, to grasp ineffectually, to endeavour to lay hold of a thing beyond one's reach."

74. *tumble*, "*travellye*, a catastrophe; a fall, accompanied with great force and noise," see title.

75. *rush*, Gl. "*rullye*, a great rush."

76. *spoliation*, so Gl., "spoil, illegal meddling with moveable goods," Jam.

78. *choke*, Gl. "*wirry*, to choke." Jam. "*worry*, to strangle, to choak, be suffocated," also spelled *wirry*, *wery*.

81. *little*, Jam. "*air*, hair, used for a thing of no value." Edm. "*air*, a peerie air, a mere tasting; *air*, a very small quantity; *air*, to taste," both Or. and Sd.

82. *tastiness*, Jam. "*kitchen*, anything eaten with bread."—*reathy breed*, Gl. "bread made from the seeds of the wild mustard; it was often the only bread in the houses of the poor; but was mixed, when possible, with corn meal."—*to do*, to add to mustard bread to give it a flavour.

84. *jolt*, Gl. "*jund* (*u* as in *June*), a heavy blow; a strong push; a heavy fall; also a large piece of any substance. Mr. Dennison pronounced (tɟ) not (dɟ).

85. *rebound*, Gl. "*traboond*, rebound; but the word, as in the text, is also applied to a blow that moves the object struck out of its position."

86. *hook chain*, Gl. "*creukal band* —chain from which a cooking pot hangs over the fire."

89. *paddled*, Gl. "*pattle*—to move the hands backwards and forwards through any yielding substance; the motion of the fins of a fish is the best illustration of the movement."

90. *jerked*, Gl. "*ferky*—to hitch; to move the body in a jerking manner."

91. *devil*, Gl. "*gyre*—a powerful and malignant spirit" which may or may not be different from "*trow*—the Trow, Satan," mentioned v. 164; Jam. "*gyre carling*, Hecate or the mother witch of the peasants, a hobgoblin, a scarecrow."

93. *back*, Danish *ryg*, old Norse *hryggr*, German *rücken*; compare *ridge*, often (rig) in the n.

94. *spark*, Gl. "*nist*—a spark of fire; a live coal; a very small fire." —*scatter*, so in Gl.

95. *flounder*, the old Ws. *flóc* becomes naturally *fleuk*.

96. *low* is a flame.

98. *till he got* or arrived, ordinary northern sense of to *win*, *in the nook* or chimney corner.

100. *harden*, Gl. "*harn*, rough cloth made of the coarsest flax," see pp. 736, 741, v. 171.

101. *in a skew*, Gl. "a twist; being turned from the proper position to one side."

104. *brave and lukewarm*, fairly hot, though not boiling.

105. *place*, printed *piece*, meaning *place* or *room*, compare the French "un apartement de cinq *pièces*."

106. *singeing*, Jam. "to *sing* to singe."

107. *frightened*, Jam. "to *gliff*, *gloff*, *gluff*, to be seized with sudden fear; to affright," and as a sb. "sudden fear"; the hot ashes made him fear he was burning in hell.

109. *cease*, Gl. "*stow*—to stay; to stop speaking or eating." Compare the English phrase "stow that!" have done! cease! Obs. the pron. different from English (stoo'w), but agreeing with the high German *stauen*.

111. *rush*, see v. 75.

112. *uproar*, Gl. "*brullye* (*u* as in *skull*), great confusion and turmoil; a fall or fight, causing breakage or disorder in a house."

116. *mam*, child's word for mother, contraction of *mammy*; for father they say *ded*.

117. *huddle*, Gl. "*sinlo*, a group of two or more persons entangled together, or huddled together, in very close proximity."—*lap*, Gl. "*lep*, to lap with the tongue," meaning here I suppose that they kept putting their tongues out like fools.

118. *drove*, that is, hurried; Gl. "*ca'in* driving." Jam. "to *call*; *ca'* to move quickly, to go in or enter in consequence of being driven." See p. 732, v. 25, and notes to John Gilpin, st. 55 below.—*straw seats*, Gl. "*cringlo*, a low round stool, formed by twisting straw into a very thick rope, which being coiled in a circular form, was sewn together with bent cords—'bands.'"

119. *old gibcat*, castrated cat, see Shakspere, Henry IV. Part i. 1, 2, 83.

121. *face downwards*, Gl. "*i'greuf*, in a prostrate position, face downwards." Jam. "*grufe*, *groufe*, on groufe, flat, with the face towards the earth." Icelandic *grúfa*, same meaning.

126. *wrought*, worked hard, by blowing a live coal, see vv. 131, 136, 138.

133. *exhausted*, of power; Gl. "*ootmoucht*, quite tired out, exhausted; out of breath." Compare German *Ohnmacht* swoon, *ohnmächtig* powerless.

134. *afraid*, Gl. "*grue*, afraid, suspicious of danger"; Jam. "to *groue*, *growe*, to shudder, to shiver, to be filled with terror, to shrink back, to feel horror; *grousome*, frightful."

139. *to take a look*, Jam. "*tent*, care, attention; *to tak tent*, to be attentive."

143. *helplessness*, Gl. "*aval*, (first *a* as last *a* in *papa*, last *a* as Aber-

donians sound [second] *i* in *shilling*), prostrate, in a helpless position." Jam. "*availl*, abasement, humiliation."

144. *ding*, is freely used for all manner of striking or piercing.

147. *hide-shoes*, Gl. "*rivlin*, a sandal or shoe made of raw hide." Jam. "*rewelyngs*, *rowlyngis*, *rillings*, shoes of undressed hides with the hair on them." Ws. *rifling*, sandal.

148. *scorching*, Edm. "*swee* (to), to singe, to scorch, Shetland, Danish svide, Gothic svida."—*smouldering*, Gl. "*gleed*, to burn slowly and without flame."—*cake*, cow-dung made into cakes for burning.

151. *devil*, fiend.—*at all*, literally *of all* (ʊv aa).

152. *fright*, 'fleg' seems to be the common L. *fley*, *flee*, to frighten.

153. *loose coat*, Gl. "*joopan*, a coarse loose coat, approaching in shape to the modern sack coat." Chaucer says of his knight "of fustian he wered a gipoun"; modern Fr. *jupon*, a petticoat, said to come from the Arabic.

154. *body*, Gl. "*croopan*, the trunk of the body of man or lower animal."

155. *hooks*, Gl. "*bools*, two bent iron rods, hinged together at the upper ends, having the lower ends hooked, so as to fasten into ears of a cooking pot; the pot was suspended on, and lifted to and from, the crook by the bools."

156. *misery*, Gl. "*wanjoy*, sorrow, want of joy;" *wan*, Danish *van*, has the effect of English *un-*, *unjoy*, misery.

157. *jawstrings of a cap*, the strings which fasten on a cap by passing under the jaws; Gl. "*toy*, a woman's cap;" Jam. "*toy*, a headdress of linen or woollen, that hangs down over the shoulders, worn by women of the lower class." The word is used by Burns

"I wad na been surpris'd to spy
You on an auld wife's flainen toy."

*Lines to a Louse, on seeing one on a Lady's Bonnet at Church.*

158. *smoking place*, Gl. "*reest*, place where the fish, etc., are smoked." Jam. "to *reist*, to dry by the heat of the sun, or in a chimney;" Danish *rist*, a gridiron.

159. *paddled*, see v. 89.—*hands*, see v. 22.

166. *teeth*, Gl. "*yackel*, v. to gnaw; n. a molar tooth." Edm. "*yackle*, a grinder, a double tooth."

170. *squeeze*, Gl. "*kreest*, v. to press, to squeeze; n. pressure," squeezing her words out like water from a nearly dry sponge.

175. "*draw a conclusion from*, have an idea of," Gl., so that by leaving out conclusion (*fee*) is made into a substantive!

179. *seated herself*, Gl. "*wheeld*, to sit down, to rest; Danish *hvile*, to rest;" Edm. "*wheelicreuse*, a churchyard; Orkney, from Icelandic *hvila*, bed, couch, and *króa*, to enclose."

182. *uproarious*, Gl. "*gapas*, one who is light and uproarious in folly;" Jam. "*gapus*, a fool; also *gilly-gapus*, *gilly-gawpy*, and *gilly-gacus*." Icelandic "*gapi*, homo futilis, immodestus," Haldorsen. Compare *gaby*. All from *gaping*.

183. *be it as would*, Gl. "*bees will*, be as it will, be as it may, anyhow, however; also spelled *bees-wid*." This *wid* I take to be 'would.'

184. *dud*, Jam. "clothing especially of an inferior quality."

187. *force*, see title.

190. *stalk*, Jam. "*runt*, trunk of a tree, hardened stalk as a *kail runt*, the stem of the colewort; the tail of an animal; a contemptuous designation for a female, generally applied to one advanced in life, with *auld* prefixed."

191. *dull*, applied also to a blunt knife.

192. *hast thou hurt thee*, lit. art thou hurt thee, obs. the construction, similar to the Fr. *t'es-tu blessé*.—*boy*, Gl. "*gillie*, a familiar term of address used to both males and females. It is used by the humbler classes among themselves as *sir* is used among the higher classes, but implies no idea of respect, and is used indiscriminately to both sexes; it is not considered proper to use it when addressing a superior."

194. *I've gotten*. Obs. that *I'm* gotten is used.

195. *good deed*, in very deed, in reality. Mr. D. writes *giddeed* in one word.

196. Obs. omission of 'have,' and compare p. 733, v. 73.

200. *trick*, this is all that is said about *plunkie* in Gl. and Edm. But Jam. has "to *plunk*, to play the truant."

205. *clutches*, Gl. "*cleuks*, clutches; sometimes applied to the hands." Compare p. 737, v. 217.

211. *dizziness*, Gl. "*will*, to lose one's way; to wander not knowing where; the state of having lost one's way, hence *to gae will*, to lose one's way.—*wilness*, dizziness, from *will*." Jam. "*will*, *wyll*, *wil*, *wyl*, lost in error, uncertain how to proceed." Icelandic *víla*, to lament, to doubt.

212. *sprain*, Jam. "*thraw*, to wreathe, to twist; to wrench, to sprain." Mr. D. writes *thr-*, and I am uncertain whether (thraa) or (traa) is said.

213. *seaweed branches*, tang is large seaweed used for fuel, Gl. "*cow*, a branch or sprig of seaweed or heather."

216. *get a purchase*, Edm. "*paal*, a post or pillar, a fixture against which the feet are planted so as to afford a purchase in pulling horizontally."

219. *took up on*, struck against.

222. *boat defender*, possibly wood placed on the sides of a boat to keep it off the rocks, or the pad let down from the pier or rock to prevent damage to the wood of the boat.

223. *splinter*, Jam. "*splendris*, splinters."

224. *in pieces*, Gl. "*i' crull*, in a crushed broken state."

238. *rolling*, Gl. "*reuan*, nodding through sleep." Jam. "to *row*, to roll."

239. *shall not*, so Gl.

241. *in bosoms*, closely embraced, bosom to bosom.

## John Gilpin,

translated into the oldest form of the Orkney dialect which Mr. W. Traill Dennison had heard spoken, and pal. from his dictation 14th June, 1888, by AJE. Mr. Dennison has prefixed the following remarks:

"The writer when a boy began to collect old words used by the Orkney peasantry, and he has for well nigh half a century watched with interest the change which, during this period, the dialect of Orkney has undergone. The very old people with whom he was acquainted in his youth used many words which, though understood, were not used by the younger people. And, now that these younger people have become old, the young generation has dropped many words used by their parents, and a more modern pronunciation is attempted. There can be no doubt that during the last bygone half century the popular speech of these islands has undergone, and is now undergoing, an ever-accelerating change. Every improvement in popular education, every increase in trade, and facility of intercourse with strangers, cheap literature, and the multitude of newspapers, each of these has proved a wave before which much of the old language has sunk into the sea of oblivion, and all the influences of progress and modern civilization taken together, form a mighty current that will soon sweep away every vestige of the old speech. Anxious to preserve from the Anglican deluge the dialect of his native isles, the writer gives the following rendering of Cowper's Gilpin:

"The writer thinks he can separate the Dialect spoken during the immediately past fifty years into three distinct divisions.

First, that spoken by very old persons at the beginning of the period, which he would call the *Scoto-Norse* form.

Second, that spoken during the middle of our period, which may be called the *Anglo-Scotch*.

Third, the present dialect, a sort of *Anglo-Provincial*.

It is not pretended that there exist any hard and fast lines of demarcation between these divisions. They dove-tail themselves into each other, but yet the difference is noticeable to an observant eye. Examples of the three divisions are given in the table below. [In this table the words of the third period are given entirely in received spelling, which "by no means indicates that they are properly pronounced," says Mr. Dennison. In the first two columns the orthography in italics is Mr. Dennison's, and the pal. when added gives his pron. when he specially assigned it. The key prefixed to the cwl. on p. 812 will generally suffice.]

*Words illustrating the transition state of the Orkney dialect during the bygone fifty years, say from* 1838.

| First Period. *Scoto-Norse.* | Second Period. *Anglo-Scotch.* | Third Period. *Anglo-Provincial.* |
|---|---|---|
| *aloor.* | *alis.* | *alas.* |
| *alitto* [used by women and children]. | *allit.* | *alas.* |
| *ato.* | *alto.* | *although.* |
| *dan.* | *than.* | *then.* |
| *dee.* | *thee.* | *thy.* |
| *brue* (bruu). | *brig.* | *bridge.* |
| *doo* or *dee.* | *thu.* | *thou.* |
| *forsta.* | *forstand.* | *understand.* |
| *furkin.* | *willan.* | *willing.* |
| *Guth* (:goth). | *Geud.* | *God.* |
| *Guthaland* (:gudhaland). | *Canāan* [:kanaa·n]. | *Canaan.* |
| *guthawather* (*th* = dh). | *geudwather.* | *thunder.* |
| *Guthayard.* | *Geud's ert.* | *God's earth* [churchyard]. |
| *guthadā* (go-) | *geudday.* | *good day.* |
| *how dā* (ha'u di). | *hicht o' the day.* | *noon day.* |
| *how nort* (ha'u). | *hicht nort.* | *high north.* |
| *de howlans.* | *the heelans.* | *the Highlands.* |
| *itae.* | *intae.* | *into.* |
| *itae.* | *untae.* | *unto.* |
| *kinno.* | *kenno.* | *know not.* |
| *leevar.* | *rether.* | *rather.* |
| *rugface* (rəgfis). | *rouch* [in behaviour and temper, not in material]. | *rough.* |
| *gong.* | *gang.* | *go.* |
| *reed.* | *bey.* | *roadstead.* |
| *skrime.* | *skrie.* | *to discern* at a distance. |
| *skrogs.* | *treereuts* (rəəts). | *tree roots.* |
| *vellye* } p. 791*c*. | *veelence.* | *violence.* |
| *travellye* } p. 791*c*. | *great veelence.* | *great violence.* |
| *wus.* | *wās.* | *was.* |
| *wus.* | *is.* | *us.* |
| *is.* | *his.* | *has.* |

"In the attempts already made by the writer to illustrate the Orkney dialect [p. 790*c*], his illustrations are meant to exhibit equally the first and second divisions of the above, his intention being to shew the transition state of the dialect in his own time. Now let it be clearly understood that the present attempt is intended to illustrate solely our first division, *i.e.* what has been called Scoto-Norse.

"In this rendering of Gilpin the endeavour has been to represent every word of the original by its equivalent Orkney word or in Orcadian pronunciation. Where words in the original do not exist in Orcadian, the rule has been to give the word which it is likely an old Orcadian would have used had he told the story. It will be obvious that both rhyme and rhythm have been ruthlessly sacrificed to this rule. In some verses the original construction has been altered, but only where such construction was unknown in Orcadian."

As rhyme and rhythm have been sacrificed, I have thought it best to print the translation as prose, keeping the division of the stanzas and numbering them for reference in the notes, and to give the original in smaller type in parallel columns. Mr. Dennison appended a number of notes, which I reproduce on p. 810, referring to the stanza. Sometimes I add some observation of my own in [ ].

I regret that the time at my command for palaeotyping this long example, three hours, was far too short to carefully consider such minutiae as the differences

(*ee* ee, e ɛ, o ɔ, ə ɐ), the various sounds of *i* (*i*, $i_1$, e, ə ɐ), and especially to determine the lengths of the vowels, and differences may probably be observed between this rendering and that of *Paety Toral*. The method I adopted was this: I first spent a whole day in writing out the version in approximate pal. to the best of my ability, then Mr. D. repeated the words in his pron., and I endeavoured to seize them. There was no time for any revision, and as Mr. D. returned to Or. the next morning, it was impossible for me to have another interview. Of course I was unable to mark every word every time it occurred, and hence I have had to assume analogies, where I am not certain that they are quite correct. Still more unfortunately painful circumstances which arose prevented me from making a fair copy till three months after the interview, so that I had no fresh memories to guide me. Nevertheless my source of information was so good, that making allowances for the difficult points just mentioned, I believe that this translation into palaeotype furnishes a very fair notion of Or. pron., and that greater accuracy has not yet been attained.

1. :dʒoon*i* :g*i*lpin wɐz ʊ sìt*i*z'n, o kredh*i*t ʊn r*i*nuun, ʊ trèn-band kapten lé*i*kwʊz wəz hii, o f*ee*mʊs :lɐnʊn tuun.

2. :dʒoon*i* :g*i*lp*i*nz spuuz sed t*ee* hʊr diir: "too wàd*i*t w*ii* he bìn, d*i*s twɛ'*i*s t*ə*n laqsam ɹiirz, ɹet w*ii* nii helid*i* he sìn.

3. "de morn *i*s wʊr wàd*i*n d*ee*, wii)l mak ʊ v*i*st*i* dan, ʊtè d*i* :bɛl at :edmʊnstuun, aa *i* ʊ tʃ*ee*z ʊn peer.

4. m*i* s*i*stʊr ʊn m*i* s*i*stʊrz beern, m*i*self ʊn beernz tr*ii*, w*i*l f*i*l dʊ tʃ*ee*z, see duu mân rá¹*i*d on hors bak eftʊr w*ii*."

5. h*i* ansʊr mìd, "á¹*i* d*əə* admiir ʊ w*i*mʊnká¹*i*nd bət ìn, ʊn duu ʊr sh*əə*, m*i* diirest diir, deerfor h*i*₁d sal be d*əə*n.

6. "á¹*i* am ʊ lə₍n*i*n mèrtʃʊnt baald, ʊz aa dʊ waarld d*əə*z kɛn, ʊn m*i* g*ə*d frìnd dʊ kl*ee*th-presʊr, 'l lend h*i*z hors tʊ gjoq."

7. k*oo* mɐstr*i*s :g*i*lp*i*n: "dat)s wìl sed, ʊn sá¹*i*n dat wá¹*i*n *i*z diir, wii)l bii pr*o*vá₁*i*ded w*i* wʊr *ee*n, wh*i*₁lk *i*s b*ee*th brá¹*i*t ʊn kliir."

8. :dʒoon*i* :g*i*lp*i*n k*i*st h*i*z l*oo*v*i*n wá¹*i*f, á¹*u*rtʃó*i*·d wʊz hii te f*i*nd dat t*oo* on plèzʊr sh*əə* wɐs set, sh*ə* hɐd ʊ fr*əə*gʊl má¹*i*nd.

1. John Gilpin was a citizen
Of credit and renown,
A train band captain eke was he
Of famous London town.

2. John Gilpin's spouse said to her dear,
"Though wedded we have been
These twice ten tedious years, yet we
No holiday have seen.

3. "To-morrow is our wedding-day,
And we will then repair
Unto the 'Bell' at Edmonton,
All in a chaise and pair.

4. "My sister, and my sister's child,
Myself, and children three,
Will fill the chaise; so you must ride
On horseback after we."

5. He soon replied: "I do admire
Of womankind but one,
And you are she, my dearest dear,
Therefore it shall be done.

6. "I am a linendraper bold,
As all the world doth know,
And my good friend the calender
Will lend his horse to go."

7. Quoth Mrs. Gilpin: "That's well said;
And for that wine is dear,
We will be furnished with our own
Which is both bright and clear."

8. John Gilpin kissed his loving wife;
O'erjoyed was he to find,
That though on pleasure she was bent,
She had a frugal mind.

9. dʊ mornin kàm, dʊ tʒeez wɐz bràkht, bʊt ɟet wʊz noo ʊluu·d tʊ hɐrl àp tee dʊ duur, lest aa sʊd see dhat shəə wɐz pruud.

10. see trii doorz af dʊ tʒeez wɐz stéid, whar déi dəəd aa get in; sàks preeshʊs saalz, ʊn aa ʊlá'iv te derl trá'u ti₁k ʊn ti₁n.

11. krak gìd dʊ whip, ruund gìd dʊ whiilz, fook nevʊr wʊr se glɐd; dʊ stìns dəd rat'l ɐndʊrnith, ʊz gin :tʒeepsá'id wʊr mad.

12. :dʒooni :gilpin bi hiz horsez sá'id, grɐpʊd fèst dʊ flá'uʊn meen, ʊn àp hi gìd, in hiist te rá'id, bʊt shəən kam duun ʊgèn.

13. te sèd'ltrì hardli got'n hed hii hiz vi₁sti te bigin, whʊn tornʊn ruund hiz hìd, hi saa trii kɐstʊmʊrz ko in.

14. see duun hi kàm, fʊr los ʊ tá'im, atoo hi₁d vekst him seer, ɟet los ʊ baabiiz, fu wiil hi kent, wad trɐb'l him mɐk'l meer.

15. hi₁d wʊz laq afoor di kɐstʊmʊrz wɐr səəted tee dʊr mà'ind, whʊn :beti skriikʊn kàm dùn steerz: "dʊ wá'in is left ʊhent!"

16. "ʊluu·r!" ko hii," ɟet fetɟ hi₁d mii, mi ledhrʊn belt léikwʊz, i whilk á'i beer mi trɐsti swerd, when á'i gjeq tee praktii·z."

17. nuu :mɐstris :gilpin, (keerfu saal!) hɐd twaa stiin pigs fɐnd, te haad de driqk, dat shi luud, ʊn kiip hi₁d seef ʊn suund.

18. ilkʊ stiin pig hɐd a kɐrlʊn lɐg, trá'u whilk dʊ bɐlt hi držuu, ʊn haq ʊ pig on ilkʊ sá'id, tʊ mak hiz balʊns držuu.

19. dan á'uʊr aa, dat hii má'ikjht bii, buunid fe tàp te tee, his laq riid klòk, wìl brɐsht ʊnd nit, hi manfuli dəd throo.

9. The morning came, the chaise was
But yet was not allowed [brought,
To drive up to the door, lest all
Should say that she was proud.

10. So three doors off the chaise was stayed
Where they did all get in;
Six precious souls, and all agog
To dash through thick and thin.
[wheels,

11. Smack went the whip, round went the
Were never folks so glad!
The stones did rattle underneath,
As if Cheapside were mad.

12. John Gilpin at his horse's side
Seized fast the flowing mane,
And up he got, in haste to ride,
But soon came down again.

13. For saddletree scarce reached had he,
His journey to begin,
When, turning round his head, he saw
Three customers come in.

14. So down he came, for loss of time,
Although it grieved him sore;
Yet loss of pence, full well he knew,
Would trouble him much more.

15. 'Twas long before the customers
Were suited to their mind, [stairs,
When Betty screaming came down
"The wine is left behind!"
[it me,

16. "Good lack!" quoth he, "yet bring
My leathern belt likewise,
In which I bear my trusty sword
When I do exercise."

17. Now Mistress Gilpin (careful soul!)
Had two stone bottles found,
To hold the liquor that she loved,
And keep it safe and sound.

18. Each bottle had a curling ear,
Through which the belt he drew,
And hung a bottle on each side,
To make his balance true.

19. Then over all, that he might be
Equipped from top to toe, [neat,
His long red cloak, well brushed and
He manfully did throw.

20. nuu sii him muunted ìns ʊgɛn ʊpoo· hiz tìt gjaan bìst, fu slooli pìkin á'ʊʊr dʊ stìnz, wi kaashʊn ʊn gəd hìd.

20. Now see him mounted once again
Upon his nimble steed,
Full slowly pacing o'er the stones,
With caution and good heed.

21. bət findʊn shəən ʊ sməədhʊr gèt, ʊnìth hiz wìl shod fìt, dʊ snortʊn bìst bigùd tə trot, which tit'ld [tɹɛt'ld] him i hiz seet.

21. But finding soon a smoother road,
Beneath his well-shod feet,
The snorting beast began to trot,
Which galled him in his seat.

22. see "feer ʊn saftli" :dɹoonì hi krá'id, bət :dɹoonì hi krá'id i veen, dat trot bìkàm a spɛndʊr shəən i spá'it ʊ vitʊ ʊn rèn.

22. So "fair and softly" John he cried,
But John he cried in vain;
The trot become a gallop soon,
In spite of curb and rein.

23. See luutʊn duun ʊz hii maan dəə, whaa kiₙnʊ sit aprá'ikjht, hi grɛpʊd dʊ meen wi beeth hiz ha'ndz, léikwʊz wi aa his má'ikjht.

23. So stooping down, as needs he must
Who cannot sit upright, [hands,
He grasped the mane with both his
And eke with all his might.

24. hiz hors wha nivʊr i dat wéi had hand'ld bìn ʊfoor, what tiq hi)d got'n ʊpo· hiz bak, dəəd fàrli meer ʊn meer.

24. His horse who never in that sort
Had handled been before,
What thing upon his back had got,
Did wonder more and more.

25. ʊwaa gìd :gilpin, hàs ʊr nokht, ʊwaa gìd hat ʊn wig, hi lit'l driimd whiₙn hi tə'k wéi, ʊ rɛnʊn sic a rig.

25. Away went Gilpin, neck or nought,
Away went hat and wig;
He little dreamt, when he set out,
Of running such a rig.

26. dʊ wiₙnd dəəd blaa, dʊ klok dəəd flii léik striimʊr laq an géi, til luup ʊn bɛt'n feelʊn beeth ʊt last hiₙd fluu ʊwaa!

26. The wind did blow, the cloak did fly
Like streamer long and gay,
Till loop and button failing both,
At last it flew away.

27. dan má'ikjht aa fòk wìl skrá'im, dʊ stiin pig hi hɛd haqd, ʊ stiin pig swiqʊn ʊt ilkʊ sá'id, ʊz hez bin sed ʊr sɛq.

27. Then might all people well discern
The bottles he had slung;
A bottle swinging at each side,
As has been said or sung.

28. də tá'iks dəd bark, dʊ beernz skreekjht, ap flǐuu dʊ windʊz aa, ʊn evʊri saal krá'id uut: "wìl də'n!" iₙz luud iₙz hii kùd kaa.

28. The dogs did bark, the children [screamed,
Up flew the windows all; [done!"
And every soul cried out: "Well
As loud as he could bawl.

29. ʊwaa gìd :gilpin, whaa bʊt hii? hiz feem shəən sprèd ʊrùnd: "hi beerz ʊ wekjht!" "hi rá'idz ʊ rees!" "hiₙd)z for a thuuzʊn pɛnd!"

29. Away went Gilpin,—who but he?
His fame soon spread around;
"He carries weight!" "he rides a race!"
"'Tis for a thousand pound!"

30. ʊn stil i₁z fest i₁z hii kam niir, hi₁d wʊs farlifu tʊ si, huu i ʊ hent, dʊ grindkiipʊrz, dʊr grindz wá¹id aap'n thrǐuu.

31. ʊn nuu i₁z hii gìd buuʊn dùn, hiz rìkʊn hì)d fu leekjh, dʊ stiin pigz beeth ʊhent hiz bak, wʊr speldʊrd at ʊ tʒùnd.

32. dùn ran dʊ wá¹in itee dʊ gèt, meest pìtifu te bi sìn, whilk mìd hiz horsez flaqks te rik ʊz déi hɛd flamed bìn.

33. bʊt stil hi lakid te beer wekjht wi ledhrʊn gerd'l bùnd, for aa má¹ikjht sii dʊ pig-neks stil diqlʊn ʊt hiz mid'l.

34. dɛs aa trá¹u meri :izliqtùn dis pretikenz hii dəd plee, ʊtil hi kam ʊtee· dʊ :wèsh ʊ :edmʊntùn se géi.

35. ʊn dar hi thrǐuu dʊ :wèsh ʊbùt on beeth sá¹idz ʊ dʊ wéi, tʒə'st léik ʊtee ʊ patlʊn map, ʊr ʊ wá¹ild gəəs ʊt plee.

36. ʊt :edmʊntùn hiz loovin wá¹if fee dʊ bal·tizʊn skrá¹imd hʊr tendʊr hazbʊn,farlivn mak'l te sii whuu (fuu) hii kùd rá¹id.

37. "stop, stop, :dʒooni :gilpin! hiir)z dʊ huus!" déi aa ʊt ìns dəd krá¹i; "dʊ denʊr wèts ʊn wii₁ ʊr ti₁gd." sez :gilpin, "see ʊm á¹i!"

38. bʊt ɟet hiz hors wʊs noo ʊ bit farkʊn te stéivn deer, for wá¹i? hiz á¹unʊr hɛd ʊ hùs fu tɛn má¹ilz af at :weer.

39. see léik ʊ èro tiit hi flǐuu, shot bee ʊ bá¹umʊn straq, se dəd hi flii,—whilk taks mi tee dʊ mid'l o mi saq.

40. ʊwaa gìd :gilpin, uut ʊ breeth, ʊn seer ʊgin hiz wil, til at hiz frìnd dhʊ kleeth presʊrz, hiz hors ʊt last stəəd stil.

41. dʊ kleeth presʊr fi₁mist te sii hiz niibʊr i sik trim, lèd dùn hiz pá¹ip, flǐuu tee dʊ ɟèt, ʊn dɛs speek tʊ him.

30. And still as fast as he drew near,
'Twas wonderful to view,
How in a trice the turnpike-men
Their gates wide open threw.

31. And now, as he went bowing down
His reeking head full low,
The bottles twain behind his back
Were shattered at a blow.

32. Down ran the wine into the road,
Most piteous to be seen, [smoke,
Which made the horse's flanks to
As they had basted been.

33. But still he seemed to carry weight,
With leathern girdle braced;
For all might see the bottle necks
Still dangling at his waist.

34. Thus all through merry Islington
These gambols he did play,
Until he came unto the Wash
Of Edmonton so gay.

35. And there he threw the Wash about
On both sides of the way,
Just like unto a trundling mop,
Or a wild goose at play.

36. At Edmonton his loving wife
From the balcony spied
Her tender husband, wondering much
To see how he did ride.

37. "Stop, stop, John Gilpin! Here's the house!"
They all at once did cry;
"The dinner waits, and we are tired."
Said Gilpin, "So am I."

38. But yet his horse was not a whit
Inclined to tarry there;
For why!—his owner had a house
Full ten miles off at Ware.

39. So like an arrow swift he flew,
Shot by an archer strong;
So did he fly—which brings me to
The middle of my song.

40. Away went Gilpin, out of breath,
And sore against his will,
Till at his friend the calender's,
His horse at last stood still.

41. The calender amazed to see
His neighbour in such trim,
Laid down his pipe, flew to the gate,
And thus accosted him.

42. "what nǔuuz, what nǔuuz? ɹər ankənz tɛl! tɛl mi, ɹi maan ən sal! *see* whá'*i* beerhìded duu ər kam, ər whá'*i* duu kamz əvaa?"

43. nuu :*gilpin* had ə pl*eezənt* w*it*, ən luud ə tá'*imli* fan, ən das ət*ee*· də kl*ee*th presər i mer*i* wé*i* hi spàk:

44. "*ái* kàm bikaz ɹər hors wad kam, ən g*if* á'i wel bòd, m*i* hat ən w*ig* wil sh*əə*n bi hiir,—déi aar əpoo· də gèt."

45. də kl*ee*th presər rá'*i*kjht glɛd tə f*i*nd h*i*z frìnd *i* mer*i* m*əə*d, ritarnd h*i*m noo ə s*i*qg'l wərd, bət tu dhə huus gìd in.

46. ən uut hi kam w*i* hat ən w*ig*, ə w*ig* dat flá'*u*d əh*i*nt, ə hat noo mak'l də wars for weer, b*ee*th k*oo*ml*i* *i* dər ká'*i*nd.

47. hi hàd*i*d dəm ap, ən *i* h*i*z tarn, das shaad h*i*z red*i* w*i*t: "m*i* hìd *i*z twaa tá'*i*mz əz b*i*g əz dá'*i*n, déi deerfor niidz mast f*i*t.

48. "bət let mi skr*ee*p də dart əwaa, dat h*i*qz apoo· d*i* f*ee*s, ən bá'*i*d ən *i*t, fər wìl du m*ee* bii *i* ə haqr*i* k*ee*s."

49. sed :dʒ*oni*: "h*i*d *i*z m*i* wad*i*n d*ee*, ən aa də warld wad glá'*u*ər, g*if* wá'*if* sùd dá'*i*n ət :edməntùn, ən á'*i* sùd dá'*i*n ət :weer."

50. see tornən tee h*i*z hors hi sed: "á'*i* am *i* hìst tə dá'*i*n; h*i*d waz fər d*ii* pl*ee*zər duu kàm hiir, duu sal gjog bak for má'*i*n."

51. okh! lakles spiitʒ ən fekles bòst! fər wh*i*tʒ hi p*ee*d fu diir; fər wh*ái*l hi spak ə br*ee*)ən às, də'd s*i*q m*ee*st luud ən kliir.

52. wharat h*i*z hors dəəd snort, əz hii had hard ə lá'*i*ən ruut, ən spandərd af w*i* aa h*i*z má'*i*kjht, əz hii hɛd də'n əfoor!

42. "What news, what news? your tidings
Tell me you must and shall! [tell!
Say why bareheaded you are come,
Or why you come at all?"

43. Now Gilpin had a pleasant wit,
And loved a timely joke;
And thus unto the calender
In merry guise he spoke:
[come:

44. "I came because your horse would
And if I well forbode,
My hat and wig will soon be here,—
They are upon the road."

45. The calender, right glad to find
His friend in merry pin,
Returned him not a single word,
But to the house went in.
[wig,

46. Whence straight he came with hat and
A wig that flowed behind,
A hat not much the worse for wear,
Each comely in its kind.

47. He held them up, and in his turn
Thus showed his ready wit:
"My head is twice as big as yours,
They therefore needs must fit.

48. "But let me scrape the dirt away,
That hangs upon your face;
And stop and eat, for well you may
Be in a hungry case."

49. Said John: "It is my wedding-day,
And all the world would stare,
If wife should dine at Edmonton,
And I should dine at Ware."

50. So turning to his horse, he said:
"I am in haste to dine;
'Twas for your pleasure you came here,
You shall go back for mine."

51. Ah! luckless speech, and bootless boast!
For which he paid full dear;
For while he spake, a braying ass
Did sing most loud and clear.

52. Whereat his horse did snort, as he
Had heard a lion roar,
And galloped off with all his might,
As he had done before.

53. ʊwaa gìd :gilpin, ʊn awaa gìd :gilpinz hat ʊn wig! hi ti,nt dʊm shəənʊr or ʊfoor, fʊr whá'i? déi wʌr á'uʊr big!

54. nuu :mʌstris :gilpin whʌn shə saa hʊr gə'dman pòstʊn dùn itee dʊ kjʌntri faar ʊwaa, shə pùd ùt hàf o ʊ krùn,

55. ʊn dʌs ʊtee· dʊ haaflin shə sɛd, dat kaad dʊm tee dʊ :bɛl: "dis sal bi dá'in, whi,n duu taks bak mi gə'dman seef ʊn wiil."

56. dʊ haaflin rèd, ʊn shə'n də'd mìt :dʒooni koo·ʊn bak ʊgen, whaa in ʊ hent hi trá'id te stéi, bi glamʊn at his reen.

57. bʊt noo perfá'i·tʊn what hi má'ikjht, ʊn blá'idli wad he də'n, dʊ fleged bìst hi fleged meer, ʊn meed him fester rʌn.

58. ʊwaa gìd :gilpin, ʊn awaa gìd hàflin at his hiilz, dʊ hàflinz hors rá'ikjht blá'id te mis dʊ dilderin o dʊ whiilz.

59. saks dʒent'lmen apoo dʊ gèt dʌs sii·ʊn :gilpin flii wi hàflin skʌriʊn at hiz teel, déi rəəzd dʊ "ʒhíu ʊn krá'i."

60. "stop tìf! stop tìf! ʊ robʊr man!" noo ìn o dem wʊz dʌm, ʊn aa ʊn ilkʊ ìn dat past dat wéi də'd tʒóin i dʊ persə't.

61. ʊn nuu dʊ gèt-grindz ʊgen flʊ̆uu aap'n in ʊ glisk, dʊ grind men tiqkʊn ʊz afoor dat :gilpin reed ʊ rees.

62. ʊn see hi də'd ʊn wan hi,d təə, for hii kàm ferst te tuun, nor stéid til whaar hi ferst gìd ap, hi də'd ʊgen koo dùn.

63. nuu let wʊz siq laq liv dʊ :kiq! ʊn :gilpin laq liv hii! ʊn whʌn hi niist də'z rá'id fee hiim, mee á'i bi deer te sii!

53. Away went Gilpin, and away
Went Gilpin's hat and wig;
He lost them sooner than at first,
For why?—they were too big.

54. Now Mistress Gilpin, when she saw
Her husband posting down
Into the country, far away,
She pulled out half a crown;

55. And thus unto the youth she said,
That drove them to the "Bell,"
"This shall be yours when you bring back
My husband safe and well."

56. The youth did ride, and soon did meet
John coming back amain;
Whom in a trice he tried to stop
By catching at his rein.

57. But not performing what he meant,
And gladly would have done,
The frighted steed he frighted more,
And made him faster run.

58. Away went Gilpin, and away
Went postboy at his heels,
The postboy's horse right glad to miss
The lumbering of the wheels.

59. Six gentlemen upon the road
Then seeing Gilpin fly,
With postboy scampering in the rear,
They raised the hue and cry.

60. "Stop thief! stop thief! a highway man!"
Not one of them was mute;
And all and each that passed that way
Did join in the pursuit.

61. And now the turnpike-gates again
Flew open in short space;
The tollmen thinking, as before,
That Gilpin rode a race.

62. And so he did, and won it too,
For he got first to town;
Nor stopped till where he had got up,
He did again get down.

63. Now let us sing, Long live the King!
And Gilpin long live he!
And when he next doth ride abroad,
May I be there to see!

*Notes to John Gilpin*, by Mr. Dennison, with remarks in [ ] by AJE.

1. *John.* The *o* in this name is pron. long, approximating somewhat to *au.* [This gives (oo) exactly.] [*train-band*, of course this is not an Or. word, and as there were no train-bands even in London in my time, the expression used to puzzle me as a child. He would have been a volunteer captain in these days, I suppose.]—*eke*, not in Or., and hence *likewise* substituted.

2. *tedious*, the Danish *langsam* is still in common use.

3. [*our*, (wur) common].—*repair*, not in Or., hence make a vistie or short journey, is used.—*then*, given as (dan), a Danishism.—*unto*, reduced to (ŭtè).

4. *my*, both *me* and *mae* are used for *my*, *me* being the most emphatic [but Mr. D. pron. (mi) in both cases; similarly he wrote *wae* for the last word in the stanza, but said distinctly (wii). Of course the construction *after we*, which Cowper used for its ludicrous effect, is not Or.].

5. *one*, now often pron. (ĕn), but (in) is oldest. [Observe the vowels are generally medial as in L. usually; I have not always so marked them, however. The *i* is the deep ($i_1$), and often (ə), as in (bət), written *bit*, like the NL. sound, see p. 767, but I have generally been satisfied with writing (*i*). In (hi$_1$d) it, with the old aspirate, it is very marked.]

6. *linen*, *i* here has a sound which I find it impossible to represent; the tongue strikes the top of the mouth further back than when pronouncing *linen* in English. [It is the NL. *i*, see p. 767, but it sounded to me like (ə), and was slightly nasalised, which was probably an accident.]—*draper*, not in Or., and hence *merchant* substituted.—*doth*, not in Or., hence *does* used.—*calender*, not in Or., and hence translated. [The final (th) in (kleeth) was curiously pron. almost (tj), but (th) was intended, and is hence written.]

7. *furnished*, not in Or. [hence *provided* is substituted.]—*both*, there was the same curious final (th) as heard in 6, cloth presser.

8. *bent* [could not be used in this sense in Or.].—*frugal*, the very word that an old Orcadian would have used.

9. [*drive*, to *hurl*, is used in the sense of to *wheel* in Scotland.]—*proud*, the (d) was clear.

10. *stayed.* "I cannot represent this *ey* sound in English." [It was the common (éi).]—*agog*, not in Or.

11. [*whip*, Mr. Dennison wrote *whup*, but said (whip), which is unusual in L.]—*were never folks so glad.* The construction of this line is inadmissible in Or.

12. *flowing* [observe the pron., Mr. D. said *ow* as in *how*].

13. *come*, the form *co'* is frequent.

14. [*pence*, the Scotch *bawbees* are halfpence.]

16. *good lack*, (aluur·) means alas.—*exercise*, this word could not be used, because in Or. it meant a religious service, such as family worship, and was pron. (eksursii·z).

17. *stone bottles* could not be used, because in Or. *bottle* applies to *glass* vessels only, and stone bottles or jars are called *pigs*.

19. *equipped.* The word *boonyed*, in complete order, from the word *boon*, is pure Norse, and is also still used here, or, I should rather say, was used.—*throw*, [the (th) was especially dictated].

20. *nimble steed*, neither word exists in Or. I give *teet*, which has the same meaning as nimble.—*Beast* [which Mr. D. wrote *baest*, but pron. (bist)] is used for horses as well as cows. [Compare Tam o' Shanter, p. 733, v. 70, they say (kâ'i bist, hors bist).]—*pacing* [here again Mr. D. wrote (pāekan), but pron. (pikun)].

21. *road*, (gèt) gate, but the gate of a field, etc., is (jèt).—*began*, be good is the oldest form.—*galled*, [the word *tittled* is explained in Mr. D.'s glossary "tickled, amused; sometimes [as here] slightly irritated"].

22. *gallop*, [for which the Or. word is *spunder*].—*curb*, *curb* being unknown in Or., I have employed *vitta*, a wooden bit used in old times.

23. *as*, *cannot*, have this same n.L. vowel, see ($i_{11}$), p. 767.

24. [*What thing upon his back had got*, Mr. D. has made it, *what thing upon his back he'd got*, which has a different meaning, and is not so ridiculous.—*wonder*, *farly*. Compare "Me bifel a ferly," Piers Pl. v. 16.]

25. *neck*, "*hass* (sometimes, and properly, *hars*), the neck of the human body"; Mr. D.'s Glossary; Norse; German *hals*.—[*set out* not being Or.

is translated into *take way.*—*running such a rig,* the phrase is merely reproduced, not translated in the Or. version, *running* has the n.NL. (*i*), which here sounded (ɜ) to me.]

30. [*turnpike men, gates,* as there are no turnpike roads in Or., Mr. D. has substituted keepers of the grinds or gates to fields.]

31. *bowing,* (buuʊn) is used here as (luutʊn) was before (st. 23) to shew that both words were used in Or.

34. *these gambols,* here I have used the singular *this* [instead of the plural *these*], because proper in Or., however improper in English grammar.—*pretikins,* besides meaning gambols, also means tricks of leger-de-main, and acrobatic feats.

36. *balcony,* not used in Or. [the word *balcony* used always to have the accent on the second syllable as here, from the Italian *balco'ne,* a big beam or balk].—*spied,* Or. *skrimed.*—*how,* both *whoo* and *foo* are said. [It is the only *wh* so changed in IL.—*did,* altered, perhaps accidentally, to *could.*]

37. [*tired* (tɩ₁gd), Mr. D. gives "*tigsam,* tedious, wearisome," in his glossary.]

38. *inclined,* Or. *furkin.* Edmondstone gives this as an Or. word with an entirely erroneous meaning. It properly signifies to be willing, inclined, or disposed to.—*owner, ow* as in *how.*

39. *an arrow,* the indef. article is always *a,* never *an,* in Or.—*archer,* archery is unknown in Or.

41. *gate* means in Or. the outer gate of a house, while *grind* (st. 30) is a field gate.

42. [*tidings,* the word *uncans* probably means things unkent, or unknown, hence tidings.]—*at all,* (ʊvaa) of all, with the same meaning.

46. *whence, each,* neither word occurs in Or.

47. *is, as.* These two words are pronounced identically in Or. [Mr. D. writes *as* as *is,* but to my ear the NL. *i* had here two different sounds in *is,* as (*i*) or (*i*₁) almost, in *as* it sounded to me like (ʊz). See p. 767.]

48. *stop, bide* is not given as its correct rendering of *stop,* but because it is the word that an Orcadian would have used in the circumstances.

50. *go* (gjoq), some would write *geong* as in the old word *geo,* meaning a cave. [The *g* is simply palatalised.]

52. *snort,* rhymes *hurt* [this would give (snart), but I marked his pron. as (snort).—*roar,* translated (ruut). Gloss. "*root* to roar loudly; often applied, but not confined, to the cry of a cow"].

53. *than,* (or) is the regular Or. equivalent.

54. *posting,* pronounced something like the *au* in *clause.* [I marked (ȯ) the Italian *o aperto* medial length. I had great difficulty in knowing when Mr. D. used (oo) and when (*oo*). The pal. will hence probably be found inconsistent.]

55. *youth,* in Or. *halfling* is applied to a lad too young to do the work of a full-grown man, and who was considered half man and half boy.—*drove,* in Or. (kaad). The word is used in many senses in Or., such as *to ca on,* to cry on [shout for], to make a call on, *to ca'* to cry, to drive a flock of sheep, cattle, or whales, hence 'cain whale'; to drive horses, as *he cas a couple,* he drives a pair of horses; to strike with a hammer, as *cain nails* driving notes. [See for the last *Tam o' Shanter,* v. 25, p. 732 above.]—*husband,* in Or. *goodman* is still used as well as husband.

57. [*performing,* in Ork. *perfecting,* in the older form *perfitan,* compare Chaucer's *parfit,* taken direct from Fr. *parfait*; *perfect* is quite a modern form. But the place of the accent on the second syllable, and consequent diphthongising of its sound, are noteworthy.]

58. *lumbering, dildering* is only an approximative rendering of the original, because *lumbering* in this sense does not occur in Or., for *lumber* in its ordinary sense *ramel* is used. *dilder* means to jolt, to shake by concussions.

59. *rear,* not in Or., hence *tail* used. [*hue and cry,* the phrase and custom is unknown in Or., hence there being no corresponding phrase the English words are simply retained.]

60. [*thief,* there is the same peculiarity as in L., (thîf) medial, sing. (thiivz) long plural, on account of the following consonants *f, v.*—*highwayman,* they had no Or. word for.]

61. [*short space,* or *glisk,* "a glimpse, an instant," Dennison Gl.]

## Orkney cwl.

from Mr. Dennison's Orcadian Sketch-Book, retaining his orthography in italics.

In this orthography *ae*=*ay* in *day*. *ee*=*ee* in *see*. *oa*=(oo).
*eu*=ˈ*eu* in *amateur*, *hauteur*, "pretty nearly," *-in*, verbal noun, *-an* part. See examples, p. 798, note to v. 11. The pal. and notes were from vv. information. I have also added many words from John Gilpin, giving both Mr. D.'s orthography and my pal. transcription.

### I. Wessex and Norse.

A- — *quack* [quake]. 6 *meed*. — *wad* [wade]. 15 *a'fo'* [awful]. — *ba'k* [balk]. 19 *teel*. 21 *neem*. 23 *sam'*. 24 *sheem*. 25 *mane* meen. — *get* gèt [road, N. gata]. — *keel* [kail]. A: 38 *is* uz [unaccented NL. *i*]. 39 *cam'* kàm. 41 *tank*. 43 *han's* [hands]. 49 *hing* hiq. 55 *ass*. 56 wesh [name of a piece of water]. A: *or* O: 58 *f'ae* fee. 60 *lang* laq. 61 *amang*. A'- 67 *geng ga'n geen geed* [go going went], *geong* gjoq [to go], *gang* gjeq. 70 *tae* tee. 72 *wha* [used for relative, both nom. and acc.]. 73 *sae*. 74 *twa* twaa. 79 *ain* een. 80 *heliday* helidi. 82 *eence* ins. 83 *meen mane*. 84 *mair* meer. — *raran* reerun [roaring]. 85 *sair* seer. 86 *aets*. 89 *baith* beeth. 90 *blaw* blaa. 95 *throw* throo [with (th)]. 97 *sa'l saul* saal.

A': 105 *rade* rèd. — *lethy* ledhi [lady]. 109 *laich* leekjh. 110 nokht. — *feeman* [foaming, streaming]. 115 *heem* hiim. 117 *aen een*, in, *ee* [last common]. 118 *been*. 122 i. *neen*, ii. *nee*. 123 *naethin nithin* [last common]. 124 *steen* stin. 126 *airs* (eerz). 130 *boat* [this should be (boot), but I heard (baat)]. 132 *haet* (hi$_1$t).

Æ- 138 *faither*. — *a't'egither* [altogether]. 148 *fair* feer. — *stairs* steerz. — *saet seet* [seat]. Æ: 155 *t'aik*. — *spak'* [spake]. 156 *gled* gled. 159 *his*. 169 *whin* whun [unaccented NL. *i*]. 173 *wus*. 175 *fest* fest. 177 *dat 'at*. — *wraith* [wrath]. — *stathy* [steady]. Æ'- 187 *lave*. 195 *minny*. Æ': 209 *niver* nivur. 214 *naither* needhur. 221 *f'are*. 223 *dere air*. 224 *whar'* whar. 226 *maist* meest. — *wassel* [wrestle]. 228 *swaet* sweet. 229 *braith* breeth.

E- 231 *de*. 233 *spaekan* [speaking]. — *wather* [weather]. — *neevs* [(niivz) fists]. 243 *plee*. 244 *weel*. 246 ii. *quine* kwâ$^{l}$in. — *aet* [which should represent (*eet*), but Mr. D. said (it)]. 254 *leatheran* ledrun [leathern]. E: — *wab* [web]. — *haeve* [heave]. — *waddin* [a wedding]. 262 *wey* wéi. 263 *awa* uwaa. 265 strakht. 266 *weel* wìl. 269 *hidsel* [itself]. — *dellan* [delivery]. — *speil speel* [spell]. 276 *tink*. — *twinty* [twenty (i$_1$)]. 281 *lent'*. 282 *strent'*. 284 *t'resh*. — *he'rty* [hearty]. — *at'wart* [athwart]. — *wast* [west]. E': 305 *hich heich* (hâ$^{l}$ikjh). 306 *hicht*. 310 *heel* hìl. 314 *h'ard*. 315 *fit* fìt. 316 *neest* nist.

EA- — *eel'* [ale]. — *shawed* shaad [shewed]. EA: — *kaff* [chaff]. 321 *sa* saa. 323 *foucht* (faakht). 324 *aucht* (aakht). — *sall* sal [shall]. 326 *auld* aald. 327 *bāuld* baald. 330 *haud* aad. 332 *ta'd* (taad). 333 *callow* [to calve]. 335 *a'* [sometimes (l) is pron.]. — *ha'* [hall]. 337 wa'. — *ma't* [malt]. 342 *erm*. — *hairm* [harm]. 346 *yett* jèt. EA'- 347 *heed* hìd. 348 *e'e*. EA': 350 *deed deid*. 351 *leed*. 352 *reed* riid. 353 *breed*. 354 *shaev's* [sheaves]. 357 *t'o'* to too *a'to* [although]. — *tare* [a tear]. 368 *deeth*. 371 *stree*.

EI- 372 *aye* éi. 373 *dey* déi. 374 *na'*. EI: 380 *dem*. 382 *der deir*. EO- 383 *seevan*. 384 *heevan*. 386 *yow*. EO: 390 *s'ud* sùd. — *siller* [silver]. 392 *yin* jen. 394 [never used]. 397 *sweord sword* sward [NL. *i*]. EO'- 411 *t'ree* trii. 412 *sheu*. 413 *deil*. 414 *flee fleean*, flii fliiun [fly flying]. 415 *lee*. — *heud* [held]. — *yeul* [yule, Christmas]. 416 *dear* diir. — *sheet* [shoot]. 420 *fower*. 421 *foorty*. EO': — *t'ief*

tief [thief]. 423 *t'ee.* 426 *fecht.* 429 *fiend.* 430 *freend* frínd. 433 *breest.* 436 *true* trĭuu. 437 *treuth.*

I- — *gaean'* [giving], *geen* [given]. 441 *si'v'.* 448 *dis* dis [sg. used for pl.]. I: — *t'ick* ti,k [thick]. 457 *micht* má¹ikjht. 458 nicht (ná¹ikjht). 459 *apricht* aprá¹ikjht. 460 *weicht* wekjht. 464 *whilk* whalk [NL. *i*]. 468 *chielders.* — *ahint* ehent [behind, most probably NI. *i*]. 480 *ting* tiq. — *rinnan* ranen [running NL. *i*]. 484 dis. — *rash* [a rush]. 489 *hid* [(hi,d) almost (het)]. — *sax* [six]. I'- 490 *bae.* 492 *side* sá¹id. — *t'rive* [thrive]. — *tretty* [thirty]. I': — *leek* [a corpse in (lik waak) like-wake]. 500 *likewis* léikwes [likewise NL. *i* in last syllable]. 508 má¹il. 509 *whill.* — *linen* lə,nen [linen]. — *dee* [thy].

O- 518 *bothy.* — *sheul* [shovel]. 519 *ower* á¹uer. 522 *āpen* aap'n. — *drip* [drop]. 523 *hup.* 524 *warld* waarld. O: 525 ii. *aff.* 528 *t'ought.* 529 *braucht* bràkht. 531 *doachter* [(daakhter) almost (daakhter)]. 534 *hol'* [*how* hollow]. 536 *gowd.* 538 *wad wid* wad. 544 *dan.* — *tap* tap [top]. — *scor'* [score]. — *nort'* [north]. — *botham* (bodhem) [bottom]. — *owsen* [(óus'n) oxen]. O'- 556 *tae atae tee* [unto], *i'tae* [into]. 557 *teu* təə. 558 *luck* lak. 562 *meun.* 564 *seun sheun* shəən shə'n. — *smoother* sməədher [smoother]. 566 *ither.* 568 *brither.* — *flow* flá¹u.

O': 569 *beuk.* 571 *geud* gə'd [confused with God]. — *heud* [hood]. 572 *bleud.* — *sneud* [snood]. 575 *steud* stə'd. — *gliv* [glove]. — *soft* saft [soft]. — *reuf* [roof]. 582 *ceul* kəəl. — *pow* (póu) [pool]. 586 *deu deuin's* [doings]. 587 *deun* dəən də'n. 589 *speun.* 590 *fleur.* 592 *sweur.* — *geus* gə's [goose]. 593 *maun* maan. 595 *fit.*

U- — *knock* [knock, (k) pron.]. 600 *loavin' loovin* [this is an adj. not the participle which would be *looven*], *loed* luud. 603 *co* ko [frequent contraction]. 605 *sin.* 606 *door* door. U: — *sh'uther* [shoulder]. — *poo'd* pùd [pulled]. 612 *sunnin* [something]. 615 *pund* pand. 616 *grund.* 617 *soond* suund. 619 *f'und* fand. — *windir* [wonder (i,) or (ɑ)]. 632 *ap* a¹p. — *apo'* [upon]. — *brough* (brokh) [borough]. 634 *t'rou* trá¹u. 635 *wirt'.* U'- 640 *coo.* 641 *hoo* whuu fuu [both used]. 642 *th'u* [? *du*]. 643 *noo.* — *toom* [thumb]. 648 *wur,* wer. 649 *thoosan* thuuzen. 650 *aboot.* 653 *bit* bet [unaccented, *i.e.* with the NL. *i*]. U': — *boosam* [buxom]. — book (buuk) [bulk, distinct from 569]. 658 *doon* duun dùn. 659 *toon* tuun [town]. 663 *hoose.* 667 *oot* uut. 668 *prood* pruud. 671 *mooth.* 672 *sooth.*

Y- 673 *muckle* mak'l. 674 *deud* dəəd də'd. — *steer* [stir]. Y: 683 *mudges* [pl.]. 690 *kind* ká¹ind. 691 *mind* má¹ind. — *tin* ti,n [thin]. 700 *waur wer.* — *t'irst* [thirst]. 702 *wi'd* [with it]. Y'- — *fifeteen* (fá¹iftin) fifteen. Y': — *wiss* [prob. (was) wish].

## II. English.

A. — *trapple* [thrapple thropple]. — *heest* hiist [haste]. E. 743 *skreek* skrik. — *t'raep t'reep* [threep]. — *velved* velvet. I. *and* Y. — *keik* [kick]. — *week* [wick, side of the mouth, used by Salesbury, see Part III. p. 756*b*]. 753 *tittle* tit'l tɪet'l. — *preen* [pin]. — *firt'* [firth]. O. 761 *lod.* — *scald* [scold], *scowlding* [scolding]. — *cunnin* [(ɑ) coney, rabbit]. — *wint* (wi,nt) [wont]. — *coor'd* [cowered]. — *ceut* [coot = ankle, a very common word]. — *trath* [troth]. — *seroon'* [surround]. U. — *dook* [duck]. — dook. 808 *pit pet, pat* [pt.], *pitten* [pp.].

## III. Romance.

A·· 810 *fees.* 811 *piece* piis. 820 *gey* géi. 833 *pair* peer. — *p'aceable* [peaceable]. 834 *chaise* tɪeez. — *aisy* [easy]. — *plaiser* plèzer [pleasure]. 837 *mistress* mastris [Mrs.]. — *mesterfu'* [masterful]. 839 *ba'.* 840 *cham'er.* — *deem* [dame]. — *famis* feemes [famous]. — *hench* (haunch). — *chaepel cheepel* [chapel]. 857 *case* kees. — *nati'rd* [natured]. — *haakhty* [(haakhti) haughty]. 865 *fauler* faaler [defaulter]. — *cāshan* kaashen [caution]. 866 *peur.*

E·· — *praech* [preach]. — *crethid* kredhit [credit]. 874 *rein* rèn. 885

*vero* [occ. (verʊ) very in the various islands]. 890 *baest beest* bìst. — *hour* (uur).

I·· *and* Y·· — *feurce* [fierce]. — *vild* [vile]. — *eemage* image. — *meenit* [minute of time]. — *veelant* [violent]. — *admeer* admiir [admire]. 910 *ceetizen* sìtiz'n [citizen]. — *veeved* [vivid, very common].

O·· — *pooch* [pouche]. 919 *choin* tʃóin [join]. — *puishan pooshan* poison. — *ooman* [omen]. — *coont* [count]. — *renoon* rinuun [renown]. — *croon* [crown]. — *bannet* [bonnet]. — *eerison* [orison]. 941 *feul*. 944 *alooed* vluu·d. — *coort* [court]. 952 *turn* toorn [turn]. — *preev* [prove]. 955 *doot*. — *poo'er* [power]. 956 *cower* [to recover health]. — *dizzen* [dozen].

U·· 965 *eulie*. 967 *seut* sʊ̈t. 969 *seur*. — *firry* [fury]. — *yeus* [use]. 970 *jeust* tʃʊ'st [Mr. D. always pron. in Or. initial *j* as (tʃ)].

## D 42 = nIL. = northern Insular Lowland.

*Boundaries and Area.* The whole group of the Shetland isles. The separate islands of Foula and Fair Isle belong to this district, and their languages are varieties, but I have failed in procuring any information concerning them.

*Authorities.* 1. Mr. Arthur Laurenson of Leog, Lerwick, wrote an article in Danish on Shetland and Orkney in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1860, pp. 190–201, to which article there were additions by R. J. Lyngby, pp. 201–216. This paper, lent to me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, led to a long correspondence with Mr. Laurenson, who has been very obliging in giving me all the assistance in his power, and especially translated for me a Shetland letter, said to be from Unst, of which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte lent me a copy, and subsequently it was found to be partly printed in the Zetland Directory, 1861. It is an excellent specimen, but I have not felt sure enough of the pron. to give it here. Mr. Laurenson also revised for me his translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, given in the above-mentioned Danish paper, and it has been added below. He also gave me a lw. and numerous newspaper cuttings in the Shetland Dialect.

2. Mr. Robert Cogle of Cunningborough, Dunrossness, Mainland, Sd., on a peninsula running s., gave me a cs. in his Dunrossness pron., and sent me "Shetland Fireside Tales, or the Hermit of Trosswickness, by G. S. L." (George Stewart of Leith), Edinburgh, 1877, pp. 239, because they gave such an excellent representation of the s. form of the dialect.

3. Miss Annie B. Malcolmson, native of Lerwick, in Oct. 1878, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Laurenson, kindly read to me Mr. L.'s Parable of the Prodigal Son, and his lw., and Mr. Cogle's cs., and from this dictation they are here reproduced.

4. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte procured Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, in Unst pron., given below. He also put at my service notes made during a visit to Orkney in 1858; and lent me the MS. of Dr. L. Edmondstone's pronouncing glossary of Unst, which, being confined to unusual words, has not much assisted me; also a specimen of Mr. William Alexander Grant's glossary of

"2000 words peculiar to Shetland, and not in use in any part of Scotland, chiefly old Norse and kindred tongues," which necessarily did not further my inquiries.

5. Dr. Thomas Edmondstone's "Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect," published by the Philol. Society, 1866, has, for the same reason as the others, not helped me, although interesting for other purposes, see notes to Paetie Toral, pp. 798 to 802.

As far as actual pron. is concerned I have therefore but one authority, Miss Malcolmson, to whose kindness I am so much indebted.

*Characters.* The peculiar alterations of *th*, the main feature of pron. of the district, have already been given, p. 789.

Initial *ch*, generally (tʒ), becomes (sh) in D 42, as in D 40, but remains (tʒ) in D 41, which is nearer D 40, thus (shaptur, shans, shiild, shil, sheer, shiiz) chapter, chance, child, chiel, cheer, cheese. But the initial (tʒ) is by no means impossible to a Shetlander, who says (tʒop) for shop, as in Ab. On the other hand, final (tʒ) usually remains, except in (st*i*k, reek) stitch, reach, and perhaps a few other words, where it does not become (sh) but (k). And (dʒ) remains unaltered in Sd., though Mr. Dennison used (tʒ) for it in Or.

Initial (wh) remains and does not become either (k*w*h) as in SL. or (f) as in NL. On the contrary, (k*w*-) *qu-* initial frequently, if not generally, becomes (wh).

*R* is distinctly trilled, *wr-* is (w'r- wer-) and is sometimes written *wir*, meaning, I believe, the same thing, that is (w$i_{11}$r), p. 767.

In *kn-*, *gn-* initial the (k, g) are heard.

The aspirate is strong, except in unaccented pronominal words. The guttural varies as (kh, kjh) according to the preceding vowel, as in German.

The vowels form a main difficulty, and many fine distinctions may have escaped me or been wrongly appreciated.

The (a) certainly tends to (a$^1$), and in the diphthong (á$^1$i) seems to be exclusively used. In some cases Mr. Laurenson had marked (æ), which Miss Malcolmson sounded as (E).

The (E, EE) was a prominent feature, as (lEm, shEm, nEm) lame, shame, name, as distinct from Or. use. It sometimes occurred long as (hEEl, snEEl) hail, snail.

The (i) constantly occurs purely short or medial, as (trid, did) thread, dead. Our short (*i*) may remain, but is much superseded by ($i_1$), which I expect is frequently the thick NL. *i* or ($i_{11}$) that has caused so much trouble, see p. 767. At any rate my appreciation varied as (*i*, e, ɜ) as in NL.

The (o, oo) seemed pure, not (*oo*) nor (AA), neither of which probably occurs, although I seemed at times to hear (*oo*). But certainly (AA) is absent, as it is in all the NL., and is replaced by (aa), which in Unst Prince L.-L. Bonaparte hears as (*aa*).

The (u) seemed pure as in all L., and not to become (*u*). It generally stood for (uu), which however occasionally occurred.

There were at least three of the (y) vowels ($y_1$, ə, œ), and I may have confused the two first as ($dyy_1$, shəə) do, shoe, and ($gy_1d$, $ly_1v$) good, love, but (spən, mən) and (rœt, kœp) root, cup. Whether or no, three distinct vowels are really used and confined to particular words, I am unable to say.

The diphthongs seem to be (á¹i), but (áu, óu) and occ. (á¹u, ɜ'u) perhaps. While (ío, íu) occ. occur for O' before a guttural, as (tíokh) tough. We find also few of the Ab. (á¹i) words (see p. 766) as (kwá¹in, whá¹i, tá¹izd*i*) quean, whey, Tuesday.

These correspond with Ws. roughly thus:

A- is (E, aa), as (lEm, draa) lame, draw.
A' (ee, EE, E), as (see, SEE) so, (nEE) no, adj. (hem, bEn) home, bone.
Æ' varies between (ee, e), apparently the normal sound, and (i) which looks like a refinement, as (leev) leave, (klin) clean.
E is (e, E), as (spek, weev) speak, weave.
E' regularly (i, í), as (hii, dii, fit) he, thee, feet.
EAL usually (aa), and the L. occ. dropped, as (aa, aald) all, old.
EA' usually ($i_1$, E, e), as ($gri_1t$, dEf) great, deaf, rarely (i), as (did) dead.
EO' regularly (ii, i), as (bii) bee, exceptionally (əə), as (shəə) she.
I' is regularly (á¹i), without distinguishing a broader form (ái).
O' becomes ($y_1$, əə, ə, œ, ío, íu), all variants of the usual alteration of O'.
U is regularly (ɜ), but sometimes (œ), as (sɜn, œp) sun, up.
U' is regularly (u, uu), as (nuu, tun) now, town.
For particulars, refer to the cwl. below, p. 818.

*Illustrations.*

1. *Dunrossness* cs. by Mr. R. Cogle, the last of the 8 cs. in the introduction to L., p. 684, as read by Miss Malcolmson, and hence with Lerwick pron.

2. *Lerwick*, Parable of the Prodigal Son, as written by Mr. Laurenson, and read by Miss Malcolmson.

3. *Unst*, the Parable of the Sower as written by Dr. L. Edmondstone, with a conjectural pal. version by AJE.

4. General cwl. from Mr. Laurenson's lw. as read by Miss Malcolmson, together with words excerpted from Nos. 1, 2, 3.

THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, Luke xv. 11–32.

Translated into the Shetland dialect by Mr. Arthur Laurenson, of Leog, Lerwick, Sd., originally published in the *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1860, p. 198, corrected by himself for the present edition, and pal. by AJE. from the dictation of Miss Annie B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, 29 Oct. 1878.

11. a sɜrtʊn man hEd twa sɜnz.

12. ʊn dʊ jɜqest o dʊm, sEd tʊl h*i*z fEEdʊr: fEEdʊr, gii mʊ dʊ peert o dʊ $gy_1dz$ ʊt faaz tʊ mii. ʊn hi peerted k*i*z livʊn ʊtwiin dʊm.

13. ʊn n*o* moni deez E'ftʊr dʊ jɜqest sɜn gadʊrd aa tEgedʊr, ʊn tuk dʊ gEEt t*i*l ʊ faar kjɜntr*i*, ʊn spEnt aa deer *i*n bad livʊn.

14. ʊn wh*i*$_1$n hi hEd spEnt aa, dʊr kam ʊ gr*i*$_1$t fEm*i*n *i*n dat laand, ʊn hi biguu'd tʊ bii *i*n want.

15. ʊn hi gəd ʊn fiid w*i* ʊ man o dat kjɜntri, ʊn hi pæt h*i*m ut tʊ kip swá¹in.

16. ʊn hi wid fee'n he felt hiz beli wi dʊ broks dʊ swá'in ət, ʊn nee man gee óukht tʊl him.

17. ʊn whi₁n hi kam tʊl himsel hi sed: háu moni fiid sarvʊnts o mi feedʊrz hee bred ʊníokh ʊn tʊ speer ʊn á'i faant wi hɑqʊr.

18. á'i)l rá'iz ʊn geq tʊ mi feedʊr ʊn)'l see tʊl him: feedʊr á'i hee si₁nd ʊgenst hiv'n ʊn dii,

19. ʊn á'i)m nee meer wardi tʊ bi keed (kaad) dá'i san, mak mi ʊz iin o dá'i fiid sarvʊnts.

20. ʊn hi reez ʊn kam tʊl hi₁z feedʊr. bi₁t whi₁n hi wʊz ji₁t ʊ gri₁t wá'i af, hi₁z feedʊr saa him, ʊn fel ɜp·ʊn hi₁z nek, ʊn kjest hi₁m.

21. ʊn dʊ san sed tʊl im: feedʊr á'i hee si₁nd ʊgenst hiv'n ʊn in dái sáikjht, ʊn ʊm nee meer wərdi tʊ bi keed (kaad) dá'i san.

22. bi₁t dʊ feedʊr sed tʊl hi₁z sarvʊnts: bri₁q fort dʊ best kleez ʊn pat dʊm ɜp·ʊn ʊm; ʊn pat ʊ raq on hi₁z haand ʊn shəən on hi₁z fit,

23. ʊn bri₁q hiir dʊ fat·ed kaaf ʊn kol i₁m, ʊn lat wʊz et ʊn bi mari,

24. fʊr das má'i san wʊz deed ʊn i₁s livʊn ʊgen; hi wʊz lost ʊn iz fon, ʊn dee biguu·d tʊ bi mari.

25. nuu dʊ aaldest san wʊz i dʊ fiild ʊn az hii wʊz komʊn heem tel dʊ hus hi heerd məzik ʊn dansʊn.

26. ʊn hi keed (kaad) iin o dʊ sarvʊnts, ʊn akst what das waz.

27. ʊn hi sed tʊl i₁m: dá'i bri₁dʊr iz kam; ʊn dá'i feedʊr hʊz kelt dʊ fat·ed kaaf, bikæz hi hez got'n hi₁m bak see'f ʊn sund.

28. ʊn hi wʊz tarn, ʊn wi₁d nʊ geq in: see kam hi₁z feedʊr ut ʊn entreted hi₁m,

29. ʊn hi ansʊrʊn sed tʊl hiz feedʊr: nuu das moni jʊ̆rz də á'i serv di, nedʊr bruk á'i dá'i komaandz ʊt oni tá'im, ʊn ji₁t ni₁vʊr gee du mii ʊ kid, i₁t á'i má'ikjht mak mari wi má'i frindz,

30. bi₁t az shəən az das dá'i san wʊz kam, ʊt hez divuu·d dá'i livʊn wi hərz, du hez kel·ʊt fʊr hi₁m dʊ fat·ed kaaf.

31. ʊn sed tʊl ʊm: san du)z evʊr wi mi, ʊn aa ʊt á'i hee iz dá'in.

32. it wʊz rá'ikjht dat wi sud mak mari ʊn bi gled; fʊr das dá'i bri₁dʊr wʊz ded ʊn iz livʊn ʊgen; ʊn wʊz lost ʊn iz fon.

*Notes to the above Parable.*

15. *hired*, (fii) cattle, money, wages, (tʊ fii) to hire for wages.

19. *one* (iin).

28. *angry* (tarn), Jam. "to *tirr*, to snarl; *tirrivee*, fit of passion; *tirwirr tirwirring*, habitually growling." Edm. "*tirran*, cross, ill-natured, enraged; Danish *tirre*, ags. *tyran*, to exasperate, irritate." Ettmüller gives the forms *terian, tirian, tirigan, tyrwian.*

## Parable of the Sower, Matt. xiii. 3–9.

Translated into the dialect of Unst, the northernmost isle of Sd., by Dr. L. Edmondstone, 1859, for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, by whom it was presented to the Philological Society 20 June, 1873. Here printed in the original spelling, thus explained by the Prince: "The pronunciation of *a* long and grave in *pâtre*, indicated by *aa*; that of *eu* in *peu* by *ö*; that of [Fr.] *u* mixed with a slight shade of *eu* by *ü*; that of German *ch* in *nacht* by χ." This is printed in Italics, with an interlinear translation into pal. by AJE.

Dr. Laurence Edmondstone d. 1874, aged 84. He was the younger brother of Arthur Edmondstone, of Buness, Unst, d. 1813, and uncle of Thomas Edmondstone, who compiled the "Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect," printed in the Trans. Philolog. Soc. 1866, Part III.

3. *behold, a saar güd furt ta saa;*
bihoold ʊ *saar* gy₁d furt tʊ *saa*;

4. *an whin he saad, some seeds fell be da rod side, an da fools*
ʊn wh*i*₁n hi *saad*, sʌm sidz fɛl bi dʊ rod sá'id, ʊn dʊ fuulz

*cam an devoord dem up.*
kam ʊn divuu·rd dʊm ʌp.

5. *some fell uppo stany places, whar dey hedna muckle airt;*
sʌm fɛl ʌp·ʊ st*aani* pleesez, wh*aar* dee hɛd)nʊ mʌk'l eert;

*an at ance dey shot up becaas dey hed nay deepness o' airt;*
ʊn ʊt ans dee shot ʌp, b*i*k*aa*s dee hɛd nee dipnʊs o eert;

6. *an whin da sun wis up, dey wir scooderd; an becaas dey*
ʊn wh*i*₁n dʊ sʌn w*i*₁z ʌp, dee wʊr skuudʊrd; ʊn b*i*k*aa*z dee

*had nay röt, dey widderd awaa.*
hɛd nee rœt, dee w*i*₁dʊrd ʊw*aa*·.

7. *an some fell amung torns; an da torns shot up, an shockit dem.*
ʊn sʌm fɛl ʊmʌq tornz; ʊn dʊ tornz shot ʌp, ʊn shokit dʊm.

8. *bit udder fell intill güd grund an broχt furt fröt, some a*
b*i*₁t ʌdʊr fɛl int*i*₁l gy₁d grʌnd, ʊn brokht furt frœt, sʌm ʊ

*hunderfaald, some saxtyfaald, some tirtyfaald.*
hʌndʊrf*aa*ld, sʌm sakst*i*f*aa*ld, sʌm tʌrt*i*f*aa*ld.

9. *whaa hes airs ta hear, let him hear.*
wh*aa* hɛz eerz tʊ hiir, let hʊm hiir.

NOTES. 6. *scooderd*, scorched. 7. *shokit*, choked.

## SHETLAND CWL.

Composed of most of the words in

Mr. Cogle's Dunrossness cs.
Mr. Laurenson's Parable of the Prodigal Son and wl.
Both pal. by me from dictation of Miss Malcolmson.
Together with words from G. Stewart's Shetland Tales, in his own orthography, and from Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, also in his own orthography in italics preceded by †.

### I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bɛɛk. 4 tæk. — *shack* [shake]. 5 mæk mak. 7 sɛɛk. 8 hɛɛ [(hɛd) had]. 14 draa. 17 laa. 20 lɛm. 21 nɛm. 22 tɛm. 23 sæm. 24 shɛm. — gɛɛt [gate, road]. 33 rɛdʊr. 35 ául. 37 klaa. A: —

gee [gave]. 38 ʊs. 39 kam kæm kɛ'm. 40 kem †*cam*. 41 *tank*. 43 haand, *haand*. 44 laand. 46 kaand'l. 47 waandʊr. 49 hɛqʊn [hanging]. 50 tɛqz, *tainges*. 51 man. 52 wɛn. 55 ash, *ase*. 56 wash. A: *or* O: 58 fɛɛ, *fae*. 59 læm. 60 læq. 61 ʊmæq, *amung*. 62 stroq. 64 wʊra·q w'ræq. 65 sæq. A'- 67 gɛq gɛɛʊn *gaen* gəəd gəd †*güd gane* [go, going, gone, went]. 72 who wha, †*whaa*. 73 see sɛɛ. 74 *twa*. 79 *ain* ɛɛ'n. 82 *ance* †*ance*. 84 *mair*. 85 seer. 86 ɛts. 87 klɛɛz. 89 bɛɛdhth. 91 maa, *maw*. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 96 saa †*saa* [(†*saar*) sower]. A': 102 aks. 104 rod, †*rod*. 108 dookh. 111 óukht. 112 hɛl. 113 *heel* whool. 115 hɛm hɛɛm *hame*. 117 ii iin. 118 bɛn. 122 i. nen *nane*, ii. no nee nɛɛ, †*nay*. 123 nɛ thʊn *naithen*. 124 stɛn *stane*, †*stany* [stony]. 125 ònli. 126 oor. 127 hɛrs. 129 gost. 130 biit. 133 w'rot.

Æ- 138 feedʊr fɛdʊr *feader*. — gadʊr [gathered]. — tɛgedʊr [together]. 140 hɛɛl. 142 snɛɛl. 143 tɛɛl. 144 ʊgɛn. 150 lɛst. 153 *setterday* sɛtʊrdʊ. Æ: 154 bak. — *spak* [spake]. 156 glɛd. 158 ɛftʊr ɛ'- *efter*. 161 dee. 165 sɛd. — *whaal* [whale]. — *sma'* [small]. 169 *when* whæn whan whi$_{i}$n *whin*, †*whin*. 170 *hairst*. — speer [spare]. 172 gars *girs*. — *gles* [glass]. 173 wɛz wi$_{i}$z, †*wis*. — ət *üte* [ate]. 177 dat. 179 what fat. Æ'- 182 sii. — *rake* [reach]. 183 tiitj. — reedi [ready]. 187 leev *laev*. 189 wá$^{i}$i. 190 kii. 192 min. 193 kliin. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 †*wir*. 199 blit. 201 hɛthʊn. Æ': 204 did. 205 trid *treed*. — †*seed*. 206 ri$_{i}$d. 207 nid'l. 209 ni$_{i}$vʊr. 212 wha$^{i}$i. 214 nɛ'dʊr nèdʊr. 216 deel. 218 ship [a ship = (shep)]. 221 *faer*. 223 deer. 224 whaar *whaar*, †*whar*. 226 mɛst. 227 wit. 228 swɛt. 230 fàted [fatted].

E- 231 dʊ *da*, †*da*. 232 braak [*brakwast* breakfast]. 233 spɛk spɛkʊn *spaekn* (speaking]. — *wadder* [weather, †*widdered* withered]. 235 weev. 236 fivʊr. 244 wiil *weel*. 246 i kwin, ii kwá$^{i}$in. 247 ween. 248 meer. 249 weer. 250 sweer [(ansʊrʊn) answering]. — ɛt [eat]. 251 meet. 252 ket'l. E: — nɛk [neck]. 256 s$_{i}$t$_{i}$retjt. 261 sez seeʊn [says saying]. 262 *wy* wá$^{i}$i. 263 ʊwaa *awa*, †*awaa*. 265 streekjht. — fiild [field]. 269 dʊmsɛl [themselves]. — *twalmont* [twelvemonth]. 270 bɛli. 271 tɛl. 273 mɛ'n men. 276 tɛqk. 281 lɛnt. 283 mari. — bɛst [best]. E' 290 hii. 291 dii. 294 fid. 296 biliv. 298 fil. 299 grin. 300 kip. 301 †*hear*. 302 mit. 303 swit. E': 308 nid. 309 spid. 310 hil. 312 hiir. 312 heerd hɛrd. — *blissen* blessing. 315 fit *fit*. — *ticht* tight. 316 niist *neist*.

EA- 320 keer. EA: 321 sɛɛ saa. 322 laaf ljaakh laakh. 326 aald *auld* [(aaldest) oldest]. 328 *cauld*. 329 †*faald*. 330 hɛ'd [†*behold*]. 331 saald. 332 taald. 333 kaaf. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. 338 kaaz kɛɛz [calls]. — *saut* [salt]. — *sheer* [share]. 340 jeerd. 342 eerm. 343 waarm. 344 beern. 345 dar. EA'- 347 hɛɛd. 348 *een* in. — †*air* [ear]. 349 fiu. EA': 350 deed *deid*. 353 bred. 355 dɛf. 356 lɛf. 357 too altoo· 359 *neeghbour*. — *draem* dream. 363 shɛp. — jiir. 365 niir. 366 grɛ't gri$_{i}$t. 367 trɛt. 368 dɛth. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 straa. EI- 373 †*dey*, da)r [they are]. EI: 380 dʊm. EO: 384 hiv'n. 386 jáu. 387 níu. EO: 388 ma$^{i}$lk. 390 sud. — *yallow* yellow. 392 jon. 395 jaq. 396 wark. 398 starv, †*sterve*. 400 eernest. 402 leern. 403 faar. 404 *starns*. — *hert* [heart]. 406 †*eart*. EO'- 409 bii. 411 trii tri. 412 shə shəə *shü*. — †*shockit* [choked]. 413 dev'l *deeril*. 415 lii. — shœt [short]. 417 sháu. 418 bruu. EO': 422 sik. 423 lá$^{i}$ikjht. 427 bii [(biin) being]. 428 sii. 429 find. 430 frind [not (*i*)]. 432 fort. 433 brist *breest*. 435 juu. 436 truu. 437 trəəth. EY- 438 *deiz* [dies, pron. (diiz)]. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 wiik *ouk*. — gii [give]. — livʊn [living]. 446 ná$^{i}$in. 447 hʊr. 449 got'n [pp. gotten], *firyatten* [forgotten]. 450 tá$^{i}$izd*i*. I: 452 a á$^{i}$i. 455 lá$^{i}$i. 457 má$^{i}$kjht *micht*. 459 ráii$^{i}$kjht. 462 sá$^{i}$ikjht. 463 ti$_{i}$l tʊl, †*intill*. 465 sɛk *sic*. 466 shiild. 467 wá$^{i}$ild. 468 *sheels*. 475 wind. 477 find *fin'*. 478 grind. — hidmʊst hinmʊst [hindmost]. 479 wind. 480 thɛq thi$_{i}$q. — raq [ring]. — bri$_{i}$q [bring]. — shɛp [ship]. 483 his. 484 dʊs. 488 ji$_{i}$t. 489 *hit* [only one instance found]. — kid [kid]. — *saxty* [sixty, common]. I'- 490 bi be. 491 sá$^{i}$ikjh. 492 †*side*. 494 tá$^{i}$im. 497 rá$^{i}$iz. 498 w'rit. I': 500 lɛk lɛkl*i* [likely]. 502 fá$^{i}$iv. 503 lá$^{i}$if. 505

wá¹if. 506 wumvn. 507 wímvn. 508 má¹il. 509 whá¹il. — di [thy], dá¹in [thine]. 510 má¹in. — swá¹in [swine]. 513 weer. — *blide* [blithe]. — *sey* [scythe]. — †*tirty* [thirty].

O- 519 óuvr. 523 *hoop* hup. 524 warld *warl'*. O: 527 báukht. 528 táukht *tocht*. 529 bráukht. 530 w'ráut. 532 kol. 534 hol. 535 fok. 537 møld. 538 wi¹d. 546 *fír*. 547 boord. 550 ward. 551 storm. 553 horn. — †*torns* [thorns]. — fort [forth]. O'- 555 shøøn [pl. shoon]. 556 tø. 558 *luik* líuk. 559 midvr *midder*. 560 *schüle*. 562 møn *mün*. 564 søøn shøøn *shüne*. 566 *idder* idvr. 568 bri¹dvr. O': 569 bíuk. — *huik* [hook]. 570 tuk tíuk. 571 gy¹d *guid*, †*güd*. 572 bly¹d *blüid*. 573 flød. 575 stød. 579 vníukh vníokh *eneuch*. 580 tíokh. 582 køøl *ciil*. 583 tíul. 584 støøl. 586 *dü* døø dø *düins* [doings], do)nv dœ)nv [don't]. 587 døn dyn *dün¹e*. 588 efturnoon [afternoon]. 589 spøn. 590 fløør. 591 møør. 592 swøør. — høør [whore]. 594 bœt. 596 *rüit* rœt.

U- 599 vbøn. — *wid* [wood]. 600 ly¹v. 601 fuul, †*fool*. 602 suu. 603 kem. 604 samvr *simmer*. 605 san. 606 door. 607 bœtvr. U: 609 fu. 610 uu. 612 sam. 613 drak'n. 615 páund. 616 grand, †*grund*. 617 sund. 618 wuund. 619 fon. 621 wœnd. 622 œndvr. — †*hunder*. 626 haqvt. 627 sande. 629 san, †*sun*. 631 førzdv. 632 œp, †*up* [(apv), *uppo* upon]. 633 kœp. 634 tru tro. 635 *wirt* [(*w*ardi) worthy]. 636 *farder*. 637 tœsk. 638 bœsk. 639 dœst. U'- 640 *coo*. 641 fuu. 642 du. 643 nuu *noo*. 646 buu. 648 *wir*. 650 *aboot*. 651 vthuu·t. 652 kud. 653 bi¹t bat *bit* †*bit*. U': 655 ful. 656 rum. — *toom* [thumb]. 657 *brun*. 658 duun dun *doon*. 659 tun. 662 wvz. 663 huus hus *hoose*. 664 lus. 667 ut *oot*. 668 prud.

Y- 673 mak'l †*muckle*. 674 di¹d did. 675 drá¹i. 679 *kirk*. Y: — felt [filled]. 693 si¹nd [sinned]. 694 wark. — *wirm* [worm]. 700 *wars* waars. 701 farst. — løs¹n [listen]. — kjest [kissed]. — *kist* [chest]. Y'- 705 skjá¹i. 706 whá¹i. Y': — *wiss* [wish].

## II. English.

A. 713 bad. 717 *jaad*. 736 las. 737 mi¹t. — *shald* [shawl]. I. *and* Y. — kel [kill]. O. 761 lod. 768 nóis. — bruk [broke pt.]. — *poiv* [poll, the head]. — biguu·d [begoud=began]. — lost [lost]. 781 bodvr. 783 puutri. 790 gun. — †*scooder* [scowder, skoldir=scorch]. U. 798 whiir. 803 *jump*. 808 *pit* pat, pæt, *pitten* [prt., pt., pp.].

## III. Romance.

A·· 810 *fees*. 811 †*place*. 815 faks. 816 faad. 824 sheer *sheir*. 826 igl. 827 *eegvr*. — *saunted* [sainted]. — *plase* [please]. 835 *reez'n*. 838 trEEt [(entrEted) entreated]. — femin [famine]. 841 shans. 844 *truncher* [trencher]. — *graand* grand. 850 dans. 852 *eeprvn*. — *shapter* chapter. — *mairried* [married]. 857 kes. 859 *shees*. — *natur* [nature]. 862 seef seef. 864 bikæz bika¹z. 865 *faut*. 266 pøør *püir*. — *ill faured* [ill-looking].

E·· 867 tee *tae*. 869 *veel*. — *rael* [real]. 872 sheef. 875 faant. 876 feent. 885 veri. 888 sartvn. — serv *sair* [serve]. 889 sees. 890 beest best. 891 feest. — *oor* [hour]. 893 fluur. 894 *diseev*. 895 *riseev*.

I·· *and* Y·· 897 *delicht*. 898 ná¹is. — *infeedel* [infidel]. 901 fá¹in. 908 advá¹is. — *meesery* [misery]. — *veesably* [visibly]. 912 rá¹is.

O·· 914 brootj. 920 póint. — fá¹ir [a fair]. 925 vóis. 926 spóil. — *soond* [sound]. — *muntens* [mountains]. 935 kjantri. — †*devoor* [devour]. 938 kornvr koornvr. 940 kot. 941 *føøl füle*. 944 aluu·. 945 vuu. 947 bóil. 948 bául. 950 sapvr. 952 ii *coorse*. 953 kœz'n. 955 duuts. — *poor* [power]. 956 kevvr.

U·· — *subjek* [subject]. 963 whá¹iet. 965 óil. 968 óistvr. 969 shøør *süre*. — *üse* [use]. — *excüse* excuse. — møzik.

## A Few Results.

The long investigation which is now closed still leaves much to be desired, though the reader may deem that it already enters into too many unnecessary particulars. But as the points to be investigated were not only numerous, but transitional in their character, great minuteness was required in recording the discoveries made in the present phonetic examination of a large district. Our object was to discover the traces of the past in the present, and to account, if possible, for the great phonetic changes which strike the most cursory observer. An endeavour has been made in the great majority of cases to get information either directly from the mouths of dialect speakers, or indirectly from the mouths of those who were familiar with dialectal speech, and to record the result in a uniform notation with the utmost attainable accuracy, trusting as little as possible to written accounts, except from the pens of informants whose phonetic knowledge and manipulation of my written systems had been tested by myself in personal interviews, such as TH., JGG., CCR., Dr. Murray, Mr. Elworthy, and Mr. Darlington. In the Prelimininary Matter, No. VIII., I have endeavoured to describe my palaeotype, but I am painfully conscious that without the living speech, all such expositions are only approximative, and that even with the advantage of actual audition, but few can imitate all the sounds with facility and correctness. I hope, however, perhaps too sanguinely, that the conclusions as to the sounds actually used and heard will be sufficiently well appreciated to make their study useful and effective towards the elaboration of a hitherto unwritten chapter in the great science of language. Dr. Sweet's enlarged and improved edition of his "History of *British* Sounds," p. 16*, under the title of "A History of *English* Sounds from the Earliest Period," did not reach me till May, 1888, when nearly 300 pages of this treatise were already in type, and the first draft of the first five Divisions, embracing all England, was already completed in MS. Moreover, his work required more study than the exigencies of passing this part through the press would allow. I regret therefore that I am compelled to leave Dr. Sweet's valuable work almost altogether unused.

The first result of the present examination of the *existing* phonology of English dialects is that there are really a large number of *local* varieties of speech, all related, while at the same time in many respects strangely different (compare the five Ruth versions, p. 698). But the relations are much more definite than we had any reason to expect, considering the rude shocks to which local habits have been subjected, and the present exterminating

influence of school boards and railways. We have then in England many local forms of speech, not merely 42, the number of districts here formed by neglecting minor differences, but many hundreds, (recognised by dialect speakers themselves, who will pick out the village that owns the speech,) and these, we have seen, can be further grouped again into six large divisions, which by joining the W. and E. to the S., and the L. to the N., can be further reduced to three, Northern, Midland, and Southern, which have been recognised from the earliest times. But these three parcels are not within the limits of each homophthongous, and to attempt their exact filiation to the oldest local speeches is probably beyond the reach of present investigation, and certainly beyond the limits of the task here undertaken.

By a *dialect* we here only mean, *first, a local difference of speech*, the existence of which has been here abundantly established, and, *secondly, an evident relation of all these forms of local speech to one another*. Now the earliest local speech with which we have complete literary acquaintance is the Wessex or that spoken by the West Saxons. We have many remains of the Northymbrian, but none, of any consequence, of the Midland. Hence Wessex is the one form of early speech with which we should compare all others. But even at the times when the Wessex speech was cultivated, and existing Ws. books were written, old Norse was inextricably mixed up with it, and in the cwl. words from that language have been frequently introduced as 18 cake, 25 mane, 54 want, etc. Hence we have to supplement Ws. with N. (Norse).

Now the large collection of cwl. already given, in which the mode of replacement of Ws. or N. sounds by local English is clearly shewn so far as the vowels are concerned, in a number of words, all or by far the most of which, allowing for such differences, are common to all speakers of English, to my mind establishes a local definite relation between the early form and the particular local form, with great diversities as to what that particular local form may be, and many differences in the effects produced on the vowels by adjacent consonants. The exact determination of these relations must be left to future scholars; I am myself too old even to attempt it. It has been my work to furnish the materials as faithfully as I could, without any preconceived theory, and I am only too happy to have been enabled to deliver them in an orderly form to future investigators, and must content myself with drawing only a very few conclusions.

It is pertinent to inquire to what extent do our oldest documents represent the sounds that their writers actually heard in speech? We cannot suppose that the oldest writers were supernaturally gifted with the power of perfectly appreciating sounds, and registering them by means of a very imperfect instrument,—the medievally enlarged Latin alphabet, with two or three runes. Nor do we know the exact sounds which these scribes gave to their letters, or how many different sounds they attributed to each. I am not now perfectly satisfied with the key to Ws. given in Part II.

p. 534. I do not feel quite sure of *æ*, *ea*, *eá*, *eo*, *eó*, and even of the exact sounds of *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *y* (where Dr. Sweet recognises two sounds of *æ*, two of *e*, and two of *o*, and there may have been two of *i*, *a*, *u*). The *r* was possibly (R), entailing (T, D, N, L), while þ, ð cannot be fixed as (th, dh) with certainty. As to the shade of sound that *y* expressed we could not hope to determine it. At what time *g* ȝ were really distinguished, or ȝ *w* became simply used diphthongally, it would be difficult to say. This makes the starting-point very doubtful. But I think that for the purposes of the present comparison, it would be sufficient to assume the following values:

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ws. | *a* | *á* | *æ* | *ǽ* | *aw* | *b* | *c* | | *cg* | *cw* | *d* | ð | | *e* | *é* | *ea* | *eá* |
| pal. | *a* | *aa* | æ | ææ | *áu* | b, | k | kj, | g | k*w* | D, | dh | th, | E | EE | *éa* | *éaa* |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ws. | *eo* | *eó* | *f* | *g* | ȝ | *h* | | *hl* | *hn* | *hr* | *i* | *í* | *ie* | *iu* | *l* | *m* | *n* | *ng* | *o* | *ó* |
| pal. | éo | éoo, | v f, | g | J, | hI | kh, | LH | NH | RH | *i* | *ii* | ĭe | ĭu | L | m | N | q | o | oo |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ws. | *p* | *r* | *s* | *sc* | | *t* | þ | | *u* | *ú* | *w* | *wl* | *vr* | *y* | *ý*. |
| pal. | p | R, | z s, | sk | skj, | T, | th | dh, | *u* | *uu* | W | L*w* | R*w* | $y_1$ | $yy_1$. |

Here (v, z) initial and perhaps (f, s) final seem guaranteed by existing usage in D 4, and similarly the series (T D L N R) seems established first by the existing usages in D 4 (pp. 51 to 54), and the descent of the general English coronal (t d l n r) from them as opposed to the (ṭ ḍ ḷ ṇ ṛ) of the continent, of which (ṭ ḍ ṛ) are occasionally found in M. and N., and perhaps, but not with certainty, in NL and IL. The (éa éo) seem justified by the regular practice of dialectal fractures, and the occasional lengthening of the second element is a common feature of our diphthongs. I am still very doubtful as to 'æ,' but it is most probable that it was a simple vowel, as the medieval Latin 'æ,' from which the sign was borrowed, was, at that time at least, and for long before it, a simple vowel (EE), whence (ææ, æ) is a natural development.

If we merely examine dialectal vowels which replace the literary Ws., the confusion at first appears immense,—the maze is mighty, and the plan unseen. The first approach to orderliness is made by remembering that, except in a small part of the south-west of England, say about D 4 and 5, the sounds cannot be considered as engendered by the Ws.; they are relatives, not descendants.

Now the first thing that strikes us is, that although many of the short vowels are occasionally considerably different from the presumed Ws. in received speech,—an artificial product,—they are (omitting EA, EO) all to be found in some one or other of the dialect districts, in closed and stressed syllables, with what have here been assumed as their original sounds (*i*, E, æ, a, o, *u*).

The I is, very rarely, (i) or ($i^1$), at least in the North, and sometimes falls to ($i_1$) or even (*e*). But (*i*) is its general sound. Indeed (i) is in closed syllables a difficult sound to most Englishmen, who are even apt to replace (ii) by (*ii*, *íi*), although in many districts a genuine short I becomes diphthongised, as in 444

stile, 446 nine, 458 night, 477 find; yet the short vowel, sometimes prolonged to (*ii*), but not diphthongised, is found in the first two words *stile*, *nine*, and with its proper quantity in 477 find, while 458 night, appears as (nekjht) in L., the vowel being only lowered, but then the speakers think they say (nikjht) and write *nicht*.

The E in close syllables is almost invariably (ɛ), except among educated southrons, who do not count. Where it has been written (e), it was, I think, generally a confusion, easily explained.

The E final of Middle English, replacing the various Ws. final vowels which, as explained in I. 318–342, III. 646–648, certainly existed, at least in poetry, so late as the time of Chaucer and Gower, has entirely disappeared in the dialects as well as in received speech. No trace of it has been found. The High German final E remains even in common conversation, the Dutch final E exists in a few uses, the French final E has disappeared, except before two following consonants, in prose and in speech, and even in declaimed verse, but exists metrically and in verse set to music, being distinctly heard at the present day from French singers, and even often provided with a long note. The English final E has absolutely ceased to exist.

Generally E in an open syllable follows the fortune of E′.

The Æ in close syllables is very seldom (æ), and generally follows the fortunes of A.

The A in the south and east, when used in close syllables, is fine ($a^1$) approaching and in rec. sp. quite reaching (æ), but in the M. and N. and L. varies from (a) to (*a*). The A- in open syllables will be considered under A′.

The O is, I believe, normally (o), but it is very frequently confused with (ɔ) by my authorities, and pronounced of course as (ɔ) by rec. speakers, who have generally a difficulty in distinguishing (o ɔ). But where it really occurs, (ɔ) seems to be as much a modern invention as (AA).

The U remains (*u*) over only a very small zone, comprising Li., Yo., Cu., and We., and on the borders of this zone becomes ($u_o$) in the s., and ($œ_i$) in the north, sounds difficult to distinguish, and leading to the S. (ʉ), and the probably identical L. (ʉ). The S. form is raised in rec. sp. to (ə), which seems to be also occasionally found dialectally, but this is liable to doubt. The difference between (ə, ʉ), like that between (e, ɛ), seems to be unimportant, and is seldom recognised. Dialect writers also confuse the five sounds (ə ʉ *u* $u_o$ $œ_i$) under one sign *u*.

The Y is never distinguished from I, the dialectal sounds approaching (y ə œ) having arisen in a different manner. The confusion of the sounds of I, U, is probably very old.

The long vowels I′, E′, Æ′, A′, O′, U′, Y′ (the last confused with I′ as Y is with I), are seldom given pure, but are generally *fractured*, that is, really form diphthongs of the old sort, or of a peculiar kind, arising from beginning to pronounce the vowel with a wrong position of the organs, and then gliding to the right position.

The I′ and Y′=I′ remain in very few words of Teutonic origin, but in many Romance words as pron. in L., see D 33, p. 720*c*. In Part I. pp. 284–297, tabulated on Part I. p. 291, a number of instances were collected for the purpose of shewing that "long ī" was originally (*ii*). The consequent dissertation (although it took the form of the older or dialectal pron. of words which are in rec. sp. diphthongised like the pronoun I) gave rise to the present investigation. As the words collected in I. 291 are rarely to the point of the pron. of I′, it will be better to consider them separately, and for convenience they will be taken in the alphabetical order of I. 291, and when they occur in the cwl. the number will be prefixed, which will make reference to the various cwl. easy.

500 *alike*. Mr. Shelly gave me this as being (ɐli·k) in Dv., but in his cwl. p. 165, I find "(lə'ik), rarely (lek)." Now (lek) is heard in L., Part I. p. 288, note 3, and p. 782, No. 500. It is not a case of I′ retained, but of I′ being shortened to I, and then lowered to (e), a very different case.

*briar*, Ws. *brér*, and hence is only the common case of E′ becoming (ii), and is not in point.

399 *bright*. If we take this for Ws. *beorht*, it is not a case in point, Dr. Sweet assumes a later form.—*brihht*. This was given me as (ii) from Cu., Kendal, La., South Shields, and We. It is generally so assumed to be, but that is only approximate, the usual form in Cu. and We. is (bri̯it), see p. 588, second word, a delicacy seldom appreciated by writers, of which more presently. It is, however, at most, a short vowel lengthened, and hence not in point.

490 *by* L., Dr. Murray gives p. 718 (bái) of place, (béi) of agency, so that the form (bii) is not reached emphatically, (bi) unemphatic is common.

466 *child*, given as (tʃívl) in Du., p. 163, but as the plural *children* shews this is not a case of I′, but of I lengthened under the influence of a following *l*, hence it is not in point.

438 *die*, often called (dii), is from N. *deyja*, and hence not in point.

675 and 677 *dry*, in North Shields (dɪɪi), p. 674, No. 675, but this is only a short vowel *y* in *drygan*, lengthened, and hence is not in point.

*dyke*, Miss C. Day gave me (diik) from Nf., p. 276*a*. It is a genuine instance, but I did not get it elsewhere.

348. *eye* is very commonly (ii), but as it is an EA′ word it is not in point. In *eyesight*, the *sight* has a short I and hence is not to the point.

414. *fly*, sb. fleóga, vb. fleógan, is evidently not in point.

886. *friar*, Fr. frère, is also not in point.

*fright*, Ws. fyrhto, -u, with a short y, is also evidently not in point.

445. *to hie*, Ws. higian, has again a short vowel and hence is not in point, see I. 289, note 3.

305. *high*, Ws. héh héah, is in either case not in point.

*hind*, Ws. hindan, has a short vowel, prolonged.

*Ide* (2 sw.Exeter), called (iid) I was told, but I do not know whether St. Ida had I or I′.

*I'll*, the pronoun is sometimes called (i) when unaccented and placed after the verb, but as the word was *ic* with a short vowel, it is not a case in point.

*kindly* (kiinli) in s.Dv. (p. 165, after No. 689), but this is from Ws. *cynde* with a short vowel, and hence is not in point.

*kite*, Ws. *cy'ta*, is said to be (kiit) in Yo. and would be a good case, and certainly *sky* (skii) was found near Bradford, p. 393, No. 705.

*liar*, we find 415 *to lie* mentiri regularly (lii) in L., but this is from Ws. *leógan*, and hence not in point, and 676 *a lie*, Ws. lyge, had a short vowel.

425. *light*, Ws. leóht, is not in point, and *lightning* belongs to *light*.

712. *mice*, Ws. my's, like 711 *lice* ly's, is often called (miis, liis) in various districts, as in Danby Cleveland, p. 528, and Southwold Sf. p. 283, (miis) in Faversham Ke. p. 140, and it is a case in point.

457 *might*, Ws. miht, a short vowel.

510 *my* as a contraction of *mine*, Ws. mín, often becomes (mi) unemphatic, as (mi lʌʌd) my lord.

458 *night*, Ws. niht, a short vowel again.

311 *next*, called (nɪɪust) in sw.Dv., p. 164, is not a long I′, but was taken to be *nighest*, and 307 *nigh* itself is in Ws. néh neáh, and hence not in point.

459 *right* and 462 *sight* had short vowels and are not in point.

*sly* N slægr was given me as (slii) from many places, but it is not a case in point.

444 *stile*, Ws. stigel, has a short vowel and hence is not in point, (stiil) is not unfrequent, but often assumes the forms (sti̯il, stéiil), which would be taken as (stiil) and lead on to the usual (sta'il).

423 *thigh*, Ws. þeóh, is often (thii), but is not a case in point.

*thy*, a contraction of ðín, occurs only unaccented and shortened as (dhi) see *my*.

*tie* (ti) is said in Part I. p. 286*a* to be heard in Kendal, Cu., and La., but I

have no other record of it; Prof. Skeat refers it to Ws. teág teáh ty'ge, a rope, and the last form would be a case in point.

706 *why*, Ws. hwy', was given me as (whii) from many places, but there seems to have been some mistake, it is so seldom used, thus on pp. 367, 502, 563, 684, it is generally replaced by *what for*, and is used for argumentative *well* on p. 580.

699 *wright*, Ws. wyrhta, has a short vowel, but becomes (riit), p. 393.

498 *write*, is given as (vréit vrît) in D 39, p. 782*d*, and is a genuine example.

Thus in the great majority of cases these were not instances of the retention of long I', but were sometimes the prolongation of short I, and at others the equivalents of E', EA', EO', none of which are to the point. They shew, however, the simultaneous occurrence of (ii, a'i) in many words as replacers of the same Ws. vowel.

Long vowels are treated in two ways. They are either shortened and then preserved in quality, or fractured and then greatly altered in quality. Sometimes, apparently through the action of a following consonant, the short vowel is lengthened, and sometimes both long and short vowels occur in different derivatives of the same word, thus in rec. sp. we find chīld chĭldren, wīld wīlder wĭlderness, hīnder hĭnder. In names of places we find frequently a shortening, as Wĭd-combe,-ford, Wĭck-ham,-ford, Whĭt-combe, -church,-by, Wĭg-more,-ton,-thorpe, Swĭn-burn,-dale,-combe,-don. Similarly *tén*, *néxt* are preserved with short vowels, as tĕn, nĕxt, and *rúm* room shortened to (r*u*m) still very frequently heard, has been again lengthened to (ruum) without falling into (ra'um), as has happened in Germany, and so on. But fracturing is the principle almost universally in use.

There seems to have been an original tendency to fracture vowels among the Saxon speakers. EA, EO, IE (the last so rare that I have not considered it further) are called fractures (*Brechungen*) by J. Grimm, because they replace a short vowel by two short vowels which remain short, forming a group. He considers EA, EO to have been (*éa*, *éo*), and to have arisen from (*ía*, *ío*), which are often written IA, IO in MSS. The EA arises from A chiefly before L and R. EO arises from I, and is used more freely. In our dialects these particular fractures do not occur, at least in this way, but (*íu*, *éu*) are constantly found replacing what was open short A, as (*níum*, *néum*) name, and even occasionally replacing A'. But there is nothing like EO. The fractures EA', EO' are considered by Grimm as diphthongs. They are not treated as diphthongs in the dialects, and they are very variously replaced. We will postpone the consideration of these fractures till later.

The passage of I' from (*ii*) into (a'i) is given on p. 293 as being strongly developed in M. districts. The process consists of lowering the commencement of the vowel so that (ii) becomes (*i*i, *i*ii), sounds which an unaccustomed ear hears as (*ii*, ii). I believe (*i*i) is what Dr. Sweet means by his *ij* in living speech. The lowering of the commencing element then continues, and we get (*é*i, éi, E'i), but then the second element is often, or rather generally (*i*); it is however often lengthened as (*é*ii éii), and then

the speaker is still not conscious of having departed from (ii). It is *his* form of (ii), and the pure vowel sounds to him erroneous. When the sound of (ɛ'*i*) is reached, Southrons recognise a "thin" pron. of their own (a'*i*). Generally in the North a thin (e'i) and a thick (a'i) are distinguished, and are usually determined by the following consonant where there is one. The diphthongisation therefore proceeds to (æ'*i*, á¹*i*, á*i* á*i*) and rarely (ʌ'*i*). But there is another set of these diphthongs, of which the first element is (ə, ɐ), or even (æ). These are common, especially in D 4. Whether they were derived through a progression similar to the former, or came from an original (ə'ii) form of (ii) parallel to (éii), it is not easy to say. There is often great difficulty in determining what is the first element of these diphthongs, and to say whether we hear (ɐ'*i*, á*i*) or (ʌ'*i*), great attention and much practice is necessary. Ordinary hearers at most recognise two diphthongs (éi, ái), which they identify with the English school pron. of Greek *ει*, *αι*, generally (á¹*i* á*i*). There is however a still further alteration of this diphthong, by taking the second element less close than (*i*), thus (áʊ), and then omitting it entirely and lengthening the first element to (aa), thus (laak) like, see pp. 525 and 528; this is very distinctive of D 30. Dr. Sweet also says (his p. 276) that "before (l) it [the second element] is almost completely absorbed in Vulgar English, *mile* being confused with *marle*," that is, both called (maal), which I have not observed.

Long U' is fractured, and then diphthongised after the same fashion as I'. The first element is depressed as (*ú*u) slightly in the M. (which is possibly what Dr. Sweet means by his *uw* in living English), and more so in D 31, where it becomes ($u_1$u), which is difficult to separate from (*óu*, *ó*u). The last form of the diphthong is common, and is not readily distinguishable from (ɐ'*u*), of which (ə'*u*, á¹*u*) are finer forms used in rec. sp., and (á*u*), the German *au*, a coarser form. Now (á*u*) varies as (áɐ) as in D 27, and this, with the second element rendered less definite, becomes first (áʊ), and finally (aa), as in D 24, p. 399. So that we have the strange phenomenon of I' and U' at the two extremities of the vowel scale both sinking in different, but not far distant, places (York and Leeds, both in the same county, and only twenty miles apart), into the middle sound (aa). This (aa) for U' is still further degraded in sw.La., when it becomes (ææ), dialectally written *eaw*. And the degradation of (á*u*) is not yet complete. Instead of changing the second element into (ʊ), and then omitting it, the (ʊ) becomes (*i*), and we thus get (á*i*) to represent U' in D 25, as well as generally I', though in D 25 the form (*ái*) is used for I', and kept distinct from (á*i*). The form (á¹*u*) has still finer varieties, as (æ'*u*, ɛ'*u*), which are very common in different parts of England, as in D 10 and D 19, while in D 9 and in London it is still further refined to (é*u*).

The U' is heard as pure (uu) in D 30 and in L., but in D 31 it is usually (*ú*$_1$u), and even in some parts (éuu), p. 625, and (ʊ'uu, ə'uu), p. 636–7, all of which are regarded by the speakers as pure

(uu), and indeed are generally written *oo* in all dialect books. All these sounds represent U′.

A′ is seldom preserved unfractured, although the received (brAAd), which is occ. (bʀaad) in dialects, may be so taken; but the custom is to fracture with a prefixed (u) or (*o*) in the south and (i) or (*e*) in the north. Thus Ws. *án*, one, which was (oon) unfractured even in Shakspere's rec. sp. [Two Gent. ii. 1, 2, pun on *on* and *one*], became normally in the sw. (úan, úʊn), and from these came (wæn, wən), the last of which has been adopted in rec. sp. But in the n. it became (ían íʊn JʊN JƏN JEN), the Scotch *ane*. This (uʊ) had often an alternative form (óʊ), whence probably came the rec. (*oo*), as (tóʊd, t*oo*d) toad. But the (íʊ) led at once to (ii), and it is an old joke that an Ab. man falls on the (stiinz) stones and breaks his (biinz) bones, p. 780, Nos. 118 and 124. Thus as I′, U′ both become (aa) in some districts, A′ may become (ii), and is, if not (uu), at least (*oo*) very generally. It is to be observed that short open A- falls into (éʊ) or (íʊ) in the south, of which (éʊ) occupies the s. portion as Do., and (íʊ) the n. portion as Wl., and that even in Wl. in the towns, and still more in Gl. and the town of Gloucester itself, the (ʊ) falls away and (ii) alone remains (p. 54, No. 3, and p. 64 note). It would have been quite possible for the modern (*ee*) to have been derived from A- through (éʊ) in the same way. In the east the A- having fallen in (éʊ) is further altered to (é*i*) by the very common and in this case recent substitution of (*i*) for (ʊ) (see p. 202, No. 852). This (é*i*) form growing to (E′*i*, á¹*i*) has become very distinctive of Es. (p. 221) and n.London (p. 226), but it is a mere form of the very common (éʊ), as (á*i*) for U′ is a form of (áʊ), p. 826*d*.

The intermediate vowels E′, O′ seem to have passed at a comparatively early time into (ii, uu). The link for the first may have been either of the forms (íʊ, éii), both of which are still found. Of these the first becomes (ii) on dropping the (ʊ), the second on swallowing the very short initial (*e*); but both are conjectural. The changes which occur are changes of (ii) into (*ii*, *i*₁i, éi, éii). The sound (*ee*) seems reserved for more frequent use for E-, see various cwl. under E-, Nos. 231 to 255.

The O′ has a singular fate. The fracture (úʊ), which still exists for short O-, probably made it turn into (uu). As (uu) it was fractured both into (*u*₁u) and (*iu*), each of which forms occurs in the same dialect (North Craven, p. 622, NW. Horn of Yo., p. 625). Then (íʊ) may arise for (*iu*), but it is evidently the northern form of fracture which replaces the southern (úʊ). In the M. counties, however, the (uu) sound at times reached its fractured form through speakers beginning it with the mouth too widely open, producing (*æ*′u), p. 292, much resembling (*ə*′u). This is a very unstable compound, and would serve to generate (*iu*, ə′u), or (*ə*, y₁), and seems to be the source whence the latter forms, or the French *eu* in p*eu* and nearly French *u*, arose in D 10, D 11, D 19, D 33, and other L. forms. The existence of a sound resembling French *u* or (y) in all these districts is generally acknowledged, yet TH. did

not find it in D 19 (p. 260*c*), but on the contrary found (*æ*'u). In D 24 the short O seems to have developed into (ói), as (kóil ói) coal hole, while O'- becomes (úi), as (súin, múin) soon, moon, p. 393; but these are only forms of (óu, úu), the (u) becoming (*i*), as we have seen to be very common (pp. 827*d*, 828*c*).

As regards Æ' nothing very definite can be said. The replacing values are generally (ii, ee), and sometimes (E'*i*), but the rule for the distribution of the words among the signs has not been made apparent. My cwl. are here rather deficient, for although there were plenty of words in the original, my informants gave but few of them, possibly because they found nothing peculiar, that is, differing from rec. pron. in them. Perhaps an exhaustive examination of the words might lead to some general result, but I must leave this to others. The combination Æ'G will be considered presently.

As respects EA, EO, which are merely fractures, they must be referred first, if possible, to the vowels of which they are fractures. Now EA is clearly a fracture of A or A', and EO is possibly a fracture of E or E'.

EA is replaced very differently according to the following consonant, but it seems to act rather as A' than as A. Thus 322 hleahhan *laugh* has mostly (aa), but sometimes very short (ă); 323 feaht *fought* has usually some form of (a'u), and 324 eahta *eight* some form of (ái, E'*i*, EE). The words in EALD have sometimes (aa) or (*oo*), diphthongising into (óu, ɜ'*u*), but EAL, followed by F or L, has (AA). In all these there seems to be no trace of an original short A.

In the case of EO, we must separate GEO, CEO where GE, CE may probably be merely the palatalisation of G, C, so that geolca, geond, geong, *yolk* of eggs, *yon*, *young*, and sceolde *should*, do not belong to the series. Also beorht seems to be an alteration of brihht, as Dr. Sweet assumes (History of E. Sounds, p. 308, No. 700). Omitting these my series of EO: words has chiefly EOR, which seems to fare as ER, becoming (aar) when (r) is pron. The word 388 meolc *milk* has sometimes a singular pron. as (mə'lk), p. 154, but it has generally (*i*). Whoever listens to the peripatetic vendors of milk may however readily appreciate the original fracture.

Of EA' I have the same complaint to make as of Æ'. Its replacers vary as (ii, íu, *ee*, e, E'*i*). Much evidently depends on the following consonant, but I have not been able to formulate the rule.

EO' seems to follow the fortunes of E', and usually becomes (ii). This also requires additional work.

Ws. *diphthongs*, as distinct from fractures, are usually expressed by an added *g*, *w*, as ÆG, Æ'G, EG, AW, EOW, EO'W, IW. See Consonantal Index, p. 30*, under G and W. In the sw. of England, especially in D 4, the first three become some form of (a'i). This still exists very markedly, but is on the way to (*ee*, ee, EE), which also frequently occur in D 4, and the forms (éi, éu) are

likewise found. The change of (ái) into some form of (ee) is common to many languages (see Part I. p. 238), and we cannot be surprised at the prevalence of the (ee) forms at the present day. They render the descent from an original (a'i) form almost undoubted. But were ÆG, Æ'G, EG, really distinct from each other? Most probably, at the time this orthography came into use, but it seems to me that they were not distinguished in the time of Chaucer, Part III. p. 637 fll. The present degradation of A- and ÆG into (*ee*) confuses two distinct set of words, as *tale tail*, see Cooper, in Part I. p. 126. It is remarkable that in some parts of Ch. both should have further changed to (ii), see p. 409. That both *tale tail* should be changed would seem simple after they had reached the (*ee*) stage, the process being similar to that by which E' became (ii), but the remarkable point is that in other parts of Ch. (*ee*) remains in *tale*, but becomes (ii) in *tail*. In SL. the reverse takes place, for the vowel in *tale* becomes (*iv*, *i'*), and *tail* has (*ee*) (p. 710, No. 3, and DSS. p. 106).

The AW diphthong loses its W, that is, its (*u*), altogether. Even in D 4 it becomes (aa), in D 33 or SL (*aa*), and elsewhere it is mostly (AA), for which *aw* is the rec. spelling. Of course A'W follows the fortunes of A', and is occ. (aa), but more usually (oo, *oo*).

The EOW, EO'W, and IW forms are comparatively rare, but see the different cwl. under 386 eowe a *ewe*, 387 neowe niwe *new*, 408 cneow, he *knew*, 417 ceówan to *chew*, 418 breówan to *brew*, 419 eówer *your*, 420 feówer *four*, 421 feówertig *forty*, 435 eów *you*, 436 treów *true*, 437 treówð *truth*. The sound varies as (*óu*, ɜ'*u*, iɜ'*u*), while the action of the (r) in the last two words sometimes produces curious but important changes, such as (uu, *œ*'u, yy$_1$).

The *Consonants* which have not been specially grouped in the cwl., but are distributed among the vowel groups, are collected and referred to the Ws. and Norse words containing them, with their numbers in the cwl. on p. 30*, so that any medial and final consonants with some of the initial may be studied throughout the cwl., while the ordinary initial consonants are given in the English index, p. 25*.

The letter R occasions the most trouble. In all the S. div. R is more or less reverted, that is, the tip of the tongue points to the throat and its underpart is turned to the hard palate; this is written (R). The hollow thus caused at the back of the tongue produces a very peculiar resonance, which makes the effect of (R), when once heard and understood, immediately recognisable. The effect is rendered milder by making only the outer margin of the tip instead of its underpart approach the middle of the hard palate, leaving a spoon-shaped hollow behind. This is JGG.'s retracted *r* written (R). It is rendered still milder by advancing the raised tip of the tongue nearer to, but not quite to reach, the gums. This is the buzzed (r$_o$) when not trilled or flapped, the tongue being still turned up, but the hollow at the back being

almost obliterated. The true (ʀ) is however discernible right through the s. of England from Co. to Ke., and is conspicuous in Wl. Sm. Do. and Dv. This (ʀ) is probably the original Ws. form of the consonant. Our language is derived from North or Low German and Dänish, and in Germany and Denmark at the present day the *r* is very peculiar, the first commonly uvular (*r*) and the second glottal (ɪ).

The effect of this reversion upon a contiguous (t, d, l, n) is evidently to revert it also and produce (ᴛ, ᴅ, ʟ, ɴ), and it seems to me most probable that this reverted form is the original (see pp. 51, 53). It is known as the cerebral series in Sanscrit (Part IV. p. 1096). These consonants seem to me to be the progenitors of the common coronal English (t, d, l, n). These are quite distinct from the alveolar (ˌt, ˌd, ˌl, ˌn), where the tip of the tongue touches the gums, producing the continental and Sanscrit "dental" series. The natural flapped (r) seems to be also coronal, so that (tr- dr-) are proper combinations. In the North Midland and N. districts, however, an alveolar (ˌt, ˌd) are heard, but only before *r*, which obliges the position of the tongue for it to be also alveolar, as (ˌtr-, ˌdr-), and this occurs even when an (ʊ) is interposed, as (-ˌtʊr, -ˌdʊr), indeed the (ˌt, ˌd) still remain when the (ˌr) is lost, as (-ˌtʊ, -ˌdʊ). The Indian alphabet has two forms of *t*, *d*, namely (ᴛ ˌt, ᴅ ˌd), the English is perhaps the only language which has three forms of each letter (ᴛ t ˌt, ᴅ d ˌd).

But the forms of the English *r* are not exhausted. In the M. counties TH. recognises a very mild, but still in his opinion, trilled *r*, which I write (ɾ). At the same time JGG. recognised a northern *r*, which I write (r°), and he considers (ʀ ɾ r°) to form a series, p. 294. Of course it is very difficult to recognise such fine distinctions, except after long hearing and careful analysis of native utterances. To a mere Southron's ear they sound like his own gentle *r*, or as completely vocalised.

The southern (ʀ) after passing to ($r_o$) often becomes lost after (aa, ᴀᴀ), or considered as a mere symbol of the change of *a*, *o* into these sounds, and is identified in other cases with a vowel somewhat like (ə, ʊ, ɔ̈, əh), but probably different from all of them, as the tip of the tongue is certainly a little too much raised for any real vowel to be uttered, see p. 222. This "vowel *r*," or (ʊ) as it may be written, prevails all along the east coast of England from Ke. to Nb. as far as North Shields at any rate, when not before a vowel. When preceding a vowel it is possibly generally ($r_o$), but I think I say and hear generally (ˌr), a mild and real trill. All over the E. div. and D 20 in the M. div. and the e. coast of Yo. and Du. in the N. div. this vocalisation of *r* prevails. At North Shields in Nb. before a vowel it seems to become (ʀ), see top of p. 665, really a trill or trembling of the lips, often confused with (w).

The varieties of English *r* are, however, not even yet exhausted. In D 14, comprising m.Sh., the trill of the tongue tip is always distinct both before and after a vowel, almost like the Italian *r*,

but not so forcible. It seems to be a remnant of Welsh *r*, see p. 182. In several places in England, and especially in Sh., a difficulty is felt with (shr-) initial, for which the un-English (sr-) is used in better speech, the (r) being vulgarly entirely omitted, p. 183. In Scotland the *r* is also distinctly trilled with the tongue only, as I think, more conspicuously than in Italian, but I believe not so strongly as in Ireland, where, I am told, the whole of the tongue, and not merely the tip, participates in the flapping action (Part IV. p. 1232*c*). In Nb., on the contrary, the tongue does not flap at all, but only the uvula, and the result is often complicated by a partial closure of the lips, see p. 641*c*.

In my opinion *r* is essentially an intermittent interruption of the voice, imitated in Faber's speaking machine by rapidly revolving a disk with radiating perforations in the way of the vocalised current of air. These interruptions in natural speech are made most naturally by the flapping tongue in different positions, sometimes by the uvula or the lips, and each mode of interruption by modifying the resonant cavity of the mouth, produces different effects in passing from interruption to free passage of the voice. When, however, there is no intermittence, when the tongue or lips remain in one position, with no more trembling than the passage of the voice (that is, undulating breath) naturally produces as in prolonged (z, zh, w), there is, as I conceive, only a vocalisation, a buzz or rough voice, as all consonant positions, being unfavourable to a clear passage of sound, naturally produce. Mr. Melville Bell and Dr. Sweet, on the contrary, separate the flapping from the position of the tongue or lips, and it is necessary that this radical difference in our views should be borne in mind.

In the S. div., especially in D 4 and D 11, initial *s* and *f*, as a general rule, become in Ws. words (z, v), but are sounded as (s, f) in Romance words. See particulars on pp. 38 to 41. As the initial (z) at least is common to all German dialects, high as well as low, it must be considered the original, and (s) a generated sound. The (v) seems to be also original, compare Dutch, and compare the Welsh *f*, *ff*, for (v, f). We find also that even (sh, th) occasionally become (zh, dh) when initial in the sw. of England, p. 41. But here (sh, zh) were not original sounds, and hence this development must have been recent. On the contrary, (dh) was probably the original sound and (th) derived, as Dr. Sweet supposed, see Part II. p. 541, note 2. The use of (d) for (dh) in Ke. in *th*is, *th*at, *th*e, *th*ere, *th*eir, *th*eirs, *th*em, *th*en, *th*ese, *th*ose, *th*ey (p. 131), is sufficiently remarkable, and becomes more so when we remember that it is a temporary modern pron. introduced subsequent to the time of Dan Michel in the XIVth century, and, though still known in the present day, is rapidly disappearing. That in Orkney and Shetland (d) is also found for (dh), although fast dying out, is attributable possibly to Norse influence. But this e.Ke. substitution is not.

In connection with (dh) we may observe the various forms of

the definite article, (dhʊ) in the S. div. and up to D 20 inclusive, (th) mainly in w.M. as D 21, 22, 25, and even in part of Yo. (p. 500, No. 6), but occasionally assimilated by a previous (n) to (t'). But this suspended form, independently of any assimilation, is prevalent over D 30 and D 31, though it again becomes (dhʊ) in D 32, and in Cs. D 40 drops to ($e^1$), losing the initial consonant altogether, while in Holderness even the (t') vanishes and no definite article is left.

Ws. F seems to have been (v) and W to have been (w). There always has been a Teuton difficulty with these letters, which Germans as a rule cannot pron., using their own *w* or (bh) for both of them. Over a portion of the e. coast from Ke. to Nf. at least extends the "land of *Wee*" or the territory of (w) to the exclusion of (v), see p. 132, and 221*d*. Although (v) for (w) is commonly attributed to cockneys and Folkestone fishermen, I have not been able to observe the first in serious use and the second is at least doubtful (p. 143). I have seen the use of *v* for *w* attributed to the advent of the Huguenots into England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but I know no authority for the statement, see pp. 229*a*, 230*d*. The true (wh) is rare; it is practically unknown in the S. W. E. and M. div., being replaced by (w), a proceeding analogous to the S. use of initial (v) for (f); thus to pron. *wheel* as *weal* is precisely similar phonetically to pronouncing *feel* as *veal*. Those who strongly reprobate the latter, mostly commit the former sin with calmness, and find (whiil) uncouth. In D 39, or NL. on the contrary, the (wh) initial falls consistently into (f), at least it is so generally received, but quite possibly it may be (ph), without the action of the teeth, which much more closely resembles (wh). Mr. Melville Bell conjectures it to be (fh) or (f), with the back of the tongue raised as for (u). The doubt is whether the teeth are used at all.

In Ws. W occurs before L and R. Of WL I find no trace, unless a magnificent *flunkey* be a remnant of Ws. wlænc, wlanc, wlenc, wlonc, *splendid*. But WR still exists in several places, see *wrong* on p. 578 and p. 688, also p. 726, par. 3, and elsewhere in L.

The Ws. CN initial generally becomes simple (n), but is occ. represented by (nh) or (tnh), see *know*, p. 566, and compare Cooper, Part I. p. 208, and Lediard, Part IV. p. 1046*a*'.

The Ws. H is generally very badly treated. In Ws it had presumably the value (ɪɥh) or strongly jerked out flatus (Part IV. p. 1130, col. 2), and when doubled or final, was probably a guttural. It is known to every one of education how very widely the absence of (h) extends. I got the most contradictory accounts from different regions. Glossary writers put in the *h* as a matter of habit, even where they know that no dialect speaker uses it. For my own part, I feel very uncertain of any (h) south of the Lowland line 10, north of it (h) is omitted only, but not always, in (*it*) it, for (h) remains there in D 39 to 41; and (h) is inserted only, but not always, in (hɜz) us, and (hulet) owlet (p. 734, v. 88). In the M. div. certainly (h) has no existence, and very little in the N. div.,

except in each case perhaps as a mark of emphasis even when unhistorical. Its present home is in the L. div., and there also the guttural prevails, in all the three forms (kh, kjh, k*w*h). The guttural is, however, occ. met with further south, and has been heard from old people even in La., p. 341, parts of Yo. (Part I. p. 289, note 4, and Part I. p. 311, note 1), Cu., and We. But in L. it is habitual. The general substitute for the guttural, when not entirely ignored, is (f), which in some words, as *laugh tough*, prevails in rec. sp., and in *dwarf* habitually, and *draft* recently, has crept into rec. spelling.

The 10 transverse lines (described pp. 15 to 22) divide the whole country into regions where certain pron. are prevalent. The six great divisions, S., W., E., M., N., L., give the largest groups that I have been able to form, and the distinctive characters are succinctly stated at the beginning of each. Next, I have made a number of minor groups, as Celtic Southern, p. 24; Mid Southern, p. 36; the Border of Southern against Midland and Eastern, p. 110; the East Southern, p. 130; the West Southern, p. 145; the South Western, p. 175; and North Western, p. 181; the West Eastern, p. 189; the Mid Eastern, p. 195; the South Eastern, p. 225; the North Eastern, p. 248; and the East Eastern, p. 259; the Border Midland, p. 296; the North Midland, p. 315; the Mid Midland, p. 408; the East Midland, p. 447; the South Midland, p. 451; the East Northern, p. 495; the West Northern, p. 537; the North Northern, p. 637; the South Lowland, p. 709; the Mid Lowland, p. 723; the North Lowland, p. 755; and the Insular Lowland, p. 788; to each of which is prefixed a brief account of its characters. The last portion of each name shows the division to which each group belongs, while the names of the groups themselves are placed as current headlines of the pages. Each of these groups is, when feasible, subdivided into smaller districts, and each is at the commencement properly characterised. The characters there assigned, which it is not necessary to repeat here, form the principal result, and were the most difficult part of this investigation, the difficulty being greatly increased by the necessity of completing it in all its details before a page of the book could be printed, or the maps drawn.

Among these characters a very few points of construction and vocabulary were noticed (see p. 25*), for it was my purpose not to enter upon matters which have occupied other investigators.

The most striking of these is the form of the verb substantive *I be* in the S., getting mixed with *I are* in Kent, and chiefly *I are* in the E., mixed with *I am* which prevails over the M. But in D 30 and 31 *I is* is the usual form, which may indeed sometimes be heard in Df., but is possibly imported; for in D 32 and L. generally *I am* is the form always heard. Of course the vowels are not heard after *I* except where there is much emphasis, as I heard an old woman say to me, *I are to wait* (ái ·aa tu wee'jt), meaning that she had been ordered to wait where I found her. Usually (ái)ʊ, ái)z, ʌ)m), etc., are heard. In the S. also *we am, you am* may be found as *we-m, you-m*.

In D 4 and 10 the periphrastic form, as *I do love*, without any intention of emphasis, is used for *I love*, and the past participle has the augment, as *I have a-loved*. Also the nominative form is much used for the object, as *I saw she*.

In the west M. as in D 21, 22, 25, 26, the verbal plural in *-en* is regularly used in the present tense, as *we love-n, you ha(ve)n.* This dies out eastwards, and is nearly extinct in Le. and Nt.

In the E. the plural verb is often used for the singular, as *it do* (pp. 197*d*, 249*c*).

In High Furness La. and in parts of We. *at* is at least occasionally used instead of *to* before the infinitive (p. 550). In Ch. *to* is regularly omitted in such cases, and *for* is used for *for to* (p. 410*c*).

In the Black Country, D 29, V ii*b*, but not V ii*a*, p. 461, occurs regularly a peculiar form of the negative with auxiliary verbs, the *not* itself being omitted, as *I doh* for *I don't* (instances collected, p. 461). It is, I believe, sparingly found elsewhere.

Peculiar words, which have been the main objects of glossarists, I have not sought at all, but a few naturally occurred.

The use of *en* or (ʊn) unaccented, representing the Ws. acc. *hine*, still exists in the S., though received speech has confused it with the dative *him* (p. 43), it must not be confounded with *'un = one.*

The first personal pron. occurs as *utch* (ʌtɧ) in a small district near Yeovil (p. 84). It is the only remnant of the *ich 'ch* so common in writings of the XVI th century to represent clownishness.

The form of address to companions or fellow-workers varies much. As I have introduced it into my dt., I have had a curious set of words given me. (1) *Mates*, which was the word in the original (p. 8*), is found 43 times, but is always suspicious, as it was thus suggested. (2) *Lads* occurs 25 times, only once in S., the rest in M. and N. (3) *Chaps* runs it hard with 21 occurrences, of which 2 were in the S., 1 in the E., and the rest M. or N. Other varieties are very much more uncommon. (4) *Boys* occurs 5 times. (5) *Marrows* (the word properly means matches, equals, *pares*, 4 times (once p. 617*d'*, and three times p. 656), all in N. (6) *Butties* is found three times (pp. 117*d*, 255*c*, 472*c*); and the singular address, (7) *Together*, also occurs 3 times (pp. 250*d*, 263*c*, 272*c*, all in E.); the rest occur only once. (8) *Comrades*, p. 169*d*. (9) *Maties*, p. 250*b*. (10) *Bo's*, p. 278*c*. (11) *Old Fellows*, p. 285*c*. (12) *Neighbours*, p. 656. (13) *Callants*, p. 656, and I think in 4 cases the word was skipped altogether.

In connection with (10) *bo'* (bʌ), a Nf. word for young man, occurs *mauther* (mʌʌdhʊ), young woman or young girl, then usually abridged to *mau'er* (mʌ'ʊ). The word for girl is *maid* (máid) in the south, *wench* in no bad sense in M., and *lass* generally in N.; *girl* is rather an educated word; *she* is *hoo* (œ'u, ɑ'u) in w. M., as La., Ch., Db., and *shoo* (shu, sho*o*, shʊ) in D 24, but (shə) in D 41 and 42, and constantly (ɑɜ) assumed generally to be *her*, especially in M.

Here I stop. Time and space fail me, and my long task must come to an end.

END OF PART V.

# E. E. TEXT SOC. TEXTS AT PRESS, AND PREPARING. GENERAL NOTICES.

## ☞ ADVANCE SUBSCRIPTIONS NEEDED.

Besides the Texts named as at press on p. 4 of the Cover of the Early English Text Society's last books, the following Texts are also *at press* for the Society :—

### ORIGINAL SERIES.

**Thomas Robinson's Life and Death of Mary Magdalene,** from the 2 MSS., ab. 1620 A.D. [*Text in type*
**Queen Elizabeth's Translations, from Boethius, Plutarch,** &c., edited by Miss Pemberton.

The following Texts are preparing for the Early English Text Society :—

### ORIGINAL SERIES.

**Bede's Ecclesiastical History,** re-edited by Dr. Thomas Miller.
**Anglo-Saxon Poems,** from the Vercelli MS., re-edited by I. Gollancz, B.A.
**Anglo-Saxon Glosses** to Latin Prayers and Hymns, edited by Dr. F. Holthausen.
**An Anglo-Saxon Martyrology,** edited from the 4 MSS. by Dr. G. Herzfeld.
**Ælfric's Metrical Lives of Saints,** MS. Cott. Jul. E 7, Part IV, ed. Prof. Skeat, Litt. D., LL.D.
**All the Anglo-Saxon Homilies and Lives of Saints** not accessible in English editions, including those of the Vercelli MS., edited by Prof. Napier, M.A., Ph.D.
**The Anglo-Saxon Psalms ;** all the MSS. in Parallel Texts, ed. Dr. H. Logeman and F. Harsley, B.A.
**Beowulf,** a critical Text, &c., ed. Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D.
**Early English Homilies,** 13th century, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris.
**The Rule of St. Benet:** 5 Texts, Anglo-Saxon, Early English, Caxton, &c., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris.
**The Seven Sages,** in the Northern Dialect, from a Cotton MS., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris.
**The Master of the Game, a Book of Huntynge** for Hen. V. when Prince of Wales, ed. Mr. T. Austin.
**Ailred's Rule of Nuns, &c.,** edited from the Vernon MS. by the Rev. H. R. Bramley, M.A.
**Lonelich's Merlin,** from the unique MS., ed. by Miss Mary Bateson and Prof. E. Kölbing, Ph.D.
**Early English Verse Lives of Saints,** Standard Collection, from the Harl. MS., ed. Dr. C. Horstmann.
**Supplementary Early English Lives of Saints,** ed. Dr. C. Horstmann.
**The Early and Later Festialls,** ab. 1400 and 1440 A.D., ed. Dr. C. Horstmann.
**Early English Deeds and Documents,** from unique MSS., ed. Dr. Lorenz Morsbach.
**Merlin,** Part IV, containing Preface, Index, and Glossary. Edited by H. B. Wheatley.
**Lydgate's Life of St. Edmund,** ed. from the MSS. by Dr. Axel Erdmann.
**William of Nassington's Mirror of Life,** from Jn. of Waldby, ed. Sidney J. Herrtage, B.A.
**A Chronicle of England to 1327 A.D.,** Northern verse (42,000 lines), ab. 1400 A.D., ed. M. L. Perrin, B.A.
**More Early English Wills from the Probate Registry at Somerset House.** (*Editor Wanted.*)
**The Cartularies of Oseney Abbey and Godstow Nunnery,** englisht c. 1450, ed. Rev. A. Clark, M.A.
**The Three Kings' Sons,** edited from Harl. MS. 326, ab. 1500 A.D., by Dr. Leon Kellner.
**George Ashby's Poems,** 1463–75, ed. from unique Cambridge MSS., by Miss Mary Bateson.
**Gilbert Banastre's Poems,** edited by Miss Mary Bateson.
**The Macro Moralities,** edited from Mr. Gurney's MS. by Alfred W. Pollard, M.A.
**A Troy-Book,** edited from the unique Laud MS. 595, by Dr. E. Wülfing.
**Lyrical Poems** from the Vernon and other MSS., edited by the Rev. H. R. Bramley, M.A.

### EXTRA SERIES.

**A Parallel-text of the 6 MSS. of the Ancren Riwle,** ed. Prof. Dr. E. Kölbing.
**Trevisa's Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum,** re-edited by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker.
**The Chester Mysteries,** re-edited from the MSS. by Mr. Hermann Deibling.
**Bullein's Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence,** 1564, 1573, 1578. Ed. A. H. and M. Bullen. Pt. II.
**Robert of Brunne's Chronicle of England,** from the Inner Temple MS. (*Editor wanted*).
**The Romance of Boctus and Sidrac,** edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.
**The Romance of Clariodus,** re-edited by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.
**Sir Amadas,** re-edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.
**Arthour and Merlin,** re-edited from the unique MS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.
**Guy of Warwick,** Copland's Version, edited by Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D.
**Lydgate's Temple of Glass,** re-edited from the MSS. by Mr. J. Shick.
**The Sege of Jerusalem,** Text A, edited from the MSS. by Dr. F. Kopka.
**Caxton's Godfrey of Boloyne,** or **Last Siege of Jerusalem,** 1481, edited by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin.
**Liber Fundacionis Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum:** the 15th century englishing in the Cotton MS. Vespasian B ix, ed. Norman Moore, M.D.
**Awdelay's Poems,** re-edited from the unique MS. Douce 302, by Dr. E. Wülfing.
**William of Shoreham's Works,** re-edited by Professor Konrath, Ph.D.
**Miscellaneous Alliterative Poems,** edited from the MSS. by Dr. Luick.

*July,* 1889. With this, go out two of the Society's Texts for 1889 : I. the last in the Extra Series, Mr. Alexander J. Ellis's Part V of his great work on *Early English Pronunciation,* dealing with our modern Dialects. (This is issued by the Philological and Chaucer Societies jointly with the Early English Text Society); II. for the Original Series, Mr. Rhodes's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Latin text of Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum.* Part III of Prof. Skeat's edition of *Aelfric's Metrical Lives of Saints* will follow soon.

For 1890, Mr. Gollancz's re-edited *Exeter Book*—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—Part I, the Text, with a modern englishing, will probably be ready in 1889 ; and in this year will also, no doubt, be ready, the two concluding Parts VI and VII of the *Cursor Mundi,* by Dr. Haenisch, Dr. Kaluza, and Dr. Hupe, with Forewords by the Editor, Dr. Richard Morris, or Dr. C. Horstmann's 'Capgrave's *Life of St. Katherine,*' or Dr. Buelbring's 'Earliest Complete English *Prose Psalter,*' the texts of all of which have been long in type. **Members are therefore askt to send Advance Subscriptions, in 1889 for 1890,** in order that the 1890 books may be issued to them as soon as the editions are finisht. The Society's experience has shown that Editors must be taken when they are in the humour for work. All real Students and furtherers of the Society's purpose will be ready to push-on the issue of Texts. Those Members who care only a guinea a year (or can afford only that sum) for the history of our language and our nation's thought, will not be hurt by those who do, getting their books in advance. Lists of other Works in preparation for the Society are on the last page of the Cover and the first of this inside quarter-sheet.

For the Extra Series of 1890, Caxton's *Encydos,* 1490, collated with its French original, ed. M. T. Culley, M.A., and F. J. Furnivall, is all past for press, and all the texts both of Part III of *Guy of Warwick,* ed. Prof. Zupitza, and Caxton's unique *Blanchardyn and Eglantine,* 1484, ed. Dr. Leon Kellner, are in type; Mr. Donald's edition of the prose Romance of *Melusine,* ab. 1500 A.D. is also all in type. It will therefore be necessary to ask Members for **advance Subscriptions, in order that the Books for 1890** may be issued when they are ready in 1889. During 1890 the Extra Series books for 1891 and 1892 are almost sure to be ready. Mr. Sidney J. Herrtage is preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man,* with the French prose version by Jean Gallopes, from Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs's MS., Mr. Gibbs having generously promist to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS.

Guillaume de Deguilleville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse *Pelerinaige de l'Homme* in 1330–1 when he was 36.[1] Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it, and this is the only one that has been printed. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330–1, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25 ; Univ. Coll. and Corpus Christi, Oxford ;[2] and the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740. A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John's Coll. Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited by Sidney J. Herrtage for the E. E. Text Society. The Laud MS. 740 was somewhat condenst and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Ff. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library:[3] "The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this world," copied by Will. Baspoole, whose copy "was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649 ; and from thence by W. A. 1655." This last copy may have been read by, or its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his *Pilgrim's Progress.* It will be edited by Mr. Herrtage for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Herrtage's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* for the Society. In February 1464,[4] Jean Gallopes—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Deguilleville's first verse *Pelerinaige* into a prose *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine.*[5] By the kindness of Mr. Hy. Hucks Gibbs, as above mentioned, Gallopes's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville's *Pelerinaige de l'Homme,* A.D. 1355 or –6, was englisht

[1] He was born about 1295. See Abbé Goujet's *Bibliothèque française,* vol. IX, p. 73-4.—P. M.
[2] These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.
[3] Another MS. is in the Pepys Library. [4] According to Mr. Hy. Gibbs's MS.
[5] These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.

in verse by Lydgate in 1426. Of Lydgate's poem, the larger part is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiii (leaves 2-308). This MS. leaves out Chaucer's englishing of Deguilleville's *A B C* or *Prayer to the Virgin*, of which the successive stanzas start with A, B, C, and run all thro' the alphabet; and it has two gaps, of which most of the second can be fild up from the end of the other imperfect MS. Cotton, Tiberius A vii. The rest of the stopgaps must be got from the original French in Harleian 4399,[1] and Additional 22,937[2] and 25,594[3] in the British Museum. Lydgate's version will be edited in due course for the Society.

Besides his first *Pelerinaige de l'homme* in its two versions, Deguilleville wrote a second, "de l'ame separee du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Iesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilgrimage of the Sowle* (perhaps in part by Lydgate), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,[4] at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, Caius), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortenings too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose Englishing of the *Sowle* will be edited for the Society after that of the *Man* is finisht, and will have Gallopes's French opposite it, from Mr. Gibbs's MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his *Oldest English Texts* for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. Dr. Logeman raised the question of how the other MSS. should be treated; and he was authorised to prepare a Parallel-Text edition of the first ten Psalms from all the MSS., to test whether the best way of printing them would be in one group, or in two—in each case giving parts of all the MSS. on one page—under their respective Roman and Gallican Latin originals. If collation proves that all the MSS. cannot go together on successive pages, there will be two Parallel-Texts, one of the A.-Sax. MSS. following the Roman version, and the other, of those glossing the Gallican; but every effort will be made to get the whole into one Parallel-Text. This Text will be an extravagance; but as the Society has not yet committed one in Anglo-Saxon, it will indulge in one now. And every student will rejoice at having the whole Psalter material before him in the most convenient form. Dr. Logeman and Mr. Harsley will be joint editors of the Parallel-Text. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course. The first will be the earliest complete prose one formerly and wrongly attributed to Shoreham. It is all in type, edited by Dr. K. D. Buelbring from its 2 MSS.

Through the good offices of Prof. Arber, the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The profits from these sales will be applied to the Society's Reprints. Six of its 1866 Texts, and two of its 1867 ones, still need reproducing.

Members are reminded that *fresh Subscribers are always wanted*, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

Our *Jubilee Reprint Fund*, for which the late Mr. M. T. Culley of Coupland Castle sent a Letter of Appeal to every Member, has as yet received but little support, tho' Mr. Mortimer Harris started it with a cheque for two guineas. Further Donations will be welcome. They should be paid to the Hon. Sec., Mr. W. A. Dalziel, 67 Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English *Lives of Saints*, under the editorship of Dr. Carl Horstmann. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found interesting incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthful for the history of our language. The Lives may be lookt on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. The differences between the foundation MS. (the Laud 108) and its followers are so great, that, to

1 15th cent., containing only the *Vie humaine*.
2 15th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.
3 14th cent., containing the *Vie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, *de l'Ame*: both incomplete.
4 Ab. 1430, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny &c.—and damnd souls, fires, angels &c.

prevent quite unwieldy collations, Dr. Horstmann decided that the Laud MS. must be printed alone, as the first of the Series of Saints' Lives. The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes. The Glossary to the whole set, the discussion of the sources, and of the relation of the MSS. to one another, &c., will be put in a final volume.

When the Saints' Lives are complete, Trevisa's englishing of *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the mediæval Cyclopædia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker has kindly said that he will edit it. Before it goes to press, Prof. Napier of Oxford has been good enough to promise that he will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's prose,[1] Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of Ælfric's Metrical Homilies. Prof. Kölbing has also undertaken for the Society's Extra Series a Parallel-Text of all the six MSS. of the *Ancren Riwle*, one of the most important foundation-documents of Early English.

In case more Texts are ready at any time than can be paid for by the current year's income, they will be dated the next year, and issued in advance to such Members as will pay advance subscriptions. The 1886–7 delay in getting out Texts must not occur again, if it can possibly be avoided. The Director has copies of 2 or 3 MSS. in hand for future volunteer Editors.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Profs. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent under General Zupitza, Colonels Kölbing and Horstmann, volunteers Hausknecht, Einenkel, Haenisch, Kaluza, Hupe, Adam, Holthausen, &c. &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Dr. Erdmann; Holland, Dr. H. Logeman; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser;—Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; while America is represented by Prof. Child, Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin and Prof. Perrin. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has cald forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

Among the MSS. and old books which need copying or re-editing, are :—

## ORIGINAL SERIES.

**Prophecies,** Cotton Roll, II. 23 &c.
**The Romance of Troy.** Harl. 525.
**Biblical MS.,** Corpus Cambr. 434 (ab. 1375).
**Purvey's Ecclesie Regimen,** Cot. Titus D I.
Hampole's unprinted Works.
**Confessionals,** from Sloane and other MSS.
**Þe Clowde of Unknowyng,** from Harl. MSS. 2373, 959, Bibl. Reg. 17 C 26, &c.
**A Lanterne of Liȝt,** from Harl. MS. 2324.
**Soule-hele,** from the Vernon MS.
Lydgate's unprinted Works.
**Boethius,** A.D. 1410, &c.; **Pilgrim,** 1426, &c. &c.
Unprinted Poems and Treatises from the Vernon and Simeon MSS.
**Lydgate and Burgh's 'Secreta Secretorum,'** from Sloane MS. 2464.
**Early Treatises on Music: Descant, the Gamme, &c.**
**The Siege of Rouen,** from Harl. MSS. 2256, 753, Egerton 1995, Bodl. 3562, E. Museo 124, &c.
**Cato, Great and Little,** with Proverbs, &c., from the Vernon and other MSS.
**The Nightingale and other Poems,** from MS. Cot. Calig. A 2, Addit. MS. 10,036, &c.
**Lyrical Poems,** from the Vernon MS., &c.
" " &c., from Harl. MS. 2253
Sir A. Acland Hood's MS. of a fifteenth century englishing of **Trivet's French Chronicle.**
**Stories for Sermons.** Addit. 25,719, Brit. Mus.
**Penitential Psalms,** by Rd. Maydenstoon, Brampton, &c. (Rawlinson, A. 389, &c.).

## EXTRA SERIES.

**The Northern Verse Psalter.**
**Le Morte Arthur,** from the unique MS., Harl. 2252.
**Sir Tristrem,** from the unique Auchinleck MS.
**Sir Gowther. Dame Siriz, &c., Orfeo** (Digby, 86).
**Amis and Amiloun. Ipomedon.**
**Richard Cœur de Lyon.** Harl. 4690.
**Sir Generides,** from Lord Tollemache's MS.
**The Troy-Book fragments** once cald Barbour's in the Cambr. Univ. Library and Douce MSS.
**Partonope of Blois,** &c.
**The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Knight** (written in Latin, A.D. 1356), from MS. Cotton Titus C 16, &c.
Gower's **Confessio Amantis.**
**Caxton's Dictes and Sayengis of Philosophirs,** 1477, &c.
**The Wyse Chylde of Thre Yere Olde** (Wynkyn de Worde), with **The Civilitie of Childhode** (englisht by T. Paynell, 1560), and other early Treatises on Education, ed. T. Widgery, M.A.
**Mulcaster's Positions,** 1561, ed. T. Widgery, M.A.
**Jn. Hart's Orthographie,** 1569, and **Methode to read English,** 1570.

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