ON
EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,
WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO
SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,
CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND FROM THE ANGLOSAXON PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

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

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

PART I.
ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE XIVTH, XVIITH, XVIIITH, AND XVIIIITH CENTURIES.

LONDON:
Speake the Speech I pray you, as I pronounc'd it to you.

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

Legendi semper occasio est, avdiendi non semper. Praeterea, multo magis (vt vulgò dicitur) viva vox afficit. Nam, licet acriora sint, quae legas, altius tamen in animo sedent, quae pronuntiatio, vultus, habitus, gestus etiam dicentis afficit: nisi vero falsum putamus illud Aeschines, qui, cum legisset Rhodii orationem Demosthenis, admirantibus cunctis, adiecisse ferver, ti Æ, ei atto tot θηπιοτ ακηκοείτε; Et erat Aeschines, si Demostheni credimus, άμπrapογαντατοξ: fabebatvr tamen, longe melius eadem illa pronuntiasse ipsvm qui pepererat.

C. Plinii Caeclii Secundi Epist. ii. 3.

Verum orthographia quoque consuetudinem servit, idioque saepe mutata est. Nam illa vetustissima transeo tempora, quibus et pauciores literae, nec similis his nostris earvm formae fervunt, et vis quoque diversa . . . . Fortasse sicvt scribebant, etiam ita loquebantvr . . . . Ego (nisi quod consuetudo ortinverit) sic scribendum quoque ivdico, quomodo sonat. Hic enim est vsus literarvm, vt custodiant voces, et velvt depositionem reddant legentibus; itaque id exprimere debent, quod dictvr svgvs.

M. Fab. Quinctilian, Inst. Orator. i. 7.
NOTICE.

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

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

A. J. E

Kensington, 1 Feb., 1869.
CORRIGENDA IN PART I.

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

p. 5. under Grh, read A. Ė
p. 7; l. 5, for AAWA read VWA.

p. 58, l. 6, for aukwk read aukwh.

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

p. 60, l. 17, for 1 read 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADDENDA.

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

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

| evanescents, made from [ |, enclose more than one evanescent element, or entire evanescent words, as (L' n st' keem L' paahs,) = and it came to pass.

p. 12. After the paragraph commencing  add:

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

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INTRODUCTION.

PALAEOTYPE, OR THE SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

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

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

¹ A full account of the principles of the notation is given in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1867, Supplement, Part I. The subsequent appearance of Mr. Melville Bell’s Visible Speech, and the elaboration of the following pages, have occasioned a few modifications and improvements. As now presented, Palaeotype is believed to contain characters for all the sounds considered by Rapp, Lepsius, Brücke, Max Müller, Haldeman, Merkel, and Melville Bell, and hence to be the most complete series of phonetic symbols which has been published.
the italics and small capitals indicate certain modifications of these sounds, that (h, j, w) are always diacritical, having no meaning of their own but serving to modify the meaning of the preceding letter, and that (h, j, w, q, o, oi, eu) represent the sounds in (hay, yea, way, sing, but, bite, how). Long vowels are indicated by reduplication, as (aa, ee, ii); repeated vowels are separated by a comma as (a,a, e,e, i,i). The other common symbols are well known.

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

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

Examples of the use of Palaeotype in continuous writing will be found in Chapter V, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4; Chapter VII; Chapter VIII, §§ 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; Chapter IX, §§ 1, 3; Chapter X, §§ 1, 2, Chapter XI, §§ 1, 2, 3. In this Chapter XI will be found examples of modern English and Scotch, forming a convenient exercise for those who wish to study the nature of this system of writing, and allowing of a direct comparison with Visible Speech.
The mode of writing the "turned" or inverted letters is explained in each particular case. Italic letters have one horizontal line below them, as i; small capitals have either two horizontal lines, or one short oblique line, as Ы, below them, tailed letters as г, ж, п, q, я, when they have to be printed as small capitals, may have a horizontal stroke above them, like і. The letter Н may be also written with its stem crossed like \( i \), and \( f \) with two cross bars.

For the purposes of alphabet arrangement, α, ө are considered to be the same as ae, oе, and the turned letters о, а, я modifications of е, е, е, ө, ө respectively.

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

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**KEY TO PALAEOTYPE.**

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

**I. LETTERS.**

- А a = (αι), I. мато, F. chatte, (mat-to, shat)
- А a = (αι), G. манн, F. matelas, (man, matla)
- А a = (αι), E. want, what, august', (want, what, agast'), see (а)

- А a; Gaelic math, good, (ма), nasal twang
- А a; long of (а), E. father, I. mano, (faadlrj, maа'no)
- А a; long of (а), G. mahn, (maan'nen)
- А a; long of (а), E. awn, (ааn), see (а)
- А a; long of (а)
- А a; long of (ah)
- А a; long of (ah)
- А a; long of (aa), see (а)
- Е ae = (αι), E. man, cat, sad, (ман, kæt, sæd)
- Е ae = long of (ae), P. E. Bath, (Бээз)т)
- Е еех = long of (ах)
- Е еех = (өө) = (ө) labially modified (ө) or widened (ш)
- Е ех = (өо), occ. E. ask, staff, grant (ахsk, стаф, графнт)
- Е ех = (өө), Irish sir, Austrian man (sahr, мahn)
- Е ех = Е ех = Е ех = Е ех = E. aye, G. хайн, (ai, main), see (ai)
- E. an, temps, cent, (аа, таа, саа), see (а)
- Au au G. haus, (haus), see (ou)
- Ay ay theoretical G. euch (ayкh)
INTRODUCTION.

B b E. bee, (bi)
B b sonant of (p), which see, ? = (bw)
:B b = (b*j), lower lip against teeth, Brücke's b
B b = (b*p), flat Saxon b, Rapp's r
Bh bh G. w in the middle and south, (v) without the teeth
Bj bj = (b*r)
Brh brh = (bh*), lip trill, G. brr for stopping horses, Brücke's k
Bw bw = (b*w), F. bois, (bwa)

C c = (s?) nearly (th), Spanish z, and c before e, i, Badajoz, (Baadaaxoxe)
C c = (z?) nearly (dh), Spanish d (?), ciudad (ciucaac)

D d E. do, (duu)
D d = (d*g), usually accepted A. ض, Lepsius's A. b
:D d = (dj), S. G
.D d = (df), tip of tongue on gums
D 'd = (d*t), flat Saxon (d), Rapp's r
Dh dh E. thee, Danish ved, (dhii, vedh), Welsh dd
Dh dh (dh*gh), Newman's A. ي, Lepsius's A. b
:Dbh dbh Lepsius's Dravidian sound, nearly (dah)
Dj dj = (d*j), Hungarian gy, E. verdure, (v*aj)
Dw dw = (d*w), F. doit (dwa)
Dzh dzh E. judging, (dzhedzh*j)

E e = (e*), E. met, G. fett, F. jette, (met, fett, zhet), see (e)
E e = (e*), E. aerial, F. été (erri'ul, ete), I. e chiuso
:E e = (e*), I. e aperto, occ. E. met, G. fett, (met, fett)
E e = (ah*), turned e, written a, E. but (bat), see (a)
E e = (ew) = (e*), turned e, F. que je me répente (ka zho mo repa'to) .
:E e = (a*), turned a, occ. E. but (bat)
E u = (au) = (u*e), turned a, written e, E. mention, real, (men'shun, rii'v)
Eee eee long of (e), E. mare, Mary, (meer, Meer*rr)
Eee eee long of (e), E. ariling (e'liq), see (eci, ee*j)
:Eee eee long of (e), like a bleat
Eee eee long of (a), replaces (i, a*, a*) in South E.
Eee eee long of (a)
:Ec ec long of (a)
Eec eec long of (e)
Eee eee long of (e)
Fh fh long of (ah)
Fh fh long of (ah)
Ee eci occ. E. they, (dheci), for (dhee)
Ee'e'j e'e'j occ. E. fate, (fee'jt), for (feet)
Eee eee long of (e), see (A)
Eee eee long of (a), see (A)
Eee eee long of (e), see (A)
Fh fh = (a*n), West E. sir, first (soh*r, fohrst)
Fh fh = (ew), occ. F. e'd
Ei ei Scotch time (teim), Portuguese ei
KEY TO PALAEOTYPE—LETTERS.

\(\text{gi} \) usual E. eye, time, (oi, toim)
\(\text{ea} \) F. vin (vea), see (A)
\(\text{ea} \) F. un emprunt, (ən-əaprəə), see (A)
\(\text{eu} \) I. Europa, (Euroo'pa), Cockney and Yankee town (teun)
\(\text{eu} \) usual E. house, shout (nəus, shout)

\(\text{F} \) f E. fœc, (foo), gentle hiss
\(\text{F} \) f = (f\text{t}), upper lip against lower teeth
\(\text{F} \) .f violently hissed (t)
\(\text{Fh} \) fh = (f^*kh)
\(\text{Fw} \) fw = (f^*wh), the back of the tongue in the (u) position,
F. fois, (fwea)

\(\text{G} \) g E. go, (goo)
\(\text{G} \) g = (g\text{j}), occ. E. guard, (gaird), F. gueux, (goe)
\(:\text{G} \) e sonant of (k)
\(\text{G} \) 'g = (g^*k), flat (g), Rapp's K
\(\text{Gh} \) gh G. tajo, (taagh'e), Dutch g, S. h
\(\text{Gh} \) gh = (g\text{h}), G. wiege, (bhiigh'e)
\(:\text{Gh} \) .gh violently buzzed (gh)
\(\text{Gj} \) gj = (g), which see
\(\text{Gjh} \) gjh = (gh), which see
\(\text{Grh} \) grh = (gh\text{t}), A. q, heard in gargling
\(\text{Gw} \) gw = (g^*w), F. goitre, (gwatr')
\(\text{Gw} \) ow = (o^*w)
\(\text{Gwh} \) gwh = (gh^*w), G. auge, (au'gweh)
\(:\text{Gwh} \) gwh = (gh^*w)

\(\text{H} \) n E. he (mii), S. ḳ ḳ ḳ, (bh, dn, gh), jerked utterance
\(\text{H} \) n' jerked whisper
\(\text{h} \) with no capital, diacritic, with no meaning by itself,
but modifying the meaning of the preceding letter in
any manner that is convenient, see (ah, th, sh, 'h), &c.

\(\text{H} \) h A. ṣ (haa)
\('h \) a scarcely audible (a) as Cockney park, (paah'hk)
\(\text{hh} \) with no capital, diacritic, variety of (h), see (lhh)
\(\text{Hw} \) nw a voiced whistle
\(\text{Hwh} \) nwh an ordinary whistle, distinct from (wh, kwh)

\(\text{I} \) i = (i-o), E. event, F. fini, fiche, (ivent', fini, fish)
\(\text{I} \) i = (i\text{u}), E. river, finny, fish, (riv'rai, fin'\text{i}, fish)
\(:\text{I} \) i = (i\text{u}), occ. G. ü, Swedish y
\(\text{Ii} \) ii long of (i), E. eve, (iiv)
\(\text{II} \) ii long of (i), E. happy... (uæp'\text{ii}), in singing
\(:\text{Ir} \) r long of (i)
\(\text{Iu} \) in E. futility, (futul'\text{ti})
\(\text{Iu} \) iu American variety of (iu)
\(\text{Iuu} \) iuu E. futile, (fuu'\text{ti})
**INTRODUCTION.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>E. <em>yet</em>, G. <em>ja</em>, (jet, jaa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with no capital, diacritic, palatal modification of preceding letter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J'</td>
<td>faint sound of (j, i) into which E. (ee) occasionally taps, see (ee'j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jh</td>
<td>occ. E. <em>hue</em> (jhuu), occ. G. <em>ja</em> (jhaa), occ. F. <em>œil</em> (œJh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>E. <em>key</em>, <em>can</em>, coal, (kii, kwen, kool)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>(kj) = (k*jr), occ. E. cart (kart), F. <em>queue</em> (kœ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:K</td>
<td>(k̂), A. ŋ (kaaf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh</td>
<td>G. <em>dach</em>, Scotch <em>loch</em>, (dakh, lokh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh</td>
<td>(kjh) = (kh*jh), G. <em>siech</em>, (sziikh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:Kh</td>
<td>(kh) related to (k) as (kh) to (k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K̅</td>
<td>S. ʕ̑, upper G. komm, (knom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.K̅</td>
<td>violently hissed (kh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kj</td>
<td>(k̂), which see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kj</td>
<td>(kh), which see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krh</td>
<td>(khj), Swiss ch, A. ñ (krhaa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>(k*we), E. <em>queen</em>, F. <em>quoï</em>, (kwiiin, kwa), Latin <em>qu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwh</td>
<td>(kh*wh), G. <em>auch</em>, (aukwh), Welsh <em>chw</em>, Scotch <em>quh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:Kwh</td>
<td>(kh*wh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>E. <em>low</em>, (loo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Polish barred l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:L</td>
<td>= (l̄), S. ʕɓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L̅</td>
<td>turned r, written as l with ʕ below, lisped (l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:L̅</td>
<td>= (l̄)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lh</td>
<td>whispered (l), breath escaping on both sides of the tongue, E. <em>felt</em> = (folht) at full, occ. F. table, (tablh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L̅h</td>
<td>whisper of (l̄)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:Lh</td>
<td>according to Lepsius, Dravidian l in (Tamilh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jh</td>
<td>whisper of (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L̅hh</td>
<td>(l̄h), breath escaping on the right side of the tongue only, Welsh <em>ll</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lj</td>
<td>= (l̄j̄), I. <em>gli</em> (lij)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ljh</td>
<td>whisper of (lj)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L̅w</td>
<td>= (l̄w), F. <em>loi</em> (lwa), Anglosaxon <em>wl</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L̅w</td>
<td>= (l̄w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L̅wh</td>
<td>= (l̄h*wh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L̅wh</td>
<td>= (l̄h*wh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>E. <em>me</em>, (mii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M̅</td>
<td>no capital, diacritic, = (ʌ), which see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mh</td>
<td>voiceless (m), E. <em>tempt</em> (temmht) at full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M̅w</td>
<td>= (m*w), F. <em>moi</em>, (mwa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>E. <em>nap</em> (nap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N̅</td>
<td>= (n*q), see (d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:N</td>
<td>= (n̄), S ʕ̑</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Note:** The above text is a transcription of phonetic symbols used in early 20th-century English for representing speech sounds, particularly those used in different languages. It is not modern standard English spelling.
KEY TO PALÆOTYPE—LETTERS.

A = no capital, written η not joined to the following letter, diacritic, French nasality, the four French nasals, vin, an, on, un, are written for convenience (veə, aə, oə, əə), though perhaps more properly (sea, aə, oə, əə), according to Mr. Melville Bell (veə, aəə, oəə, əə).

.N .n = (n), see (d).
Nh nh voiceless (n), E. tent = (tennht) at full.
:Nh nh according to Lepsius, Dravidian nasal before (nh).
Nj nj = (n*), F. and I. gn, Spanish ñ, Portuguese nh.
Njh njh whispered (nj).
Nw nw = (n*), F. noix, (nva).

O o = (aw) = (o), I. o aperto, F. homme (om).
O o = (aw) = (o) E. omit, American stone, whole, (omit),ston, nel.
O e = (aw) = (o), turned e, written o, being used for small capital o which is not sufficiently distinct from the small o, E. on, odd, (on, od).
OE oe = (eaw) = (o), F. jeune, G. bocke, (zhæn, boek-e), Féline writes (zhæn, zhœœn), for F. jeune, jeûne.
OE ae = (u–w), Galic laogh, (laegh).
:OE ae = (a–w) = (–w), Rumanian or Wallachian 'a, 'e, 'i, 'o, 'u.
OE o = (aho), written o, E. first, (fœrst), see (x).
OE ei = occ. F. eil, (ei, œïx, œilj) or (œi), occ. Dutch uy.
OEœ œœ long of (œ), F. jeûne, (zhœœn).
OEœ œœ long of (œ).
:OEœ œœ long of (œ).
EGœ œœ long of (œ).
Eey œey occ. Dutch uy.
Oh oh = (ahw) = (ohj), (o) modified by raising the tongue.
Oh oh = (aw), (o) modified by raising the tongue.
:Oh oh = (aw) = (ah), (o) modified by raising the tongue.
Oi oi North G. nou, (noi), see (ay, oy).
Oi oi P. E. boy, (boi).
:Oi oi usual E. oyster, (oist'x).
Oa oa F. bon (box), see (A).
Oo oo long of (o), I. uemo, (noom), P. E. home, (noom).
Oo oo long of (o), E. home, (noom), see (oo'w).
:Oo œœ long of (œ), drawled E. odd, God, (ood, Good), different from E. awed, gawd (aad, gaad).
Ooh ooh long of (oh).
Ooh ooh long of (oh).
:Ooh ooh long of (oh).
Ooa ooa long of (oa), see (A).
Oou ou occ. E. know, (noon).
Oou ou more usual E. know, (noon).
Oo'w oo'w occ. E. no, (noon), for (noon).
Ou ou Dutch ou, P. E. out, (out), see (ou).
INTRODUCTION.

Ou ou  P. E. house, (hous)
Oy oy occ. upper G. euch, (oykh)
P p  E. pea (pi)
P p  = (p*k)? = (pw)?, Lepsius's Peruvian or (Khetsh-wa) p
:P r  = (pl), lower lip against teeth
Ph ph  whisper of (bh), an old sound of φ?
Pu ph  S. φh, Bavarian pferd, (pueerd), Schmeller Gr. p. 137.
Pj pj  = (p*j)
Prh prh  = (ph₂), whisper of (brh), which see
Pw pw  = (p*w), F. pois, (puwa)
Q q  E. singer, linger, sinker, (siq'x, liq'gi, siq'kx), S φ
Q q  = (qj) = (q*j), distinct from (nj), S. θ
:Q q  = (qj)
Qh qh  = voiceless (q), E. sink = (siqghk) at full
Qj qj  = (q) which see
R r  E. ray (ree), breath passes over the tip of the tongue
 which trembles slightly, Spanish r suave.
R r  uvula trill, F. r provençal or grasseyé, Paris, (Pari)
:R r  = (rj), S. ṭ
H h  turned r, written as r with ~ above, E. vocal r when
 not preceding a vowel, ear, air, are, aor, poor, (iι, eι, aα, oor, pωωr), hearing, airing, mooring, (hiir-
riq, eκαριq, μωμωριq), pervert, murmωr = (pερερτι, 
μαρμανν) or (pερερτι, μαρμανν), or (pερερτι, μαρμανν), see (s)
U u  turned r, written as r with ~ above, E. palatal vocal
 r when not preceding a vowel, ear, air = (iι, eι, eι), and (serf, surf) may
 be distinguished as (seaf, saarf) or (saf, saf), this dis-
 tinction is frequently neglected in speech.
I i  turned r, written as r with ~ below, glottal low Ger-
man trill, nearly (g)
:I i  = (rj) strongly trilled Italian, Spanish, Scotch r
Rh rh  whisper of (r)
Rrh rh  whisper of (r)
:Rrh rh  whisper of (a)
:Rhh rhh  Lepsius's Dravidian sound, nearly (rzh)
Th th  whisper of (t)
Rj rj  = (r*j)
Rsh rsh  Polish przez, (prshez), (r) very brief, (sh) distinct
Rw rw  = (r*w), F. roi, (rwa), Anglosaxon, and early E. wr-
Hw hw  = (r*w), occ. E. (əw) in place of (əw) = our
Rzh rzh  Polish rzaz, (rzhaz), (r) brief
S s  E. so, (soo)
S s  = (s*kh), Lepsius's and usually received A. ʃ
Sh sh  = E. she, F. chant, G. schein, (shii, shaa, shain)
| Sh   | sh  | = (shʃ), S. ʊ |
| Shj  | sh̠j | = (sh̠ʃh), occ. G. stellen, sprechen, (shjtel'en, shjpreekh'ən) |
| Sj   | sj  | = (ʃh), Polish ʃ |
| Sw   | sw  | = (ʃw), F. soi = (swa) or (sua), not (swa) |
| Shh  | sh̠h | = (ʃh), F. choix = (shwa) or (shua), not (shwa) |
| Sz   | sz  | = G. initial s, so, (szoo) |
| T    | t   | E. tea, (tii) |
| T'   | t'  | = (tʃ), Newman's and usually received A. ʊ |
| T    | .t  | = (t̠), S. ʊ |
| Th   | th  | = E. thin, (thin), modern Greek θ |
| Thh  | thh | Lepsius's Dravidian sound, nearly (ɾ̥h) |
| Tj   | tj  | = (t̊ɾ) whisper of (dj), occ. E. virtu̱e, (vɾ̊tʃjʌ) |
| Tsh  | tʃh | E. chest, match, catching, (tʃest, mætʃ, kætʃɪq) |
| Tw   | tw  | = (t̊w), F. toi, (twə) |
| U    | u   | = (ůw), F. poůde, E. Louisa, (pul, Lu,i̊za), see (u) |
| U    | u   | = (ůw) = (ů), E. pull, cook, (pul, kʊk), generally confused with (u) |
| :U   | v   | = (xw), Swedish u short |
| Ůh  | uh  | = (ẙw) = (ů), I. o chiuso, (o) verging into (u) |
| Ůi  | ui  | F. oui = (ui), F. oui = (ui) |
| Uu   | uu  | long of (u), E. pool, (puul) |
| :Uu  | uu  | long of (u) |
| Ůuh | ůh | long of (ůh) |
| V    | v   | E. veal, (viəl), F. v, North G. w, see (bh) |
| V    | v   | = (v̊), buzz of (ʃ), which see |
| V̊   | v̊  | buzz of (ʃ), which see |
| Vh   | v̊h | = (v̊gh), buzz of (f̊h), which see |
| Vw   | v̊w | = (v̊w), F. voix, (vwa) |
| W    | w   | E. witch, (witʃ) |
| W̊   | ẘ  | diacritic, labial modification of preceding letter |
| W̊   | ẘ  | turned m, written ẘ, defective lip trill, occ. E. veẘe, (veẘi tuůu) |
| Wh   | wh  | whisper of (w), E. which, (witʃ) |
| X    | x   | Spanish x, j, Quixote, Mexico, or Quijote, Mejico, (Kiixoo'tee, Mee'xiikoo) |
| X    | x   | buzz of (x) |
| Y    | y   | = (i̊w) = (i̊), F. hut̊e, G. lücke, (yt, lyk'ə) |
| Y    | y   | = (v̊), Welsh u, and final y, pump, ewyll̊ys, (pump, ewalh̊h̊ys), E. houses, goodness, (nəuz'ẙz, gud'n̊ys) |
| :Y   | x   | Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian y, Russian (jery) |
INTRODUCTION.

Yi yi F. lui, ennui, (lyi, aanyi)
YY yy long of (y), F. flûte, G. gemüth, (flyyt, gemytt')
Yy yy long of (y)
:Yy xy long of (x)

Z z buzz of (s), E. zeal, miser, (ziil, moiz)'x)
Z z buzz of (s), Newman's and usually received A. b, Lep-
sius's A. x
Zh zh buzz of sh, E. vision, F. gens, (vîzh'en, zhal)
Zh zh = (zhf), buzz of (sh)
Zhj zhj = (zh'f), buzz of (shj)
Zj zj = (z'f), buzz of (sj)
Zs zs final E. s, z, when fully pronounced, days, flies, buzz,
(deezs, fîaizs, bâzs)
Zw zw = (z*w), see (sw)
Zwh zwh = (zh*w), see (swh)

2. SIGNS.

(') turned comma, when final, simple whisper, as E. bit, (bit');
before a vowel, diacritic, attempt to whisper the vowel,
as ('a), whispered (a); before a sonant, diacritic, semi-
voicalise, see ('b, 'd, 'g)

(') apostrophe, simple voice, F. able, (abl'), E. little, rhythm,
open = (lit'1, rîth'm, oop'n), often written (lit'l, rîth'm,
opp'n), S. ĐĐ Đ = ('r, 'û)

("") double apostrophe, long of ('), S. ĐĐ Đ = ("r, "û)

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

(—) minus, before a diacritic, remove its effect from the pre-
ceding letter in which it is inherent, thus (œ=û—û means
that the sound of œ is heard, when (û) is first pronounced
and then the lips opened

(\) turned I, A. l (jaâ'lef), Hebrew ñ, Greek soft breathing (?)

(,) comma, diaeresis, begin the following letter as if it had no
connection with the preceding, E. minutiae = (mînuu-
shi,i), E. unerring, unowned = (ên,er'iq, ân,oend')

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

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

(;) semicolon, open the glottis suddenly, A. û (nam'za),

A. ^û (jal kur;aanu)
KEY TO PALAEOTYPE—SIGNS.

(;) turned semicolon, close the glottis suddenly as in stammering, or suddenly cease any sound, as when startled, leaving a sound half uttered; (mf) is a suddenly checked emission of breath, strongly resembling a click (†), as in Zulu (ik.n'wa), Visible Speech, p. 126.

g turned 3, A. ꞌ, bleat baa = (baegaeg)

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

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

(i) turned !, attempt to pronounce the preceding letter with inspired breath, (fi; phj), calling a bird

(†) attempt to pronounce the preceding letter with the air in the mouth without inspiring or expiring, click, E. tut = (t†), E. cl'ck (tj§†)

g turned 5, Caffir dental click, Appleyard's $ = (t†), or (t††), as in (iq_gbha'tej), Visible Speech, p. 126.

z turned 2, Caffir cerebral (Lepsius) or palatal (Appleyard) click, Appleyard's q = (t††), as in (eg_uza_leen'), Visible Speech, p. 126.

l turned 7, Caffir (uni-) lateral click, Appleyards x, = (tj§††) with prolonged suction, as in (ga_lan'ji), Visible Speech, p. 126.

§ turned 4, Hottentot palatal click, Boyce's qc, = (tj†) probably, Lepsius's Standard Alphabet, 2nd ed., p. 79.

8 turned 8, Waco click = (x†), Haldeman, Analytic Orthography, p. 120.

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

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

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

¶ turned †, invert the tongue so that the under part strikes the palate, when pronouncing the preceding letter, see (d, l, n, r, sh, r)

†† protrude the tongue when pronouncing the preceding letter.

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

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

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

* link, form a new position by attempting to pronounce the two letters between which it is placed, at the same instant, but giving prominence to the first letter named, see (lj) = (l§j)
** governor, placed between two letters at the beginning of a phrase, shows that the first is to be pronounced like the second throughout, indicating a defect of utterance, as (l**I), (l) pronounced with a nasal twang; when no letter precedes, it indicates that the effect of the following letter is heard in all letters, (**.p) close lips, (**t) protruded tongue, (**.) general nasal quality, (**.) strained voice, etc., Visible Speech, p. 81.

(·) turned period, before a word, speak the word emphatically as ('nii did it, nii 'did it); after a letter, (·) shows that it occurs in an accented syllable, as (bii-'iq, meek-'iq, ripooz:)

(·:) colon, before a capital letter, (in which case it is written below it, as q.) shews that it is the capital of a small capital letter, see (:E) capital of (E); after a letter, shews that it occurs in a secondarily accented syllable, as (inkom:pricen:subel-iti, noi-weenmaen:

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

Following a Word.

(··) low level tone, C. high (phiq)
(··) high level tone, C. low (phiq)
(··:) rising tone, C. high (shaq)
(···) tone rising from low pitch, C. low (shaq)
(··..) rise and fall, circumflex, C. (fu-kjen shaq)
(···:) falling tone, C. high (knuoe, kniu, kni)
(··..) falling tone to low pitch, C. low (knuoe)
(···:) fall and rise, inverted circumflex
(·:) stop voice in high pitch, C. high (shui, zhi, njip)
(·:) stop voice in low pitch, C. low (shui, zhi, njip)

Preceding a Word.

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

Palaeotype and Visible Speech Compared.

The diagrams on p. 14, transferred by Mr. Melville Bell's permission from p. 8 of his English Visible Speech, will be the best guide to the pronunciation of the vowels. Each of the first nine diagrams represents the position of the tongue for the four vowels written below it. For the first and third vowels in each diagram, the passages behind the narrowest part of the channel formed by the tongue are in the usual condition, but for the second and fourth vowel in each diagram, they are distended, making the vowels 'wide.' For the first and second vowel in each diagram, the lips are open. For the third and fourth vowel in each diagram, the lips are more or less rounded,—namely, for Nos. 1, 2, 3, as in No. 10, for
Nos. 4, 5, 6, as in No. 11, and for Nos. 7, 8, 9 as in No. 12. As the principal interest in the following investigation attaches to changes in the vowel system, a careful study of these diagrams will be of material assistance. If any reader pronounce the key words with a vowel requiring a different position from that here pointed out, his pronunciation differs from the author's, and the value of the symbol is to be determined from the diagram in preference to the key word.

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

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

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

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

Columns 9, 10 contain the aspirates and modifiers.

Glossotype.

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

No. 1.
æ, e, u, u.

No. 3.
i, i, I, y.

No. 4.
æ, a, o, o.

No. 5.
ə, ah, oh, oh.

No. 6.
e, e, æ, æ.

No. 7.
ɔe, a, A, ɔ.

No. 8.
əh, əo, ah, ch.

No. 9.
E, æ, əh, əh.

LABIAL POSITIONS OF THE VOWELS.

No. 10.
u, u; U, uh; I, y.

No. 11.
ə, o; oh, oh; ə, əe.

No. 12.
A, ɔ; ah, ɔh; əh, əh.
### Palaeotype and Visible Speech Compared

#### Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech Letters

<table>
<thead>
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#### Palaeotypic Equivalents of Visible Speech Letters

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*Note: The table represents the comparison of Palaeotype and Visible Speech Letters.*
**INTRODUCTION.**

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


### Vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a gnat</th>
<th>i knit</th>
<th>aiy may</th>
<th>aiw C.</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>â P.</td>
<td>i S.</td>
<td>ay S. C.</td>
<td>aw C.</td>
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<td>aa ask</td>
<td>ih, ih P.G. u</td>
<td>aay high</td>
<td>aaw how</td>
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<td>âa ask</td>
<td>o not</td>
<td>aey S.</td>
<td>aew C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ae ware</td>
<td>ö P.</td>
<td>ähy G. ai</td>
<td>ähw G. au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òe S. e</td>
<td>oa, öa I. ò</td>
<td>ahuy aye</td>
<td>ahw P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah father</td>
<td>oe, öe G. ö</td>
<td>auy P.</td>
<td>auw P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>äh F.G.S. a</td>
<td>oh rose</td>
<td>ey S. tide</td>
<td>ew I. eu</td>
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<tr>
<td>ai wait</td>
<td>òh S.</td>
<td>eew I. iu</td>
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<tr>
<td>òi S. ai</td>
<td>on F. on</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>iw mew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an F. an</td>
<td>oo pool</td>
<td>oy boy</td>
<td>ow P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao S.</td>
<td>öo S. book</td>
<td>öy P.</td>
<td>öw P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òo S. man</td>
<td>ou, û could</td>
<td>ohy P.</td>
<td>ohw know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au all</td>
<td>öu P.</td>
<td>ooy I.F.P.</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âu want</td>
<td>u nut</td>
<td>uyi high</td>
<td>uw how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e net</td>
<td>û P.</td>
<td>uyi F. ui</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ë S.</td>
<td>ue, üe Sw. u</td>
<td>euy F. ui</td>
<td>euw D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ce meet</td>
<td>uh worth</td>
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<tr>
<td>çe S.I.F.</td>
<td>ûh P.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>en F. in</td>
<td>ui, üi F. u</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>eu F. eu</td>
<td>un F. un</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èu F. eu</td>
<td>(' murmur</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Vowels.

- **Consonants.**

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

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

Diphthongs are also formed P. by affixing (') as (rohd') almost (rohd) = road, and by affixing (ui), which should then be written (üi), as D.(neuíis) = huis, theoretical G. (frouind) = freund.

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

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

CHAPTER I.

ON PRONUNCIATION AND ITS CHANGES.

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

Spoken language is born of any two or more associated human beings. It grows, matures, assimilates, changes, incorporates, excludes, develops, languishes, decays, dies utterly, with the societies to which it owes its being. It is difficult to seize its chameleon form at any moment. Each speaker as thought inspires him, each listener as the thought reaches him with the sound, creates some new turn of expression, some fresh alliance of thought with sound, some useful modification of former custom, some instantaneous innovation which either perishes at the instant of birth, or becomes part of the common stock, a progenitor of future language. The different sensations of each speaker, the different appreciations of each hearer, their intellectual growth, their environment, their aptitude for conveying or receiving impressions, their very passions, originate, change, and create language.
Without entering on the complex investigation of the idiomatic alterations of language, a slight consideration will shew that the audible forms in which these idioms are clothed will also undergo great and important changes. The habit of producing certain series of spoken sounds is acquired generally by a laborious and painful process, beginning with the first dawn of intelligence, continued through long stages of imperfect powers of appreciation and imitation, and becoming at last so fixed that the speaker in most cases either does not hear or does not duly weigh any but great deviations from his own customary mode of speech, and is rendered incapable of any but a rude travesty of strange sounds into the nearest of his own familiar utterances.

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

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

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

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

At any one instant of time there are generally three generations living. Each middle generation has commenced at a different time, and has modified the speech of its preceding generation in a somewhat different manner, after which it retains the modified form, while the subsequent generation proceeds to change that form once more. Consequently there will not be any approach to uniformity of speech sounds in any one place at any one time, but there will be a kind of mean, the general utterance of the more thoughtful or more respected persons of mature age, round which the other sounds seem to hover, and which, like the averages of the mathematician, not agreeing precisely with any, may for the purposes of science be assumed to represent all, and be called the language of the district at the epoch assigned. Concrete reality is always too complex for science to grasp, and hence she has to content herself with certain abstractions, and to leave practice to apply the necessary corrections in individual cases. Thus, if we descended into every minute
shade of spoken sound, the variety would be so interminable, each individual presenting some fresh peculiarities, that all definite character would be lost. In actual life this necessary abstraction is replaced by the second law which gives fixedness of utterance to the individual, regardless of surrounding change. Indeed, few persons of mature years, even in the most civilized communities, think of the sounds they utter. They speak to communicate thought, not to examine the instrument which they employ for that purpose, and they would be constantly checked, and irritated by thinking of how they speak, rather than of what they speak.

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

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

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

1 Trevisa in his translation of Higden’s Polychronicon, 1385, says “alle ye langages of ye norumbres & specialieh at yorke is so sharp slittinge & frotynge & vschape; pat we souj pereen men may pat langage vnne pe vnder stonde.” And Caxton (Prologue to Ensydes) complains that “comyn En glysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from a nother,” and goes on to relate how when “certayn mer chants . . . taryed atte forlond . . .
and axed for mete, and specauly . . .
axyd after eggys . . . the goode wyf answerde that she coude speke no frenshe . . . and thenne at last a nother sayd that he wolde haue eyren, then the good wyf sayd that she vnder stod hym.” See Chapter XI for existing varieties of pronunciation.
from the main mass, without incorporating itself with another nation. Thus the English in America have not mixed with the natives, and the Norse in Iceland had no natives to mix with. In this case there is a kind of arrest of development, the language of the emigrants remains for a long time in the stage at which it was when emigration took place, and alters more slowly than the mother tongue, and in a different direction. Practically the speech of the American English is archaic with respect to that of the British English, and while the Icelandic scarcely differs from the old Norse, the latter has, since the colonization of Iceland, split up on the mainland into two distinct literary tongues, the Danish and Swedish. Nay, even the Irish English exhibits in many points the peculiarities of the pronunciation of the xvii th century.

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

The alterations thus introduced into a language produce but little effect on the idioms (that is, the expression of the relations of conceptions), but principally affect the words employed. Thus English has remained a Low German dialect through all the introductions of French, Latin, and Greek elements, and French, Spanish, and Italian remain Latin notwithstanding the Frankish, Moorish, and Gothic additions which they have received. But in all these languages great changes have fallen upon the forms of the
words used. We are apt to regard (bish-op, bish-of, bis-po, vēs'kovo, sveek, obhiiis-po, epis'kop, epis'kopus, epis'kopos) as entirely different words, and to call (breek briïk, keez kiiz, obliidzh' obliidzh') etc., different pronunciations of the same words. But the latter are really only less marked examples of the same phenomenon as is exhibited in the former. If the latter pairs of words are to be regarded as the same, the former nine must also be classed as one. In the latter we have chiefly chronological, in the former we have chiefly geographical changes. In both cases we have examples of the variation of one sound as it passes through various mouths—volitat vivu' per ora virum.

Even without reference to written forms, the conception of altered forms of one original sound (that is, of various pronunciations of the same word), naturally arises in men’s minds, but when languages come to be written as well as spoken, this is more strongly forced upon them—at least in those cases which the writing notices. Writing, that wonderful method of arresting sound which has made human memory independent of life, and has thus perpetuated knowledge, was necessarily at first confined to the learned alone, the priest and the philosopher. These fixed, as nearly as they could appreciate, or their method of symbolisation, which was necessarily insufficient, would allow, the sounds of their own language as they heard them in their own day. Their successors veneration the invention, or despairing of introducing improvements, trod servilely in their steps and mostly used the old symbols while the sounds changed around them. Within the limits of the powers of the old symbols some changes were made from time to time, but very slowly. Then in quite recent days, the innovation of diacritical signs arose as in French and German, whereby a modern modification of an ancient usage was more or less indicated. Occasionally, whole groups of letters formerly correctly used to indicate certain sounds came to be considered as groups indicating new sounds,—not in all cases, but in many perhaps, where the sounds had changed by regular derivation. Before the invention of printing, writers, become more numerous, had become also less controlled by the example of their ancestors, and endeavoured as well as they could, with numerous conventions, inconsistencies, imperfections, and shortcomings, rendered inevitable by the inadequacy of their instrument, to express on paper the sounds they heard. When we are fortunate enough to find the real handywork of a thoughtful writer, as Orrmin, we see
how much might have been done to clear our mode of writing from inconsistencies. But with the invention of printing, came a belief in the necessity of a fixed orthography to facilitate the work of the compositor and reader. The regulation of spelling was taken from the intellectual and given to a mechanical class. Uniformity at all hazards was the aim. And uniformity has been gained to a great extent in late years, but at a sacrifice which uniformity is far from being worth—loss of a knowledge of how our ancestors spoke, concealment of how we speak at present, innumerable difficulties to both reader and writer, and hence great impediments to the acquisition of knowledge. The numerous societies for printing old English books which are now at work, and especially the Early English Text Society, have, by conscientiously printing manuscripts literatim, done much to restore our knowledge of ancient sounds as well as ancient sense. But the veil of our modern spelling lies over our eyes, and it is not easy to gain the key to the mystery which these texts are calculated to display.

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

But how did our glorious old writers speak? What

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

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

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

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

2 Thus in 1440 the author of the Promptorium Parvulorum says, "Comitatus Northfolcie" or, according to another reading, "Orientalium Anglorum modum loquendi solum sum secu tus, quem solum ab infancia didici, et solotenus plenus perfectusque cog novi."

3 The subject of a standard pronunciation is specially considered below, Chap. VI, § 6.
touch upon it incidentally, in grammars and orthoepical treatises, are profoundly ignorant of the nature and mechanism of speech, and the inter-relations of the sounds which constitute language.\(^1\) The consequence is that writers being unaware of the mechanism by which the results are produced, were constrained to use a variety of metaphorical expressions which it is extremely difficult to comprehend, and which naturally have different meanings in the works of different authors. Thus sounds are termed thick, thin, fat, full, empty, round, flat, hard, soft, rough, smooth, sharp, clear, obscure, coarse, delicate, broad, fine, attenuated, mincing, finical, affected, open, close, and so on, till the reader is in despair. For example, in English, German, Italian, Spanish, ‘hard c’ is (k), but ‘soft c’ is (s) in English, (ts) in German, (tsh) in Italian, (c), that is, nearly (th), in Spanish. The Germans call (g) the ‘soft’ of (k), and (gh) the ‘soft’ of (g). But the English call (g) ‘hard g,’ and (dzh) ‘soft g,’ and ‘soft g’ is (x), or nearly (kh), in Spanish. Most writers term (s, th) hard sounds, and (z, dh) soft, but Dyche\(^2\) finds (s, th) soft, and (z, dh) hard. One writer calls o obscure when it sounds as (a) or (uu), no matter which, but y final obscure when (i), and sharp and clear when (oi).

Some writers, again, content themselves with using key words. This is indeed the easiest method for the writer, and conveys very fair notions to contemporary readers. It has been adopted in the description of Palaeotype to avoid prolix explanations. But the publication of Mr. Melville Bell’s *Visible Speech* has enabled me by referring to his symbols to fix the sounds with accuracy, for *Visible Speech* contains an exact account of the disposition of the organs for producing the sounds, and hence by carefully studying that work at any time—centuries hence—the exact sound could probably be recovered. Not so with key words, for they involve the sounds, but with very small success, even among those who were most earnest in the use of phonetic types as an educational appliance. The subject was not sufficiently attractive. At present Mr. Melville Bell’s recent treatise on *Visible Speech*, renders a study of the whole subject comparatively easy. And he has supplemented it by a system of shorthand writing which will be applicable with almost equal facility to all languages in the world, rendering his system extremely easy to write even at full.

\(^{1}\) The beautiful phonetic short-hand invented by Mr. I. Pitman, under the name of *Phonography*, and developed by the assistance of many co-workers, gave rise to a desire to print phonetically, in consequence of which a phonetic English alphabet was invented by Mr. I. Pitman and myself, which, with various subsequent modifications, has been extensively used in England and America. From the first I endeavoured (in my treatises on the *Alphabet of Nature*, 1845, and *Essentials of Phoneticks*, 1848,) to make this alphabet a means of extending a knowledge of the inter-relations of speech.

\(^{2}\) *Guide to the English Tongue*, 1710.
very riddle which we have to solve. Only those who, like the present writer, have spent hours in endeavouring to discover what was meant by a simple reference to a key word given three hundred years ago, can fully appreciate the advantage of an exact description like that furnished by Visible Speech.\(^1\) There is some relief when many key-words are given, or when contemporary languages are cited. But here the imperfect appreciation of the citers is painfully conspicuous, and allowances have always to be made on that account. Many writers, too, content themselves with references to the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew sounds, apparently forgetting that the older pronunciation of these languages is a matter of dispute, and that the modern pronunciation varies from country to country and century to century. Let any one begin by studying Sir T. Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler, in order to determine the pronunciation of Shakspere from these sources alone,—or even with the assistance of Palsgrave,—and he will soon either find himself in the same slough of despond in which I struggled, or will get out of his difficulties only by a freer use of hypothesis and theory than I considered justifiable, when I endeavoured to discover, not to invent,—to establish by evidence, not to propound theoretically,—the English pronunciation of the xvi\(^{th}\) century.

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

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\(^1\) At the latter end of his treatise Mr. Melville Bell has given in to the practice of key words, and assigned them to his symbols. Let the reader be careful not to take the value of the symbol from his own pronunciation of the key words, or from any other person's. Let him first determine the value of the symbol from the exact description and diagram of the position of the speech organs,—or if possible also from the living voice of some one thoroughly acquainted with the system—and then determine Mr. Bell's own pronunciation of the key word from the known value of the symbol. This pronunciation in many instances differs from that which I am accustomed to give it, especially in foreign words. Both of us may be wrong.
Wales? Most fortunately he has answered the question himself in a tract upon Welsh pronunciation written in English, and referring to many other languages to assist the English reader. The result was that with the exception of \( y \), the sounds had remained the same for the last 300 years. Here then we have a solid foundation for future work,—the pronunciation of a certain number of words in the \( xvi \)th century determined with considerable certainty; and from this we are able to proceed to a study of the other works named, with more hope of a satisfactory result. These tracts of Salesbury are so rare, and one of them so little intelligible to the mass of readers, that at the suggestion of the Philological Society, they will be transferred to the pages of this essay,—the English treatise almost entire, the Welsh treatise complete with a translation.\(^1\)

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

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

\(^1\) See Chapter VIII, §§ 1 and 2.  \(^2\) See Chapter IV § 1.
other languages. Hence the presumption was that from the 
XIV th to the XVI th centuries, if the sounds had altered at all, 
they would have altered in the same direction. But a second 
principle was necessary to make the first available. This 
was found in the fact that since writing was confined to a 
comparatively small number of persons, the majority of those 
who heard and enjoyed poetry would be ignorant of the 
spelling of the words. Hence the rhymes to be appreciated 
at all must have been rhymes to the ear, and not the modern 
monstrosity of rhymes to the eye. If we could have a manus-
script in Chaucer's own handwriting, we should therefore 
expect to find all the rhymes perfect. Hence we might 
conclude that when two words rhymed together in one of 
Chaucer's couplets, they also rhymed together in his pro-
nunciation, and if they would not have rhymed together in 
the XVI th century, one of them must have altered in the 
definite line of change already discovered. In conformity 
with these principles the whole of the rhymes in Chaucer's 
Canterbury Tales as exhibited in the best available manu-
script, together with those in all his other poems as edited 
by Mr. Morris, and those in Gower's Confessio Amantis, 
have been carefully examined, and a system of pronuncia-
tion deduced for the XIV th century.¹

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

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

¹ For a detailed account of this investigation, see Chapter IV.
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<td>hoop</td>
<td>hoop</td>
<td>hoop</td>
<td>hoop</td>
<td>hoop</td>
<td>hoop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soap, broad</td>
<td>soap, brood</td>
<td>soap, brood</td>
<td>soap, brood</td>
<td>soap, broad</td>
<td>soap, broad</td>
<td>soap, broad</td>
<td>soap, broad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joint, boil</td>
<td>dzhuint, buil</td>
<td>dzhoint, buil</td>
<td>dzhoint, buil</td>
<td>dzhoint, buil</td>
<td>dzhoint, buil</td>
<td>dzhoint, buil</td>
<td>dzhoint, buil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot, blood</td>
<td>fool, blood</td>
<td>fuul, blud</td>
<td>fuul, blod</td>
<td>fuul, blod</td>
<td>fuul, blod</td>
<td>fuul, blod</td>
<td>fuul, blod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now, know</td>
<td>nun, knou</td>
<td>nun, knou</td>
<td>nou, nou</td>
<td>nau, nou</td>
<td>nau, nou</td>
<td>nau, nou</td>
<td>nau, nou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull, but, busy, bury</td>
<td>pul, but, biz’i, ber’i</td>
<td>pul, but, biz’i, ber’i</td>
<td>pul, but, biz’i, ber’i</td>
<td>pul, but, biz’i, ber’i</td>
<td>pul, but, biz’i, ber’i</td>
<td>pul, but, biz’i, ber’i</td>
<td>pul, but, biz’i, ber’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muse</td>
<td>myyz’e</td>
<td>myyz</td>
<td>myyz</td>
<td>myyz, miuz</td>
<td>myyz, miuz</td>
<td>myyz, miuz</td>
<td>miiuz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Taking the principal modern combinations of vowels, and the one consonant combination, *gh*, for which the pronunciation of successive centuries have mainly differed, I have arranged them in the first column of the preceding table. It must be borne in mind that these spellings are modern, and in many cases replace at present other spellings which were current in the *xiv*th to the *xvi*th centuries. In the four next columns I give in palaeotype, as explained in the introduction, the pronunciations prevalent during the *xiv*th, *xvi*th, *xvii*th, and *xviii*th centuries. For this rough and general view of the subject there is no perceptible difference between the *xviii*th and *xix*th centuries. It must not be supposed that the pronunciation here indicated prevailed throughout the centuries to which they are attributed. The *xiv*th century pronunciation refers only to the latter half of that century. The *xvi*th century is represented rather in its former half and middle than in the latter part when it was verging to the *xvii*th century pronunciation. The *xvii*th century pronunciation represents the fully established pronunciation of the time in the middle and latter part of the century. And the *xviii*th century pronunciations is that of the latter part. Hence we may roughly term the pronunciations exhibited those of Chaucer, Spenser, Dryden, and Goldsmith. Shakspere and Milton are transitional between Spenser and Dryden, while Pope lies between Dryden and Goldsmith. These names are therefore placed at the top of the columns, and between the columns, as an assistance to the reader. As single letters are more difficult to appreciate than entire words, examples of each mode of speech are given. The same combination of letters was not always pronounced in the same way in all positions, even in the *xiv*th century; hence it is sometimes necessary to give two sounds and two examples, and in this case the more usual (not the older) sound is put first. In the latter part of the *xvi*th, in the *xvii*th and later centuries, anomalies of pronunciation became more common, and nothing but detailed lists of words, such as will be furnished hereafter, will serve to explain them. The reader must therefore remember that this table gives merely a general view to serve as a guide in studying the subsequent details.
CHAPTER II.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH, AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

§ 1. Sixteenth Century.

1530, 22 Henry VIII. Palsgrave, John.

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

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

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

To the French reprint is added a reprint of

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

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

1545, 37 Henry VIII. Meigret, Loys.
Traité touchant le commvn vsage de l'escrivtre francoise, faict par Loys Meigret, Lyonnaiss: auquel est debattu
This little book incidentally enters into a discussion of the pronunciation of the French language, and thus renders Palsgrave's English analogues more certain. Where Meigret differs from Palsgrave, it is difficult to decide whether Palsgrave is in fault through want of appreciation and English habits, or Meigret from being a Lyonnese instead of a Parisian. See another work by Meigret described under its date 1550. This little work is also remarkable as having in some way suggested Hart's English work on Orthography, 1569, subsequently described. Hart says, translating his phonetic spelling into modern English orthography: "You may see by this little treatise I have been a traveller beyond the seas, among vulgar tongues, of which that small knowledge I have, hath been the cause of this mine entreprize. And therewithal the sight of a treatise set forth in print at Paris, Anno 1545, by a worthy man, well learned both in Greek and Latin, named Louis Meigret of Lyon, touching the abuse of the writing of the French tongue, whose reasons and arguments I do here before partly use, as he did Quintilian's, whom it appeared he had well studied. And I have seen divers French books put forth in print in that his manner of Orthography, of some well liked of, and received, and of others left and repugned. But what good & notable thing can take a speedy root, amongst a multitude, except the princes & governors, (by the grace which God may give them) do favour & somewhat countenance it."


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

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

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

This very curious French Grammar, (which is not noticed by M. Géin in his introduction to Palsgrave, although it was so nearly contemporary,) is entirely printed phonetically, apparently to carry out the suggestions of Meigret’s little book already described, better than he had done in a former work, which he alludes to thus: "l’écriture qe j’ey observé (combien q’elle ne sort pas du tout selon qe reqerosét la rigeur de la prononciacion) en la translação du Menteur de Lucian," (fo. 106.) His alphabet consists of the letters "a, e ouuert, e clos, i Latin, o ouuert, ou clos, u, y Grec de même puissance qe l’, b be, p pe, f ef, ph phi, u conso., e ca Latin, k ca Grec ou kappa, q qu, g ga ou gamma, ch cha aspiré, d de, t te, th le aspiré, i, ç, s, z zed, ch che, l el, l el molle, m em, n en, n en molle, r er, i i consonante, x, cs, ks, gs, ix," (fo. 156) where I have used x for an x with a tail like ç, l for an l with a short mark over it like i, and n for an n with the second stroke produced and terminating in a backward hook, which resembles the letter c, and with a short mark over it like û. The powers of these letters, taken in order, appear to have been, (a, e, e, i, o, u, y, i; b, p, f, f, v, k, k, k, g, k, d, t, t, s, z, sh, l, lj, m, n, nj, r, zh, ks, gz).

La Grammaire Française et les Grammaiéns au XVIe siècle, par Ch.- L. Livet, Paris, 1859, gives an abstract of all Meigret’s works and of his controversies with G. des Autels, and J. Pelletier, from which it appears that Meigret lived in Paris, and had been an assiduous frequenter of the court of François I, (p. 139). The dispute principally affects Meigret’s e, e, (pp. 127, 132, 140), o, ou, (p. 139), ai, (p. 130), ao, (p. 122), eu, (p. 130), and shows the transitional state of French pronunciation at the time. M. Livet’s book also contains notices of Jacques Dubois (Jacobi Sylviv Iasagö, 1531), J. Pelletier (Dialoguè de l'orthographe et prononciacion francóese, 1555, a year after Meigret had been forced by his publisher to use the ordinary orthography), Pierre Ramus ou de la Ramée (Grammaire, 1 ed. 1562, 2 ed. 1572, last 1587,) Jean Garnier (Institutio gallicæ linguae, 1558), Jean Pilot (Gallicæ lingæ institutio, 1581), Abel Mathieu (Devis de la langue francoyse, 1559), Robert Estienne (Dictionnaire franç.-lat., 1539, Traicté de la Gram. franc. without date), Henri Estienne (H. Stephani Hypomnesia, 1582, Traicté de la conformité, Deux Dialogues, without date, 1578 ?, Précéllence, 1579), Claude de Saint-Lién (Claudii à Sancto Vineluo de pronunciacione ling. gall. 1580), Théodore de Bèze (De Franciæ lingue recta pronunciacione tractatus, Theod. Beza auct. 1584). If to these we add Palsgrave & du Guez, neither of whom are abstracted by M. Livet, we can trace the change of French pronunciation from the earlier to the later part of the xviith century, till it subsided into a form practically the same as the present, by a course remarkably similar to that pursued by the contemporary English pronunciation.
1555, 3 Mary. *Cheke, Sir John.*

Joannis Cheki Angli de pronunciatione Graecae potissimum linguæ disputationes cum Stephano Vuintioniensi Episcopo. Basle, 24mo.

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

1567, 10 Elizabeth. *Salesbury, W.*

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

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

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


A beautifully printed book in large Roman letters with tables of illustrative words printed according to a phonetic alphabet, without the ordinary spelling, Smith's object being to improve the orthography not explain the pronunciation. The value of his 54 letters in the order of his alphabetic table (fo. 41) is apparently as follows, (a, aa, b, tsh, d, dh, e, ee, i, f, v, g, dzh, n, i, ei, k, l, m, n, o, oo, p, r, s, z, sh, t, th, u, uu, yy, ks.)

Smith uses e for (tsh), which has occasioned many misprints, 8 for (dh), a letter like the Anglosaxon e with a diaeresis for (ii), an inverted A or Y for v, the Anglosaxon 5 for (dzh), a reflected z for (sh), Θ for (th), υ for (yy). The long vowels he has represented by a diaeresis, and as he considers (ei) to be the long of (i), he prints it i. Since then (ee) is ē, and (ii) is a character almost identical in appearance, misprints occasionally occur. In all cases of phonetic writing when diacritic accents are employed, misfortunes of this kind are frequent. Hence the importance of indicating length by reduplication, as in palaeotype, or by some constant additional sign, as in *Vivus Speech*.

Sir Thomas Smith was born at Saffron Walden, Essex 1515, was fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge 1531, public orator
1536, provost of Eton, master of requests to Edward VI, secretary of state 1548, privy councillor and assistant secretary of state 1571, succeeded Burleigh, and died 1577. Hence his pronunciation must be accepted as the most literary and courtly of a time somewhat subsequent to Palsgrave’s. He was not much acquainted with French, or probably with any other living language, and consequently without the assistance of Salesbury great doubts would be felt as to many of his pronunciations.


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

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

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

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

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

1 This he informs us of in the beginning of his treatise De recta et emendata, linguae Graecae proununciatione Epistolae, 1568, in which also several passages occur which are useful in the determination of English pronunciation. The two treatises are bound in one volume in the British Museum Library. He introduced Erasmus’s system of Greek pronunciation, which is similar to that now used at Eton, and would have been unintelligible most probably to Aristophanes, as it certainly would be to any modern Greek. While he was in Paris he met with a modern Greek, who was furious at the notion of introducing “tam vastos sonos et absonas diphthongas in Graecam lingnam,” but the two disputants could not argue the point, “quoniam ego Gallicè parum admodum, ille non ita multò plus, Latinè nihil callebat,” fo. 5b.
differing from that which was vsed with in these five hundreth, I maye say within these two hundreth yeares: which I considered of about .x x. yeares passed, and thought it worth my labour, if I coulde finde the meane of remedie, of our present abuse. And so framed a treatise therevpon, and would then it had bene published, but I am the gladder it hath bene stayed vntill this time, wherein so well a learned gentilman, in the Græeke & Latine tongues, & trauailed in certain vulgares sir Thomas Smith knight, hath written his minde, touching this matter, in hys booke of late set forth in Latin, entituled, De recta & emendata lingua Anglica scriptione. Whereof and of this my treatise the summe, effect, and ende is one. Which is, to vse as many letters in our writing, as we doe voyces or breathes in our speaking, and no more; and neuer to abuse one for another, and to write as we speake: which we must needes doe if we will euer haue our writing perfite.”

1570, 13 Elizabeth. Levins, Peter. Manipulus Vocabularum: a Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language by Peter Levins. 4to.

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

1573, 16 Elizabeth. Baret, John. An Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin and French: very profitable for all such as be desirous of any of these three languages. . . . . . . . . . . . . London, fo.

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

1580, 23 Elizabeth. Bullokar, William. Bullokars Booke at large for the Amendment of Orthographie for English speech: wherein, a most perfect supplie is made, for the wantes and double sounde of letters in the olde Orthographie, with Examples for the same, with the easie conference and vse of both Orthographies, to saue expences in Bookes for a time, vntill this amendment grow to a generall vse, for the easie, speedie, and perfect reading and writing of English, (the speech not changed, as some vntruly and maliciously,
or at the least ignorantlie blowe abroade,) by the which amendment the same Authour hath also framed a ruled Grammar, to be imprinted heereafter, for the same speech, to no small commoditie of the English Nation, not only to come to easie, speedie, and perfect vse of our owne language, but also to their easie, speedie, and readie entrance into the secretes of other Languages, and and easie and speedie pathway to all Straungers, to vse our Language, heeretofore very hard vnto them, to no small profite and credite to this our Nation, and stay therevnto in the weightiest causes. There is also imprinted with this Orthographie a short Pamphlet for all Learners, and a Primer agreeing to the same, and as learners shall go forward therein, other necessarie Bookes shall spedily be provided with the same Orthographie. Herevnto are also ioyned written Copies with the same Orthographie. Giuê God the praise, that teacheth allwaies. When truth trieth, errorr flieth. Seene and allowed according to order. Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham 1580. London 4to.

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

The pronunciation of Bullokar was certainly antiquated in some particulars, agreeing better with Palsgrave's than with that of any intermediate author, and proceeding in a direction contrary to Hart's. Hence Gill looked upon him with favour, and says, "Bulokerus vt paucula mutavit, sic multa fideliter emendavit." Altogether the
book is very valuable for determining the pronunciation of the early part of the xvth century. See Chap. VIII, § 4.

1611, 9 James I. *Cotgrave*, Randle.

A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues, London imprinted by Adam Islip. Fo.

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

1611, 9 James I. *Florio*, John.

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

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


Logonomia Anglica. Qua gentis sermo facilius addiscitur Conscripita ab Alexandro Gil, Paulinæ Scholæ magistro primario. Secundò edita, paulò correction, sed ad vsum communem accommodatior. Small 4to.

This second edition differs from the first mainly in the characters employed; there are, however, a few verbal differences in the text. The pronunciation exhibited, with perhaps two exceptions, that of long i and of au, was that of the middle of the xvth century, although the book appears in the xvirth, for Dr. Gill evidently resisted all modern mincing and effeminacy of speech, as the new fashions appeared to him. He was born in Lincolnshire, 1564, the same year as Shakspere, became a student of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1583, and was made head master of St. Paul’s school in 1608. He died 1635. Milton is said to have been one of his pupils. Dr. Gill had several fancies besides old pronunciations, thinking it best to speak “ut docti interdum”—anglice, pedantically—rather than like the “indoctus,” although if the latter followed his ears in phonetic spelling the doctor says: “susque deque habeo.”
Dr. Gill's alphabet of 40 letters will be rendered in order by the following palaeotypic symbols,—(a aa Aa b tsh d dh e ee f v g dzh n kh i ii o i k kw l m n q oo p r s sh t th yy u uu w wh ks j z).

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

1633, 9 Charles I. Butler, Charles.
The English Grammar, or the Institution of Letters Syllables, and Words in the English tongue. Whereunto is annexed an Index of Words Like and Unlike. Oxford. 4to.

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

§ 2. Seventeenth Century.

1640, 16 Charles I, Jonson, Ben.
The English Grammar. Made by Ben. Johnson. For the benefit of all Strangers, out of his observation of the English Language now spoken, and in use. Fo.

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

1646, 22 Charles I. Gataker, Thomas.
De Diphthongis Bivocalibus, deqe Literarum qarundam sono germano, naturâ genuinâ figurâ novâ, idoneâ, scripturâ veteri verâque. London, 24mo.

This is useful for a few diphthongs, but is not of much value generally.
1651, 3 Commonwealth. *Willis, Thomas, of Thistlewood, Middlesex.*

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

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

-affe, laugh, chafe, safe, Raphe
-aie, = -ay, treie, weigh, whay
-aen, reign
-air, heir, major
-aet, eight, height, sleight, straight
-arre, = -ar, far, tar, warre
-arfe, dwarfe, scarce, wharfe
-arm, swarm, warm
-arn, warn
-arp, warp
-arf, heart, thwart
-ash, quash, wash
-aste, the waste meditullium
-atte, Wat, what
-atch, watch
-draught, naught
-fault, vault
-ea, keie, the, yea
-eed, bead, khead, lead plumbe
-eam, dream, phleagm, realm
-eal, clear, pear
-eas, cesas, greas, leas, peace
-eef, beef, brief, chief, grief, theef
-eeld, yeeld, field, shield
-end, friend
-ere, here, there, where
-eur, dew, due, few, glue, Jew, lieu, rue, sew suere, sue, shew, shrew, view, yew
-i = -ie = -y, eie, buy, by, high, my, nigh, vic, skie, why, wry
-ile, guile, style
-il, guilt
-imme = -im, hymne
-im, clime
-inc, signe
-ire, firre, myrrhe, sir

-ir, giv, liv, seiv
-0 = -ow = -oe, bowe, blowe, crowe, glowe, growe, knowe, lowe, mowe, rowe, slowe, sowe, snowe, towe, throwe
-oad, broad, goad, load
-oh,ough, cough, dough, though, trough,ough,through
-owel = -oal = -ole, bowle crater, jowle, powle tondere, proud, rowle rotula, sole, soul, scrowle schedula, toll, towle sonus, trowle adovloore
-on = -onne, John
-one = -oan, bone, groan, Joan
-o, = -oe, to, toe, agere, woe pro-care
-oom, loom, Rome, toomb
-ooe, goose ansuer, los, noos nodus
-oov, moov, move, proov, prove
-ord, cord, foord, horde, sword
-orce, hors equus
-ose, prose, rose, those, whose
-oath, oath, both, frothe, growth, loath, mothe, slothe
-othe, bothe, claethe
-os, dov, glor, lov, shov
-ow, bough, bow, brow, cow, how, mow familie, mow attuere, now, plough, prow, sow, thou, trow, vow
-ous, a hous
-ouse, to house
-um = -umme, some, summe, thumb
-urs, burs emporium, curs, nurs, purs, to purs reponevere
-wurst, burst, enrst, worst
-wus, bruise.


Wallis was born at Ashford in Kent 1616, and died in 1703. In 1649 he was appointed Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford. During the civil war he made himself useful to the parliamentary party by decyphering letters in secret characters. His chief fame rests on his mathematical powers. The introductory treatise on sound is of great importance, and establishes with much certainty the meaning of every symbol used. He did not attempt an alphabet, and consequently did not write out complete passages according to the pronunciation, which is greatly to be regretted. This work is the chief authority for the middle of the xviiith century.

1668, 9 Charles II. Wilkins, John.

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

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

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

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

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

The short sound of (o) is not recognized in English. Long vowels are imperfectly represented by accents. Confusing, as so many have done, (r w) with (i u) he writes (i-i i-u u-u i-i) for (j i j u wu wj).
1668, 9 Charles II. Price, Owen.

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

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

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

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

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

1677, 18 Charles II. Poole, Josua.

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

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

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


The first 94 pages, out of the 200 which this book contains, are devoted to a consideration of the sounds of speech, and peculiarities
of orthography and pronunciation, with long lists of words containing
the several vowel sounds, which render it of great use for the
determination of the pronunciation of the xvii th century. I am in-
debted to Mr. J. Payne, of the Philological Society, for my acquaint-
ance with this valuable work.

1688, 3 James II. *Miege,* Guy, gent.
The Great French and English Dictionary. In Two parts. The
first French and English; the second English and
French; according to the Ancient and Modern Ortho-
graphy. Fo. London.
There is much valuable information prefixed to each English
letter and digraph, concerning the customary pronunciation, written
in French.

1700, 12 William and Mary. *Lane,* A.
A Key to the Art of Letters; or, English a Learned
Language, Full of Art, Elegancy and Variety. Being
an Essay to enable both Foreiners, and the English
Youth of either Sex, to speak and write the English
Tongue well and learnedly, according to the exactest
A meagre treatise on Grammar by way of question and answer,
in which 16 pages are devoted to spelling. The vowels are six,
y being admitted and w excluded, although it is said that “we
usually sound w like the vowel u, and for the most part we
write it instead of u, in the middle and end of words, as in
Vowel, Law, Bow, etc.” and “when y begins a syllable, we sound
it as in the word yea, and then it is a real Consonant; every-
where else it is a vowel, and is sounded like i; and is always
written at the end of words instead of i, as in my, thy, &c.” The
liquids are three, m being excluded “because a Mute before it can-
not, without force, be sounded with it in the same Syllable with
the Vowel after it.” This should imply that n can be so sounded,
and hence that k, g were pronounced in knot, gnat. The change of
ti- before a vowel into (sh) is not recognized; “we sound ti before
a Vowel, like si, as in the word Relation.” The following assertion
and its justification are curious: “E Servile is of great use in the
English Tongue; for by its help we can borrow the most significant
and useful Words from other Languages, to enrich our own; and so
far disguise and transform them into good English, that others can-
not lay claim to them as theirs; as for Example, these Latin words,
Candela, Vinea, Linea, Brutum, Centrum, are made good English,
by the help of e Servile, thus; a Candle, a Vine, a Line, a Brute,
a Centre. Q. What need is there to disguise words borrowed from
other Languages? A. It is necessary to disguise Words borrowed
from other Languages, because no free People should have a Foreign
Face on their current Words, more than on their current coin, both
being Badges of Conquest or Slavery.” The following is a curious
conceit: "E Subjunctive is written at the end of a word after a single Consonant, to make the single Vowel before it long. . . . E Subjunctive is really sounded with the single Vowel before the Consonant, and so makes the Subjunctive or latter Vowel of a Diphthong; otherwise it could not make the Syllable long, as in the words, Fire, more, pale, read, Fier, moer, pael." This leads us to suppose that he said (foiar, mooer, peael); the two former are common, the last is adduced by Cooper (p. 42).

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

1701, 13 William and Mary. Jones, John, M.D.
Practical Phonography: or, the New Art of Rightly Spelling (sic) and Writing Words by the Sound thereof. And of Rightly Sounding and Reading Words by the Sight thereof. Applied to The English Tongue. Design'd more especially for the Use and Ease of the Duke of Glocester, (sic). But that we are lamentably disappointed in our Joy and Hopes in him. By J. Jones, M.D. You may read the Preface, where you have an account of what the Book performs; which (tis hoped) will not only answer Men's Wishes, but exceed their Imaginations; that there could be such mighty Helps contrived for Reading, Spelling, and Writing English, rightly and neatly; with so much Ease. London. 4to.

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

"The New Art of Spelling. Design'd chiefly for Persons of Maturity, teaching them how to spell and write Words by the sound thereof, & to sound & read words by the sight thereof, rightly neatly and fashionably. I. It will instruct any person that can read & write to spell & write most languages that he can speak & uses to read in a few hours by a general rule contained in two or three lines, & the use of a spelling alphabet, which may be written on the 12th part of a sheet of paper to carry about them. II. Short & easy directions whereby any
one may be taught to spell tolerably well in a few days, & in 
half a year's time may be perfected in the art of true spelling. 
III. A child or any person who can read or write may by the 
help of this book learn to spell & write perfectly in a small 
time. IV. Rules for foreigners by which they may sweeten 
their language, & directions how to invent a universal one. 
Applied to the English Tongue by J. Jones, M.D.”

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The easier and pleasanter Sounds spoken</th>
<th>The harder and harsher Sounds written</th>
<th>A Spelling ALPHABET.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e, o</td>
<td>as in Clerk, Wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>as in Cupid, Deputy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t, th</td>
<td>as in Hatton, Munther</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>i, o, ü</td>
<td>as in Girl, Pegot, Injure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>e, i, o</td>
<td>as in he, Shire, Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>as in Clyster, Norwich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>as in Banbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>as in Ink, sink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo</td>
<td>o, ü</td>
<td>as in to, Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>ch, s</td>
<td>as in Bench, Issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>as in Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>f, ph</td>
<td>as in Face, Nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü</td>
<td>a, e, i, o</td>
<td>as in Evan, even, Sir, Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>as in Ease, cause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then upon the principle of the grammarian 
*Visum est Grammatico metricis lenire laborem Preceptis,*
he proceeds “for Memory's sake” to reduce the above to verse. 
Afterwards come long explanations of the use of this alphabet in 
teaching spelling, the last of which is, as he says, “more a Shift 
than a Rule,” and is simply this:

“*When you are (notwithstanding all that is directed) in Doubt* 
of spelling a *Word* rightly, the last *Shift* will be to change the
Word or Expression, so as to preserve the Sense or Meaning; as suppose that you cannot, or are in Doubt of spelling the Word Affection, write Kindness, Love, Favour, &c. instead thereof;"

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

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

§ 3. Eighteenth Century.

1704, 3 Anne. Anonymous.

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

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

1710, 9 Anne. Anonymous.


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

1710, 9 Anne. _Dyche, Thomas._


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

1713, 12 Anne. Anonymous.

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

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

1766, 7 George III. _Buchanan, James._

_Essay towards establishing a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English Language, throughout the British Dominions, A Work entirely new; and whereby every one can be his own private_
teacher. Designed for the Use of Schools, and of
Foreigners as well as Natives, especially such whose
Professions engage them to speak in Public. Exter-
quia quærat sua qui Vernacula nescit? As practised
by the Most Learned & Polite Speakers. London, 8vo.

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

1768, 9 George III. Franklin, Benjamin.
A Scheme for a New Alphabet & reformed mode of
Spelling, with Remarks & Examples concerning the
same, and an Enquiry into its Uses, in a correspondence
between Miss Stephenson & Dr. Franklin written in the
Characters of the Alphabet.

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

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

1780, 21 George III. Sheridan, Thomas.
A General Dictionary of the English Language, One
main Object of which, is, to establish a plain and per-
manent Standard of Pronunciation. To which is pre-
fixed a Rhetorical Grammar. London, 4to.

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

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, AND ITS GRADUAL CHANGE DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

§ 1. Introduction.

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

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

It must be remembered that the authorities for a period are necessarily somewhat more recent in date than the period itself, for the account which an elderly man gives of pronunciation refers in general to that which he acquired as a youth. It is in most instances safe to assume that a man's system of pronunciation is fixed at twenty to twenty-five years of age. The first ten years of his life are spent in acquiring sounds from his nurse, his mother, and his family. In the next ten, he is jostled with his schoolmates or workmates, and he will probably adapt his mode of speech to his environment. After the mental faculties have matured, the acquired habits have become settled, and the environment fixed at twenty to twenty-five, little change may be expected, except under rare and peculiar circumstances. It is probable, therefore, that each of the authorities on the next page, refers to a pronunciation prevalent twenty or thirty years before the actual date.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE OF WORK</th>
<th>AUTHORITY</th>
<th>WRITERS</th>
<th>SOVEREIGNS</th>
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<td>For the XVIIth Century.</td>
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<td>Palsgrave, London</td>
<td>Lord Surrey, 1516-46 Tyndale's Bible, 1535</td>
<td>1509 Hen. VIII</td>
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<td>Spenser 1553-98</td>
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<td>1567</td>
<td>Salesbury, Wales</td>
<td>Shakspere 1564-1616</td>
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<td>Baret</td>
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<td>Bullokar</td>
<td>Massinger 1584-1640 Milton 1608-1674</td>
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<td>Butler 1612-80</td>
<td>1625 Charles I</td>
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<tr>
<td>1633</td>
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<td>For the XVIIIth Century.</td>
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<td>Dryden 1631-1700</td>
<td>1649 Common-wealth</td>
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<td>1646</td>
<td>Gataker</td>
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<td>1651</td>
<td>Willis, Middlesex</td>
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<td>1660 Charles II</td>
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<td>1653</td>
<td>Wallis, Kent</td>
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<td>1668</td>
<td>Wilkins, Oxford</td>
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<td>1668</td>
<td>Price</td>
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<td>1685</td>
<td>Cooper</td>
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<td>1685 James II</td>
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<td>1688</td>
<td>Miegé, France</td>
<td>Pope 1688-1744</td>
<td>1688 Wm. III</td>
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<td>1701</td>
<td>Jones, Wales</td>
<td></td>
<td>1702 Anne</td>
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<td>For the XVIIIth Century.</td>
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<td>Expert Orthographist</td>
<td>S. Johnson 1709-84</td>
<td>1714 George I</td>
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<td>1710</td>
<td>Dyche</td>
<td>Goldsmith 1728-74</td>
<td>1727 George II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766</td>
<td>Buchanan, Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td>1760 George III</td>
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<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>Franklin, U.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td>Sheridan, Ireland</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
§ 2. Combined Speech Sounds.

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

In palacotype the isolated letters all mark fixed positions, whether initial or final, and their combination indicates the glide occurring between them, in addition to their own value, unless a comma (,) be interposed, which cuts out the glide, and thus distinguishes the dissyllable (u,i) French oui, from the monosyllable (ui) French oui, which again must be dis-

1 This is Sir Charles Wheatstone's theory, subsequently verified by Prof. H. Helmholtz, Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen, 2nd ed. 1865, p. 163.
2 The word eat, although containing a long vowel, can be pronounced deliberately three times, and rapidly, four times in a second.
3 This phonetic term was introduced and explained by myself, Universal Writing and Printing, 1856, p. 6, col. 2, and English Phonetics, 1854, p. 8, § 61.
tistinguished carefully from the monosyllable (wii), English we, where the first element is a buzz and not a vowel. This convention in notation will be strictly carried out and should be carefully observed by the reader. As a necessary consequence (aa, nn, ss) represent prolonged (a, n, s), but (a,a, n,n, s,s) repeated (a, n, s). The prolongation of consonantal sounds may appear strange, but if unowned is compared with unknown, or missile with missent, it will be readily perceived that the (n, s) in the second of each pair is really prolonged, thus (ən,oon' ənnoon', mɪs'il mɪssent'), and that the orthography (en,noon', mɪssent') would not quite meet the latter case, as there is no cessation of sounds, no ending of the one (n, s) and beginning of the following. Again, in comparing open opening; stable stabling, schism schismatic (oop'nn oop'nɪq; steeb'ɪl steeb'ɪq, sɪz'mm sɪzmæt'ɪk), the greater length of sound of (n,l,m) in the first three words over that which it has in the second three, will be apparent. Generally, however, it is sufficient to mark (oop'n, steeb'ɪ, sɪz'm), because the effort to pronounce (n, l, m) independently of any following vowel will necessarily lengthen the sound. But that some attention to this difference is occasionally necessary, is shown by such French words as stable, schisme, which French orthoepists also mark (stabl, shizm), although their sound is not at all (stabl, shizmm), but either (stabl', shizm') with the faintest vowel murmur following, thus making (l, m) initial and consequently shortening the sound, or (stablh, shizmh) with an entire remission of the vocal murmur. In palaeotype the distinction will often be made thus: English (steeb'l, sɪz'm), French (stabl', shizm'), so that ('l, 'm, 'n) = (l,mm,nn).

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

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

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1 J. Biernacki. Theoretisch-praktische Grammatik der polnischen Sprache,
to broad and small to small,—leathan ri leathan, an 'us caol ri caol.' ¹ Of course, this rule only indicates a change of the intermediate consonant in actual speech. In German we find ach, loch with one sound of ch (kh), ich, ächt, euch, löcher, tücher with another (kh), and auch, tuch with a third (kvh), thus (akh, lokh; ikh, ekht, oikh, lökh'er, tyykh' er; auk'ek, tuuk'eh); so that the Germans find a natural character in this change. But no such change occurs in Dutch, or in Swiss patois, which do not possess (kh). Again, a modern Greek informs me that (kh) is always replaced by (kh) in his language, whatever be the adjacent vowel. This seems also to have been the case in old Sanscrit, where (kh) has given way to (sh), just as most Englishmen hear a Saxon say (ir'ish-mishnish') for (ir ikh mish nikht) ir'r ich mich nicht. ¹ The old Germans had also a feeling of attraction in the vowel sounds in succeeding syllables, as zahn zähne, fussz füsze, bock böcke, mann männer, (tsaan tsee' ne, fuus fyy'se, bok bök'-e, man mën'er) which the moderns have lost, and which is simply unintelligible in the modern English tooth teeth, foot feet, man men, (tuuth tiith, fut fiit, mën men).

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

¹ This is thus explained in J. Forbes's Double Grammar of English and Gaelie, 1843, p. 28: "In words of more than one syllable, the last vowel of each preceding syllable, and the first of each succeeding one must be of the same class, i.e. both broad or both small; as ca'lag, a girl, feorag, a squirrel. It would be false orthography to write words thus: ca'lag, foot-eag, cuil-lag, luir-eag, cir-adh, barreadh."
pronunciation of the consonant, that an Englishman distinguishes Arabic ُ, َ, ِ, ٌ, ٍ, َٰل. whatever sounds Arabic scholars may finally agree that the latter symbols represent, from (t d s z).\(^1\) The rounding of the lips has often a similar effect in English, as in war, wan, what, wash, squall, = (waal, wan won, what what, wash wash, skwaal).

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

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

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

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

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

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\(^1\) Many speakers say (pen-nif) for (pen-nair), waiters are apt to fall into (jes-air) for (jes-sair), and few care to distinguish Miss Smith from Miss Myth (missmith, mis-mith'). In such a common name no mistake is likely, but would Miss Sterry be distinguished from Miss Terry, or Miss Stent from Miss Tent, real names from the London Directory?

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

\(^3\) M. Rapp. Versuch einer Physiologie der Sprache, 1836-1841.

\(^4\) See the passage from the Orrmulum quoted in Chapter V, § 2.
between the glide from (a) to (t), and the glide, in this case non-vocal, from (t) to (sh). The orthographer dividing the syllables then says (wat, tshiq), and hears first a (t) and then his presumed simple sound (tsh); whence the orthography teh, which never occurs initially. Between ch in chin, and teh in watching, there is this difference, that in (tshin) there is only the glide from (t) to (sh), but in (watshiq) there is also the glide from (a) to (t). The palaeotypic orthography (watshiq) implies all this, for to remove the last named glide in the last word we must write (wa, tshiq).

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

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

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

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

A short accented vowel is in English always followed by a consonant on to which it glides, almost before it begins to be heard; whereas a long accented vowel can be distinctly heard before the glide to the consonant. Consequently the glide with us affects the short more than the long vowel. One result of this is that English long and short accented vowels do not form precise pairs. Thus peat pit, gate get, father gather, sought sot, pool pull = (piit pit, geet get, faadh'a, saat sot, puul pul). The distinction is here made clear to the eye. The vowel (oo) does not occur as a short vowel in closed syllables in recognised English, but hole whole are not unfrequently distinguished as (hool, hol). The long vowels (ee, oo) are also very frequently pronounced (eei, ouu) or (eej, oo'w) with a faintly indicated (i, u), following them with the utmost rapidity just as the sound is expiring. It is only before the letter r (x) that this effect is generally avoided, and then the vowel sounds are changed, thus more, Mary, door, glory are properly (meər, Meer'ri, door, gloor'ri), although (moo'x, Meer'ri, door'x, gloor'ri) and even (Meer'ri, gloor'ri) are sometimes heard. This diversity of long and short vowels, similar to that which probably prevailed in Greece when the distinctions η e, ω o were introduced, while no written
difference was made between \( a \) and \( u \) long and short, serves to mark the difference between syllables with long and short vowels very clearly. If a foreigner neglects the distinction we, in the ignorance of our ears, often accuse him of lengthening the vowel, thus we write his *pity* (pit'\( i \)) as *pee tee*, confounding it with *pi-ti-i*, and we make a Scotchman speak of his *meenis-terr* and his *book* (mi'i-niste.r, buk) when he only says (mi'niste.r, buk) in place of our (min'ist\( i \), buk). Most of the old English writers thought that the vowel sounds in *bite* bit formed a pair, and we shall find Sir T. Smith completely puzzled with the English *ee* (ii) of which he knew no short sound. In languages like the Italian, where the short and long vowels exist in perfect pairs (ii i, *ee* e, *EE* E, aa a, oo o, *uu* uh, uu u) the distinction of long and short vowel is not much perceived, except before separated glides or doubled consonants, as they are termed, and consequently no necessity for indicating them orthographically has been felt. In Italian also, final short accented vowels occur unprotected by a following consonant, as *citt\( \dot{\alpha} \) am\( \dot{o} \) ci\( \ddot{\imath} \) (tshit,ta' amo' tsho') which however take a doubled consonant when followed by an enclitic syllable as *amovvi* (amov',vi).

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

\(^1\) An amusing instance of the difficulty of hearing foreign sounds is quoted in Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, 2nd series, 1864, p. 169, from Marsh's Lectures, and taken by him from "Constantinople and its Environs, by an American long resident," New York, 1833, ii. 151. The writer is certain that he spells at least one word correctly, for it had been so impressed on his mind; this word is *backtshtasch*! letters which ought to mean (bæktʃtəʃ), but were intended to mean (bakhʃhiʃ'), itself an error for (bakhʃhiʃ'). This letter (krh) \( \ddot{\chi} \) is almost invariably confounded with (k) by Englishmen. Similarly, if an Englishman asks a Saxon to repeat after him *I had a hat on my head*, instead of (\( ai \) ned \( \alpha \) net on \( m\ddot{\alpha} \) ned) he will probably obtain (\( ai \) net \( \alpha \) net on \( m\ddot{\alpha} \) net), where the three English unusual sounds (\( m\ddot{\alpha} \) net \( \alpha \) net) are reduced to the one common German (\( \alpha \) net) \( = \) hat'.
is the foreigner who generally wants to have the sounds explained, and we find the writers of pronouncing dictionaries of English to be mainly Welsh, Scotch, Irish, American, French, and German. Those early English writers who gave an account of our pronunciation had not studied the nature of spoken sounds sufficiently to refer them to any fixed positional scale, such as we now possess in *Visible Speech*. Hence they illustrated them as they best could by reference to other tongues; frequently indeed by Latin and Hebrew, which being very differently pronounced in different countries gave but an indifferent clue. It is only by making allowances for old habits, that we can hope to arrive at an approximate conception of the sounds they had in their mind. It is not therefore to be expected that we can assign the older pronunciation of our language with anything like the minute accuracy with which the modern pronunciation of English can be indicated by means of Palaeotype and *Visible Speech*. We can, however, approximate to the sounds so nearly that one who thus pronounced them would appear to utter familiar words in perhaps rather a singular manner, but not so strangely by far as a foreigner’s attempts at modern English, or as the modern English would have sounded in the ears of our ancestors.

§ 3. The Vowels.

A — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. Palsgrave says: “The soundyng of a, which is most generally used through out the frenche tonge, is suche as we vse with vs, where the best englysh is spoken, which is lyke as the Italians sounde a, or they with vs, that pronounce the latine tonge aryght.”

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

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

2 While writing this I saw the words “One touch of nature,” placarded on the streets of London, as the name of a drama. Most of those who saw them would have read (wan totsh ov neartsh), sounds which would have probably been unintelligible to their author (Shakspeare, T. & C. iii, 3, 176), who would have certainly understood (oon tutsh ov naartiyr), strange as this may now seem to our ears.
In (Longman) les prononciation was developed and the language was known as the French émigrés heard the English a in all as their a, and gave that as the French sound in their Grammars. Walker gives (iiklaa’) as the pronunciation of éclat, though Smart writes (eeklaa’), the Frenchmen Féline¹ and Tarver giving (ekla).

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

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

² These technical terms are explained in the introduction p. 13.
shall pronounce your a as wyde open mouthed as ye can," which ought to make French a = (a); "your e, as ye do in latyn, almost as brode as ye pronounce your a in englysshe." This makes French e = (e), and proves that English a was not (ae), because Gilles du Guez, as a Frenchman, would not have distinguished (e, æ). Neither du Guez nor Palsgrave separate the close from the open French e (e, e) which Meigret has found necessary to distinguish by two signs. Gilles du Guez was French master to Henry VIII. and his daughter, afterwards Mary I.

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

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

"A in English is of the same sound as a in Welsh, as is evident in these words of English ale, aal, cervisia, pale, paal, sale, sal."

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

1 During a short residence in Anglesea about ten years ago, I did not recognize (æ) as in general use in Welsh, although I was familiar with the sound, both long and short, from having resided two years in Bath, where (ææ) is the regular sound of a long, as (Baæth, keææd). I have since been informed that it is commonly heard in Monmouthshire, just bordering on those Western English counties where (æ) prevails. A gentleman from Cardigan when asked to name the first letter in the Welsh alphabet, naturally called it (ææ), though three other Welsh gentlemen present at the same time said (aa).
really doubled in either and the vowel was short in both. Numerous examples of such carelessness occur in the short list of words with which Salesbury has favoured us.¹

**SALESBURY'S EXAMPLES OF A.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Welsh Letters</th>
<th>Palaeotype</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ale</td>
<td>cervisia</td>
<td>aal</td>
<td>aal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pale</td>
<td>paal</td>
<td>sal</td>
<td>saal</td>
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<tr>
<td>sale</td>
<td>baab</td>
<td>faas</td>
<td>gra'asi,us</td>
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¹ A complete alphabetical list of all these words will be found in Chapter VIII, § 2, at the close of the translation of his tract.
The preceding are all Salesbury’s words containing a, in his English spelling, Welsh transcription, and my palaeotypic translation of the last. The meaning is given in Latin where he has given it in Welsh, but not otherwise. The long a, so far as I can conjecture from other sources, is placed first. Words with the combinations al, an, ash, etc., which will be considered hereafter, are omitted. This long list of words in which the long and the short sound of a is represented by the same letter, occasionally doubled for the long sound, is conclusive in shewing that long a and short a were to Salesbury’s ears, sounds differing only in duration. And as there could be no reasonable doubt that short a was then, as it still is generally in the provinces, and is admitted to be by some of our orthoepists in a great number of words, the true Italian (a), so we are led to conclude that the long a was also the true Italian (aa), to Salesbury.

1568. Sir T. Smith says: “A igitur Latinum Angli habent tam breue quam longum,” and after giving some examples, adds: “et alia sexcenta, vbi nullius literarum sonus auditur in lingua nostrati nisi a vocalis Romanæ longe breuisque.”

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

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

“A longa (maan) juba equi, (faarwel) vale bene, (maat) odisse, (maar) equa, (paas) passus, (baar) nudus, (baak) in furno coquere.”

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

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

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

1 Those of which staff, bath, bask, demand, are types. Other orthoepists, however, prefer (ah) in these words.
1580. Bullokar says, "that there be eight vowels of differing sounds in English speech: may appeere by these wordes following, wherein are eight notes in voice differing one from another as divers notes in musicke."

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

1621. Gill says, "In e et e, duplicatis, sonus à proprio aliquantulum distat; vt in grn laqueus, et grnne viridis, sonus vnus est, sed in voce priori corruptus, in altera longus. Sic in bucke hie dama, et buke liber: neque in his vilas soni differentia est, præter illam quæ in quantitate percipitur."

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

"A, est tenuis, aut lata: tenuis, aut brevis est vt in (taloou) taillewe sebum, aut deducta, ut in (taal) tale fabula aut computus: lata, vt in (taal) taille procerus—"

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

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

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

2 Shakspere's rhyme at the close of Taming the Shrew, according to the folio 1623,—
I cannot find any confirmation of this even in later writers, until the time of Cooper, 1685, who admits a double use of a long, pairing _can cast, ken cane_, as will be presently considered. What Butler’s pair was, whether (ææ, a) or (aa, æ) I cannot guess. But as his book was published about the time when a began to change from (a) to (æ), he probably did not adopt either of the true pairs (aa, a) or (ææ, æ).

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

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

**A — xvii th Century.**

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

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

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

“Vocales Palatinae in Palato formantur, ære silecet inter palati et linguæ medium moderate compresso: Dum nempe concavum
palati, elevato linguae medio, minus redditur, quam in gutturalibus proferendis. Suntque in tripli gradu, propterea concavum magis minusve contrahitur. Quae quidem diversitas duobus modis fieri potest; vel fauces contrahendo, manente lingua in codem situ; vel faucibus in eodem situ manentibus, linguae medium altius et ad interiores palati partes elevando: utrovis enim modo fiat, vel etiam si utroque, perinde est.

"Majori apertura formatur Anglorum a, hoc est á exile. Quale auditur in vocibus, bat, vespertilio; bate, discordia; pal, palla Episcopalis; pale, pallidus; Sam (Samuelis contractio); same, idem lamb, agnus; lame, claudus; dam, mater (brutorum); dame, domina; bar, vectis; bare, nudus; ban, exsecror; bane, pernies; etc. Differt hic sonus a Germanorum á pingui seu aperto; eo quod Angli linguae medium elevent, adeoque¹ acrem in Palato comprimant; Germani vero linguae medium deprimant, adeoque aèrem comprimant in gutture. Galli fere sonum illum proferunt ubi e praecedit litteram m vel n, in eadem syllaba ut entendement, etc. Cambro-Britannici, hoc sono solent suum a pronunciare." Here the paragraph ends in the editions of 1653, 1664, 1674, which are all I have been able to find that were published during Wallis's lifetime; but the Oxford reprint of 1765 adds the words: "Italique suum." Again he says in another place "A plerumque pronunciatur sono magis exili quam apud alias plerasque gentes: eodem fere modo quo Gallorum e sequente n in voce entendement, sed paulo acutius et clarius; seu ut a Italorum. Non autem ut Germanorum á pingue; quem sonum nos plerumque exprimere solemus per au vel aue, si producatur; aut per ħ breve si corripiatur."

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

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

It is a remarkable fact that in Somersetshire where the sound of (ãæ) is very common, replacing all sounds of (aa) in use in the east of England, as (Beaeth, bææsket, ææsk, kææid, nææid) = Bath, basket, ask, card, hard, the sound of (AA) or (øa) degenerates into (aa) or (aa1), as (laa, draa, kaaid) = law, draw, card.2 But in Wallis's time the true sound of (AA) and not (aa) is guaranteed by his vowel pairs, "fall folly, call collar, cause cost, aw'd odd, saw'd sod."

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

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

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

2 The fact was first forced on my attention by being asked in Bath for a piece of card as I imagined, when a piece of cord was really wanted. Other old pronunciations in use at Bath, are (fair) fir, (keez) keys, (beek'n) beacon, but (kezek'n) beacon; while (AA) almost reappears in (noon) know.
In Ireland, where we shall see that the English pronunciation consorts in many other respects also with that of the xvii th century, the name sound of the first letter of the alphabet is (ææ), as was spontaneously pointed out to me by an Irish clergyman, the five vowels a e i o u being called (ææ, ee, øi, oo, ñuu), instead of (ee, ii, øi, oo, ñuu). A Danish lady informed me that the sound of (ææ) in lieu of (aa) was fashionable in Copenhagen. That the transition is easy and is not much perceived by the generality of speakers is evident from the present scarcely noticed co-existence of both sounds. 1

But the transition from the xvi th century (aa) to the xviii th and xix th century (ee, ee) is scarcely intelligible without the intermediate (ææ).

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

Now it is only for some very unusual mixed vowels that there is any approach to a concavity of the tongue, with respect to the palate, so this may be regarded as a theoretical error. His description must be considered to leave the question of (æ, a) in doubt. Although it will be seen that Wilkins and Wallis occasionally disagree, I am inclined to interpret Wilkins in this case by Wallis, and to consider that Wilkins’s examples batt bate, val-le y vale, falt fate, mat mate, pal pale, Rad-nor T-rade, implied the pairs (bæt becat, væl’i, vææl, fæt fæcat, mat mææt, pæl pææl, Raædnur traced).

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

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

1 The words class, staff, demand, are pronounced with (aa, a, ah, aah, ø, ææ), by different careful speakers, and even (oh, oh) are in occasional use by others.
1685. Cooper seems to mark the beginning of a change which was not complete till the next century, and does not appear to be noticed by Miege or even Jones, for he gives two sounds to a long, generally (ææ) as I conjecture, and occasionally (ee). In this respect Cooper bears a resemblance to Hart, who anticipated the general pronunciation of ai as (ee) by a century. Cooper says:

"A formatur ad medio linguae ad concavum palati paululum elevato. In his can possum, pass by prætereo, a corriptur; in cust jaceo, past pro passed præteritus, producitur. Frequentissimus auditur hic sonus apud Anglos, qui semper hoc modo pronunciant a latinum; ut in amabam. Sic etiam apud Cambrobritannos; quandoquæ apud Gallos; ut in animal, demande, rarò autem aut nunquam apud Germanos. Hunc sonum corripitum & productum semper scribimus per a; at huic characteri præterea adhibentur sonus unus & alter: prior, qui pro vocali ejus longà habetur ut in cane, definitur sect. sequenti; posterior ut in was sect. septimà sub o gutturalém."

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

1 Misprint for jaccio?
2 Schmeller, Die Mundarten Bayerns, München 1821, Nos. 62. 66. Rapp, Physiologie der Sprache, passim. Lepsius, Standard Alphabet, London and Berlin, 1863, especially p. 50, where the English sounds are taken into consideration.
3 Mr. Blackie, the Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh, when lecturing on the pronunciation of Greek before the Royal Institution, 3rd May, 1867, said that it had been established by the researches of Seyffarth, Lisov, etc., that long a in Greek had the sound of Italian a in anare, that is, (aa). And then he immediately said, "the long a should always be pronounced like the English aw or au, as in cow, maul, etc.," that is, (aa). (Proceedings of the Royal Institution, vol. v. p. 149.) Here then we have a recent example of a lecturer upon pronunciation, confusing the two sounds(aa, AA). We must not expect our ancestors to have been much more particular.
it to the loss of the pure (aa, a) in refined English, and its separation into (AA) on the one hand, and (ææ, æ) on the other. To those accustomed to say (ææ, AA) the intermediates (aa, ad) would both be referred to (AA) rather than (ææ).

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

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

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

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

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<th>a brevis</th>
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<th>a exilis</th>
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<td>Bare nudis</td>
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<td>blast flatus</td>
<td>blazon divulgo</td>
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<td>carking anxietas</td>
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<td>carp carpo</td>
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<td>gash cesura</td>
<td>gasp oscito</td>
<td>gate janua</td>
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Here I interpret a brevis = (α), a longa = (ææ), a exilis = (EE), thus (beer, bæærdzh, beer), and in the last list I read (been beæøn, meæn meæøn, pleæøn) or (been bee'n), etc.

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

To understand this we must remember that English hat, cap, mad were never, and are not now, called (het, kep, med) but that Frenchmen, and even Germans, do not distinguish them from these sounds. Indeed the true sounds (hæt, kæp, mæd) only differ from the former by the widening of the pharyngal aperture. My own pronunciation of (α) has been constantly misunderstood, and considered as (e) or (ê). As to the long sound (ææ) it is now so little known in the East of England and on the continent, that it would be invariably taken for (EE) or (ee). When then Miège distinguishes Jane = Dgène (Dzheen) from grace = graice (gres, grees), we may feel pretty sure that, since in modern English (gres) is as difficult to English organs as (græes) would be to
French organs, the words containing $a$ to which he assigns $ai$
long and short, were really pronounced with ($aa$, $\alpha$).

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

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

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

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

From all these considerations I conclude that

$a$ short was ($\alpha$) very early in the xvi$\text{th}$ century, and
that it has retained that sound to this day, except in the
provinces, and also that $a$ long was generally ($\alpha\alpha$) from
at least the middle of the xvi$\text{th}$ century to its close,
although about the close it began to degenerate into ($ee$)
in many words. It is possible, however, that the sound
of ($aa$) may have remained unrecognized before $r$ when
not followed by a vowel, and even in several of those words, as bath, ask, grant, etc., because it may still be so heard in the xixth century.

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

*Venus and Adonis* v. 47, broken open, 134 voice juice, 419 young strong, 592 neck back, 773 nurse worse; and in *Lucrece* v. 13 beauties duties, 62 fight white, 72 field killed, 78 tongue wrong, 113 hither weather, 303 ward regard heard, 408 blue knew, 554 daily folly, *Sonnet 20* created defeated; *Lover’s Complaint* 302 matter water; *Passionate Pilgrim* 308 talk halt, nothing could be inferred. But when on looking through the whole of his poems (exclusive of his plays) I find only the following examples of long a rhyming to ai, *Venus* v. 271 mane again, 529 gait late, *Lucrece* v. 6, waist chaste, *Sonnet 128* state gait, of which gait and waist are modern forms for gate waste, so that there is only one real example left (mane again), we may safely conclude that Shakspere pronounced the sounds differently, that is, as I believe (aa, ai). When in the xvith century, a long and ai altered, as I think, to (ae, ai) and in the latter part of the century ai became (eei) or (ee), we may well expect to find these rhymes more abundant. In Milton’s rhymed poems I find only—


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

1 In *Merry Wives*, act i, sc. 3, l. 41 (Globe edn.) according to the old quarto of 1619, supposed to be the first sketch, we have the following orthography of waist: “Fal. Well my honest lads, I’ll tell you what I am about. Pis. Two yards and more. Fal. No gibes now Pistoll; indeed I am two yards in the waste, but now I am about no waste: briefly, I am about thrift you rogue you.” In the quarto of 1630 the two words are wasting, wasted. The Promptorium has “waste of a manny’s myd-dyl,” and Palsgrave “wast a myddle;” the word is not in Levins in this sense. In the same 4to. of 1630, act 1, sc. 4, l. 31 (Globe edn.) and act 3, sc. 3, l. 68, we have first “I should remember him, do’s hee not hold vp his head (as it were?) and strut in his gate?” and secondly “the firme fixture of thy foote, would give an excellent motion to thy gate in a semicircled farthingale.” I do not find the word in this sense in Promptorium, Palsgrave, or Levins.
cases of a similar kind. Dryden has 27 instances in his Fable of Palamon and Arcite alone, which belonged to the close of the xvith century.

Now (ææ) and (ee) are not very unlike, and before (x) it is difficult to distinguish them, as care, air (kææ, eæ), especially if the (ee) be deepened into (ee) as is sometimes done. Hence we must not be surprised that poets to whom, as Byron confesses

"sometimes
Monarchs are less imperious than rhymes,"

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

A — xvith Century.

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

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

1 The story that King James I., wishing to bestow the bishoprie of either Bath or Wells on a west country divine, asked him which he would have, and on being told Bath (Bææth), replied "Baith (beeth) say ye, then baith ye sall hae," and united the bishoprics, although it labours under the historical difficulty of uniting the sees 500 years after their union, serves to shew the near coincidence of the sounds.
orthography, which that you may the better do; always remember that the single a must end no English word; but if they will speak fine, yet be sure that you write true, by adding y, not da but day. Observe that tho' many times this Diphthong ai is parted in proper names, as Ja-ir, La-ish, Sepharva-im &c. yet i is usually swallowed up, in the sound of the forgoing a, especially when the word ends in ah as Benai-ah, Serai-ah &c. the i is not sounded."

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

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

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

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

This change of (a) into (e) has also occurred in French. Chevallet¹ says: "Le changement de a en é est fréquent dans le langage du peuple de Paris: . . . . dès le commencement

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

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

As a general rule the words in -alm, which Sheridan pronounced (-ææm), were according to him, called (-ãam) in Ireland, as (baam, saam, kwaam, kaam, kaaf) for balm, psalm, qualm, calm, calf, and this was a distinct xvii th century sound. In the following words, which he cites, there is sometimes an "overcorrection" of the kind above alluded to: gape, gather, catch, quash, clamour, wrath, wroth, farewell, squadron, were then pronounced in England (geæp, gædh-ær, kætsh, kwæsh, klaem-ær, ræth, ræth, færwel, skwad-ron) and in Ireland (geep, gedh-ær, kætsh, kwash, klaem-mær,
The received usage of the xix th century varies between the two, and may be taken as (geep, gœdh’r, kætsh, kwash, klæm’r, raath, raath, feer-wel’, skwiad’ron.)

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

E, EE, EA — xvith Century.

1530. Palsgrave says: "E in the frenche tong hath thre dyverse sowndes, for sometime they sownde hym lyke as we do in our tonge in these words, a beere, a beest a peere, a beene and suche lyke... The sowndyng of æ, which is most generally kepeth with them, is suche as we gyve to e in our tonge in these worde above rehersed, that is to say, lyke as the Italianes sounde e, or they with vs that pronounce the latine tonge aright: so that e in frenche hath neuer suche a sownde as we vse to gyue hym in these wordes, a bee suche as maketh honny, a beere to lay a deed corps on, a peere a make or felowe, and as we sounde dyuers of our pronownes endyng in e, as we, me, the, he, she, and suche lyke, for suche a kynde of soundynge both in frenche and latine, is allmoste the ryght pronun-
ciation of ë, as shall here after appere."

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

"Bee a flye... bee, beche tree... bech, beed of stone or wode... bead, beane corne... beane, befe meato... beece, beakyn fev au guet... beacon, beame of an house... beame, beare a he beest... beare, beere for deed men... beare, beest... beast, beatyng... beate, deede acto... deede, deed body... dead, deane of a church, defnesse lacke of heryng... deafe, demyng judging... deeme, derenesse chierté... deare, derlyng a man mignon... darling, eare of a man or beeste... eare, ease rest... case, easter a hye feest... easter feast, fanyng faincte... fain, feate of arms
feate, sedyling place . feede, folyng . feele, fearyng . fear, fisant
ceke faisant . fisant, feas . feast, fether plume . fether, gere cloth-
ing . geare, geomet a blake stone, heed pate or nob . head, hope of
money . heape, heate of body . heele, heele of the fote . heele,
helthe . healthy, heape a great quantite . heape, hear of the heed
cheuel . hevery, heree, a deed body . herse, heerynng a fysshe . herr-
ing, heerynng the place whereby we here oyve . heare, hert of any
beest over .. heartie, herthe of a chymney . herth, heate . heate,
hevyn . cieel . heaven, ileowey . jelouse, kepyng observation . keepe,
leche a surgion .. leche, leed a metall . leade, lees pasture, leafe of a
tree .. leafe, lefenesse chereté .. liefer, leafe two mile .. league, lea-
ting to .. leane, leke an herbe .. leceke, lenenesse maigreté .. leane, leps or
start sactivt .. leape, leane lycence .. leave, leven for bredde .. leven,
leuer to luyfte with .. lever, meale of meate . meale, meane of a
songe moyen .. meane, measure of two gallons .. measure, mede drinke,
mede rewarde .. meede, medowo felde .. medowe, mekenesse humilité ..
mekee, medo besoing .. neede, nedyll to sowe with .. needil, neare of
a beest roignon, nesyng with the nose esternuement .. sneeze, neatst
ledder corderayn .. peace .. peace, pees or parte of a thyng .. pece,
peache a frute .. peache, pescocce a byrde, peake of a ladyes mournyng
heede .. peake, peele of belles, pele for an oyvn .. peale, pereel a stone
.. pearle, pese frute poys .. pease, pesedode, queen lady .. queene, queane
garse .. queane, realme roiaulme, rede to playe or pype with .. rede,
reed herryng .. redde, reed breest a byrde .. brest, reedness roygevr,
redy money .. reddy, rele for yarne .. reele, reherser .. reherse, release
forgtvenesse, reame of paper .. reame, rare banket ralias, reverowarde of
men arriere garde .. reverwarde, resonnableness .. reasonable, reason ..
reason, season tyme .. season, see water mer .. sea, secolo charbon de
terre, sedo of herbes .. seede, sege before a castell .. sege, sekenesse
maladie .. sickness, seeke, sekyng or serchying .. seeke, seale a fysshe ..
seale, seame of sowyng .. seame, som to frye with sesyn de povreceau
[saindoux], semelynesse .. semely, see breame a fysshe, serch queynyre ..
seare, seate a place .. seate, teeching lerning .. teache, teidoussenes ..
tidious, teele a byrde plignon .. teale, tele a byrde plinget .. teale,
teme of a plough or oxen .. teame, teere of wepyng .. teare, tete,
pappe or dugge, a womans brest .. teate, teethe dens .. teellee,
flesshe .. veale, wode clothying .. weede, weke for candels .. weak,
wepynees flebesse .. wayk, woce a senyght .. wecke, welleth .. welth,
wepyng pleur .. weepe, were to take fysshe, werynesse or grefe ..
wearie, wesant the pype .. weysand, wesylt a beest .. wesyll, wepyng
frame .. weave, whele of a carte .. wheel .. whele corne .. wheate, yere
xii monethes .. yeare, yest or barme for ale, zelo love or frenshyp ..
zeele, Zealande a country.

This long list will shew that in Palsgrave's time no definite
rule had been laid down for the spelling of these words, and hence
the reader could not discriminate the sounds. It was not till
after the middle of the xvi th century that anything like a rule
appeared, and then ee was used for (ii), and ea for (ee). But
Levins shews that the rule was by no means consistently
applied so early as 1570. And even at a later period ea was often used for (e) the short vowel, and simple e often represented (ee) and sometimes perhaps, but not often, (ii). We often find hee, mee written like thee to give the full sound of (ii) and prevent the pronunciation (ee), which was given to the. The introduction of the difference ee, ea was therefore a phonetic device, intended to assist the reader. Great difficulty again arose as many words in ea came to be pronounced (ii) without any change being made in the spelling; and we find orthoepists obliged to give long lists of words with ea as (ee), as (e) and as (ii). If it had only been recognized that ea was a modern innovation, introduced with a phonetic purpose,1 writers and printers might not have hesitated to replace ea by e, ee in the two last cases. It is now perhaps too late to write feest, beest, reep, beem, etc., but there is no reason but habit against this spelling, and abundance of historical authority in its favour.

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

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

Brede bred (bred) panis, laddere lad-dr (lad'er), euermore efer-moer (ev'er-moer) in acternum, thondre thundr (thund'er), wondre wndr (und'er = wund'er), chese tsis (tshiiz) casus, frendes frinds

1 This was so little suspected that we find Wallis imagining that ea was properly pronounced as (eea) or (ee') "per e masculinum, adjuncto etiam si libet exilis a sono raptissimo pronun-
(frindz) amici, trees triys (trii\'iz) arbores, suflre suff'stre (suf\'er) sincere, gelding gelding (geld\'i\'q), GyLBERT Gilbert (Gil\'-bert), gynger tintsir (dzhin\'dzher) zinzier, beggynge begging (beg\'i\'q), egge eg (eg) ovum, jesu tresuw (Dzhec\'zyy), quene kwin (kwii\'n) regina, rent rent (rent), tresure tresuw (trez\'yyr) thesaurus, veluet vel\'vet (vel\-'vet) holosericum, vertue vertuw (ver\-'tyy), the dde (the), together with the Latin ego egu (eg\'u), Dei deei (dee\-'i).

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

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

1568. Smith, agreeing generally with Salesbury, calling the English e "e Latina," pronounces yet, yes (jit, jis), but gives also the pronunciation (jet, jes), though by introducing it with an "ali vocant," he clearly prefers the former.

1569. Hart says, describing this vowel: "The seconde with somewhat more closing the mouth," than for a, "thrusting softlye the inner part of the tongue to the inner and vpper great teeth, (or gummes for want of teeth) and is marked e." He writes (dheez) for these, and (mi\-'terz, niir) for metres, here. In 1580, Bullokar writes both (heer) and (niir) for here, and has also (siil\-'dum) for seldom.

1 Henry IV., part 1, act i., sc. 2, l. 65, Quarto 1613: "were it not heere apparent that thou art heire apparant," ought to have been pronounced (wer it
1621. Gill says, "E, breuis est hac formâ (e), vt in (net) rete: et longa sic, (ee), vt in (neet) neate. i. nitidus adiectiium: Substantiun neate significat omne genus bouum."

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

E, EE, EA.—xvth Century.

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

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

He however gives the exceptions near, dear, hear = (niir, diir, hiir). Wilkins has (ii'vil) for evil, but he writes Jesus as (Dzhee'ses), where the first (s) is probably a mere oversight for (z).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Sheridan, 1780, giving a list of Irishisms, notes (biird) as the Irish and (bærd) as the English pronunciation of beard. Most probably (bird) was at that time one of the mistakes made by Irishmen, who, wishing to imitate the English (ii) pronunciation of ea, carried it too far, as Sheridan points out in some other cases, (p. 92).
Fourth ea = a, which we have identified with (a), (p. 71), in heartles, hearten, hearth.

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

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

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<th>1</th>
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<tr>
<td>east</td>
<td>cane</td>
<td>weal</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>foale — need</td>
<td>fool</td>
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Now there can be little doubt that the series of short vowels in the upper line was meant for (e, e, i, a, u, a, i, u), although (e, a), may have been used for (e, o). Hence the long vowels should be (æe, ee, ii, AA, uu, —, ii, uu). The second may of course have been (EE), and the third may have been (ee) rather than (ii). The two sounds are closely enough allied for even a careful analyzer to confuse. In order to bring a Frenchman to the sound of (i) it is necessary to exaggerate the sound into (e). Persons endeavouring to prolong (i) are very apt to fall into (ee). Other orthoepists seem to have confused Cooper’s second long vowel with (æe) when it was spelt a as in cane, and with (ee) in other cases. It is to be remarked also that Cooper finds his second long vowel expressed by ea almost only before r. This rather points to (æe, EE, ee) as his first three vowels, which others reduced to two (æe, ee). There is no evidence, beyond Cooper, for (ii) occurring long, or (e) short, in English. The inference is that Cooper had either a peculiar pronunciation, or that vowel sounds appeared to him exact pairs, which do not so appear to us. He seems not to have been satisfied with the pair (ii, i), which is even now commonly adopted, and hence he tried to find (ii, i) in the English (need, meet), although he owns that in this case “minima datur differentia inter correptionem et productionem,” and indeed the difference is rather due to the consonants than to the vowels, the sonant (d) having a sound of its own in addition to the glide from (ii). Again he strove to find a proper long vowel to
(i), and, observing a difference then between weal and wear, corresponding to the modern difference between ail and air (eel, eea), he assumed that the finer sound was the real long of (i), and thus paired (ee, i). Acting upon this conclusion I shall transcribe Cooper's vowels accordingly. He seems, precisely in the same way, to have heard the difference (uu, u) and refusing to consider them as pairs, endeavoured to hear (u) in foot as distinct from fool and fall, and then, not finding the real long sound of his (u), took (oo) in fool as its nearest representative. This would reduce his vowel scale to the following, which I shall adopt in future citations.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
kæn kæn wæl fæl' fæl op mit fut
kææst kæen weel fael fool — niid fuul

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

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

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

Miege gives long e masculin, (ee), as the general pronunciation of ea, but says that the a counts for nothing in the following words, for which ea therefore = (e), beard, bread, breakfast, breath s., dealt, dearth, death, Earl, early, to earn, earnest, earth, feather, head, health, heard, hearken, hearth, heaven, heavy, leap, learn, leather, leaven, leaver, meadow, pageant, peasant, pillow-bear, potsheard, read "le Prétét et Participe," ready, realm, to rehearse, scarce, search, stead, stealth, threaten, treachery, tread, wealth, weather; of which beard,
leap, lever, pillow-beer, have now (ii). It is observable that he gives hearken to (e), and also that the vowel in breakfast was shortened at so early a period.

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

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

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

1) eke, *e're (ever), *e're (before), mere, rere, the, *there, these, *were, *where; glebe, Medes, mete, nepe, scene, scheme, sphere, Swede, Thebe, Theme.
3) "all Scripture names and proper names from other languages, as Belus, Jehu, Jesus, &c."
4) "all that begin with the sound of ce, de, e, per, pre, re, se."

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

1) the termination -cous.
2) initial be- as become, bedew, before, &c.
3) the six words, be, he, me, she, we, ye.
4) the ten words, chesel [chisel], crete, England, English, here, mere, metre, Peter, saltpetre, Twede.
5) the six words, Evan, Eve, Eveling, even, evening, evil. To which in another place he adds devil.1

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

1 Jones says that devil is "sounded de'il, are curious in connection with the dill sometimes." This, and the Scotch derivation of ilt from evil.
was most probably short (æ): Berks, clerk, eleven, Herbert, merchant, mercy, Owen, phrentick, verdict, yellow, etc.; of which phrentick has asserted itself in the orthography frantic; mercy, yellow, and sometimes verdict are known as vulgarisms; eleven, Herbert are now unknown, merchant is known as an archaism, and Berks, clerk are very common. This list seems to shew that Miege's service, bear, pear in which he makes e = ai French, had the same sound, especially as (saar'vis) is a well-known vulgarism at the present day.

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

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

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

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

appear dear mear¹ steam
arrear ear near team
beadle earwig read a tear
besmear fear sear¹ weary
blear-eyed gear shears yea³
cheer¹ hear spear year
clear instead² stead² yeast²

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

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

As if misfortune made the throne her seat,
And none could be unhappy but the great,
which Dr. Johnson in his Plan of a Dictionary in 1747 had
adduced to shew that great had sometimes the sound (griit), that Lord Chesterfield remarked it was "Undoubtedly a bad rhyme, tho' found in a great poet,"—an observation which shewed first that Lord Chesterfield did not know the pronunciation of English when Rowe was young, and secondly that he was so little aware of the habits of great poets (at least if he reckoned Shakspere and Dryden among them) that he looked to their greatness as a guarantee for the perfection of their rhymes. Now Rowe lived from 1673 to 1718. We may therefore expect to gather his pronunciation from Cooper, Miege, and Jones. The first gives (seet, greet), the rules of the others would imply (seet, greet). The rhyme was therefore perfect. While Pope's couplet, adduced by Johnson to shew the other sound of great,

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

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

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

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

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

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

4) Possibly regular rhymes owing to variety of pronunciation, (ii, ii); rear with fear appear, to bear with hear year tear s. hear appear spear, but also bear with heir hair fair were, and were with career spear appear; where with clear near, there with spear appear.
disappear clear fear; for we still hear were, where, there pronounced (with wiir dhiir) as vulgarisms;

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

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

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

E, EE, EA — xviii th Century.

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

Jones gives only 18 words out of the 28, (p. 86), in which he and preceding orthoepists allow ea to have the sound of (ii), resemblance between the vowels; thus Dryden could not have rhymed son with seen pain cane, or heat with coat, etc. Some even of the above may be referred to peculiar or archaic pronunciations, so that Dryden’s rhymes are not, properly speaking, the monsters of modern times, known as rhymes to the eye, as move love grove, has was gas, seat great, pour flour, changed hanged,

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

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

1 Besides the faulty rhymes named in the text the following have been noted: (ææ, λλ) prepare war, — (e, ææ) possess, place,—(æ, u) blood with good wood,—(u, λ) took, flock,—(u, oo) shook with broke spoke, poor with more swore ;—(æ, λ) strung wrong, return seern, turn born,—(λ, oo) lost with boast coast; god abode;—(o, au) won with town crown, son with crown, —(uu, au) swoon with drown’d sound. We also twice find (oo, am) none Absalom. Notwithstanding the diversity there is always some point of
59 others having short (e) and all the rest having long (ee) for ea. The orthographer only admits 4 words in which ea is sounded like a long, that is (ee); viz. bear s. and v., swear, tear v., wear; 3 words in which ea “is sounded like a short,” that is (e), viz. hearken, heart and its derivatives, hearth; but gives 95 examples of ea sounded as (e) short including beard; and then no less than 255 in which “ea is sounded ee or e long” that is (ii). This last list of ea = (ii), includes the words break, deaf, deafen, great, indeavour,—but endeavour is in the list of ea = (e),—leases, pear, shear, yea, yearn, in all of which, except shear which is often (shii), and yearn which is (jKnowledge), the old long (ee) is still preserved; and though (briik, griit) may still be heard from a very few, I have not been so fortunate as to hear (diiff, indii-vi, liisii; piiir, jii, jii-m). We can imagine a Gill of the period exclaiming again: “Non nostras hic voces habes, sed Mopsarum fictitias!” It is impossible to believe that this represented the generally-received pronunciation of the time.

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

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

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

° So pronounced by Dyche.
sometimes almost (bisweilen fast) as German i (ii), the words heap, heat, cheap, clean, clear.

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

Long e, serene sirin, editions idishons, religion rilidshon, idea sidia; — ea long, pleased piiz’d, stream strium, clear klir, meaning mimiq, easiest iiiziest, least liist, increasing inkriisiq, speaker spikor, readers ridors, to read riiid, dear diir; — greater greater greter; — ea short, heaven nev’n, already already already, I have read red, unlearned unlarn’d.

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

“Je vou’ lless’ a penser qelle graç aora l’e clos en se’ vocables mes, tes, ses, si nou’ l’y prononçons, come nou’ fezons en pere mere: e e come font je ne sey qels effeminez minons [N = (nj)] aueq vn pr’esqae clos reserrement de bouche: crenans a mon auis qe la voes virile de l’home ne sort point tant harmonieuze, ny aggrea’l’ ao’ dames q’une laçhe, forbl’ e femenine. Or quant a moe ie ne poursuy pas iey çete dollett’ [L = lj] e effeminée façon de parler: car je la less’ aoz amoureuz poursuyvant tant seulement çete jenerall’ e comune façon, qi sent son home, e qi et reçu’ entre le’ mieux appriz.”

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

“ιοχύντηται¹ autem illam magnopere affectant πυγοστόλοι²

¹ Printed ιοχύντην by an error, but corrected in the errata. All palatalisation or diminution of the lingual aperture in vowels produces this effect of meagreness, thinness of sound.
² This is an unusual word found in Hes. Op. 371, which Liddell says means “with a sweeping train,” as a parody of the Homeric ἐλκοσπενας, “if it be not rather lewd, lecherous.” The allusion is evidently to πυγή, and the word might be translated “wriggling,” as a mark of affectation.
nostræ Mopsæ qua quidem ita omnia attuqant, vt a et o, non aliter perhorrescere videantur quam Appius Claudius z. sic enim nostræ non enunt (laan) lauën, et (kaambrik) cambrie, sindonis species; sed (leen) et (keembräk); nec edunt (kaapn) capon caponom, sed (keepn) et ferè (kiipn); nec unquam (butsherz meet) butchers meas carnum à lanis, sed (bitsherz miit). Et quum sunt omnes (dzhintlimin) non (dzhentlwimen) gentlewomen, i.e. matronæ nobles, nec maids ancillas vocant (maidz) sed (meedz). Quod autem dixi de a, recanto; nam si quando δ gravistrepum audiretur, locum concedunt ipsis a, sic enim aliquoties ad me pippiunt (oi pre ja gii Jar skalerz liiv ta plee) pro (oi prai jou gib juer skolars leeve tu plai), I pray you give your scholars leave to play. Quæso concede tuis discipulis veniam ludendi.'

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

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

1 It would be difficult to find any authority for this piece of Latin. The English is mopsey, sluts, which may be related to mop, mope.
2 The pronunciation is an exact palaeotypic reproduction of Gill’s, and the ordinary spelling in italics is my addition throughout.
3 Both words require to be written with (l), or else to have (l) inserted after (l), as (dzhintlimen, dzhentliw, wi- men,) to avoid a pronunciation in three syllables.
4 This pipping, chirping effect is precisely that now produced upon our ears by the flunkey (Dzhiimz) of the present day, ignorant as we are of the effect that our pronunciation would have produced on our ancestors.
5 Probably an inaccuracy for (mu).
6 The old quotation δ ηλιθος δουηερ πρόβατον βη θη λέγον βαδιζει, does not absolutely establish (ee) or even (ee) as the sound. The latter is far more bleating, and Schmeller calls it that vowel which any lamb can teach us, “über den uns jedes Lämmechen belehren kann.” The well-known passage in Plato, Crat. c. 15, οῖν, οἱ μὲν ἄρχαιται ιμέραν τὴν ἡμέραν ἔκλαυν, only shews that some old people pronounced that particular word in that way.
into (ii),¹ and as the Latin me, te, se became the Italian mi, ti, si, so the English pronouns he, she, me, we, thee, as some of the commonest words, were the first which fell into (hii, shii, mii, dhii), having remained as (hee, shee, mee, dhee) to the close of the xiv th century.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English 1780</th>
<th>English, 1868</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cheerful</td>
<td>tshir'ful</td>
<td>tsher'ful</td>
<td>tshir'ful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fearful</td>
<td>fiir'ful</td>
<td>fersh'ful</td>
<td>fir'ful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beard</td>
<td>biird</td>
<td>bersh</td>
<td>biid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leisure</td>
<td>lezh'or</td>
<td>liiz'hor</td>
<td>lczh:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>search</td>
<td>seertsh</td>
<td>serstsh</td>
<td>sitsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenure</td>
<td>ten'jur</td>
<td>tii'njur</td>
<td>ten'iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenable</td>
<td>ten'aeb</td>
<td>tii'aeb</td>
<td>ten'aeb'l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Diez, Gram. der rom. Sprachen, 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 139, gives as examples, Italian Cornigia (Cornelia), Messina (Messene), sarracino (sarineus)—to which the initial di-, ri- and several others may be added.—Span. consigo (secum), venino (venenum); port. iso (sensus sesus).—Prov. berbitz (verveem), pouz (pullicenus), razim (racenus); sarraci. — French, brebis, cire (cera), marquis (marchensis), merci (mercedem), pris (prensus), poussin, raisin, tapis (tapetum), venin; old French, pais (pagsene, now pays), seine (sagen), ser (serenus). He also remarks on the same tendency in the old high German fira (fiaera), pina (Ital. pena), spisa (spesa), which have undergone another change in modern times, becoming Feier, Peine, Speise.
CHAP. III. § 3.  O, OO, OA — XVI TH CENTURY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>therefore</td>
<td>whirˈfʊr</td>
<td>wɛrˈfʊr</td>
<td>wheərˈfʊr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>therefore</td>
<td>dhirˈfʊr</td>
<td>dherˈfʊr</td>
<td>dheərˈfʊr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breadth</td>
<td>breetʃ</td>
<td>breetd</td>
<td>breetd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endeavour</td>
<td>endiˈvər</td>
<td>endeˈvər</td>
<td>endeˈvər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mischievous</td>
<td>mistr̥ʃiˈvəs</td>
<td>mistr̥ʃiˈvəs</td>
<td>mistr̥ʃiˈvəs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reach</td>
<td>retʃ</td>
<td>zelˈeʃ</td>
<td>zelˈet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zealous</td>
<td>ziiˈlæs</td>
<td>zelˈes</td>
<td>zelˈes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zealot</td>
<td>ziiˈlæt</td>
<td>zelˈet</td>
<td>zelˈet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

O, OO, OA — XVI TH CENTURY.

1530. Palsgrave says: “O in the frencche tong hath two diuers maners of soundynges, the soundyng of o, whiche is most generall with them, is lyke as we sounde o in these words in our tonge a boore, a soore, a coore, and suche lyke, that is to say, like as the Italians sounde o, or they with vs that sounde the latin tong aright.”

1567. Salesbury says: “O in Welsh is sounded according to the right sounding of it in Latin: eyther else as the sound of o is in these Englyshe wordes: a Doe, a Roe, a Toe: and o never soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these wordes of Englysh: to, do, too.” And again, 1547, speaking of English, he says: “O takes the sound of [Welsh] o (o) in some words, and in others the sound of w (uu); thus to, to, (too), digitus pedis; so, so, (soo), sic; two, tw, (tuu) duo; to, tw (tu) ad; schole, scwel, (skuul) schola . . . But two oo together are sounded like w in Welsh, as good gwod (guod) bonus; poore pur (puur) pauper.”

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Smock, horse, hop, sop, not, rob, bot, pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Smoke, hoarse, hope, soap, note, robe, boat, pope.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

¹ The two o's are united in one type as the o and e are in the type œ.
with superfluous letters." He illustrates the three sounds by the words.

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

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

1621. Gill gives as key words for his long and short o, "coale, to coll," and calls them o, e.

In endeavouring to discover what are the sounds intended, it is necessary first to examine what sounds of o exist. They are all round vowels, that is, the action of the lips with a tolerably round opening is necessary. The tongue must also not be much raised, or the sound falls into (u, u) or at least (uh) the Italian o chiúsò. At the same time the tongue must not be too much depressed, or the sounds become (a, o), the last of which is the modern English o in odd, which Mr. M. Bell considers to be a wide form of (A), and which is generally, though inaccurately, confounded with (A), just as (i) is usually confounded with (i). Hence we obtain two forms, by raising the back of the tongue to a mid position, and rounding the lips in a medium manner, namely (o, o), the latter being the wide of the former. In present English (o) only occurs as a long vowel, and in the south it usually has a faint sound of (u) after it, thus (hoom, hoo'vem) home, but this is unhistorical, except where a w is written; thus we may distinguish no, know as (noo, noou). The other sound (oo) is often heard long in provincial English as (hoom) home. Unaccustomed ears then confound it with (AA) or (o). The long sound (oo) is also sometimes heard from those London speakers who wish to prolong the sound of o in dog, cross, off, office, without degenerating into (daag, kraas, aaf, aaf'is), or being even so broad as (dooog, krees, oaf, oaf'is). It is also the sound now most esteemed in oar, glory, story, memorial,
once called, and still so called by elderly people, (oo’i, gloo’tri, stoo’ri, memoo’rivel), but now professedly called (ooi, gloorri, stooari, memooririel), the action of the glide from (oo) to (i) having resulted in widening the vowel.\(^1\) Mr. M. Bell recognizes two other sounds (oh, oh) related to (o, o) by being mixed instead of back vowels. The former he hears in the French *homme*, where I hear (o), and the latter in the American *stone*, where I hear (o). The sounds are unusual to English ears, and it will be unnecessary to distinguish (o, oh) or (o, oh) for any purpose in this treatise. Generally (ston) is heard as (sten), which is the modern English form in such phrases as *to weigh twelve stone* (tu weei twelv ston). The sound (hol) for (hool) *whole*, is by no means uncommon, although most persons hear it as (hol), and it is imitated by writing “the hull of a thing.”

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

\(^1\) Of course this sound degenerates into (oo) or (aa), so that (glaa’ri) or even (dlaarri) may often be heard in London. I have heard clergymen, who, anxious to correct this, say (glooa’ri), without any (i), the effect of which was decidedly unpleasant.
My own impression, after considerable thought on the subject, though it would be difficult to enumerate all the reasons which have led me to this conclusion, is, that (oo, o) must be considered as the normal sound, intermediate to (a) and (u); and that (o, u) are felt as approximations towards (u), and (o, a) as approximations towards (a). To me the Italian sounds o chiuso and o aperto, close and open o, are respectively (uh, o), the former coming from Latin u, the latter from Latin o. The regular short German and French o I also consider to be (o). To shew however the ease with which sounds so near may be confused, I may mention that Mr. Melville Bell in taking down sounds from my dictation, heard my (o, on) as (oh, un).  

I shall assume as at least most likely that (oo, o) was the original sound of long and short o previous to the xvth century, but that (oo) inclining often towards (u) had become (uu) in many words in the xvth century, other words retaining the pure (oo).  

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

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

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

2 In the examination of Chaucer’s pronunciation I shall endeavour to shew that in his time the sound of o had not split into two, although I think that o was written not unfrequently for an original (u).
boone, bourage herbe, boore beest.. bore, boorde for buyling.. boord. borde cloth nappo.. borde, boorder that gothe to borde.. border, boster nantevr, botte to Rowe in bateav.. bote, boty that man of warre take.. booty, botlar.. butler, bottrras.. buttresse, bottrye.. butterie, boote of leth.. boote, boote.. boote, bulyon in a woman's girdle, bokes of clothes, cloke a garment.. cloke, coke that selleth meatte.. cooke, cole, of fyre.. cole, coupe [coop], core of frute.. core, corse a deed body.. corse, courser of horses.. course, cosyn kynsmen.. cousin, costes charge.. coste, cost of a countre.. coaste, cote a byrde.. cote, cote for a ladde.. cote, cover.. cover, couple.. couple, course.. course,1 doo a beest.. doe, dokelyng.. duckling,2 dole.. doole, dome jugement.. doome, dong hyll.. dungil, dore a gate.. door, doublet, dove.. doove, dout.. doubt, sole.. sole, sole a colte.. sole, soone.. fome, foo.. foo, forowe.. furrowe, fote.. fote, fould for shepe.. fould, foul.. foule, good.. good, gold.. gold to a metall.. golden, goule of corne, so meche as may lye bytwene two postes, otherwhyse a baye.. gulfe, gode for a carter.. gode, gode of a smock.. gore, gose a foule.. goose, gosberry.. gooseberrie, goost.. ghoste, gote a beest.. gote, gottesmylke, grole.. groome, grole money.. grote, hode.. hode, hoke.. hoke, hole.. hole, holy.. holy, hony.. honye, hony combe, hony-suckell.. hony suckle, hor.. whor.. hope.. hope, hote house.. hote, horse a beest.. horse, hoorsnesse of the throte.. horse, host of men.. hoste, hose for ones legges.. hose, houpe [hoop], ionkette.. junkets, iouse.. iuce, lode.. lode [load], lote of bredde.. lote, lode.. loke, lop.. lome [loam], losyng perdition.. lose, love.. loved, mole moule a beest.. moule, moleyne an herbe, molet a fysshe.. mullet, moone a planet.. moone, moneth.. month, mode in a verbe.. moode, more a fen.. moore, mole a dytche.. mote, mote in the sonne.. mote, moton [mutton], moultiutde.. multitude, mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould.. mould..
tooth, \textit{vout} under the ground \ldots valte, \textit{woode} \[\text{[woad]}\] \ldots woodwasse, \textit{wood} or tre that is fallen \ldots \textit{wood}, \textit{woodnesse} rage \ldots \textit{woode}, \textit{wolfe} \ldots wolfish, \textit{woman} \ldots woman, \textit{wombe}, \textit{wonders} \ldots \textit{wonder}, \textit{wo} sorowe \ldots woe."

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

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

1) \textit{son}, upon, boz'um, koorn, klaos.
2) \textit{sun}, ut, boz'um, kum.
3) luuked, tuuk, buuk, suun.

The pronunciation (\textit{son}) is however peculiar. Smith gives (\textit{sun}). Where direct authority cannot be obtained it is extremely difficult to distinguish which of these sounds should be given to \textit{o} in any words of the \textit{xvi}th century. Generally we may conclude that the \textit{o}, \textit{oa},—not the \textit{ow},—which is now (\textit{oo}) or (\textit{oou}) was then (oo), being the old sound but very slightly altered; what is now (\textit{uu}) it is not so safe to conclude was then (\textit{uu}) unless in the course of the century we find the spelling \textit{oo} adopted. What is now (\textit{o}) was pretty certainly (\textit{o}) at that time, being almost the old sound preserved. But it is not quite so certain that what is now (\textit{e}) was formerly (\textit{u}), for some of these may have been (\textit{o}), or both sounds may have prevailed, thus Bullokar and Smith differ respecting \textit{son}, and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{noon}, \textit{oon}.
\end{itemize}

It is also very probable that many \textit{o} represented (\textit{u}) even as early as Chaucer's time. The following cases of \textit{o}, \textit{oo}, \textit{oa} = (\textit{u}) or (\textit{uu}) are taken from the authorities for this century.

\begin{itemize}
\item above \textit{cook} \hspace{1cm} \textit{hood} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ooze} \hspace{1cm} \textit{some} \hspace{1cm} \textit{two} \hspace{1cm} \textit{wood}
\item afford \textit{cool} \hspace{1cm} \textit{hoof} \hspace{1cm} \textit{other} \hspace{1cm} \textit{soon} \hspace{1cm} \textit{whom} \hspace{1cm} \textit{woof}
\item among \textit{coot} \hspace{1cm} \textit{hoop} \hspace{1cm} \textit{pool} \hspace{1cm} \textit{soothe} \hspace{1cm} \textit{whoop} \hspace{1cm} \textit{wool}
\item blood \textit{cover} \hspace{1cm} \textit{loof} \hspace{1cm} \textit{poor} \hspace{1cm} \textit{stood} \hspace{1cm} \textit{whore} \hspace{1cm} \textit{Worcester}
\item board \textit{do} \hspace{1cm} \textit{look} \hspace{1cm} \textit{prove} \hspace{1cm} \textit{stool} \hspace{1cm} \textit{wolf} \hspace{1cm} \textit{word}
\item bombast \textit{done} \hspace{1cm} \textit{loose} \hspace{1cm} \textit{rook} \hspace{1cm} \textit{sword} \hspace{1cm} \textit{womb} \hspace{1cm} \textit{work}
\item book \textit{food} \hspace{1cm} \textit{loving} \hspace{1cm} \textit{room} \hspace{1cm} \textit{thorough} \hspace{1cm} \textit{woman} \hspace{1cm} \textit{worm}
\item boot \textit{foot} \hspace{1cm} \textit{mood} \hspace{1cm} \textit{root} \hspace{1cm} \textit{to} \hspace{1cm} \textit{won} \hspace{1cm} \textit{worship}
\item brood \textit{forth} \hspace{1cm} \textit{mother} \hspace{1cm} \textit{shoe} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ton} \hspace{1cm} \textit{wonder} \hspace{1cm} \textit{worst}
\item broom \textit{good} \hspace{1cm} \textit{mouth} \hspace{1cm} \textit{shovel} \hspace{1cm} \textit{too} \hspace{1cm} \textit{wont} \hspace{1cm} \textit{worth}
\item eome \textit{goose} \hspace{1cm} \textit{move} \hspace{1cm} \textit{smother} \hspace{1cm} \textit{took} \hspace{1cm} \textit{woo} \hspace{1cm} \textit{wost}
\item conjurer \textit{government} \hspace{1cm} \hspace{1cm} \hspace{1cm}
\end{itemize}

To these Shakspere authorises the addition of \textit{Rome}.

\footnote{Julius Caesar act i. sc. 2, v. 156:—
\begin{quote}
Now is it \textit{Rome} indeed, and \textit{Rome} enough
When there is in it but one onely man.
\end{quote}}
The following are all the words containing o which Salesbury adduces, leaving ou, ow, oi, ol to be considered hereafter.

God God (God); condition condition (kondi's'un); evermore evermore (ev'er-moor); 2 Thondre thondr (thun'der), Wondre wondr (wun'der); 2 Hope hoop (hoop); oranges orintsys (or'eindzhis), pole pol (fuul); holy holi (ho'li, hol'i), 3 honest onest (on'est); honour oron (on'or); exhibition esebisius (eksisbi'si'un); prohibition prohibi-sioun (proo,ibisi'un); John tsion, sion (Dzho'n); boke buk (buuk); to, to (too) meaning a toe; so so (soo); two tw (tuu), to to (tu) the preposition; schole slo (skuul); good, gud (gud); poore pur (puur); ros ros (rooz) a rose, season seeysyn (seez'in); top top (top); Thomas tomas (Tom'as); throno trwn (truun); oxe oes (oks).

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

O, OO, OA — xvii th Century.

1653. Wallis says of the guttural vowels "a 6 aperta: Si aperturâ majori seu pleno rictu spiritus exeat, formatur Germanorum d vel 6 apertum. Neque Germani solum sed et Galli, aliique non patrei, eodem sono suum a plerumque proferunt. Angli sonum illum correpturn per 6 breue; productum verò plerumque per au vel au, rarius per d exprimunt. Nam in fall, folly; wall, haul, holly; dull, collar; lawes, losse; cause, cost; aw'd, odd; saw'd, sod; alisque similibus; idem prorsus Vocalium sonus auditur in primis syllabis, nisi quòd illic prodecutur his corripiatur. Atque hinc est quod Hebraei suum camets longum, et camets breve seu camets chatu ph, (hoc est, nostrum ã apertum et ã breve,) eodem charactere scribunt. Nam eorum ì and ì non aliter differunt qua nostrum ì and colll.

" rotating. Majori labiorum apertura formatur 6 rotundum; quo sono plerique proferunt Graecorum o. Hoc sono Galli plerumque proferunt suum au. Angli ita fere semper proferunt o productum vel etiam œ (ipso a nimirum nune dierum quasi evanescente; de quo idem hic judicium ferendum est ac suprà de œ 4): Ut, one, 1 The inserted w is perplexing, it should give the sound (moo), and Price uses wo to indicate (mu). But Smith pronounced (moo).

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

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

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

5 The Oxford reprint has ò in each case, which is erroneous.

6 We have seen that the a was never pronounced in either case; that it was a mere orthographical device.
unus; none, nullus; whole, totus; hole foramen; coal, carbo; boat, cymba; oat, arena; those, illi; chose, eligi; etc. At ubi o breve est, ut plurimum per σ apertum (de quo supra) rarius per o rotundum pronunciatur.

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

"Nonnunquam o & ou negligentius pronunciantes codem sono" ο ο obscure = (ο), "efferunt, ut in come, venio; some, aliquis; done, actum; company, consortium; country, rus; couple, par; covet, concupisco; love, amo; aliisque aliquot; que aliquo tamen sono rectius proferri debent."

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

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but he also gives amongst as containing (εο).

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

Price also says: "ο after w, soundes like short u, (ο) as world, *sword, *woman, won, except, o, soundes, ce, in women, and o long in wo, wore, woke," (sword, wem′un) are uncommon. Then follows a long list of final om, on sounded as as (em, οn), including some words in which the sound is now ('n).

1 The French distinguish two sounds of o, the close au and the open o, which to my ears sound as (ο, ο).
2 As regards prove, it is an ancient university story of the late Prof. Vince, of Cambridge, that he used to say: "If a man say I lie, I say (prav) it; if he (prav) it, then I lie; if he don't (prav) it, then he lies, and there's an end on't."
“O, soundes like (woo) oo in *Rome, do, shoe, cuckoo, *go, *hord, mushroom, undo, who, *whore.” (Ruum) we have seen was heard in Shakspeare’s time, and may still occasionally be heard; (guu) is mentioned by Wallis in terms of disapproval; (huurd) may be classed with (afuurd) afford; and mushroom has changed its spelling.

Price makes oo the long o, (oo), and oo generally “like woo” (uu), but “like u” (o) in good, wool, hood, wood, stood.

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

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

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

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

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

2 This is boar, the animal, not boar called woo (uu), the same as oo.
hood, brotherhood, sisterhood, neighbourhood, falsehood, soot, stood, wood, wool. The exceptions damosel, women (dæm'zel, wim'en) are noted. After giving examples of oo as (oo), which are often written with o-e, he says, as cloak, cloke, he admits the sound of (aa), as now usual, in abroad, broad, growt.

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

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

In the xvii th century then the change from (oo, o) into (oo, ə) or (oo, o) was complete; a few more of the (oo) had advanced into (uu), more indeed than those which maintained their position, and those formerly heard as (u) or (u) had become (ə), a change to be considered under U.
During the xviii th century the change in the use of these letters as just described, was so slight that it will be quite unnecessary to enter into many particulars. It will be sufficient to note some examples, chiefly of exceptions to the general rule that o long and ao = (oo), o short = (o) or (ʌ), and oo long and short = (uu, u), or of exceptions to the preceding exceptions to this rule.

1704. The Expert Orthoggraphist gives oo in flood, blood, a word, work, world, worm, worry, worship, worse-st, worsted, worst, and worth; and in approve, behove, move, prove, remove, reprove; but like short u (o) in dove, glove, love, cover, cove, groveling.” He admits oa to be a mode of lengthening o, but says “oa in abroad, broad, and groat, have a peculiar broad sound” without saying that it is the same as au (AA), and “oa sounds ai in goal pronounced jail, (dzheel).”

1766. Buchanan writes London Lon·ən, won won, lot lot; dost dost, work work, worship war·ship, woman wom·in, women win·in, wonder wən·dər, mouth məʊθ, money mən·i, son sən; twopence təp·əns, politroon pol·trən, forth fərθ; globe gloob, robe roob, whole whəʊl; who huu, do duu, tomb tuum, gold guld, Rome Ruum; move muuv, one wən, once wəns, only oən·li; come kom; soap soop, broad brood, oats oots; loath ləθ, groat, greət.

1768. Franklin has of av, bosom bəz·əm, compared kam·pərd, other aðær, government government, London Lən·dən; only oon·li, spoke spook, wrote root, some səm, one wən, once wəns, to too, in which will be found some uses different from Buchanan’s.

1780. Sheridan notes the Irishisms: (duur) door, (fluur) floor, (kuurs) both coarse and course, (stroʊ) strove, (drəʊ) drove, (rəd) rode, (stroʊd) strode, (shoon) shone, (fət) foot, which he says were pronounced in England (door, floor, koərs, stroʊv, droʊv, rəʊd, strəd, shən, fət). Most of these Irishisms are clearly, all of them are probably, as usual, remnants of the xvii th century.
Y, I, IE — XVIth Century.

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

**Table Shewing the Introduction of IE for E, EE.**

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

\(^1\) In MSS. *y* was not unfrequently used even for the personal pronoun in the xvth century and earlier.
will shew the corresponding spellings in the Promptorium 1440, Palsgrave 1530, and Levis 1570, and Minshew 1617; the spellings in parenthesis in Minshew's column, are spellings which he recognizes and gives in cross references, but the other spellings are those under which he explains the words. It will be seen that Minshew's book shews the exact period of the transition, when generally both spellings were sufficiently known to require notice, but one was decidedly preferred by the author, and that one was only occasionally ie. The French niéce, piéce, fier, siége and occasionally chief may have influenced some words, but others, as believe, bier, friend, field, lief, thief, yield, seem to have no reason, either in sound or etymology, for this curious change of custom in spelling. For our present purpose, then, we may dismiss ie, considering it, in the middle of words, as a fanciful variation of ee and having precisely the same value (ii) towards the close of the xvi th century, and, at the end of words as an archaism for y, having the same sound (i).

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

1 The word pierce seems to have retained the spelling perse, and the corresponding pronunciation to a later time. We still write Percy, and Peirce is called (Peas) or (Pas) in America. In Love's Labour Lost, Act iv. sc. 2. l. 83, 1623, Comedies p. 132, we find "Master Person, quaii Person? And if one should be perst, Which is the one?" which indicates the pronunciation (Master Person, kwaasii "Pers-oort"? And if "oon" should be "perst," whish iz dhe "oon")?

2 Mr. Melville Bell says in a private letter, that the sound of the short "(i) for i is very common, as in give = (gi), gied, gien, gie's [derivatives], whig, wig, big [to build], build, -er, built [often bilt] king-dom, wick, gig, gingham, widow, Britain, finish, who, etc." In such words the Englishman hears the long (ii). This is a point which will have to be considered hereafter. See especially the examples of Scotch pronunciation in Chap. XI. § 4.
in the French et, and English day, (dei, deeci), and (e) in the Scotch ill, English ailment (el ceil'ment) and English air (ea), and also in my own pronunciation of the English ell, whereas he supposes the true sounds of English men, man to be (men, man) and to differ precisely as (i, i). My own pronunciation of man he finds frequently the same as his pronunciation of men, so that to him I pronounce men, man as (men, men). To me (e) is a much deeper sound than (e, e) and is heard in the French même, German spräche (meeem', shpreekh'e). This discussion will serve to shew the nature of the difference (i, i), and the ease with which they may be confounded. Almost every Englishman pronounces French il as English ill (il), and almost every Frenchman pronounces English ill as French il (il), French tile, English eel being identically (ill). Now the true long sound of (i) is not an acknowledged sound in our language, although in frequent use among such singers as refuse so say happen, steal, eel, when they have to lengthen happy, still, ill.1 They say (hæp'iII, stil, ill) although some may prefer (stIrll, ill) which has a bad effect. Where the long sound of (i) might be expected, we get the long i, to be presently noticed. Hence most of those who examined sounds, as Wallis, naturally paired (ii), whose short sound was absent, and (i) which was without a long sound, and probably did not hear the difference,2 though Sir Thomas Smith could find no short sound for (ii) in the English language.3 What we have to conclude from this is, that because ee long and i short are represented generally by the same character, with or without a mark of prolongation, by orthoepists, it by no means follows that they had the same sound. My own belief is that short i was (i) from the

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1 This was remarked by Dr. Young, Lectures on Natural Philosophy, 4to, vol. ii, p. 277: "When lip is lengthened in singing it does not become leap." Observe the singing of "still so gently o'er me stealing," which becomes (stIr so dzheent'il' ooar mII stIr'il'eq.) Dryden's line, from his Veni Creator, "And make us temples worthy thee," is well adapted to render the difference of the vowels in (-dhi dhii) sensible.

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

3 See p. 112. Cooper, as we have seen (p. 83), forms an exception; he appears to pair (ee, i), and certainly does not pair (ii, i).
earliest times to the present day. Against this supposition must be placed the facts that, as already pointed out, short (i) is not at all unfrequent in Scotland, and was apparently recognized in English in 1701 by Jones, a Welshman, and 1766 by Buchanan, a Scotchman, and also that in Ireland final -y, which is in England (-i), is invariably (-i). The Irish English generally representing a xvii th century English pronunciation, there is a possibility of (i) having been somewhat common in England during the end of the xvii th and beginning of the xvi th centuries, a period of English pronunciation remarkable for a tendency to thinness of sound. The true long vowel (ii) will come under consideration again in the next Chapter under I, Y, when the importance of the preceding discussion will more clearly appear.

As to long i in English at present, it is without doubt, a diphthong, and has been generally recognized as such from early times. But orthoepists are not agreed as to the nature of its first element, and this becomes an important consideration. The Italians and French only approach the sound of our long i very loosely, in the Italian words daino, laido, zaino, and the French paien, faience. These may be more properly written (daa′ino, laa′ido, tsaa′ino; paiiea, faiaas), so that in the Italian the first element, in the French the second element is lengthened. In Germany the sound written ei, ey, ai, ay is intended to be (ai), although these diphthongs are very variously pronounced. Rapp gives the literary high varieties (ai, oi, ei, ei) and Schmeller notices the Bavarian dialectic varieties (a, ai, ei, e, ei, ei, ii).1 The different Scotch sounds of long i will be fully considered in Chapter IV. § 2, under I. In England we have only one recognized pronunciation of i long, but we have also two recognized sounds which may be heard in Isaijah, or in the usual English pronunciation of χαιρ, and the distinction is, or used to be, strongly insisted on at Eton. The second of these sounds, the English pronunciation of the Greek au, is (ai). What is the first? Knowles,2 following Sheridan, says it is (A), the only difference between i long and oy consisting in the brevity with which the first element is dwelt upon in the first sound. This is an Irishism no doubt, although he is closely followed by Haldeman,3 who makes

2 James Knowles, Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language, founded on a correct development of the nature, the number, and the various properties of all its simple and compound sounds, as combined into syllables and words. London, 1847, 8vo.
3 Analytic Orthography, § 106, 400. and examples § 602, 610.
the first element (a), and identifies English long i with the German ei, of which Schmeller makes the first element (a). Mr. Melville Bell identifies the first element of his pronunciation of English long i with (a). The first element of my pronunciation of the German ai he considers to be (ah), a sound that I can only with difficulty distinguish from (a), as I am apt to labialise (a) in speaking. But in unaccented syllables he makes the first element of his pronunciation of long i to be (ah). This was the element he recognized in my own pronunciation of this diphthong in all cases. Many Londoners certainly use (æ) as the first element. Again, Wilkins and Franklin call the first element (e). And Smart making the first element ur without sounding the r must mean (ο). The second element is of course the glide, and the last element (or second as it is usually called) is the vowel (i) or (i), very often the latter I believe in English. Mr. Bell only recognizes the glide, 5e (see p. 15), that is, the glide to the (a) position. According to the mode of writing diphthongs which I adopt I must give (i) or (i) as the final element, leaving the glide to be denoted by juxtaposition. Hence we have the following

**Analyses of English long I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheridan and Knowles</th>
<th>(ai)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haldeman</td>
<td>(ai)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walker and Melville Bell</td>
<td>(ai) accented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melville Bell</td>
<td>(ahi) unaccented.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Londoners</td>
<td>(æi)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scotch</td>
<td>(ei, ei, i, a, ai, ohi)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkins and Franklin</td>
<td>(oi)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallis and Smart</td>
<td>(æi)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Now this being the sound of the personal pronoun, is heard every day and constantly; but after competent orthoepists have carefully examined it, they are unable to agree as to its analysis. One reason is of course a real difference of pronunciation, but another appears to be that the first element is pronounced with extreme brevity, so that in British speech it is not sufficiently heard as distinct from the following glide. In endeavouring therefore to fix it, different observers either begin far back in the scale of distinct vowels, or catch the sound closer and closer to (i). Thus it may be that the whole series of sounds (o-øhaa-ahæi) may be heard in this diphthong, all gliding into each other with immense rapidity. Again the first element being so indistinct, others, as Wilkins and Franklin, or Wallis and Smart, take refuge in one of the colourless sounds as (œ, ø).
Now I hear the vowel (a) very clearly in (ai) as in the Etonian pronunciation of χαιρε; but I cannot hear it in the Etonian pronunciation of χελφ, nor I do hear an (e) there. I therefore prefer to represent the English i long, the Etonian pronunciation of Greek ei by (ei), and the English aye, yes, the Etonian pronunciation of the Greek ας by (ai). The preceding discussion will apply, as to the first element, to the present pronunciation of ow in now, how, cow.

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

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

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

"If i be the first letter in a frenche worde or the laste, he shall in those two places be sounded lyke as we do this letter y, in these words with vs, by and by, a spye, a flye, awry, and suche other: in whiche places in those frenche bokes, as be diligently imprinted, they vse to writtte this letter y: but whether the frenche worde be written with i or y, in these two places he shall be sounded, as I have shewed here in this rule, as in ymage, conuerty, ydole, estourdy, in whiche the y hath suche sounde, as we wolde give him in our tong."
This sound, whatever it was, must be distinct from the other sound of \( i \). Now as Palsgrave noways describes the sound, or hints at its being a diphthong, we can do nothing but refer to Meigret 1550, who writes: "je vi, oi, aosi, j'ey báti, je báti ou báris" with precisely the same sign as he uses in "Louis Meigret, Lioonees." Perhaps Palsgrave would rejoin: "true, but he was a Lyonnais; I give the Parisian pronunciation." In the mean time we are not assisted towards Palsgrave's own pronunciation of the English "by and by, a spyre, a flye, awry."° What follows is as perplexing:—

"For as moche as \( v \) and \( i \) come often together in the frenche tonge, where as the \( v \) hath with them his distinct sounde, and the \( i \) is sounded shortly & confusely, whiche is the propretie of a diphthonge. I reken \( vi \) also among the diphthonges in the frenche tong, whiche whan they come together, shall haue suche a sounde in frenche wordes, as we gyue hym in these wordes in our tong, a swyne, I dwyne, I twyne, so that these wordes agysere, agvyllbon, condvyre, dedvyre, aviourdhey, meshey, and all suche shall sounde theyr \( v \) and \( i \) shortly together, as we do in our tong in the words I have gyven example of, and nat eche of them distinctly by hymself, as we of our tong be inclined to sound them, whiche wolde rather say aviourdhey, dedvyt, saucondvyt, gyuynge both to \( v \) and \( i \) theyr distinct sounde, than to sounde them as the frenche men do in dede, which say aviourdhey, dedvyt, saucondvyt, soundyng them both shortly together, and so of all suche other."

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

1 It deserves however to be recorded that Gill writes (en'emoiz), not (en'emi), and has at least once (sim'adzhes), although on another occasion he writes (im'adzhi) so that the former may be a misprint. The God save the king of James the First's time has: "O Lord our God arise, Scatter his enemies," giving (en'emoiz), if the rhyme is to be preserved, though in modern practice we sacrifice the rhyme and often sing (en'imiiz).
the recognized pronunciation at that time was (ou), yet the example of Bullokar (pp. 94, 98,) shews that there were still many who preferred the (uu) sound. In the same way perhaps both Palsgrave and Bullokar preserved the (ii) sound of long i, usual in the xiv th century, notwithstanding the general adoption of (ei). The new (oi, ou) and the old (ii, uu) stand precisely on the same ground, and therefore I am inclined to think that Palsgrave and Bullokar said (ii), as distinct from (ii). Further reference to this curious retention of an old sound will have to be made in the next chapter under I.

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

I ei (ei), Wyne vein (vein), Wyne wein (wein); Dyches deitsys (deitshyz); Thyne ddein (dhein); Signes seins (seinz); Latin dico deicu (deikyu), Tibi teibeii (tei·bei), Dei Dceii (Dcei'), qui quei (kwiei).

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

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

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

As to the short i, he identifies it with Welsh y, considering the latter the especial sound. He also says that Welsh u "soundeth as the vulgar English people sound it in these words of English, trust, bury, busy, Huberden." I think that he cannot point to any other sound but (i), supposing the true Welsh to be (y), a sound which Mr. Melville Bell hears in the unaccented syllables: the houses, (dhy hauz·yz) as he would write the sounds. The difference between (i, y) is very slight indeed. In practice Salesbury is not very precise,
as may be seen by the following list of words in which short \( i \) occurs, but his theory leads me to adopt (\( i \)) as the true sound of English short \( i \) in his time.\(^1\)

God be with you God bivio (God bii'wi,o), graciously grasias (graa'si,us), condicyon condyswun ( kondis'i,un), twinkl twinkl (twig'k'l), wyncle winkl (wrig'k'l), kynges kings (kiqz), gelding gelding (geld'iq); Gilbert, Gilbert (Gil'bert), eyner tsintair (dzhe'zhir), beggynee, begging (beg'iq); hol(l), holy (hoo'li, hol'l); exhibition ecsibision (eksibis'i,un); prohibition, proibision (proo,-ibis'ion); lily lili (lil'i), lady ladi (laa'di); papyr papyr (pa'a'par), righth richt (rikht); thystle, thystl (this'tl); this days (dhis); busy busi (bizi'); wynne wynne (win'); thynne thynn (thin'); knyzt knicht (knikt).

1568. Sir T. Smith says: "I Latina, quae per se prolata, apud nos tantum valet quantum Latine, ego, aut oculus, aut etiam," by which I understand that the three words \( I, \) eye, aye had the same sound, precisely as we are told by Shakspere, Romeo and Juliet, Act iii, Sc. 2, v. 45, (I quote from Steevens' reprint of the quarto of 1609, which agrees in this passage with the folio of 1623; the lines do not occur in the quarto of 1597):

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

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

"Quid autem fiet ubi sonus invenitur quem neque Graeci, neque Latini habucrunt, praevertim cum omnes eorum littere in similibus eorum sonis fuerunt absurptae? Ecce autem sonum Anglorum et Scotorum alium diversumque ab omnibus his,\(^2\) qui nec \( e \) (ee) nec \( i \) (ei) reddit auribus, sed quoddam medium, et tamen simplex est, literaque debet dici: est autem semper feré longa."

His examples are me, see, meet, deep, steep, feel, feet, sheep, queen, mean,\(^3\) seek, she, week, leek, beef, neese, bee apecs,

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

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

\(^3\) "Intelligere." Qu. mien, vultus?
whence, through Salesbury and Palsgrave, we know that the sound was (ii). Smith therefore recognized no short (i) in English. The sound of his i short must therefore have been different from (i), that is, as I believe (i), agreeing with Salesbury.

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

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

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

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

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

This "flat e," was undoubtedly (ee), and the "sharpe e" was (ii). The "old name of e" is therefore (ee), and the "sharpe" sound of e, or (ii) is said to lie between (ee) and the name of i, that is, its long sound, whatever that may be. Now we have seen that Smith says that (ii) is "quoddam medium," between (ee) and (ei), so that we need not expect
more precision in Bullokar, and although it is really nonsense to say that (ii) lies between (ee) and (ei), since (ei) is compounded of (ee) and (ii), yet as Smith actually said so, Bullokar may have meant the same. But Bullokar constantly neglects to write the acute accent, his sign of prolongation, over i. Thus he has *cöntrix*, *cöntrix* in successive lines. Again he always writes *wrýthu* = written with a long y, and it would be difficult to believe that even a pedantic theorist ever said (rweit’n). Gill writes (wrıt’n). If however we suppose that Bullokar, as well as Palsgrave, pronounced long i as (ii) and short i as (i), all difficulty arising from this source would disappear. And although the statement that (ii) lies between (ee) and (ii) is not so correct as that (ii) lies between (ee) and (ii), yet it is not at all extravagant for a phonetist of that time. If, as will appear in the next chapter, (ii, uu) were probably the xivth century pronunciations of long i and ou, then the retention of (ii) by Bullokar and Palsgrave will be precisely parallel to their undoubted retention of (uu), and would have precisely the same archaic effect in the midst of the general (ei, ou) as (oblɪidzh’, griit, briik) have at the present day amidst the usual (oblɪidzh’, greet, breék). The whole subject will be properly discussed in the next chapter, and in the mean time the only legitimate inference from Bullokar’s notation and practice seems to be that he pronounced long i as (ii).

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

"Differentia significationis (quoad fieri potest, & sonus permittit) orthographiā discernitur. Sic J. ego. ei oculus, ei ita."—"Nec e, sæpius præponitur i, dicimus enim hēi (neei), adhortantes aut laudantes, & ei (ei) EYE oculus, ei (cei) etiam, ita: vbi tamen sonus vocalis, exiguum distat ab illo qui auditur in ēyn tuus, & mjn meus."—"Communis dialectus aliquando est ambiguus. Audies enim ˈei aut ˈei (dhai, dhei) thēx, illi."—"I, est tenuis, aut crassa: tenuis est breuis, aut longa: breuis sic notatur i, vt in sin sinne peccatum: longa sic i. vt in sin scene visus, a, um: crassa autem fere est diphthongus ei; sed quia sono exilior paulò quam si diffunderemur in e, retinebimus antiquum illum et masculinum sonum .... cumque signabimus hoc charactere j. vt in ēyn signe signum. Omnia differentia est in win winne vincō, win weene opinor, ēyn wýne vinum."

The meaning of these passages is not very clear, and they have occasioned me considerable difficulty, as I felt it important to determine the precise signification of Gill’s symbols. It is clear that his j was little, if at all, different from (ei), and that this difference consisted mainly in dwelling more upon
the (e) sound in the diphthong which he writes (ei) than in
that which he writes j; this is the only sense I can attach to
the expression that the sound of j "fere est diphthongus ei,
sed sono exilior quam si diffunderemur in e," as it were,
than if we were diffuse over the e. The distinction is then
precisely similar to that which Sheridan and Knowles make
between modern I, oy, where they suppose the first element
in each case to be (A), but to be instantly lost in I, and retained
long enough to be distinctly heard in oy, (p. 107). We seem
to have only to change (A) into (e) to obtain Gill's distinction
between I, eye. Gill frequently interchanges (ai, aai) and
does not seem to be very particular about the distinction
between (ei, eei), but he appears to have always attached
great importance to the first element in (ei) and (ai). He
says of diphthongs generally:

"Nec tamen in omnium diphthongorum clatione, utrique vocali
sonus integer ubique constabit. Etenim vocalis præcedens sæpe-
numero acutius sonare videtur, & clarius; in ai et ei, ita aures
implore, ut i. subiungi æquis esset, quam ad latus adhaerere,"

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

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

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

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

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

Y, I, IE — XVII th Century.

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

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

“I, is of a narrower sound than e, and uttered with lesse opening of the mouth; the tongue brought backe to the palate, and striking the teeth next the cheeke-teeth. It is a Letter of a double power. As a Vowell in the former, or single Syllabes, it hath sometimes the sharpe accent; as in binding, minding, pining. whining, wiving, thriving, mine, thine. Or, all words of one Syllabe qualified by e. But, the flat in more, as in these, bill, bitter, giddy, little, incident. and the like ...... In Syllabes, and words compos’d of the same Elements, it varieith the sound, now sharpe, now flat; as in give, give, alive, live, drive, driven, title, title. But these, use of speaking, and acquaintance in reading, will teach, rather then rule.”

1653. Wallis says: “I vocalis quotas brevis est sonatur plerumque (ut apud Gallos aliosque) exili sono. Ut in biti morsus, will volo, still semper, win lucro, pin acicula, sin peccatum, fill imploco. At quotas longa est plerumque profertur ut Græcorum ei. Ut bite mordeo, wile stratagema, stile stilus, wine vinum, pine tabe consumer, etc., codem tere modo quo Gallorum ai in vocibus main manus, pain panis, etc. nempe sonum habet compositum ex Gallo- rum è foeminino et i vel y.”

This should be (oi), or (oi), or (oi), the difference being slight, and all so like (oi) that we may take that as the sound,
especially as Wilkins adopts this form. Wallis also admits this sound in the first element of boil, toil, oil, boul globus, owl, which he pronounces (boil, toil, œil, boul, œul). In another place he says that long i is “idem omnino sonus cum Graecorum e.”

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

1668. Price merely talks of long and short i.

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

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

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

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

It appears therefore that the long i of the xvii th century was the same as at present, and hence it must have been so during the xviii th century, and indeed Franklin, 1768, writes (ai), and Sheridan, 1780 analyzes long i into (ai) with very short (A), (p. 107,) and Walker into (æi) or (ai).
EI, AI — XVIth Century.

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

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

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

Meigret says: "Considerons si ai, se treuue tousjours raysounablement escrit, de sorte que les deux voyelles soient en la pronociation comme nous les voyons en aymant, aydant, hair. Il n'y a point de doubte qu'en mais, maistre, aise, vous ny trouueriez aucunes nouvelles de la diphthongue ay, mais tant seulement d'vng e qui s'appelle é ouvert, comme ia i'ay dict. Parquoy telle maniere d'escriiture est vieicie en ceux la, et en tous autres semblables, es quelz la pronociation est autre que d' ai : comme vous pourrez cognoistre si vous les paragonez a aydant, aymant, es quelz elle est veritablement prononcée. Le treuue d'avantage que nous faisons bien souvent vsurper à la diphthongue ai la puissance de ci, comme en ces vocables saict, main, maintenir : es quelz sans point de doubte nous prononçons la diphthongue ci tout ainsi qu'en ceint, ceinture, peindre, peinture, meine, emmeine. De sorte que si tu te ioues de vouloir prononcer ai en ceux là, tu seras trouué lourd, et de mau- naise grace, et aneeq aussi bonne rayson q'est le menu peuple de Paris quant il prononce 'main, pain' par ai."

Again in his phonetic grammar, he says—

"En commencant donq a celles q'on ont a en tete, nous en avons vn en ai ou ay (car je ne fes point de differenc', entre l' i e y Grece) comme payant gajant [gayant?] ayant .... Or commencé en notre lange la diphthonge, ei, par e ouvert, succeder a celle d' ai en aocuns vocable: tellement qe nou' n'oysons plus dire aymer, si souuent q'eymer. Ao regard d' amé, e amez dont no' lettres de comissions sont pleines, l'uzaje de l' eloquence Françoze les a ja de si long temps cassez, qe ie ne pense pas q'il se puis' aoiourdhuy trouuer home qi les aye vu jumée en authorité, pour être commune ment prononcée d'un bon courtizant."

These extracts establish a French diphthong (ei, ei), it is impossible to say which; and also a French diphthong (ai) or (aai), entirely different from the former, but gliding into
it, so that the pronunciation was then beginning to change, and that in several words as *mais, maistre* the diphthong (ai) had become the simple vowel (ee).\(^1\)

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

\(^1\) The work of M. Livet, described on p. 33, enables us to confirm this view by the very objection which G. des Autels opposed to it. “Aussi triomphes-tu de dire,” said he to Meigret, according to p. 129 of M. Livet’s book, “que les diphthongues gardent toujours en une syllabe le propre et entier son de deux voyelles conjointes; et sont encore plus gaillardes les exemples de *paya*nt et *royal*. ... Je te dy donc qu’il n’y ha point de diphthongue en ces mots *ayant*, *payant*, *royal* et *loyal*, mais seulement une contraction, qui encore ne se fait là où tu prends la diphthongue, mais en la syllabe suivante, car en *ayant*, a est une syllabe et *yant* une autre par contraction de deux.” On which M. Livet remarks: “Ce passage montre assez la prononciation de *ayant*, *payant*, qui s’est conservé dans le centre de la France et en Anjou. En Picardie, on dit *gayole* pour *gèole* (dièrèse de gèole), et le colosse d’osier qu’on promène dans les rues de Douai sous le nom de Gayan, à l’époque de la Ducasse, n’est autre que le Géant, pris absolument. Cf. Esclavier. *Remarques sur le patois, 1 vol. in-8o, 1856, p. 22*.” And Pierre Ramus (Livet p. 265) gives for *ai* the examples, (in his orthography, using *e, e* for his broad and mute *e* respectively) “painted, gaiant, aidant, *‘f* eindre, prèindre, crèindre, peine, fontaine,” where the two last words have no suspicion of a nasal vowel. On *payer* in the xvth century, see supra, p. 76. There is a fight between Meigret and his opponents respecting the mute *e*. Meigret only admits his *e, e* (= *e, e?)* long and short, and identifies what G. des Autels, Pelletier, Ramus, and others, according to Livet’s language, call the ‘mute *e,*’ with his ‘short *e*’ (*e*). Livet (p. 139) concludes: “d’une part que les différents sons de l’e étaient alors ce qu’ils sont maintenant, et d’autre part qu’on ne s’entendait pas sur la manière de les noter ou de les nommer.” But my German experience leads me to a different conclusion. In the words: *eine gute Gabe*, the final *e* is pronounced in the greater part of Germany very obscurely and more like *e*, as most Englishmen pronounce their final *a* in *China*, *idea*, and some their final -er in *gatter* (which word they then speak like a common mid-German mispronunciation of *Goethe*), than like *e*. Yet theoretically *e* is held to be the sound uttered, and in some parts of the Austrian dominions I have heard this distinct short final *e*, which of course had an unpleasant effect on my unaccustomed ears. Now it is quite possible that Meigret may have, as an older and provincial man, retained the clear *e*, that his younger opponents may have used the obscurer (v), which in course of time sank to the present *a* or entirely disappeared. This theory at least accounts for the conflict of opinion, the decided retention of the final *e* in the phonetic writing of Pelletier and Ramus as well as of Meigret, and hence its continued use in the poetry of the xvii th century which set the rule for French versification.
vena vel vanus. But it is to be observed that he pronounces
ORANGES oreintsys (or eindzhiz), and that he says that before
g, sh, ich the sound of "a" is thought to decline toward the
sound of the diphthong ai, and the words" domage, heritage,
language, ashe, lashe, watch are "to be read in thys wyse,
domage, heritage, language, thaishe, waitche." We have very
little trace of this custom left. The unaccented syllables are
apt to be pronounced with (i) or perhaps (y), as (or eindzhiz)
demivachie, heritidzh, laeq gwivdzh,) but ash, watch have be-
come (aesh, watsh), instead of (eesh, weetsh) as might have
been expected. Salesbury therefore only recognizes the
diphthong (ai) and does not acknowledge a diphthong (ei)
as distinct from the representations of long i. Yet long
i, ei, ai have in subsequent times traversed with different
velocities three distinct paths ending in (oi, ii, ee) respectively.

1568. Sir T. Smith says: "Inter Ai & Ei diphthongos minima
differentia est, praesertim apud nostrates, apud nos tamen audintur
hi soni. (Fein) fingere, (deinti) delicatus, (peint) pingere, (feint)
languidus. Sed non hae tantum verba per ei pronuntiantur, sed
cetera omnia per ai scripta mulierculae quedam delicatiores, et
non-nulli qui volunt isto modo videri loqui vrbianus per ei, (eoi) sonant,

1 Compare Palsgrave: "Also all
words in the freneh tong whiche in
wryttyng ende in age shall in redyng
and spekyng sounde an i between a and
g, as though that a were this diphthong
ai: as for langde, heretde, saige, dam-
maige, boequeda, apprenntisage, they
sounde langweige, heritage, saige, dam-
maige, boequaige, apprentissaige, and so
of all suchy lyke excepte rage. And
note that many tymes I fynde suche
nownes whiche have the i in writting
betwene the a and g, but, whether he be
written or nat, in redyng or spekyng he
shalbe sounded, according as I have
here shewed by example." M. Ed. Le
Hericher (Historie et Glossaire du
Normand, de l'Anglais, et de la langue
Française, d'après la méthode histo-
rique naturelle et étymologique, 1862,
vol. i. p. 24) entirely misunderstands
this passage, when he says: "C'était
une règle du français, formulée d'ail-
leurs par Palsgrave dans ses Eclair-
cissements de la langue française, que la
première lettre de l'Alphabet se pro-
nonçait A et Ai." That M. Le Héri-
cher means that Palsgrave asserted
French A to be (a) or (e), and that
generally, instead of generally (a), but
(ai) in a very limited class of words,
appears by his next remark: "Ce der-
nier son prévant en anglais; il était
aussi prédominant en normand." The
very few examples which he cites for
such an extraordinary assertion as the
last, are far from establishing the fact.
They are an assertion by Thiberry that
Granville was pronounced Grainville
by the Normans: that in a MS. of the
xv th century at Avranches faire des-
clare rhyme, whereas they may be only
an assonance as in modern Spanish:
that in the xv th century a Caen farce
has consecutive lines ending in lusage
griefe glaive, and that aige, usuaige, etc.
were finally written and printed, so
that a sea song of Ol. Basselin has a
set of rhymes in -aige, the termination
pointed out by Palsgrave. "C'est
 cette prononciation de l'A qui fait une
des principales differences entre la
langue des troubadours et celle des
trouveres." This assertion must be
received with due caution. Mr. W.
Babington has kindly made inquiries
for me of inhabitants of various depart-
ments in Normandy, and none were
acquainted with an existing pronunciation
of a as ai in any part of the country.
Hence it must be very limited in ex-
tent, and probably comparable to the
cases mentioned above p. 76.
vt haec ipsa quae nos per ei (ei) scribimur, alij sonant et pronuntiant per ai, tam ðiðuðorou sumus in his duntaxat duabus diphthongis Angli."

"Est diphthongus omnis sonus è duabus vocalibus conflatus ut: AI, (pai) solvere, (daï) dies, (waï) via, (mai) possum, (laï) ponere, (saï) dicere, (esaï) tentare, (tail) cauda, (fail) deficiere, (faain) libens ac volens, (pain) pœna, (disdain) dedignor, (claim) vendico, (plai) ludere, (araï) vestire seu ornare. In his est utraque litera brevis¹ apud vrbanius pronunciante. Rustici utranque aut extremam² saltem literam longam sonantes, pinguem quendam odiosum, et nimir adipatum sonum reddunt. (Paai) solvere, (daai) dies, (waai) via, (maai) possum, (laai) ponere. Sicut qui valde delicatæ voces has pronuntiant, muliereulæ præsertim, explicant plane Romanam diphthonum ae. AE diphthongus Latina. Pae solvere, dae dies, vaë via, mae possum, lae ponere" = (pee, dee, wee, mee, lee) I suppose, since the Latin ae had long been pronounced (ee), as we know, among other reasons from the frequency with which it is written e in works before this time. "Scotti et Transtrentani quidam Angli voces has per impropriam diphthongum Græcam a proferunt ut nec i nec e nisi obscurissime³ audiatur. A diphthongus impropriè Græca (paa,⁴ daa, waa, maa, laa)."

Again, in his De recta et emendata linguae Græce pronuntiatione .... ad Vintonionsem Episcopum Epistola, Paris, 1568: "Diphthongi quo modo sonantur dicere in promptu est: Nam si duas vocales recte prius extuleris, & easdem coniuscerras, diphthongum habes, hoc est sonum quendam duplicem ex duobus commixtis inter se factum. Vt si nesciam mulsum quid sit, & audiam ex aqua & melle factum esse, potero fortassì commisceendo tale quid efficere, mel vt sentiatur & aqua ne dispareat. Aut si talem colorem habuisse veteres, qualem viridem appellat, & hunc ex fluo luteóve & ceruleo suisse consectum, potero credo commisceendo videre, eiusmodi sit illud quod imitari cupiam, vt nec alterum ab altero colorem prorsus extinctum & oblitteratum relinquam, & tamen vtrunque pariter in tertio conspici ac relucere faciam. Sed, diphthongi quo modo sonari debent, quivis etiam ex triuo puer qui literas didicerit explicabit. Heus tu dic sodes, a & i quid faciunt? dicit certè ai, ai. Si p præponas, facit pai, παï, soluc. sin m, mai, μαï, Maius mensis: sin w, wai, owai, via; neque nunc pa i dicit, nec ma i, sed pai & mai, vt constitue diphthongos non dissolvure videatur. Idem dicendum puto & de ei, quod nos exprimimus cūm himire, hoc est n ey dicimus: & fœmina quædam delicationes unccta ferè quæ per ay dicuntur per ei exprimunt: vt wey, dey, pei, vt eadem Eurosaxones populares mei rusticiiores, nimir pingui et adipate sono, way, day, pay: vt etiam tinnitum illud i reddat in fine. Scoti & Borei quidem Angli per a, vix vt illud i audiatur, pa, da, wa, aut

¹ In one case (faain) he has marked the vowel as long; perhaps a misprint.
² Meaning the first element?
³ An orthoepical safeguard. In his examples he shews that the sound was not heard at all. The present sound is (aa'), see chapter XI.
⁴ Pay is now called (paa) in Norfolk.
potius per ae proferunt. Illud obseruandum ne nimis videamur obseq loqui propter exilissimae literae prope latissimas ex breuiibus nimium tinnientis sonum, cùm ai & oi dictionem finiant, breuiter & correptè proferendas esse: quod Græci Grammatici notarunt, ne alienò crassum illum & adipatum sonum rusticorum nostratium imitemur, qui cùm a gay, boy, ore pleno literis díductis in immensum dicunt, nimis profectò invrbanè loqui ab elegantionibus indicemur."

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

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

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

Pre ) (prai sed said in juu
ue ) (wai ei iuz²
se ) (sai ov of uii wi
díhe ) (dhei ànsuer answer uidl
bue ) (buoi riding reeding knoon
me ) (mai knoun

Non nostras hic voces habes, sed Mopsarum fictiias."

¹ For the same reason, and also for greater ease to the reader, Gill's symbols are here replaced by palaeotype. ² Gill has here mistaken Hart's sign which was meant for (yyz), as will be shewn under U below.
The withering character of this denunciation will be well understood by referring to the passage quoted above, p. 91, where he reproaches the "Mopsey's" with saying (meedz, plee) for (maidz, plai), although Gill himself writes (ressev', decee') in place of (reseiv', deceev'), receive, deceive, which is a change in the same direction. After this expression of opinion by Dr. Gill it is impossible to accept Hart's pronunciation as that generally used in his time, though it is evidence of an existing pronunciation, then only patronized by a few, but becoming ultimately dominant.

1580. Bullokar says: "that there be seven diphthongs of seuerall notes in voice, and differing from the notes of eury of the eight vowels aforesaide, may appere by the words following—

a hay or net: in Latine, Plaga, Italian, Rete da pig'iar animali salutichii, French, Bourcettes a chasser.
hey: in Latine, fœnum, Italian, Pieno, French, Du join.
a boy: in Latine, Puer, Italian, Garzone, French, Garson.
a boy that is fastened to an anker with a rope to weigh the anker:
in Italian, Amoinare.
a ha, u, in the eie: in Latine, Vnguis, French, Paille.
*two he, u smaller: in Latine, Concidere, Italian, Tagliare minuta-
mente, French, Hacher menu.
a bow: in Latine, Arcus, Italian, Arco da saetture, French, Arc."

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

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

ei (ei) eye, (eiz) eyes, (eiee) either, (valleiz)5 valleys,—(resseev) receive, (desseev, deceev) deceive.—(dheeei) they, (dheecir) their, (reecineth) reigneth.

1 See p. 64.
2 The ω is in Bullokar a new letter made by the union of the two ω.
3 The comma before u and inverted apostrophe before t are printed under the letters in Bullokar, to indicate, first that ω has the sound (u) or (u), and secondly that to is the preposition.
4 Palmeiro Square at Brighton is always called (Palmaire), and thus confused with Palmira, the original Portuguese (Palmeira) not being understood. Few English observe the peculiar Scotch (ei) for (ai). They at most take it for a Scotch way of saying (oi), but recognize the latter diphthong.
5 It is not to be supposed that (val-leiz) was meant, and not (val'eiz), but in transcribing, I have thought it best to give Gill's own forms, however careless and irregular they may be at times. Corrections must be always theoretical.
ai (wai, waaı) way, (mai, maai) may, (sai, saai) say, (praiz, praaiz) praise, (alai) allay, (wait) wait, (slain) slay, (sudain) sodain old form of sudden; (daai) day, (klaaı) clay, (retaain) retain.

1623. Butler says (using the common orthography):

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

This might lead to (ai, AA, oi, eu, oi, ou), but it is impossible to say exactly how Butler pronounced Greek au, et. Sir T. Smith's pronunciation of the Greek diphthongs ai, ei, ou, au, ev, ηυ, ου, ου, ον seems to have been decidedly (ai, ei, οι, au, eu, eeu, ου, οου, οι, wi wei).

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

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

EI, AI — xvii th Century.

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

1668. Wilkins writes, (daai) day, (daaili) daily, (against) against, (saints) saints, preserving the diphthong like Wallis, but has (kanseedv) conceived, dropping the (i) entirely.

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

"That is a proper diphthong wherein both vowels keep their sound. There are twelve proper diphthongs, ay ey oy, ai ei, oi, aw ew ow, au eu ou,"
which practically reduce to six, ai ei oi, au cu ou, and as we know that in oe both vowels kept their sounds, we should conclude that the vowels in the other two diphthongs did so too.

"That is an improper diphthong that loseth the sound of one vowel. There are eight improper diphthongs, ea ee is oo, ca oo ui, ou obscure as in cousin."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Many of these words are now spelt differently. Usage differs in leisure (lez′r, lii′zhir) and in either (ii′dhr, ei′dhr). 1685. Cooper begins to recognizes ai as (ee) though he is not quite consistent with himself. After describing (e) he says:

"Vera hujusce soni productio scribitur per a, atque a longum falsò denominatur, ut in cane canna .... hic sonus, quando purè sonatur," that is when it is not (kee), "scribitur per ai vel ay; ut pain dolor, day dies; quæ hoc modo in omnibus fere dictiunibus plerumque pronunciantur: per ey in convey deporto, obey obedient,
purvey rebus necessariis provideo, survey lustro, they illi, troy trulla, whey serum lactis: quandoque raro autem per ea; ut pearl margarita.

Corripitur in
sell vendo
sent missus
tell nuncio
tent tentorum

Productur in
sail navigo
saint sanctus
tail cauda
taint inficio."

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

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

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

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

"cette diphthongue a le même son en Anglois qu’en ces Mots François, faire, taire, &c. Exemple, fair, despair, hair, repair, airy, dairy. J’en excepte, 1. Les Mots finissans en ain, où l’ai se prononce à la Françoise, comme en ces Mots, villain, certain, &c. 2. Raisins, qu’il faut prononcer Rézins."

Although his French ai seemed in the first place to imply English (œœ), it can be hardly other than (ee) in the

1 This is peculiar, but still heard, in the form (ee).
present. Frenchmen do not generally distinguish these two related sounds, as they are unacquainted with English (ee). Similarly Englishmen hear French (ee) as their own (ee). The meaning of the first exception is not very clear, because the French pronunciation of French final -ain is uncertain. Nothing can be clearer than that Englishmen never pronounced their final -ain as (-e). Did the French say (-ein)? Miege says that n final is pronounced, "d'une manière plus forte en Anglais qu'en François," and this is his only allusion to what is now the French nasal. Was the English (vil'en, ser'ten), or (vil'en, ser'ten), as at present? We cannot learn from this passage, but it is probable that (vil'en, ser'ten) represent the sounds with sufficient exactness. The é masculine in récins, evidently implies (reez'inz) or (reez'inz). The distinction here made between (ee) and (ee) or (ee), though real enough in French, is probably due only to insufficient observation or appreciation of the English sounds, and cannot be insisted on.

"ÉI. Cette Diphtongue se prononce en Anglais comme en français. Exemple vein une veine, weight, un poids" (vein, weit; veen, weave)? "Excepté 1. ces Mots où elle soune comme un e masculin, ou é. Savoir to conceive, deceive, perceive, receive, seize, inveigh, leisure, & leurs Derivatifs" (konseev, deseev) &c.? "2. Ceux-ci, où la Diphtongue prend le Son d'un e feminin. Savoir forfeit, foreign, surfeit, heifer, either, neither," (før'fat, for'én, sur'fat, no'far, ad'h'er, na'dher)? "3. Ce Mot height, qui se prononce haut," (haut). This should be (haut) according to Miege's custom of confusing (A) with French a, and according to other authorities it should be (haut). We have still a double pronunciation (neet, néit).

1701. Jones seems not to have made up his mind entirely that ai was to be pronounced as (ee). Thus he says that the sound of ai (whatever it may be) is written ei in 12 words, blein, conceit, deceit, distrein, heifer, heinous, heir, reins, their, veil, vein, veif; and eign in 5 words, darreign, deign, feign, reign, sovereign ("or sovereign"); and eigh in 12 words, con- veigh, eigh, freight, heigh! height, inveigh, weigh, neighbour, pureigh, straight, sureigh, weigh, and their derivatives, as eighteen, weight, etc., and eip "in receipt sounded resait," and es "in demesn sounded demain," and ey in 12 monosyllables brey, Grey, grey, hey! key, prey, Sey, say, they, trey, Wey (a River), whey, and their derivatives as breying, Weymouth, etc. It is to be observed that he never asks when is the sound of ai written e, that is (ee)? He next says the sound of e is written ai, "when it may be sounded ai," which should imply that the sound of e was
different from that of ai, "as in abigail, affraid, again, against, bargain, capstain, captain, certain, chamberlain, chaplain, complaisant, curtain, debonair, hainous, mountain, murain, Prestain, raisin, said, Suis (?)", suddain, vervain, villain" adding, "see a—ai." He also says the sound of e may be written ay "when it may be sounded ay in the end of words or before a vowel; as decay, decaying, etc." These expressions ought to imply that Jones distinguished the sounds of ai, e, but whether as (ei, ee) or (æi, ee) cannot be collected.

But the above conclusion is not certain, for he says that the sound of e is written eig "in these six, darreign, deign, feign, reign, Seignior (sounded senior), sovereign," five of which darreign, deign, feign, reign, and sovereign are the five in which the sound of ai is said to be spelled eign. This would shew that these words were pronounced both ways, in accordance with Jones's custom of giving both ways of pronouncing. In reply to the question, when is the sound of e written eig? he says, "see ai—eigh; where you have all such," so that these words had also both pronunciations.

Jones says the sound of e (e) is written ei in 30 words atheist,1 atheism,1 conceit, conceive, counterfeit, deceit, deceive, deity, disseise, disseisin, either, forfeit, heifer, heinous, heir, inveigle, leisure, Marseilles, *neigh, *neighbour, neither, perceive, receive, receipt, seise, seisin, seive, surfeit, teirce, their. Those marked with * are in a previous list giving the sound of ai, shewing again that the sounds of ai, e, if different, were at least frequently confused. He also says that Leicester was pronounced Lester, and gives a list of 32 proper names as Anglesey, Awbrey, etc., in which ey final had the sound of e (e), and of 39 other words with ey final having the same sound (e), some of which are words in which eigh was said to have the sound of ai, and others are words to which Price gave the sound of (i); they are abbey, alley, atturney, barley, brey, causey, chimney, cockney, coney, convey, cumfrey, grey, hackney, hey-dey! honey, journey, inveig, key, kidney, lackey, lamprey, medley, money, monkey, obey, parley, parsley, prey, pulley, purvey, sey, survey, talley, tansey, they, trey, turkey, valley, whey. In answer to the question when is the sound of ee (ii) written ei? He replies, sternly, "Never." And adds, "Note then that it is ie not ei, which often sounds ee; as in field, siege, etc." We may therefore conclude that ei, ey were always (ee) and never (ii); although ai, being generally (æi) or (ei) was sometimes (ee).

1 These must be meant to include erroneous pronunciations. Price says: "This diphthong ei is parted in atheist, atheism, déité, polytheism."
EI, AI—XVIIIth Century.

EI, ai seem to have remained at (ee) during most of the xviii th century; at least ai was fixed in that sound and has come down to us with the slight alteration into (ee), although, in the south of England, (eai) is more commonly heard.

1704. The Expert Orthographer says that "ai, ei, ay, ey are much the same sound, in many words, as pat, pay, eight, they," but gives a list of 11 words in which "the sound of e is lengthened by ei," that is, in which ei is pronounced (ii) contrary to the express "never" of Dr. Jones; they are conceit s. and v., conceive, deceit, deceive, either, inveigle, receipt, receive, wield now wield. It is curious that while he gives (ii) to conceit spelled thus, he admits (ee), or rather, "the sound of ai," as the sound of ei in "con, de, re, ceipt or ceive, heir, leisure, neither, rein, reign, their, vein, height, inveigh, neighbour, weight." He did not really distinguish ai from a long (ee) as may be seen under A, p. 74.

1766. Buchanan writes (fein) feign, (oobee') obey, (slee) sleigh, (gree) grey, (leez'jar) leisure, (nee'bar) neighbour, (invee') inveigh, (pervee') purvey;—(persiiv') perceive, (dissiiv') deceive, (siiz) seize, (inviig'l) inveigle; (etor'ni') attorney, (kon'tri') country, (aell') alley, (kaas'i) causey causeway, (taen'si) tansey, (farfit') forfeit.

Also (rein) rain, (pee) pay, (aegeenst') against, (ree'sfn) raisin, (wecn'skot) wainscot, (bae'er'gin) bargain, (tsheem'birlin) chamberlain, (kar'tan) curtain, (travvil) travail.

Except then in very few words the usages are those of the present day.

1768. Franklin has: (steens) stains, (reens) rains, (feer) fair, (asarteen) ascertain, (ateen) attain, (ensarteen) uncertain.

Also (dher, dheer, dhaer), their, (dhee) they; (oidher) either, and (farenarz) foreigners.

1780. Sheridan in his remarks on the Irish pronunciation (disect', risecev') deceit, receive, which belongs to the xvith century, notes that "the Irish in attempting to pronounce like the English," and to convert their ei, ey into (ii), often overstrained the rule, and said (prii, kanviil') prey, convey; this was simply an error of the same kind as that noticed above, p. 92.

Hence in the xvi th century we may assume ei, ai, to be (ei eei, ai aai); in the xvii th (ei eei ee, aei ee) and in the xviii th (ee ii ai, ee). But in the xvii th century both ei, ai were apt to be confused with one another and with long e under the common sound of (ee). Also

1 Yet he writes (iidh'er). This reminds us of the question and answer (vraisemblable if not vrai), "Dr. John- son, do you say (niidh'er) or (naidh'er)?" "(Needh'er), sir."
even in the xvi\textsuperscript{th} century a large section of people pronounced (ai) as (ee), but this, though adopted by Hart, was thought effeminate by Sir T. Smith and Dr. Gill. It however allowed Shakspere to pun on reasons and raisins and on here, heir (supra p. 80 note).

OI—xvi\textsuperscript{th} Century.

1530. Palsgrave says: "Oi in the frenche tongue hath .ii. diuerse soundes, for somctyme it is sounded lyke as we sounde oy in these words, a boye, a froyse, coye, and suche lyke, and somtyme they sound the i of oy almost like an a."

1545. Meigret says: "En moins, royal, loyal, nous oyons euideamment en la prolation la diphthongue commencer par o & finir par i. Au contraire en moy, toy, soy, nous oyons la fin de la diphthongue, non seulement en e, mais encore, en é ouvert, qui est moien entre a & e clos, & par consequence bien estrange de la prononciation de l', ou y grec. Nous escrivons doneq loè, roè et loyal, royal." And 1550, in his Grammar he says that "ao regard de l'o ouuert il ne fît point de diphthonge preçedant l'a, pas que j'aye deoulue; ne parellément aqç l'e clos: me's ioint a l'e ouuert il est fort frequent en la prononciacion Francoëze, qe qe la plume n'en neyt james fet conte, yazant qelqefoës (come j'ey ja dit) de la diphthonge, oy, es aocuns des vocables: come, moy, toy, soy, loy, foy: pour moe, toè, soë, loë, fôe, qelqefoës aoi pour fier encor pis, il' luy ont ajouté vne s; come, cognostre pour conenstre. e non contans de çete lourderie, qazi comme tumbans de fieur' en çao' mal, il' nous ont introduit oient pour oe', e' tierses persones pluries du preterit imperfect: ecriuans estoient, disoient, venoyent, pour etonët, dizoët, venoët."

It was this broad (a) which Palsgrave apparently confounded with (a), and indeed we are told that in Parisian pronunciation it was already sometimes (a).\footnote{1 Meigret's analysis of the French diphthong ai = (oe) is confirmed by Pelletier, who writes (Livet, p. 174) "Françoès, disont, connoët, but 'point, voyre.' Ramus (ib. 206) writes "moë, loë" for moi, loi. Beza (ib. 522) is fuller and says: " cette diphthongue fait entendre à la fois, mais rapidement, le son de l'o et de l' i, quand elle est suivie de n, comme lohn, besoin, tesoëin, mots que quelquesuns terminent, à tort, par un g.—Non suivie de n, la diphthongue oi prend une prononciation voisine de celle de la trip-thongue oai ou de la diphthongue ai ou e ouvert; il a le son oai dans loi, moi, foi qu'on trouve souvent écrit, à tort, avec un y: quelques-uns, supprimant le son o, prononcent seulement ai: ainsi les Normands écrivent et prononcent foi, pour foi, et le peuple parisien dit parlet, allot, venot pour parloit, alloit, venoit; les imitateurs de l'italien prononcent de même Anglès, Francës, Eossës pour Anglois, François, Ecoissos.—Une faute très-grand des Parisiens c'est de prononcer voire (ou verre), foivre pala, trois, comme avra, foare, trois ou même tras." This last passage may be compared with Gill's denunciation of the Mopseys, p. 90. The two passages show how careful we should be not to stigmatize a pronunciation as faulty, when it differs from what we hold best, as the faults of one century become the}
acknowledged to be (oe) or (ue) by eminent French orthoepists, though it is generally admitted to be (u, u). After a consonant the real effect of oi, at present, is generally to labialise that consonant and subjoin (a, a), as roi, loi (rva, lwa), where the ordinary Englishman is apt to hear (rwa, lwaa), and in the cry vive le roi, he often falls into (viiv le raa). I have elsewhere given my reasons for supposing that the original diphthong from which the modern English (oi) descended, was (ui). In the French language, the intention of inserting o before a Latin e, as in roi, loi from rex, lex seems to have been to indicate a thickening or labialisation of the preceding consonant, as opposed to the thinning or palatisation, which would have been naturally occasioned by the following palatal vowel. Its use was much the same as the inserted u after g in French and Spanish before i, to prevent the palatisation of (g) into (zh) or (x), but whereas in the latter case, as in the use of gl under similar circumstances in Italian, the (g) was generally, not always, kept pure, in the former case the labial effect became finally constant. In Palsgrave's time the English oi must probably be assumed as (oi) or (oe), the latter being a diphthong still found in Welsh oedd (oedh). The stress was, as usual, on the first element, and the apparent stress on the second element in modern French is due to the real absorption of the first element by the labialized consonant.

1547. Salesbury recognizes the diphthong oy solely by transcribing IOYNT into tsioynt, meaning (dzhoint).

1568. Sir T. Smith says: "OI per o breuem (o) & i (i). Diphthongus Oi, vt Gallis frequentissima, ita nobis est rarissima: habemus tamen & hanc somum (Coit) iacere discum, (boi) pur, (toi) ludicrum, (toil, turmoil) laborare, (foil) bractea, (soil) solum, (koil) verberare, (broil) assare in craticula, & (point) que vox mucronem, et indice monstrare, et ligulam nobis notat, & (koi) quibus ineptum et à familiaritate alienum significavimus. In his, propert breuitatem received usages of another. Beza's reprobation of the Parisian ou for oui, that is, ot, explains the last words of Palsgrave, but his supposition that the Norman fay resulted, like the usual French at in the words cited, from the rejection of the prefixed o, does not seem historically correct, as this orthography, or fey, is very old in Norman French. We shall have to consider this point in Chap. V, § 1, No. 8, where the Norman et and French oi = (ei, ne) will be considered as mutations of the Latin e, precisely as the French eu and Spanish ue were mutations of the Latin o, p. 138, note. It is worth noticing in reference to Meigret's ou, considered as o clos, that Beza proceeds to say: "cette diphthongue ou a un son propre qui tient de l'o et de l'u. Il faut se garder de prononcer comme à Lyon ou pour o (comme nous pour nos), et comme dans le Dauphiné et la Savoie o pour ou : tels cop pour coup, oi pour oui etc."

soni, et quia breuiss o non multum ab u differt, et propterea fuit à Graecis dicta o μυκρὸν. Poterit1 fortasse à quibusdam iudicari hæc melius posse per ei describi. Videmus et vetères voltis & vestris per o scripsisse, qua posteriores per vultis & vestris scripserunt. Certè soni sæpissimè variant. At sequum est scripturam sonum tam contemtim asperrm aut non invrbaniissimam iudicari. Hi cùm volunt me, te, tacitum, fidem dicere moy, toy, coy, foj diceunt: cùmque Normani Scythea Danorum gens partem occupant Galliae, & quod in Graecia Turci, iam in Gallia feecerunt, vt linguam Gallicam vna discerent, & peruersè commutarent nunquam tamen poterant effugere Normani, quin si nune quisquam eorum rusticior pro moy, toy, coy, foj, quod non raro euenit, my, ty, ky, fy, diceat, irri-deatur à cæteris Gallis, & non vrbane ac civiliter, sed insicè ac rusticè loqui existimetur."

We have therefore evidence that Sir T. Smith heard little if any difference between (oi, ui), as he doubted which would be the best orthography. In the next chapter further reasons will be given for supposing (ui) to have been the older form.

1569. HART’s views of diphthongs are rather peculiar, owing to his considering (j, w) as the pure vowels (i, u) forming a diphthong with the following vowel, so that to understand his account of oi it will be convenient to cite his description of diphthongs at length. He says:

"Now will I shew you examples of the Diphthongs made of two short vowels, and of others of one short and of another long. And then of triphthongs. With short vowels, as thus, (uiuil reid bei ionder uel, nueer dhe uat uas uelneer taakn bei dhe iuq hound) which is written for [we wyll ride by yonder well where the Wat was wel neare taken by the yong hound] which doe come very often in our speach. Of diphthongs whereof oneowell is short, and the other long as (juu uer uuakiq in dhe fourthour, hueer az dhe buce did pouur naater upon dhe nueet flour) which I write for [you were waking in the fowerth gower, when as the boye did poure water yppon the wheate flower] which also doe come vere often. And for triphthongs as (bi ueiz ov dhe mueiz buei) for, [be wise of the hoyes bowy]. And (mark dhe kat duuth mieu mueiz iuu milk dhe ieu) for [hark the Cat doth mewe, whiles

1 Evidently there is a mispunctuation here, it should be “ο μυκρὸν, poterit.”
you milke the yowe]. And a Basin and (eaur), for, [eawer], and certaine others as will be seen ehereafter. And for three vowels coming together, and making two sullables as in example (the vyy,er seeth syy,er it is pyy,er) for [the vewer sayth sure it is pure!" where, as will be explained hereafter, Hart writes (iu) for (yy), "and as in these wordees (dhis bei,er iz nei,er ov pou,er dhen dhe dei,er bei nuis fei,er). For [this bier is higher of power, than the dier by his fire]."

He seems therefore to write (buee, hueiz, buei) for boy, hoy's, buoy, though the precise value of the two last words is not very clear, and may be (wheiz buei). Nautical men constantly call buoy (buui), and (bui, boi) are not uncommon provincial forms of boy. Compare the Bavarian dialectic (bue) for (buu·be) bube, which leads to the notion that boy is a form of booby, a word of very doubtful origin. Although Hart thus confirms Smith's (ui) in one word, he differs from him in writing (vois·es).

1580. Bullokar, as we have seen, distinguishes boy, buoy as (boi, buui), and he gives no examples of oy as (ui, uui).

1621. Gill has the varieties (oi, ui, uui), as in the words: soil (soil, suuil), boil (boil, buuil), spoil (spoil, spuuil), toil (toil, tuuil), joint (dzhuuint), disappoint (disappuuint), buoy (buui), rejoice (redzhois), voice (vois), oil (oil). In these the double tendency is clear, and as the (ui) sounds must have been the more ancient, they were no doubt in existence, though disregarded, when older orthoepists wrote. Thus Salesbury's (dzhoint) is really more modern than Gill's (dzhuumt).

1633. Butler says "OI in boy we sound [as the French do] (woc), for whereas they write bois, soit, droict they say (bwoes, swoet, drwoct)."

OI — XVII TH CENTURY.

1653. Wallis says: "In oi . . . vel oy . . . praeponitur aliquando ð apertum (ut in Anglorum bóy puer, tôys nuæ . . .), aliquando ð obscurum, (ut in Anglorum bóil coqueo, tôil labor, oîl oleum . . .), quanquam non negem etiam horum nonnulla à quibusdam per ð apertum pronunciari."

That is he said (bai, tai, boil, toil, oil) but admitted the pronunciation (bail, tail, ail). It will be seen that Wallis is the first writer who acknowledges the vowel (ə) and the

1 The (w) in the two words is merely a sound developed by Butler himself. Thus, when I was nearing Alloa in the steamer, the name of the place was called out in a slow measured tone by the boatman, and although I knew that the sounds were (Al·ləw·əe), the syllables being lengthened out, yet I could not divest myself of the feeling, that (Al·ləw·əe) was really said, so strongly was the sound of (w) developed in the glide from oo to (ee).
diphthong \( \text{oi} \). It is quite in conformity with this that he changes Gill's (\( \text{buuil}, \text{tuuil} \)) into (\( \text{boil}, \text{toil} \)), and his further pronunciation (\( \text{oil} \)) should imply that (\( \text{uuil} \)) as well as (\( \text{oil} \)) was prevalent in Gill's time.

1668. Wilkins writes (\( \text{bai} \)) for \( \text{boy} \).

1668. Price says:

"\( \text{Oy} \) never ends a word, but, \( \text{oy} \), as \( \text{boy}, \text{cloy} \)." "\( \text{Oy} \) sounds broader than, \( \text{oi} \), as \( \text{moyst}, \text{joine, joint, boisterous, cloy, claysters, embroyder, emroides [hemorrhoids], employ, exploit, foyl, moyst, noise, noysom, oyl, ointment, poise, quoif [coif], void.} \)

It is possible that Price's broader \( \text{oy} \) may be (\( \text{ai} \)) and the other (\( \text{oi} \)), which would give (\( \text{dzhoint, beî'steres, eksploit, nêiz, oint'ment, peîz, kaîf, void,} \)) of which some are confirmed by subsequent writers.

1685. Cooper generally gives \( \text{oi} \) as (\( \text{ai} \)), "\( \text{o} \) in loss, lost, \( i \) prepositus ... sempère Græcé, ut \( \text{polloai} \)," but he admits (\( \text{ai} \)) in \( \text{boil, moil, point, poison} \), only to which he says "\( \text{oy} \) in Gallico \( \text{buoy} \) supporto, quod nos scriberemus \( \text{buoy} \)" is equivalent, it is therefore to be presumed that he said (\( \text{buail} \)). The most curious point is his remark that "\( \text{boy puer dissyllabum est, scilicet (bai)} \)," which is not confirmed by others. He likewise admits \( \text{oi} \) to be (\( \text{ai} \)) in \( \text{in-join, joint, jointure, broil, ointment} \), see supra p. 117, and also, "\( \text{ut i diphthongus,} \) in \( \text{anoint, moil, toil, point.} \)

1701. Jones says that the sound of \( \text{ooi} \) was always written \( \text{oi} \), "in the middle of words or before a consonant, as \( \text{boil, coile, join, &c.,} \) which were therefore occasionally called (\( \text{buuil, kuuial, dzhuuim} \)), as in times past, and that the sound of \( \text{i} \) (\( \text{ai} \)) is written \( \text{oi} \), "when it may be sounded \( \text{oi} \) or \( \text{ooi} \) (\( \text{oi}, \text{uui} \)) in the beginning or middle of words; as in \( \text{boil, broil, coile, foil, foist, froise, groin, hoise, join, loin, moil, oile, poise, poison, soile, spoile, tortois, which some sound as with an \( i \))," i.e. as (\( \text{boil, brail, kail, fail} \) etc.; and that (\( \text{ai} \)) is written \( \text{oy} \) "when it may be sounded \( \text{oy} \) in the end of words, or before a vowel; \( \text{Chandois, decoy, &c.—loyal, royal, voyage}; \) sometimes abusively sounded as with an \( i \)," i.e. (\( \text{Shæn'dois, dekai', lai'-el, rai'-el, vai'dugh} \)).

1688. Miege says nothing of the pronunciation of the English \( \text{oi} \), but for the French \( \text{oi} \) he lays down rules somewhat different from those now followed, saying:

"The diphthong \( \text{oi} \) is pronounced \( \text{oai} \) (\( \text{OE} \)) as \( \text{foi, lori, foire, toile.} \) Except in some Cases, wherein 'tis pronounced \( \text{ai} \) (\( \text{E} \)). And 1. In such Tenses of Verbs as these; viz. \( \text{J'aimois, tu aimois, il aimoit, J'aimerois, tu aimerois, il aimeroit.} \) 2. In those Verbs whose Infinitive ends in \( \text{otre} \); as \( \text{conotre, parottre.} \) To which add the Verb

\[ \text{voyage} \]

\[ \text{ing} \] is \[ i, g = (\text{ai, dzh}) \], according to the

\[ \text{for (waidzh), i.e. voyage, where ty, that} \] alphabetic names of the letters.
croire, and this tense of the Verb *Etre*, *Je sois, tu sois, il soit*. 3. In these National Names, *Anglois, François, Ecossois, Irlandois, Hollandois, Milanois, Polonois*; with all their feminines in *oise*, as *Angloise, Françoise,* &c. 4. In these Words, *droit,* (Adj.) *endroit,* *etroit,* *etroitement,* *faible,* *froid,* and the Derivations of the two last. But before *n*, the *i* keeps its proper Sound; as *foin, loin, joindre,* *point.* *Oignon* is pronounced, and begins to be spelt *ognon.* *Oie* is a Triphthong, and is pronounced *aai* in such Tenses of Verbs as these are, *Us aimoient,* *Us aimeroient,* *Us soient,* where the *n* is left unpronounced. But it is no Triphthong, where it ends a "Word, the last *e* making a distinct Syllable of itself, though almost mute. As in these Words *foie, joie, anchoie,* where *oi* is pronounced *oai*;

**OI — xviii th Century.**

1704. The **Expert Orthographeist** admits (oi, *Ai*) in choice, *exploit, froise, noise, poise, quoi, quoi, rejoice, voice, void,* but says that "in the middle of most other words *oi* sounds *i* long (*oi*), as *anoint, boil, broil, coin, loin, noil, toil, poison, point." Of these (*boil, loin, poiz'n, point*) are still well-known vulgarisms.

1796. **Buchanan** admits (*Ai, oi*) only, to the exclusion of (*ui, Ai*).

1768. **Franklin** writes (*distrAaid*) *destroyed,* but unfortunately gives no other word in *oi*.

We may conclude then that in the xvi th century (*oi, ui, uui*) all prevailed, (*oi*) being most in favour; in the xvii th century, most words had (*oi, Ai*) and a few words (*ui, *oi*) in the beginning of the xviii th century (*oi, Ai, *oi*) were acknowledged, but at the latter end of that century only (*oi, Ai*) were admitted by orthoepists.

**UI — xvi, xvii, xviii th Centuries.**

The combination *ui* belongs to the xvii th and later centuries, except perhaps in one or two words, in which French spelling had an influence, as the following comparison of the orthography of the Promptorium 1440, Palsgrave 1530, Levins 1570, and Price 1668 will shew.

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Hence we must consider the combination as an inorganic i or u and it must follow the laws of those letters. In the above table the first group had short i, the second long i, and the third the u or oo of the period.

The forms ew, aw, ow are identical in signification with eu, au, ou, and need not be separately considered.

The modern sounds of eu are (iu) or (ju, jwu), and occasionally (oo), of au (AA), and of ou (œu) or (øy), occasionally (ou, uu). But the diphthongal sound (œu) runs through all the varieties (œu, au, ahu, œu, eu, œu), and Franklin gives (Au), while even (ou) may be occasionally heard, and, owing to the orthography, this analysis is very commonly accepted. The Germans hear the diphthong always as their au = (au). The pronunciation (eu), a diphthong acknowledged in the Italian *Europa* = (euroopa), is heard in America for ou as (deun teun) for *down town*, and is said to be a common cockneyism, although the cockney sound is, as Mr. M. Bell says, more probably (œu) as (deun teun). Many words now spelled with u were written with ew in the xvth century. As these, and some others still spelled with ew, were pro-

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1 Dr. Gill stumbles over build, giving the three sounds (baild, held, byylid). The more ancient sound must have been (beild) or (beild) whence (bald) descends easily. Mr. Melville Bell says that built is often pronounced (balt) in Scotland, a variety of (bylt).

2 In Mrs. Barney Williams's Yankee song "Bobbing around," which was so popular a few years ago, I seemed to hear (wreem, wnd) or (werk, wnd,), the first element being lengthened and somewhat nasalized. The Rev. Mr. D'Orsey informed me that he found the use of (eu) for (ou) very common among Londoners, even of education, whose pronunciation he had to correct. In Norfolk ou is regularly pronounced (eu, œu).
nounced with the long u of that time,¹ which requires special consideration, it will be most convenient to postpone their consideration till afterwards. The sounds attributed to au, ou in the xvi th century were also frequently attached to simple a, o before l or l, and these will be considered under L.

EU — xvi th Century.

1530. Palsgrave says: "Ev in the frenche tong hath two dyuerse soundynges, for sometyme they sound hym lyke as we do in our tonge, in these wordes a dewe, a shrewe, a fewe," this is the sound which will be considered here, "and sometyme like as we do in these wordes, trewe, gleve, reve, a meewe," which will be considered under U. "The soundyng of ev, whiche is most general in the frenche tong, is suche as I haue shewed by example in these wordes, a dewe, a shrewe, a fewe, that is to saye, lyke as the Italians sound ev, or they with vs, that pronounce the latine tongue arghty, as evrévx, irevx, liev, diev."

The reference to Italian completely establishes the sound, which is as singular and curious in French as in English. According to Meigret, however, the sound was (ey), for he says:

"Çet e clos fet encorem vn' ait diphthong' aunec u, come en eur, peu, veu, cureus. Finablement il fet vne triphthonge se joxant a celle de au; come en veao, beao, moreao. Dont je m' emervelle de cœus qui premiers ont terminé cete triphthong' en u: vu que la prononciation ne tient rien de l'une même de l'ou clos qui a qelq' affinité aunec l'u."²

¹ We find in Levis 1570, dewo debitum, cleve, glewe, reve, spewe, bleue, trewe, issew, restew, reuwewo, valew [but vertue although inserted under "E ante W,"] endew, continuo, pursew, slene, trewe, sweek, reule, tweuth [but untruth although under the heading euth]. Words still written with eue, and pronounced then as long u according to Sir T. Smith 1568, are snow, slew, new, brewe, blew.

² See the long extract from Meigret concerning ao, aou, on p. 141-2 below. G. des Antels objects strongly to Meigret's analysis (ey) of the French eu. Speaking of Meigret's assertion that both sounds were heard in a diphthong, he asks (Livet, p. 130): "Je luy demande si la diphthongue françoise eu en ces mots jeu et feu garde le son entier de l'u?" "Il ne faut donc pas que les voyelles gardent aux diphthonges leur son propre et entier, mais bien qu'elles servent toutes deux, soit en leur son propre on en un autre voisin, à faute de lettres plus idoines (convenables)." Pelletier (ib. p. 138) is indistinct, at least as cited, but Ramus (ib. p. 189) says: "La sixième voyelle cest ung son que nous escrivons par deux voyelles, e et u, comme en ces mots peur, meur, seu," and he proposes a simple sign for it. Beza (ib. 521) as analysed by Livet says: "Dans cette diphthongue eu ou n'entend ni l'e ni l'u, mais un son qui tient de l'un et de l'autre: beuf, neuf, peu Paucum, seur soror, veu votum, et un grand nombre d'autres que les Picards prononcent souvent u simple, disant Diu, ju pour Dieu, jeu. Les Français imitent quelquefois les Picards, en ce qu'ils prononcent par u simple les mots seur secures et ses derives. .. meur matur, .. et en général tous les noms en oure long [now -ure] desirées des verbes .. ; il en est de même dans les participes passés passifs, masculins ou féminins, terminés en eu, eue [now -u, -ue] comme beu, beue .. ; c'est à tort qu'à Chartres et à Orléans on prononce, avec une dièse, eü, et, d'autre part, qu'on fait rimer, heur et dur, engraveure et figure, heur et nature, faute qu'on
But Englishmen heard this (ey) as (eu), as appears from Hart, who in his French Lord's Prayer, gives (sieuz, seu) for vieux, ceux. As to the combination eau, which Meigret says was (eao), we have the word beauty, written beu-te, bea-utye in the Promptorium, beautie in Falsgrave, and beutye in Levins. Hart gives (beau-ri), Gill pronounces (beu'ti) and Butler (beau'ri) which may mean (beau'ri), though some doubt attaches to the last pronunciation.¹

1547. SALESBURY does not notice the combination eu, and gives no English word in which it occurs.  
1568. SMITH says: "Et Eu diphthongum Graecam habent Angli, sed rarius, quae tamen apud Gallos est frequens: (feu) pauci, (deu) ros, (meu) vox catorum, (sheu) monstrare, (streu) spargere." And in his Greek pronunciation he adds, "eu, vt eu, euye, euge. Angli pauci feu, feu, ros, deuo, deudd. ηυ sonamus apertius, vt illud Gallicum beau, quod multi Angli beau: sonum etiam felium quidam mew, alii mew, quasi μευ, μήυ exprimunt." Observe that mew for hawks had the sound of long u.

1569. HART, as shewn by the citation on p. 132, distinguishes mew (mieu), eve (jeu), you (juu).

1580. BULLOKAR recognized the diphthong (eu) distinctly by writing the word hew thus: he,u, the comma, which he wrote under the u, meaning that it had the sound of (u). In his list of synonymous signs he gives e,v, e,u eu (where the comma should be subscribed to the e, u) as identical, and I find the word hewed meaning (sheu'ed).

retrouve en Guyenne." These last examples point to a remnant of an (ey) diphthong, which is a real natural diphthong, and was distinctly pronounced to me every morning at Norwich by a vender of fish monotoning under my windows, (ney bloo'tazz six) = new bloaters here! The real mutations of the Latin o, besides its natural change into (u), were however two, closely related, first (oo) falling into (ue), and secondly (oe) falling into (eu). The form (ue) appears in very early French, where it was probably soon discontinued, since (ue) was also used as a mutation of Latin e, but it remains the regular Spanish mutation. The second form (oe, eu) gradually prevailed in French, and became replaced by (ω) apparently just about the time that Meigret wrote, so that he retained an old (eu) or (ey) pronunciation (it is not quite clear which) and his more youthful opponents ignored the old sound altogether. The subject requires much careful investigation. Livet observes (ib. p. 138): "Rien de plus vague, de plus indéterminé, que la prononciation de, u, eu, o, ou au moyen âge et encore au xv siècle. Nous ne pouvons mieux faire, au lieu de donner d'innombrables exemples de cette confusion, que de renvoyer au Traité de Versification française de M. Quicherat pp. 354-359. Cf. Observations etc. de Ménage, t. 1, p. 291, 324, 481. Glossaire picard par l'abbé Corbey, p. 131. Sur la confusion de eu et ou en particulier, Cf. Quicherat, ouv. cit. p. 364-365."

¹ Ramus (Livet p. 207) makes the combination eau a diphthong, the first element being his mute e and the second his simple vowel au. The difference of Meigret's sound and his may have been very slight (eau, woo), but the latter prevailed. Beza (ib. p. 523) analyses in the same way as Ramus. These analyses at least shew the existence of an old e sound at the commencement, and hence account for the English translation of the combination into the familiar diphthong (eu).
1621. Gill, in his anxiety to give prominence to the first element, lengthens it, thus: "E. sæpiûs praecedit u, vt, in (eue) eawe ovicula, (fceu) fewe pauci, (seeuer) sewer dapifer."

1633. Butler distinctly recognizes (eu) in dew, eue, few, hew, shew, reu, sew, strew, shrew, pewter, see under U.

It will be seen in the next chapter that Chaucer distinguished the two sounds of eu by an etymological rule, the sound (eu) being reserved for those which were not of French origin. This distinction was lost during the xvth century, so that in the xvi th no general rule can be given, but each word must rest on its own independent authority. For lists of such words see Chapter IV, § 2, under EU.

**EU — xvith Century.**

1653. Wallis, says: "Eu, eow, eau sonantur per è clarum et u, (eu). Ut in neuter neutralis, few pauci, beauty pulchritudo. Quidam tamen paulo acutius efferunt acsí scribenter, nieuter, fieu, biewty, vel niwter, faw, biwty; præsertim in vocibus new novus, knew sciebam, new ningebat. At prior pronunciatio rector est."

That is Wallis had heard some persons say (nieu'ter, fieu, bieu'ti) although many, perhaps most, at that time said distinctly (niu'ter, fiu, biu'ti) and he found this pronunciation particularly prevalent in new, which in the next century Franklin called (nuu) and which is still frequently so called.¹ The sound (eu) was undoubtedly beginning to be unfrequent. The sound (iu) however cropped up chiefly in those words previously pronounced as long u.

1688. Wilkins acknowledges (eu) in hew, and Price in the same year allows (eu), that is, says "eow keeps its sound" in brewess, few, lewd, ewe, feud, neuter, pleurisie, but gives (iu), that is, says "eow hath now obtained the sound of iu" in blew, brew, chew, crew, drew, embrew, eschew, hew, gewgaws, knew, sewer,² slew, strew, steward, vineu,³ monsieur, adieu, lieu.

1685. Cooper hears only (iu), the same sound as long u. The diphthong is in America more frequently (iu) than (iu), and even (eu) remains there in some parts.

1701. Jones seems still to have a lingering feeling of the difference between (eu) and (iu). He asks when may the sound of eu be written eu ? and answers: "In the beginning

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¹ In 1849 the present writer published a newspaper called the *Phonetic News*, printed phonetically, and therefore bearing the title (*Fonetic* Nuuz). "Why do you write (nuuz)?" asked a newsvender, "we always call it (nuuz)."

² Probably in the sense of a waiter at table.

³ Probably, *venue*. 
of all words, except ew, ever, Ewin," and "in all foreign words from the Latine, Greek &c as adieu, beufl, cavallieur, Deucalion, Deuteronomy, feumet, geuls, grandeur, lieu, Meuse, Monsieur, neuter, pardieu, pleurisy, purlieu, Reuben, rheubarb, rheum, Theudas, Zeurin &c except view." And he allows the same sound to be written ew "in all English words as crewet, dew, pewter &c." But he never asks, when may the sound of eu be written u? On the other hand he does ask when may the sound of u be written eu or ew? And he answers, the first "when it may be sounded eu in foreign words, as neuter &c," referring to the list just given, and thus clearly distinguishing the two sounds (eu) and (iu); and the second "when it may be sounded ew in English words, that are purely\(^1\) such, as in askew, crewel, dewberries, eschew, ever, gengaws, Hewet, jewel, nephew, pewet, sinew, vineu, and in blew, chew, clew, crew, Crew, drew, few, flew, Grew, grew, Jew, knew, meuw, new, screw, shew, skew, slew, spew, stew, stews, strew, throw."

Jones says that the sound of o and ou, evidently meaning (oo, ouu), is written ew when it may be sounded ew as in chew, eschew, shew, shrew, shrewd, Shrewsbury, pronounced "cho, shrode, Shrosbury &c." (Shoo, Shrooz'berri) are the only sounds here remaining. But that (shroo) must have been known in Shakspere's time appears from the last couplet of Taming of the Shrew, fo. 1623, the preceding 14 lines being in rhyming couplets:

\(\text{Horton. Now goe thy wayes, thou hast tam'd a curst Shrow.}\)
\(\text{Luc. Tis a wonder, by your leaue, she will be tam'd so.}\)

\(\text{Ewe has still a provincial pronunciation (Joo, JAA).}\)

\(\text{Eau as is seen by the quotation from Wallis, follows the fortune of eu. Wallis has (beu'ti) admitting that some say (bieu'ti). Miege has (buu'ti). Jones says that beau is "sounded beu in the beginning of all words," referring to e-ea, which shews that he considers ea in eau to be the digraph ea, that is, a mere representative of (ee), and satisfactorily determines his pronunciation. Even the word "Beau a name" he writes beu. But he never allows the sound to be long u, that is, (iu). On the other hand he also says the sound of long o is written eau "in the sound of beau in the beginning of all words," which should imply that (boo'ti) was heard as well as (beu'ti). He also says that Bourdeaux is "sounded Boordo" (Buur'doo).}\)

The conclusion seems to be that some speakers still said (eu) and Jones recognized it as an admissible and theo-

\(^1\) The following list would imply that Dr. Jones did not know much of etymology.
reticantly the best sound, but that he frequently heard and admitted without any word of blame, the newer sound of (iu).

EU — XVIII TH Century.

1704. The Expert Orthographist says: "it must be a very critical ear, that can distinguish the sound of eu in eucharist from the long u in unity, and the eu in rheubarb from the long u in rumour, without an apparent and too affected constraint, contrary to the usual pronunciation observed by the generality, which (in this case) would sound very pedantick."

Here, the confusion of thought and consequent nebulosity of expression, which makes it difficult for an ear to distinguish sounds without a constraint which would sound pedantick, and which is contrary to the general pronunciation, is a good example of the darkness in which we have to grope for our results. It is to be presumed that the writer did not distinguish eu as (eu) from u as (iu), and found the utterance of those who still attempted to do so, affected and constrained. But did he pronounce all his 32 words having eu final, with (iu), including "sow or did sow with a needle, sewer a drain, shew or did show"? This is more than doubtful, and the distinctions here made between present sow, show, past sew, shew, are entirely without corroboration.

1766. Buchanan generally makes eu, ew = long u or (iu), but writes sewer (shoor), shew (shoo) sew (soo). His ewe, monsieur, lieutenant are (iu, monsiur', liuten'int), chew (tshuu), beauty (bhu'ti), beau, beaux (boo, booz).

1768. Franklin writes (nuu) for new.

The usages of the XVIII th century did not therefore sensibly differ from those of the XIX th. But to shew how (eu) still lingers, it is enough to cite the pronunciation (shuu), clearly a variety of (sheu), heard from a highly educated speaker, during the preparation of these pages.

AU — XVI TH Century.

1530. Palsgrave says: "Av in the frenche tonge shalbe sounded lyke as we sounded lyke as we sounde hym in these wordes in our tonge, a dawe, a mawe, an havwe. Except where a frenche worde begynneth with this diphthong av, as in these wordes, avlcan, avltre, av, avsti, avx, and avetiv, and all suche lyke: in whiche they sounde the a, almost lyke an o, and as for in döner, a and v be distinct syllables, as shal appere by his wrrtyng in the frenche vocabular."

Now Meigret says: "vn aotr' en ao, come aotant, aos, loyaos:
pour laquelle l'écriture Françoise' abuze de la diphthonge au, que la prononciation ne concèt point. Car com' aotrefons je vous cy dit, la diphthonge' et de telle nature qu'elle requiert la prolacion en vne mèrne syllable de' deu' voyelles qui la composet : comme nou' le fr'zons communément : e' ainsi observe l'écriture, en moindre, peindre : e' qels nou' prononçons le' diphthonges ou, e ci, en vne mèrne syllable. e pourtant sont abuzés tous ceux qui se persuadet que deu' voyelles conioinctes ensemble, caozet vn tiers son, qui ne tient ne de l'une, ne de l'aotref : comme qant vous cerinez mais, pour mes, il dizet que, e, i, conjoins ensemble, forjet la prolacion de, ouvert : suyuant leur regle donq ie direy qu'ayant, aors en sa prononciation tant ; payant, paye, peant, pèc, je direy le semblable de toutes aotres diphthonges que vou' prononçez com' elles sont ecrisses, q'elles doneut 'e't' vn son tiers, aotre qe celuy de' deu' voyelles conioinctes ensemble : e qe consequemment vous cerinez mal moins, eureus, eaje (on dit bien aosi aje, e et la diphthonge ea, bien rar' en François) vu que vou' prononçez le mèmes voyelles qui sont ecrisses, e q'elles ne forjet point la vn tiers son. Voyez donques q'elle opinionatre d'abus caoz' vn erreur inueteté : tant et difficil' a l'home la reconcesance d'une faoste pour vne par trop grand' estim' e prezompson de sa suffizance conioint' a vne meconoessance de l'im- braceilité, e imperfection de notr' entendement : Ao regard d'aou par ou clos je ne l'ey point decouuert, q'ao mot aout, qe vous cerinez Aoust, etan' s, superflicu.'

This long quotation will serve to shew that Meigret's diphthongs must be accepted as such, with the exception of ou, of which he says "aotrement ne l'oise je noter," and which was the vowel (u) simply. Hence as Meigret only heard (au) in the one word aout, now (uu), and heard (ao) in all other words, either the English must have been (ao), or, if it were (au), Palsgrave misheard the unfamiliar (ao) as the familiar (au). The latter is à priori more probable and agrees with all the other indications we possess.1

1 G. des Antels was very vehement against Meigret for using the diphthong (ao). "Je luy demande," says he according to p. 130 of Livet, "oeu est le son, non entier, mais demy ou encore moins, de l'a en la diphthonge de sa nouvelle forge ao ?" To the first objection he had raised Meigret had replied: "si vous n'avez le cerveau bien troubé d'opinionastrété, vous trouverez qu'en introduisant la diphthonge ao, je ne fais qu'accorder l'écriture à la prononciation," (ib. p. 122), and to the above question he answered: "le plus opiniatîre sourdaud du monde ne saurait nier qu'il n'oye (entende) en aesi (aussi) un a puis un o qui luy est conjoint en une same syllabe," (ib. p. 133). It is evident then that Meigret used and was familiar with (ao). Livet (ib. p. 122) remarks: "il est certain qu'en Anjou l'on prononce de la chaos, j'ai chaos, chevaux, en appuyant sur l'a et glissant légèrement sur l'o qui ne s'entend guère plus qu'un o muet;" but this must be a recent development, the unstable (ao) becoming in this case (ao), while in the classical French it must have passed through an (ao) form. That the a was originally pronounced there can of course be etymologically no doubt, and the change of (ao) to (ao) is precisely similar to the change of (au) into (aa), which will be seen to have taken place in English. In Welsh we find Salesbury's aw be-
Palsgrave, speaking of French pronunciation, says:

“If m or n follow next after a, in a freche worde, all in one syllable, than a shall be sounded lyke this diphthong av, and somethynge in the noose, as these wordes ãmbré, chámbré, maundr, amdt, tant, quant, parlánt, regardánt, shall in redynge and spekyng be sowned amumber, chaumbre, maunder, amaunt, taunt, quaunt, parlaunt, regardaunt, soundynge the á like au, and somethynge in the noose.”

Of this there is no trace in Meigret, but the observation is important as explaining the English pronunciation of words from the French, and the nasalisation of au, which = (AA), is pronounced “as a lengthened a, something in the nose” (wie gedehntes a, ein wenig genäselt). 1

1547. Salesbury has no special article on au, but he says:

“w English & v Welsh do not differ in sound, as wawe, waw unda, . . . . Also w is mute at the end of words in English, as in the following awei . . . . pronounced thus a (aa) terror.” Also he says that “sometimes a has the sound of the diphthong aw (au) especially when it precedes l or ll, as may be more clearly seen in these words balde, bawld (bauld) calvus, ball, bawl (baul) pila, wall, wawel (waull) murus.” And he writes “galaunt, galaunt (galaunt).”

The word (aa) for (aau) aue is here singular, especially as it is adduced as an instance of the omitted (u). Smith pronounces this word (au) and Gill (aau). Salesbury is also inconsistent with himself, for in his Welsh pronunciation he says:

“All though the Germanes vse vv yet in some wordes sounde they it (to my hearing) as the forther u were a vowel, and the latter o (sic) consonant, where we Britons sounde both uu wholly together as one vowell, wythout anye seuerall distinction, but beyng always the forther or the latter parte of a diphthonge in Englyshe on thys wyse: wyth aw, and in Welsh as thus wyth awen.”

coming modern o. In Italian o operto has succeeded frequently to Latin au, and so on. The question of importance here however is, when did the change take place? The testimony of Palsgrave to (au) and Meigret to (ao), and the objections of des Autels and Pelletier—who says to Meigret (ib. p. 138) “il t’eut autant valu mettre un o simple”—and the assertion of Ramus (ib. p. 186) which it is “le son que nous escrivons par: deux voyelles A et U, comme en ces mots: autres, auetel, ou nous prononcons toutesfois une voyelle indivisible,” together with the dictum of Beza (ib. p. 520) “la diphthongue au ne diffère pas sensiblement de la voyelle o,” to which he adds: “les Nérmans la prononcent en faisant entendre distinctement a, o: disant a-o-tant pour autant; peut-être est-ce la vraie et ancienne pronunciation comme la vraie orthographe de cette diphthongue” —seem to shew that the change took place in the first half of the xvth century; that is, that about this time the simple vowel (ao) prevailed over the diphthong (ao) or (au), although the latter did not absolutely die out.

It would seem impossible after the preceding remark to suppose that \(v\) were mute in \(au\). Indeed \(wyth \ au\) seems to be rather a Welsh phonetic transcription than the usual orthography, in which, as in the other passage quoted above, we should expect \(awe\).

1568. Smirh simply gives "\(\Delta U\ sou \ au\). (Dau) monedula, (clau) unguis auium, (rau) crudus, (naunta) nihil, (taunta) doctus, (laau) lex, (mau) stomachus, (sau) serra, (au) terror, (launter) risus, (faunt)\(^1\) pugnavit, (strau) stramen." But in his Greek pronunciation he adds: "\(au\), \(eu\), \(nu\). Eandem rationem sequuntur, quam in reliquis. Nam si fuisset apud veteres tanta soni commutatio, profecto Grammaticorum diligentia non hoc tam insigne discrimen preteritum reliquisset. Itaque sic \(au\).\(^2\) loquimur, \(vt\ audio nos-\) trates vnguem, \(claw\), \& \(scabere\ claw\." So that his \(au\) was cer-\(tainly\) (au).

1569. Hart says: "The Dutch" that is the Germans, "\(doe vse\) also \(au\), \(ei\), \& \(ie\), rightly as I do hereafter."

Now the German sounds are, and probably were, (au, ai, jee) or (ii), but Hart clearly did not refer to this last sound. When then Hart writes (autours, aulaiz, aulso, tshaundzh, bikaus, radikaual) for \(authors, always, also, change, because, radical,\) he meant (au) to be sounded as in German.

1580. Bullokar distinctly writes \(ha, u\), meaning (hau), and uses (kaul, kau'st) for \(caul, causey = causeway\). His notation \(at\ a'\ an\ a\'\ he explains as \(= (aul, aum, aun)\). This agrees with the rest.

Up to this time therefore, when Shakspere was 16, the pronunciation of \(au\) seems to have been indisputably (au) the same as the modern German \(au\). There can be little doubt that Shakspere in his youthful days must have said (au), but during his lifetime the general pronunciation seems to have changed. Between Bullokar's and Gill's books, 41 years elapsed, and although Gill had an old pronunciation, yet he seems to have followed the times somewhat in this combination. In determining the pronunciation of Shak- spere, we must remember that he and Dr. Gill were born in the same year, 1564, and that Shakspere died, 1616, eight years after Gill had been made master of St. Paul's school, and five years before the publication of Gill's book. Hence Gill's pronunciation is the best authority which we have for Shakspere's, and certainly gives us the pronunciation of Shakspere's time. It is therefore singularly vexatious that we cannot make out a very clear account either of long \(i\), (p. 114,) or of this diphtho\(ag\) \(au\), from Gill.

\(^1\) In the original (\(faunt\)), which is clearly a misprint. Possibly (laau) for (lau) was also a misprint.
1621. Gill says: "A, est tenuis, aut lata; tenuis, aut brevis est, vt in (taloou) tallowe sebum; aut deducta, ut in (taal) tale fabula aut computus: lata, vt in tall tale procerus. Hunc sonum Germani exprimunt per aa. vt in maal conuuiuum, haam coma: nos vnico charactere, circumflexo å, contenti crimus."

This ought to imply that a in tall was a simple vowel and not a diphthong,¹ and that it was (aa, aah) or (AA). The Germans perhaps really said (aa) or at most (aah), but (AA) was the sound which appears certainly to have been heard by the English in the xvii th century. But Gill, who is so particular in his phonetics, absolutely confuses the diphthong (au) with his å, in the following curious paragraph, where I leave his symbols untranslated.

"A praeponitur e, ut in aerj aerie aerius. O nunquam; saepeius i, et u, vt, in aid auxilium; baiil esca; laun sindonis species; & a paun pignus: vbi aduerte au nihil differre ab å. Eodem enim sono proferimus a bål, båll pila; et tu bål, baule, vociferari: at ubi verë diphthongus est, a, deducitur in å, vt åu awe imperium; åuger terebra."

Here he admits that au in his own phonetic writing is sometimes the sound which he represents as a simple vowel, his "broad å" and sometimes "truly a diphthong," but then becomes åu or å + u. I feel therefore bound to take his au as = his å or (AA), and his åu as (AAu). In this point then Gill must have given in to the xvii th century pronunciation. The pronunciation (AAu) is not recognised by others. In Gill's first edition, 1619, he uses au instead of å, for (AA) and in the case of "the true diphthong" to make the u apparent, he considers the u and not the a to be lengthened. The meaning is evidently the same.

1633. Butler is still less explicit, for after saying that "the right sound is a mixed sound of two vowels whereof they (diphthongs) are made," and referring to the Greek, he merely tells us that "au in Paul's and his compounds, Pauls-cross, Pauls-eyre-yard,² the Londoners pronounce after the French manner, as ov."

We are therefore driven to Ben Jonson's grammar 1640, which was not published till two years after his death, and which has probably been tampered with. Jonson was born in 1574, ten years after Gill and Shakspere, and his pro-

¹ But that it does not necessarily do so, appears from his calling long i, which was "fere diphthongus ei" the "thick i," or "i crassa." So that his assertion that a in tall is "a lata" or "broad a" would not be inconsistent with his admitting it afterwards to be "fere diphthongus au," and, as it will be seen, he almost uses these very words.

² The Greek e here represents a crossed e, much resembling it in form.
nunciation at best belongs to the very edge of the xvi th century. He says,

when a "comes before l. in the end of a Syllabe, it obtaineth the full French sound, and is utter'd with the mouth and throat wide open'd, the tongue bent backe from the teeth, as in al. smal. gal. ful. tal. cal. So in Syllabes, where a Consonant followeth the l. as in salt. malt. balme. calme."

Bullokar writes (ba'l'm ka'l'm = baul'm kaul'm) for balm, calm. Salesbury gives calm, call in his Welsh pronunciation, as words in which "a is thought to decline toward the sound of the diphthong au, and the wordes to be read in thys wyse caul, caulme." Gill gives balm as (ba'am) according to our present interpretation of his ã = au. Ben Jonson's explanation of his a before l will really apply better to (aa) than to (AA), because he omits all mention of labial action, but I suspect that (AA) was fully developed in England at the latter end of his life, and that he intended to indicate its sound, but had not noticed its labial character. It is worthy of remark however that Jonson's account of this sound is almost translated from the description of Latin A in Terentianus Maurus whom he cites in a note:

A, prima locum littera sic ab ore sumit,
Immunia, rictu patulo, tenére labra;
Lingnamque necesse est ità pandulam reduci,
Ut niusus in illam valeat subire vocis,
Nec partibus ullis aliquos ferire dentes.

and this renders his description altogether suspicious, as if it were the result of learning, not of observation.

The result is that in the earlier part and middle of the xvi th century and at least to 1580 the sound of au was (au) or (au); that at the close it may have passed into (aa) ready to fall positively into (AA) in the next century. The modern contest between (aa) and (AA) in such words as gaunt, haunt, jaunt = (gaunt, haunt, dzhaant), or (gaunt, haunt, dzhaant), while aunt has remained (aunt),—seems to point to a time of (aa) or (oa) before (AA) was evolved. In giving the pronunciation of Shakspere, however, having regard to the archaic habits of the stage, I think it will be more correct to write the full diphthong (au), see Chapter VIII. § 8. The change of (a) by the action of 'u) would naturally be to the round form (o), for which in French, the narrower form (o) has prevailed. But if the (a) fell first into (a), the (u) would labialize it into (o), for which the narrower form (A) is frequently substituted.
The distinction between primary, or narrow, and wide forms, is seldom upheld in its purity, and the sound varies frequently, unnoticed, from narrow to wide in different individuals, who believe themselves to be speaking alike.

**AU — XVIIth Century.**

1653. Wallis says: "Au vel aw, recte pronuntiatum, sonum exhiberet compositum ex Anglorum ã brevi et w, (œu). Sed a plerisque nunc dierum effertur simpliciter ut Germanorum ã pingue (AA); sono nempe litterae ã dilatatæ, et sono litterae w prorsus suppressæ. Eodem nempe sono effertunt aUl omnes, æw subula; call voco, care, care, omentum, vel etiam tiara muliebris."

This is just the conclusion that Dr. Gill had arrived at, but he does not acknowledge the pair, fall folly, of Wallis = (faal fali).

1668. Wilkins entirely agrees with Wallis. Price only says that "aw sounds broader then au as dawb, haunt," the meaning of which is not clear.

1685. Cooper, as usual, is rather peculiar. He says:

"A in can, cast, cum u coalescens (œu) . . . nunquam occurrit in nostrâ lingua. Lance hasta, lanceâ scalprum chirurgicum, à lanceola; lanch navem solvere à G. lanceâ, Jaculari, Ganch in sudes acutas præcipitem dare, hant à G. hanter frequento; hanch à G. hanche femur; Gant, maer quasi want ab A.S. wana cares, gantlet chirroidea ferrea, landress à lavando, nullo modo scribent debent cum u; contrà enim suadent sonus et derivatio;¹ falsò itaque scribuntur launce &c. Quedam vocabula à latinis præcipue derivata scribimus per au pronunçiamus prout au vel a (AA) audacious audax; maunder murmurare; à G. maudire malodicer . . . . O in loss, lost conjunctus cum u semper scribimus per au (Au), ut audible audibilis, audience audientia; audit-or-y auditorium, augment angeo, angury angurium, augst augustus, auricular auricularis, austerity austeritas, authentick authentick, authority authoritas, cautious cautus, fraudul- lent dolosus, laudable laudabilis, laurel laurus, plausible plausibilis, negligenter loquentes pronunciant prout a (AA); in cæteris vocibus au & av semper prout a (AA) pronunçiamus."

This fancy for pronouncing au as (Au) or (ou) in certain words, seems peculiar to Cooper; it may, however, have represented one of the transitional stages (au, au, Au, AA) or (au, a', aa, AA). We can readily conceive that the sound had passed through all these stages; the (aa) often heard at

¹ As to sound, many even now say (laarsh lâns, hânt, hântsh hâns, gaânt-let, lândres). As to derivation, the insertion of (u) before (m, n) when they represented what are now the French nasals, was a regular indication of their origin, see supra p. 143, and M, N below.
present in haunt, gaunt, jaunt, favours the notion that (aa) once existed. Cooper's "negligenter loquenter" refers of course to the general pronunciation, which was opposed to his ideas of correctness. Whenever an orthoepist talks of a "careless" pronunciation, he means that which is most prevalent, and which is therefore most valuable to the student of changes, while his "careful" pronunciation is that of Dr. Gill's "docti interdum," seldom or never heard when speakers are thinking of the meaning, rather than the sound, of what they say.

1686. Miege says: "La diphongue au en Anglois se prononce comme nôtre a en François, Exemple, Cause, Author. Il en faut excepter Auncient, & ses Derivatifs, où la Diphongue se prononce comme l'a simple en Anglais. De même en est il des mots finissans en aunt, comme aunt, to daunt, qu'il faut prononcer aint, tou daint. To laugh, se prononce laiff. Paul suit la Règle, hormis quand on parle de l' Eglise Cathedrale de S. Paul à Londres. Alors on l' appelle Pôls . . . La Diphongue aw sonne comme un a long en Français. Exemple, Law, flaw qu'il faut prononcé là, flâ. Mais il se prononce bref, dans every."

The difficulty experienced by the French in distinguishing (ae) from (a), and (a) or (a) from (A) has been noticed on pp. 71-2. The preceding indications lead me to suppose that Miege meant to express the sounds, (kaaz, aa'thor; æn'shent ææn'shent, æænt, daænt, laæf, PAAL Poulz, IAA flaAA). The sound of ancient is doubtful. The use of (ææ) in aunt, daunt is rather a thin pronunciation at the present day, which some ladies even still further thin to (ænt, daent). The sound (Poulz) is not now heard, but as Chaucer writes Powles, and as Butler gives the pronunciation (Poulz) "in the French manner," we see that this pronunciation was very old, and was probably confined to this single word.

1701. Jones simply identifies a, au, aw in all, Paul, awl. But he gives the following list of words in au, "which many sound as with an o. Auburn, auction, audacious, audible, audience, audit, auditor, auf awf, augment, augre, August, aumber, aumelet, aunt, auspicious, austere, authentic, author, Autumn, auxiliary, because, cautious, centaury, daunt, Dauphin, debauch, fault, flaunt, fraud, heraud, Henuault, jaundice, laudable, maujlin, maugre, nauseous, Pauls, plausible, restauration, sausage, ribauldry, vault."

He does not say whether the o is long (oo) or short (o). In sausage we now use (A), and frequently in because (bikaz', bikaz'), but auf awf is now written oaf' (oof). Dauphin is frequently pronounced as French (DoofeA). The cases in which Jones finds al written for au will be considered under
L; and those in which au is written as a written before M, N, R will be considered under those letters.

In the xvii th century, then, au was almost universally pronounced (AA), but there were a few exceptions, so that on the whole the rules resembled those now in use.

AU—xviii th Century.

1704. The Expert Orthoepist take the sound of au for granted, and must have pronounced (AA). The following with the sound of (AA) are noteworthy, sausage, taunt, vaunt, launcet, launch.

1766. Buchan an has (AA) in daw, maw, ave, vault, daunt, fault, taunt, but has (aae) in aunt, laugh, where Sheridan has (ae).

1768. Franklin has (laz) meaning probably (laaz) laws.

The usages with regard to au seem to have been nearly the same in the xviii th century as in the xix th century, but the orthoepists of the xviii th ignore the sound (aa) altogether, and consequently do not notice the sounds (aunt, laaf), which are now extremely prevalent, and probably were frequently heard during the preceding century. Our present orthoepists reject the sounds also.

OU—xvi th Century.

1530. Palsgrave says: "Ov in the frenche tong shalbe sounded lyke as the Italians sounde this vowel v, or they with vs that sounde the latine tong aright, that is to say, almost as we sounde hym in these wordes, a cowe, a mowe, a sowe, as ovltre, sowdajn, ovblir, and so ofsuche other."

The ou in French is called "ou clós" and sometimes "o clós" by Meigret, which would lead to suppose it rather (uh) than (u), see p. 131, note. There can be no doubt of the Italian u, which was certainly (uu). But it seems from other writers that this pronunciation of (kuu, muu, suu), although still heard in the North of England, was going out. Palsgrave's pronunciation is probably of the xv th century in this point. We shall see that these words were so pronounced in the xiv th century, and it will hence be most convenient to defer the consideration of the change of (uu) into (ou) to the next chapter. We are not to suppose that ou was universally pronounced as (uu), even by Palsgrave and older writers. In many words, ow derived from ags. aw, was called (ouu). Palsgrave says in another place:

"If m or n followe next after o in a frenche worde both in one syllable, than shall the o be sounded almost lyke this diphthonge
ov, and something in the noose: as these wordses mon, ton, son, renown, shalbe sounnded moune, town, soun, renown and so of all suche other, and in like wyse shall o be sounnded the next syllable folowynge begynne with an other m or n, as in these wordses hōme, sōmne, bōnne, tōnere, which they sounde houme, bounue, soumme, tounner, and so of suche other.\textsuperscript{13}

Meigret knows nothing of this, but the effect on English ears is important in the transference of French words to English, where on, when, at present, nasal, became oun, meaning (uun), which afterwards, as we shall see, fell into (oun). Thus Hart in giving the pronunciation of the French Lord's prayer, writes (tun, num, volonte', kum'ah, dune', pardun'ah, pardun'unz, unt), for, ton, nom, volonté, comme, donnez, pardonne, pardonnons, ont.

1547. Salesbury gives no special article on ou, but he has the following words, involving this combination, which may be classified as follows.

(oo) bowe, bo (boo) arcus; crowe kro (kroo) cornix; trowe tro (troo) opinor.

(o) honoure onor (on'or) honos; — probably a mistake for onor (on'ur).

(uu) wowe, w (u) petere ut proceu; — a Welshism for (wuu) now written wuo.

(u) narrowe, narro (nar'ru) angustus; sparowe, sparou (spar'ru) passer; graeyouse, grasius (graa'si,us) comis; emperoure, emperow (emperur) imperator; double, dūbyl (dub'il), see also under (ou).

(ou) low low (lou) mugire; nowe now (nou) nunc; thou dōw (dhou); double v dōbyl uw (dou'bil y), see also under (u).

It is evident that the (uuz) have it, but the (ouz) are in force. Those words marked (oo) by Salesbury were probably (ouz), as at present, but the (u) was possibly faint and disregarded.

1555. Cheke says: "foule, boule, houle oundaryl oundaryl ful bul hul Latinum u est. nam lumen nuntij acute argute λυμεν νουντι ακτε αγονυε sic Graec transferuntur."

Since Mekerch in taking the passage transfers it thus "moule concha, douken panni, μυλ, δυκ μυλ duk u Latinum est," and we know that in the old Dutch words\textsuperscript{1} cited ou was (ou) or (ou), we see at once that these scholars were led away by their interpretation of the Greek ov as = (ou), to imagine that the Latin u had the same sound, instead of, conversely, from the known (uu) sound of Latin u concluding the (uu) sound of Greek ov. In Cheke's time then the English "foule, boule, houle" were (foul, boul, houl).

\textsuperscript{1} The modern forms are moue, moued, molle, (meu, moued, mol'e), and doek (duuk).
1568. Sir T. Smith fully endorses Cheke’s inference that the Latin long \( u \) was pronounced as he pronounced Greek \( ou \), that is, (ou), saying:

“\( OT \) diphthongus Graeca, (ou) et \( ow \), (ou). Ex (o) breui & (u), diphthongum habeant Latini, quæ si non eadem, vicissimæ certè est \( ou \) Graecæ diphthongo, & proximè accedit ad sonum \( u \) Latine. Ita quæ Latinè per \( u \) longum scribent, Graeci exprimebant per \( ou \). quæ per \( u \) breuem, per \( v \), quasi sonos vicissimos. At ex (oo) longa & (u) diphthongus apud nos frequens est, apud Graecos rara, nisi apud Ionas: apud Latinos haud scio an fuit vnquam in vsu.

(ou), (bou) flectere, (bou) sphæra, (kould) poteram, (mou) meta fenë, (sou) sus femina.

\( ov \). (bou) arcus, (bou) sinum aut scaphium, (kould) frigidus, (mou) metere, aut irridere os distorquendo, (sou) seminare, aut suere.”

And again in his Greek pronunciation, he adds: “\( ov \) ab omnibus rectè sonatur, & \( u \) facit Latinum quando producitur, vt aduertit Terentianus: differt \( ov \) granditate vocis, vt etiam \( ηv \) ab \( ev \) distinguimus.

\( ov. \) bow, \( βού \), flectere. \( a \) hay now, \( μού \), fæni congeries, a gowne, \( γού \), toga.

\( ov. \) a bow, \( βοου \), arcus. \( to \) now, \( μοου \), metere, vel os torquere. \( gou, \) \( γου \), abeamus.

\( v. \) \( v \) breue Latinum. \( a \) bull taurus. \( u \) longum vel \( ov, a \) bowl, \( βούλ \), globus. \( ov, a \) bowle \( βοου \), Sinum ligneum, vas in quo lac serratur, vel vnde ruri bibitur.

Here Smith agrees with Salesbury in the close diphthong (ou), but distinguishes an (ouu) where Salesbury only heard (oo) as in bowe, arcus. In the same way at the present day, very few of those who say (bouu) acknowledge the final (u), because most of them insert it in no, go, etc., saying (noou, goou) for (noo, goo), and hence consider that they pronounce simple (oo) in both cases. Very few would say (oi noo noo bow sou lou) for I know no bow so low, or would distinguish no beau as (noo boo) from know bow (noo bow). Smith at the same time absolutely disagrees with Palsgrave in now, sow, saying (mou, sou) where the latter says (muu, suu). It is singular that this difference, to which we shall have to allude again presently, turns upon precisely the error con-

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1 At present it is usual to distinguish sow seminare, sew suere, which would lead to saying (souu, sou). We find for sow seminare ‘sowyn corne, or any oþer sedys’ in the Promptorium, ‘I sowe corne, or any other seedes’ in Palsgrave; and for sew suere, ‘sowe clothys or oþer sedys’ in Promptorium, ‘I sowe with a nedell’ in Palsgrave, while Leavins gives both sewe and sowe for suere, and does not appear to give the English for seminare at all. Probably Leavins’s sowe should have been explained seminare.
cerning Greek ou. Although there were then living persons who pronounced (uu) for ou, yet Cheke and Smith both refer their sound (ou) to the Greek ou, and then infer the monstrous conclusion that the Latins pronounced their long u in the same way.

1569. Hart, in the passage already quoted, p. 132, writes fowerth, (fourth) tower (toure), poure (pourur), fower (flour), marking the second element of the diphthong as long. There is no doubt that in prolonging a diphthong the second element must be lengthened, because the first and the glide must pass in the usual time in order to preserve the character of the diphthong. As however the lengthening of the second element is accidental, it is not usually marked in palaeotype. In the course of his work, however, Hart does not mark the second element as long; for example I find, (nou, sound). Hart also leaves out the (u) occasionally as (vo,elz, knoon, thou′t, knoledzh,) for vowels, known, thought, knowledge. Hart also writes (dub′l) for double, thus agreeing with one of Salesbury's notations for this word.

1580. Bullokar in writing of the sounds of o (supra p. 93) says that the third sound is "as, v, flat and short, that is to say, as this sillable ou, short sounded." Again, under u he talks of one of the vowel sounds of u being "of flat sound, agreeing to the olde and continued sound of the diphthong: ou: but always of short sounde." This he distinguishes by writing a hook, like a comma below, which will be here, for convenience, printed as a comma before. He then identifies in his notation o,v o,u ,ou ,ouw ,ov ,u ,o ,oo, where the two o's are united into one sign like Greek ω, observing "that no diphthong is of so short sounde as any short vowell, and that as well short vowels, as diphthongs ending a sillable, are of meane time, that is, betwenee short and long, their time before shewed notwithstanding." The following are some of the words in the ordinary spelling in which he uses these notations sum, sound, doubt, other, fully, some, such, without, precious, youth, good, much, under, colour, unwilling, comfort, double, vowels, come, but, word, our. With the exception of sound, doubt, without, vowels, our, which have now (ou) and youth which has (uu), all the above words have now (o), and it will be shewn under U that we may infer an elder (u) or (u) from a modern (o). There is therefore no doubt that Bullokar pronounced ou as (u) at times; at other times I think it must have been (uu), for he would not have used the phrase "ou short sounded" unless there had been an "ou long sounded." Thus it is probable that the word
vowels was called by him (vu'ulz) rather than (vu'elz). We have here then a direct confirmation of Palsgrave and contradiction to Smith. Thus bow flectere — (bou) in Smith, and (buu) in Bullokar, both giving bow arcus as (boou). We are reminded here of the distinction between the English (bou) and the Scotch (buu). Again bowl sinum is (booul) in Salesbury, Smith, Bullokar; but bowl's sphaera, is (boul) in Smith and (buul) in Bullokar. The celebrated bowling greens at Nottingham are commonly called (boul'iq) or (bou'liq / grünz) to this day. Walker says on the word bowl sphaera, which he calls (bool) meaning (booul):

"Many respectable speakers pronounce this word so as to rhyme with bowl (bouul) the noise made by a dog. Dr. Johnson, Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Perry declare for it; but Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Scott, Dr. Kenrick and Mr. Smith, pronounce it as the vessel to hold liquor, rhyming with hole (bool, booul). I remember having been corrected by Mr. Garrick for pronouncing it like howl; and am upon the whole of opinion, that pronouncing it as I have marked it, (bool), is the preferable mode, though the least analogical."

Walker derived his knowledge entirely from observing the spelling and custom of his time. Hence his argument is perfectly groundless. Bowl, the cup, is connected with boll, bole, and the sound of (oo) is to be expected, the additional (u) arising merely from the following l, as will be shewn under l. But bowl, the ball, was the French boule, correctly written boul or bowl in older English, not only as we see from Bullokar, who calls this sound of ou its "old and continued sound," but as will appear from the study of Chaucer's orthography. The change of (uu) into (ou) in English, which occurred partly perhaps in the xvth century, but which we see by Palsgrave and Bullokar, was not fully completed in the xvi-th, and which the words through, youth, you, a wound some say (aound), could, would, should, flowk (a flounder), soup, group, rouge, route, occasionally called (rou't) like rout, Cowper, only called (kau'per) by those who do not know the family, Brougham, (Bruum) as spoken by Lord Brougham, though the carriage is often called (Broo'em), will convince us that the change is not yet complete. The nature and laws of this change will best be considered hereafter.¹

¹ Walker continues as follows, and it is worth while, perhaps, in a note, to draw attention to the extreme confusion of ideas concerning language that possessed this respectable orthopist, because it is still widely prevalent, as I have had frequent opportunities of observing. "But as the vessel bowl has indisputably this sound it is rendering the language still more irregular to give the ball bowl a different one." That is, because in early times of our orthography, when the writer did not know exactly how to represent
1621. Gill agrees with Smith, and writes: (bound) bound, (sound) sound, (bloon) blown, (throun) thrown, (bou) bough, (boou) arcus, (boul) bowl a ball, (boou) bowl a cup.

the sound of (uu), but wandered between o and ou, oe, which last happened to be also appropriated to sounds which were distinctly (ouu).—And because people following the tendencies of sound, quite independently of spelling, altered the sound of (uu) in many words to (ou, ou), so as still to keep up a distinction in speech between words previously distinguished though in a different way,—all these tendencies are to be given up for the sake of a casual similarity of spelling; and it is to be deemed less irregular, because the spelling is alike, to change the sound of one of the words, than to give a different sound to two words spelled alike, or to change the spelling of one of them. Of course, then, know now should be pronounced alike, as also the latter parts of shoe, hoe, changed hanged. The irregularity was not in the sound but in the clumsy orthography. Walker proceeds thus, "The inconvenience of this irregularity is often perceived in the word bow," the irregularity was spelling two words, i.e. two collections of sound in the same way; Walker assumes it to be, pronouncing one word, i.e. one collection of letters, in two ways. The confusion of writing and sound could not be more complete. "To have the same word" i.e. sound, "signify different things, is the fate of all languages; but pronouncing the same word," i.e. written symbol, "differently to signify different things, is multiplying difficulties without necessity," to the reader, not the listener, and the remedy is with the writer, not the speaker, "for though it may be alleged that a different pronunciation of the same word" i.e. written symbol, "to signify a different thing, is in some measure remedying the poverty and ambiguity of language" i.e. written symbols, "it may be answered, that it is in reality increasing the ambiguity" of orthography, not of language, "by setting the eye and ear at variance, and obliging the reader to understand the context before he can pronounce the word." A good argument against unphonetic spelling. But to conclude that pronunciation must follow the unphonetic spelling, is to determine that every baby should learn to read before it speaks. This would almost beat those celebrated Irish infants of whom a native preacher is said, by Sir Jonah Barrington in his Memoirs, to have declared, inveighing against the prococious wickedness of his times, that, "little children who could neither walk nor talk, ran about the streets blaspheming." Walker continues: "It may be urged that the Greek and Latin languages had these ambiguities in words" written symbols, "which were only distinguished by their quantity or accent." That is, words differing in the accent given to the syllables, or in the length of vowel sounds were written alike—a defect in orthography, but certainly not in the language which distinguished the sounds. "But it is highly probable that the Greek language had a written accent to distinguish such words as were pronounced differently to signify different things," as the Greek accents were an invention of later grammarians chiefly to assist foreigners, it would have been more satisfactory if Walker had mentioned the grounds of this 'high probability,' "and this is equivalent to a different spelling," of course, when the accent points to a difference of sound, and is not merely, as old Bullokar often used it, and as we find in French a, â, 'for the sake of equivoce,' just as we may imagine Walker would have looked on the diverse spellings rite, write, right, wright, or air, heir, eyere, ere, eir. Walker continues, "and though the Latin word lego signified either to read or to send, according to the quantity with which the first syllable was pronounced," that is, the word (leg'oo) meant I gather or read, and the word (leeg'oo) meant I send, and the two words were in this particular inflection written alike, "it was certainly an imperfection in that language," read, orthography, "which ought not to be imitated. Ideas and combinations of ideas will always be more numerous than words; and therefore the same word will often stand for very different ideas;" and Walker has in this note strangely illustrated the danger of such results in bad writers and loose thinkers,
He has however some remnants of the (uu, u) sounds, as (kuurts) courts, (kuuld) could, where Smith has (kould), and admits (wound) as a Northern pronunciation of wound.

1653. Butler says (translating his symbols): "ou in the substantive termination our, as honour, labour, sweour, and in the adjective termination ous, as glorious, gracious, prosperous is sound as oo or u short" that is (u) or (u). "This being general, may be suffered as an Idiom: but in other syllables of some few words, whereof there is no certain rule to be given, it is not so excusable as when we write blood, floud, courage, scourge, flourish, nourish, young, youth, voulf, double, trouble, &c., for blood, flood, coorage, scourge, floorish, nourish, yung, yuth, wulf, double, trouble, &c.," meaning (blud, flud, kur'adzh, skur'dzh, flur'ish, nur'ish, suq, yuth?, wulf, dub'1, trub'1), "for the same writing hath another sound in loud, proud, cour, 1 scour, mound, mouth, coul, seoul, doubt, trout, and the same sound hath another writing in good, stood, bud, mud, burge, 2 purge, furrow, murrain, bung, gulf; bubble, stubble, &c.," which had (u). "Neither is there any more reason why in would, could, should, roun, wound, ou should be written for oo long; than that for cool, pool, fool, tool, school, stool, hoof, bourn, moon, doon: we should write coul, poul, foul, toule, skoul, stoul, houf, bourn, moun, doum. The cause of this cacography which causeth such difficulty is a causeless affectation of the French dialect; who for the sound of oo (which in their language is frequent) do sometimes write o and oftentimes ou; as they write i, ai, oi, and sound (ii, e, woe), 4 or as they write en, an, aw, and sound an, aun, ow for entend, command, costau, saying antand, coumaund, coteou. But that they speak otherwise than they by confusing a spoken and a written word, language and orthography; "but altering the sound of a word, without altering the spelling, is forming an unwritten language." The orthoepist the orthographer, the word-pedlar, is here shewn to the life. It is a horror to him, a monstrosity, this formation of an "unwritten language." As if all languages were not formed unwritten, were not to the great majority of present speakers, unwritten. As if all those who made languages, who altered their sounds, who brought them to their present speech-form, knew or cared about writing; as if even the majority of those who speak, pause to consider in the rapidity of discourse, how the printers of the day choose to print, and the writing-masters choose to order their pupils to write! No, it is not the language, or the speakers that are in fault in obeying and carrying out the organic laws of speech and word formation. It is those word-pedlars, those letter-drivers, those stiff-necked, pedantic, unphilosophical, miserably-informed, and therefore supremely certain, self-confident, and self-conceited orthographers who make default, when they will not alter the spelling after the sound has changed, and maintain that though their rules must be right, it is only the exceptions which prove them,—forgetting that as some foreigner pithily said, "English orthographical rules are all exceptions."

1 Meaning couver, written couvrin in the Promptorium, couvre in Palsgrave, and couvre in Levins.

2 Query, borage, as written in the Promptorium, the bourage of Palsgrave and burrage of Levins, exhibiting the three common spellings for the same sound.

3 Room, woof "of wooven, as warp because warped or wrapped round the beam" adds Butler.

4 Butler belongs to the latter part of the xvi th or to the xvii th century, in his French, when the change of the French a{u} from (ai) to (au) was complete.
write, is no reason why we should write otherwise than we speak; considering what an ease and certainty it would be both to readers and writers, that every letter were content with its own sound, and none did intrude upon the right of another. The termination our accented, is sounded in two syllables: as in devour, deflour: and in all monosyllables, as our, hour, hour, flour, tour, sour, lour, scour, pour Verb fundo: the Noun is, for difference, written in two syllables pouter potestar, and so are all the substantives in the plural number; as flowers, towers, Showers: and sometime in the singular not only in verse: but in prose also."

OU—XVIIth Century.

1653. Wallis says: "Ou et ow duplicate sonum obtinent; alterum clariorem, alterum obscuriorem. In quibuscum vocabulis effertur sono clarioir per o apertum, et w. Ut in soul anima, sounds vendebam, venditum, snow nix, know scio, sow sero, suo, owe debo, bowl poculum, etc., quo etiam sono et o simplex nonnunquam effertur nempante ante i: ut in gold aurum, scold rixor, hold teneo, cold frigidus, old senex, antiquus, etc., et ante il in poll caput, roll volvo, toll vectigal, etc. Sed et hae omnia ab aliis efferruntur simpliciter per o rotundum aequal scripta essent sole, sold, snw &c. In aliis vocabulis obscuiori sono efferruntur; sono neme composite ex o vel u obscuris (o), et w (ou). Ut in house domus, mouse mus, loose pediculus, bowl globulus, our noster, out ex, owl bubo, town oppidum, fowl immundus, bowl volucris, bowl flecto, booth ramus, sow sus, etc. At would vellem, should deberem, could possem, course cursus, court aula, curia, et paucum forsan alia, quamvis (ut proximq preecendentia) per ou pronunciari debeant, vulgo tamen negligentius efferri solent per oo (ou).

Wallis seems to say that (soul, sound, snow) as well as (sool, soold, snoo) were heard, and that (gould, skould, bould, kould, ould) were used, although he did not approve of them. This effect of L will be considered hereafter. The sound (hous, mews) &c. is the same as the modern English, and must be distinguished from the former. Wallis’s dictum concerning would, etc., is only borne out by Smith’s very peculiar (kould) could, supra p. 151. We have seen that Gill said (kuurt); (kuurs) is still common in the North. Wallis wishes that the two sounds were distinguished in writing;

1 This must mean “o apertum,” that is (A), giving the diphthong (au); although it is certainly very singular, as the words given were pronounced with (oun) in the xviith century, and he makes some of them have (oo). This (au) is the diphthong recognized in a few words by Cooper, supra p. 147. I suspect that this is a theoretical pronunciation, arising from Wallis’s considering the vowel o short in the diphthong and his having no notation for (o). The o apertum he usually marks o, but here he has employed ä, apparently to connect the sound with his d = (oo), so that he may really mean (ou).
using oun ow or oun ow or simply ow for (ou, oo) and oun ow or simply ou for (eu). Yet how many would feel their eyes offended by seeing know, nou, hou, low, sou, sow, row, rou, notwithstanding the infinitesimal nature of the change.

1668. Wilkins speaks of (ou) only as the sound of ow in “owr, owle.” It is curious that, though (ou) is the common Norfolksism now, Wilkins says that (ae) before (u) “will not coalesce into a plain sound.” Writers on phonetics are too apt to measure the pronouncing powers of others by their own, although the extreme difficulty with which unfamiliar combinations of familiar elements become current to their organs, and the mistakes they make in hearing and imitating unfamiliar sounds and slight variations of familiar sounds, should teach them to be less confident.

1668. Price makes several categories of ou, ow.

1) ow, ou sound “like o,” that is, either (oo) or (o) in bestow, know, a bow, flow, low, window, throw, grow, glow; succour, brought, endeavour, although, armour, behaviour; clamour, colour, embassadour, emperour, error, gourd, harbour, mannour, nought, odour, ought, rigour, solicitour, soul, though, thought, wrought; in some of which we have now (o, AA).

2) Oow, ou keep their “full sound” (ou) in how, to bow, froward, allow, cow, coward, now, toward, devout, flout, fourth, our Saviour, stout. Although (tou’ad) may be occasionally heard, it is unfrequent; (trou’ad) I do not remember to have heard; (fourth) is also strange, and (see’vi, our) the strangest of all.

3) Ou sounds “like short u,” that is (o), in cousin, double, courage, adjourn, blood, couple, courtesy, discourage, doubled, encourage, floud, flourish, journey, journal, nourish, ougly, scourge, touchstone, touchy, young. All these pronunciations remain in use although we no longer write bloud, floud, ougly.

4) Ow, ou sound “like woo,” that is (uu) in arrow, pillow, barrow, borrow, fallow, follow, hallow, morrow, shaddow, sorrow, swallow, widdow, willow, winnow, cough, course, discourse, court, courtier.

5) “Ou soundes like iu in youth,” meaning (jiuth)? This certainly ought to have formed part of the preceding list.

1685. Cooper says “O in full, fole (u, oo) cum u (u) conjunctus constituit diphthongum in coulter vomis, four quatuor, mould panifico, mucosus, typus in quo res formatur; mouhter plumas eucere, pouhter avicularius, poultry alites villatici, shoulder humerus, soul anima; in ceteris hunc sonum scribimus per o ante l finalem, vel l, quando praecedit aliam consonantem; ut bold audax; quidam hoc modo pronunciant ow.”

“U gutturalum (o), ante u Germanicum oo anglice exprimentem (u) semper scribimus per ou; ut out ex; about circa; ou tamen aliquando, preter sonum priorem, sonatur ut oo (uu); ut I could possem; ut u gutturalis (o), couple copulo; ut a (AA) bought empty.”
The first diphthong must be written theoretically (uu), but it was probably meant to be the same as (ou), coinciding with Wallis’s diphthong, because Cooper does not distinguish (u, o). The second diphthong was of course the modern (ou).

The words in ou which Cooper pronounces with the first diphthong (uu) or (ou), as above mentioned, all contain ousel, and to these he adds the following with a simple o before l, behold, bold, bolster, bolt, cold, coll, dott, droll, enroll, fold, gold, hold, inflamer hospes, joll, knoll, manifold, motten, poll, roller, rolls, scold, sold, told, upholster plumarius. He also says: “Quidem scribunt troll vel trol vel laeviter eo, ita controll controul, redarguo, joll jole caput,” jowl is common now, with the sound (dzhoul), “toll tole vectigal &c, mold vel mould humus, at mould typus,” a distinction now lost, if it were ever made by others beside Cooper, “bowl bale patera.”

The sound of the second diphthong (ou) is given by Cooper to all other words in ou, as “boul globulus, gout podagra, &c,” some of which he allows to be written ow, as: adventur, allow, hocow, bow torqueo, bowels, bow, brown, bowze, carowze, cow, coward, cover, crown, down, dowry, drawn, frown, gown, how, howl, lower frontem capero, mow femile, now, ow, plow are, rowel, rowin funem serotonim, shower, sow s., towel, tower, trowel, vow, vowel. He adds, “bounce crepo, bowser thesaurarius, clowm colonus, drousie somnolentus, loud sonorous, louse pedicular, renoun gloria, rouze excito, source omasum, touze plurimum vello; etc., scribuntur item cum ow. W quiescens adjungitur post o finale, (præter in do facio, go eo, no non, so sic, to ad) ut bowe arcus, dowe farina subacta” i.e. dough, “ove debeo, sowe sero, towel lini floccus, &c, & in own assero, disown denego, bellows follis, gallows patibulum, towardness indoles.”

Hence Cooper admits (ou) but not (oou) making the latter purely (oo). He gives no list of words with ou pronounced as (e) or (u, uu).

1686. Miege’s lists are as follows: ou generally = aou, meaning (ou), not (au), although Miege confuses French a with English (AA).

1) ou = o, meaning (o), in adjourn; bloud, floud, country, couple, courage, courtesy, double, doublet, flourish, gourment, journey, Journal, nourish, scourge, scourndrel, touch, trouble, young, in which (skan’drel) is new.

2) ou = “o un peu long,” meaning (o) or (oo), or sometimes one and sometimes the other, or else (ou) which he was unable to express in French letters: in coulter, moulter, poultice, poultry, four,
course, concourse, discourse, soul, souldier, shoulder, mould, trough, dough, though, although.

3) ou, value not named, and hence probably French ou (u), see Jones, just below, in substantives ending in our as Saviour, factour, neighbour.

4) ou, value not named, probably French ou (u), in adjectives ending in ous, as vicious, malicious, righteous, monstrous, treacherous.

5) ough = a long, that is (æ) in ought, nought, brought, bought, sought, thought, wrought = ât, nât, brât, bât, &c., (æat, naat) &c. except drought, doughy = draout, daouty (draut, dou'ti); borough, thorough = boro, thoro (bor'ø, thor'ø); cough = caff (kaaf); rough, tough, enough = roff, toff, enoff (rof, tof, enof').

6) ou = ou French (uu) in would, could, should, you, your, source, youth,—Portsmouth, Plimouth, Yarmouth, Weymouth, Monmouth.

1701. Jones says “that ou and ow have two very different sounds; (1) that in soul, bowl, old, told, &c., which is the true sound of o and oo join’d together in one syllable (ou, ou); (2) that in bough, cow, now, &c., which is the true sound of u short, in but, out, &c., and oo join’d together in one syllable (ou).”

But he characteristically seldom distinguishes which he means when he talks of the sound of ou, ow. He also says that ou is pronounced o, meaning either (oo) or (o), or even (ææ) in “Gloucester, sounded Gloster; although, besought, borough, bough,1 bought, brought, cough, dough, doughy,2 drought, enough,3 fought, hiccough, hough, lough, Lougher, mought, nought, ought, plough,4 rough, slough,5 sought, thought, through, tough,6 trough, whough, wrought; and “in souldier, sounded sodier,” the parent of the “sojer” of our plays and jest books.

The sound of o is also written ow, Jones says: “When it may be sounded ow in the End of words, or before a vowel, as ow, owing; follow, following, &c., otherwise it is always o, when it cannot be sounded ow (ou ?), unless it be one of those above, that are written ough.”

Ou = (uu) is much more extended by Jones than by the preceding authorities, first to the terminations -our, -ous “when it may be sounded ou,” which seems very questionable, and then in the following words: couch, could, course, court, courtship, courteous, crouch, fourth, glove, gourd, mouch, mourn, should, slouch, souse, touch, would; accoutre, amour,

1 Surely a mistake.
2 (Dou'ti) not (doorti) according to Miege, and present use.
3 Meaning (enoo)?
4 The Authorized Version has plow.
5 Now (rof, slof slou, taf).
boutefeu, Bourdeaux, capouch, capouche, coupee, courier, Courtney, courtry, couree, enamour'd, gourmandise, Louvain, Louvre, rendezvous, rencontres, Toulon. For ou = (o), see p. 183.

Hence in the xvii th century ou, or ow had two sounds, the first (ou) or (ouu) corresponding to our present theoretical (oo) and secondly (eu) where it is still so called. The sound of ou as (uu) was exceptional, and seems to have been used in a few more words than at present.

OU — xviii th Century.

1704. The Expert Orthographist seems to pronounce ou as (eu) in touch, Souch, gouge, rouge, coulter, boulter, poultry, moulter, shoulder, poultice, wound, pour, bowl, cowcumber. But to distinguish bow flecto as (bou) from bow arcus as (boou), and says that “All polysyllables ending in obscure o have w added for ornament's sake as arrow, bellows, &c.”

1766. Buchanan writes, (nAAt) nought, (mous) mouse, (foul) foul, (bou) bow flectere, (koun'ti) county, (koutsh) couch, (you'il) vowel, (sou) sow sus, (boul) bowl globus et crater; (dho0) though, (koors) course, (koot) court, (noo) know, (bloo) blow, (bistoo') bestow, (sool) soul, (naer'oo) narrow, (ae loou) a low; (suup) soup, (wud) would, (kud) could, (juu) you; (req) young, (trob'l) trouble, (kap'l) couple, (kar'idzh) courage, (kon'tri) country, (naer'ish) nourish; (thaat) thought, (baat) bought.

1768. Franklin writes (faul, aur, daun, thauz'and, plau'men; koors) for foul, our, down, thousand, ploughman, course, where if (au) is not a mistake, it is a singular form of the diphthong, agreeing however with the analysis of Sheridan and Knowles.

Among the Irish uses noted by Sheridan, 1780, we find (kuurt) court, (suurs) source, and (kauld, bauld) cold, bold, all of which clearly belong to the xvii th century. Sheridan pronounces (koort, soors, koold, boold). The Irish (druuth) drought, English (draut) according to Sheridan, is very singular.

U — Round or Labialised Vowels.

U has been reserved to the last, as in order to understand the relations of the various sounds which have been expressed by u in our own and other languages, especial attention must be directed to the twofold manner in which the aperture of the mouth is varied. Speech sounds are essentially produced in the same manner as those in organ reed pipes.
In the larynx two highly elastic vocal ligaments, stretched to various degrees of tension at will, are put into vibration by the rushing of wind from the lungs through the wind-pipe. The sound thus produced is highly complicated, consisting, as Helmholtz has shewn,\(^1\) of a great number of simple tones, producing on the whole a buzzing, droning, imperfect effect, which would not be well heard. To make it penetrate as a clear distinct sound, a resonance tube must be added. This tube, according to its shape or length, will reinforce a greater or less number of simple tones, which it selects out of the confused number produced by the unarmèd elastic ligaments, thus generating, by the mere change of its shape and size a marked change in the sound heard, even when the original mode of vibration remains unaltered. Now above the larynx is situated a highly variable fleshy bag, the pharynx, communicating with two external apertures, the nose and the mouth, either or both of which can be opened or closed at will. The back nostrils are the entrance and the external nostrils the exit from the upper passage, where the sound passes through various galleries and encounters various membranes, which produce the well-known nasal modifications. The lower passage or mouth is principally modified by the tongue, which acts as a variable plug, and the lips, which form a variable diaphragm. By this means the volume of the mouth is divided into two bent tubes of which the first may be termed the lingual passage as its front extremity is formed by the tongue, and the second, the labial passage. When the labial passage is large and unconstrained by rounding or narrowing of the labial orifice, the effects may be called simply lingual, and when the tongue is brought so low as to remove the separation between the lingual and labial passages, the effects might be termed labial. Mr. Melville Bell has acutely preferred, however, to consider as lingual all positions in which the labial aperture produces no sensible effect, and then to consider the labial effect to be superadded to the lingual, by more or less rounding the lips while the lingual position is held. It was not generally noticed before the publication of his Visible Speech, that the two labial vowels, as they have been called, (uu, oo) really required a distinct position of the tongue in order to produce them.\(^2\) This however may be

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1 The only satisfactory account of musical and vocal tones which has yet been published will be found in Helmholtz's *Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*, Brunswick, 8vo, pp. 600 first edition 1863, 2nd ed. 1865. It has been translated into French, but, unfortunately, not yet into English.

2 See however the subsequent reference to Holder, 1669, p. 178.
practically felt by producing these sounds, and, while uttering them, seizing the upper and lower lips with the two hands and rapidly separating them. Two new sounds will be produced, of which the first (ææ) is a Gaelic vowel, which is the despair of most Englishmen, and the second is a sound (a) often given to our short u in but, and considered by Mr. M. Bell as its normal sound. On producing the effect, which after a little practice can be obtained without the use of the fingers, it will be found that the back of the tongue is much higher for (æ) than it is for (a). 1 Although both effects are different, and also different from the sound with which I pronounce u in but, namely (o), few English ears would readily distinguish (æ æ æ æ æ) in conversation. Hence we have this relation between (u) and (o), that (u) is almost (o) labialized or rounded. 2

Again, for the common vowels (ii, ee) the lingual passage is greatly reduced by means of the front of the tongue which for (ii) is brought very near the palate, and very forward but not quite so forward for (ee), the lips being wide open. Now round the lips upon (ii, ee) and the effect is (i, ø), one a sound often heard in Germany for ü and in Sweden for y, and the other heard for the so-called French e mute when sounded and prolonged in singing, as heard in heureux and the first syllable of heureux. 3

It is now necessary to attend to a third modification, principally in the pharynx. This consists in widening the bag of the pharynx and all the lingual passage behind the narrowest aperture, and also increasing the volume of the labial passage. We are familiar with this in English in the passage from (i) to (i), and from (e) to (e). Applied to the rounded or labialised forms of these vowels, (i, ø) it con-

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1 In reading this discussion the diagrams of the vowel positions in the Introduction, p. 14, should be frequently consulted.
2 The true sound of (a) has the back of the tongue lower and the front higher than for (æ); the tongue is altogether raised, but is nearly parallel to the palate throughout. The labial or 'round' form of (a) is (oh), scarcely distinguishable from (ø) by unpractised ears.
3 Mr. M. Bell gives it as the French u in une, but this is not my own pronunciation, nor does it agree with my own observations. M. Favarger considers the French e mutet to be (zh) the labialisation of (æ), rather than (ø) the labialisation of (e) and assigns the latter value to the French eu, which I have been in the habit of pronouncing as the wide of (æ). Thus heureux according to Féline has the first syllable as in je and the second as in jeu. These I pronounce (zhæ, zhæ), but M. Favarger considers they should be (zhæ, zhæ). Undoubtedly the sounds vary from individual to individual, and hence the necessity of a diagrammatic vowel scale like Mr. Melville Bell's, which is independent of key words. The Swedish u or (ø) which is very peculiar is closely related to (i), being produced in the same way, with rather a greater separation between the tongue and the palate.
 verts them into \((y, \omega)\), which are the common forms, as I hear them, of the French \(u\) in une and \(eu\) in jeu. Hence \((y)\) is the ‘wide’ form of \((u)\), and the ‘round’ or labialised form of \((i)\). If we apply the widening to \((u, o)\) we produce \((u, o)\), and the Italian \(o\ chiuso\) or \((uh)\) appears to be the ‘wide’ form of the Swedish \((u)\) already described.

We can then understand that \((u, u)\) may be readily confused, for no modification is so subtle as that produced by the backward widening. Again, by merely neglecting to labialise, \((u, u)\) are converted into \((a, v)\), both of which are confused with \((o)\) by Englishmen. The last, \((u)\), is indeed a very common sound in English, but it is only looked upon as unaccented or indistinct \((o)\), in motion, ocean, etc.

Again, if when we are pronouncing \((u)\) or \((u)\) we suddenly throw the front of the tongue up to the \((i)\) position without altering the form of the lips, we obtain \((i)\) or \((y)\). There are some persons so used thus to throw up the front of the tongue that they have great difficulty in pronouncing \((u)\) at all. To succeed they must exercise themselves in keeping down the front of the tongue by a muscular effort.

Roughly, we may say that \((o)\) is \((u)\) deprived of its labial character, and that \((y)\) is \((u)\) with a palatal character, or that \((y)\) is an attempt to pronounce both \((i)\) and \((u)\) at the same instant. The further step, then, to pronouncing first \((i)\) and then \((u)\), producing \((iu)\), is easy, and since the \((i)\) character predominates and gives the key to the sound, it would be natural in the absence of a proper sign for \((y)\) to represent that sound by \((iu)\).

**U — xvi th Century.**

1530. Palsgrave says: “\(U\) in the frenche tong, wheresouer he is a vowel by hymselfe, shall be sownded like as we sownde \(eu\) in these wordes in our tong, rewe an herbe, a new for a hauke, a clewe of thred, and such lyke restyng apon\(^1\) the pronounsyng of hym: as for these wordes plus, nul, fus, usér, humble, vertu, they sound plevus, nevul, fevus, evuser, hercumble, ertevu, and so in all other wordes, where \(v\) is a vowel by hymselfe alone; so that in the soundynge of this vowel, they differre both from the Latin tong and from vs.”

On referring to EU, p. 137, it will be seen that Palsgrave divided the English \(eu\) into two categories, trewe, glewe, rewe, mewe and clew having the sound of the French \(u\), and dewe, shrew, fevew having the sound of the Italian \(eu\). The latter we have identified with \((eu)\). There can be but little doubt

\(^1\) Misprint for epon.
that the former was (y), because we know from Meigret that it was not (o) or (u).

When Palsgrave here says that the sound of French u was different from that of Latin or English u, he must mean by the latter, English u short, because English u long was certainly not the same as the real Latin u long, even at a much earlier period than the xviith century. Hence corroboration, and contemporary explanations, are necessary.

1547. Salesbury says: "u vowel, answers to the power of the two Welsh letters u, w and its usual power is uw, as shewn in the following words true true verus, vertue vertuœ probitas. And sometimes they give it its own proper sound and pronounce it like the Latins or like our own w (u), as in the words sucke buck (buk) dama mas, lust lust (lust) libido. But it is seldom this vowel sound corresponds with the sound we give the same letter, but it does in some cases, as in busy busi, occupatus aut se immiscens." Again in his pronunciation of Welsh he says: "u written after this manner u," that is, not as v which was at that time inter-changeable with u in English and French but not in Welsh, "is a vowel and soundeth as the vulgar English trust, bury, busy, Huber-
den. But know well that it is neuer sounded in Welsh, as it is done in any of these two Englyshe wordes (notwithstanding the diuersitie of their sound) sure, lucke. Also the sound of u in French, or á with two pricks over the head in Duch, or the Scottish pronunciation of u alludeth somewhat nere vnto the sound of it in Welshe, though ye none of them all, dooth so exactly (as I thynk) expresse it, as the Hebraick Kubuts doeth. For the Welsh u is none other thing, but a meane sounde betwyxte u and y beyng Latin vowels."

The precise value of the Welsh u is considered in a note on the above passage, chapter VIII, § 1, where it is shewn that it must be considered as the Welsh representative of (y), and that (i) or (y) is practically the sound it receives. If then Salesbury had to represent the sound (yy), he could not have selected any more suggestive Welsh combination than uw. To have written uu would have been to give too much of the (i) or (y) character, for when u was short he did not distinguish the sound from (i), as shewn by busy which he writes busi, meaning (biz'i). If he had written wu he would have conveyed a completely false notion, and iw would have led to the diphthong (iu) which he wished to distinguish from uw.

1 Germans who distinguish their ü from (ii) very clearly when it is long, readily pronounce short ü as (i) especially when r follows, as (bühr-de) for (bhiyr-de, bhir-de) wirde. The Welsh u long is heard by Englishmen as (ii) and often so pronounced by the Welsh in familiar conversation. In the same way Stiele handles and Stühle chairs, are identified in the common Dresden pronunciation of German.
Now my own Welsh master at Beaumaris told me that Welsh *duw* and English *due, dew* were so distinct to a Welshman that he could tell an Englishman immediately by his faulty pronunciation. The difference may be (dru) Welsh and (dun) English. It is very difficult to seize, and some Welshmen themselves deny the difference.¹

Adopting then the hypothesis that Salesbury's *uw* meant *(yy)*, but his *u* short meant *(i)*, so far as the English sounds which he wished to imitate are concerned,—an hypothesis which agrees with Palsgrave's remarks and will be confirmed shortly—we may represent all the English words containing *u*, (or *uw* pronounced as *u*, according to Palsgrave's intimation,) which are transcribed by Salesbury, as follows.

Churche *tsurts tsurts* (tshirtsh) ecclesia; *duke duwek* *(dyyk)* dux, suffere *suiffer* *(sufer)* sinere, gutte *gut* *(gut)* visera; *jesu tsieuw* *(Dzhee-zyy)*; *bucke buck* *(buk)* dama mas; *bull bu* *(bubu)* a rustic pronunciation, quene *kwin* *(kwini)* regina; quarter *kwaert* *(kwarte)* quarta pars; *muse muwos* *(myyz)* meditari; *tresure tresuwr* *(tresyr)* thesaurus; *true truw* *(tryy)* verus, this is one of the words cited by Palsgrave, under the form *trewe*, as containing the sound of the French *u* *(y)*; *vertue vertuw* *(ver'tty)* probitas; *lust host* *(lust)* libido; *busy busi* *(biz')*, *much good do it* you *mych go ditio* *(m'tsh god-itjo)*. This much contracted phrase is also given by Cotgrave, 1611, who writes it *muskiditii*, meaning perhaps *(mus'kidit'i)*, and translates *much good may doe unto you.*²

1555. Cheke says: "Cum *duke tuke lute rebuke duk turk* λυτ peβuk dicimus, Græcum v sonaremus." Of this Greek *v* he says "simplex est, nihil admixtum, nihil adjunctum habet," and it was therefore a pure vowel, with which he identifies the English long *u*. Mekerch in adopting Cheke's words changes his examples thus, "quum Gallice *mule*, id est mula, Belgicè *duken*, id est abscondere, *μυλ δυκ* dicimus, Græcum *v* sonamus." Mekerch, therefore, intending to give the same sound to Greek *v* as Cheke did, makes it *(yy)*. This was the sound which Cheke identified with English long *u* and declared to be a simple sound, that is, not a diphthong.

¹ Dr. Benjamin Davies could see no difference in ordinary conversation, but admitted that one was attempted to be made in "stilted utterance," and then it seemed to me to be like (dru).

² The same writer gives as the contraction for *God give you good evening*, Godigodin, meaning perhaps (God'i-gudii'n). In Romeo and Juliet, Folio 1623, Tragedies p. 70 col. 1, we find *Nur.* I speake no treason. Father, O Godigoden, which is transliterated in the Globe edition, act iii, sc. 5, v. 173, *Nur.* I speak no treason. *Cap.* O, God ye god-den, an evident mistake, as Godi- is a contraction for God *gi'you*. The sentence should be as much wrapped up into one word, as the ordinary good *bye*.
1568. Sir Thomas Smith is still more precise and circumstantial. He says:

"Y vel v Græcum aut Gallicum, quod per se apud nos taxum arborem significat. taxus v" meaning that yeow = sound of Greek v; i.e. as he immediately proceeds to shew, and as I shall assume in transcribing his characters, yeow = (yy), though perhaps this particular word was (yy). The following are his examples: "(snyy) ningebat, (slyy) occidit, (tryy) verum, (tyyn) tonus, (kyy) q. litera, (ryy) ruta, (myy) cavea in qua tenentur accipitres, (nyy) novum; (tyyl)1 valetudinarius, (dyyk) dux, (myyl) mula, (flyyt) tibia Germanorum, (dyy) debitum, (lyyt) testudo, (bryyy) ceruissa facere, (myy-let) mulus, (blyy) caruleum, (akyyyz)2 accusare."

In this list we have true, rue, new, which are the same as Palsgrave's examples of ew sounded as French u; and duke, true, the same as Salesbury's examples of u sounded as Welsh uw. This would identify both sounds with (yy) if we could be satisfied of Smith's pronunciation. Now he says explicitly:—

"Quod genus pronunciationis nos à Gallis accipisse arguit, quod rarius quidem nos Angli in pronuntiando hac utimur litera. Scoti autem qui Gallica lingua suam veterem quasi oblitterarant, et qui trans Trentam fluvium habitant, vicinioresque sunt Scotis, frequentissime, adeo vt quod nos per V Romanum sonamus (u), illi liberant proferunt per v Græcum aut Gallicum (yy); nam et hic sonus tam Gallis est peculiaris, ut omnia fere Romane scripta per u et v proferunt, vt pro Dominus (Dominyys) et Iesvs (Jesyys),3 intantum vt quæ brevia sint natura, vt illud macrum v exprimant melius, sua pronunciatione longa faciunt. Hunc sonum Anglosaxonem, de quibus postea mencionem faciemus, per y exprimebant, ut versus Anglosaxonice ṛyā. Angli (nuur) meretrix, (kkuuk) coquus, (guud) bonum, (bluud) sanguis, (muud) encullus, (fluud) fluvius, (buuk) liber, (tuuk) cepit; Scoti (nuur, kyyk, gyyd, blyyd, nytyd, flyyd, byyk, tyyk)." And again, "O rotundo ore et robustiis quam priores effertur, u angustiore, caetera similis ẓ o. Sed v (yy) compressis propemodum labris, multò exilius tenuiusque resonat quàm

1 "Tuly, Poorly. 'Tuly-stomached.'
3 Smith uses e for (tsh), but he has been in consequence often misled to write (tsh) for (k), thus he here prints aevius, which should mean (atshtshyzz-), an almost impossible combination, but really means (akyzz-), though I have kept the incorrectly doubled (k) in the text.
4 The initial consonant must have been (dzh) or (zh). Probably it was more carelessness on Smith's part to use (J), as when he wrote c for k. The first vowel, too, is accidentally short, so that (Dzh-eysys) or (Dyhee-zyys), represents the real sound he intended.
o aut u, (boot) scapha, (buut) orea, (byyt) Scotica pronunciation, orea." And again in his Greek Pronunciation: "v Graeceum Scoti & Borei Angli tum exprimunt eum taurum sonant, & pro bul, dicunt exiliter contractioribus labiis sono suppresso & quasi prefo-
cato inter i & u bul (byl).

It is scarcely possible to indicate the sound of (yy) more clearly and precisely in common language.

Respecting u short, Smith says:

"V Latinam, aptissimam habemus Angli, quamvis illam non
agnoscimus, jam longo tempore à Gallis magistris decepti: at pro-
nunciatio sonusque noster non potest non agnoscre. Brevis (but) sed,
(luk) fortuna, (buk) dama mas, (mud) limus, (ful) plenus, (pul)
deplumare, (tu) ad; longa (buut) orea, (luuk) aspicere, (buuk)
liber, (mud) ira aut affectus, (fuul) stultus, (puul) piscina, (tuu)
duo, etiam."

(Buk) being in Salesbury’s list serves to identify the two
methods of symbolisation. Of course no such fine distinc-
tions as (u, u) are to be expected, nor indeed are they gene-
really necessary to be insisted on. An attentive examination
of the sounds of fool full in our present pronunciation will
however shew that they contain different vowels (fuul, full),
each of which can be pronounced long or short (fuul ful, fuul
ful) and that these differ as (i, i) by the pharyngal action
already explained. As however short (u) rarely if ever
occurs in closed syllables, and (uu) long never occurs in ac-
cented syllables, except before r (u), it would be generally
intelligible to make no distinction between (u) and (iu) except
in rare instances. One marked difference between the
sounds (i, u) and (iu, u) is that (i) may be easily sung to a deep
note, but (i) cannot; and on the contrary (u) may be sung to
a very high note, but (u) cannot.

1569. Harv calls u long a diphthong, but in his explana-
tion he makes it arise from the attempt to pronounce (i) and
(u) simultaneously, and he clearly points out that both the
lingual position of (i) and the labial position of (u) are held
on steadily during the sound of long u, so that if the (i)
position be relaxed, the sound of (u) results, and if the (u)
position be relaxed the sound of (i) results. This, as we
have seen, amounts to a very accurate description of the
simple sound (yy), which is therefore the sound which he
means by the inaccurate title and notation of "the diphthong
iu." His words are:

"Now to come to the u. I sayde the French, Spanish, & Brutes, I
maye adde the Scottish, doe abuse it with vs in sounde and for

1 That is, Welsh.
consonant, except the Brutes as is sayd: the French doe neuer sound it right, but vsurpe ou, for it, the Spanyard doth often vse it right as we doe, but often also abuse it with vs;¹ the French and the Scottish in the sounde of a Diphthong: which keeping the vowels in their due sounds, commeth of i & u, (or verie neare it) is made and put togither vnder one breath, confounding the soundes of i, & u, togither: which you may perceyue in shaping thereof, if you take away the inner part of the tongue, from the upper teeth or Gummings, then shall you sound the u right, or in sounding the French and Scottish u, holding still your tongue to the upper teeth or gums, & opening your lippes somewhat, you shall perceyue the right sounde of i." Thus Hart writes: (ui did not mutsh abiyz dhem), meaning (wi did not mutsh abiyz dhem) as I shall hereafter transliterate his ii.

¹573. Baret says, after speaking of the sound of v consonant:

"And as for the sound of V consonant ² whether it be to be sounded more sharply as in spelling blue or more grosly like oo, as we sound Booke, it were long here to discusse. Some therefore think that this sharpe Scottish V is rather a diphthong than a vowell, being compouded of our English e and u, as indeed we may partly perceyue in pronouncing it, our tongue at the beginning lying flat in our mouth, and at the ende rising up with the lips also withall somewhat more drawn togither."

This would certainly make a diphthong because there would be a change of position, but what is the initial sound? The tongue does not certainly "lie flat in our mouth for e." The nearest sounds answering to this description are (æ a, A o) and it is impossible to suppose any of these to be the initial of such a diphthong. The only interpretation I can put on this somewhat confused description is, that Baret was speaking of the position of the tongue before commencing to utter any sound, and that when the sound was uttering, the tongue rose and the lips rounded simultaneously, and this agrees with the other descriptions, making the sound (yy).

¹580. Bullokar says: "U also hath threé soundes: The one of them a mêére consonant, the other two soundes, are both vowells: the one of these vowells hath a sharpe sound, agreeing to his olde and continued name: the other is of flat sound, agreeing to the olde and continued sound of the diphthong :ou: but alwaies of short sounde." And further, translating his phonetic into ordinary spelling: "and for our three sounds used in, v, the French do at this day use only two unto it: that is, the sound agreeing to his olde and continued name, and the sound of the consonant, v."

¹ That is, sometimes say (u), and sometimes (yy), but this is not the case certainly in modern Castillian.

² Evidently a misprint for vowel.
From these two passages it is clear that the "old and continued name" of long u in English was the sound of the French u, that is (yy). The flat sound we shewed in treating of ou (p. 152), was probably (u). Bullokar adds, where I translate his phonetic examples into palaeotype:

"U, sharpe, agréeing to the sound of his olde and continued name, is so sounded when it is a syllable by itself, or when it is the last letter in a syllable, or when it commeth before one consonant, & e: ending next after the consonant, in one syllable thus: vnity, vnuiversally procureth vse to be occupied, and leisure allureth the vnruuly to the lute: which I write, thus: (yyn[i]ty yyniversaull[y] prokyyreh yys tuu bii okkyyp[i]ed and leizyyr allyyreh the un-ryyl[y] tuu dhe lyyt).

"U flat is used alwaies after : a: e: or o: in diphthongs, or next before a single consonant in one syllable, hauing no: e: after that consonant, or before a double consonant, or two consonants next after it: though : e: followe that double consonant, or two consonants all in one or diuerse sillables, thus: the vninst are vnlukey, not worth a button or rush, vntrusty, vpholding trumpery at their full lust: which I write, thus: (the un-dzhust aar un-luki, not wurth a but'n or rush up-noouldiq trumperi at their ful lust).

The word full is the same as one of Smith's examples of u short, and hence fixes the sound of Bullokar's u flat, which he does not otherwise explain.

1611. Cotgrave says: "V is sounded as if you whistle it out, as in the word a lute." Now the French u (yy) has a very whistling effect, both tongue and lip being disposed in a favourable position for the purpose.

1621. Gill is again not so distinct as could be wished, he merely says, preserving his notation, and his italics:

"V, est tenuis, aut crassa: tenuis v, est in Verbo tu vz vse utor; crassa breuis est u. vt in pronomine us nos1; aut longa ü: vt in verbo tu üz’ose scaturio, aut sensum exeo mori aqua vi expressae."

Gill never alludes to any diphthong (iu). He uniformly uses a single sign, the Roman v, for the sound of long u, employing the Italic v for (v). He also uses a single character for the diphthong long i, but then he admits that it is only slightly different from the diphthong (ei). There are very few indications of the sound he really meant to express by his v. First we must assume that it was a simple sound and "thinner" than (uu). This should mean that the entrance to the lingual aperture was diminished by bringing the tongue more into the (i) position. But this converts (u) into (y), and hence leads us to Gill's v = (yy), as the sound

1 Misprinted wos.
is always long. Next in his alphabet he calls it υψιλόν, which should imply that it had the theoretical sound assigned to the Greek u. This we have seen from Cheke and Smith was (yy). But then the example in the alphabet is “sur sure certus,” and Salesbury says that Welsh u is unlike the sound of English sure. This may mean that sure must have been written suer in the nearest Welsh characters, because sur would have sounded too like (siir). Hart and Bullokar both give (syy'er). Lastly, in mentioning the words taken from the French he says: “Redvite nupera vox est à reduco, 1 munimentum pro tempore aut occasione factum.” This should be the French réduit, with a wrong e added, and hence ought to establish the value (yy) for Gill's v. This therefore is the result to which all parts of the investigation tend, so that we must assume it to be correct. On the other hand there can be no doubt that the ü, u of Gill were (uu, u).

1633. Butler is unsatisfactory, when he says that:

“q, i, u differing from themselves in quantity differ also in sound: having one sound when they are long, and another when they are short, as in mane and man, shine and shin, tune and tun appeareth. . . Likewise oo and u long differ much in sound: as in fool and fule, rood and rude, moot and mute, but when they are short, they are all one; for good and gud, blood and blud, woolf and wulf have the same sound.”

From this we learn with certainty that short u was (u) or (u), and that long u was not (uu), but we cannot tell whether it was (yy) or (iu). As long i was (ai) at that time, and no allusion is made by Butler to its being a diphthong, we are unable to assume that long u was a simple sound. We might indeed be led by the following passage to suspect that Butler had begun to embrace the (iu) sound which must certainly have widely prevailed, when his work was published, although it is not distinctly acknowledged:

“I and u short have a manifest difference from the same long; as in ride rid, rude rud, dine din, dune dun, tine tin, tune tun; for as i short hath the sound of ee short; so has u short the sound of oo short. . . E and i short with w have the very sound of u long: as in hew, kneew, true appeareth. But because u is the more simple and ready way; and therefore is this sound rather to be expressed by it:” but he prefers eew for etymological reasons in “breqw, kneew, bloew, greew, treew, sneew,” where breew, treew, sneew are in Smith’s list of words having the sound (yy). Butler finally asks “But why are some of these written with the diphthong ew? whose sound is manifestly different, as in dew, ewe, few, how, chew, row, sew, strew, shew, shrew, pewter.”

1 Misprinted reduco.
Now *dew*, *few*, *shrew* are in Palsgrave's list of (*eu*) sounds; and the same, together with *strew*, are in Smith's (*eu*) list. Hence it is clear that Butler distinguished (*eu*) from the other sound of *u* long, and it is possible that his *u* long may have been (*iu*), but as Hart called (*yy*) a diphthong and represented it by (*iu*), while his careful description determined it to be (*yy*), so Butler may have said (*yy*).

At any rate it is clear that quite to the close of the *xvi*th century, (*yy*) was the universal pronunciation of long *u* in the best circles of English life, and that it remained into the *xvii*th century we shall shortly have further evidence. Provincialy it is still common. In East Anglia, in Devonshire, in Cumberland, as well as in Scotland, (*yy*) and its related sounds are quite at home. The southern's are apt to look upon these dialectic forms as mispronunciations, as mistakes on the part of rustics or provincials. They are now seen to be remnants of an older pronunciation which was once general, or of a peculiar dialectic form of our language of at least equal antiquity. The sound of short *u* was also always (*u*) or (*u*). There is no hint or allusion of any kind to such a sound as (*e*). The (*u*), still common in the provinces, was then universal.

**U — xvii th Century.**

1640. **Ben Jonson** says: "*V* is sounded with a narrower, and meane compasse, and some depression of the middle of the tongue, and is, like our letter *i* a letter of double power."

By this he probably only means that it was both a vowel and a consonant (*v*). In his notes he gives quotations concern-Greek *u*, *ov*, the latter of which he identifies with (*uu*), though the cry of the owl, which is rendered *tu tu* in Plautus, Menechmi, act iv, sc. 2, v. 90.

*Me. Egon’ dedi? Pe. Tu, tu istic, inquam. vin’ afferri noctuam, Quæ, Tu, Tu, usque dicat tibi? nam nos, jam nos defessi sumus.*

From these notes Jonson may have possibly distinguished long and short *u* as (*yy*, *u*).

1653. **Wallis** clearly recognizes (*yy*) as long *u* and distinguishes it carefully from the diphthong (*iu*). He says:

"*Ibidem etiam,*” that is, *in labiis,* "*sed Minori adhuc apertura*” than (*uu*), "*formatur u* exile; Anglis simul et Gallis notissimum. Hoe sono Angli suam *u* longum ubique proferunt (nonnunquam etiam *eu* et *eu* quæ tamen rectius pronunciantur retento etiam sono *e* masculi!): *Ut muse, musa; tune, modulatio; lute, barbitum;*

1 That is, as (*eu*).
duro, duro; mule, mutus; nov, novus; brew, misceo (cerevisiam coquo); knew, novi; view, aspicio; lieu, vice, etc. Hunc sonum extraneci fere assequitur, si diphthongum in conentur pronunciare; nempe & exile letterae u vel w preponentes, ut in Hispanorum ciudad civitas, non tamen idem est omnino sonus, quamvis ad illum proxime accedat; est enim in sonus compositus, at Anglorum et Gallorum u sonus simplex. Cambro-Britanni hunc fere sonum utcuque per in, yw, uw describunt, ut in ilio color; illo gubernaculum navis; Duex Deus, alisque innumeris."

Wallis therefore distinctly recognized the identity of the English and French sounds, and says that they are different from the diphthong (iu) because they are simple and not compound sounds, but approach nearly to that diphthong, evidently because (yy) unites the lingual position of (i) with the labial position of (u). He also notices the proximity of the Welsh in, yw, uw to the sound of (yy), and thus explains how Salesbury came to hit upon uw as the best combination of Welsh letters to convey an approximate idea of the sound to his countrymen. Further on he says:

"U longum effertur ut Gallorum ú exile. Ut in lute barbitum, mute mutus, misuse musa, cüre cura, etc. Sono nempe quasi composito ex i et w,"

where he saves himself from the diphthong by a "quasi."

As regards short ù he says:

"U vocalis quando corripitur effertur sono obscuro. Ut in but sed, cut seco, bur lappa, burst ruptus, curst maledictus, etc. Sonum hunc Galli proferunt in ultima syllaba vocis servituir. Differt à Gallorum e feminino, non aliter quam quod ore minus aperto efferatur. Discrimen hoc animadvertent Angli dum pronunciant voces Latinas iter, itur; ter ter, turtur; cerdo surdo; ternus Tur-nus; terris turris; refertum, furtern, &c."

In his theoretical part he gives the following further particulars of the French e femininum and the û obscursum. "Eodem loco," that is, in summo gutture, "sed apertura faucium mediocrí, i.e. less than for (AA), "formatur Gallorum e femininum; sono nempe obscuro. Non aliter ipsius formatio differt à formatione præcedentis à aperti (AA), quam quod magis contrahantur fauces, minus autem quam in formatione Vocalis sequentis (e). Hunc sonum Angli vix uspiam agnoscent; nisi cum vocalis e brevis immediatè præcedat literam r (atque hoc quidem non tam quia debeat sic efferri, sed quia vix commodè possit aliter; licet enim, si citra molestiam fieri possit, ctiam illie sono vivido, hoc est, masculo, offere;;) ut vertue virtus, liberty libertas &c.

"Ibidem ctiam, sed Minori adhuc faucium aperturâ sonatur è vel à obscursum. Differt à Gallorum e feminino non aliter quàm

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1 The English usually call this word (thiudaad), it is probably (ciuæae = sfiœzœaaz); the in represents the pure (in) diphthong.
quod ore minus aperto, labia proprius accedant. Eundem sonum fere efferunt Galli in postrema syllaba vocum serviteur, sacrificateur, etc. Angli plerumque exprimunt per û breue, in turn, verto; burn, uro; dull, signis, obtusus; cut, seco, etc. Nonnunquam o et ou negligenti-us pronuntiantes eodem sono efferunt, ut in come, venio; some, aliquis; done, actum; company, consortium; country, rus; couple, par; cövet, concupisco; love, amo, alisque aliquot; quae alio tamen sono rectius efferri deberent. Cambro-Britanni ubique per y scribunt; nisi quod hane litteram in ultimis syllabis plerumque ut i efferant.”

Wallis therefore heard the French feminine e in the last syllable of serviteur, sacrificateur. In this he agrees with Feline, who draws a distinction between the first and second syllable of heureux, making the first the same as the sound now considered.¹ But Wallis makes the aperture of the lingual passage grow smaller at the back for û, e feminine, û, the first being (AA) with the greatest depression, and he has an action of the lips for û. This ought to give (AA, æ, u) for the three sounds. But this cannot be right for û, because Wallis distinguished it from (u). Hence we must disregard the lip action of the last, and write (AA, æ, o). This however, is scarcely probable. There is another difficulty. The sound of e in ternus is not at present formed with a wider opening of the mouth than the sound of u in Turnus. When any distinction at all is made it is rather the reverse.² The

¹ See supra, p. 162, note 3. Tarver gives the same vowel sound to le, feu, Europe, nouvel, pent, eil, auteur, bonheur. Feline makes the vowel sound in le, Europe, pent, eil, auteur, bonheur the same; but distinguishes it from that in feu, nouvel. In M. Feline’s Mémoire sur la Réforme de l’Alphabet prefixed to his Dictionnaire de la prononciation de la langue Française, giving an account of the deliberations of a committee on French pronunciation, formed at his request, he says: “La conclusion fut que l’e muet proprement dit existe dans l’orthographe, mais non pas dans la langue; que, dans tous les mots où il est necessaire de le prononcer, il exprime un son reel comme tous les autres signes, et que ce son devrait etre appele sourd et non pas muet, cette derniere denomination n’étant qu’un non-sens. Apres l’e on passa au son eu. On reconnut qu’il existe bien dans la langue francaise, et l’on remarqua qu’il presente avec l’e que je viens d’appeler sourd le meme rapport qu’on avait trouve entre les deux sons des premières voyelles a et å, e et ê, o et â. Ce rapport est en effet si bien marque, que, dans une foule de mots, comme jeune, pécheur, on fait entendre le son de l’e sourd et non celui de l’euf tel qu’il est donne par les mots jeune, pécheuse.” Now to my ears a å, ê e, o o are (a a, e e, o o). In the first two pairs the circumflexed vowel expresses a deeper sound, formed by depressing the tongue; in the last pair the uncircumflexed vowel is the wide sound of the circumflexed. The relations then being different do not lead to the discovery of the relations between e, eu. These may be, that for eu the tongue is more depressed than for e, which would suit for e, eu = (ø, ø); or it may be that eu is the wide of e, this would suit e, eu = (ø, o), which agrees with my own pronunciation.

² Mr. M. Bell who says (ø, ø) in ternus, Turnus respectively, makes the opening for (ø) wider than for (a). I would rather write (t-nas, T-næ) respectively, if any difference at all has to be recognized.
peculiarity of the smaller lingual aperture and the action of
the lips may however bring us to (uh) as the last sound, and
induce us to consider the three sounds as (AA, ə, uh). So far
as the English passage of short u from (u) or (u) to (ə), the
present sound, is concerned (uh) forms a very appropriate
link, because Englishmen find it difficult to distinguish the
Italian somma (suhm'ma) from (sum'a) on the one hand and
(səm'a) on the other. And we have seen (p. 94) that in 1611,
the Italian Florio actually identified English (u) with Italian
(uh), just as 1685, Cooper identified (u, ə), p. 101. But this
sound hardly agrees with Wallis's identification of ā with
the Welsh y. On this sound, see the footnote on Y, in
Chapter VIII, § 1, when it appears that the Welsh sound
represents the vowel (ə) but that in common discourse it
passes into (ə) on the one hand, and (i) on the other, and
may be always sounded (i). Wallis no doubt referred to the
sound (ə).

Lastly, if we reflect that (ə) is the de-labialized (u), and
that this would be a natural transition from (u) to (ə), we
might revert to the original deduction from Wallis's descrip-
tion, and make his ā = (ə).

On the whole I am inclined to think that the three sounds
he meant were (AA, ə, ə). Many English consider the
French e muet, or sourd, to be deeper than (ə), but of the
same nature. The question however is impossible to decide,
and I think it safest to transliterate ā, e feminine, ă by (AA,
ω, ə), which indicates the modern pronunciation of the
English vowels.

The great peculiarity, the marked singularity, of Wallis's
account, is the recognition and introduction of a sound re-
sembling (ə) into the English language in place of (u). Of
this sound no trace appears in any former writer that I have
consulted. But from this time forth it becomes the common
sound. Wallis in this respect marks an era in English pro-

1 In the passage cited from Gill
suprâ p. 90, in which he inveighs
against the thin utterance of affected
women, we find (butsherz) for (butsherz).
This is quite comparable to the Eastern
English (kiver) for (kuv'er), which
Gill had just mentioned, and appears
to have no connection with the sound
(batsh'er) which is only heard from a
small number of people at the present
day. But when he says that these
affected dames said (ja, jar skalorz, ta)
for (mou, juur skolars, tu), it is just
possible that he might have intended
to indicate the sounds (ja, jar skalorz,
ta), for which he had no symbols. This
is the closest allusion to the sound that
I have discovered. For though the
account given by Florio, 1611, p. 94,
which identifies short (u) with (uh),
might seem to indicate (ə) as well as
(u), yet as the Italians confuse (ə)
rather with (a), which is nearly its
wide form, than with (uh), and as (u,
uh) would probably be indistinguishable
to an Italian ear, the inference is rather
that the sound really uttered before
Florio was (u) and not (ə).
nunciation, the transition between the old and the new. This is more striking, because as he is the first to give \( u \) short as (ə), so is he practically the last to give \( u \) long as (yy) except dialectically.

At the present day (yy) has vanished from polite society, and is only heard as a provincialism, from Norfolk, Devon, or Cumberland, or as a Scotticism. No pronouncing dictionary admits the sound under any pretence. Indeed most English people find it very difficult to pronounce, either long or short, and consequently play sad tricks with French. But the case is different with (\( u, o \)). The two sounds coexist in many words. Several careful speakers say (tu pōt, botsh’er), though the majority say (tu put, butsh’er). All talk of a put (pōt). Walker gives the following as the complete list of words in which \( u \) short is still (\( u \)).

bull, pull, full, and words compounded with -ful; bullock, bully, bullet, bulwark, fuller, fullingmill, pulley, pullet, push, bush, bushel, pulpit, pusses, bullion, butcher, cushion, cuckoo, pudding, sugar, [he makes sure = (shiul)], hussar, huzza, and to put, with Fulham, but says that “some speakers, indeed, have attempted to give bulk and punish this obtuse sound of \( u \), but luckily have not been followed. The words which have already adopted it are sufficiently numerous; and we cannot be too careful to check the growth of so unmeaning an irregularity.”

Here the orthoepist unfortunately reverses the order of things, and esteems “the old and continued” sound of (\( u \)) an irregularity, and what is more, an “unmeaning irregularity,” and is not aware that every change of (\( u \)) to (ə) has been a modern encroachment. But if the territories of (\( u \)) and (ə) can be so strictly defined in the south of England, in the middle\(^2\) and north the war is still raging, and though education has imported large quantities of (ə) from the south, even magnates in the north often delight to use their old (\( u \)).\(^3\)

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1 Smart adds, bullace, fullage, fullery, cushat, hurrah \( t \) to the above list. It is curious that Walker (art. 177) speaks of fulsome as a “pure English word,” and Smart (art. 117) calls it a word “of classical derivation.” Orthoepists are not always good in etymology, but Walker appears to have the best of it here, and if, as seems more than probable, fulsome is a derivative of full, (the Promptorium has fulness of mete, sacietas,) there would be a reason for retaining the sound (ful) in the first syllable. At any rate the usage of speakers with regard to (ful’sum) and (fal’sum) varies greatly. As to (bulk, bulk) they are not common, but may be heard; (pμn’sh) was heard lately from an educated gentleman in Cornwall.

2 In the Midland counties the Southern usage is almost reversed, (pōt, fōt) standing beside (kwt, km).\(^3\)

3 A Yorkshire country gentleman who wrote his name Hutton, and whom all his friends called (hōt’n), always spoke of himself as (μwnt-n), and on one occasion spelled his name so to me with phonetic letters. He would have been about 90 years old now, were he still alive. All the Yorkshire and Midland peasantry use (\( u \)) as a matter of course.
That there is nothing intrinsically pleasing in the sound of (æ), may be seen at once by calling good, stood (gæd stød), to rhyme with blood, flood, (bled, flød). Those speakers, to whom (wu) presents a difficulty are apt to change it into (wo) as (wæd, wæm’wun) for (wud, wum’wun), and the effect is anything but pleasing. In general the long Saxon (oo), which first became (uu) and then fell into (u) or (w), has resisted the further change into (æ). This difference of evolution is similar to that which has befallen i, ei, ai, which Shakspere pronounced sufficiently alike to introduce a conceit upon them in one of his most tragic speeches, already cited (p. 112), but which have become three quite distinct sounds (æi, ïi, eei), (p. 120). Both changes have occurred rather among the reading than the merely speaking section of our population.

1668. Wilkins and Wallis were contemporaries; although the latter was the elder, and born in Kent, and the former was born in Oxford, they lived as fellow collegians for some time in Oxford, and they mixed in the same society. Yet we have a striking difference in their pronunciation of long u. We have seen how Wallis identified the French and English u, how he considered the (yy) sound to be familiar to all Englishmen, and especially distinguished it from the diphthong (iu), and this he continued to do through all the editions of his grammar. Wilkins at the same moment can scarcely pronounce (yy) at all, denies that Englishmen use it, and makes every long u into (iu).

"As for the u Gallicum or whistling u" says he, p. 363, "though it cannot be denied to be a distinct simple vowel; yet it is of so laborious and difficult pronunciation to all those Nations amongst whom it is not used, (as to the English) especially in the distinction of long and short, and framing of Diphthongs, that though I have enumerated it with the rest, and shall make provision for the expression of it, yet shall I make less use of it, than of the others; and for that reason, not proceed to any further explication of it." And again, p. 382, "u," which is his character for (yy), "is I think proper to the French and used by none else."

This is a strong contradiction to Wallis, whose treatise Wilkins had read, and apparently studied.1 The only word which contains long u that Wilkins transliterates, is commu-
nion, and this he writes (kammiiunian), using (iuu) and not (yy) in the accented syllable.

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1 He says, p. 357, "Dr. Wallis .... amongst all that I have seen published, seems to me, with greatest Accurateness and subtlety to have considered the Philosophy of Articulate sounds."
Short $u$ is thus exemplified by Wilkins and distinguished from (uu, $u$), meaning (uu, $u$) most probably:

(u) short

(uu) long boote foole foote moote poole roode

(a) short but full$^1$ fut$^1$ mutt-on pull$^1$ rudd-er

(aa) long

amongst

The sound, which he represents by $y$ with a peculiar flourish added to its tail, and which I have translated into my (ə), he describes as "a simple letter, apert, sonorous, guttural; being framed by a free emission of the breath from the throat." Again, p. 364, he says "the vowel (ə) is wholly Guttural, being an emission of the breath from the throat without any particular motion of the tongue or lips. 
'Tis expressed by this character," a variety of $y$, "which is already appropriated by the Welsh for the picture of this sound." As he here rejects both tongue and lips in the formation of (ə) he differs considerably from Wallis in explaining its formation. In another place he says that the Hebrew "Schevalh" is rapidly pronounced "probably as our short (ə)." He gives (əi, əu) as the analysis of "our English i in bite," and of the sound in "owr, owle." And finally he says: "y" meaning (ə) "is scarce acknowledged by any nation except the Welsh." The words in which he employs this sign, omitting the combinations (əi, əu) are:

kingdom, come, done, but, Jesus, son, under, Pontius, buried, third, judge, church, resurrection, which he writes (kiq’dem, kem, don, bat, Dzheses, son, ander, PAnsios, bari, ed, therd, dzhodzh, tshertsh, resorrekssion), in which I give all his errors. I assume this sound to be (ə) both in Wallis and Wilkins, but what particular shade of this sound they pronounced, and whether they both used the same shade, it would be rash to assert.

1668. Price does not help us to the sound of short $u$ when he says:

"The $u$ is twofold, 1. short, as in but, must, burst, 2. long as in lute, must, refuse as if it were the compound of iw."

This iw may mean (iu), agreeing with Wilkins, but it may also mean (yy) agreeing with Wallis. I am inclined to treat it as (iu). The short $u$ I have, on the combined

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1 These words judging from futt, are all fancy words, (fal, fat, pul), introduced to contrast with the (fal, fat, pul), in a preceding line, and most probably the doubling of the final consonant was intended to indicate the sound (ə), whereas fut, pul were previously written with one final consonant to indicate the sound (u). If this theory be correct, the word full in the first line, was a misprint for ful.

2 This description is made up from the different headings of the table p. 360.
authority of Wallis and Wilkins, been in the habit of considering to be (a). The following notices agree with this:

"O after w soundes like short u as world, sword, woman, won. . .
O before m or n in the last syllable soundes like short u as freedom, reckon, bacon. . . 
Ou soundes like short u in cousin, double, courage."

But there is one notice which, thus interpreted, has a singular effect: "Oo soundes like short u in good, wool, hood, wood, stood." The general use of (god, wul, hoo, wud, stood) is difficult to believe in, though it is well known provincially, and is also mentioned by Jones, (p. 183).

1669. Though Holder's work was not published till this year, Wilkins had seen it in manuscript, and speaks highly of it. Yet in the letter u, both long and short, Holder differs from Wilkins. Holder has very acutely anticipated Mr. M. Bell's separation of the lingual and labial passages, and the possibility of adding a labial passage to every lingual one. He says:

In o the larynx is depressed, or rather drawn back by contraction of the aspera arteria. And the tongue likewise is drawn back and curved; and the throat more open to make a round passage: and though the lips be not of necessity, yet the drawing them a little rounder, helps to accomplish the pronunciation of it, which is not enough to denominate it a labial vowel, because it receives not its articulation from the lips. Oo seems to be made by a like posture of the tongue and throat with o but the larynx somewhat more depressed. And if at the same time the lips be contracted, and borne stiffly near together, then is made 8; u with the tongue in the posture of i but not so stiff, and the lip borne near the upper lip by a strong tension of the muscles, and bearing upon it at either corner of the mouth."

"8 is made by the throat and tongue and lip; in 8 the tongue being in the posture, which makes oo; and in u in the same posture, which makes i, and in this 8 and u are peculiar, that they are framed by a double motion of organs, that of the lip, added to that of the tongue; and yet either of them is a single letter, and not two, because the motions are at the same time, and not successive, as are

1 He says: "But besides such," namely, "in later times . . . Erasmus, both the Scaligers, Lipsius, Salmiasius, Vossius, Jacobus Mathias, Adolphus Metkerchus, Bernardus Malinchot, etc., besides several of our countrymen, Sir Thomas Smith, Bullokar, Alexander Gill, and Doctor Wallis," "(whose considerations upon this subject are made publick) I must not forget to acknowledge the favour and good hap I have have had to peruse from their private papers the distinct Theories of some other Learned and Ingenious persons," Dr. William Holder and Mr. Lodowick are named in the margin, "who have with great judgment applied their thoughts to this enquiry; in each of whose Papers, there are several suggestions that are new, out of the common rode, and very considerable."
eu, pla &c. Yet for this reason they seem not to be absolutely so simple vowels as the rest, because the voice passeth successively from the throat to the lips in 8, and from the palate to the lips in ʊ, being there first moulded into the figures of oo and i, before it be fully articulated by the lips. And yet either these two, 8 and ʊ, are to be admitted for single vowels, or else we must exclude the lips from being the organs of any single vowel since that the mouth being necessary to conduct the voice to the lips, will, according to the shape of its cavity, necessarily give the voice some particular affection of sound in its passage, before it come to the lips; which will seem to make some such composition in any vowel which is labial. I have been inclined to think, that there is no labial vowel, but that the same affection from the lips may, somewhat in the nature of a consonant, be added to every of the vowels, but most subtilely and aptly to two of them, whose figures are in the extremes of aperture and situation, one being the closest and forwardest, which is i, and the other most open and backward; there being reason to allow a vowel of like sound in the throat with 8, but distinct from it as not being labial, which will be more familiar to our eye if it be written oo; as in cut coot, full fool, tut toot, in which the lip does not concur; and this is that other. Thus ʊ will be only i labial, and 8 will be oo labial, that is, by adding that motion of the under-lip, i will become ʊ, and oo will become 8.

He proceeds to use his i, ʊ, 8 in the formation of diphthongs and concludes thus: “Concerning 8 and ʊ, this may be observed, that in subjoining them to another vowel, 8 is apter to follow a and o, because of their resemblance in the posture of the tongue, as hath been said; and for the like reason ʊ is apter to follow a and e, as saul vowel; euge etc. But generally if the vowels follow, then it is 8 precedes and not ʊ.”

No doubt the descriptions give very accurately oo = (ææ), 8 = (uu), ʊ = (ı) or (y). And the short (e) would then be Holder’s sound in full. Now it is impossible to believe that fool was ever pronounced (fœal), the sound being extremely difficult to any one but a Highlander (in whose word laogh it occurs), until the trick of removing the labial action from (uu) has been acquired. But if we remember that now full is rather (ful) than (ful); and that the widening of the back of the throat, by which (u) differs from (u) is so much the most essential part of the sound, that a very good imitation of it can be produced with the mouth wide open, it is very probable that Holder called fool full at least when theorizing (fœal ful). The pairs of examples he gives are cut coot, full fool, tut toot, of which cut, tut would have been (kœt, tœt) according to Wallis and Wilkins, who would have perhaps preserved the old pronunciation (ful) or (ful). Did Holder say or intend to say (kut kuut, ful fuul, tut tuut)? In this case he must have altogether ignored the vowel (e). Or did
he mean to say (kæt kæt, fel fæl, tæt tæt) ? or did he mean—what he has written—(kæt kæt, fel fæl, tæt tæt) ? sounds which he may have imagined he said, but which other people are scarcely likely to have really pronounced. The distinction which Holder makes between the vowels in fool, two is peculiar to himself. Wilkins gives fool as an example of the long (uu), and full as an example of both the short (u) or (u) and of (e), supra p. 177, note 1. This throws a doubt over the pronunciation of this particular word full, and renders Holder's explanations still more mysterious. Can it be that Holder's pronunciation was very peculiar so that he actually confused (u, o) at a time when the transition from old (u) to (o) was coming into vogue? His (o) would not be a bad middle between the extremes of (u, o). His long u in rule, which is usually now (uu), was manifestly (yy), if his explanation of superadding the labial to the lingual effect is to be trusted. His only notice of a diphthongal u is in the word euge, just cited, which must have been (ey'dzhe), if his explanation is to be relied on, but this is very doubtful.

1685. Cooper pairs the vowels in full, folle, or as he sometimes writes fole,¹ that is, in full he takes the vowel to be short (o). He may however have used (u) or (uh). See the discussion on p. 84, and the passage quoted on p. 101. The observations in that passage serve to shew that u in full had at that time much of the (o) element in it; that some persons may have pronounced it quite as (o); and others as (u) the usual sound into which (o) degenerates, or (u), which is the more common English sound; the true short (u) is so unusual to our organs, that when we hear it we take it for the long (uu), and we can hardly pronounce it except when long. The English (uu, u) as has been already mentioned, are related precisely like the English (ii, i). I shall, as already stated, p. 84, consider that Cooper pairs (oo, u). But Cooper also distinguished (uu, u) in food foot, see supra p. 101. He illustrates this sound by German zufluch (misprint for zuflucht as shewn by the meaning refugium) and French coupe pocusum, now (tsuu'flukht, kup).

Cooper is very copious upon short u which he clearly means to be (o) or one of those vowels, as (a, æ), which he would scarcely distinguish from (o). The long u he makes (iu) and seems to have great difficulty in understanding the French u (yy). His words are:

"U formatur tantum in gutture, à larynge spiritum vibrante,

¹ As fool used to be written folle, the more common spelling foole could nothing but Cooper's having once used have shewn us what word he meant.

nudum efficiente murmur, quod idem est cum gemitu hominis agritum-dine vel dolore exercuciatis; quodque infantes (priusquam loqui valeant) primum edunt: Et fundamentum est, a quo omnes catere vocales, varià modificatione constituantur¹. Hunc sonum cor-reptum vix unquam aliter pronunciant Angli quàm in nut nux; prout etiam in lingua latinâ, ni ubi consonans precedens sit labialis, ut prius dixi, et labis dat formam quà sonus plenior effertur, ut in pull vello, inter hos minimâ² datur, datur tamen specifica, differ- rentia; ille etenim sonus dilutior est, hic plenior, ille formatur a larynge tantùm in gutturo, hic a labios contractis; dum itaque o labios formatur in sono continuato, si recedant labia in obtusam formam formatur u gutturalis;³ in quibusdam scribitur per o ut, to come⁴ venire; Galli hoc modo, vel saltem persimili,⁵ olim sonarunt

¹ The natural vowel, should be the sound of the voice, that is of the vocal ligaments or glottal reed, without any resonance tube, p. 161. This it is of course impossible to hear. But it must resemble the reed sound of the clarionet or hautboy, or the whistle of the flute or flageolet, and contain in itself all the tones which the variously formed resonance tubes prefixed to it in speaking, by means of the pharynx, nose, tongue, mouth and lips, develop or render audible. It is as the resonance tubes clearly separate the tones, or allow many nearly coincident to be heard to-gether, that we obtain distinct or con-fused, coloured or colourless, vowel qualities of tone.

² This remark is important as shew- ing the ease with which (u, a) were confused by speakers at the time of the transition of short u from (u) to (a).

³ If the lips be mechanically opened by the hands while we are pronouncing (oa) we shall pronounce (ax), which is the form that Mr. M. Bell adopts for the long sound of u in up. Hence Cooper is quite consistent when he makes u in full the short (o), and u in nut the delabialized short (o) or (a). This is the most accurate description of the sound that I have met with in any old book, and may be advantage-ously compared with Holder's, given above p. 178.

⁴ Probably to is not intended as an example, but only come. Both are italicized in the original.

⁵ As Mr. M. Bell hears (a) in English up and (a) in French que, and (a, o) only differ as back and mixed vowels of the same class, Cooper's ear was not far out. To me however now, the French e in que sounds (o), which is a 'round' vowel. English ears, however, readily confound (a, x, æ; o, æ, ah) with one another and with (e), and (i). What was however the old pronunciation of the present French mute e? Meigret, 1550, writes the same vowel in the first and last syllables of "merite, benite, perir, mere, pere," which Feline writes (merit, benit, perir, meer, puer) with two different vowels. I understand Meigret to mean (e) in both cases. But the lightly spoken unaccented (e) drifts very easily into (u, a, a). From (e) therefore (e) could have easily descended. In fact (e) is only the 'round' or labialized (o). This recalls an apparently inexplicable re-mark by Palsgrave, 1650, who says: "If e be the laste voweell in a frencche worde beyng of many syllables, eyther alone or with an s folowyng him, the worde nat havyng his accent upon the same e, then shal he in that place be sounded almost like an o and very moche in the noose, as these words homme, femme, honeste, parle, hommes, femmes, honèstes, aveque, should have theyr laste e sounded in maner lyke an o, as hommo, femmo, honesto, parla, hommos, femmos, honestes, avequevos; so that, if the reder lyft up his voyce upon the syllable that commith nexte before the same e, and sodaynly deppresse his voyce whan he cometh to the soundynge of hym, and also sound hym very moche in the noose, he shall sounde e beyng written in this place according as the Frenchmen do. Which upon this warnynghe if the lerner wyll observe by the frenche mens spekynghe, he shall easly perceyue." The nasality may be an erroneous observation, and the whole history may be a clumsy expression of the sound of (o), for which the rounding of the lips suggested (o). See suprà, p. 119, note, col. 2.
femininum e, ut in providence. Germani syllabus ham & berg in propriis nominibus. Nuncquam in proprio sono apud nos productum audivi, ni in musica modulatione, vel inter populos, praecipue pueros cuneanter pronunciantes; pro longa enim vocali assumit dipthongum eu (iu); unde etiam denominatur; ut mute mutus; prout in Neuter, ufeudos, idem fere cum Gallorum u de quo inter dipthongos dicitur.

"E in will, weal (i, eo) cum u (u) coalescens nobis familiarissimus est, quem vocamus u longum; ut funerum fundus, huge inus; juice succus, scribimus per eu; ut chew mastico; knew cognovi; alisque temporibus verborum praeteritis; quando syllabam finalem claudit, additur e, true verus; raro per eu, rheum rheuma; sic semper pronunciamus eu latinum, & eu Graecum: et Galli plurumque illorum u, quandoque autem subtilius quasi sonus esset simplex, sed hae difficilis & Gallis propria."

The last words shew that his confusion of (yy) with (iu) in French pronunciation was really fault of ear, and that he was quite ignorant of (yy) as an English sound. Cooper is very particular in shewing how all vowels fall into (a) in unaccented syllables before r. These will be considered under R.

1688. Miege of course hears the English long u as the French, but as the diphthong (iu) does not occur in French, this only shews the same defect of ear which makes him identify short u in cut with French o (o), and short u in us with French eu (ce). He says:

"La Prononciation commune de l’U Voyelle en Anglois est la meme qu’en Franfois. Mais, entre deux Consonnes dans une meme Syllabe, elle se prononce ordinairement en o; Comme but, cut, rub, up, humble, under, run. Quoquefois en ou; Exemple chuse, puss, bull, pull, full. En eu, comme us, faculty, difficult, difficulty. Bury & busy se prononcent bery, bisy. Et dans les Mots qui finissent en ure, l’u semble revetir le Son d’un e feminin, sur tout quand on parle vite. Comme nature, picture, fracture, qui se prononcent familierement naiter, piscer, frecter." And again: "U vowel, by it self, is pronounced in French according to the Sound it has in the Word Abuse in English.

1701. Jones says: "the Sound of u in but, cut, &c. is the Sound

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1 Dr. Froembling, in his Elements of the German Language, 2nd edit. 1865, p. 2, says that the German a "is pronounced like a in father; if long; and like u in but if short." This is the only other instance I know in which German short a has been identified with English (o); it is usually confused with English (A), which however would give a very broad Austrian pronunciation, and it was to avoid this on the one hand, and (a) on the other, that Dr. Froembling (who speaks English excellently) hit upon this contrivance. Cooper having heard ham as (nom) in proper names only, must have been mistaken; German proper names do not end in ham but in hein.

2 This must have been a mere Anglicism.

3 One of the best means of observing the prolonged effect of short vowel sounds.

4 Misprint for ingenio or immensus?
of the natural humane Voice, and therefore the easiest of all the Sounds that are made by the humane Voice." 

And yet this easy sound is a stumbling block to all European nations, and is rarely heard except among Asiatics. It may be doubtful indeed whether the Asiatics pronounce the same variety of (ə) as we do. Many Welshmen do not admit it as a proper Welsh sound, though their language is supposed to have an appropriate letter y to represent it. As, however, y in Welsh also represents another sound, it cannot be more properly considered the special representative of (ə) than the English u, so that there is really no European means of representing the sound, although, owing to its supposed relation to the French e mute, (ə), so many writers have employed an inverted e, that this has been adopted as the best understood form in palaeotype. The sound of long u, Jones says, is compound, but he does not analyze it.

Jones gives many lists for the representation of the sound of short u by various vowel forms, which need not be cited at length as they agree generally with modern use. In the following words the italic letter might be, or occasionally was sounded as (ə) according to Jones.

Christmas, William, &c; centaury, restoration, &c; fasten, listen, &c; aspen, burden, chicken, cozen, &c; yeoman; bezil, civil, devil, &c; basin, cabin, coffin, &c; Westminster "sounded Westminster;" boil, coil &c = (bail, kail) &c; another, mother, pother &c; beul, bout, fout, lout, out, &c = (boul, bout, fout) &c; dove, love, move—this is peculiar, shove &c; cowl, howl, &c = (koul, noul) &c; voyage, &c; = (voir'edzh); vouch, &c; word, work, worth, &c; yonder, yonker, &c; colonel, colour, &c; comfort, &c; coney, conjure, &c; money, monkey, &c; mongcorn, monger, &c; cully, &c; blomary, &c; (see under O, p. 102), come, some, &c; bucksom, fullsom, &c; kingdom, &c; cibol, gambol, symbol; son, does, recognisance "sounded recunnisance;" foot, forsooth, good, hood, look, sort, stood, took, "when it may be sounded oo rather than ū;" wood, woof, wool "which some sound as with ū viz. wūd wūl &c"—adjour, attourment, attourney, bloud, Bourdeaux,1 country, courage, courlass, courteous, courtesan, courtesan, cousin, double, doublet, fluid, flourish, housewife, journey, mourish, nourish, scourge, sojourn, Southwark, touch, trouble, uncouth, young, your, youth "and all the Names of Seaport Towns as Falmouth Portsmouth Yarmouth" &c; athwart, thwart "sounded athurt, thurt;" answer, twopence "sounded tuppence," myrrh, pyramid &c; camerade "sounded cumrade," hiccough "sounded hiccups," frumenty "sounded furnety," construe "sounded consur," Catharine "sounded Catturn."

1 There is a place near Edinburgh Bourdeaux House. Jones also writes called (Bar'di nous) from the old (Buurdoo), supra p. 140.
In almost every instance (ə) is seen to be a substitute for an older (u), or (u) as (əu) was of an older (uu).

U — XVIII th Century.

1704. The Expert Orthographist gives us no information on the nature of the sounds of u long and u short.

1710. The Anonymous instructor of the Palatines says that u at the beginning is like the German ju, meaning that long u = (iu). He also gives the pronunciation of the English words church, much, in German letters as tschurtsh, mutsch = (tshurtsh, mutsh), so that he does not acknowledge (ə) at all. This may have been designedly, because (ə) would have been so difficult to the Palatines, and because (u) would be intelligible to the English.

1766. The following are a few words from Buchanan: (ful, push, shug'ir) sugar; (put; bətʃ'ir, pəs) butcher, puss; (tu pət) to put; (ber'i, biz't) bury, busy; (triu, fiu'riəs, liut, miuə) true, furious, lute, muse.

1768. Franklin has (sətʃ, rənz, mətʃ) such, runs, much; (fiu'riəs, iu'sedzh, truu, ruulz, iuz'ed) furious, usage, true, rules, used.

1780. Sheridan gives as peculiar Irish faults, (bəl, bəsh, pəsh, pəl, pəl'pit, pəd'ən, kəsh'ən, fət, pət) for (bul, bush, push, pul, pul'pit, pud'əq, kush'ən, fut, put), all of which, as well as (dəv, strov) for (droov, stroov) are, as is now manifest, remnants of the xvth century. The other cases of Irish mispronunciations which he cites, and which have been already noticed, (pp. 76, 92, 103, 129, 160), shew very clearly that the so-called Irish mispronunciations are merely fossil relics of the xvth century, preserved in a community separated by the sea from the mother country, see supra p. 20.

§ 4. The Consonants.

Y, W, WH.

According to the present usages of English speech, Y and W are the consonants (j, w) when preceding a vowel, as in ye woo (jì wu), and those who can pronounce these words differently from (ii uu) can generally pronounce these consonants. But there has been a great dispute among orthoepists whether y, w should be considered as vowels or consonants,
and various terms have been invented to suit the case. As they
do not occur in French, Palgrave of course does not notice
them. Salisbury, with his Welsh habits always regards
\( y, w \) as the vowels (i, u), and consequently writes (und'er,
wu) for (wun'der, wwu). Smith has; the same opinion, but
writes (i-is, i-it, u-ul, u-ud) for (jis, jit, wul, wud), although
these sounds cannot be distinguished from (iis, iit, uul, uud)
unless either a distinction in the vowels be made, which he
does not allow, as (iis, iit, uul, uud), or else the vowel be
repeated as (i,is i,it u-ul u,ud). Hart carries the same
principle to the extent of writing (iild uuld) for (jil, wuid)
and even (ureit) for (wreit) meaning (weit) making that
word therefore dissyllabic. Gill has distinct alphabetical
characters for (j, w), and says:

"Si quis sonorum æquus æstimator vsum earum apud nos per-
pendat, invindicet esse consonas,"

but seems to consider that the principal test ("lapis Lydium")
of the fact is that the indefinite article assumes the form a
and not an before \( y, w \). He adds:

"\( W, \) aspiratum, consона est, quam scribunt per \( wh \) et tamen
aspiratio praececidit. Ille\(^1\) namque voces quae per \( wh \) scribuntur;
possunt atque etiam ad exempla maiorum scribii debent per \( hw \)
aut (mu); ita enim, nihil aliud inde colligi queat, quam quod ex
ipso \( wh \), intelligimus; vt (wiil) sive (uiil) weele nassa, \(^2\) (hwiil)
sive (huwiil) wheele rota. Tamen quia nostra experiencia docet, (w) et
(wh) veras esse simplicesque consonas, in quarum elatióne (u) sug-
grunnit tantum, non clara vocalis auditur; ideo illud (w) ante
vocales aut diphthongos ius assignatum obtinebit; at (wh) mala
tantum consuetudine\(^3\) valebit in (what) quid, (wether) uter &
similibus."

We have here the first distinct recognition of a consonant
peculiar to the English language, which is seldom acknow-
ledged even by recent orthoepists, most of whom consider
(wh) as \( = (hw) \) or \( (hu) \). The preceding writers had all
used \( (hu) \). It is to be observed that Gill had no \( (jh) \); this
must have been because, as he used \( (yy) \) in place of \( (ju) \)
initial, he said \( (hyym''ur) \) and not \( (juhum''ur) \), for which
most recent orthoepists have \( (nuum''or) \), a combination as
objectionable as \( (hwiil) \) for \( (whil) \).

Gataker 1646, goes to the extreme of making \( y, w \) always
consonants, considering \( ei, ew \) to be \( (er, ew) \). This, however,

1 Misprinted \( ille \).
2 Narrow necked basket for catching fish.
3 The fault in Gill was that he wrote two consonants \( (wh) \) when he only
meant one \( (wh) \). This "bad custom" is evaded by the palaeotypic use of
\( (u) \) for the aspirate and \( (h) \) for the diacritic.
depends upon a diphthongal theory, to which writers have been led by observing that (ai) is not merely (a, i), see p. 51. WALLIS inclines to Gataker's opinion, and says:

"Diphthongi ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ow, &c, recte pronuntur ex vocalibus praepositiis et consonantibus y et w que tamen pro vocalibus subjunctivis vulgo habentur."

His contemporary WILKINS, alluding to the opinion of Gataker and others says on his p. 370, that they

"do earnestly contend that there are no such things as diphthongs. Their principal Arguments" he goes on to say, "depend upon this Supposition that (i) and (u), which are necessary Ingredients to the framing of all usual Diphthongs, are Consonants the same with (j) and (w). Others would have them to be of a middle nature, betwixt Vowels and Consonants; according to which opinion I have already described them: From whence the Reason is clear, why these Vowels concur to the making of Diphthongs because being the most contract of Vowels, as is also the vowel (a) of which more hereafter, They do therefore approach very near to the nature of Litera clausae, or Consonants; there being no Transition amongst these, either from one another, or to the intermediate sounds, without such a kind of motion amongst the Instruments of speech, by reason of these different Apertions, as doth somewhat resemble that kind of Collision required to the framing of Consonants."

COOPER recognizes (j, w) as consonants and also (jh, wh) under the form, (Hj, Hw), at the same time that he defines a diphthong as the "conglutinatio duarum vocalium in eadem syllabâ."

This theory of "conglutination," effected by the "glide," is that which I have adopted (p. 51), and, consequently, believing that the sounds were in all cases the same, I shall, in transcribing the pronunciation of others, when they use (ia) or (aj) consistently write (ja, ai), having precisely the same intention, and representing the same sound, on different theoretical principles. I consider the sounds of (j, w) to have been the same throughout the period now considered. Whether there may not be or have been a sound (bh), leading to the confusion between (v) and (w), well marked in the South East of England, I leave unsettled. In Chapter V, § 4, No. 1, I shall adduce reasons for believing that the Anglosaxon w was not (bh). Although (wraít) can be pronounced, yet (wraít) or (hbraít) is much easier for the lips, and in Mr. Melville Bell's Scotch specimen Chapter XI, § 4, the initial (vr) will be found in (vraq) wrong, which may however possibly have been (bhraq). As qu is now, and probably always was, (kw), the labial modification of (k), produced by rounding the lips at the same time that the (k) contact is made, and
releasing both contacts simultaneously, so (wr) probably always was (rw), the labial modification of (r), produced by keeping the lips rounded during the whole time that (r) is trilled. It is similar to the sound in French roi, which Féline writes (rua), and which English now call (rwaa), the true sound being (ruca), which produces a species of evanescent (u), but whether before (r) as Hart wrote (ureit), or after (r) as Féline writes, appears doubtful to the ear, simply because it is during (r), p. 131. Similarly (yy) is (iuv) or (ii) with a labial modification, and all the "round" vowels might be written as ordinary vowels followed by the labial modification (w), p. 161. At the same time, in transcribing the notation of others, I shall generally use (wr), although this is probably as incorrect as (rw) would be, and is very difficult to pronounce. The notation (wr) is similar to the notations (hw, hj); in all three cases succession (w + r, h + w, h + j) is written where simultaneity (w*r = rw, h*w = wh, h*j = jh,) is intended. See cw, wl, wr in Anglosaxon, Chapter V, § 4, No. 1.

The interchange of the vowel (i) with the consonant (j), and the vowel (u) with one of the three consonants (w, bh, v) is an interesting phenomenon in all languages. In Europe (w) is thought to be peculiar to England; Wales also claims it, but the claim is doubtful, as its (w), if it exists, is confused by its writers with (u). In Arabic however (w) is quite at home, and also serves to mark the vowels (o, u). In Sanscrit, if the native grammarians are correct, the (i) between two other vowels fell into (j) and the (u) into (v), and not (w) or (bh). In Germany (u) generates (bh) not (w). Similarly in modern Greek (eu, au) generated (ebh, abh) becoming (eph, aph) before mutes as (aphtos'), although modern theory makes v a (v) or an (f) as (evris'koo, aftos'), εύφρισκο, αύθυς. It seems probable that in precisely the same way, the original transition of the Sanscrit (u) was into (bh), and that the pronunciation (v), distinctly pointed out by the native grammarians, is a comparatively modern alteration, comparable with the change of (k, kh, g, gh, q) into (tsh, tshH, dzh, dzhH, nj) and of (kh) into (sh). The immediate change of (u) into (v) is difficult to conceive.

The letter (w), or (u) forming a diphthong with a following (a), formerly kept the sound of (a) pure. Thus Bullokar writes (waar, war'm, waar'n, war'en, war, waar'ter) for ware, warm, warn, warnen, war, water. As late as Wilkins we have (waez) for was. Price says that a is never sounded (AA) except before l, and hence he excludes the action of w.
Cooper does not mention the effect of \( w \), and Jones 1701 only instances the word “water, sounded wauter.” But the Expert Orthographist, 1704, says that \( a \) has its broad sound (\( \AA \)) “between \( w \) and \( r \) as war, ward-en, warm, warn-er, warren, watch, water, wrath.” It would appear then that this effect of \( w \) on a following \( a \) became prevalent at the beginning of the xviii th century. It is by no means general in the provinces, where (wat-er, warm, warm, war’m,) etc. still exist. I have heard (waa’ti, kwæl’iti, kwæn’titi,) from even educated speakers. Of course the effect of the (\( w \)) on the subsequent vowel arises from beginning to pronounce it before the lips are sufficiently opened, so that the vowel becomes round, as (wa\( w = \) wo), for which however either (\( wA \)), or (\( wo \)) has obtained in practise. Although in London and the South of England (\( wh \)) is seldom pronounced, so that (\( wat \)) is the usual sound for both Wat and what, yet to write \( wot \) for what is thought to indicate a bad vulgar pronunciation. In the North of England (\( wh \)) is very well marked, and in Scotland it is often labialized to (\( kwh \)), owing probably to the intimate relation between (\( u \)) and (\( k \)).

**M, N, NG.**

These nasal sounds frequently disturb the pure sound of the preceding vowel, giving it more or less of a nasal twang, occasioned by allowing some of the breath to pass with more or less force through the nasal passages. We know that in modern French \( in, an, on, un, \) represent four distinct ori-nasal vowels, palaeotypically written (\( e\AA, a\AA, o\AA, a\AA \)) although their exact relation to the oral vowels is not pretended to be accurately determined.¹ It is very difficult to determine how soon this change occurred. Palsgrave, who, it must be remembered, finds the French \( e \) feminine to be “sounded almoste like an \( a \) and very moche in the noose,”² tells us that “if \( m \) or \( n \) folowe nexte after \( a \) in a frenche worde, all in one syllable, than \( a \) shall be sounded lyke this diphthong au and somethyng in the noose,” so that the nasality was not “very moche” as in the other case where no other writer recognizes any nasality at all, but only “somethyng.” This would lead to \( am, an = (a,um a,un) \). Palsgrave notes the exception when “the syllable next folowyng of any suche wordes begynne also with a lyke consonant,” such as flamme, where the sound of \( a \) is not changed—and we are left to

¹ See above, p. 67, for a discussion ² See p. 181, note, col. 2. of these sounds.
suppose that the \( m \) and \( n \) have their normal sounds. As regards French \( e \) before \( m \) and \( n \) Palsgrave says it "shall be sounded lyke an italian \( a \) and some thynge in the noose," with a similar exception. See the passages cited for \( a \) on p. 143, near the top, and for \( o \), on p. 149, near the bottom. In the latter place, no distinction is made (except as regards the final \( e \)) between \( bon, bonne \), which must be (bun, bun-e) putting (e) for Palsgrave \( e \) feminine, at a venture. He makes no mention of \( in, un \), but in his transcription he writes "im-bévo, depainz, poant, insasiáblo, inconsideré, uoazins, mayn, évmblo, evnshemén" for \( imbe, depainetz, poyn't, insaiable, inconsideré, voisins, maynt, humble, ung chemin, in which there is no apparent trace of nasality.

On examining Meigret there is not so much evidence of nasality as in Palsgrave. From Meigret's notation, as may be seen in the numerous citations already given, there is no appearance of any nasal vowel. Indeed the following remark would seem to exclude the idea of any such nasals as now exist. He says:

"Je ne veu' pas aussi oublier qué la prolaçion Françoë'ze n'uze pas fort souvent de deus mm, ne de deus nn, ensemble; combien qué l'écriture ne les eparne pas: come, en homme, comme, sommet, comment, commandement, honneur, donner, sonner, ancienne. Il et vrey qué les mm se rencontret aos Auerbes qui se terminet en ment qant a, ou e ouvert précédet: come prudémen't, suffixamen't. Notez aussi qué \( n \) finall' ayant en suyte, vn vocable comen'cant par voyelle (si çe ne sont quelçes aspirez) double sa puissance: come en allant, en etant, qu nou' pronouçons come en nallant, en netant: tellement q'aotant sone l'un que l'aotre; e ny trouuons aucune difference."

That is Meigret heard no difference between the final \( n \) in "en" and the initial \( n \) in "nallant," he must therefore be understood to have said (en nalant) in lieu of the modern (aa nalaa). See also John Hart's transcription of French, Chapter VIII, § 3, and suprà p. 150. There seems to be no intimation of the French nasal in Cotgrave, and Miege only says that English final \( m \) and \( n \) are sounded "d'une manière plus forte en Anglais qu'en Français," which may mean almost anything. In his French part, he says nothing about \( an, on \), but informs us that

"em in the same Syllable is pronounced am, the \( e \) taking the sound of a French \( a \); as embleme, ensemble. Except where the word ends in \( em \), or \( emme \); as item, dilemme. And yet femme is pronounced famme. . . . So is en sounded an. Except 1. after \( i \) or \( y \), in which case the \( e \) retains its proper Pronunciation, but that it takes somewhat of the sound of an \( i \); as in these Words bien, chien
&c." with other exceptions, thus *antenne* has "œ open" or *ai*, but *tiennie* has "œ masculine." "In, making the first syllable of a Word is pronounced in French as in English, except the *n*, which is but gently sounded; as *incaable*, *indivisible*. The same is to be understood of *in* at the end of a Word; as *fin, vin, venin,*" very unlike the modern (*éA, éa, éA*). "Before *m* and *n* in the same Syllable, it ("u") takes the sound of the Dipthong *eu*; as *humle, lundi*." The investigation of the time of commencement, and the origin of the French and Portuguese nasality, would be extremely curious; at present, however, we are only concerned with the effect of the French sound upon English ears.

First then as regards *ain, ain; im, in; um, un*, the English seem to have heard in the xvi th century and previously (*aim, ain; im, in; um, un*), and to have pronounced accordingly. Thus Hart in his French Lord’s prayer writes (indui, point, peen) for *indui, point, pain*, where Hart’s (ee) represents the contemporary English (ai).

Next as to *am, an* the English generally heard an inserted (u), thus (aum, aun). This does not however appear in Hart, who writes (an, kotidian, ofanses, tantasion, pyysáne, aman) for *en, quotidien, offenses, tentation, puissance, Amen*. The omission of the (u) may perhaps be due to his usual mincing utterance. Palsgrave however distinctly notices it, and to this must be due the orthographies *aum, aun*, which are frequent at this and an earlier date in English words taken from the French. In Salesbury we have the example *galaunt, galawnt* (gal’aunt), and he particularly says that "A in the British . . . is never sounded like the diphthong *au* as the Frenchmen sounde it in commyng before *m* or *n* in their tongue." Levins, 1570, spells *dauence, glauence, launce, praunce, vaunt*, but he is not fond of the orthography, which seldom occurs. The pronunciation of such words is still marked by many speakers, (p. 147,) and although some, especially ladies, say (dæns, glæns, lëns, prën, vaunt), others lengthen the vowel at least to (dæëns) etc., while many say (dæns, glæns, lëns, præns, vënt), and others lengthening this vowel say (daëns) etc., and the intermediate sounds (dahns, daahns,) are not unfrequent; but although some say (vaunt), no one perhaps will now be heard to say (daëns, præëns).

In the combination -nge, although we have the *u* inserted in Chaucer’s time, a peculiar thinness seems to have been introduced by the -ge, for Salesbury gives *ORANGES, oreïntsye* (or’aindzhiz), (p. 120,) and Butler says that before -nge, a is

1 See also the passage quoted suprà p. 126, and the observations upon it.
pronounced as ai, (ai) or occasionally (ee), as in change, range, danger, stranger, words which retain the evidence of this pronunciation in the modern form (tsheeindzh, reeindzh, deeindzh:x, streeindzh:x). The last word is said to exist in America under the form (strai:ndzh:x).

As to om, on, the English as we have seen, p. 150, heard (um, un). In the older English, in which, as we see from Palsgrave and Bullokar, ou was pronounced (uu), we consequently find oun, oun = (uum, uun) for these sounds, and these became (oum, oun) in accented and (um, un) in unaccented syllables in the xvi th century. Hence the final (un) of Salesbury in condicyon, condisyun (condis'un); exhibition, ecsibisiwn (eksibi'si,un); prohibition, proibision (proo,ibi'si,un). To the way in which Palsgrave heard o pronounced in French even before ne, we may attribute Salesbury's (truun) for throne. We have also in the xvi th century a distinct recognition of the vocal ('m, 'n) constituting a syllable. Bullokar has even separate signs for them, an accented m', n'.

The guttural nasal (q) seems to have been the regular pronunciation of ng in English, but it was not recognized as a simple sound by the older writers. There is a difficulty in pronouncing the true dental (n) before (k, g) so that nk was commonly written for (qk) or (qhk) as Mr. Melville Bell, among others, thinks the sound should be more correctly written, and ng for either (q) or (qg), as in singer, linger (siq:x, liq:gr). This was observed by the Latin Grammarians. Nigidius, quoted by Aulus Gellius, lib. xix. cap. 14, says:

"Inter literam N et G est alia vis; ut in nomine anguis et angaria et ancora et increpat et incurrit et ingenius. In omnibus enim his non verum N, sed adulterinum ponitur. Nam N non esse, lingua indicio est. Nam si ea litera esset; lingua palatum tangeret."

Nigidius appears to have considered this n to be g, or perhaps only related to g. The Greeks wrote γγ, γκ, γχ for (qg, qk, qkh) and we find gg in Gothic, but it is not easy to separate (q) from (qg) and we may perhaps assume that (qg) was the older form in all cases. This would at any rate account for no special symbol having been assigned to (q), in most languages. It exists in Sanscrit ग, but few Sanscrit transliterators think it necessary to provide a separate symbol for it. In recent English (q) occurs frequently as a final, did it so occur in early English? This is a difficult question to answer, when we consider the practice of modern Germany, because the present pronunciation of German and Dutch being less altered than English, represents an earlier stage of English pronunciation. Now
according to Rapp ng is (qg) when final, and (q) when medial over the greater part, especially the North, of Germany. Hence Sänger Gesang would be (szq'er gezaqg'). Practically, however, as final (g) is very difficult for Germans to pronounce, they use (qk) so that Gesang Dank rhyme as (gezaqk̩ daqk). This is not the case in central Germany, where (q) final is common, and where therefore (gezaq^ daqk) do not rhyme. Even in England many speakers confuse thing, think under (thi^k), but this seems to be an exceptional word.

Gill appears to be the first writer who recognises (q) as a separate element. He says, leaving his notation unaltered:

"N in illis [literis] est quas nihil mutare diximus: at si k, aut g, sequatur paulum minuenda est nostra sententia: necque enim (si accuratè expendas) planê ita profertur in thank et think quemadmodum pronunciatur in hand manus, et non xone nullus. Sed ne adeo nasutuli videamur ut nihil vetustate rancidum ferre possimus: quia k, ibi clarè auditor, nec congrua esse rer quam veritati propinquam immutare; monuisse tantum volui, sed te invito non monuisse tamen. At si g subsequatur vt in thing res et song canticum; quia sonus literæ g ibi nullus est, at semivocalis planê alia que ab n non minus distat quàm m; literæ ng. una erit ex illis compositis, quibus fas esse volui sonum simplicem indicare, ut in sing canta, et among inter. huc etiam refer illa in quibus g, ab n, ratione sequentis liquidae quodammodo distrahitur, a spangl nitella, tu intangl implicare."

Hence he said (siq, amoq', a spaq'g'l, tu intaq'g'l) according to the present usage of ng. It would appear therefore that we are justified in adopting this usage from at least the xvi th century, and, in the uncertainty which cannot be dispelled, it will be safest to adopt it also from the earliest times that English became distinct from Anglosaxon, although the North German custom may have been that of Anglosaxon itself, namely to call ng = (qg) when final, and (q) when medial.

Gill names (q) as a bad pronunciation of the Hebrew y, which is still heard, being replaced by (gn) when initial, as Europeans generally find a difficulty in initial (q), although it is not infrequent in extra-European languages.¹ Sales-

¹ Thus Voss in his Minnelied has

"Der Holdseligen
Sonder Wank
Sing ich fröhlichen
Minnesang:
Denn die Reine,
Die ich meine,
Winkt mir lieblichen Habedank."
And again in his address to Luther

"Sie tränkte dich mit Rebentrunk;
Und frendig tönte dein Gesang."
I have not noticed such rhymes in Schiller and Goethe.

² The vulgar Parisian, however, says (qja pa) for il n'y a pas, and the Viennese porters will call a gentleman (ai qua^d'n) or (ai qaah'd'n) for ewer Gnaden.
bury speaks of the "Latine vocables *agnus, magnus, ignis*, at what time they were thus barbarously sounded *angnus, mangnus, ingnis*," meaning (*aq'nus, maq'nu, iq'nis*). This nasalisation of (g) into (q) before the following nasal (n) seems to have been common in the middle ages, and has crept into the Latin orthography of the period. Gill in English gives both (ben'g'n) and (ben'q'n) for *benign*,\(^1\) This (qn) is the regular pronunciation of *gn* in Modern Swedish, the poet *Tegnér* being (*Teqneer*).\(^2\)

The (qg, qk) are heard in Italian and Spanish, but they are unknown in French. The older orthography of French had *ng* in many cases where the nasal (n) is now heard. But Meigret does not recognise this, writing *n* simply in such cases. The French confuse our (q) with their *gn* = (nj) and some Englishmen seem to have fallen into the converse error. The Spanish ñ,\(^3\) Portuguese *nh*, Italian and French *gn*, are all (nj), or nearly (nj).

L

The great opening for the passage of the voice while L is pronounced and the very slight nature of the vibration of the sides of the tongue, tend to give it a strongly vocal character, and not unfrequently the L has been entirely lost in a vowel sound, produced simply by not bringing the tip of the tongue close enough to the palate to form a division of the passage and throw the voice out on both sides. Both French and English seem to have had a tendency to labialise (l) into (lw) after (a, o), that is they rounded the lips either during the vowel or just as it glided into the consonant. The Latin *alter* thus became (alwter) or (awluter) felt as (aolwtre), till the (l) became absorbed, that is, neglected for convenience of utterance, thus (aotre), which is Meigret's

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1 Strange as the final combination (q'n) may seem, there is a well known London vulgarism in which it is very familiar (iq'nz) for (aq'nu) *onions*.

2 In Sjöborg's *Swedische Sprachlehre*, p. 10, this is the rule laid down, but *mogna, tagne, stagne* are said exceptionally to preserve the (g) and in *logn* the sound is (laen). The irregularity of Swedish orthography as compared with pronunciation is considerable, shewing a great alteration of pronunciation in the comparatively short period since the orthography was established.

3 In old Spanish *nn*, just as *l* is the modern Spanish for (*lj*). The tilde over the *ñ* was merely the usual abbreviation for the second *n*. "En los tiempos mas antiguos de nuestra lengua se explicó con dos *nn* juntas esta pronunciacion, y algunos se han persuadido a que la tilde sobre la *n*, como hoy se usa, se introdujo para denotar la otra *n* que se omitía, al modo que la tilde puesta sobre las vocales se usó frecuentemente en lugar de *n*." *Ortografía de la Lengua Castellana*, compuesta por la Real Academia Española. 7th ed. Madrid 16mo, 1792, p. 64.
form, and finally (oor'), the modern form. In England (alw) became felt as (aul) or (awluw) and this degenerated into (aal), perhaps through (aul). Finally when a consonant followed, it was more convenient to leave out the (l), and the lazy or the nimble tongue, as usual, took the most convenient or shortest road, and (l) disappeared. The Scotch even lost it without a following consonant as (kaa AlA) for (kaal, aal). The passage was perhaps (talk, talæk, taulwk, tauk, tawk, taÁk). Whether (taÁlk) was ever said, except by Gill’s “docti interdum” is more than doubtful.

Similarly after (oo) we had (oolwed, oulved, oould) or (ool). In this case the (l) was not generally absorbed, but we have provincially (ool) for old.

Salesbury says that in the English calm, call, the a “is thought to decline toward the sound of the diphthong au.” Again: “o in Welsh going before ll, soundeth nothing more boystous, that is to say, that it inclineth to the sound of the diphthong ou (as it doth in English) no more than if it had gone before any other letter.” “L hath no nother difference in sound in Welsh than in Englysh. And note that it neyther causeth a nor o when they come before it, to sound anye more fuller in the mouth, than they do else where sounde, commyng before anye other letter.” “Sometimes a has the sounds of the diphthong aw especially when it precedes l or ll, as may be more clearly seen in these words: BALDE bauld (bauld) calvus, BALL, bawl, (baul) pila; WALL wawel (waul) murus.” “O also before ll or ll is pronounced as though w were inserted between them, thus COLDE, cowld (kould) frigidus, BOLLE bowl (boul), TOLLE toul (toul) vectigal.” “In some districts of England ll is sounded like w, thus bowld (boould) for bold, bw (buu) for bull, cow (kau) for call. But this pronunciation is merely a provincialism, and not to be imitated unless you wish to mince like these blunderers.” But this did not arise from mincing, but from broadening. The mincer, so far from dropping the front of the tongue from the palate, raises the middle part and produces (lj) which degenerates into (i), as in Modern French. The effect of l which Salesbury names is generally recognized and exists to this day in the modified form of (AA) for (au) and (oom) for (ou) or (ou). The sound (ou) is however, heard in (ould) Ireland, either in its genuine form (ou) or its modified form (au) at the present day. Buchanan in the xvii b century wrote (sould, kould, bould, skould, tould, hould, soould jir) for sold, cold, bold, scold, told, hold, soldier. Sheridan did not imitate him, but scrupulously
used (ool) and notes (bauld, kauld) as Irishisms for (boold, koold), in which again the Irish were only following the fashion of the English in the xvii th century.

Salesbury recognized ('l) or prolonged (l) as forming a syllable by itself in able, sable, twyncle, wryncle, writing abl, sabl, twinkel, wrinkl = (aa'b'l, saa'bl, twiq'kl, wrig'kl). In this he is fully borne out by all subsequent writers. Hart and Bullokar have special signs for ('l). Hart considers it to be the same as the Welsh ゥ, (lhh) which is the reason why he provides it with an especial character. He says

"Wée haue further the 1, aspired lyke to the Spanishe and Walsh¹ often vse of the ll, which maketh the .xij. dumbe or dull sounde, but we vse it not that I know of, at the beginning of any words as they do: but often at thend of words, as in this sentence, the bedle is hable to fable. Where we wrest the e, which is but closely or (as it were) halfe sounded: wherfore we may with as small cost and labour, as of the rest, vse a fit figure for it: and never néede to vse the ll, or lh, and for the reasons abouesaid not to abuse the h."

Smith says:

"Qui nescit quid sit esse semivocalem ex nostra lingua facilè poterit discere, ipsa enim litera L quandam quasi vocalem in se videtur continere, ita ut juncta mutæ sine vocali sonum faciat, ut (aabl) habillis, (staabl) stabilis, (faabl) fable, &c; alií abil stabil fabil, alií abul stabul fabul scribunt, sed ne quicumquem pronuntiant; nam consideratius auscultanti nec e nec i nec u est, sed tinnitus quidam vocalis naturam habens, quæ naturaliter his liquidis inest. In omnibus his quidam e addunt in fine, vt able, stable, fabel: sed certò illud e non tam sonat hic quam fuscem illud et fœminum Francorum e,² nam ne quicumquem sonat."

¹ Like Salesbury he confuses the Spanish (l) with the Welsh (lhh).
² This is a recognition of an Obviously sounded final French e, the present (o), in the xvi th century, agreeing with Palsgrave but disagreeing with Meigret. In the same way most Germans call their e final in eine gute Gabe a fine (e), and very many Englishman would call it (o). Rapp, Physiologie der Sprache, vol. iv. p. 16, says (translating the passage for convenience):

"Short (e) only occurs unaccented, as (be, ge, ende), bege, ende, doubtful, half-mute, or, when heard, with a faint nasal in en (geeben) geben. On account of the uncertainty we generally prefer the orthography (geeben)." Rapp uses e much as the palaeotypic (e), and represents (e, e) by ę, ĕ, but (ee, ee) by aā, ā. Generally I have used (e, ee) for his ę, ā, but in this passage it was necessary to draw the distinction. In the same way I have represented the final -e in Chaucer by (e), as doubtful. Rapp continues: "Yet where the syllable nen with double n results, (nenen) nennen is distinctly pronounced." Rapp writes (nenen) owing to his custom of doubling the consonant after a stopped vowel. "To exhaust what I have to say about the unaccented e, observe that the first e is taken as the natural vowel in the termination enen, (gelfalenen) gefallen, or else elided. The natural vowel is distinct before M, R, S and T, (aam, faat, guutas, bedet) athem, eater, gutes, betet, foreign names as (mooses) of course excepted; custom varies in (juupiter, juuipitr). The enclitics (or, far, tsor; or, dar) er, ver, zer; or, der must be mentioned among the (or). The e is always mute before L, as in all allied languages, as (mitl, eql)
In Bohemian the ('l) is fully recognized, and forms the only vocal element in some accented syllables, as volky (bh'lvky) wolves, slza (s'l'za) a tear. It seems probable that it was the sound intended to be represented by Sanscrit र्ल ("r'1l") commonly called (Iri, Irii), unless these were originally cerebral, as ('l, "l). The modern French do not possess the sound, but pronounce (tabl') or (tablh), sometimes merely (tab'), although their orthoepists write (tabl), and contend that (l) here forms a syllable by itself. As we have seen Hart indicates his own pronunciation of final -le to have been (-lh.)

R

In English at the present day r has at least two sounds, the first, when preceding a vowel, is a scarcely perceptible trill with the tip of the tongue (r) which in Scotland, and with some English speakers, as always in Italy, becomes a clear and strong trill (r'), but as this is only an accident of speech, it will not be further noticed, (r) being used indifferently for both. The second English r is always final or precedes a consonant. It is a vocal murmur, differing very slightly from (o). I seem to hear it occasionally in two forms, differing nearly as (ao, e) which I represent by (o, i). As however this distinction is, certainly, by no means always made, I do not usually mark it. This second (i) may diphthongise with any preceding vowel. After (a, a, o) the effect is rather to lengthen the preceding vowel, than to produce a distinct diphthong. Thus farther, lord, scarcely differ from father, loud: that is, the diphthongs (ai, ai) are heard almost as the long vowels (aa, AA). That a distinction is made by many, by more perhaps than are aware of it, is certain, but it is also certain that in the mouths of by far the greater number of speakers in the South of England the absorption of the (i) is as complete as the absorption of the (l) in talk,
walk, psalm, where it has also left its mark on the preceding vowel. When Dickens wrote Count Smol't Tork he meant Small Talk, and no ordinary reader would distinguish between them. But in (ai, ae) proper, there is a slight change of lingual position generating a glide, and consequently Mr. M. Bell represents the effect by a glide character especially invented for the purpose, which he terms the "point glide" and describes "as a semivocalized sound of (r)." The diphthongs (ai, ae) are very difficult to separate from each other and from (eo). But the slight raising of the point of the tongue will distinguish the diphthongs from the vowel in the mouth of a careful speaker, that is, one who trains his organs to do so. No doubt the great majority of speakers do not make any difference, and I think that the best representation of these sounds is the simple (i) or ('i), which is in this respect wholly comparable to the ('l) already discussed. It seems to be an indistinct murmur, differing from ('l) by not having any contact between the tongue and the palate, but similar to it, in absorbing a variety of other vowels. The following is a comparison of my notation of this murmur (i) and its various diphthongs, with Mr. M. Bell's. The (i) character will express Mr. Bell's glide, and (ae) its labialised form, as in Introduction, p. 15. The examples have been taken from Visible Speech, pp. 113–116.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bell</th>
<th>Ellis</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>word, journey, furnish = (wəd, dəˈhəmə) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>paper, circuitous, answer, martyr = (ˈpər, ˈmɑrter) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ̯r</td>
<td>aɪ̯r</td>
<td>fire, lyre, choir = (ˈfaiər, ˈlaɪər, ˈkwɔər)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ̯r</td>
<td>aɪ̯r</td>
<td>wiry, fiery = (ˈwərɨ, ˈfaɪər)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʊ̯r</td>
<td>aʊ̯r</td>
<td>hour, power = (ˈhər, ˈpɔrə)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʊ̯r</td>
<td>aʊ̯r</td>
<td>ourselves = (ˈɔːrsɛlvz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʊ̯r, aʊ̯r</td>
<td>aʊ̯r</td>
<td>dowery, flowery, showery = (ˈdəwərɪ, ˈfləʊərɪ) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>hard, clerk, heart, guard = (ˈhɑr, klərk, ˈɡɑrd) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>barbarian = (ˈbərəˈbriən)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>altar, grammar, particular = (ˈælˈtɑr, ˈɡræmər) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>starry, tarry (adjective) = (ˈstɑrəri, ˈtɑrəri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðə</td>
<td>i, i</td>
<td>prefer, earnest, firm, myrrh, guerdon = (ˈprɪfər, ˈɛrnəst, ˈfɜrm, ˈmaɪr,h, ˈɡyuərˈdən) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðə</td>
<td>ðə</td>
<td>near, beer, here, we're, pier = (ˈniər, ˈbiər) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðə</td>
<td>ðə</td>
<td>aerie, era, weary, peeress = (ˈaɪərɪ, ˈɛrə, ˈwɛri, ˈpɪərəs) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɪər</td>
<td>ɪər</td>
<td>care, aer, pair, Ayr, prayer (petition), there, bear, never, there, eye, mare = (ˈkɛər) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əʊ̯</td>
<td>əʊ̯</td>
<td>mayor = (ˈməʊr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eɪ̯r</td>
<td>eɪ̯r</td>
<td>canary, fairy, therein, bearing = (ˈkænərɪ, ˈfeɪrɪ, ˈθɛrən, ˈbɛrɪŋ) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>war, ward, swarm, dwarf = (ˈwɔr, ˈwɔrd, ˈswɔrm, ˈdɔrf) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>poor, moor, tour, sure = (ˈpʊr, ˈmʊr, ˈtʊr, ˈsʊr) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>aɪ̯</td>
<td>poorer, surer, assuring, tourist = (ˈpʊrər, ˈsʊrər, ˈəsərɪŋ, ˈtʊrɪst) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʊə̯r</td>
<td>ʊə̯r</td>
<td>cure, pure, endure, immure = (ˈkʊər, ˈpʊr, ˈɛnˈdʊər, ˈɪmˈmʊər) &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
See lure, ooii, iELL, ooJT, fury, azure, im, nature, ooii, Israel, ji, compare other iuir

It will be observed that Mr. Bell has not marked a long vowel in many places where I have marked one. His general habit is not to distinguish the length of the first element in diphthongs. Simple \( r \) is used in ordinary spelling, after long vowels, for the combination \( (\text{x}) \), or \( (\text{r}) \) as Mr. Bell prefers writing. This combination is very peculiar in English; compare dear, deary, mare, Mary, more, glory, poor, poorer, with the French dire, dirai, mere, mairie, Maure, aurai, tour, Touraine.

The Scotch do not use \( (\text{x}) \) at all, but only \( (\text{r}) \) or rather \( (\text{.r}) \), saying (word, serf, serv, karv) word, serf, surf, carve.

In Italy \( (\text{r}) \) is constant, in France and a great part of Germany \( (\text{r}) \) is pronounced in lieu of \( (\text{r}) \). Could it be to this sound that Palsgrave alluded when he said:

"\( R \) in the frenche tonge shalbe sounded as he is in latyn without any exception, so that, where as theye of Parys do sounde somtyme \( r \) lyke \( z \), sayeng pazy for parys, parisien for parisien, chaize for chayre, mazy for mary, and suche lyke, in that thynge I wolde not have them folowed, albeit that in all this worke I moost folowe the Parisyens."

Certainly \( z \) would be the nearest character by which, without explanation, he could have given a conception of the true \( r \) grasse\( \text{y} \) ou proven\( \text{c} \)al, the French \( (\text{r}) \), which is not unlike the Arabic \( (\text{grh}) \), and the Northumberland \( burr \). The last is often confused by southerns with \( (\text{g}) \), (Hagrh\'iet) Harriet sounding to them like (Haeg\'iet). The Spanish \( r \) suave is \( (\text{r}) \), with no more trill than in English, but the \( r \) fuerte is, according to Mr. M. Bell, the usual \( (\text{.r}) \), but according to M. Favarger, \( (\text{.r}) \), a sharp uvula rattle without any moisture.

1 The French razzia (razia) is a corruption of the Arabic \( \text{\text{y}azza} \) (grhazaat).

2 See Ortografia de la lengua Castellana compuesta por la real Academia Española, 7th ed. Madrid, 1792, p. 70, where the strong \( r \) (\( \text{x} \)) is said to occur, at the beginning of words as razon, remo, rico, romo, rueda; after \( l, n, s \) always, as malrotar, enriquecer, honra, Israel, desreglado; in compounds, where the second part begins with \( r \); and where \( rr \) is written as barra, carro. In other cases the soft \( r \) \( (\text{r}) \) is to be pronounced.

Bell. Ellis.

Examples:

- \( iu'r \) iuuir fury, purer, enduring \( = (\text{iuur}\text{r}, piu'r\text{r}) \) &c.
- \( iu\) iu lure, allure \( = (\text{iuu}, \text{uuiu}) \)
- \( iu'r \) iuuir lurid, alluring \( = (\text{iuuur}, \text{viiuur}q) \)
- \( o\text{r} \) ooii, ooii boar, o'er, door, floor, borne, torn, sorr, corps, pour, tournament, towards \( = (\text{boar, bost}) \) &c.
- \( o'r \) ooii, ooii glory, soaring, pouring \( = (\text{glooorr}, \text{glooor}r) \) &c.
- \( o\text{r} \) ooii, Aii extraordinary, George, order, born \( = (\text{boam}n) \) &c.
- \( \text{oh}r \) i, iuir spectator, tailor, razor, orator \( = (\text{spekteet}h\text{r}) \) &c.
- \( ui \) iuuir azure, fissure, measure, seizure \( = (\text{eezh}h\text{r}) \) &c.
- \( \text{uui} \) iuuir, ii nature, feature, stature \( = (\text{neeuiir nee}t\text{ri}) \) &c.
No allusion to more than one sound of \( r \) is found in any of the older writers except Ben Jonson, yet it can hardly be supposed that even if the northerners have retained \( (r) \), the complicated \( (r, i, \text{or}) \) system could have grown up in a single century in the South. For the old \( wr= (rw) \), see p. 187.

1547. Salesbury has the following words which are now pronounced with \((a)\), the old spelling being in small capitals and the phonetic Welsh in italics.

PAPYR papyr, quarter kwarter, syr syr, tresure tresuwr, vertue vertue, churche tsurts, ladder lad-dr, bladd' blad-dr, emperoure emperur, euermore efermwor, thondre thundr, suffre sufffer, Gyilbert Gilbert, gynger tsintsir, honoure onor.

Here we find the unaccented syllable \( er \) or \( ir \) represented by the Welsh \( er, yr, ir, \) and finally simple \( r \). This points out to an indistinct murmur, where the writer tries first one vowel sound and then another and finally gives them all up in despair, and trusts to the simple consonant \( (r) \) as best representing the sound. Now in Bohemian \( (r) \) is recognized as sufficient to form even an accented syllable, as \( srna \) a roe, \( zrno \) kernel, \( trn \) thorn, \( dm \) turf, \( chrt \) greyhound. I do not know whether the sound is here \((a)\) or \((r)\), but as Ziax (Böhmische Sprachlehre) compares it with the German termination -er, which Rapp (suprà p. 194, note) declares to be \( (or) \), it will be safest to consider it as \((r)\) or \((.r)\), though even the Germans are apt to fall into the convenient \((a)\) final. The examples from Salesbury would therefore lead us to conclude that \((r)\) was sufficiently common in English of the \( XVI \)th century, but would not allow us to assume either that the syllables he writes \( er, yr, ir, r \) were \((a)\), or that every final \( r \) was \((a)\) and middle \( r \) \((ir)\).

1569. Hart says of \( l m n r \) that they are "rightly-\text{used} in sounde when they be single."

1580. Bullokar, who has especial signs for \((l, m, n)\), has none for \((r)\) or \((a)\), writing \( \text{foromer, dheer, aar, severawl, letterz, figyyrz,} \) for \( \text{former, there, are, several, letters, figures.} \)

1621. Gill says: "\( aeri \) fere trissyllabum est; \( earl \) mobilis; apud alios enim diphthongus valet, hic \( erl \) auditur, illic \( erl. \)"

Here some tinge of \((r)\) or \((a)\) seems to come into play, \( (a'ri, \text{e}'rl, eerl) \). Gill also writes \( \text{fоi'er} \) \( \text{fire,} \) and complains that they say \( (fir) \) in place of \( (foi'er) \) in the East of England. But the Germans also write \( \text{feuer} \) (fay'or, foyr, foir), and this does not imply \((a)\).

1653, Wallis and 1668, Wilkins have no allusion to \((a)\).
If it was then heard it was possibly considered to be an erroneous utterance not worth naming.

1685. Cooper says: "Verba Anglicana & latina derivativa deque in origine scribuntur cum er scribimus item er, pronunciamus autem ur (œr), non quia sic preferri debet, sed quia propter littere r vibrationem vix aliter efferrì potest; ut adder coluber, prefer praefero, slender tenuis."

Here the mention of the vibration excludes (a) and insists on (œr) or (œr). Cooper proceeds to give lists of such words with final (œr) spelled -ar, -er, -ir, -or, and even -ure, shewing that he pronounced -ture as (-tor) in adventure, juncture, lecture, nature, pasture, picture, rapture, scripture, etc., which are vulgarisms at present under the form (-t), although in figure, injure, measure the (a) is common (fig'œ, in'dzhu, meẑh'a). Cooper also says: "r sonatur post o in apron gremiale, citron citreum, environ circundo, gridiron craticula, iron ferrum, saffron crocus; quasi scriberentur aprun, &c," almost as at present.

1688. Miege also says of r, "en certains mots la voyelle qui la suit se prononce devant, comme en here, sire, spire, hundred, apron, citron, saffron, iron;" but this can only point to (œr) or (œr) after what Cooper has said. Jones identifies the sounds of er, ur, referring from the latter to the former, and making both co-extensive with the modern (œ), but he does not help us to determine the double power of r.

1640. Ben Jonson says: "R is the Dogs letter, and hurreth in the sound; the tongue striking the inner palate, with a trembling about the teeth. It is sounded firme in the beginning of the words, and more liquid in the middle, and ends: as in rarer, viper. and so in the Latine."

This seems to imply that a difference was made so early as the end of the xvi th and beginning of the xvii th century. The precise meaning of the vague terms firm and more liquid cannot of course be assigned. But probably firm meant more consonantal and liquid more vocal, so that something like the difference between (r) and (œ) is indicated. The reference to the Latin is of no value, as it was only to its English pronunciation.

Walker, 150 years later, refers to this passage and says:

"The rough r is formed by jarring the tip of the tongue against the roof of the mouth near the fore teeth: the smooth r is a vibration of the lower part of the tongue, near the root, against the inward region of the palate near the entrance of the throat. This latter r is that which marks the pronunciation of England, and the former that of Ireland."
But he does not proceed to point out where the rough and smooth \( r \) were pronounced, and his description of the smooth \( r \) better agrees with a gently pronounced \((r)\) or \((grh)\), the uvula trill, than with \((a)\). The theory of a vibration of the back or lower part of the tongue is untenable; that part of the tongue is too firm to vibrate in the manner conceived. And in England we do not perceptibly vibrate the uvula.

SMART, who has entered into the consideration of \((a)\) more than any preceding writer, calls \((a)\) a "guttural vowel sound." He says of \((r)\) that "it is formed by a strong trill of the tongue against the upper gum," to which it may be objected, first, that the trill is gentle in English, and, secondly, that the tongue vibrates freely, near, but not striking the upper gum. For \((a)\) he says, "there is no trill, but the tongue being curled back during the progress of the vowel preceding it, the sound becomes guttural, while a slight vibration of the back part of the tongue is perceptible in the sound." Now I do not find the tongue to be "curled back," although it passes from the preceding vowel to the \((a)\) position, and I find no vibration of the back of the tongue, though vibration of the velum may occasionally be felt, and some persons may more or less vibrate the uvula.

On account of the resemblance of \((a)\) to \((e)\), a sound to which all unaccented vowels approximate in the mouths of many southern speakers, and also because when \((a)\) is followed by a vowel, it is usual to interpose \((r)\) thus \((heeurr'i, hiiurr'iq)\), hairy, hearing, illiterate speakers—those who either do not know how to spell, or ignore the rules of spelling in their speech—usually interpose an \((r)\) between any back vowel, as \((a, A, œ)\) and a subsequent vowel, thus \((draariq, laar œ-dhe-lænd, windær œ dhe 'ænus)\) for \((draariq, laa ov dhe lænd, wind'do ov dhe nǽus)\) drawing, law of the land, window of the house. From this habit, a very singular conclusion has been commonly drawn by a great many people, namely, that such persons habitually say \((draar, laar, windær)\) when not before a vowel,—a feat which they are mostly incapable of performing. They will indeed rhyme window, cinder, not because they say \((windær sin'dær)\) as generally assumed, with the trilled \((r)\), but because they say \((windør sin'dør)\) or \((windu sin'du)\), omitting to trill the \( r \) in both cases.

Another point on which Smart insists is the distinction between \(serf\), \(surf\), which Mr. M. Bell writes \((sourf, sauf)\), and I write either \((safr, saf)\) by preference, or \((seaf, soaf)\), or else, sinking the distinction, as is far the commonest practice, write \((safr)\) for both words. A distinction of course can be made,
and without much difficulty, by those who think of it, and is made by those who have formed a habit of doing so; but the distinction is so rarely made as to amount almost to pedantry when carefully carried out, like so many other distinctions insisted on by orthoepists, but ignored by speakers whose heart is in the thought they wish to convey, not in the vehicle they are using. Smart, notwithstanding the pains he has bestowed on this subject, finds that the words player, slayer, which are dissyllables = (pee', i plee', i, slee', r), rhyme perfectly with care, fair, hair, share, which are monosyllables = (kee, fee, hee, shee) with a different vowel.

The action of the ('l) in altering the preceding (a) into (au) and thence into (AA) has already been noticed. It is always the tendency of two sounds combined in rapid succession, to generate some alterations in one or both, or to fuse themselves into some new sound (p. 52). This is very marked with (a). It is now not customary to pronounce (ce) or (oo) before (a). Such words as (meed, mooi) have a very peculiar effect, either antiquated or illiterate, and are replaced by (meed, mooi) mare, more. Mr. M. Bell considers that (uu) is in like manner altered to (uu). This is certainly often the case, but (pua) for (puua) has no singularity in it. We certainly do not change (ii) into (ii) and say (iia) for (iii) ear. It is probably this action of the (a) which has preserved the sound of (a) so that art, part are not (aart, paart) but (aart, paart) or (aart, paart) or simply (aart, paart). Indeed, in ordinary spelling, many writers now habitually use ar to indicate the sound (aa), in the same way as they use or to represent (AA); (p. 197). At the same time (aer, aeeer) were certainly prevalent in the XVIIth century, and are fossilized in America.

How far all these effects are modern, or how far they were heard even in Ben Jonson's time, I have been quite unable to determine. But as (r) may still be said, and is still used by Irishmen and Scotchmen (implying an older form of English) and, carefully inserting (') or (o), is even now used by many Englishmen without giving offence to the ear (ii'r, ii'o), it is certainly safer to assume that there was formerly only one sound of (r), but that a murmur (') was generally inserted before it when following a vowel. In my transcriptions, however, I have been obliged to omit this theoretical ('r) for which I have no proper authority.

1 But observe the Norwich street cry, p. 138, note, col. 1.
The pronunciation of P, B does not seem to have varied in any respect.

T, D have now a tendency, ignored by most orthoepists, under particular circumstances to pass into (tsh, dzh); thus nature, verdure are, perhaps most frequently, pronounced (nee'tshə, vər'dzhə), the last word being in that case identified with verger. This alteration takes place generally through the action of a palatal sound, originally (yy), then (iu, ju) so that the transition was (-týyə, -tiuə, -tjuə, -tʃə). I have not found traces of the change however, but the pronunciation (nee'tʃə) or its equivalent given by Jones seems to shew an effort to avoid it by omitting the palatal element (ʃ). In the xviii th century Sheridan carried this still further and allowed for such pronunciations as (tʃhənt'ʃə) for tutor. The palatals (i, ʃ) have always had a great effect upon preceding consonants of the dental and guttural class, as they tend to materially alter the position of the tongue, in order to facilitate the transition to a following vowel. The languages derived from the Latin are full of instances. It is a fashion in modern English to resist, or to believe that we resist, this tendency in the especial case of -ture and -dure, but we have given into it completely in -tion, where the ʃ, hesitating in classical times between c and t, underwent a change which gave (-sioa) in French, whence in English, first (-sium) and then (-shon),—never, except in orthoepical fancies, (-shon),—and in Italian produced (-tsiuu′no). A similar change is recognized in -cious, -cial. And it is in vain to protest against -ture, -dure becoming (-tʃə, -dzhə), at a time when even (-tʃuə, -dʒuə), though far less pedantic than (-tiuə, -diuə), have a singularly orthoepistic effect.

C, G also underwent a similar change, not from the action of an (i) sound, but paradoxically, as it might appear, through the action of a following (a) sound. The letter ʃ is not much used as an initial in English and hence the observation refers in spelling to c but in sound to (k). It would be interesting to know when the English began to introduce an (i) sound between (k, g) and an (a) sound. There is no trace of it in orthoepists, but there are traces of it in a very early stage of our language, in the Anglosaxon orthography, and there are traces of final (k, g), especially after (l, n, r) having been also palatalized to (k, ʃ). The word church, now (tʃhətʃə), but previously (tʃhərtʃə) if we may trust Salesbury's Welsh tran-
scription *tsiurts*, is an excellent example. The Anglosaxon forms are *cerc*, *ciric*, *cyric*, *ciree*, *cyrieca*, the Greek being *kypiaków*, which in the present Greek pronunciation, prevalent certainly in all its main points when the word was transplanted into Anglosaxon, is called (kiriakont'), and the word (kirk) or (kirk) probably arose\(^1\) from omitting one or two of the intermediate vowels. Ormin's *kirrke* = (kirk'-e) and the Scotch *kirk* (kerk, ke rk), shew the unpalatalized form. That the initial consonant should have yielded to the following (i) was to be expected, and although in modern high German we have *kirche* (kirk'-e), the old high German often shewed an initial *ch* = (kh) or perhaps (kh), a palatal, although it possibly meant the upper German initial (kh). The final *k* in this word is palatalised in modern German, for it is (kh) and not (kh), and it is to be remarked that the Germans *always* use (kh) and not (kh) after (l n r) shewing the tendency of Germanic languages to this palatalisation. The transitional form between (kirk) and (tshirtsh) was (kirk). From (k) to (tsh) seems a great stride. Yet there is no doubt that the passage was accomplished in Italian, where every (tsh) results from a palatal (k), and every (sh) from a palatal (ks) precisely as in English. In modern Greek *kai*, properly (ke), becomes (ke, ki, tshi) in various dialectic pronunciations. In Sanskrit also there can be no doubt that the palatal series च ह ज ख च were originally (k kh g gh g) although they are said to be now (tsh tshh dzh dzhh nj).\(^2\) This is not the only change of the palatised (k). The older French seem to have generally palatalized the Latin *e* before *a*, as (kamp) from *campus*, whence afterwards (shamp, shal), (p. 53). But the change was often first into (s), whence (sh) became evolved by a further action of an (i) sound, so *occeanus, océan, ocean* *(ôke'anus, oseà, oo'shan)*.

In pronouncing (j) the middle of the tongue is arched up against the palate; while for (k) the back, and for (t) the tip of the tongue only come in contact with the palate. When then (kj) or (tj) come together rapidly, the first change is to produce (kj) and (tj). By (kj) is meant precisely the same as (k). The latter is generally the more convenient notation, but the former seems more suitable for the present discussion. For (kj) there is an attempt to pro-

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\(^1\) There is a possibility that *cerc* is not of Greek origin, see Graff, iv, 481, Dieffenbach's *Goth. Wört.*, ii, 450. This however will not affect the derivatives of the Anglosaxon.

\(^2\) It is very possible that (q) may remain; few Englishmen would detect the difference between (nj) and (q) that is (nq), and some mispronounce the French *gn* as (q). The sound (nj) belongs to a series (tj tju dj djh nj), not developed in Sanscrit.
nounce (k) and (r) simultaneously. Hence the back of the tongue still remaining in contact with the palate, the middle of the tongue is also raised, so that both back and middle lie against the palate. This is rather a constrained position, and consequently the back of the tongue readily drops. The result is the exact position for (tj) which, originating in an attempt to sound (t) and (r) simultaneously, brought the tip and middle of the tongue to the palate, and this being almost an impossible position dropped the tip. The two consonants (kj, tj) are therefore ready to interchange. The passage from (tj) to (tsh) is very short and swift, so much so that many writers, as Wallis, have considered (tsh) to be really (tj). But the organs of different speakers have different tendencies, and in some (s) or (sh) are more readily evolved than (tsh) from (tj). It must be remembered that when the sound is thus spoken of as changing, it is not meant that it changes in the mouth of a single man from perfect (k) to perfect (tsh). Quite the contrary. It probably required many generations to complete the change, and the transitional forms were possibly in use by intermediate generations. From these must be excluded all intentional, that is, artificial inorganic changes, such as those induced by modern orthoepists. The (s, sh, tsh) were all imperfect attempts at imitating (tj), a sound which is said to have remained stable in the Hungarian language where it is written ty, while its congener (dj) is written gy, Magyar being called (Madjor).

The reason why (k) should have been palatalized to (kj) after (l, n, r) is not so clear, but the example of the modern high German milch, manch, durch (milkh, mankh, durkh) shows that the tendency is a reality not an hypothesis, and enables us to understand milch as well as milk ags. mile, meole; bench as well as bank, ags. banc; drench ags. drincan as well as drink ags. drincan, stark and starch ags. steare, mark and march a border, ags. mearc. Chaucer interchanges werk, werch, etc., to suit his rhyme. It would seem therefore that about this time there was a great tendency in the two sounds to fall into one another. The close connection also of the sounds of (k, tsh) naturally suggested the related signs c, ch, a notation early adopted. And as (sk) became

1 Wallis says: "Anglorum ch vel toth sonat ty . . . Si voci Anglicaee yew taxus sigillatim praeponuntur d, t, s, z funt dyew, tyew, syew, zyew, hoc est, Anglorum Jow Judeus, chew mastico, shew ostendo, et Gallorum jeu Iusus. Qui syllabis yun, yer praeposuerit s, z formabit Gallorum changer, hoc est, syan-zyer, at si praeposuerit t, d formabit Anglorum changer, hoc est, tyan-dyer." There is no doubt of the readiness with which the first sounds generate the second, but the two are quite distinct, and a very little practice enables any one to distinguish them.
(skj, stj, sh), the earliest sign for the new sound was sch. This has been adopted in German where ch by itself has a different meaning. See also Chap. V, § 4, No. 1.

But the phenomenon which suggested these remarks, namely, the palatalisation of (k) before an (a) sound, is different. Generally the consonant follows the tendency of the vowel. A German is so imbued with the tendency of ch to become (kh, kjh, kveh) according to the preceding vowel, so used to say (akh, ikh, aukwh), that his organs would find (akjh, ikh) an impossibility. But different speakers seem to have been affected with the very opposite tendency; some striving to render the consonant thinner, or more palatal, by inserting an (i) effect, between it and a following (a) sound; others avoiding the palatalisation of a consonant before an (i) sound by the introduction of an (u) sound. The first would convert (ka) into (kia), whence (kja, kja), the common Italian schiaecatto (skjattshaa’to) effect; the second change (ki, ke) into (kwi,kke) or (kwi, kwe). These tendencies are carried far beyond these limits in the Sclovonic palatalisation and the French labialisation of consonants. They are not widely developed in our own language, and, being inorganic, may prevail only partially both in time and place. In modern Italian both chi and cui (ki, cui) occur, the French qui though written with the mark of thickening or labialisation, is palatalised into (kji) and similarly in all words where qu precedes a (i, e) sound in French.

As regards the particular usage, (kait, kaind, skær’let, skɔi; gaurd, go’id) for cart, kind, scarlet, sky; guard, guide, it is now antiquated in English. But in Walker’s time it was so much the custom that he found it “impossible” to pronounce garrison and carriage with the pure (g, k), without any inserted (i) sound. I have however not been able to find any allusion to this practice in the older writers. The custom is now dying rapidly out. But we find the same tendency in other languages. Thus in Modern Greek, I have been told, that χ is always (kh) even before a, a, and it seems that the Sanscrit ṣr had the same sound.

What has been said of k applies directly to g, substituting sonants for mutes, and as (k) produced (tsh), so did (g) produce (dzh). The Anglosaxon g has however usually remained (g), and even in several cases, as edge, bridge in which the change to (dzh) has been made, the (g) is found as a dialectic form. The alteration of the Anglosaxon g has generally taken other directions, which will be considered under gh.
CH and J, G are also (tsh, dzh) when corresponding to the present French sounds (sh, zh). Palsgrave admits that French ch is English (sh), but he makes the French and English j identical. It is not easy to determine whether in very old French ch, j were read (tsh, dzh) or (sh, zh). Hart makes eight pairs of consonants (b p, v f, g k, dzh tsh, d t, dh th, z s) and two breaths (sh th). The letters here transcribed (dzh, tsh), he identifies with Italian (gi, ci) and the last with the "High Dutch" tsch, by which their sounds are determined. Then he says, translating his phonetic orthography,

"The French do use the j consonant in a sound which we use not in our speech, whereof this (sh) serveth for the sister thereof, with us, as ch doth with them, having no inward sound, and are both framed with keeping of the tongue from the palate and bringing the teeth together, or the one or other lip to his counter teeth, and thrusting the breath through them with the inward sound for the French j consonant; which if we had in use, should make us the eighth pair. For want whereof the (sh) doth remain to us, a breath without fellow, which the other seven pairs have. But for want of that sound, we have four others which the French never use, to wit of (dzh, tsh) and (dh, th) which are very hard for any natural French to pronounce: other than such as are brought up amongst us somewhat in youth." And again in the theoretical part of his work, after an elaborate description of (sh) he adds: "For the fellow of which sh, the French do sounde their g, before e, and i, and the i. consonant before a, o, and u, and sometimes before e, and doe neuer sound perfetely our sounds before-said for (dzh) & (tsh), in all their speach."

Hence the French j is fixed as the voiced form of (sh), that is (zh), as Hart heard it in 1569. Yet Palsgrave, whose ear was unfortunately by no means delicate, confused (zh) with (dzh). The Welsh have no (sh, zh, tsh, dzh), and are forced to transcribe the two first by si and the two last by tsì, while they sometimes use si for all four. Thus Salesbury transcribes JESU, JOHN, JOYNT by tsiesw, tsion, tsiynt, and makes a JACK APE into a (siak ab) in his dictionary. He admits that the Welsh tsì is as like the English (tsh) "as brass is to gold," and says of the English "ch, c and i" (tsh, dzh), that there is "the same likeness between these three English letters as exists between pewter and silver, that at first sight they appear very like each other, but on close examination they differ."

The letters ch when transcribing the Greek χ are called (k), and in the word ache which the Promptorium also writes ake, ch has generally the sound of (k). But Hart says: "We abuse the name of h, calling it ache, which sounde
surneth very well to expresse an headache or some bone ache," so that as the name of the letter could only have been (aatsh), the words imply that aces was also so pronounced. Bullokar also notes it as (aatsh), and thus, by the very same collocation bone ache, is confirmed a fancy of John Kemble’s, in pronouncing the line (Tempest, act i., sc. 2, v. 370):

Fill all thy bones with Aches, make thee sore.

It is true Kemble said (eets’ez), and therefore erred in the vowel, though right in the consonant; and the feeling of the O. P. rioters in placarding, “Silence! Mr. Kemble’s head aitshes,” was in so far correct, that it was absurd to retain a single antique pronunciation in the midst of his modern sounds.

The initial k according to all the authorities was still heard in the xvi th century before n, as (knou, knot, knuk’l) and hence probably initial gn was (gn), as both are used in present German knochen, gnade (knoch’en, gnaa’de), but I have not met with an instance of gn. Jones makes initial gn always (n), but says that initial kn “may be sounded kn,” which was therefore unusual at that time. Wallis however fifty years before allowed (knou, knyy) know, knew, and Cooper, strangely enough says: “Kn sonatur ut kn; knaxe nebulo . . . quasi hnaxe &c.,” meaning (nh), but perhaps really simple (n), the aspiration being a theoretical difference to distinguish initial kn from simple n.

Labialised l or (lw) has already been shewn to have existed in our language, (p. 193,) but it has died out. Labialised k or (kw), the lips being opened simultaneously with the release of the k contact and not after it, is an ancient element of our own and probably of many other languages. In Anglo-Saxon it is written cw, in Latin qu, which is the form adopted in English. It is needless to say that no orthoepist has distinguished (kw, kw). Gu properly bears the same relation to g as qu to k, but as the form of the g remained unchanged, little attention was paid to it. It does not exist as part of the Saxon element of our language. Initially it is generally used superfluously for g. Occasionally it has the sound (gw) as in language, itself a modern form, anguish, distinguish, &c. Usage, however, varies, some saying (lae’gwydzh, ae’gwish) and others (lae’wydzh, ae’wish). The Italian quale, guanto are apparently (kwyan’, le, gwyan’to). The final -gue for -g as in tongue, plague is quite a modernism. Ague, also spelled aigue in the Promptorium, was probably (aa’gyy) or (aa’guu) from aignë, and hence does not belong to this category.

As we have (kj gj, kw gw), so also to our unacknowledged
(tj dj) correspond an equally unacknowledged (tw dw,) which, written tw dw as in betw een, twain, twang, twist, twelve, twirl; dwindlle, dwell, dwarf, have been generally considered as (tw, dw), but many of those who have thought on phonetics have been more perplexed to decide whether w was here really a vowel (u) or a consonant (w), than in the corresponding words wean, wain, wist, well, war. The difficulty is resolved by observing that the opening of the lips is really simultaneous with the release of the (t, d) contact.

The termination -age is represented as having the sound (-aidzh) in Salesbury, in domage, heritage, language, all French words, and this agrees with Palsgrave, supra, p. 120, note. Smith, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler, however, do not recognize this tendency in English, although Butler notes the similar change of (a) to (ai) before -nge (-ndzh), and both are confirmed by the modern sounds (-ydzh, -eendzh), of which the first is a degeneration of (-edzh, -eendzh).

GH

The Anglosaxon alphabet having no especial letter to represent the guttural (kh), the single letter h was used, as in old High German the double letter hh was employed. As g often interchanges with h in Anglosaxon, as lagu, lah, law, it is possible that there was a tendency in those times to pronounce g final or medial as (gh), just as the Upper Germans now do, and as the Dutch pronounce their g in all positions. At a later period the Anglosaxon g seems to have become (gh) and then (j), sounds even now confused by German phoneticians. Hence g, which was also written j, and occasionally printed z, became the regular sign for (j) till it was supplanted by y. When, therefore, it was desirable to shew that g retained the sound of h, that is, (kh), it was natural to write gh in its place. In the Ormulum we have all varieties; fulluhht bohhtesst, mihtte are instances of h, doubled merely to shew that the preceding vowel is short; maiz, eizwaer, anz, twizess illustrate the use of ÷, doubtful whether (gh) or (j), while reshell-boc, follshenn shew the use of ÷h. As in Dutch the g often sounds (kh) as well as (gh),¹ and as the Scotch adopted the orthography ch, it seems probable that (gh) early ac-

¹ Recent opportunities of hearing Dutch pronunciation have convinced me that the Dutch ch, g are rather (krh, grh) than simple (kh, gh). But the sounds are so lightly and gently pronounced that they rather resemble (rh, r) than (krh, grh), thus schip = (srhep) rather than (skrhep, skhep). The Dutch themselves consider the sound very soft. The Dutch final and medial sch is pronounced as simple s, thus vleesch (vlees), a modern example of an omitted guttural.
quired the sound of (kh) only. But it is by no means certain. The two sounds (kh, gh) are so easily confused by those not familiar with them, and may so readily interchange owing to the nature of the adjoining consonant, and so few languages have provided for their discrimination, that we cannot be certain of their not having both existed even though only one is named. It is the same with (sh, zh), the latter of which is scarcely ever noticed, so that it is not easy to say when it first came into use. Even (s, z) are constantly confused. They both exist in Italian, and have only one sign s. But only one of them (s) exists in Spanish and Welsh, having the same sign s. Hence it is impossible to tell from the orthography gh whether it represented only (kh), only (gh), or occasionally (kh) and (gh), nor would it be certain if a Welsh writer, for example, who only knew (kh) and was not acquainted with (gh), asserted that the English gh was (kh). Now Salesbury says: "Gh has the same sound as our ch (kh), except that we sound ch deeper in the throat and more harshly." The two expressions "deeper" and "more harshly" might be applied in Salesbury's popular language in two ways. For example, (kh) is deeper than (kh) and harsher. And (kh) being called 'hard' in contrast to (gh) 'soft,' (kh) might be esteemed harsher than (gh); or the reverse, when (kh) is a familiar and (gh) a strange sound. But certainly (kh) would be felt to be much deeper and harsher than (gh). There is another supposition, namely, that gh was merely (h'), the simple jerk of the aspirated breath. In most cases (h, h') are confused, and the aspirate is considered to be (h'). In my own opinion (h') is much less frequent than (h), but (h') is occasionally said when only (h) is intended. Sir T. Smith writes h for either sound, and this is the general custom of orthoepists. He also represents gh by h only, saying:

"Scio tauth, niht, fiht & caetera ejusmodi scribi etiam g adjuncta, vt taught, night, fight, sed sonum illius g quærant, quibus ita libet scribere, aures profecto meæ nunquam in illis vocibus sonitum rou g poterant haurire."

This ought to imply that the sound was (h') and that (taun't, nint, fin't) was at that time the pronunciation of taught, night, fight. Hart at the same time writes laught, oht = (laun't, ount) for taught, ought. Bullokars has also (iot, bowht = (iunt'booun't). But then Gill finds it necessary to introduce a new sign, namely, h with its stem crossed like a t, to represent the sound of gh in bought, and says:

"X. ch. Græcorum in initio nunquam vsurpamus, in medio, et
fine sape; et per gh, male exprimimus: posthac sic (kh)¹ scribemus: vt in (waikht enukh) weight enough satis ponderis."

Now those who do not possess a symbol for (kh) often write h for it, as we have seen in Anglosaxon finals, and as Rapp considers to have been the case in the Anglosaxon initial hl, hr, hw, which I rather suppose to have been (lh, rh, wh). The sound of (khw) is very harsh, and in Scotland and North Wales it is modified into (kwh), corresponding to the English and South Welsh (wh). Those who wish to acquire the sound of (akh) may be led to it by endeavouring to say (air), and at the same time slightly raising the back of the tongue. Hence it is possible that Salesbury’s ch, (which is not so “deep” and “harsh” as the Welsh ch,) Smith’s, Hart’s, Bullokar’s h, and Gill’s χ, may be all one and the same sound, either (h‘) or (kh). But it is certain that when Gill wrote, the sound (kh) was disappearing in the south of England, for Butler, who uses a g with a crossed stem, to represent gh, says that “the Northern Dialect doth yet rightly sound” it, implying of course that it had gone out in the South by 1633.

The safest conclusion seems to be that the sound in the xvi th century was really (kh), but was generally pronounced very lightly;² it might, however, have been (kh) after (i,e). This is still the custom in Scotland.

By the middle of the xvii th century the rule had become to omit the sound, after changing the preceding vowel, or to change it into some other sibilant, generally (f), in one or two cases provincially (th). Wallis, 1653, after noticing that initial gh is simply (g), adds:

"alias vero nune dierum prorsus omittitur; syllabam tamen producendam innuit. A quibusdam tamen (praesertim Septentrionalibus) per molliorum saltam aspirationem h effertur, ut might potestas, light lux, night nox, right rectus, sight visus, sigh singultus, weigh pondero, weight pondus, though quamvis, thought cogitatio, wrought operatus est, brought attulit, taught docuit, sought quesivit, fraught refertus, nought nihil, naught malus, &c. In paucis vocabulis effertur plerumque per ff; nempe cough tussis,

¹ Gill misprints Ɨ, which he uses for (dh) and in his errata endeavouring to correct this mistake and also (inukh) for (enukh), he has accidentally repeated the error instead of making the correction, as has been done here in the text.

² The Pedant in Love’s Labour Lost, Act v. Sc. 1. 1623 comedies p. 136 complains of the pronunciation “neighbour vocatur nebour; neigh abreuiated ne.” This seems to shew that both (neekh) and (nee) were heard in the first syllable of this word, and would imply that (neekh) was rather pedantic. Indeed if it were to be classed with the other pronunciations which the pedant recommends, as (doubt, debt, kalf, half) it might be considered as obsolete.
ough alveolus, tough tenax, rough asper, laugh rideo proferuntur, cōff, trōff, tuff, ruff; laff. ough (singularare) sat multum, sonatur inuff; at ough (pluralare) sat multa, sonatur enow."

Wilkins, 1668, after saying that gh might have been (gh) adds: "this kind of sound is now by disuse lost among us." Price, however, in the same year, says: "Gh sounds now like h in Almighty, although," etc., adding in the margin "but the Ancients did, as the Welch & Scots do still pronounce gh thorow the throat." He notes that gh sounds as (f) in cough, laughter, enough, rough. Cooper, 1685, says: "hodiē apud nos desuevit pronunciatio gh, retinetur tamen in scripturā," but he makes it (f) in cough, laugh, rough, tough, trough, and makes Wallis's distinction between enough and enow. Miege, 1688, says also that gh is generally mute, but is (f) in laugh, draught, rough, tough, enough (not distinguishing enow,) but adds "sigh, un Soupir, et le Verbe to Sigh soupirer, ont un son particulier qui approche fort de celui du th en Anglois." Jones, 1701, extends both the (f) and the (th) list. According to him (f) is heard regularly in draught, draughts, laugh, cough, enough, hough, rough, tough, trough; and he adds "some also sound daughter, bought, nought, taught, &c., as with an f, saying dafter, boft, &c." And he states, that gh, ght are th "in sigh, sounded sith; in drought, height sounded drouth, heith," but in other parts of his book he also admits the sounds (sōi, drāat, heet).

In the xviiith century we may notice that Fielding in his Tom Jones, book vii, chap. 13, makes his landlady say oft, thoft, for ought, thought, and Mrs. Honour write soft for sought, book xv, chap. 10. These are meant to be West of England vulgarisms, but they sufficiently shew the tendency.

It would be vain to consider the changes thus indicated, without proceeding at once to the fountain head. In Anglo-Saxon itself g became h before t very frequently, and was often omitted. Let us therefore consider the sound as sometimes (kh, gh) and sometimes (kh, gh). Let these sounds be kept as widely apart as possible. Then (gh) must be rounded, that is, there must be a rounding of the lips while the guttural is uttered, producing (kwh, gwh), thus German auch, auge are, as already mentioned, in reality (aukwh, augwh′e), The Scotch sought is (suukwh), and generally the (uu) sound before (kh) has a tendency to produce (kwh). This would then have a natural tendency towards (wh, w). On the other hand (kjh, gjh) are in themselves the closest allies of (jh, j). Hence an effort to keep the two sounds of (gh, gjh) well apart would result in producing (w, j), which, after
vowels, would diphthongise as (u, i), and after consonants would form the syllables (u, i). Now this is precisely what has happened in the passage from Anglosaxon into English.

First the (u) change. From lagu, lah comes law (laa, laa); from dragan comes draw (drau, draa); from boga comes first bough (booukwh) and then bow (boon) or (boukwh, bou, bou). From haljian comes hallow (hal'oo, hal'oou, hael'o) from taely comes (tal'oo, tal'ouou, tael'o). In Edinburgh, Musselburgh, etc., although gh is written, (o) is regularly sounded.

Next the (i) change. From wegn comes wain (wain, weein); from jiager comes fair (fair, feej), from régn comes rain (rain, reein). From belgy come bulge (buldzh, bouldzh), bellows (bel'uz, bel'ouoz), and belly (bel'i), shewing three changes of g.

If instead of falling to (u), the (kwh), remained at (wh), this would after a vowel rapidly become (f). In Aberdeen-shire (f) is the regular substitute for (wh) or rather the Scotch quh, which looks like an attempt to write (kwh) under the form of (kwh). Dwarf from dveorh is an instructive example. The old English forms dveorghe, durewe and the dialectic durgan are found; a dialectic Swedish dverf, and Dutch dwarf, dorf are said to exist (E. Mueller, Etym. Wört. d. Eng. Spr., i. 327). The Dutch agier, kraigt and English after, craft, Anglosaxon after, craft, are examples of the correspondence of (f) and (gh) in different forms of the same low German word. The chief English examples have been already cited, and it has been shewn that the change prevails dialectically much further than it has been admitted into the received forms of speech. Some words have even in English both forms, as hough (həf, hək), trough (trəf, troou), slough of a snake (sləf), slough a quagmire (sləu), tough (təf, toon), enough (enəf, enə`) the grammatical distinction made by Wallis and Cooper that the first is singular, sat multum and the second plural sat multa, although conformable to Scotch usage, does not seem to be historically justified.

The change of gh into (p) in hiecough (hɪkəp) is mentioned by Jones 1701, and must be considered to be of the same nature as the change to (f), as (wh, w, p) are even more closely related than (wh, f). The curious but not admitted change to (th) seems to rest merely on the confusion of the (f, th) hisses.¹ When these are pronounced without any vowel it is very difficult to distinguish them at a little distance, as is well known to those who teach to spell by means of the powers of the letters.

¹ Sigh, which Jones and Miege give as (soith) is called (saif) in Devonshire.
When \( gh \) falls into (u) it naturally alters the preceding vowel, with which it diphthongises, hence (a) becomes (au, aau, AA). Similarly (o) should become (ou) and thence (ou), but in this case the tendency has been rather to (ou, oo, AA), as in ought, bought, etc. When \( gh \) falls into (i) we have alterations in the other direction, as (ai, eei, ee).

After the vowel (i), the (i) change of \( gh \), which is the only natural one that could be expected, would simply prolong the (i), and hence, from hih, niht we might have (hii, niit), forms which really exist dialectically for high, night; and from the termination -ig we might expect (-i), the commonest form in present use.

We shall see in the next chapter that such were probably the original forms of transition. In Cumberland and Westmoreland igh is regularly replaced by (ii), and the change to (oi), which is constantly attributed to the omission of the guttural, seems to have no real connection with it, but forms part of the general change of long \( i \) from (ii) through (ei) to (oi), which will be minutely considered in Chap. IV, § 2, under I. If we are to trust Gill, the sound of (oi) and the guttural coexisted, as he always prints (naiht) and neither (nikht), the pronunciation of Salesbury, nor (neit) as became prevalent during the xvii th century.

With this \( gh \) proper must not be confounded \( gh \) written for \( g \), in comparatively recent times, at the beginning of words. Jones tells us that the sound of \( g \) is written \( gh \) in gherkin, ghess, gheus, ghittern, ghost, where ghess is found in Spenser for guess.

S, C; Z. SH. X.

The use of \( c \) for (s) follows the same rules as at present, throughout the period under consideration. The letter \( s \) seems also to have been (s) or (z) under the same circumstances as at present, but as the sound of (z) does not exist in Welsh, Salesbury had no means of indicating it by Welsh letters, and he therefore writes \( s \) in all cases, although he names the \( z \) sound. Smith, Hart, and Gill all use \( z \), but none of them are sufficiently careful. Still there can be no reasonable doubt that \( s \) was pronounced (z) under the same circumstances as it is at present. The letter \( s \) is now used for (sh), where the change has been generated by a subsequent (i) sound, and the same remark applies to \( c, t \), as in mission, pressure, special, motion; and \( s \) passes in certain cases into (zh) under similar circumstances, as vision, excision, measure. There is no trace of this in the xvi th century. Salesbury
has Gracyouse, grasius (graa'si,us), condicyon,condisywn (kondis'iwn), exhibition cosibision (eksibision), proibision proibision (proo,ibisi'un), tresure tresuwr (tree'zyyr). Bullokar has (abrevias'ion, komposiz'ion, naa'sion, syy'or, syy'gar) for abbreviation, composition, nation, suer, sugar. And Gill writes (ekspekts'ion, habita'sion, naa'sion, okaa'zion, passion) for expectation, habituation, nation, occasion, passion. In the xvth century Wallis generates (sh) from (sj), but Wilkins writes (resorreksion) for resurrection. Price, 1668, only recognizes “hard s in passion; soft s in concision, and sh in cushion, fashion.” Cooper, 1685, does not name the use of (sh) in such cases, but admits shure, shugar, which may have been, (shuer shog'er), “facilitatis causâ,” although he places such words immediately after his “vitanda barbara dialectus.” Miege, 1688, writes chûre, pennchoun in French letters for sure, pension, states that in the termination -ision, s sounds as French g or j (zh) and writes újual, tran-gient, léjeur, ójer, hójer, crójer for usual, transient, leisure, osier, hosier, crosier. Jones, 1701, says: “Tho’ you have the Sound of sh very often in the Beginning of the last Syllable of words, as in action, nation, &c. sounded, acshon, nashon, &c. yet is sh never written there in Words of two or more Syllables; except in cushion, fashion, hogshead, lushious, Marshal.” He admits that s is commonly sounded sh (sh) in assume, assure, assurance, censure, consume, devise, ensuite, ensure, fissure, leisure, measure, pleasure, pressure, pursue, pursuer, pursuit, sue, suet, sugar, suit, sure, sute, tissue, tresure, and says that ocean is “sounded oshan.” He does not recognize (zh), but says that sh is written z “in azure, sounded ashure.” The change was therefore fully established at the end of the xvii th century.

Though the orthoepists of the xvii th century were slow to recognize this change, and those of the xviii th and xix th even admit it rather grudgingly, while those of the xvi th do not seem to be even aware of such a “slovenly habit,” yet we have at least two early traces of the degeneration of suit into shoot, in Shakspere and in Rowley, for a notice of which I am indebted to Mr. Aldis Wright. In Love’s Labour Lost, Act iv. Sc. 1, written before 1598, the folio 1623, Comedies, p. 130,1 there is apparently a play on suitor and

1 “Qu. Who gaine thee this Letter? Clo. I told you, my Lord. Qu. To whom shouldst thou give it? Clo. From my Lord to my Lady. Qu. From which Lord, to which Lady?”

Clop. From my Lord Beroune, a good master of mine. To a Lady of France, that he called Rosaline. Qu. Thou hast mistaken his letter. Come Lords away.
shooter, deer and dear. The two latter words were pronounced alike by Smith. Were the two former really pronounced alike by Shakspere, as they were by Jones, 1701, and Buchanan, 1766, though Cooper, 1685, gives (siut) and Sheridan, 1780, (suet) for suit? Gill, 1621, only allows (syyt), Bullokar, 1580, has (syy'gar). Hart has (syy'er). 1 But some persons must have said (shuut), or such jokes would have been lost, and, whatever was the case in Shakspere, 2 we have this pun in Rowley's Match in the Dark, 1633, Act ii. Sc. 1:

Moll. Out upon him, what a suiter have I got. I am sorry you are so bad an Archer, sir.

Eare. Why Bird, why Bird?

Moll. Why to shoote at Buts, vvh'en you shou'd use prick-shafts.

In the present day we have a joke of an Irish shopman telling his customer to shoot himself, meaning suit himself.

Here sweete, put vp this, 'twll be thine another day.

Exeunt.

Boy. Who is the shooter? Who is the shooter?

Rosa. Shall I teach you to know.

Boy. I my continent of beautie.

Rosa. Why she that bares the Bow.

Finely put off.

Boy. My Lady goes to kill hornes.***

Rosa. Well then, I am the shooter.

Boy. And who is your Deare?''

In Boyet's first speech, Steevens, at the suggestion of Farmer, altered the shooter of all the quartos and folios, to suitor, which is the reading usually adopted. The preceding dialogue, which has been given for the purpose of comparison, seems at first sight to point to suitor as Boyet's meaning, which Rosaline perversely takes as shooter. But the connection is not evident. There is no allusion to suitor, but much to shooter in what follows. Boyet knew both the suitor (whether we take him as Biron or Armado), and the shooter (the Princess, apparently, who is represented as going to shoot a deer at the opening of the scene), but Rosaline's reply, and her remark that it is with play off, look as if she was purposely misunderstanding him. In the absence of a tenable hypothesis for the introduction of the new word, suitor, we may suppose that Boyet, looking off after the shooting party which has just left, sees an arrow sped, and inquires of Rosaline who shot it, whereupon she puts him off with the truism that it was she (one of the Princess's company) who bore the bow.

1 John Hart, in his first treatise, as cited in Chap. VIII, § 3, note 1, classes the three words "suer, shut, and bru'er," as he spells them, together, and pronounces (syy'er, shyyt, brry'er). The first may be suer or swear, the last is, of course bru'er; is the second suit, or shoot intended to be written shute (Scotch, schute = shoot), as Hart in that treatise constantly omits the final e? It is the only indication of such a change in the xvth century, and the word suer renders it very doubtful. We can hardly suppose the word to have been shut. Stratman gives the old English forms for shut, schutten, schitte, schetten, shette; for shoot, scoeten, schetin, sheten, schete, sse, schete, soeten, soten, shoten, schoten. The original difference of the words is difficult to determine; Ettenmüller does not give any ags. word scyttan, to shut, as different from scoeten, to shoot; E. Müller refers shut to shoot from shooting the bolt of the door.

2 Steevens quotes an equivocation of suiters and shooters, miscalled archers by a servant, from "The Puritan, 1607," and Malone a similar play upon archers and suitors in "Essays and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners, by G. M., 1615," and also Antony and Cleopatra Act v. Sc. 2, where Pope reads "a grief that shoots My very heart at root," and Capell reads smites for the folio, 1623, smites.
The Irish pronunciation however only shews an English pronunciation of the xviith century. In England at the present day, shoot for suit would be vulgar, but the joke would be readily understood, though few persons use, or have even heard, the pronunciation. Might not this have been the case in Shakspere’s time? At any rate there is no authority for supposing that such a pronunciation could have been used seriously by Shakspere himself. But the sound

1 Mr. Aldis Wright seems to suppose that the compositors might have had that pronunciation, and that it therefore might have crept into the text. In Lear, Act ii. Sc. 2, the word three-suited of the fo. 1623, is spelled three shewed in all the quartos but one, where it is three suited, an evident misprint for three suited. Now shewed would probably have been written for (shyted), and may indicate the transitional pronunciation; on the other hand it may be itself a mere misprint for sewed, which would be a legitimate orthography for suited. This hypothesis is questioned by Mr. Aldis Wright, who says: “in books printed in the time of Shakespeare and Bacon variations occur in different copies of the same edition. I have never seen two copies of the 1625 edition of Bacon’s Essays which were exactly alike. A list of the variations is given at the end of my edition. Now there are six copies of the quarto of King Lear printed in 1608, which we [Mr. W. G. Clark and himself, editors of the Cambridge Shakespeare] have in our notes erroneously (as we confess in the Preface) called Q2, whereas we are now convinced that this edition was earlier than the one in the same year which we have called Q1. These copies of Q2 (so called) differ from each other in having some of them been corrected while passing through the press. The earliest of these which we have met with is one of the two copies in the Bodleian, and we call it for distinction sake Q2 (Bodl. 1). This has the reading three suited: but all the other copies of the same edition read three shewed. I suppose therefore that while the edition was in course of printing the error was discovered, and the correction communicated verbally to the compositor, who inserted it according to his own notions of spelling. It is not a question between the readings of two different editions, but between an uncorrected copy and a corrected copy of the same edition. The later quartos follow the corrected copy but their testimony is of no value, because their reading is merely a reprint.” Hurried corrections, whether of print or manuscript, frequently introduce additional errors, and hence there is no guarantee in this curious history that the compositor who substituted shewed for suited, did not himself put suited when he meant to have inserted suited. More instances are certainly required to decide the point. The Scotch wrote schute for shoot. Palgrave writes sute for suit. In Henry V., Act iii. sc. 6, fol. 1623, p. 81, we find “what a beard of the Generalls Cut, and a horride Sute of the Campe, will doe among foming Bottles and Ale-washt Wits, is wonderfull to be thought on.” In the Chronicle History of Henry the Fifth, printed in the fourth vol. of the Cambridge edition shoot stands for sute. If we take Bullokar’s old pronunciation, shout would be (shuut). Mr. Aldis Wright observes that this was “an instance of a play apparently taken down at the time of acting, and whether shout or suit be the true reading, one of them could not have been substituted for the other unless the pronunciation was something similar,” and he thinks that these instances lead to the conclusion that the pronunciation (shuut) “was in existence at the beginning” of the xvith century. The jokes upon shooter and suitor certainly establish that a sufficiently similar pronunciation of the words was in existence to make the joke appreciate. The various spellings, I fear, prove nothing, because, considering the frequency of the word—suit occurs 163 times, suitable once, suited 7, suitin 1, suitor 38 times in Mrs. Cowden Clarke’s Concordance,—the rare variations can only pass for
may well have existed unrecognized, precisely as the sound of (sh) is supposed to be unknown in Welsh, although ceisio is now generally called (koir' sho), and not (koir'sio). Similarly in Dutch (sh) has been developed from (si-, (sr-) in several words, but it is not orthoepistically acknowledged. In the xvii th century there was a decided tendency towards (sh). Thus sue, suet, sugar, suicide, suit, suitable, suitor, sure, suture, all commence with (sh) in Buchanan, sue, suit, suitable, suitor, have (s) in Sheridan, but the rest have (sh), which Sheridan also uses in sudorific, sudorous, super-, superable, superb, superior, supernal, supine, supinity, supra-, supremacy, supreme, sural, where Buchanan has (s).

The sound of (sh) was well known in the xvi th century. Salesbury says:

"Sh when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination ssi, thus shappe ssiapp (shapp), shepe ssiip (ship). Sh coming after a vowel is pronounced iss, thus asshe aiss (ash, aish?), wasshe waiiss (wash, waish?). And wherever it is met with, it hisses like a roused serpent, not unlike the Hebrew letter called sehin. And if you wish further information respecting this sound, you should listen to the hissing voice of shellfish when they begin to boil."

We learn from Hart, suprà p. 207, that (zh) was unknown in the xvi th century. Wilkins, 1668, says that (zh) is "facil and common ... amongst the French, who express it by J, as in the word Jean, &c., and is easily imitable by us," implying that it was not in use in England. But Migea, 1688, being a Frenchman, heard it, as we have seen, p. 215, in the words where we now use it. He is the only writer in the xvii th century who notices it, and, as he is a foreigner, his testimony is suspicious. Franklin, 1768, seems only to know it in French, as he has no special sign for it, and even in French writes (zh aeme) for jamais. Just as Hart writes (ozdzuurdwi) for aujourd'hui, for want of an appropriate sign, although he had recognized the sound. Sheridan, 1780, fully acknowledges it. It is always written (s) or (z), and arises in English from palatalisation as (z*J). In French it seems to be a degeneration of (dzh) formed from a palatalised (g*J); or else to have arisen from (j)1.

misprints. The absence of any notice of such a practice in orthoepists of the xvi th century (if we except the very doubtful passage from Hart in the last note), together with the depreciating manner in which similar usages are mentioned in Cooper, shew that any such pronunciation was considered not worth mentioning.

1 The Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope say (dzhaa, Dahah) etc., for (jaa, Jan), jà, Jan. This is an alteration of precisely the same character, and is comparable with the Italian Giuigo, Giunone, Giuglio (Dzhuu'njo, Dzhuunsh-ne, Dzhuu ljo) from the Latin Junium, Junonem, Julium.
cisely in the same way as (sh) derives in some parts of Germany, and still more frequently to English ears, from (kh) as (ish) for (ikh).

X was usually (ks). Salesbury gives FLAXE ffłaces (flaks), EXHIBITION eksibisien (eksibis-i-un), OXE əcs (oks), but, apparently by a misprint, AXE əgs (agz).

F, V

F and v seem to have retained their sounds throughout, but in the earlier times v and u were interchangeable, and either could be used as a vowel or consonant. This was not the case in Welsh, where u was the vowel, and v the consonant. The consonant has been generally replaced by j in Welsh, ff being used for (f). Salesbury notices as a dialectic variety in "some countries of England" the use of (v) for (f), but he does not particularize the districts. Gill attributes it to East Anglia, "(v) pro (f), ut (vel'oou), pro (fel'oou)."

TH

The double sound of th as (th, dh) is fixed by Salesbury as the Welsh th, dd, and the two uses were distinguished almost exactly as at present; with seems however to have been always (with), though (widh) is now more common. Salesbury gives (th) to through, thystle, thynne, wyth, thanke, thoroue, thyck; and (dh) to this, thynke, the, that, thou. He also notices that th sounds (t) in Thomas, threasure and throne, which he writes trwn (truuni'); and (d) in Thaxies Inn. Smith, Hart, Bullockar, Gill, Butler, have all different signs for (th, dh) and use them according to our present custom of speech. Jones makes th = (t) in antheme, or anthymn, Anthony, apothecary, asthma, Author, authority, authorize, Catharine, Cantharides, Esther, Isthmus, Lithuania, posthumus, priesthood, Thames, Thannet, thea, Thomas, Thomson, Thomasin, Thuscany, thyme.

It is difficult to determine when these uses were settled. The two Anglosaxon letters þ & are usually taken to be (th, dh) but their employment is almost exactly opposite to modern use. In later Anglosaxon and Early English only one, either & or, more usually, þ was employed, and even Orrmin makes no distinction. This might have been a peculiarity in writing names. It seems safest to infer the old use from the modern, which is found to hold for the xvi th century.
The question concerning \( h \) is simply when was it mute? for its sound, or rather its action on the following vowel was always the same as (\( u \)) or (\( u' \)). Palsgrave says \( h \) is mute in honest, honour, habundance, habitation. Gill does not agree in the last word, and the \( h \) has now disappeared, even in writing, from the last but one. Salesbury says \( h \) is mute in honest, habitation, humble, habite, honest, honoure, exhibition, prohibition. Modern orthoepists will not admit the two last, though custom sanctions them, but habite and habitation have recovered their \( h \), and humble is still doubtful. Gill adds the words hour, hyssop, which he writes (\( o i'zop \)). Abhominable was a common orthography in the xvi th century, and the \( h \) seems to have been occasionally pronounced or not pronounced, for the Pedant in Love's Labour Lost (1623, Comedies, p. 136) says: "neighbour vocatur nebour; neigh abreuiated ne; this is abhominable, which he would call abhominable." It is usual to print the second abominable without the \( h \) and the first with it, but it seems more proper to reverse this, and write "this is abominable, which he would call abhominable," for the Pedant ought certainly to have known that there was no \( h \) in the Latin, although in the Latin of that time \( h \) was used, as we see from the Promptorium, 1450, "Abhominable, abhominabilis, abhominacyn abhominacio," and Levins 1570, "abhominare, abhominari," as if the words referred to abhomine instead of ab-omine.

In the xvii th century, Price 1668, says that \( h \) is mute in ghost, rhetorick, catarrh, dunghill, host, hour, John, impos-thume, myrrh, Rhene, rheum, rhode, Wadham. Miege, a bad authority, because Frenchmen cannot rightly appreciate the English aspirate, having no such element of their own, declares that hour, hourly are the only two words in which \( h \) is mute, and especially instances honour as having an aspirated \( h \).

1701. Jones says \( h \) "may be sounded in halleluiah, harbergeon, habiliment, haver-du-poiz," &c., but seems to imply that it is generally mute in these words, and says that -ham in names of places in England is -am as in Broxham, Buckingham. He also makes \( h \) mute in cowherd, Nehemiah, shepherd, swine-herd, and in Heber, Hebraism, Hebrew, hecatomb, hectical, Hector, hedge, Hellen, hemorrhoids, herb, heriot, hermit, &c., "which \( h \) may be found by putting a Vowel before them."

1 The quarto 1631 also prints abhominable in both places.
He allows unaccented *his* to lose the *h*, "as in *told* his man, sounded *told* is man, &c." He says *o* is written *ho* "when it may be sounded *ho*, as in *homage*, *holster*, *homo*, in the beginning of all words, *hosannah*, *host*, *hostage*, *hostess*, *hostler*, *hostile*, *houlet*, *hour*, *so-ho*, *inhorn*, &c., often sounded as with *o* only." Also he says *oo* is written *hoo*, "when it may be sounded *hoo* after a vowel, as *hood*, *hoof*, *hook*, *hoop*, *hoord*, and in *hood* in the End of Words as in *likelihood*, *manhood*, *Priesthood*, &c." Finally he says *u* is written *hu* "when it may be sounded *hu*, especially after a Vowel, as in *humble*, *humility*, *humour*, *Humphrey*." This frequent reference to the vowel depends on the following remark: "That *h* is hardly sounded before or after consonants; but more easily before and after *Vowels*, therefore the best *Way* to discover on *h*, is to sound the Word that begins with it after a vowel; as a *hat*, &c." Unfortunately this rule would make a vast number of *h*’s to be heard in London, as (a *h*’*oi*, a *h*’*ass*), *an eye*, *an ass*.

At the present day great strictness in pronouncing *h* is demanded as a test of education and position in society, and consequently most of the words mentioned in Jones are now aspirated. Smart, 1836, reduces the list of words with mute *h* to *heir*, *honest*, *honour*, *hostler*, (in which the *h* is now commonly not written) *hour*, *humble*, and *humour*. It is certainly at present very usual to say (h*om*’*b*l, jhuu’*ma*), so that the list is reduced to five words, which it would be considered social suicide to aspirate. But in practice, even of the most esteemed speakers, -*ham* in names of places has no aspirate, *exhaust*, *exhibit*, *exhibition*, lose *h*, and *his*, *him*, *her*, etc., after an accented consonant when perfectly unaccented, drop their *h*. It is extremely common in London to say (v to’*um*) for *at home*. A vast majority of the less educated and refined in London, and a still greater majority in the Midland Counties, never use the *h*, pronouncing their words as if they never had had an *h* at all. The insertion of the *h*, generally in the form of a very strong (h’), is also a remarkable phenomenon, not so common, and still more illiterate.

(H) is properly only a jerk of the voice, and as such forms part of the Sanscrit post aspirates (kh gh) etc., and is frequent as a post aspirate in the Irish brogue. It also occurs before every *o* in Tuscan pronunciation, in which dialect (k) is also changed into a strong (h’), thus (*h’onfrhon’tho*) for *confronto*. I have heard *Livorno* pronounced in the place itself, almost like (livH’or’nH’o) so that a foreigner might
easily persuade himself that he heard (leighor'no),\(^1\) whence an Englishman’s *Leghorn* is but a step. As an initial letter however (\(h\)) is not common. Thus Sanscrit has no initial (\(h\)), the letter ख being (gh). Precisely the same thing occurs in Russian, where the (gh) has also to be used for a foreign (\(h\)). The Gothic \(h\) may have been occasionally (\(h\)), but seems to have been frequently (\(kh\)), in place of which (\(h'\)) as a milder form, became gradually prevalent in the Germanic languages. No German at present leaves out or puts in an initial \(h\) contrary to the orthography; but final \(h\) after a vowel, which is dialectically pronounced (kh) or (kweh) as (shuukweh) *Schuh* shoe, has disappeared in the received pronunciation. No Scotsmen omit the aspirate. The old Greeks had an aspirate, the exact nature of which cannot be accurately known, as every trace of it has disappeared from the language, and its old relations were rather singular. It is a matter of dispute how far the Latins pronounced their \(h\), but the Italians, Spaniards, and French have nothing resembling the true sound of (\(h\)), although the French have a trace of its former existence, asserted by Palsgrave but not recognized by Meigret, in that hiatus which they call an \(h\) *aspiré*. The French and Italian also have no (kh), which has been retained in the form (kh) by both the Sanscrit and Greek. The so-called (kh) \(x, j\), of the Spaniards seems to be a Moorish importation, and is possibly an alteration of (\(h\)). In Spanish America it is said to be replaced by (\(h\)). The Spaniards used it to replace a foreign (sh), as in *Mexico*; the French transliterate it by \(ch = (sh)\), and the English have made *Xerez* (xee'reec) into *sherry*. The (\(h'\)) is abundant in Arabic.

In England the use of the (\(h\)) among the illiterate seems to depend upon emphatic utterance. Many persons when speaking quietly will never introduce the (\(h\)), but when rendered nervous or excited, or when desiring to speak particularly well, they abound in strong and unusual aspirations. It is also singular how difficult it is for those accustomed to omit the \(h\), to recover it, and how provokingly they sacrifice themselves on the most undesired occasions by this social shibboleth. In endeavouring to pronounce the fatal letter they generally give themselves great trouble, and conse-

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\(^1\) Rear-Adm. W. H. Smyth. *The Mediterranean*, London, 1854, p. 331, mentions that a map belonging to a Greek Pilot in 1550, now in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 10,134, contains λεγόρνο as the name of Livorno. This would be pronounced (leighor'no), and is a singular testimony to the antiquity of this custom of speech.
quently produce a harshness, quite unknown to those who pronounce (h) naturally. An English author, S. Hirst, writing an English Grammar in German,¹ in which 50 quarto pages are devoted to a minute account of the pronunciation of English, actually bestows 167 quarto lines of German, measuring about 90 feet, upon attempting to shew that formerly h was not pronounced in English, and that it was altogether an orthoepistic fancy to pronounce it, saying that almost all non-linguists would admit that h was generally mute, or at most scarcely audible, and that linguists who denied this in theory gave into the practice.² The division of the people is not exactly into linguists and non-linguists, but it must be owned that very large masses of the people, even of those tolerably educated and dressed in silk and broad cloth, agree with the French, Italians, Spaniards, and Greeks, in not pronouncing the letter H.

§ 5. Realisation of the Pronunciation of English in the XVI th, XVII th, and XVIII th centuries.

The results of the two preceding sections are sufficiently minute to give an indication of the pronunciation of English during the XVI th century, but it is not easy from this mass of details respecting individual words, to arrive at a conception of the actual sounds of sentences. Hart, Bullokar, Gill and Butler have however given specimens of connected speech, and in Chapter VIII, §§ 3-6, sufficiently extensive extracts will be given from their works, and translated into palaeotype, to enable a reader to form an accurate conception of the sound of our language in the XVI th century. After these, follows, § 7, a vocabulary of the principal words pronounced by the authorities of this period, which will be very useful in endeavouring to read any other work of that time, because, even if the unknown word is not there found, some analogue will almost certainly present itself, which will suffice to determine the sound within the requisite limits.³ Finally, applying all the results of previous investigations,

² His principal argument is the retention of an, mine, thing, etc., before words beginning with h, in the authorized version 1611. The lists of words with mute h given by Palsgrave, Salesbury, etc., were of course unknown to him. If, however, he had been aware of the loose manner in which h is inserted and omitted in Layamon, Genesis and Exodus, Prisoner's Prayer, and other writings of the XIII th century, he would doubtless have considered his point established. In practice I understood from a gentleman who conversed with him, he omitted the h altogether.
³ See also the Index of Words.
I have in § 8, endeavoured to realise the pronunciation of Shakspere, and have reduced my conception to palaeotypic spelling, which will enable a reader of moderate perseverance to reproduce it orally. The result is peculiar, and has been generally well received by those to whom I have had an opportunity of communicating it vivâ voce. There can be no reasonable doubt, after the preceding discussions, of its very closely representing the pronunciation actually in use by the actors who performed Shakspere's plays in his lifetime.

In Chapters IX and X, I have endeavoured to give a similar realisation of the pronunciations which mark the xvii th and xviii th centuries. The only connected phonetic writing of the xvii th century which I have found, is Bishop Wilkins's transcription of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, but this very inadequate specimen is eked out by a vocabulary collected from the principal authorities of the time. It is with considerable hesitation, that in the midst of such diversities of sound attached to the same symbols, and such numerous lists of rules and exceptions, relating to different parts of words and not furnishing the complete representation of entire words, that I have endeavoured to restore Dryden's pronunciation, or rather the pronunciation of some contemporary reader. It is impossible to feel the same certainty respecting his sounds as respecting Shakspere's, and the attempt should be viewed with indulgence.

For the xviii th century, the complete vocabulary of Buchanan has enabled me to give his pronunciation of a passage of Shakspere, and Dr. Franklin's interesting letter furnishes a contemporary piece of phonetic writing, uncorrected certainly, but sufficiently suggestive. A vocabulary of the principal words in which Buchanan, Sheridan, and other authorities, differ from the received pronunciations of to-day, or anticipate them, will complete the account of this century.

It has not formed any part of the plan of this work to enter into detail upon the pronunciation now prevalent, although incidental allusions to it perpetually occur. This is a very difficult and very complex subject, which has been taken up by many other writers, but requires entirely new treatment, in reference not only to the results of the present investigation, but to those abnormal, cacoepistic, rare, vulgar, and dialectic forms, which the history of the past shews that we ought to collect for the benefit of the future, and for the thorough appreciation of the real state and possible development of our language, which is principally unwritten. Mr.
Melville Bell's Visible Speech, or my own Palaeotype, now give a means of writing all such forms with great accuracy, and the rougher Glossotype (p. 13 and Chapter VI, § 3), will enable those who do not wish to enter into minuter distinctions of sound, to write our dialects much more intelligibly than the generality of systems hitherto pursued. Those therefore who wish to assist in forming a written picture of our language for the first time, should neglect no opportunity of immediately noting diversities of pronunciation whenever heard, after some of these comprehensive systems, of which Palaeotype possesses the great advantage of requiring none but ordinary type. To shew the nature of the process required, I have in Chapter XI contrasted Mr. Melville Bell's and my own pronunciation of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and transliterated many specimens of Scotch dialectic pronunciation which he has furnished, both into palaeotype and glossotype, while the politeness of several correspondents in the provinces, has enabled me to give a first instalment of a greatly needed comparative phonology of the English dialects.

§ 6. The Direction of Change.

For determining older pronunciation than that of the xvth century, it is important to consider the direction in which sounds have changed since that period, because we can then by continuing the line backwards, arrive at some conception of the sounds from which those in the xvth century were derived. It is for this reason that so much space has been devoted to a consideration of the pronunciation of the xvii th and xviii th centuries.

**TABLE OF CHANGES IN THE VALUE OF THE LETTERS.**

1. *Short Vowels.*

A short, in xvth century decidedly (a), became (æ) in the course of the xvii th and has so remained except in a small class of words, where the various sounds (aa, a, aah, ah, ææ, æ) are heard.

E short, has remained (e) throughout, but is locally (e) and may have been (e) at any period.

I short, has remained (i) throughout.

O short, seems to have been generally (o) and often (u) in the xvir th century. The (o) sounds became (ə) or (ә), it is impossible to determine which, in the xvir th century, and have so remained, the present sounds being generally (ə) in closed and
(o) in open syllables. In a few words (o) remains, as cross, gone. The (u) sounds, as in the case of short u, became (o) in the xviiith century and have so remained.

U short, was either (u) or (u), probably the latter, in the xviiith century, but during the xviiith become decidedly (o), which has remained to the present day, with the exception of a few words which retain the old (u) sound, but some of these are occasionally pronounced (a), and more of them probably were so pronounced in the xviiith century.

2. The Long Vowels.

A long, was (aa) in the xviiith century, but inclined already to a very fine and thin pronunciation, nearly (aah), quite different from (aa).1 In the xviiith century this seems to have become decidedly (ææ), advancing at the close of that century or the beginning of the xviiith to (ee), which in the xixth century, if not earlier, became (ee) and even (eɛ).

1 In an unknown treatise on the pronunciation of French, of which two quarto leaves with the signatures B i, B ii, bearing date 1528, (two years prior to Palsgrave’s book,) are preserved and described in Rev. S. R. Maitland’s List of some of the Early Printed Books in the Archbishoppal Library at Lambeth, 1843, p. 291 (but which did not fall under my notice till the preceding pages were printed), we read of the French A and E, “A ought to be pronounced fro the bottom of the stomak and all openly. E a lytell hyer in the throte there properly where the englysshe man soundeth his a.” This would imply that the French sound was (aa), unless it was rounded into (Aa), as we know that it sounded to Englishmen in the xviith century. The English a was quite distinct from this and sounded more like (ee) to French ears, than (aa). The sound could certainly not have been (ee), or Palsgrave would not have found it like the French æ, and Salesbury like the Welsh a. If we suppose the English a, e were (aa, ee) and the French were (aa, ee) we shall be probably very near the truth which underlay this and similar statements. Compare Gilles du Guez, suprä p. 61. Since the above was written, Mr. Payne has obligingly brought under my notice: “The French Garden: for English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to walke in. Or, A Sommer dayes labour. Being an instruction for the attayning ynto the knowledge of the French tongue .... By Peter Eron- dell, Professor of the same Language, London, 1605, 8vo., the English in black letter, the French in Roman type, unpaged, signatures extending to P 3, with two more leaves. The author has taken considerable pains, but not always successfully, to indicate the French sounds, and occasionally refers to the English, in passages which will be quoted as footnotes to this table. It must be remembered that as in the two cases just cited, the author was French. “Our A is not sounded altogether, as this english word aue as some haue written, but as the first voice of this word Augustine or After opening some- what the mouth, as for example, Bap- tiste, tacitement, seauoir: and not after the rate of the english word ale, for if a Frenchman should write it according to the English sound, hee would write it in this wise est and sound it as if there were no s.” This passage seems to indicate clearly that French a was rather (aa) than (AA). It also infers that this (aa) was heard in the English after, where we retain (aa, aah), but that in ale and other words of that class the Frenchman heard (ee). I may mention in illustration that Padre Secchi, the astronomer, when speaking English at the meeting of the British Association at Norwich, 1868, said (meed) for made, which to English ears sounded very nearly as (meed), and very unlike (meed). It must be borne in mind that Erondell’s est was quite
E long was (ee) during the xvi th and xvii th centuries, except in a very few words, as he, she, me, etc., because in the xvi th century the spelling ee was introduced for those words in which the sound has actually altered to (ii), but no such alteration of spelling was afterwards admitted, and in the beginning of the xvii th century the sound of (ii) began to prevail, and became general by the close of that century, as it now remains.

I long was a diphthong in the xvii th century, probably (ai) but occasionally (ai). In the xvii th century, and perhaps during the latter part of the xvi th, the sound of (ai) was introduced, which has remained. Even at the present day, however, (ai, ai, oi) and other varieties may still be heard.

O long was apparently (oo) in the xvi th century, a sound which is still generally heard before r, in more, glory, &c.; but in the xvii th century, (oo) was introduced, and still remains, though frequently called (oo'w) or (ou), and dialectically (ou). Some words containing o long were pronounced (uu) but in the xvii th century these were mostly written with oo, and hence o long is sounded (uu) in only a very few words, as move, proce.

U long does not occur in any Saxon words, and in the xvi th and down to the middle of the xvii th century had the sound of (yy) or some closely allied sound as (ur, ur, oo) which may be still heard dialectically both in the East and West of England. After the middle of the xvii th century the long u became (iu) after a consonant in the same syllable, and (iou) at the beginning of a syllable, and this sound has remained; in the xvii th century, as at present, after (r) it is pronounced (uu).

distinct from éle our present ail (ad).

As in 1605 there must have been a large class of speakers who called long a (aah) or (ae), which could have sounded nothing but (ee) to a Frenchman, we may suppose that this was the sound with which Erondell, with his limited experience as a foreigner, was familiar. In: The French Littetlon. A most easy, perfect and absolute way to learn the French tongue, Set forth by Clavdivs Holyband, Gentil-homme Bourbonnois, London, 1609, 32mo., pp. 223, for a knowledge of which I am also indebted to Mr. Payne, the author says, p. 184: "Ai, and ay, have three diers sounds: for the first person singular of the future tense of the Indicative mood, and these three verbs ay, and his compounds: je saye, I know, say, I am borne, be fully pronounced as, é, masculine; say then for ay, j'ay I have, je diray I will say, je diray I will reade, j'aimeray I will love, &c., as if it were written é, jé, je diré, je liré, &c. But the first person singular of the first perfect tense of the Indicative moode, is sounded as it is written, as j'aiay I loned, je trouway I sound, je parlay I spoke, &c. (ai ?). As for the rest, wheresoever you shall find ai, sound it as gaye [gay in p. 185] gaping.1 He means of course (ee), and he seems to agree with Hart partly in gay, and with the xvii th century pronunciation generally in gaping. The only English writer who would make gay = (gee) is Cooper, supra p. 125. Most probably the Frenchman heard an English (ge) as his (gee), and found the first syllable of gaping = (gee), more like his gai than his ga.

1 Erondell says of French u: "*Is sounded without any help of the tongue but loying of the lips as if you would whistle, say u, which u, maketh a silla-

ble by it selfe, as vnir, uniquement as if it were written v-neer, pronounce then musique, punir, subvenir not after the English pronunciation, not as if it were written muesique, punir, sueveyor, but rather as the in this word, murtherer,
3. Combinations with A final.

AA was not used in English words in the xvith or subsequent centuries, except in Hebrew names, as Isaac.

EA, which had been used occasionally without any strictness for long e, was established towards the close of the xvith century as (ee), and remained so throughout the xviiith century, with the exception of about 30 words. In the xviiith century however it rapidly altered its sound to (ii), only a few words finally resisting the change, after having yielded to it for a time. Several words with (c) short, were from the middle of the xviith century, and still are spelled with ea.

IA had no particular value separate from (ia), and has followed the fortunes of its components, one or the other letter being frequently omitted.

OA was introduced at the close of the xviith century for the long (oo) in closed syllables, after oo had been appropriated to (uu). In the xviith century it became (oo), except in broad, groat, where it was (AA). It has retained these sounds.

UA is not an English combination.


AE was so to speak, not used, in the xviith century; even in Latin words æ was often employed. When æ was introduced into English it was always pronounced as the long e of the period. This æ is one of Bullokar’s signs for (ee).

EE was introduced in the middle of the xviith century for the sound of (ii), which it has since retained. In the earlier part of the century no distinction was made between æe and long e.

IE was a combination having the same meaning as long e until the xviiith century, when it was considered the same as æe.

not making the æ too long.” It is very difficult to understand the meaning of this passage. It is possible that as Erondell may have met with those who said (aeæ), he might have heard (iu), which of course must have been frequently used at this date, though it was not received, and as this sound did not satisfy him he took refuge in (u) or (w) as confused by a following (r), and perhaps was thinking of some individual pronunciation, which he had not satisfactorily appreciated, but conceived to be general. Helyband also (French Littelton, 1609, p. 152) seems to have recognized (iu) in English and not (yy), for he says: “Where you must take paine to pronounce our, v, otherwise then in English: for we do thinke that when Englishmen do profer, v, they say, you: and for, q, we suppose they say, kiou: but we sound, v, without any holpe of the tongue, ioying the lips as if you would whistle: and after the manner that the Scots do sound Gud.”

Here we have the first distinct recognition of the English long u as (iu) distinct from the Scotch and French (yy). Hart, who in his first treatise (infra, Chap. VIII, § 3, note,) also identifies English long u and you, makes both the same as the French and Scotch, and in his second treatise, supra p. 167, distinctly describes (yy) and not (iu) for this sound. Wilkins, 1668, is the next author who distinctly recognizes (iu), Wallis, 1653, being the last who as distinctly insists on (yy).
OE was not an English combination; when it was introduced as æ, it followed the sound of the long e of the period.

UE was only used at the end of words in the xvith century and later, for the long u, which had in this situation been previously written ew.

5. Combinations with I or Y final.

AI was (ai, aai) in the xvi th century and possibly (æi, ææi) in the xvith; but towards the close of that century, and in the pronunciation of a minority even as early as the middle of the xvith century, ai was called (ee). Becoming thus identical with long a, it shared its fortunes and fell into (ee, eei).

EI was (ai) or (ei, cei) in the xvith century, and seems to have retained the sound of (eei) or (ee) till a late period in the xvir th 'century, when many, but by no means all the ei fell into (ii). In either, neither, the old (ei) developed (oi) as well as (ii), and both sounds are yet heard from the same speaker at different times.

II was never used.

OI was (oi) and nearly (ui) in the xvith century, in some words (oi, uui) were heard indifferently. In the xvir th century though (ai) or (oi) was the rule, (oi) was frequently heard. In the xvith and xix th centuries only (oi) was recognized, although some speakers still say (oi), now considered a vulgarism.

UI was not a genuine English combination, and was only a substitute for long u, or long and short i, and followed their laws.

6. Combinations with O final.

AO is only accidentally an English combination in extraordinary, where it is usually pronounced (AA).

EO when used at an earlier period seems to have been considered identical with long e, and has been generally so treated. In pigeon, dungeon, the combination eo is only apparent, for the e belongs to the preceding g.

IO is not found.

OO was used in the beginning of the xvith century indifferently with long o, but was introduced towards the close of that century to indicate those long o which had come to be pronounced (uu), and it has retained this value.

UO is not used.

1 Erondell says in the French Garden, 1605, speaking of French ai, which was then certainly (æ): "Also if s doe follow ai, it maketh the word long, and the s vnsounded, as Maistre, paistre, where the ai or ay be pronounced as these English words day, say, may," which he therefore identifies with long a. No English writer of the period makes this confusion. But compare Holyband's gay, gaping, supra, p. 227, note, col. 2.
7. Combinations with \( U \) or \( W \) final.

\( AU \) was \((au, aau)\) in the \textit{xvi}th century, and seems to have passed by the absorption of \((u)\) into \((w)\), or simple labial modification, into \((\AA)\) in the \textit{xxvii}th century, which sound it generally retains although there is still a contest between \((aa, \AA)\) in a few words.

\( EU \) had in the \textit{xxvii}th century two sounds \((yy)\) and \((eu)\) which were not distinguished by any orthographical expedient. In the \textit{xxvii}th century the \((yy)\) sounds became \((iu, jju)\), and the \((eu)\) sounds either remained \((eu)\), or became \((oo)\). In the \textit{xxviii}th century those which had become \((oo)\) remained so, the rest fell into \((iu, jju)\) where they have since remained.

\( IU \) is not used.

\( OU \) in the earlier part of the \textit{xvi}th century, and in the pronunciation of some writers even down to the latter part of that century, had the sound of \((uu, u)\); by the middle of the \textit{xvi}th century it was generally pronounced \((ou)\), but occasionally \((uu)\). A class of words in \textit{ou}, however, derived from the Anglosaxon \textit{auw}, \textit{ou}, was by both set of speakers pronounced \((ouu)\). In the \textit{xxvii}th century the \((ouu)\) sounds became \((oua)\) as they have since remained, though theoretically considered as simple \((oo)\). The \((ou, u)\) sounds at the same time became \((ou, o)\) and have since retained these forms.

\( UU \) is not used.

8. Consonants.

\( B \) invariably \((b)\).

\( C \) invariably \((k)\) before \(a, o, u\) and \((s)\) before \((e,i)\), except that in the \textit{xxviii}th century, and perhaps earlier, \(e\) before \(a\) became \((k)\); and \(ei\)- before a vowel became \((sh)\).

\( CH \) sometimes \((k)\) in Greek works, generally \((tsh)\) throughout the period.

\( D \) invariably \((d)\) that, in the \textit{xxviii}th century, \(\ddot{a}\) in the termination \(-dure, -dier\) became \((dj)\) or \((dzh)\).

\( F \) invariably \((f)\).

\( G \) invariably \((g)\) before \(a, o, u\), and almost invariably \((g)\) in Saxon words before \(e, i\); otherwise invariably \((dzh)\) before \(e, i\). In the \textit{xxviii}th century and perhaps earlier, \(g\) before \(a\), and \(gu\) before \(i\) long became \((g)\).

\( GH \) in the beginning of the \textit{xvi}th century, full \((kh)\) or \((\dot{kh})\); towards the middle and close, very gently pronounced, almost \((\nu')\); and in the \textit{xxvii}th century and subsequently entirely lost. In a few words of the \textit{xvi}th century and more afterwards, \(gh\) was sounded as \((f)\). In one word, \textit{sigh}, in the \textit{xxvii}th and \textit{xxviii}th centuries \(gh\) was called \((th)\), and in one word, \textit{hicough}, \((p)\). When \(gh\) was omitted in speech after \(i\), the sound of that letter was changed from \((i)\) to \((oi)\); the sound of \textit{augh} with silent \(gh\) was either \((aa)\) or \((\AA)\); of \textit{ough} with silent \(gh\), \((ouu)\) or \((\AA)\), sometimes \((ou)\) and \((uu)\).
in many words in the xvii th century, where it is now never omitted, was not sounded.

or "I consonant" had invariably the sound of (dzh).

K was (k) before all vowels, perhaps inclined to the palatalised (k) before the sound of (ii), and in the xviii th century frequently became (k) before a (ae, aa), and long i (oi).

L invariably (l) or ('l). In the xvi th century it was beginning to disappear after a, after becoming labialised to (hw) and thus changing the sound of a from (a) into (au, AA), the latter prevailing in the xvii th century; (aa) is now commonly heard in the termination -alm.

M invariably (m) or ('m).

N invariably (n) or ('n).

NG invariably (q) or (qq), except in the combination -nge when it became (-ndzh) and had a tendency to change preceding (a) into (ai) which became subsequently (ee).

P invariably (p).

PH invariably (f), except perhaps in such combinations as Clapham, in which the h was omitted in the xvii th century.

QU invariably (kw), or labialised (k).

R preceding a vowel, invariably (r), following but not preceding a vowel, it was most probably (a) as early as the xviii th century, and possibly in the xvi th.

RH was the same as simple r.

S initially, invariably (s), medially and finally either (s) or (z) according to present usage. In the xviii th century s before long u, and si- before a vowel became (sh), and -isi- became (-izh-); in the termination -sure, s became (sh) or (zh). None of these changes seem to have been acknowledged before the middle of the xvi th century.

T invariably (t), except that ti- in the terminations -tion, -tious, was (s) in the xvi th and xvii th centuries, and became (sh) in the xvi th. In the termination -ture in the xvi th century, t fell into (ti) or (tsh).

TH either (th) or (dh) according to the present laws, except that in the xvi th century it was (t) in Thomas as now, and also in throne, and (d) in Thavies Inn; and generally (th) in with instead of (dh) as now.

V or "U consonant" invariably (v).

W as a consonant, whether confused with an initial (u) or not, invariably (w).

WH, whether confused with (uw) or (uw), was probably always (wh).

X invariably (ks), the present use as (gz) seems to have been unknown previously.

Y as a consonant, whether confused with an initial (i) or not, invariably (x).

Z invariably (z).
On examining this table of changes, it would appear that the consonants have been subject to little or no alteration, except under the action of an (i) or (u) sound. The action of an (i) sound changes (t, d, s, z) to (tj tsh, dj dzh, sh, zh), but this action did not materially affect the English pronunciation of the xviith and earlier part of the xviii th centuries. The (u) sound was generated through the labialisation of (l) which gradually disappeared, labialising the preceding vowel.

The consonant gh, originally (kh), became gradually disagreeable and harsh to the Southern English and passing through (H') soon ceased to be appreciable, and was therefore neglected, although it was probably theoretically maintained long after it had practically disappeared. On examining the oldest forms of words, however, this sound appears to have passed through (i, u), and in its disappearance to have acted by palatisation and labialisation on the preceding vowel. The change of igh to long i is the only one that presents a difficulty, and this depends upon the same cause which changed long i generally from (ii) to (ei), p. 234.

For the vowels the following changes occur, taking the sounds only, independent of the spellings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short Vowels.</th>
<th>Long Vowels.</th>
<th>Diphthongs:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a, æ</td>
<td>aa, ææ, ee, eæ, ee, eæi</td>
<td>ai, ei, ci, cee, cee, cee, cee, ceei, aee, aae, aae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ee, ii</td>
<td>aa, aæ, ææ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ci, ci, ci, cee, ci, cee, ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o, ø</td>
<td>oo, uu</td>
<td>eu, eu, eu, oo, oou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oo, oo oou</td>
<td>ou, ou, ou, ouo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, ø</td>
<td>uu, ou, œu</td>
<td>ou, ou, ou, ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yy, ii</td>
<td>ui, oi, ai, ei</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The directions of change are here seen to be three,—towards (i), towards (u), towards (œ). But the two last are not essentially different, as (u) may be considered as a labialised (œ), p. 162.

The long vowels have altered more than the short vowels. The voice being sustained there was more time for the vowel sound to be considered, and hence the fancy of the speaker may have come more into play. This has generally given rise to a refining process, consisting in diminishing the lingual or the labial aperture. The lingual aperture is materi-
ally diminished in the passages (aa, ææ, ee, ee) and (ee, ii). It seems curious that the first was not continued as far as the second. In the name _James_, however, which became (Džheemz) in the xvii th century, and has passed to (Džhiimz) in flunkey English, and to (Džhım) as a common abbreviation, the series of changes is complete. Fashion and refinement have nearly banished (aa), but have not yet confounded in one (ii) all the words formerly distinguished by (aa, ee):

The change of (oo) to (uu) was a similar refinement, consisting first in the elevation of the tongue, and correpsonding narrowing of the labial passage, producing (uw), and secondly in the narrowing of the pharynx. The change from (oo) to (oo) consisted simply in narrowing the pharyngeal cavity.

One of the most remarkable changes is that from (uu) a simple vowel, into (ou) a diphthong. Both sounds held their own side by side for some years, Palsgrave in 1530 and Bullokar in 1580 both upholding (uu), while Salesbury, Smith, and Hart declared for (ou), which finally prevailed. Although the change is certain, there is no trace of any reason being given, and as the sound (uu) had been represented by the letters _ou_ in those cases where it changed into (ou), whereas when (uu) was a change of (oo), it did not further change into (ou), and the orthography also did not give _ou_—the mere accident of the spelling naturally presents itself as a cause. This hypothesis is strengthened by observing that in the north of England, where reading was perhaps less common than in the South, the sound of (uu) in these words still remains unaltered. But such a supposition can hardly be correct, because the change of (uu) into (ou) is precisely analogous to the change of (ii) into (ei), a change which must certainly have occurred in passing from the Anglosaxon period to the xvii th century, although it has not yet come distinctly before us, and had no connection with the orthography. In each case the change simply consists in commencing the vowel with a sound which is too open, (that is, with the tongue not sufficiently raised), and, as it were, correcting that error in the course of utterance. This variety of speech might easily be generated and become fashionable in one part of the country and not in another, and as it penetrated far beyond the classes whom orthography could affect at a time when books were rare, and readers rarer in proportion to the speakers, the physiological hypothesis seems more deserving of adoption than the orthographical.

On further examination it will be found that this hypothesis has an analogue in a well known custom of the South of
England. In the North of England, in France, and Germany, no difficulty is felt in prolonging the pure sounds of (ee) and (oo), but in the South of England persons have in general such a habit of raising the tongue slightly after the sound of (ee), and both raising the tongue and partly closing the lips after the sound of (oo), that these sounds are converted into the diphthongs (ee'j, oo'w), or (eei, ouu) where the (ee, oo) parts are long and strongly marked, and the (i, u) terminals are very brief and lightly touched but still perceptible, so that a complete diphthong results, which however is disowned by many orthoepists and is not intended by the speaker. Now we have only to suppose a habit growing up of beginning the (ii, uu) sound with a tongue somewhat too depressed, and in the latter case with the lips also too open, but passing instantly and rapidly from these initial sounds to the true (ii, uu), and (eii, ouu) would result. From the habit of accenting the first element of a diphthong, the initial touch of (e, o) would come to have the accent, and being very short and indistinct might readily vary in different mouths into (a, a, o). We should thus obtain the diphthongs (ei, ou; ei, ou; ai, au; oi, ou) in which also the second element may be, and at present in the South of England seems to be (i, u) rather than (i, u). Thus on lengthening out the terminal sounds of nigh, now, I seem to hear in my own pronunciation (noiiii, nouns).

The generation of (eei, ouu) from (ee, oo) consists then in subjoining brief (i, u) to long (ee, oo); while the generation of (eii, ouu) from (ii, uu) consists in prefixing brief (e, o) to long (ii, uu). The elements in both cases are the same (eei, eii; ouu, ouu) and the accessory sounds are in both cases brief, but when terminal they are unaccented, when initial accented, just like an appoggiatura in music.

We might therefore expect to hear (ei, ou) developed either from (ii, uu) or from (ee, oo). Further reasons for supposing the first to have actually occurred will be given in Chap. IV, § 2, under I. For the second, it is not uncommon at present to hear (ei) for (ee), and (ou) for (oo), although these changes have not been generally recognized.

This change of (ii) into (ei, ai, oi), and (uu) into (ou, au, ou) is etymologically interesting because it is by no means confined to our own country. The Gothic (ii) corresponded to (ii) in Icelandic, Anglosaxon, Friesie, Old Saxon, Low German, and Upper German, and is still (ii) in Danish and Swedish, but is now (ai) in English and Swabian, and (ai) in Dutch, High German, Frankish, East Frankish and Bavarian,
according to Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. iv., 144) and the same writer says that (uu) in Gothic was (uu) in Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, Friesic, Old Saxon, Low German, Upper German, and is still (uu) in Danish, but it has become (ou) in English and Swabian, (au) in High German, Frankish, East Frankish and Bavarian, (ay) in Dutch, and (uu) in Swedish. Except the two last changes, the phenomena must be all referable to local habits of the kind named. The Dutch sound (ay), written uj, would appear to be an alteration of (au), but whether there is any historical as well as phonetical ground for supposing such a form to have existed, I cannot say. It is impossible not to be reminded in this historical change of (ii, uu) into (ei, ou) of the (guNa) changes in Sanscrit, because they are phonetically the same, although they arise in a different manner.

We have then briefly the following changes of the principal vowel sounds, of which the change (ii) to (ei) was anterior to the xvi-th century, unless, as seems to be the only legitimate inference, Palsgrave's and Bullokar's statements (pp. 109, 114) are held to imply that long i was still pronounced as ui in some words by them:

From (aa) through (ææ) to (ee, ee, eei)
From (ee) to (ii)
From (ii) through (ei) to (ei, ai, oi)
From (oo) to (uu), or to (oo, ooo)
From (uu) through (ou) to (ou, uu)

Proceeding backwards, then, we must, if there was any change, look for it in the same series. Thus (aa, aa) may have preceded (aa). Perhaps (ee) may have preceded (ee). The sounds (ee, oo) may have preceded (ii, uu), and it is possible that (aa) may have preceded (oo), as the latter is only the rounded form of the former.

The vowel (yy) can hardly have been an original vowel sound. Its relations to (i, u) and (iu) are so close, that it might have arisen from any one of the three, but it has principally the appearance of being an alteration of (u) caused by making the narrowest part of the lingual channel with the middle instead of the back of the tongue. This

1 In the actual Dutch pronunciation of huis, muis, it is very difficult to distinguish the sound from (ou), and the difference seems mainly produced by altering the form of the lip into that for (yy), which is slightly flatter than for (uu), rather than by bringing the tongue into the (i) position. Still (ay) was the best analysis I was able to make on hearing the sound, not (ay) as Dr. Rapp remarks. The Dutch consider it to be the sound of the German eu, which Dr. Rapp also says is sounded (ay) in the North-East of Germany, Berlin, Brandenburg, and on the Baltic coast from Mecklenburg to Russia; the general sounds being (ay, oy, oi) and even (oi) in Hamburg.
direction of change.

Chap. III. § 6.

d _priori_ physiological conception is confirmed by finding that dialectically, in Scotland and in Devonshire, (yy) or some form of it as (ii, uu) occurs as a substitute for (uu), as the Devonshire (myyr, myyn), or more properly (muuv, muun) for (muuv, muun). In German we find that (yy) has also been generated from (uu) by the retroactive effect of an (i) or (e) sound in an added syllable. In French, the substitution of (yy) for the Latin (uu) can only be traced to a national habit. The same seems to have occurred in Greek, where _v_ was at a very early period changed from (uu) into (yy). There is no historical evidence that (yy) can be considered in any case as an alteration of (iu), although we have in English the proof that (iu) may be an alteration of (yy), and we know by the Welsh _uw_ and Hart’s _iu_ that the use of _iu_ as a representative of (yy), was natural. In fact the second vowel _u_ in both _iu_, _au_ naturally suggests a labialisation of the preceding, which would give _iu_, _au_ = (_iv_, _aw_) = (i, o), whence (y, a) readily derive. This seems to have been the case with Ulphilas, who certainly uses _au_ for (A) and probably _iu_ for (yy).¹

In such languages as the English, French, and Greek, where the natural sound of _u_ had been replaced by (yy), the only device left for marking the (uu) sound was to use the _o_ from which it was derived, as in the Swedish, or to put an _o_ before, after, or over the _u_ to indicate more distinctly that the combination was to have the modified _o_ sound. This seems to be the origin of the use of _ou_ in older English, French, and Greek for the sound of (uu). Similarly in old High German _uo_, in Italian _uo_, in Bohemian _ã_ are employed to indicate relations between _u_ and _o_.²

¹ Weingärtner (Die Aussprache des Gothischen zur Zeit des Ulphilas, Leipzig, 1858, Svo. pp. 68) sums up all the arguments bearing on the pronunciation of Gothic _iu_ in favour of (ir). The actual English change of (yy) into (iu), and the common German change of (yy) into (ii), seem sufficiently to account for the various forms, which the Gothic _iu_ received, or rather to which it corresponded in various Germanic dialects. The alteration of _iu_ into _iv_ before vowels, as in _knuv_, _kniwis_, may be explained as perhaps (_knyy_, _knywis_) the full written form _kniwis_ having been contracted into _kniwis_, as the single letter _v_ seemed most neatly to express first the labialisation of the _i_, and secondly the generation of a subsequent (_w_) by the lip action of (yy), which is nearly the same as that of (u), on the following vowels, precisely as in the case noticed on p. 133 note. The combination _iu_ is the most difficult to appreciate in the Gothic and old high German orthographies.

² The Dutch use _oe_ for (uu) or (u), their long and short _u_ being (yy, _ã_), that is, nearly precisely the same as Wal- lis’s English sounds. The older Dutch writers seem to have used _e_ as a simple sign of prolongation in _ae_, _oe_, _ue_, so that _oe_ can only be regarded as _o_ used for (uu) with a special mark of prolongation. In modern Dutch the sound is frequently short, as there is no other means of representing (u, _u_). Siegen- beck (Nederduitsche Spelling, Amster-
In English the change of (yy) has been into (iu), but in German it changes into (ii), that is, in English the lips were not rounded at the beginning of the sound but were rounded at the end of the sound, producing first (iy) and afterwards (iyu, iu), while in German the lips are frequently not rounded at all.

For the long vowels, then, anterior to the xvi th century we may possibly have (aa) for (aa); (ee) for (ee); (ee) for (ii); (oo) for (uu), and (uu) for (yy); (oo) is not likely to have been changed.

For the short vowels we find no change in (i, e), which we therefore must suppose to have existed anteriorly in this form. The change (a) to (e) could only give (a) for an anterior sound. The changes (o, o) and (u, u) could lead to no conclusions respecting any anterior sound. The first change (o, o) consists merely in depressing the tongue, the second change (u, u), as has been shewn, may consist only in neglecting to close the lips sufficiently. These changes do not give sufficient indication of direction. It would be safest to conclude that (a) or (a) and (e, i, o, u) were the sounds of the five vowels before the xvi th century, but the words busy, bury (biz’i, ber’i) and the pronunciation (trist) for trust, leads us to suppose that u in writing may often indicate a short (y) which would be taken as (i).

We find then that there was probably an older pronunciation of the English vowels than that of the xvi th century,
dam, 1804, p.139), denies that ie should be considered as long i, although it is now pronounced (ii), because long i used to be written ii, of, and says that in the province of Zeeland ie is still heard as a distinctly mixed sound "duidelijk een gemengd geluid," probably (ia). The same author (p. 82) accounts for the use of e as a mark of prolongation in ae, oe, ue, on the ground that when words anciently written mate hope, mure, came to be pronounced mat’, hop’, murr’, without the final e, the e was transposed in writing, thus mate, hoep, muer, precisely as Lane proposed to write English, supra, p. 44, l. 3. The orthographies oe, ue for (oo, yy) had been replaced by oo, uu for more than two centuries before he wrote, and he proposed and prevailed on the Dutch to use aa for ae, an orthography jealously retained with ue, y for uu, iy, as marks of distinct nationality, in Belgium. This left oe free for (uu, u) without any danger of confusion, and even the Belgians admit the distinction oo, oe.

1 Hart expressly says: "And to persuade you the better, that their ancient sounds are as I have sayde," that is (a, e, i, o, u), "I report me to all Musitians of what nations soever they be, for a, e, i, and o; and for u, also, except the French, Scottish and Brutes as is sayd: for namely all English Musitians (as I can understande) doe sounde them, teaching vt, re, mi, fa, sol, la; And so do all speakers and readers often and much in our speach, as in this sentence: The prating Hosteler hath dressed, curried, and rubbed our horses well. Where none of the fine vowels is missounded, but kept in their proper and ancient soundes; and so we maye vse them, to our great ease and profite."
and that we may not unnaturally expect to find in it (aa, ee, ii, oo, uu) for (aa, ii, ei, uu, ou) of the xvi th century.

As to the diphthongs they have followed two courses, according as the first or second element became the most conspicuous. In (ai) the (a) has been gradually made closer, changing in the diphthong (aei, ei), as in the simple sound (ae, e), and then the first element being lengthened (eei), the second gradually disappeared (ee), only to reappear as a faint aclaimer sound in the present century (eei). Hence, before the xvi th century we can only expect the (ai) to have been the same, or at most to have been preceded by (ai). On the other hand (ei) may have had an antecedent (ai). It is a remarkable circumstance that (ai) in French also gave place to (ei) and then to (ee), p. 118. In Modern High German we also find a dialectic substitution of (ee) for (ai), as (een) for (ain) one, but it remains to be proved which is the older form, the old high German ei answering to the Gothic ai = (ee), and the modern high German ei often answering to an old high German i = (ii), of which (ee) may be a first degradation. In Latin (aaai) as in pictai appears to have generated (ai, ee) as in pictae (pik-tee). In Greek ai, which could hardly have been originally anything but (ai), is now (ee) and was so apparently at the time of Ulphilas. In Sanscrit the (guna) combination (ai) resulted in the present (ee) or (ee).

In (au) the (a) has been gradually made opener (a), and the (u) has acted more and more to produce a labialisation of this open (a), thus (λ'ω) till it disappeared altogether; leaving (AA) only. We cannot, therefore, well suppose (au) to have preceded (au). The sound may have had an antecedent (eu), but was most probably original. It is remarkable that (au) in Welsh generated (oo), that is (a) was labialised to (o = au), without being previously broadened to (a), in quite recent times, pob, paub = (poob, paub) being still co-existent. In French (au) produced (oo). In German (au) is often dialectically (oo). In Latin (au) became Italian (oo), as paucus poco (poo-ko). In Sanscrit the (guna) combination (au) has become (oo) or (oo). In Greek the vowel (u) fell into the consonants (bh, ph) and hence the vowel was preserved. But Ulphilas used the combination (au) for the Greek ὄ μυκρόν.

The change (ei, ei) hardly indicates a direction. But as (ou) had an antecedent (uu), so (ei) may have had an antecedent (ii).

The change of (eu) to (iu) on the one hand and (oo) on the other seems to have occurred
according as the first element (e) or second (u) prevailed. The number of words in which the sound of (eu) remained is so small that it is difficult to form any conclusions on the change.\(^1\)

The change (ou, eu) would have been insufficient, if we had not known that (uu) generally preceded (ou).

As far as the xvi th century is concerned (oou) is original, but as (aa) may have preceded (oo) so (aau) may have preceded (oou).

There seems every reason to suppose that (ui) was the original form of the diphthong which is now (oi), and that the form (uui) which we find in the xvi th century, and which, altered to (oi), appeared in the xvi th century, and crops up even now, is not an alteration of (oi), but is rather a remnant of the older form. It does not appear possible to suggest an antecedent for (ui).

Combining the above observations on the direction of change, with the orthographical representation of sound, we should be led to expect that previous to the xvi th century the sounds attributable to the various letters in alphabetical order might possibly be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a short</td>
<td>a, a</td>
<td>i short</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a long</td>
<td>aa, aa</td>
<td>i long</td>
<td>ei, ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai, ai</td>
<td>ie</td>
<td>ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>o short</td>
<td>o, a; u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e short</td>
<td>e, e</td>
<td>o long</td>
<td>oo, aa; uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e long</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>oo, aa</td>
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<tr>
<td>ea</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>oi, ui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ci, ai</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>oo; uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>yy, eu</td>
<td>u short</td>
<td>ou, aau; uu, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu</td>
<td></td>
<td>u long</td>
<td>u; i, y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But at what time any such combinations were prevalent, and how early the xvi th century pronunciation had prevailed, we must seek other evidence to shew. In the meanwhile, by

\(^1\) The pronunciation cited on p. 141, (shu) for shew, must be some dialectic remnant of (sheu), and suggests an intermediate between (sheu) and (shoo). Hart in his phonetic writing uses both (shio) and (sheu) for shew. Mr. M. Bell notices that there is a 'Cockney' habit of "separating the labio-lingual vowels (u, o) into their lingual & labial components, & pronouncing the latter successively instead of simultaneously," one result of which is saying (au) for (oo). Visible Speech, p. 117.
comparing this purely theoretical table, founded on no evidence of any kind, put purely deduced from a consideration of the direction of change, and not limited to any particular period of time preceding the xviith century, with the table given by anticipation on p. 28, as an expression of the general results of the following investigation respecting the xivth century, it will be seen that there is a remarkable agreement between the two, so that all the results there obtained may be pronounced theoretically probable, however strange they would have appeared if the direction of change had not been previously ascertained. At the same time the great difference between the sounds here considered as possible, and those which, based upon present habits, are usually assumed, will serve to shew the value and importance of the preceding investigation. The subject has hitherto been considered from far too modern a point of sight, and with far too limited a range of vision. The changes in the last three centuries, of which we have contemporary evidence, not having been generally known, and the changes in the cognate Germanic dialects, although recorded by Rapp and Grimm, not having been duly weighed, and the habit of reading Spenser and Shakspere in our modern pronunciation having become ingrain, we were prepared to regard the sounds of our language as something fixed and settled in point of time, at most admitting a dialectic difference which we perhaps attributed solely to geographical causes. This must now be given up, and we must proceed to investigate pronunciation with a knowledge that it has changed, and must change chronologically, that at any time there must be, even at the same place, diversities of coexistent forms; and at different places, even when the language has been derived, at no very great interval, from the same sources, there must also be differences arising from want of communication, which will therefore be the more striking, the earlier the period and therefore the more imperfect the means of transit, and especially that any cause which will occasion the intercommunication of districts usually isolated, must have a great effect on pronunciation. Our endeavour therefore will be to discover, not what earlier English pronunciation was generally, but as definitely as possibly what it was at different particular times and places. Of course this can only be done by means of determining the value attributed to the alphabetic symbols by writers of known time and place. This is the object of the investigations contained in the two next chapters.
CHAPTER IV.

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AS DEDUCED FROM AN EXAMINATION OF THE RHYMES IN CHAUCER AND GOWER.


The War of the Roses raged from 1455 to 1486. The Long Parliament met in 1640, and Charles II. returned in 1660. Hence the xvth and xvinth centuries were memorable in English history for two long continued civil wars, causing unprecedented communication between all parts of the country, and withdrawing the minds of men from literature to fix them upon the events of the day. This "commyxtion & mellynge," as Treuisa hath it, of men from the various counties of England necessarily produced an effect both on the structure and pronunciation of the language. The whole style of English at the close of the xvinth century is dissimilar from that at the close of the xvi th. A different mind reigned in the people and required a different instrument to express itself. And that this was not confined to an alteration of words, idiom, and composition of sentences, but extended itself also to pronunciation in a most distinctly characterised manner, we have already seen. The xvinth century produced a number of writers who paid attention to pronunciation, who sought either to investigate the relations of spoken-sounds, or to supplement the deficiencies of orthography by lists of words and rules, by which the pronunciation could be tolerably ascertained. These lists and rules became so full towards the close of the xvinth century, that we have been able to trace the successive phases of alteration which words underwent, and to see how the sounds of the xvi th century gave place to those with which we are more familiar.

If then the civil commotions of the xvinth century produced such important changes in our language and pronunciation, what must we expect from the still longer and ruder
disturbances of the xvth century, when the language was in a more inchoate stage, when the French element was fusing with the Saxon into the familiar alloy of the xvi th century, when no printing had as yet called forth an abundance of readers,¹ so that the language altered organically from mouth to mouth untrammeled by literary fetters, and men of the north, middle, and south, jostling with each, wore down the angles of their dialectic differences, and gradually produced an English of England? Practically we know that the xvth century was a period of great change in the whole character of our language; the last remnants of our inflexional system were abandoned, the sharp distinction between the "gentilmans" French and the "vplondischems" English, disappeared, and a "common dialect" was acknowledged by all writers.² The distinction between the English of Chaucer, writing down to the close of the xivth century, and that of Spenser, the next great poet on our roll, who wrote after the country had well settled from its troubles, and printing had formed a reading public, is so sharp, that we seem to have fallen upon another language rather than upon a form of speech differing only by five generations.

As then the language altered so markedly, must we not look for similar changes in the pronunciation? The example of the xvith century irresistibly forces this conclusion upon us, and we also feel that if there had only been a succession of writers to chronicle them, we should have had a continual list of changes, comparable to those furnished while the xvith passed its meridian and drew to its termination, only more complex, more striking, more characteristic. Unfortunately we have no such writers, no such rules and lists to refer to; only a certainty of chaos and no guide. In shewing the development of the spellings ee, ea (p. 77) and oo, oa (p. 96) in the xvi th century, to mark distinctions in the sounds of long e and long o, familiar to the speaker, but ignored by the writer, and, without such a guide, impossible to discriminate by an ignorant reader, as one of the xixth century must naturally be in this respect, we foreshadowed the confusion in the orthography of the latter end of the xvth and commencement of the xvi th

¹ Caxton set up his press in 1471; the effect on the masses did not make itself felt till the next century.
² Gill, after distinguishing the Northern, Eastern, and Western dialects, says "quod hic de dialectis loquor, ad rusticos tantum pertinere velim intelligas; nam mitioribus ingenij & cultius enutritis, unus est ubique sermo & sono, & significatu," and this he terms the "dialectus communis."
century, a confusion which it is as yet impossible to dissipate. We can, as in the estimate made at the end of the preceding chapter, be tolerably sure that a given written vowel or combination of vowels, was pronounced in one of two or three ways, but there does not appear to be, at present, any means of deciding which of those ways should be chosen in any particular case. After we have arrived at a more definite notion of the pronunciation of the xvth century, the range of diversity will be somewhat narrowed, and by comparing the xvth with the xviith century pronunciation of any word, noticing the direction of change, and, theoretically estimating the time necessary to effect it—an estimate which must be always hazardous—we may feel somewhat more confident. As however it is advisable in a preliminary investigation like the present, to reduce theory to the narrower possible limits, and to base results upon evidence, or a wide induction, I have thought it necessary to exclude the xvth century altogether from my researches, and to proceed by one step from the settled period of the xviith to the settled period of the xivth century. In § 7 of this chapter, however, I shall indicate a rough practical method which may be adopted for reading works of the xvth century, founded upon the comparison already indicated.

The manuscripts of the xivth century poems, which the name of Chaucer points out as the principal subject of investigation, though all belonging to the xvth century were fortunately written in its early part, and the Harleian MS. of the Canterbury Tales, No. 7334, which will be here generally followed, was probably written before the Rose troubles had commenced, so that although it labours under the disadvantage of being a generation after time, yet it was not subject to those more violent changes which render the earlier printed editions of Caxton and others useless for our present purpose. This manuscript has, in addition to its careful execution, early date, and accessibility in the British Museum, the advantage of having been twice recently printed, by Mr. Wright, and by Mr. Morris. Mr. Morris in his Chaucer Extracts, (see note 3, below), p. xlv, calls this a "MS., not later perhaps than the year of Chaucer's death."

Mr. Wright's edition has been reprinted in double columns large octavo, and is published by Richard Griffin and Co., London and Glasgow, for half-a-crown. It is the most convenient working edition. Mr. Morris's edition forms the second and third volumes of his complete edition of Chaucer's poetical works in six volumes, published by Bell and Daldy, London, 1866, at five shillings a volume, the only edition of Chaucer's works taken wholly from MS. authority where MSS. exist. In the Clarendon Press series Mr. Morris has reprinted the Prologue and two
both editions the punctuation and capitals and the uses of \(th, y, u, v,\) are modern, and the contractions are all extended. In Mr. Morris's edition, the Lansdowne MS. 851 has been collated throughout, but every word not in the Harleian is printed in italics, and many final \(e's\) have been also added in italics when considered to be grammatically necessary.\(^1\) The long and tediously written *Confessio Amantis* of Gower, has not been properly edited. Dr. Reinhold Pauli's text, like Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, exhibits the text and orthography of no particular manuscript or time. But three good MSS. in the British Museum, and one at the Society of Antiquaries, are readily accessible, and Pauli's edition serves as a guide through the ponderous mass. The great regularity of Gower's verse and rhymes, renders his works a convenient supplement to Chaucer's, and I have found it necessary to make a complete examination of his rhymes. The mode of referring to Chaucer's and Gower's works will be explained at the end of this section.

The principles of the investigation on which I am about to enter, as to the sounds intended to be conveyed by the orthography used by the scribe of the Harleian MS. 7334 in particular, which may be assumed as the received Court pronunciation towards the close of the fourteenth century, and will be briefly termed the pronunciation of Chaucer, are the following.

tales in a cheap form from this MS. This will be referred to as his Chaucer Extracts.

\(^1\) In the numerous citations which I shall have to make I have generally followed Wright's edition, but in all important or doubtful cases I have referred to Morris's. One reason for using Wright's edition, besides convenience, was that the lines are numbered consecutively throughout, except the Coke's Tale of Gamelyn, which is numbered separately because it is omitted by Tyrwhitt as certainly not Chaucer's. Mr. Morris's edition has fresh sets of numbers for every prologue, tale, and part of tale throughout. This is theoretically the best, for it is certain that the poem is altogether fragmentary, and, as the manuscripts and editors do not all agree in the order of the pieces, it is probable that no order as yet adopted is that into which Chaucer would have cast the poems had he lived to give them the extension originally designed. For example, in the *Secounde Nonnes Tale,* supposed to be told by a woman, not written by a man, we have—

And though that I, unworthy *son* of Eve,

Be synful, yet accepte my blyve.

Yet pray I you that *reden* that I write.

Again, in the *Schipmannes Tale,* supposed to be told by a man, in speaking of wives we find—

The sely housbond alget moste pay,

He *most* us clothe in ful good array,

Al for his oughthe worship richely;

In which array we daunce jolily;

And if that he may not, paraventure,

Or elles wilt not such dispens endure,

But thynketh it is wasted and i-lost,

Than moot another paye for *oure* cost,

Or lene *us* gold, that is perilous. 14422

These expressions are in both cases irreconcilable with the supposed speaker, so that there must have been some jolting or oversight in the editing.
1.) When few people can read, rhymes to be intelligible must be perfect.

Owing probably to a change of sound which has not been accompanied by a change of spelling, English poets of the xviii th and xix th centuries take the liberty of considering such words as love move, pull cult, eternity I, pass was, none stone, etc., to be rhymes, and readers are accustomed to pass them over as “licenses,” although they always produce a disagreeable effect upon children and unlettered adults. On the other hand words of which the final parts are pronounced almost identically, at any rate with a much nearer coincidence of sound than those cited above, are absolutely tabooed as rhymes. A xix th century poet would be much sooner allowed to rhyme whelk, with talk, than harm with psalm, or fork with hawk, although an unlettered Southern makes no difference in the sound, and a lettered Southern rather imagines that he makes than really makes any distinction (p. 196). It is different with Northern, Irish, or Scotch. It would be, perhaps, incorrect to push the theory too far, and say that in the very earliest attempts at rhyme an untutored audience would be satisfied with nothing less than that perfection which they could not possibly appreciate. But even then the general tendency becomes a sufficient guide. In finished and careful writers like Chaucer and Gower, such imperfections are not à priori likely to occur, and, as we shall see, are in fact unknown.

The various kinds of rhyme which are actually found are as follows. Let BAC, DEF represent two syllables, A, E being any vowels, and B, C; D, F any consonants. Then if B = D but AC is not = EF, as in Bac, Bef, we have initial rhyme or alliteration, which was used in the earliest form of English poetry, the Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman, 1362, being a comparatively modern instance. Next let A = E, but B-C not equal D-F, as b.de, d.df; the result is middle rhyme or assonance, which prevails in Spanish ballad poetry, where the same vowel occurs in the final syllable of alternate lines throughout the whole ballad, and the consonants must vary. Thirdly let C = F but BA not = DE, as baC deC we have final rhyme, the English “rhymes to the

derecho, hecho, medio, alojamiento, hecho, mensajeros, storgamiento, manzanos, acuerdo, arreo, Pedro, heredero, contento, casamientos. In ‘Después que retó a Zamora,’ among others occur: Lara, haya, contrarias, causa. In ‘Considerando los condes,’ among others: vale, paces, bades. In ‘Morir vos quedades, padre,’ Tajada, preciada, caiga. See also the Cid ballads ‘Con el cuerpo que agoniza,’ ‘Fablando estaba en el claustro,’ ‘Si atendéis que de los brazos,’ ‘De palacio sale el Cid,’ ‘Desterrado estaba el Cid,’ ‘Aquese famoso Cid,’ ‘Non quisiera, yernos
eye,‘ like love, move; (the words was, pass form no rhyme at all). I am not aware that BA = DE, but C not = F, as BAC, BAF that is double initial rhyme, or B-C = D-F but A not = E, as BA'C, B'C, that is extreme rhyme, are recognized as rhymes under any system. But AC = EF, and B not = D, as bAC, dAC or double final rhyme, is the ideal of a perfect rhyme in modern English and most European languages, and is the normal rhyme of Chaucer. Nevertheless modern French writers, as well as Chaucer, admit the identical rhyme BAC = DEF, that is BAC, BAC, which under the name of rhyme riche is constantly used in French versification. Either perfect rhyme bAC, dAC, or identical rhyme BAC, BAC, and even the assonance bAC, dAF, would obviously serve to determine either one of A and E from a knowledge of the other. This leads to the second principle—

2). When a word containing a known vowel sound rhymes with a word containing an unknown vowel sound, the sound of the latter may generally be assumed to be the same as the former before xvth century.

The difficulty consists in finding words whose vowel sounds are known. These are supplied in Chaucer from three sources, Latin, French, and those known sounds of the xviith century which we have a right to suppose, according to the results of the last chapter, came down to that period in an unaltered form.

As regards the Latin words we may assume a Roman Catholic pronunciation, which will give a, e, i, o as certainly (a, e, i, o) long or short, and short u as (u). There may be a doubt whether long u had its general sound (uu), or its occasional Latin and general French sound (yy). I am rather disposed to think that Chaucer, to whom French was familiar, used the French sound (yy) for Latin long u. Even in 1580 we learn from Bullokar that Latin as pronounced in England did not possess the sounds of (eh, ii, uu, sh, dh, w, wh, j), so that long u was pronounced by him in Latin as in English and French, namely as (yy).1 We are

mios,‘ Despuces que el Cid Campeador,‘ ‘En Valencia estaba el Cid,‘ ‘De Castilla van marchando,‘ &c. In 'Cuando el rey y claro Apolo,' we find lstima quasi lst'ma, assonancing with : estaba pasan. In the oldest Romance poems, assonances occur mixed with rhymes; the following are instances of diphthongal assonances: Eualia (Diez: Alptom. Sprachdenkmale 1846, p. 21) tost coist v. 19, Leodegar (Diez: Zwei Alptom. Gedichte, 1852, pp. 39-46) fet rei stanza 9, mesfait ralat 15, advuat estrai 16, mors toit 20, préier duu 25 and 31, talier qucu 27, deus cel 40. In English poems of the xiiiith century, assonances are well marked, see Chap. V, § 1, and especially No. 6, Havelok, and No. 5, King Horn. In more recent English they are avoided, or occur only from ignorance or carelessness, as in the Nursery Rhyme 'Sit on a barn And keep himself warm,' and in the old catch 'Cinnamon and ginger, nutmegs and cloves, And that gave me this jolly red nose,' or as Benedick (Much Ado, v. 2) 'can finde out no rime to Ladie but babie, an innocent rime.' In Goethe's song in Faust:

'Es war einmal ein König
Der hatt' einen grozen Floh,
Den liebt' er gar nicht wenig,
Als wie sein eignen Sohn,' the apparent assonance: Floh Sohn, may have only been a reminiscence of his old Frankfurt pronunciation Soh for Sohn.

1 See the example of Bullokar's phonetic writing Chap. VIII, § 4,
therefore hardly justified in assuming a different pronunciation for
the Latin long \( u \) in Chaucer’s time, as the English long \( u \) had most
probably the same sound. The case is different with respect to
long \( i \) which was (ei) or (ai) in the xviith century both in English
and the English pronunciation of Latin, but was I believe (ii) in
both during the xivth century.

The French of the xivth century would, on this hypothesis,
have the same set of vowels as the Latin. It would be useless
attempting to distinguish in the French pronunciation of that time
two sounds of \( o \) and two of \( o \); we cannot even be sure that they
existed at that early period, as we know from Meigret that they did
in the xviith century. The combination \( ou \) in French was in
Chaucer’s time (uu, u) and \( eu \) was probably (eu) or (ey) and occa-
sionally (yy) as in the xviith century; (ae) the modern sound of
French \( eu \) appears not to have been developed in Chaucer’s time, or
Meigret would have been familiar with it. The French diphthongs
\( ai, au \) could not have differed from (ai, au) or (ai, ao), since we find
them in the latter form in Meigret. The syllables \( an, in, on, un \)
now pronounced as the nasal vowels (\( \alpha\), \( e\alpha\), \( o\alpha\), \( a\alpha\)), seem to have
been received in England as (aan, aun, en, oon uun, un), without
any nasality, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to discover any
trace of vowel nasality in the notices which exist of early French
pronunciation; Beza, 1584, the earliest I have found, seems to con-
fuse (\( \alpha\)) with (\( q\)). This tolerable certainty with regard to the sounds
of French letters will be found extremely useful, especially when it
is remembered that Chaucer not only used French phrases, but in-
troduced a large number of French words into his poetry, and as
these were familiar to the gentry in the pronunciation of the time,
he could not have ventured to give them a different form in poetry
intended especially for the delight of that gentry. We have modern
eamples of the same kind. Old French words we ruthlessly angli-
cize; we talk of a foot (fuit) of arms, as if it were feet, but we
refuse the same sound to fête. We speak of recoup (rikup*) and
estate (estee*) but of coup d’état (kudeta) not (kuup destee*). We
do not scruple to say annoy (anoii*) but we try to say ennui (aaniyi),
and even if the trial results in (onwii*), it has not the true English
ring with it like (anoii*). The old words aid (eed) and camp
(kem) will not allow us to call an aide de camp an (eed di
kem), although our (ee-di-kaa) is not the French (ced de kaa).
Environs, envelope are words in a transition state (envoi-renz, en-
velop) and (en-viron, en-vilop) being both heard. Chignon and
crinoline, constantly spoken of, remain French (shinjoa, krinolim)
or as nearly so as the speaker can contrive. 1

For Old English words we shall have to lay most stress on the
pronunciations of those now written with ai, ea, and pronounced in
the xviith century as (ai, ee). We might safely assume that these
sounds must have been the same in the older periods, but we shall
be generally able to establish the fact by the other two sources.

1 This subject will have to be specially noticed in the next section, under I, Y.
In case of any marked peculiarity, the imperfection of manuscripts will make it necessary not to draw conclusions from isolated examples, but to collect as many examples as possible, and to search as carefully for exceptions as for corroborative instances. The exceptions will then have to be separately examined, and carefully investigated to see whether they are mere mistakes of the scribe, which other known orthographies would explain, whether they are simply solecisms not borne out by other instances and therefore incorrigible errors, or whether they really indicate a double pronunciation.

Having thus obtained an insight into the system of orthography used by the writer, having learned to estimate his various contributions to represent sound, at their true worth, we may venture to assume as a third principle,—

3.) Orthographies shown by rhymes to have certain values, may be assumed to have those values even where they are not confirmed by rhymes.

This assumes that the intention of the writer was to represent the sounds of the words, and that his variants arose, not from simple ignorance, but from the fact that he had to make his orthography, as he proceeded, after the usages which he had been taught in youth, and he naturally hesitated as to which usage was most appropriate at any time. Other variants of course occur from carelessness, for which the scribe who writes many hours a day is scarcely to be blamed,—he that is without such carelessness among us, let him throw the first stone, I cannot.¹ That the writers anterior to printing had any intention of representing the histories of words by means of the orthography, in place of the mere sounds, it is impossible to believe. Not only do the variants we meet with exclude this notion, but there was the all-sufficient reason that they could not indicate what they did not know. New French words would be written, of course, in the French way, but then this accorded so closely with the English way, that the scribe would hardly note the difference.²

¹ In reading over the first draft of this chapter, I found I had written consequence for confident, to such utter destruction of the meaning of the sentence, that I had some difficulty in recovering the original word. Similar examples will occur to every author, and his own difficulties in correcting his own errors will lead him to appreciate the difficulty and danger of a critical restoration of any corrupt text.

² So far as I can recall, there are very few decided examples of a French spelling being retained which did not represent the English sound. The only example I have noted where the rhyme pointed it out, is But none the less, this is no for, I pray to God to save this gentil corps.

Where the p is written although not pronounced, as in the French fashion. Yet we have now both corse and corps, and it may have been mere accident that the copyist wrote corps for cors, just as if, because corpse is the more usual word, we made it in writing rhyme with remorse. In the middle of a line we find temps 12803. The use of gn in French words where we have reason to think only n was pronounced in English may be also considered as a case in point, as digne 519, attaigne 8323.
These are the principles on which I shall endeavour to determine Chaucer's pronunciation. The question naturally arises, how far is the first and most important principle, to which the two others are only subsidiary, justified by the manuscripts? A careful examination of all the rhymes, in the 17368 lines which compose the Canterbury Tales as exhibited in Wright's edition, has resulted in finding less than fifty rhymes in which the spelling indicates a difference of pronunciation. Of these a large number consist in one of the two words cited having a final e added or omitted, while there are constant examples in other places of an orthography which would render the rhyme perfect.

The principal instances are:—born biforne 1225, trace allas 1953, bere messager 5142, ecke leek 6153, potestate estaat 7599, wolde brynge, for her lyvyng 8101, of hew, at newe 8253, without youre witynge, in this thing, in your wirching 8368, mighte, to sight 8556, solace allas 9149, atte laste, it cast 9827, est beste 10773, her witte, it 8303, rest, he keste 10663, hert smerte 10793, kepyng rynge 10965, hoste wost 11007, ever dissever 12802, Galiene Egipcie Arrabiene sleen 15822, matere gramer 14946, tresor Nabugodonosore 15629, gold olde 15645, may aye 17105, leye pray way 8753.

These cases are often mere slips of the pen and can easily be corrected. The considerations in §§ 4 & 5, will be sufficient to explain them all, and they must be all reckoned as errors of writing, not of rhyme. Poor Chaucer is very pathetic in reference to the damage done to his verse by scribes. In Troilus and Cryseyde 5-74 he says, addressing his "litel boke,"

And for ther is so grete dyversite
In English, and in writynge of our tonge,
So preye I to God, that non myswrite the
Ne the mys-meterie, for defaute of tonge!
And red wher so thow be, or elles songe,
That thou be understonde, God I beseche!
'M but yet to purpos of my rather speche.

And what he suffered from the carelessness of scribes is well exhibited in his address to his own scrivener, which by the bye has itself been much injured in transcribing. He is made to say: 6-307

Adam Scrivener, if ever it the befall
Boece or Troilus for to write new,
Under thy long locks maist thou have the seall,
But,after my making thou write more trew!
So oft a day I mete thy werke renew,
It to correct and eke to rubbe and scrape;
And all is throw thy negligence and rape.

Would that we had a text corrected by Chaucer's hand!

1 Mr. Morris had added several α's required by the language. But the lines are quoted from Thynne's edition of 1532, and were evidently "improved" to suit the xvth century pronunciation. It is a wonder we do not find anew in the second line; for in the second, long in the third, and
The cases in which short or long i rhyme with short or long e, may either belong to the class of accommodation rhymes, to be immediately noticed, or are explicable on the principles laid down in the next section under i. The following are the chief instances noted:

geven lyven 917, list best 6819, 7567, list rest 9299, 16559, abrigge alegge 9531, swore hire = her 11101, 12076, pulpit iset 13806, shitte = shut lette 14660.

There remain only nine instances of other classes to be considered, and some of these are patent clerical errors. Thus since hyme is constantly found for high, it follows that in: charged hem in hygie, some remedye 4629, the gh is a mere error of the writer. In: tyrant Buserus, serpent venenous 15589, there is little doubt that -neus is a clerical error for -mous, which would give a perfect rhyme and be a correct form, as Mr. Morris reads and as is found in 16063. The common yen for eyes, shows that the initial e, in: thin outer eyen, may well aspier 12426, is a mere slip of the pen. The rhymes: alle thatstates, of debates, desolat 4548 are manifestly clerical errors, and we have probably to read: thatstat (= the estate) debat, desolat. The lines

There saw he hartes with her hornes hee
The gretest that were ever seen with eye, 11503
given in Wright and Tyrwhitt (who has hie eie) are not in Morris, and correspond to a gap in the Harleian MS. If genuine, the rhyming words should clearly be the common pair hyme ye or heighs eyghe. In: more and lasse, marquisesse 8816, lassses is evidently a clerical error for lesse, which is the reading of the MS. Dd. 4. 24, University Library, Cambridge.

The rhyme: i-cased, y-preised, 6511, is given as: y-cased y-presed 2:234 by Morris, and: esed ypreised by Tyrwhitt, but the Harl. 7334 reads: I cased, y pleased, and the Landsd. 851 escede ypesede. These are usual rhymes. Lastly: jelousye me 1809,

more in the fourth line are evident insertions; e final was omitted in befoile, newe, scalle, trewe, renewe, and unne-

(Aadaam Skriimeer, if eer it dhee befare
Bo,ces’ or Troo’ilus to ruw’tre neure,
Under dii loke’s maist dhu nan dhe skal’e
But after ‘mii maak’iq’ dhu ruw’tre trewe!
So oft a dui ii moot dhi werk renewe,
It to korek’t and eek to rub and skraa’pe,—
And al is thurk’hu ‘dhui negliddzhens: and raar’pe!)

1 Wright says in a footnote: "The Harl. MS. reads y-pleased: but the reading I have adopted seems to give the best sense." The context as well as the rhyme declares in favour of y-pleased, for flattery and pleasing, named at first, are repeated as flattery and attendance, business, afterwards. The whole passage, inserting the bracketed words, runs thus in the Harl. 7334:—

Some sayden’ [pat] oure herte is mofit I eased
Whan [pat] we ben y flaterid and y pleased
He gof ful neigh je foth I wil not lye
A man fchal wynne vs best wip flatorye
And with attendance and [wip] busynesse
Ben we y limed bope more and leffe.
is not even an approach to rhyme and is manifestly corrupt. I find on examination that all the other MSS. in the British Museum read *folite*, which is Tyrwhitt's reading, and is no doubt correct. The rhyme: mercy *sey* 13308, will be specially examined in the next section, under I, when it will be shewn from other MSS. that the proper reading is: mercy *sy*.

This examination is calculated to make us feel confident in the correctness of our first principle as applied to the Canterbury Tales. On extending the examination over the whole of Chaucer's poems, the following faulty rhymes are all that I have noted, which do not admit of an immediate correction. Except in certain pieces, of which the originals are thereby proved to be of very doubtful authority, and of comparatively recent date, the faulty rhymes will be found exceedingly rare. The citations refer to the volume and page of Mr. Morris's edition, and the references to the original MSS. or editions, are all given.

**VOLS. II. & III.**

1. *The Canterbury Tales*, from the Harl. MS. 7334, collated with Lansdowne MS. 851. After the previous examination this may be said to have no faulty rhymes.

**VOL. IV.**


**VOL. V.**

*Troilus and Cryseide* continued, pp. 1-77. None.

7. *Chaucers A. B. C. called La Priere de Notre Dame*, pp. 78-85, from the Bodl. MS. Fairfax 16, collated with a MS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, medycine resygne 81, this rhyme is probably correct.

8. *Chaucer's Dream*, pp. 86-154, from Speght's edition of Chaucer 1597 and 1602, no manuscript copy being known: cene *euen* kene 87, was glasse 88, paire here (this word seems to have been supplied by the editor) 88, hie *high* sie *see* 88, be companie 89-90, come some 92, undertaketh scapeth 96, grene yene *euen* 96, place was 100, named attained 104, een *euen* queen 106, joyously harmony 107, gentilnesse peace (?) 107, be companie 108, destroye conclude 108, vertuous use 110, signe encline (?) 113, resigne nine (?) 120, found honde 126, remember tender 129, fiftene, an even 132, ligne compane 132, safety company 133-4, greene cene *euen* 138, cry company 138, softely harmony 141, nine greene (?) 142, vertuouse use 143, company by 147.


12. The Legende of Goode Women, pp. 276–361, from the Bodl. MS. Fairfax, 16, collated with Bodl. MS. Seld. B. 24, MSS. Harl. 9832, Addit. 12524 (British Museum) and Gg. 4. 27, in the University Library, Cambridge, privately printed by H. Bradshaw, Cambridge, 1864. None.

Vol. VI.

13. The Romauant of the Rose, pp. 1–234, from the unique MS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow: be nyctie 1, samet delit (?) 27, loreties olveris 41, I maladie 57, hastily company 57, generaly vilanye 67, worthy curtesie 68, more are 68, abrode forwriede 78, annoy away (?) 82, escape make 84, joye conveye (?) 89, curtesie gladly 91, foly utterly 97, laste barste 97, foly hastily 99, 100, werye sey 99, redily maistrie 101, flaterie utterly 103, affere debonsaire 105, bothem salvacioun 106, angerly villanye 107, espie sikirlye 116, foliile jelonsye 116–7, jelousie I 119, 126, I lechery 119, bothoms sesouns 122, high delveryer 123, eternewlye jelonsye 123, gloutons bothoms 131, storme corne 132, sikirlye foly 136, bittirly foly 138, I curtesie 139, lorde rewardre 141, seignorie I 142, ever fer (?) 146, engendrure plesyng 147, companye disrewliy 149, servise prise =praise 151, worthy drurie 154, vice wys 164, to bye hastily 171, sy=part of the second syllable of fysic, foly 175, covertly ipocrisie 186, company utterly 192, whyte tregetrie =trickery 194, companye I 209, meekely trechery 223, sobrely, je vous die 225.


And Add. MS. 10340, see Athenaeum, 14 Sept. 1867, p. 333. None.


In examining Gower’s rhymes through the medium of Pauli’s edition, I have put aside his orthography as of no value, and have reckoned as faulty rhymes only such as I could not immediately correct by means of the results obtained from an examination of Chaucer, and exhibited in the following sections. The citations refer to the volume and page of Pauli’s edition.

Vol. i. sely privete 225, er = formerly were 231,

Vol. ii. named proclaimed 84, joy money 147, Troy monaie 188, nine peine 261, enemy michery 355,

Vol. iii. accompteth amounteth 54, straught sought 374.

Nine faulty rhymes out of more than 33000 verses would not be much. But in fact the editor Dr. Pauli, and not the author, is the person really answerable for them, as the following examination will shew.

The reading: sely privete i 225, is wrong on the face of it, for sely makes no sense; the word is celee or cele as in Harl. 3490, 3869, 7184, and Soc. Ant. MS. 134, meaning secret, a purely French word. The passage runs thus in Harl. 3869.

As who saip. I am so celee
Ther mai ne mannes priuete
Bea heled half so wel as myn.

The reading: er ware i 231, is: er war in Harl. 7184, but: ar war in Harl. 3490 and 3869, the passage in the last being

Of such enamples as wer ar
Him oghte be þe more war.

The rhyme: named proclaimed ii 84, is given: named, proclaimed, by the three Harl. MSS, and: naimd proclaimed, by the Soc. Ant. MS. The first reading is evidently correct from the French proclamé, and even Pauli in another place writes: named proclaimed i 6.

For: joy money ii 147, Troy monaie ii 188, the Harl. MS. 3869, reads: ioye monoie, Troie monoie. These rhymes will be further considered in the next section under OI.

The rhyme: nine peine ii 261, is written: nyne peyne in Harl. 3869, but this is an evident slip for: nyne pyne, the reading of Harl. 3490 and 7184.

For: enemy michery ii 355, both Harl. 3490 and Harl. 3869 read: enemie micrie.1 The enemy is Venus, and the word receives the French feminine form, thus, according to Harl. 3869

For Venus which was enemie
Of plike loues micrie.

The words: accompteth amounteth iii 54, are so spelled in the three Harl. MS., but as it is certain that the two French words from which they have been taken, had the same sound, the rhyme was really perfect. This then is an example in Gower of the retention of a French spelling, which did not represent the English sound, suprâ, p. 248, note 2. The orthography accompt is even yet

1 Harl. 7184 is illegible; the word is like enme, that is, there are five strokes between the two e’s, and what they mean it is hard to say; probably we should restore missing letters thus: enemie.
The words: straught sought iii 374, were wrongly transcribed by Pauli from the Harl. 3490, which he professed to follow in this passage, and which reads: strauht cauht.

This examination must be held to establish the correctness of the first principle for all the writings of Chaucer and Gower. The exceptions are clearly due to some error of the editor or the scribe, or to certain varieties of pronunciation which will meet with an explanation hereafter. In Chaucer's time many words certainly existed in two or more forms either entirely different, as tho for those, say for saw, they for though, no for more, etc., or only differing in a vowel as kess for kiss, lest for list lust, stree for straw, etc. We find instances of this double use even in prose, and in places where the use was optional, but it was evidently a most convenient instrument in the rhymester's hand, and Chaucer, who, notwithstanding the far greater facilities for rhyme at his time than at the present, seems to have been frequently "hard up," to judge by those numerous little tags which appear in his poetry and are absent from his prose, has extensively availed himself of them. The following are a few examples of these Accommodation Rhymes, as I propose to term them:—

rood upon a mere (== a mare), and a mellere 543, gan the child to blesse, gan it kesse 8428, holde champartye, may sche gye 1951, Then pray I the, to morwe with a spere That Arcita me thurgh the herte bere == bore 2257, unto oon of tho, moche care and wo 2353, that on myn auter bren, that thou go hen == hence 2357, stree == straw three 2935, Paternoster soster == sister 3485, compame

1 A cook thei hadde with hem for the nones,

To boyle chiknes and the mary bones 381.

Hence marrybones for marrow bones (possibly a reference to St. Mary le bon) is not a recent vulgarism, but can boast a high antiquity.

2 Compare Chaucer's own admission, 6:274:

And eke to me hit is a grete penaunce, Syth ryme in English hat4 such skarsete, To folowe worde by worde the curiosite Of Graunson, florue of hem that maken in Fraunce.

3 This reading is doubtful. Lansdown 861, Harl. 1758, MS. Reg. 18. C. ii.; and Sloane MSS. 1685, 1686, all agree in reading: compame blame. Harl. 7335 has come blame, Harl. 7334 and MS. Reg. 17 D. xv. have both com pame, which Wright prints compame in one word, and Morris misprints compaine, and it should be observed that there is a blotch on the parchment in Harl. MS. 7334, fol. 49 b, which looks at first sight as if paime and not pame were intended, but such a mark is never used throughout the MS. for the dot over an i, which is always represented, when written, as it would be in such a case, by a flourish like i. The writer of MS. Harl. 7333 was so puzzled that he left out the line with compame, altered the next line to
Chap. IV. § 1. The orthography shews the sound.

Rhyme, omitted the following which was then without a rhyme, and read:

Go from þe wyndowe, Jacke fele fhee fayde
I love bette ofer and elles I were to blame
Welle more þe by Jhefu and his dame
So lette me slepe a twenty devilweye.
The words: and his dame, in the last line but one, are in another ink, and are apparently written over an obliteration. The last line was originally preceded by:

Go forth thy weye or elles I wolde caste a stone,

which has been scored out, as it was thus left without a rhyme, but is perfectly legible.

1 This opinion I entertain so strongly, that I retain its expression in the text, notwithstanding that I have been informed, since it was written, that many Early English scholars adopt systems of pronunciation agreeing in the main with our barbarous method of reading Latin and Greek. While this sheet was passing through the press I received the following: "As to O.E. and A.S. Pronunciation, my scheme is i=i of shine, e=eo of feet, a=a of father,
Mode of Reference to Chaucer and Gower.

The lines of the Canterbury Tales will be cited by their numbers in Wright's single volume edition (p. 243 note), the number refers to the first line or word cited. The lines in any of Chaucer's other poetical works will be cited by the volume and page (not number of line) in which they occur in Morris's edition, a turned period being placed after the number of the volume; thus, 4:87 means vol. 4, p. 87. As final words are usually cited, hardly any difficulty will be thus experienced in finding the passage. The list of Chaucer's poems on pp. 251–2, will show at once from the reference the particular poem in which the passage occurs. The lines in Gower will be cited by the volume and page in Pauli's edition, the number of the volume being in small roman letters and the number of the pages following without an intervening comma, thus ii 84 is vol. 2, p. 84. By this means the form of the reference distinguishes the book cited, which will therefore not be named.

As Mr. Morris's edition of the Canterbury Tales is not numbered throughout, and as Tyrwhitt's order of the Tales is not entirely the same as Wright's, the following comparison will be found useful. The numbers refer to the volume and page in Morris and the line in Wright and Tyrwhitt. Occasionally some lines are inserted in one of these editions and omitted in the others, hence it will not always be possible to refer from one to the other by the numbers with certainty, but the difference is always very small, and if allowed for, will create no confusion. In order to correspond as far as possible with Tyrwhitt's system, Mr. Wright's first line of a piece is not always numbered consecutively to the last line of the preceding piece, and his number 6440 is a misprint for 6439. The roman titles of the pieces in the following table follow Mr. Morris's edition; the italic titles of the tales have been added by the author in accordance with the text of the poems, for convenience of reference.

Harmony of the References to Morris's, Wright's, and Tyrwhitt's Editions of the Canterbury Tales.

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Note: For convenience of reference, p. xi (face, p. xi) quoted below Chap. V, § 2, No. 1.

1. Confessio Amantis of John Gower, edited and collated with the best manuscripts by Dr. Reinhold Pauli, London, Bell and Daldy, 1857, 8vo, 8 vols.
### REFERENCES TO CHAUCER AND GOWER

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17
§ 2.—The Vowels.

Long and Short Vowels.

The orthographic custom of the Germanic languages is to consider a final vowel in an accented syllable long, and a vowel in a syllable closed by a consonant short. The physiological cause for the duplication of a consonant between two vowels to indicate the shortening of the first vowel has been already explained, p. 55. But long vowels also occur in syllables closed by a consonant, and here the writers have generally been put to great straits. Orrin by simply leaving the consonant single after a long vowel, and always doubling it after a short one, escaped the difficulty. In the oldest Germanic monument, Uphilas's Gospels, the Greek custom of using different signs for long and short (e, o) was usually followed, thus e ai, o au were generally, = (ee e, oo o). Long i was represented by ei, following the Greek custom of pronouncing ei at that and the present time. Long a, u, were not distinguished from short, even if the real long (aa, uu) existed in Gothic.¹

In Anglosaxon an accent is occasionally placed over the long vowel, but it is frequently omitted. In modern high German and Dutch aa, ee, oo are often used for the long vowels, but this system of reduplication does not extend to long i and long u. When the i was not dotted, it would have been difficult to distinguish ii from u, and the combination uu might be read nu, un, im, mi, ini, which seems sufficiently to explain the non-use of reduplication to express these prolongations. Still I find reduplication sufficiently distinct even in these cases, provided that the i is properly dotted, and hence I have employed it consistently in palaeotype.

In Chaucer, as represented by our MS., reduplication is not unfrequently resorted to in the case of aa, ee, oo, but as the writer often neglects to mark the distinction (compare: in such a caas 657, arwes in a cas 2081), and sometimes employs ee where we expect to find a short vowel (as wel 2125), not much reliance can be placed upon this orthography. The fact, however, that both short and long a, e, i, o rhyme with each other, but that long u and short u never rhyme, leads at once to the conclusion that the sounds of the long and short a, e, i, o differed only in quantity, but the sounds of long and short u differed also in quality. This general conclusion, will be abundantly confirmed.

¹ See an account of the values of the Gothic letters, Chapter V, § 4, No. 3.
A — XIV Th Century.

That long and short a could not be very different from (aa, a) we have already seen. It is not possible to distinguish after such a lapse of time between (a, a) and it is safer probably to consider (aa, a) as the real sounds. The effect of a preceding w does not appear to have been felt; that is, a in was, warm would not have differed from a in has, harm.

Latin rhymes. . . . as assolillyng saveth, a significavit 663, where the old habit of reading the Latin termination -it as (-ith) may have been alluded to;¹ the Psalm of David, cor meum eructavit 7515;

Yet spak this child, when spreynde was the water,
And song, O alma redemptoris mater. 15051
My teeme is alway oon, and ever was,
Radix malorum est cupiditas. 13748
On which was first i-written a crowned A,
And after that, Amor vinceit omnia. 161

These examples lead at once to the conclusion that a was called (aa), and that saveth, David, water, was were pronounced (saav·eth, Da·vid, wa·ter, was). Hence also the words rhyming with was will have (-as) or (-aas), e.g. hire statue clothed was, arwes in a cas 2081, therto chosen was, such a caas 2111, he walketh forth a pas, ther hir temple was 2219, this hors of bras, siege of Troye was 10619, of Macedon he was, alas, such a caas, thyn sis fortune is torned into an aas 16142, where sis, aas are six, ace. These words give the key to many others, thus: in this caas, of solas 799, and all words of that kind now usually spelled -ace, as: paas Thomas 827. We should also conclude that in: caught in his lace, this trespace 1819, we ought to read laas, trespas, as in: a dagger hangyng on a laas 394 &c.

French rhymes. . . . hadde thei ben to blame, to be clept madame 377, hadde hosen of the same, no wight clepe hir but madame 3953, fy for shame, sayde thus Madame 16377, it happed him par cas, ther the poysoun was. 14300

This last example confirms one of the Latin rhymes. In the other examples observe that Madame is a word which has preserved its French sound (or what is meant to be such) down to the present day, and hence the rhymes with it are conclusive.

Short and long A rhymes.

A long surcote of pers uppon he hadde
And by his side he bar a rusty blade. 619

Here, judging by the modern use, blade is spelled bladde simply to secure the rhyme, that is the long vowel is, for the occasion, treated as a short one. This of course could not be done if the quality of the vowels changed with the length, as in the present had, blade. In the following example—

Each after other clad in clothes blake
But such a cry and such a wo they make. 901

¹ See Salesbury, infrà, Chap. VIII, § 1, under T.
we have exactly the converse, the vowel in *blæke* being lengthened to rhyme with *make*. This is also the case in: I may no lenger *tarry*, lady seinte *Mary* 7185, where the correct reading would probably be *turie*, *Marie*. In ags. both *blæd* and *blæc* had short vowels.

The pronunciation of *a* in Chaucer, which scarcely admitted of doubt before, is so clearly indicated by these three classes of examples, that it is unnecessary to accumulate passages of the last kind, those cited in the first two cases are all that I have observed of that description in the Canterbury Tales. We must, therefore, conclude that

*A in the xivth century was always either (aa, a) or (aa, a).*

### E, EE, EA, EO, OE, IE — xivth Century.

Final *e* presents peculiar difficulties, and will therefore be treated separately in the fourth section of this chapter after the other vowels and the consonants have been fully considered. At present it may be assumed to be pronounced as the inflexional German final *e* (p. 195, note) in all cases where it ends a line or seems to be required by the metre, and to be otherwise omitted in pronunciation, leaving the precise discrimination of these cases to future investigation.

The combination *ee* is used so frequently in place of *e* long, that it cannot be considered as a different letter. The combination *ea* is rare, but occurs most frequently in *case, please,* which are also found without *a*. *Eo, oe* are occasionally used instead of *e*, when an *e* usurps the place of *o*, but there does not appear to have been any variation of sound. *Io* and *e* alternate in some words, especially *matiere materse, hiere here,* but *ie* does not appear to have had any special signification distinct from *e*. The modern pronunciation of the *e*, and the separation of its long sound into (ee, ii) which was confirmed in the xvi th century, does not appear to have commenced.

**LATIN RHYMES.**—The only Latin word ending in *e* which concludes lines in Chaucer is *benedicite*, and this was almost always pronounced in *three* syllables, but whether (ben·diste) or (ben·aite, ben·ete),—compare Scint Benefyt 173, and the modern *Bennon*—*I am not able to say,* I incline however to (ben·ete).1 The following are all the passages in which I have observed the occurrence of this word, and as most of them illustrate the sound of *e, ee,* it may be best to cite them all at length.

The god of love, *a! benedicite* (5 syllables)

How mighty and how great a lord is he. 1787

To fighte for a lady; *benedicite!*

It were a lusty sighte for to see. 2117


Why ryse ye so rathe? *benedicite.* 3765

1 Prof. Child (infra, § 5, art. 96) suggests *bencîte* as the contraction and suspects a lacuna in v. 1787, where it has five syllables. The word has always five syllables in Gower.
E, benedicite! than had I foule i-sped. 4218
What roune ye with hir maydenes? benedicite, 5823
Syr olde lecchour, let thi japes be. 5861
And chyding wyves maken men to fle 6669
Out of here oughne hous; a, benedicite. 7165
And sayd, O deere housbond, benedicite, 7751
Fareth every knight with his wyt as ye. 7771
I trowe thou hast som frece or prost with the. 9211
Who clappith ther? sayd this widow, benedicite. 9211
Til atte last he sayde, God yow se !
This lord gan loke, and sayde, Benedicite.
A wyt? a! seinte Mary, benedicite,
How might a man have eny adversite
That hath a wyt? 12356
Unto ouse oost, he seyde, Benedicite!
This thing is wonder merveyllous to me.
I see wel that ye lerned men in lore
Can mochel good, by Goddes dignite.
The Person him answerde: Benedicite!
O, seinte Mary, benedicite (3 syllables)
What eylith this love at me
To bynde me so sore?
So hidos was the noyse, a benedicies !
Certes he Jakke Straw, and his meyne,
Ne maden schoutes never half so schrille. 16879

These examples establish the pronunciation of, in modern spelling, he, see, tree, bee, flee, ye, thee, me, as (hee, see, tree, be, flee, see, dhee, mee), so far as the vowel is concerned. The other rhyming words, adversity, dignity, meny, will be considered under I, Y. The words thus established suffice to prove the pronunciation of many others and show that the personal pronouns, he, she, we, ye, which were exceptionally pronounced with (ii) in the xvth century, (p. 77), and the combination ee which was confined to (ii) at the latter end of the same century (p. 79), had in Chaucer's time, exclusively the sound of (ee).

It might seem proper to reckon among these Latin rhymes
Yet schal I saven hir, and the, and me,
Hastow nat herd how saved was Noe. 3533
But certeynly no worde writeth he
Of thilke wikked ensample of Canace. 4497

But the preceding examples will also shew that Noe Canace must have had a final (ee).

French rhymes ... a sop in fyn clarre, than sittith he, 9717 away fro me, as well as thin parde 5891, the lasse light parde! the thar not pleyne the 5917.

For cosynage, and eek for bele cheer
That he hath had ful ofte time heer. 14820

Long and Short Rhymes ... trapped in steel, dyapred wel 2159, here the long pronunciation of wel is not noted as it is in
Som wol been armed on here legges wel,
And have an ax, and eek, a mace of steel. 2125
Thanked be fortune, and hire false wheel,
That noon estat assureth to ben wel.
His eyen steep, and rollyng in his heed
That stemed as a forneys of a leed. 201
Here head, lead are now both short (ned, led). They may have been both long occasionally, as bread, dead spelled bred, deed 147. In: Jerusalem, a strange stream 465, both words may have been pronounced with (eem). But in: I holde my pree, al the prees 5096, we have either short and long rhyming, or else a short lengthened to rhyme with the long. In either case the sound of long e is shewn to be (ee).

In the following examples we have words written in the xvi th century with ee and then pronounced (ii), rhyming with words then written ea and pronounced (ee). Those afterwards written with ee will be italicised for distinction: ful lene, no calf y-sene 593, this cost (coast) so clene, that ther nys no ston y-sene 11307, his speche, gladly thee 309, it needeth nat the thee, I the byshe 3599, wolde han caught a sleep, Johan the clerk up leep 4225, in this drede, at thy grete neede 5077, at his feet, and of a man he eet 2049, a child that is i-bete, went he over the strete 3757, in word and dede, repentance and drede 1777, bodyes dede, of herneys and of wode 1007, glorious for to see, fletyng in the large see 1957, with leyghen stepe, noon in chepe 755.

In the next examples we find ee rhyming with words which the Latin rhymes have established to be sounded with (ee): so as it semed me, of what degree 39, so ofte of his degree, hadde he be 55.

The following are examples of words written with ee or simple e, which were afterwards 'written with ea. The ea words are italicised: humble cheer, ye schal hear 2221, piled berd, sore aferd 629, hem to wroke, scholde speke 963, breath, heeth 5, as of the deth, upon an heeth 608, agreved with here, to a bere 2059, pite to heere, Dyane gan appeere 2347, quod sche, in the salte see 5527, in the Greete see, hadde he be 59, or forge or bete, to counterfete, 13432. These examples might be greatly multiplied. Ea occurs in: for ease, nought displease 5709, sche wolde vertu please, noon ydel ease 8092, his spirit was at case, nothing may mo displease 9507.

The use of ee and oe is shewn by the spellings: theoef 13498, theves 13499; eorthe 8557, boef 9295, peepel 9241, pepul 2536, reproef 10078, 10137, preef 5829, reproeeve 17002, repreve 6759, these latter words having generally simple e.

The following shew the pronunciation of ie as (ee): with evel preef, a great meschief 5829, al your greef, an odious meschief 7771, a theef, mesheief 1327, me reproeeve, we believe 6759, cre that it was eve, made him bieloe 4993, and eek a freere, dissehe and matiere 6418, in this matere, quod the Frere 6421.

The following shew the instances of words now spelled with ie but apparently only written with e in Chaucer. See the table, p. 104. I sawh no man him greve, Osewald the Reeve 3857, be agreed, be releaved 4179; by youre leve, ye yow not greeve 7395, a freend, as a fend 5825, looth or leef, an ivy leef 1839, longen unto eelde, mowen be unwelde 3883, oen bar his scheeld, in his hondes helde 2895. We also find ciertes 5978 for cherete, and whiel 15482 for wheel.
These rhymes lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the one general sound of *e, ee, ea, eo, oe, ie* in Chaucer was *(e)* long or *(e)* short, and they leave no room to conclude that *e* was ever pronounced as *(i)* except in the prefix *be* which we find written indifferently *be bi*. The double forms *lesse lasse, left laft*, seem however to indicate that *e* short was occasionally pronounced as broadly as *(a)*. In the *xiii* th century this was certainly dialectic, and the various forms may have remained in use during the *xiv* th. Perhaps the *e* was generally broad, as *(a)* rather than *(e)*. In the same way we shall find *i* short to have been occasionally pronounced as *(e)*, and this might be rather held to indicate the broader sound of *(i)*, for *i*, or the finer sound of *(e)* for *e*. Such delicate distinctions, difficult to appreciate in actual living speech, are quite beyond our grasp at such a remote period, and we must be content with one form *(e)* for the, possibly, three forms *(e, e, _e_)*. It is indeed very probable that all three coexisted, and were not discriminated by the speakers themselves. Practically this is the case at present.

**EI EY, AI AY, AU AW — XIV TH CENTURY.**

It is needless to show that *ai, ay* were generally *(ai)* and *au, aw* generally *(au)*. They could not have had any other sound, as we saw at the conclusion of the last chapter, p. 238. But whether any distinction was made between *ei* and *ai* may be doubtful. In the greater part of modern Germany, *ei, ai* are both *(ai)*, and they seem to have both had the same sound in Chaucer. Thus we have them rhyming together in

That we with pitous hert unto yow *pleyne*
And let youre eeris my vois *not* *disdeyne*. 7973

But *pleyne* is written *pleyne* in

*He was* out cast to wo and into peyne.
O glotony, wel ought us on the *pleyne*. 13926

Again: I wot it well certyn, I dar well *sayn* 8185, may be compared with: myn harmes not bewreyle, I may not *seye* 2231. In 13335, 13511 *thay* occurs for *they*. And generally the same words constantly vary from *ey* to *ay*, and conversely, so that the phonetic identity of *ey, ay* is the only legitimate inference. Thus: for sche was *feir*, to maken hir his *heir* 3975, what so men jape or *pleye*, holden the righte *weye* 9263, companyes *tweye*, that cowthe

*seye = say* 2591,

Kepeth this child, al be it foul or *fair*, ....
Crist whan him lust may sende me an *hair"
More agreeable than this. 5184
Well wiste he by the drought, and by the *reyn*,
The yeeldyng of his seed and of his *greyn*. 597
And Venus saylieth wher Mercury is \textit{reyzed}.
Therfor no womman of clerkes is \textit{preised}.  6287
Ben \textit{thay} us seely men for to \textit{deseyve}
And from a soth euer wel \textit{they weye}=\textit{they waive}.  10297

The assumption that \textit{ai} was pronounced as (\textit{ai}) is confirmed by
the French rhyme: how lasteth hir \textit{vitaille}, no wight but Crist
\textit{sauuz faile}, it was a gret mervaire 4919, and the Latin rhyme, as all
rhymes with Scripture names must be considered: the mount
of \textit{Synay}, fasting many a \textit{day}, 7469.

It would appear that (\textit{ai}) was sometimes lengthened and divided
into (\textit{aa},\textit{i}) forming a dissyllable. Thus \textit{seynt} is a monosyllable
(saint) in

For by that lord that cleped is \textit{seynt} Jame.  4262
But when prefixed to the same name it becomes a dissyllable
(saa,\textit{int}) in

\textit{Wel be we met}, by God and \textit{seint} Jame.  7025
Where, however, \textit{by} may have been omitted after \textit{and}. On the same
principle I would explain

Hire grettest ooth nas but by \textit{seynt} Loy.  120
That is (saa,\textit{int Luu'i}), St. Louis, as Meigret writes his first name
\textit{Loy}s in his \textit{Traité touchant le common vsage}, etc., but \textit{Louis} in his
phonetic French Grammar. Prof. Child would read \textit{othe}, but this
form is not well established.

I had the printe of \textit{seynt} Venus sel.  6186
That \textit{seynt} Peter hadde, when that he wente.  699

So also \textit{fair} in

To lede him forth into a \textit{fair} mede.  7621
And \textit{maistrye} in

Bachus had of hir mouth no \textit{maistrye}.  13472

In the four last cases there is no simple means of altering
the reading,\textsuperscript{1} and on repeating the lines it will be readily perceived
that this pronunciation is not at all strained, and immediately solves
their metrical difficulties. In the Prisoner's Prayer, Chap. V, § 1,
No. 2, it will be seen that the French diphthongs in: \textit{ueine} 17,
mayn 36, are given to two musical notes each, though they are
frequently given to single notes, and other examples from Norman
poems will be found near the end of Chap. V, § 1, No. 3.

As compared with Salesbury's observation that \textit{a} in \textit{ashe} is
"thought to decline toward the sound of the diphthong \textit{ai}," it is
interesting to note \textit{aissen} 3880, \textit{aisses} 12735. Four words now
written \textit{ai} were either always or occasionally written with \textit{e}, \textit{ee} and
hence pronounced (\textit{ee}). They are \textit{sustain}, \textit{hair}, \textit{slay}, \textit{strain}, and I
have not observed more. Thus for \textit{sustain}: to \textit{susteene}, bright and

\textsuperscript{1} And sayede twyes, Seynt Marye!
Thou arte noyouse for to carye.  5-226
we should probably read: \textit{Seynte Marye}.
Compare
Twelf pens? quod sche, now lady
\textit{seinte Marye}.  7186

In: a goun cloth, by God, by \textit{seint}
\textit{Johan}.  7833
the word \textit{and} has been probably omitted
before the second \textit{by}.
sche 1995, sche myhte nouht hir sustene, sit adoun upon the
grene 11173, o blisful queene, in my wyt sustene 14892,

Then nys ther noon comparisoun bitwene
Thy wo, and any woo may man sustene. 5265

For hair (ags. haer): a tuft of heres, a soweves eeres 557, heer 677, heres 1390, kempt his heere, a trewe love he beere 3691, myn olde yeeres, so moulid as myn heeres 3867, Sampson left his heris, kut hem with hir scheris 6303, under his lange heris, tuo asses eeris 6533. On the other hand as we have seen that heir is spelled heir and hair. But we have heire 12061, for hair shirt.

For slay (ags. slan, slean, sleahan): or elles sle his make 2558, the freisshe beaute sleeth me sodeynly 1120, for curs wol sles 668, hir self to sle, as it thenketh me 11709.

The sleer of himself yet saugh I there,
His herte-blood hath bathed al his heres. 2007

For strain, in the hense of race (which is derived from ags. streon, streonan, strynan, and has nothing to do with the other word strain), we have

For God it woot, that childer ofte been
Unlik her worthy eldres hem before;
Bounte cometh al of God, nought of the streen
Of which they been engendried and i-bore. 8031

Strain, hair, slay, are clearly not proper instances of ai pronounced as (ee), but rather examples of a subsequently inserted i. But sustene would have naturally appeared as susteigne, as we have atteigne 8323.

Connected with this is the converse use of (ai) for (ee) or (e), thus: fleissh 147 for fleesh, have ye not seye 5065 for seen; and wayke ben the oxen 889, this weyke woman 5352, to arcyse, at eyse 7683 for ease. That the word was then really pronounced (aiz-e) and not (eez-e), appears not only from this rhyme, but from the following lines in Gower, where Pauli incorrectly prints ese; the orthography is that of the Soc. Ant. MS. 134:

Whyche hadde be fernuant to Thaife
So bat sche was þe worfe at ayehe. iii 320
Aufwerpe and fayeþ my name is Thaife
That was sum tyme wel at ayehe. iii 332

The use of fleissh, wayk1 is not so easy to explain, but eyse, freissh 367, 1120, burgeys 371, paleys 2201, 2697, 9585, 10374, herneyes 2498, harneyes 3760 are rather direct representatives of ai, oi in French, the latter being changed into ei in Norman French, so we have in the rhymes to the two last instances palfreys 2497, Gerneyes 3759 and deys 9585 = daies. This is an argument in favour of the Norman pronunciation (ai) for ei.

We find say for saw 8543, 9810, 13642, 16600 and elsewhere, and in the same way we now have a saw for a saying.

The sound of au is of course generally (au), as is confirmed by

1 It is remarkable that both words have ei in Modern German fleisch, weich. Compare fleys Rel. Ant. i, 22, fleiss, ib. 57, and veikr in Icelandic.
the French rhyme: to make hir alliaunce, him happede *par chaunce* 14020, but the name of St. Paul, especially when applied to the cathedral church, was pronounced with *(ou)* as we have found for this particular case in the xvi th century (p. 145). The orthography by scint Paules belle 16266 is very unusual and probably erroneous, we have: seynte *Poules*, chanuerie for soules 511, in Petres wordes and in *Poules*, cristen mennes soules 7401, with *Poules* wyndowes corven on his schoos 3318, after the text of Crist, and *Poules* and Jon 7229,

Of this mater, O *Poul*, wel canstow trete.
Mete unto wombe, and wombe unto mete,
Schal God destroyen bothe, as *Pouel* saith. 13938

The most singular interchange, however, is that of *(au)* with *(ee)*. Gill complained of his *Mopsae* saying *(leen)* for *(laun)* (p. 91), but 200 years before that time we find: for *leeful* is with force force to schowve 3910, in mullok or in *stree*, so farce we 3871, of the *stree*, of the realite 5121 and elsewhere. The two forms *straw*, *stre* are due of course to ags. *straw*, *strea*. But *lee* must be a form of *lay*, as ese of *ayse*. The form *lay* for *law* occurs, for the rhyme, in: on a day, that sche wold reney hir lay 4795, and must be due to the French *loi*, *lei*, while *law* must come from the ags. *lah*. The interchange was therefore not phonetic, but etymologic.

Hence we conclude that EI, AI were always *(ai)*, and AU was always *(au)* in the xiv th century.

**O, OO, OA — xivTH CENTURY.**

*O* long and *oo* must be considered as the same letter in Chaucer. The regular sound was *(oo)*, as shewn by the Latin rhyme,

*For though a widewe hadde but oo schoo*
*So plesaunt was his *In principio**
*Yet wolde he haue a ferthing or he wente,* 253

whether the sound was *(oo)* or *(oo)* is of course open to the same difficulty as in the xvi th century, but the perfect agreement of long and short vowels, turns the balance strongly in favour of *(oo)*, which seems to have been the original Latin sound.

The sound of *scho* gives that of *do* by: may nought do, is not worth a scho 6289, which gives to, *therto*, a *hoo*, by: oon hole to sterte to, than is al i-do 6155, he addid yit therto, what schulde yren doo 501,

*An herowd on a skaffold made a hoo*
*Til al the noyse of the pepul was i-doo.* 2535

After this we may feel tolerably certain of the sound of long *o* and its identity with that of *oo* — *(oo)*. The following examples are however worth attention: of symony also, did he grettest woo 6892, never the mo, tel me who 6273, for he saith us soth, that so doth 6523, ever in oon, thought anoon 1773, as stille as soon, for ther ascapith noon, as we knowe everychon 7997, al ther sche goth, I have no thrifty cloth 5819, a fan right large and brood,
lay his jolly schoold 3315, his eyghen grey as goos, corven on his schoos 3317, God amend it soone, ye wot what is to doone 7775, when he awook, he the lettre took 5226,

Tel, quod the lord, and thou schalte have anoon
A gonne cloth, by God, by seint Johan. 1 7833
And every statute couthe he pleybyn roote
He rood but hoomly in a medled coote. 329
Wel may men knowe, but it be a fool,
That every partye dyryveth from his hool. 3007

As then ou seems to be always (oo) we must assume wood = mad, often spelt wod, wode, to have had (oo) and hence conclude the same of blood, stood, good from the rhymes: upon a carte stood, grym as we were wood 2043, jalous and eke wood, wel ney al the blood 1331, that is so good, of blood 2565. The change of long o into (uu), developed in the xvith century, had therefore not yet occurred.

But did short o always represent (o)? Generally it did so, but there must have been exceptions. It would be difficult to imagine an interregnum of (o) between two reigns of (u). It will be shown soon that ou represented long (uu) and but rarely short (u) for which certainly u was available, but nevertheless o seems to have been often employed. Thus we have

\textit{Outher} for ye han kept your honeste,
\textit{Other} elles for ye hau falle in frelete. 13492

So that in two consecutive lines ou, o are used in the same word; in the Knightes Tale Palamon seems to have had either (o) or (u) to suit the rhyme, as: oon, Palamon 1015, doun, Palamon 1072, prisoun, Palamon 1453, 1469, Palamon, opynyoun 1481, while we have the orthography: doun, Palamoun 1517. Again: he might not lenger sojourne, homward most he torne 6569, had I not done a frendes torn to the 14230, for fere of beres or of boles Blake = bulls 16421, i-lyk to the stremes of borned hetc = burned 13453, bokeler 112, asonder, thonder 493.

The fact is that short (u) is comparatively rarely represented by u, perhaps among other reasons because short u was as we shall see, frequently called ('e') or (e), as in our modern words busy, bury, so that except in certain very well known words there might be more error induced by writing u than by writing o. Under these circumstances I have been compelled to adopt a theory, indicated at the commencement of the last paragraph, and I consider short o to be (u) in all those words where it replaces a former u, and was in the xvith century pronounced (u); that is, as a practical rule where it is now called (a). There will be exceptions to this practical rule, thus word is now (wond) and Bullokar makes it (wurd) but in Chancer it was (word) as we see from

But ai for nought, he herde nat o word,
An hole he fond right lowe upon the boord. 3439

There might seem to have been another sound of short o in a few

1 Johan, written Jon, 7229, is regularly a monosyllable.
words, compare the uses: hadde we on *honde*, my fourth *housbonds* 6033, to *withstonde*, thrall and *bonde* 7241, in *londe*, to telle it wol I *fonde* 15295, as liked Cristes *sonde*, approched unto *londe* 5322. In comparing this o in place of a in *land*, *withstand*, *husband*, with *oa* in *loade* in the Proclamation of Henry III., and with the interchange of a and o in northern and southern dialects, the use of *nat* for not frequently by Chaucer, and later by Palsgrave, it was easy to imagine the pronunciation (a) or (ah) as an intermediate sound, which the scribe did not know whether to represent by o or a. Thus Englishmen now confuse Scotch (man) or (mahn), and Irish (sahr) with their (mon, sor), and write them mon, sor = man, sir. But this conjecture will not explain such rhymes as the above. As *bonde*, *sonde* must have had (o) and *housbonds* ought to have it, we must read (o) in *londe*, *stonde*, and in *stronde* and elsewhere, compare: straunge strondes, sondry londes 13.

I have not noted any instance of the combination *oa*, but some cases may have escaped me. The modern *oa* is replaced regularly by oo or o as: *goot* 690, *boot* 9298, *broad* 2919, *loode* 2920, ook 10473 for *goat*, *boat*, *broad*, *load*, *oak*.

The conclusion seems to be that long o or oo in Chaucer was (oo), that short o was generally (o), but occasionally (u), the latter cases being those in which there was a previous Anglo-Saxon (u), and a xvi th century (u), now become (ə).

OI, OY — xiv th Century.

This is a rare diphthong and its sound cannot be satisfactorily established by the rhyme. If the identification of *Loy* 120 with *Loys*, that is, *Louis*, be correct, then: ful symple and *coy*, by seint *Loy* 119, should give (kuui) as the sound of coy. In my article on the Diphthong OY (Trans. of Phil. Soc., 1867, Supp. part L.), I have given reasons for supposing (ui) or (uui) to have been the original sound of this diphthong, which we have seen was frequently so pronounced in the xvi th century. Thus Hart gives the sound (beece) for *boy* (p. 133), and if we interpret this as (bui) or (buui), the above pronunciation of *Loy* is confirmed by the rhyme.

That was wel twight, myn oughne lyard, boy, 
I pray God save thy body and seint Loy. 7143

The word *boist* 13722 is merely the French boiste now boite, box, which historically would have the sound (buiste), and in our *bushel*, Fr. boisseau, which Chaucer writes *buissbel* 4310, we have preserved the (u) of the original. The two spellings *boist*, *buissbel* seem to shew two ways of writing the same sound, the writer, accustomed to use either o or u for short (u) hesitating between them. This is still more plainly shewn by the double orthography of the word destroy.

It doth no good, to my wit, but anoyeth
See ye nouht, lord, how mankind it destroyeth? 11187

1 Sonde 5245 rhymes with grounde, indicating the pronunciation (sund'ë).
Where anoyeth most probably had the old sound (anuui·eth), and destroyeth is used to make the spelling agree with its rhyming word. But where this motive did not act we find oy written, as

That hath destroyed wel neyh al the blood. 1332
How he destroyed the ryuer of Gysen. 7662

And in the prose tale of Melibesus (Wright's ed., p. 159, col. 2, l. 92, Morris's ed. 3·172, l. 13): by vengeance takynge be wikked men destroyed.

The words: fruit destroy i 137 are written in Harl. 3869 and 3490 fruit destruie, in Harl. 7184 fruit destroie, and in Soc. Ant. MS. 134, frute destrue, the last being clearly a mistake for destruie. It cannot be supposed that the combination ui was pronounced in the same way in both words. The last is the more common spelling of fruit, viz. frute = (fryyt). The same MSS. in the same order read in i 140 despuied, despoleied, despuiled, despuelied. From these readings, it would seem to follow that (ui) was the sound meant, but that the writing oy was preferred, short o having as we have seen (p. 267), very commonly the sound (u) or (u), because ui rather suggested the sound (yy). Probably oui was not employed, because ou rather suggested the long sound (uu). Thus acloyeth anoyeth 4·68, encloued annoyeth ii 47, must refer to a French aeloué, encloué, and hence ought to have been written oui and to have had the sound (ui), which they therefore lead us to infer in annoy. See also the sound of (ui) cropping up even in the xvirth century (pp. 131 sqq.). But this was probably not the only sound of words generally written oy in the xvirth century. The French oi was as we have seen (p. 130), pronounced (or, oe) with the stress on the second element, which was generally converted into English as (ue, ui) with the stress on the first element, but Gower probably retained the French pronunciation when he invented the rhymes: joye monoie ii 147, Troie monoie ii 188, (p. 253). On the other hand, the Norman ei, pronounced originally perhaps (ei), but, on account of its interchange with ai in the xvirth century, pronounced in the same way (ai) at that time, see Chap. V, § 1, No. 3, regularly replaced the French oi, so that many French oi appear as ey in Chaucer. In: Gregois vois iii 188, the oi was probably the usual (ui), just as in: chois vois ii 181, 206. But Harl. 3869 writes: gregeis curteis ii 238, and considering that the latter was the usual form of this word, the reading is probably correct. If any dependence can be placed on the readings of the Hunterian MS. of the Romaunt of the Rose (p. 252), this must be the explanation of: joynt queynt 6·62-3, annoy away 6·82, joye conveye 6·89, but the passages are probably corrupt.² In the Canterbury Tales there

1 It might have suggested a division of the diphthong into two syllables. Beza (Livet, p. 523) says of oui:

"Quand ces trois lettres sont placées devant u, l'ì sert seulement à prévenir le lecteur qu'il faut mouille u; partout ailleurs oui forment deux syllabes, et ne sont pas, par conséquent, une triphongue."

² It must not be assumed that this is the origin of (oi) in a well known vulgarism, as (boil, point, dzhoint) for boil, point, joint, because this was a mere regular xvirth century trans-
I, Y — XIVTH CENTURY.

It will probably prove the most difficult conclusion for the reader to admit, that long i in Chaucer's time had not that diphthongal sound (ai) with which we are so familiar, and which we have since the xivth century at least, recklessly introduced into our pronunciation of Latin and Greek, and into our method of reading Anglo-Saxon and Gothic. The belief that long i was anciently (ai) or (ai) is not simply shared by those only acquainted with modern English, it is adopted by men eminent for their knowledge of the older languages. To assert, then, that so recently as the xivth century this sound (ai), now so universal, in different modifications, was never associated with the letter i, is a thesis which will require ample justification. As regards the present writer it may be mentioned that before he began his researches he simply wondered whether it was possible to establish any conclusion whatever, that he inclined to the supposition of (oi) or (ai), and that, even after having established the general pronunciation (ii), misled as he now believes by an isolated instance, he for a long time imagined that he could point to a whole class of words in which long i had the sound of (ai). A rhyme in Gower first induced him to reconsider this conclusion, and he then undertook the examination of the rhymes in the whole poetical works of Chaucer, in addition to the Canterbury Tales, and in Gower's Confessio Amantis, with the sole view of discovering something which might help to decide the point, and he examined or caused to be examined all the available manuscripts containing the passage in question, seventeen in number, to see whether there were not sufficient orthographic variants to render it doubtful. He also made inquiries into various existing dialectic

formation of the xviith century (buil, poont, dzhuint), see p. 134. The Dorsetshire (pwaint, bwail) etc. is probably a descendant of (puint, buid) etc. the stress falling on the second element, which then became transformed from (ii) to (ei, ai, ai) as almost all other accented long (ii) in that dialect, sheen, sheen for chime, shine being the only exceptions noted by Mr. Barnes (Poems of Rural Life, 1848, p. 28.

the pronunciation of the account of the Priorses, 117-162 in my Essentials of Phonetics, 1848, I find (ai) given in: smiling, by, wiped, eyen, I, and (ii) in: prioresse, hire, Eglientine, service, divine, swety etc., Paris, curtesie, digne, tretis.

1 In a theoretical attempt to assign

2 Quoth the chanoun, and far wel, 
grant mercy.

He went his way, and never the priest him say.

After this day. 13308.
pronunciations, of long \( i \) and the pronoun \( I \) in England and Scotland\(^1\) to see what corroboration there was for any theory on the subject. These various researches have led to one conclusion, already anticipated as the only possible explanation of Palsgrave's and Bullokar's otherwise enigmatical treatment of the letter \( i \) (pp. 110, 114), namely that.

The vowel \( i \) in the xivth century was probably called (\( ii \)) when long, and (\( i \)) when short.

The sounds of (\( ii, i \)) as distinguished from (\( ii, i \)), the true Italian vowels, have been already carefully considered (p. 106). The first point which strikes an Englishman in endeavouring to teach the common short sound (\( i \)) to a foreigner, is that the latter most generally confuse it with (\( e, e \)), p. 83. The words in French final -\( et \), the representatives of the Latin -tas, and similar words, Chaucer still distinctly pronounced (-te, -tee), etc., rhyming them with he, me, we, be, see, three, degree, as: be chastite 2237, charite me 1723, we felicite 1267, he faculte 243, vanite thre 3833, degré destyne 1843, destene be 1467, possiblite fre 1293, subtilites bees 10295, citee iniquite 941, adversite parde 1313, thentre see 1985. In all these cases we now use (-\( i \)), and it is curious to trace the change in the spelling. *Promptorium* 1440, chastyte, charyte, faculte, vanite, desteyne desteny,\(^2\) cyte, entre. *Palsgrave* 1530, chastyte, charyte, vanyte, desteny, cytie, entre = entrye, entrye = avaut portail, entry = introitae. *Levins*, 1570, chastitie, facultit, vanitie, desteniec, citie, entrice, and he classes -\( ie, ye, y \) as identical endings. We have here then an example of the change of (\( e \)) into (-\( i \)) while any living Frenchmen will prove that the best way to teach him to pronounce *pity* (piti) is to tell him to consider it as written, in French letters, pete (pete). Again in Scotland the short \( i \) in closed syllables is almost invariably pronounced (\( e \)), our words ill, pit, bid, bit becoming (el, pet, bed, bet), but are saved from any confusion with ell, pet, bed, bet because a Scotchman calls the latter (el, pet, bed, bet). In Scotland moreover (\( ii \)) is considered to occur. But when Mr. Murray pronounced some words to me in which he thought he said (\( ii \)), and which he writes weade, beate, keate, I seemed to hear rather (\( ee \)) than (\( ii \)). In examining Cooper's vowel system, 1685 (p. 83), we were led to consider his pair *will, weal* to mean (wil, weel) rather than (wil wid), that is, Cooper classed as (\( ii \)) a sound which in the general opinion of other writers was (\( ee \)) or (\( ee \)).

These facts serve to show that (\( ii, i \)) are now often confused with

\(^1\) He is particularly indebted to the elaborate observations of Mr James A. H. Murray, F.E.I.S., of the Philological Society, on the Scotch dialects which were kindly placed at his disposal, and had their value enhanced by oral explanation and pronunciation of the difficulties. One lady and several gentlemen from different parts of England (p. 277, n. 1) have also most obligingly answered a general invitation in the *Athenaum* to give the author information on this point, by which traces of the older pronunciation, as he believes, have been unexpectedly brought to light.

\(^2\) This is the reading of one MS., and is probably erroneous, as indeed desteyne for destene would appear to be.
(ee, e, e), and hence we should be led to expect, if there be any truth in the theory advanced that we should not unfrequently find i, e confused by the scribe, and allowed to rhyme by the poet, both when long and short. Cases of the short vowel are not uncommon, for example: list best 6819, list rest 9299, abrigge alegge 9531, abregge tallegge 3001, pulpit i-set 13806, shitte lette 14660, blesse kesse 8428, schert, hert 9757, yett witt 4·117. Cases of the long vowel also occur, as: swere hire 11101, 12076, geven1 lyven 917, enquere lere 5049, there requere 6633, enquere were 8646, afered requered 4·244,2 materere desire 4·333, desire manere 6·85, lere desire 6·143, and in Gower, her sir i 161, here spire i 198, yere fire, i 302. These rhymes are not only reconcilable with the theory that (ei, i) were the usual and proper sounds of i, but are exactly what we should expect from the mistakes which occur at the present day. If indeed long i had been pronounced (ei) and the first element had been slightly lengthened, as (cei), we should get a sound almost identical with a pronunciation of long a now much in use in London.3 In this case the rhyme might also appear to be explained. But this theory would not account for writing a simple e for long i; we should rather expect to find ey, and this never occurs except in a few words, as eye, high, die, dry, sly, etc. to be especially considered presently, in which there is every reason to conclude that there was a double pronunciation. Hence the specimens of long i rhyming to long e, and being frequently replaced by long e, throw great difficulty in assuming any diphthongal sound for long i, and tend greatly to confirm the hypothesis that the sound was not pure (ii), but such a modification of it, as would easily fall into (ee), namely (ii). Add to which there is the negative evidence that long i does not rhyme to ey, ay and that, except in the few cases of a double pronunciation, long i is never written ey by an error of the scribe in any decent manuscript. There are a number of words of French origin which have now the accent on the penultim or antepenultim, but which were used as if with an accent on the last or penultim respectively, in Chaucer’s verses. In the French language when these syllables, which are now unaccented, had the vowel i, it was pronounced (i) or (ii), and it would be difficult to suppose that Chaucer, who was familiar with French, and, in the spirit of the times as shewn by the contemporary practice of Gower, was introducing it into English, could have changed the French sound and have pronounced the words with (ai). Still more difficult would it be to suppose, that at a time when the (ai) or (ei) or (oi) pronunciation of long i was

1 This is from the ags. form geofan, and is therefore not an instance of e written for i, but of e long rhyming with i long.
2 The French forms sufficiently explain the termination ·que re.
3 A correspondent informs me that when Mr. Matthew Arnold visited a school at Tenby, Pembrokeshire, where an ancient Flemish colony seems to have materially affected the language and pronunciation of the people, the children had great difficulty in distinguishing his fate (feit) from their fight (feit).
common, as at the close of the xvth and beginning of the xvi th century, it should have been deliberately rejected from these words, and replaced by (i) when the accent was thrown back permanently. But we know that such words had (i) in the xvi th century, and that this sound has continued to the present day. For my own part I cannot force myself to suppose that i in the last syllable of the following words ever had any other sound but (ii, i, ii, i): Venise, lycorise, coveytise, servyse, justise, merite, Evaungiles, malice, sangwyn, famyn, Latyn, Jankyn, opposit, superlatif, motif, Phisik, ypocrete, practike, riche, cherice, office, Cupide, visite, avarice, cowardyse, Ovide, authentik, sybil, retorike, magike, cubit, Virgile, famyne, ruyne, apprentys, relyke, doctrine, profit, positife, peril, musike, chronique, inquisitife, mechanique, elixir, olive, etc., etc.; or that the i was ever diphthongal in the penultim of: possible, digestible, fusible, etc., etc. Now if we admit that i in these words was (i) or (ii), or if we even allow it to have had the purer French sounds (ii, i),—and there is absolutely no ground whatever for any other conjecture, and great reason for this,—we have gone a long way to prove that long i in Chaucer was (ii) or (ii), and was not (ei, ai, ai). For in the first place these words rhyme as having long vowels, and rhyme with words which are by no means always French, and which in modern pronunciation have (ai), and had generally received (ei) by the xvi th century. That is, from undoubted cases of long (ii) or (ii), we are led to infer that the rhyming words had also long (ii) and not (oi, ei, ai). If at present we saw machine rhyming with seen, we certainly should rather conclude that the i in the first word was (ii), than that the ee in the second word was (ai), and we should never dream of rhyming mine, seen, even in these lax rhyming times. Perhaps even Butler has not such a rhyme in his Hudibras.1 Hence it is of great importance to study and weigh the rhymes to the words just cited. They are as follows: and to Venise, were to devyse 7927, at point devys, cheweth greyn and lycoiris 3689, which I shall devyse, angur coveytise 3881, ther any profyt should arise, lowe of servyse 249, for that thay ben wyse, sittyng as as a justise 6609, so wel to write, do me endite, thurg hire merite 11958, i-write with evaungiles, in the mene whiles 5085, to pitous and to nyce, of his crowned malice 10838, he was sangwyn, a sop of wyn 335, sterwe for famyn, licour of wyn 13866, wel dronken hadde the wyn, he speke no word but Latyn 639, oure apprentys Jankyn, schyneyng as gold so fyn 5885, a gate of marbul whit, another in opposit 1895,2 in gre superlatif, an humble wyf 9249, of me tak this motif, a court man al my lyf 9365, Doctor of Phisik, he was ther non him lyk 413, to byle, ypocrete 10826, of youre practike, syns it may yow like 5769, solempe and so riche, was there noon if liche 10375, cherice vice 4·148, nyce nyce cherice 4·182, office vice 4·283, cupide tabide gyde 4·298-9, cryede

1 On p. 16 of the Grammar of 1713, supra p. 47. we find incline rhyming for the nonce with magazine and join, but when memorial lines are attempted, all sense of rhythm, accent, quantity or rhyme seems to vanish, p. 275, note 3.
2 Compare the modern names Whitby and WhitSunday, both from white.
The last cited rhymes to Bible were the first which gave me any hope of being able to discover the pronunciation of Chaucer, approximately, by a study of his rhymes. The above list does not contain by any means all the rhymes of this sort which I have noted as important; but it is obviously sufficient to establish that in the words: devys, devys, arise, wyse, write, endite, whiles, nyce, wyn, fyn, whit, wylf, lyf, lyk, byte, vice, abide, gyde, cryede, glide, side, beside, delyte, myte, wide, yle, while, strife, vile, fire, &c, all of which have now (oi), the i could not have been diphthongal in Chaucer's time. And these words admitted, determine so many others, that the proposition might almost be considered proved; but it is one which many will find so difficult to believe that it is worth while accumulating proofs.

Besides the French words already dealt with, in which the accent has been thrown back and the sound (i) preserved, there are many others which have either not become part of our modern language, or have not been left without at least a secondary accent on the i. We may divide them into three categories, which however do not include all, such words as sacrifice, &c, being omitted. The first class comprehends those French words in which the i is followed by a simple consonant, the second those in which i ends the word, and the last those in which i is immediately followed by an e final. Now we have at present in our language a series of French, Italian, and other foreign words containing i, of comparatively recent introduction, which we may therefore properly compare with the words then recently introduced into English by Chaucer, Gower, and others. The following list is taken from Walker, into which a few words in [] have been introduced; the † marks words which have become obsolete since Walker's time, and the italics words in which the French (ii) has become (i); in all other cases the sound (ii) has been retained in modern English, notwithstanding our predilection for (oi) and our association of (oi) with long i.

Ambergris, verdegris, antique, becafo, bombasin, brasil, capivi, capuchin, †teolbertine, chiqupin or chopin, caprice, chagrin, chevaux-de-frise, [chignon, crinoline], critique, †fesitucine, frize, gabardine,
haberline, sordine, trigine, trephine, quarantine, routine, fascine, fatigue, intricate, glacies, invalid, machine, magazine, marine, palanquin, pique, police, profile, recitative, mandarine, tambourine, tambourine, tontine, transmarine, ultramarine.

Now if it would sound hideous in our ears to talk of (Luoizaz shoin-ven and krainolain,) notwithstanding our acknowledgment (Floiz and Kaerolain,) can we imagine Chaucer having called lys (Lois),

1 parvys (parvois), agrise (agroiz), sophime (sofim), desir (desoir), avys devys (avois devois), assise (asais), devyne, (devoin), &c? Such a supposition appears to be monstrous, unless we also adopt the theory that French in England in that day was pronounced with (ai, ai, ei) for (ii) as now used. Of this there seems to be no shadow of proof, nor even a germ of probability. 2 Since the present habit of Englishmen is to make long i into (ai) in all words not of recent introduction, it would be necessary to establish that the Normans so pronounced and that that pronunciation of French was general in England during the xiii and xiv centuries, in order to use this hypothesis in opposition to the usually accepted theory that the French sound was (ii). We shall find however that any doubt of this kind affects the present argument very slightly, because most of the words rhyming with those just cited, are also found rhyming to words of the preceding class, in which there can be no reasonable doubt of the old sound having been preserved by the throwing back of the accent. The following are some of the rhymes which belong to this class:—

he bar utterly the prys, the flour-de-lys 237, war and wys, atte parvys 311, might agrise, may devys 7231, som sophime, hath time 7881, to wilde fuyr, it hath desir 5955, to arysse, I you devys 33, make it wys, more avys 787, ne non novys, wildy and wys 15425, so wise, in assise 315, madame Englystyn, service devyne 121, lord and sire, knight of the shire 357, 

1 For convenience the modern (ai) is written for whatever diphthongal form (ei, ai, ai) etc. the reader may choose to adopt.

2 M. Le Hériche's opinion to the contrary will be considered in Chap. V, § 1, No. 3, at the end, together with the value of the Old Norman French ai, ei, and some other matters relating to modern Norman French pronunciation.

3 The pronunciation (shoir) is very recent and by no means general. Walker gives (shir), and says that this "irregularity," as it appeared to him, "is so fixed as to give the regular sound a pedantic stiffness." Even his recent editor Smart, 1836, gives (shir). Webster has (shoir). This is an excellent example of the change of sound, and the difficulty with which a new fashion of pronunciation forces its way into notice. Walker quotes the following lines from "the Grammar called Bickerstaff's, recommended by Steel," which this quotation identifies with the Anonymous Grammar of 1713, supra p. 47, in which they occur, p. 16.—Bickerstaff's recommendation is quoted opposite the title page—

"To sound like double e, i does incline,
As in Machine, and Shire, and Magazine." Walker adds: "It may likewise be observed, that this word, when unaccented at the end of words, as Notting-

hamshire, Wiltshire, &c, is always pronounced with i like ee." Smart says: "Letter i or y under the accent, and final in a syllable, or followed by a consonant and e mute, is irregular in no word purely English except the verbs to live and to give, and the noun shire; but there are several semi-French and other foreign words in which the French
Arcite endite 1381, Arcyte, a lite 1335, lite, quyte 3861, deleyte lyte 4:52, vyne devyne 4:57, devyse gyse 4:64, suffice nyse devyse vise agrise 4:75, desire fire 4:76, enlyne pyne myne 4:180, arise forbise \(^1\) empryse 4:209, affile while 4:221, ire fire 4:225, desire fyre enspire 4:254, myne Proserpyne pyne 4:319, ile wile 5:321, rys \(\text{ (= rice)}\) tretys 6:32, ile while i 95, Cecile while i 104.

The word lyte, which seems shewn to have been (liit) or (liit) by some rhymes above, being the origin of our little, can hardly be conceived as (liit).\(^2\) The following among other rhymes to this word, however, not only establish the sound as (liit, liit), but settle many other words as well.


The word Inde must be considered French, and most probably had the sound (ind'ë) which the English heard (ind'ë). The present nasal pronunciation of French in is certainly not at all indicated in any of the numerous words beginning with in, which we have taken from the French, and without any intimation of this nasality or any trace of it in English derivation we have no right to assume it. The vowel in India is short in the original language, and in the Greek and Latin derivatives. It is still so pronounced in English, and although I have heard some persons read (eind), for the sake of a modern rhyme, I doubt whether they would venture to talk of (ain'dia). It seems therefore just to conclude that the Saxon words which rhymed with it, most or all of which had acquired the sound (eind) in the xvith century had also the sound (ind). Thus we have kynde Inde 6405, and fynde kynde mynde Inde bynde lynde 9057, 9063, 9069, 9075, 9081, 9087, rhyming together in L'Envoye de Chaucer, at the end of the Clerkes Tale. The last worde lynde = linden or lime tree, still has the sound (ind) and confirms the other conclusions. The use of mende sound of \(i\) is retained; as marine, police, profile, &c.: \(\ldots\). The word oblige, which formerly classed with marine, &c., is now pronounced regularly."

Live, gothic liban, ags. libban, Orrmin libbenn, had from the first a short vowel, with which, however a long vowel alternated in Orrmin in lifes\(\text{p}\), lifenn, and a long vowel seems general in Chaucer, and hence we have simply the usual continuation of the short vowel. Give, gothic giban, ags. gifen, geo\(\text{f}\)an, also had a short vowel, but in Orrmin, all parts except the imperative ge\(\text{f}\), and preterit gaff, have long vowels. From geo\(\text{f}\)an, we have the frequent form ge\(\text{f}\)en in Chaucer. In this case we have then perhaps rather the preservation of quality by shortening of quantity, as in p. 273. Shire, ags. scire is said to have a long vowel by Bosworth, and a short vowel by Etzmüller. But the vowel became decidedly long, and, as we have seen, it has preserved the (ii) sound. The cognate word sheer, ags. scir with long \(i\), which has preserved its sound in all Germanic dialects, will be especially noted in Chap. V, § 1, No. 5, at the end, as a rhyme to fire.

\(^{1}\) "Set an example to," from ags. bisen, example.

\(^{2}\) Lile, however, the Danish lille for little, is called (lail) in the North of England.
for minde to rhyme with ende in the carefully spelled Harl. MS. 3869 of Gower, ii 23, ii 67, and kende for kinde also to rhyme with ende iii 120, is scarcely reconcilable with the present diphthongal sound of i in mind.

Through the kindness of several gentlemen I am enabled to say that in South Shields, Kendal, Westmoreland, and Cumberland generally, and parts of Lancashire, the short vowel (i) is still heard in the words bind, blind a., behind, hinder a., hindmost, find, grind, wind v. = (bind, blind, bimint; hind; minoest, find, grind, wind). See also the Scotch pronunciation infra p. 289. With these analogies it would be consideralrly more difficult to imagine the diphthongal sound than the short vowel in such words.

The French words of the next class are those which end in i or y, and which are referred to in that paragraph of Palsgrave which occasioned so much difficulty in the last chapter (p. 109), and they are also remarkable for the English words which rhyme with them in Chaucer. The French words are themselves not numerous. In the Canterbury Tales, there seem to be only mercy, fy, enemy, foohardy, cry, quirboily, to which perhaps yvory, vicory, although the final y is difficult to account for. These words rhyme, first with each other, next and very frequently with the termination -ly, and these words and this termination rhyme with the Dutch (?) courteous, and with the Anglosaxon I, why, by, thereby, sty. The only words among these which could have a plural, enemy, sty, do not occur in the plural in rhymes in the Canterbury Tales. It was with special reference to this investigation that I enlarged the field of enquiry, extending it over the rest of Chaucer's poems and Gower. Some of these poems, as we have seen, are not in a trustworthy form, especially the Court of Love (p. 251), Flower and Leaf (p. 251), Chaucer's Dream (p. 251), and Romaunt of the Rose (p. 252), because they admit of rhymes which belong to a later period. The best manuscripts are altogether free from such rhymes. The spelling in Pauli's Gower must always be corrected by the manuscripts. Allowance must be made also for those words which had a twofold pronunciation, as (ai) and (ii), not always marked with sufficient care in the

1 Rev. C. Y. Potts, of Ledbury, for South Shields; Mr. Brown, of St. Peter's College, Peterborough, for Kendal; Mr. J. N. Hetherington, Clifton Parsonage, Workington, for Cumberland; Messrs. Jackson, Fielding, and Axon, for Lancashire,—have supplied me with information from personal knowledge on this and other points; and Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth, for Devonshire; Messrs. Atkinson and Moore, for Yorkshire; Mr. Hallam, for Derbyshire; and a lady near Norwich, have also supplied much information on dialectic pronunciation. I beg to express my thanks to these and other correspondents who have at great trouble to themselves enabled me to supply these illustrations. Messrs. Potts, Brown, Hetherington, and Shelly have been particularly liberal with the time they have bestowed on me. I shall term these assistants generally my dialectic correspondents.

2 The substantive wind is generally (wind), but in Cumberland it seems to be always (wahind, waind), so that wind s. wind v. have precisely the opposite pronunciation to what they generally receive in the south.

3 Diez says that aorit, iorit are Provençal forms, which it is singular to encounter in English. For vicory I know no authority.
spelling, to be carefully considered presently. With the exception
of such words no case has yet come before my notice in which -i or
-y final rhymes with -ey or -ay. In the following list of rhymes
all cases of -ly rhyming to -ly, which are very frequent and convey
no information, are omitted; and by no means all the rhymes,
except in the Canterbury Tales, of I with -ly, -by, forthi, etc., are
given.

Soburly courtepy 291, pitously mercy 951, enemy I 1645, ryally
by 1689, fy mercy 1775, ryally enemy 1795, synfully fy 4499,
mercy solcampne 5110, pitously, mercy I 5479, by specially 5544,
therby I 6597, prively therby 6925, yvory fetisly 7323, sty I
7411, comunly why 7839, stedefastly mercy tenderly 8970, why
I 9315, uncurteisly cry 10237, cry pitously 10727, therby I
12650, mercy sey 13308, therby ydelly 13860, subtily by 13980,
redily forthby 14082, pitously, ther by 15011, quirboily yvory
15283, I fool-hardy 15401, trewely by 15411, sodeinly enemy
16889, lustily vicory 17315.

I mercy 4*65-6, truly unlusty I 4*76, by prively 4*77, by I cry
4*78, cry ocy 4*79, ny cry I 4*81, wrongfully I 4*125, redy I 4*148,
trewely I by 4*175, tyme, bi me, pryme 4*193, by hertely 4*205,
whi by biasly 4*272, I fynaly 4*336, pitously by hastily 4*337, I
certeinly therby 4*341, y why 5*173, why comelely 5*180, trewely
lady 5*190, hooly mercy 5*193, I why 5*239, I mercy 5*266, by,
domus Dedaly = Dedale 5*267, y by 5*269, by and by, curtseysly
5*285, y by 5*341.

I openly i 44, why I i 47, forthy pleiny i 51, forthy therby i 53,
cry unhappily i 54, redily by i 93, sodenly by i 102, I, graunt
mercy i 103, forthy mercy i 106, I forthy i 107, worthy mercy
i 107, sky sodeinly i 109, why forthy i 114, openly cry i 115,
mercy why i 116, why prively i 148, communly why i 172,
why forthy i 173, comely awry i 174, redely forthy i 200,
kindely why i 205, sely privete i 225, time, by me i 227, 309,
370, ii 41, 49, 114, iii 6, 369, I truely i 227, bodely why
i 259, why forthy i 280, lady thereby i 292, cry buxomly
i 297, by lady i 298, cry therby i 314, forthy enemy i 330, I forthy
i 332, enemy why i 347, why forthy ii 20, I by ii 24, 41, sky
by ii 29, bodely therby ii 34, forthy therby ii 50, openly forthy
ii 51, truely sky ii 59, why L ii 69, besel enemy ii 75, I forthy ii
95, why cry ii 122, bodely forthy ii 133, redely by ii 137, why
sky ii 158 forthy Eoly = Eoli ii 160, forthy by ii 161, forthy why
ii 163, sky why ii 167, Satiry = Satyri properly ii 171, forthy
proprely ii 187, by I ii 219, why buxomly ii 228, by mercy
ii 278, esely mercy ii 295, why therby ii 301, mercy redy ii 314,
mercy therby ii 373, I worthy ii 379, sodeinly askry ii 386,
mercy rudely ii 396, why almighty iii 61, mercy thereby iii 82,
forthy mightily iii 92, high sky iii 93, by and by sky iii 116,
Gemini redely iii 119, Gemini forthy iii 119, Gemini proprely iii
127, I by iii 168, I forthy iii 185, mercy redely iii 198, sodeinly

1 Erroneously spelled bye, erie. 2 Erroneously spelled nye, erie.
askry iii 217, why pitously iii 260, why Genesey iii 276, by and by, prively iii 305, pitously I iii 315, enemy envy iii 320, cry by iii 321, lady prively iii 325, forthy by iii 348, redely why iii 368, I mercy iii 372, sodeinly sky iii 375.

It is impossible to glance over the above list without feeling that whatever was the pronunciation of this final -y in any one word, it must have been the same in all the words, and hence if there is a certain clue to any one word, we have a clue to all the rest. Two rhymes are very noteworthy: mercy sey 13308, and sely privete i 225, but their very peculiarity and the absence of any corroborative instance whatever, render them suspicious. Yet, as the first of these was the only clue which I could obtain for some time, I was misled by it to suppose that this termination -y had like sey the sound (sai). This shows the danger of trusting to single instances. Even in the Harl. 7334, which is followed by Wright and Morris, we find: an hihe, sihe 11161, which should be: hihi, sih, probably (nskh, skkh). But an examination of seventeen MS. which contain v. 13308, shows the following variants.

In the British Museum.¹

Harl 7333  mercy sey
Harl 7334  mercy sey
Landsdowne 851  mercie sihe
Sloane 1085  mercye say
Reg. 17 D xv  mercy sy
Reg. 18 C ii  mercy sey

At Oxford.²

Laud 600  mercy sie
Laud 739  mercy sey

At Cambridge.³

Gg. 4. 27 (No. 1)  sey
Ii. 3. 26  sc
Mm. 2. 5.  seye
Trin. Coll. R. 3. 3.  mercy sigh.

It is clear that the passage has much exercised the scribes who have occasionally ventured to add an e to mercy, which is quite illegitimate, and the majority have inclined to the more usual form in Chaucer, sey. The usual form, however, in Gower is sikh, written sigh by Pauli. The above 17 instances may be divided into an (ai) class and an (ii) class, thus—

(ai) sey sey say sey  sey sey sey seye . . . 10
(ii) sihe sy sie syhe sy se sigh . . . . . . . . . . . . 7

The word clearly belongs to those doubly sounded and doubly spelled words to be presently examined, and we must conclude that those scribes who used the (ai) class of forms were misled by habit, and should have used an (ii) class, and, since the guttural could not have been pronounced in French, the scribes ought to have omitted it in the English word. It will be seen that when eye, high are pronounced with (ii) the guttural is frequently omitted. This leads us to prefer sy, given by two MS, of which sie, se are mere accidental varieties. The preterite (sii) as: I see him do it yesterday, is not yet obsolete among the uneducated, while (sai) is unknown.

¹ Examined by myself.
² Examined by Mr. G. Parker.
³ Examined by Messrs. H. Bradshaw and Aldis Wright.
The second instance: sely privete i 225, although unparalleled among these rhymes, would not be unprecedented, for we saw at the beginning of this investigation that long i and long e occasionally interchange, but we already know that the proper reading is: cele privete, (p. 253).

Rejecting these isolated instances, we are struck by the rhyme: tyme, bi me, pryme 4·193 in Chaucer, and the eight times repeated rhyme: time, by me, in Gower. The rhyme: sophime, time 7881, has already (p. 275) led us to consider (ti·me) a probable pronunciation, and hence these repeated rhymes lead to calling by (bi·me). More than this, by is often spelled be, be thy trouthe 5·227, alle be hemselve 5·246, be God 5·256, and indeed be, by occur in the same line: be strength the and by his might. 5·348, from the Legende of Good Women, following the Bodleian MS. Fairfax 16, a good manuscript. These variants strongly confirm the hypothesis that by = (bi·me).

It is certainly fair to conclude that the purely French words in these rhymes had the sound (ii) or (ii'), the latter probably in England, and the former in France. We were driven to this supposition on comparing Palsgrave with Meigret in the xvi·th century (p. 110). We might therefore assume that: mercy, enemy, fy, cry, quirboily, fool·hardy, envy, had the sound (ii) or (iii), and these would be fully sufficient to determine all the rest. But as this assumption in fact involves the whole question, it will be better not to lay great stress upon it.

The cry ocy attributed by the cuckow to the nightingale 4·79—

For thou hast mony a feyned queint cry,
I have herd the seye, ‘ocy, ocy,’
But who myghte wete what that shulde be?

leaves us in the same ignorance as the cuckow, and can be of no assistance if we go to the real cry of the bird; but if we take it as a French spelling of an imitation of that cry,1 then we have simply two French sounds cry, ocy rhyming.

There are several instances of Latin final -i, one in Chaucer: Dedaly 5·267, and several in Gower: Eoly ii 160, Satiry ii 171, Gemini iii 119, twice, and iii 127, and it is difficult to suppose that Latin was at that time so mispronounced as to have i called (oi). The Roman Catholic tradition must have saved this heresy, which seems to have only crept in with the xvi·th century, and was even then reprobated by many, as by Salesbury. At least these rhymes must be considered to add to the probability of the (ii) or (ii') pronunciation.

With regard to the termination -ly which plays so great a part in all these rhymes, it is to this day generally pronounced (li) in conversation, although declaimers will sometimes permit themselves to

1 "Fier, fier, ocy, ocy: Sions onomatopéés représentant le chant du rossignol (répetés plus bas dans une chanson)," Roquefort, sub. fier, where he cites: "il y ait au-desus de luy ung chesne sur lequel avoit ung rossignol qui chantoit trois melodieuxement et croyoit ainsy que tout endesvé et fier, fier, ocy, ocy," from Roman de Porce·Forest.
say (loï), and we find Gill in his transcript of the Psalms con-
stantly using this sound, apparently to add dignity. He also says
(madzh-tsotâ), and, at least in one place (mer-soi), but the latter is
probably a misprint, for he generally writes (mers's). Modern poets,
working upon an old foundation, permit themselves to consider -y,
under a secondary accent, as either (-ai) or (-ii). This belongs to
the licentiousness of modern rhyming, superinduced by an un-
phonetic orthography. I cannot consider this early usage of Gill
to indicate in any way the old pronunciation. It was undoubtedly
wrong in words which had formerly -ie, -ê, and was probably fanci-
ful in other cases. Dr. Gill had a notion that the (ai) added to the
beauty and strength of the English language,¹ and hence his employ-
ment of it is suspicious unless well corroborated. As to the practice
of modern times, it is sufficient to cite Walker and Smart, who, not
recognizing the difference between (i, i) identify this termination
with (-îi), but that is properly an Irishism. As, then, there seems
no reason to suppose that this termination -ly ever had, in natural
speech, the sound of (-loï) but only (-lii, -lî, -î, -lî), the conclusion
in favour of the (ii, ii) pronunciation of the other words seems
inexorable. But those who have made up their minds to the (ai)
pronunciation of long î, and especially of the pronoun î, will object
that we have in Gill an actual example of the (ai) sound, and that
we hear occasionally, under peculiar circumstances perhaps, and by
no means uniformly in the same speaker, but still we do hear (-lai)
now and then, and that it is possible that (-li) may be a "cor-
ruption" of (-loï), rather than (-lai) a mistaken intensification of
(-lî). It is therefore necessary to try some other words, which
are free from Gill's imputed (ai). Enemy is not such a word, for
he writes (en'emaiz), supra p. 110, note. But lady 5·190, i 292,
298, iii 325; almighty iii 61, worthy i 107, seem unexceptional.
The words do not occur in Gill, but lady does occur in Salesbury,
who transcribes it in Welsh letters laði (laa'di). In modern
ballad poetry we have constantly to read (leddîi),² but the pro-
nunciations (leḍ'oi, leedoi') are utterly unknown. As this word
determines -ly -by, by its rhymes, and these are sufficient to de-
terminate all the rest, the difficulty may be considered as solved.

But there are still important considerations which lead the same
way, and which must therefore still be adduced. It is difficult to
suppose that a cry and the verb to crye, had their y differently
pronounced. This y would probably retain its sound in the in-
flected form cryede, often a disyllable as cry'de. Now we find:
cryede glide Cupide 4·349 in Troilus and Cryseyde from a good
manuscript, and Cupide is one of those words in which we have
already recognized the persistence of the (ii) sound. Again: criede
Cupide Cipride 5·9 occur in the same poem. Gower has: cride
hide i 149, cride wide iii 213. All this points to the pronunciation
(cri'de) and hence (criî) for the substantive. But there is one

¹ "Retinebimus antiquum illum et
masculum sonum." Logonomia, p. 7.
² As in Sir W. Scott's Jock of
Hazeldean, in which the first stanza is
said to be ancient: "Why weep ye by
the tide, ladie?"
word which seems at first sight to run counter to this conclusion: reneye 4796, 12196, 12376, 16047 etc, always meaning to renounce, abjure, in modern French renier, so that ey seems to answer to French i. But Roquefort (Gloss. de la lang. rom. ii, 463) gives the old forms renoier, renéier, and Kelham (Dict. of the Norman or old French language 1779) has reneye renegado, reneign refuse. So that the i is a modern French development, which does not affect the present investigation.

Perhaps the strongest evidence of all is furnished by the very word enemies, which was lately rejected on account of Gill's (en-emoi). Of course there is no doubt whatever of the sound of i in the words is, his. These words never could have been (ois, nois) at any time. No champion of (ai) could ever entertain such a notion as this. Now in Gower we have: pris is ii 341, wis is iii 226, which may be taken to settle the pronunciation of pris, wis i.e. price, wise, in the xrvth century, and strongly corroborate the method by which we have already arrived at this result. Bearing this in mind, the rhymes: enemies pris ii 67, iii 199, enemies is ii 342, enemis his iii 214, enemies wis iii 216, leave no doubt that Gower said (en-emix) or (en-emis), and that he therefore must have said (en-emi) as the natural pronunciation of his time, or have occasionally lengthened the final vowel into (ii, ii). But if so, all the rest follows from the rhymes: enemy I 1645, royally enemy 1795, sodenly enemy 16889, forthly enemy i 330, enemy why i 347, besly enemy ii 75, enemy envy iii 320.

It seems impossible to form a stronger chain of evidence in favour of an unknown pronunciation, but the strength is rendered more evident by the circumstance that there is no instance of -i rhyming with -ey, except such as are explicable by the fact that the word had several sounds and several modes of writing, often used in other places, and that the scribe accidentally employed a wrong orthography, as in the instance: mercy scy 13308, already considered. Everything is therefore so far reconcilable with the hypothesis i = (ii, i), and many circumstances are irreconcilable with the hypothesis i = (ai, i). Hence I feel compelled to admit that even the personal pronoun I was called (ii) by Chaucer. This personal pronoun had three forms, I most commonly, ic, ich, rarely. That in these latter forms the i was (i) short, seems proved by such contractions as theeck 3862, theeck 12857, 14362, = thee ik, thee ich. The diphthong could hardly have been so lost. Again the change ic, ich, would be unusual, though possible, if i were (ai). But I seems formed from ic, ich, just as a is from an. The original pronunciation of the indefinite article was of course (a), and it is now frequently (o, u), but the emphatic pronunciation (ee) is of modern growth, and seems precisely comparable to the emphatic use of (ai) for (i) in I.

Further corroboration of the above conclusion will be afforded by considering the termination -ie, -ye. In two instances Chaucer uses the French words par compagnye, at the end of a line, not as Anglicised, but as a real French phrase. There may be some doubt
as to the sound of *gn*, whether (nj, nx) or simply (n), as will be hereafter considered, but as it is also written as a simple *n*, it will be sufficient to consider it here as (n). The two last letters must have had the French sound, which cannot well be conceived as anything but (ii*e), or the English modification (ii*e), a change so slight that the Englishman would have thought he was exactly correct. Hence: par compaignye, fantasye 3837, par companye, molodye 4165, must be considered as establishing the English pronunciation (fantasii*e, melodiie) of these Anglo-French words. The following rhymes strongly confirm this conclusion:

hostelrie companye 23, multiplie Marie 15100, Emelye melodye 873, Emelye, gan to crie 2343, signified, sche cryed 1 2345, philosophie, wolde he crie 647, enviye 2 crie 909, tyrannye espye 1113, chyvalrye cortesie 45, I made him frie, jaloucie 6069, ragerie, as a pye 6037, maladye manye = maniæ 1375.

I schal not lye, companye 765, curtesye lye 7251, vilonye, nat a flye 4189, Emelye, gan sche hye = hie, hasten 2275, harlotries, tollen thries 563, boille and frie, bake a pye 385, melodie, my body gye 12062, cortesie, for to gye 7950, maladye, moist or drye 421.

The first list consist entirely of Anglo-French words, the second gives rhymes of such with other words. Now throughout Harl. 7334 this termination -ye never rhymes 3 with any other termination, such as -y, -e, which has now received the same sound (-i). But during the xvth century the final *e* was thrown off, and then these words fell into (melodi*e, fantas*t) etc, and became rhymes to -ly. These rhymes therefore not only shew a later date, but indicate an identity in the pronunciation of *i* in the two sets of words. As then we have no conception of there having been an (oi) sound in the -ye endings, (except in such words as signify, where of course it is due to the accent), we have a corroboration of our former conclusion that long *i* was (ii, ii). Whenever we see in any manuscript of Chaucer or Gower such rhymes as -y, -ye, or as -e, -ye, we may be sure either that there has been some accidental orthographical error of the scribe, or that some words of a more recent period have been substituted. The error is often very obvious and easy to remedy, thus: high testifie 4-1, majestie dignyte knit 4-3, see ryallie 4-5, libertie degree 4-10, crueltie pyte 4-12, should have: hye, majeste, ryalte, liberte, cruelte. But degree ye = eye 4-5, I dye high 4-8, hie crie whye 4-10, I espye ye = eye 4-10, hie beslyy ye = eye 4-11, fantasye merily 4-15, ye = eye pretily 4-15, se ye = eye 4-27 etc., are certainly erroneous, and could not have been written by a xvth century writer. They serve therefore to discredit the MS. (R. iii. 20, Trinity College, Cambridge,) of the Court of Love.

1 Probably signified, cryed are the proper forms.
2 Both French forms envi, envie occur, old and recent, and both envy, envie are found in old English.
3 The mistakes hyghe remedye 4629, eyen aspyn 12426, hee eye 11503, jelousye me 1809, have already been noticed (p. 260); the proper readings are hye, yen, hye ye, jolite.
Three other corroboration circumstances may be mentioned. First, if long *i* had been (*ai*) in the xivth century and earlier, English would have presented the extraordinary spectacle of a language without a long (*ii, i*i*), one of the primitive vowel forms. Sir Thomas Smith had indeed reduced Latin to such a condition, but this was a purely artificial formation, due to a mistaken theory, and we may safely say could never occur in practice. Secondly, if long *i* had been (*ai*), we should have to account for its common unaccented form (*i*). There is a dispute among orthoepists as to whether (*ai*) or (*i*) should be pronounced in certain unaccented syllables, such as (*siv[il]ize'shan*) or (*siv[il]aize'shan*), or (*dizhust*, *dizhust*), (*i finit*, *i fainoit*). These disputes at least serve to shew that there is no difficulty whatever in using (*oi*) in an unaccented syllable, and hence make the employment of (*i*) inexplicable, except on the theory that it was the original normal sound. The change of (*oi*) into (*i*) is of course possible, but it is generally through (*ei*, *ee*, *ii*). We have this very transition in *deceive*, which was (*desaiv*) in the xivth and even xvieth centuries, became (*desiiv*) and passed into (*desiiv*) in the xvirth, and fell into (*disiiv*) in the xviiith century. But the transition took a long time. This was probably the course by which the old Greek *ei* reached the modern Greek (*ii*). We have no trace of such a change in the words considered. The third circumstance is, that the scribes of the xivth and early part of the xvth centuries seem to have had no hesitation in writing *i* and *ei* or *y* and *ey* according as they wished to indicate a difference of pronunciation. This is especially the case with the words *die*, *dry*, *eye*, *high*, *lie*, *sih*, *tie*, *pine*, which must therefore be considered individually.

*Die* = (*daire*, *dii*e). This common old English word is not Anglosaxon. The old Norse is *deyja*, ek *dey*, dò (*dei'va, ek dei', doo*), and *deiginn* in Ormin, *deigin* in Lagamon, *deyin* in the Promptorium, point out (*dai'e*) or (*dei'e*) as the older pronunciation. The same sound is indicated by: *sye* *deye* 4944, 7207, *wayne* *deye* 5010, 5238, 11649, *disobe ye* *de ye* 8239, *deyth* *seith* 7623, *sye ye* 2847, *preyde* *de ye* 8424, *sayde* *abrayde* *de ye* 8935, and generally. In: *brayde* *prayde* *dyde* 16022, we have therefore a clerical error for *deyde*. But we have a different spelling and a different set of rhymes in: *Marie* *dey* 5261, *Emelye* *dey* 1569, 1589, 1595, *deye*, *folye* 1799, ye = *eye* *dye* 7913, Lombardy *hye* *allie* *deye* 15886, *die* *Galaxy* 4'53. Hence in: *deye* *vilyone* 11715, *deye* *bigamye* 5667, *deye* *sloggardye* 11943, *deye* is a clerical error for *dye*. Whether this double pronunciation was of a much older date or not, it is difficult to say. The point to note here is, that there was a double method of spelling, and that, except from mere carelessness of the scribe, each method answered to its own rhymes, which we had previously recognised as (*ai*, *i*i*). At present (*dai*) is the common form, but (*di*) is more usual in South Shields, Kendal, Westmoreland, and Lancashire.

1 MS. Univ. Lib. Cam. Dd. 4. 24, reads eye *deye*, which is also legitimate.
Buy = (bii'ë, bai'e). The first seems the older form as an alteration of biggen, the second is not so frequent: to byen 14467, bye housbondrie 5868, preye bye 12564.

Dry = (drî'e, drai'e). Here (ii) seems to have been the original form corresponding to ags. (yy), and (ai) the derived. Ags. dryge drige drege dry, Orrm. drigge. Hence: maladye drye 422, drye remodye 4·56, drye dye drie crie guye 5·208, where the first drye means to suffer, still found in Scotch as dree (drii). On the other hand: weye drye 8773, drye seye preye 4·64, where drye is evidently an error for dreye, aweie drey(e) i 220, but: drie deie iii 93 might be: drye dye, or: dreye deye, probably the former. The form dreye seems proved, but it is not so common, and what is most important for the present purpose, it was a derived, not an original form, which the scribe was not content to leave under the old spelling drye. The legitimate inference is, therefore, that if in other words (ai) had been pronounced, ey would have been written. At present (drai, drai) are the common sounds, but (drii) is known in South Shields.

Eye = (ai'e, ii'e). The older sound seems to have been (ai kh e, eikh e). The more usual orthography is eyghe, eyghen, or eyhen when the word does not occur final. I have not noted it in a rhyme in Chaucer, but we have: cie seie i 72, eye awey(e) i 127, and Pauli constantly writes eie when the MSS. have yhe. The guttural (kh) seems to have been often entirely lost, passing probably through (jh), and then becoming absorbed in the preceding (i); or more properly the diphthong (ei) grew out of (eh). The value (ii'e) results from: melodie yhe 9, companye dayesye = daisy = day's eye 333, (for dayse hie 4·77, read daysye hye,) crye yhe 1097, ye = eye plye 9044, yen wryen 17193. For: specific eye i 3, highe eye i 106, sigh eye i 116, as Pauli writes, read: specifye ye, hye ye, syhe yhe. Although (oi) is very general, yet (ii) is almost the only form known in Newcastle, Cumberland, and Lancashire, and is even used in Devon.

High = (hai, wi'). The older form is here (hoe, hai) the (i) being generated from (jh), the representative of (kh). The usual forms when the rhyme does not require the others, are heih, heigh, frequently with an added e. Possibly, as in eye, the guttural was early lost in developing the diphthong, compare Orrmin's heh, heghe. In rhymes this older form is not common, and is often doubtful, thus: heye eyghe 3248, heyghe eyghe 10587, might have been: hye ye. More certain seems: heyghe piggesneyghe 3268, on heigh seigh = saw 1067, which may have been: on hih sih, compare 11162. This form often occurs in Gower, where Pauli writes: high sigh i 2, i 24, i 137. On the other hand the form (nii) is very common: hye crye 10725, hye prye 7319, hihe eye, read yhe 11347, eyen read yen, prien 9985; prye hye compagnie 4·222, hye gye compaignye 4·296, hye navye 5·215, hye jurye 5·253, hye skye 5·258, high read hye, poesie ii 36. (Hii) is used in Cumberland and Scotland.
Sly = (slai, slii). The first is the old form, in Orrmin sleh, and (slii) is more recent. The rhyme slye, lye mentiri, ye oculus 5·37-8 is ambiguous; but if: high testifie sly 4·1 should be bye, testifie, slye, this is a rhyme in point. Sleigh occurs 3201, 4·339 v. 944. (Slii) is still found in Cumberland and South Shields.

Tie = (tai·e, tie). The first is the old form, from ags. teigan, the second seems to have come from a second form ags. tygan; seyd teyd 10305, gives the first distinctly, the form: tyged, Allit. Poems by Morris A. 464, suggests the second sound, for which I have noted no rhymes. (Tii) is found in Kendal, Cumberland, and Lancashire.

Pine, pain = (pī·ne, pai·ne), are really two separate words, but they are used so much in the same sense that they might be easily supposed to be different forms of the same word. The first is Anglosaxon, the second French, but both apparently come from Latin poena. They have come down to the present day also with different pronunciations (pain, peen), and different meanings. The following passages will shew how the words are confused by Chaucer as the exigencies of the rhyme require.

And when a beste is deed, he ne hath no peyne,
But man after his deth moot wepe and pleyne,
Though in this world he have care and woo:
Withouten doute it may stonde so.
The answer of this I lette to divinis,
But wel I woot, that in this world gret pyne is. 1321
In which ther be som merthe or doctrine.
Gladly, quod I, by Goddes swete pyne.
That telleth us the pyne of Jhesu Crist. 15343
And sythen that I knewe of loves pyne
And wot how sore it can a man destreyne.
Ful gultele, by Goddes swete pyne,
For as an hors, I couthe bothe bite and whyne. 1817
who wolde supposse
The wo that in my herte was and pyne?
And when I saugh he nolde never fynge
To reden on this cursed book. 6369
In Armorik, that clepid is Bretaigne
Ther was a knyght, that loved and dide his pyne
To serven a lady 11041

We thus see that in the xivth century there was a tendency to two forms in certain words, and that in general the original form has (ai) and the secondary form (ii). In one case, however, at least, dry, the (ii) form appears to be the older. In every case, however, except from mere carelessness of the scribe, the two sounds were carefully distinguished as ei, i or ey, y. There can therefore be very little doubt that when only one form i or y, was employed, there was only one pronunciation, (ii), because the scribe, who was hampered by no historical associations, must have many a time and oft written ey if he had ever heard the sound (ai). In all of these cases the (ii) sound has been dialectically preserved.

This completes the argument in favour of the proposition with which I started, viz., that the sound of i in Chaucer's time was (ii, i) and not (ai, i). But the result admits of illustration by
dialectic peculiarities in addition to those just adduced. Isolated and small societies necessarily preserve idiomatric expressions, peculiar words and peculiar pronunciations. Of course the so-called Anglosaxion which established itself in England was not uniform. The languages with which our dialects began, so to speak, were remarkably different in many respects. It is not merely the pronunciation of a few words which now distinguishes the men of the North, North-west, North-east, West, East, Midland, South-west, and South-east, from each other and from those who speak literary English. The whole intonation, many of the words, the idioms, the grammatical constructions, are different. The effects of isolation are shown strongly among the scanty population that speaks what we call Scotch, and consider it as a single language. Mr. Murray has been able to distinguish eight Scotch dialects so sharply as to translate the book of Ruth into each of them. In some of these dialects the differences of pronunciation are as great as those which separate English utterances in distant centuries. Nevertheless we feel that all these dialects have one common origin with the literary English, and that an examination of their peculiarities, as respects this vowel i, will be of some assistance in conceiving the former existence of a pronunciation so extremely different from our own. It was with this view that I requested the cooperation of those personally acquainted with these modes of speech—which every one must regret to see at present so imperfectly written, that the spelling conveys but little knowledge to a reader who is ignorant of the dialect, and whom the writing ought principally to aim at instructing.

Mr. James A. H. Murray's native dialect was that of Teviotdale, and this possesses a very remarkable peculiarity. The following words which are pronounced with (ii) in all other Scotch dialects, are in this dialect, which extends over Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, and part of Dumfries, pronounced with (ei): eye, be, bee, die, dree endure, fee mad, a fly, to fly, free, gi' ye give you, gle squint, gree agree, he, key, lie falsehood, me, knee, pea, plea, pree try, sec, stee steep, spree, tea, ti' ye to you, tree, thigh, three, wi' ye with you, agee aslant. That is where other Scots say: (ii, bii, dii, drie, fii) etc, the Borderers say (ei, bei, de, dref, fei) etc. This one peculiarity is very striking. Some of these words as: eye, fly, lie, thigh, are pronounced with (ai) in the South, but what Englishman would say (bii) for bee, (froi) for free and so on? Conjoined with this curious correspondence of (ei) with the (ii) of other dialects is another of precisely the same character. The sentence: You and me will go over the dyke and pull a pea, is a perfect shibboleth in this dialect. Alone, in all Scotland, it says: (Jü on mei oel geq our dhi'deik on pan v pei). On the other hand, the Edinburgher

1 See Mr. Murray's paper on the Lowland Scotch Dialect, read before the Philological Society on the 4th and 18th Dec., 1868.

2 Mr. M. Bell writes (myi pui) for (mei pei). The latter were the sounds as I appreciated them when Mr. Murray pronounced them.
would say: (Juu ən mii əl gjua ə ur dhi ə dəik ən puu ə pii). Observe
the (ρau paa) for (joo puu) corresponding with (mei pei) for (mii pii).
We have here, then, two sets of words in a living dialect
corresponding in precisely the same way as the xvi th century
(ei ou) with the xvi th century (ii uu),¹ and similarly in the
Netherlands, we shall find (oi, ii) coexisting in adjacent provinces,
as pronunciations of the written ij. The phenomenon, then, of the
change of (ii uu) to (ei ou) ought not to present any very serious
difficulties. Nor ought we to feel any great surprise at Palsgrave
and Bullokar having retained (ii uu), while their fellow countrymen
generally said (ei ou).

The sound (ii) for long i is by no means extinct, and the double
use of (ii) and one of the (oi) sounds is, as we have seen, familiar
in the very words which have been noted above. Mr. Murray,
notwithstanding his residence in England, and his critical know-
ledge of our language, confesses that he is “continually discovering
words which he has all his life pronounced with (ii) which English-
men pronounce (oi).” “In fact,” says he, “long (ii) is the sound
we instinctively associate with the letter i unless we have been
taught to pronounce it as in English.” The following is taken
from some remarks which Mr. Murray obligingly communicated in
writing.

Fly s. and v. general Scotch (fii), but Teviotdale (fei). Cleve-
land (fii) a fly, but (fiiɡ) to fly, compare lie.

Lie (mentiri), general Scotch, Westmoreland, and Cumberland
(lii), Teviotdale and Dumfriesshire (lei).

Lie (procumbere), Westm. Cumb. Lanc. and Cleveland (lig, leg);
this does not seem to cross the border where the word is (lai, la',
lohi), although the older Scotch always wrote lig, lyg.

By preposition of the agent, (bi). Teviotdale (Hei waz sin bi
si'verelz) = he was seen by several.

By of place is always (bai, bolhi).

Thigh Scotch, Westm. Cumb. and Cleveland (thii), Tev. and
Dumf. (thei).

Friar — (friir), thus a part of Jedburgh is called the Freirs.²

Briar — (briir), Cleveland (briir) and (brii), inquire (onkwii''),
choir (kwii') and (kweer) (?), squire (skwiir).

Site, old people pronounce (sit, zit).

Neighbour = (nib'er), with a short vowel, not (nii•ber) as Eng-
lishmen hear.

Like = (lek, leik), the latter more common, but (lek•liiz) is used
for likely; in Cleveland also, like = (lah'k), but likely = (lek•li, 
lk•liz).³

¹ The difference between (zu ou) is
very slight, the latter having simply
labialised the first element of the former,
which effect readily produced by the
action of the subsequent (u). The
difference between (zu ou) is merely
that the first element of the latter is
widened, and it would be presumptuous
to attempt to discriminate between (ou
ou) in an ancient form of speech, when
it would be difficult to do so in living
pronunciation.
² A well of very fine water at Work-
ington, Cumberland, is always called
the (friz'z).
³ An old Scotch jeweller, who had
Oblige, obliged = (oblîidzh', oblîist')1 and similarly in numerous French words, as invite, polite, and words of classical origin as idol (iîd-l) type (tip), baptize, chasteize, civilized (siv-ôliizt), advertise-ment.

Eye, general Scotch (ii), Teviotdale (ei), plural in both (in) with short (i). Cumb., Westm., Lanc., and North Yorkshire (ii, iin) with long (ii). Barnsley, South Yorkshire (ii, iiz).

High Tev. (nêkh, nei, nai), other Scotch (nêkh, mikh, nii), as (as mi-lahnt az dhe nii rood) = as highland as the high road.2 The guttural form is common but is passing away, and (nii) is used instead in Centre, West, and North of Scotland, as also in Cumb., and Westm., (nai, rôhi) are the common recent forms in Teviotdale.


Dree (drii) endure, and so in Cleveland; but dry (drai drai dra' drohi), and so with buy.

Sly follows the analogy of high, but the guttural form seems only to occur in sleight (slekht) like height (nêkh'). The usual Scotch, Cumb., Westm., and Lanc. is (slii), Tev. (sleii), or more commonly (slai, slohi).

Hie is not known to Mr. Murray in living speech, in reading ballads it is called (nai rôhi) in Tev. In Westm. dialects it is sometimes written hii.3

-ght, words of this class, as right, might, light, sight, which in Scotland are (lekht, lekht) are in Cumb., Westm., Lanc., and Yorkshire, (riit, riit, liit, siit) etc.4 In cases where -ght does not represent ags. -iht, the pronunciation is different, so fight ags. feocht, Tev. (fëikht), Lanc. (feit) not (fiit).5

Sigh (sokh).

China, the ware or the country (tshin-e, tshin'-e), as in (Whaht est èts ët jens uut è tshin'-i un èn èn,' tshin'-i? Tei) = What is-it that-is at once out of China? Tea. Walker lived from youth in London, always said (lek) for like, in all senses. He was constantly using the word, and never seemed to hear that other persons pronounced it differently.

1 Observe the form of the past tense. I quite lately heard (oblîidzh', oblîisth') from a noble lord at a public meeting.

2 Perthshire simile in describing one who is ultra Celtic. Observe here the different use of (as, az).

3 A gentleman in Derby informed me that in North Derbyshire the peasantry say (mak nii) for make haste. Compare: I see where come a messengere in hie=in haste 4:10. ags. higan è hig's z. Ormin hih s. Promptorium hyr' p. 229.

4 Prof. Sedgwick, a native of the dale of Dent, Yorkshire, writing at upwards of eighty years of age, says: "I remember the day when all the old men in the Dales sounded such words as sigh, night, light, &c., with a gentle guttural breathing," which, he adds in a footnote, "seemed partly to come from the palate," and was therefore (kh). See: A Memorial by the Trustees of Cowgill (Koo'gril) Chapel, with a Preface and Appendix, on the Climate, History, and Dialects of Dent, by Adam Sedgwick, LL.D., senior fellow of Trinity College, and professor of Geology in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge, 1868, 8vo. privately printed, p. 103—a book of affectionate and interesting reminiscences of manners and speech, extending over nearly 120 years, through Prof. Sedgwick's father, the honoured clergyman of Dent, who was 50 years older than his son.

5 Several correspondents have confirmed this rule, and the exception.
gives (tsheenä) for china ware or orange, but (Tshaírnae) for the country, and has a long note on it.

*bind, find, hind, blind, grind* = (bend, fend, rent, blend, grind),

.wind v. and s. = (wand), but kind, mind, wynd = (kaind, maind, waind), and little is often (lait'1) especially as a proper name.

*Why! as an exclamation, not why*? the interrogative, is (w'!) in Scotch, and (wii!) in Cumb., Westm., Lane., and Cleveland.

(Wii! sez ai) = *Why! says I,* is a common formula in the Northern counties.

Can this existence of the (ii) sound, and its general association with *i* in Scotland, be considered a modern development? Has it not rather the appearance of an ancient form? The latter view seems confirmed by seeing that numerous words are pronounced with one of the (ai) forms as (ei, ei, ai, ai, ohi, ai), and that these various forms are differently distributed in different localities, whereas the (ii) form when it occurs is almost general. Mr. Murray gives the two following lists of words which have (ei, ai) in Teviotdale, but (ai) in Western Scotch, the first element of these diphthongs being more distinctly heard than in English (ai, ou).

Tev. (ei), west Scotch (ai): bike wasp's nest, dyke, fike to 'irk, like, pike pick, sike wet hollow, spike, strike, tike; bite, eyle clot, dite doit, flite scold, gite crazy, kite a belly, mite, knite (kneit) rap the knuckles, quite, white (kwheit), spite, snite blow the nose, wite blame, write (w'reit),¹ yite (jeit) yellow hammer, gyte (geip) impudent fellow, (nei'-pelt) awkward clown, pipe, ripe, sipe oze, snipe, tripe, wipe;—bice, Brice, Christ, dice, grice, lice, mice, nice, price, rice, spice, sklice slice, trice, wise (weis), twice, thrice, fife Fife, five, life, knife (kneif), rife, strife;—pint (peint), ninth (neint).

Tev. (ei), West Scotch (ai): bide, bride, guide, hide, pride, ride, side, slide, tidy, wide;—jibe, kibe, siba (seiba) onion Lat. cepa;—guize, prize, rise, stays (stæz);—kithe shew, lîthe, writh;—dive, drive, hive, alive, lives, knives, deprive, schive slice, strives, thrives, wives;—tings (teiqz) tongs, whings (wheiqz) shoe-strings;—brine, cryne dry in, fine, line, mine, nine, pine, sine since, swine, shine, tine lose, twine, wine, vine;—crime, dime, glime glimpse, lime, prime, rime, stime indistinct form, time;—bile, file befoul, guile, kile hay-cock, mile, pile, sile strain milk, tile, vile, wile, stile, smile;—bire cowshed, chair (tsheir), fire, hire, mire, sire sewer, swirc tire, wire;—wild, mild;—mind, hind, kind, rind, sind rinse.

In the second list the consonant is a liquid, nasal, or voiced letter, which distinguishes it from the first. Generally in Scotland when English long *i* or *y* is final in monosyllables, as cry, dye, or a long *i* occurs in underviled words, as dial, trial, the sound is (ai), and in Teviotdale (ai, ohi). Derivatives follow their root sounds.

The two sounds, that is the (ei, ei, ai, ai) seria, and the (aei, ai, ai, ohi) seria, attributed to the Scotch long *i*, are strongly insisted on by Scotchmen, and in 1848 when I was printing much English in a phonetic form, the Scotch always exclaimed against the use of

¹ In Aberdeen (vriit) or (bhrriit).
one sign for the two forms. The late Professor W. Gregory, of Edinburgh, divided the sounds into (oi) and (ai),¹ in which case they answer to the two sounds heard in Isaiah in England. Mr. Melville Bell in a private letter says that: "in different districts you hear (a', a'; ahi), but the representative sound is (ai). This is heard regularly when the sound is final, before a vowel, or before final r, and generally when it occurs before (z) or (v). This (ai) is the 'genteel' form of i. I hear it from all my educated Scotch pupils; though they come from widely separated districts they give (ai) for 'I' etc., with absolute uniformity."² The other sound (ei) is the regular one for "in other syllables, and in a few words for a," as aye, pay, clay, Tay, May, way, plague, etc. In Teviotdale, aye, may, are called (ei, mei) to distinguish them from (ei, me) = ee, me.

My dialectical correspondents (p. 277 note), and Mr. Murray have furnished me with the following words in which (ii) or (ii)³ remains in the provinces. Abbreviations—C. Cumberland, D. Devon, Db. Derbyshire, K. Kendal, L. Lancashire, N. Norfolk, S. Shields, generally South Shields, sometimes North Shields, and occasionally Newcastle, Sc. general Scotch, W. Westmorland, Y. Yorkshire, Ye. Cleveland, Yorkshire. The list is of course very incomplete, both in words and localities. The numerous French and classical words pronounced in Scotland with (ii), p. 289, are omitted.

**Words spelled with I, usually sounded (ai), but Provincially Pronounced (ii).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alike D</td>
<td>fly v. CKSScWY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>briar CYc</td>
<td>fly s. CKLSScYYc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bright CKLSW</td>
<td>friar CSc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by preposition of agent Sc</td>
<td>fright S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child D</td>
<td>hie Db</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die CKLScW</td>
<td>high C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry S</td>
<td>hie s. C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyke N</td>
<td>I'll C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye CKLScWY</td>
<td>kindly D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyesight Y</td>
<td>kite Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would be difficult to suppose that in all these cases, widely differing from ordinary use, and extending over several counties, the (ii) should have been a recent transformation of (ai). The probabilities are all the other way.

The personal pronoun I is one of the greatest difficulties. In the Aryan languages its changes have been great. The original word seems to have been (a) to which a strengthening termination (gham) conception of the proper pronunciation of the English long i. In England (ai) is rather cockneyfied. ² It is impossible to trust the unac-

¹ See my Essentials of Phonetics, p. 172, note, where (ai) is used when not followed by a consonant and before the inflectional (d, z), and also before (v, z), but otherwise (ai) is more common.

² Mr. Murray accounts for this abnormal uniformity, by saying that (ai) is not a Scotch sound, but the Scotch
was affixed, producing (agham) as in Sanscrit. The vowel (a) was retained, and the following guttural altered to a sibilant in Zend, Lithuanian, and old Slavonic. In Greek, Latin, and Gothic, the guttural was retained, but the vowel palatalized, into (ě) in Greek ěrōv (eghoon'), and Latin ego (eg'o, eg'o) which retained portions of the following syllable, and into (i) in Gothic (ik), which dropped the following letters. This low German form (ik) was the normal Saxon form, probably (ik), and the orthography ـــــ in Orrmin, guarantees the shortness of the vowel. In Icelandic we find ee, ek, ēg, where the vowel seems to have become long, and (u) was prefixed in speaking. The Modern Danish is jeg (jej, jai). In Chaucer as we have seen (p. 282), the form io still occurs, and is sometimes palatalized to ich (itsh), but the usual form in Chaucer and Gower is I. By Shakspere the words I, eye, aye were identified in sound (p. 112). The frequent phrase quoth-a, may sometimes mean, quoth I, but is often interpreted quoth he, and the well-known passage in Henry V, act ii, sc. 3, describing the death of Falstaff, is full of a for he. Now as he was certainly generally pronounced (mii), as it was frequently written hee, at that time, the provincial, or vulgar, or dialectic correspondence of (a) with (mii), would be precisely similar to a dialectic use of (a) for (ii), supposing the last to have been Chaucer's personal pronoun. At the same time the acknowledged form (mii) for he, would lead us to expect some acknowledged forms (ii) or (ii') for I, existing in dialects.

Now both of the forms (a) and (ii) exist in the provinces for I, though the traces of (ii) are very few and very slight, but few as they are, it would be difficult to account for them except by the action of an old tradition, and as in some cases the pronunciation is only known among very old people and is fast going out, it may have been much more common as lately as one or two hundred years ago.

"Eed = I had: If eed done soa, it wad sartinly hev been better." "I, aye, eigh. Yes. I is sometimes pronounced like E, particularly when the pronoun follows the verb, as 'do E,' for I do." "I is often sounded like E, in in," probably (i) as a contracted form of (in).


2 The omission of the guttural is quite similar to the (ai, i, mi, di, si, aa, do, no) for euch, ich, mich, dich, sich, auch, doch, noch, in the neighbourhood of the Danube, Bavaria. Schmeller, Grammatik art. 427. So in old high German, and old English we find ine for ih ne, io ne, Graff, 1, 118, Rel. Ant. 1, 235.


4 Ibid., p. 241. The author cites as an illustration, what looks like a couplet, from Cant. Tales, 12530, by which it seems as if me, I rhymed. Of course this was not the case. The author has taken together two lines belonging to different couplets, and the whole rhymes are salite me, I thirstily.

5 Ibid. The author has unfortunately not followed any strict orthography, and has not attempted to explain that which he has used.
In Lancashire (i') is used when unemphatic, as (mən i tel dhe ?) must I tell you.  

In Blackburn "the old fashioned way" of pronouncing I," is (i) very short."  

"I have frequently heard old people pronounce I like our own ee (ii), especially in the interrogative form, did ee do it? will ee go? must ee do it? etc. This is very common, in fact about twenty years ago it was the invariable pronunciation. In the phrase: [aiz gaa'an pəm, at iz ii!] = I am going home, that am I, ee (ii) is as decidedly emphatic as I ordinarily is. The contraction I'll for I shall, is frequently given ee'll. Ee is also used occasionally but very seldom in every tense and form. This pronunciation is only used by old people here, but in central Cumberland it is more general. The same people use the form (a) and sometimes (a), but never in questions or in the direct future."  

Scarceley less convincing as respects the vowel in English ich are the contractions cham, chas, chil (tsham, tshas, tsh'il) for ich am, ich was, ich will, mentioned by Gill (Logonomia p. 17) as a Southern pronunciation, in Rev. W. Barnes's edition of the Glossary of the Dialect of Forth and Barvy, and in the Glossary to his Poems in the Dorset dialect, 1858, p. 150. See also J. Jennings, Dialects of the West of England.

The dialectic pronunciations Ise, 'ch are preserved in Shaksperere, King Lear, act iv, sc. 6, l. 240, Globe ed., Tragedies p. 304, col. 2, folio 1623, which reads:

Edg. Chillâ not let go Zir, 
Without vurther 'casion.

Ste. Let go Slaue, or thou dy'ft.

Edg. Good Gentleman goe your gate, and let poore volke passe: and 'chudâ ha'bin zwaggerd out of my life, 'twould not ha'bin zo long as 'tis, by a vornight. Nay, come not neere th'old man: kepe out che vor'ye, or ice â try whither your Costard, or my Ballow be the harder; chillâ be plaine with you.

Ste. Out Dunghill.

Edg. Chil 'tis your teeth Zir: come, no matter vor your foynes.

About thirty years ago utehy (otsh'?) was in use for I in the Eastern border of Devonshire and in Dorset, and examples of cham, chould = I am, I would, occur in the "Exmoor Scolding," which dates from the beginning of the last century.

The prevailing dialectic forms of the pronoun are however (a, a, o, oh) occasionally (ə, ə), and (ai, ai, ohi, ai, oi). In Derbyshire I generally heard (a), but in the northern parts it is said to be (ai). Mr. Murray writes: "I in the Northern dialects of England is

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1 Letter from Mr. John J. L. Jackson, teacher of languages, Manchester.
2 Letter from Mr. T. Fielding, Manchester.
3 Letter from Mr. J. N. Hetherington, Clifton Parsonage, Workington, Cumberland.
4 For these references to Glossaries I am indebted to Mr. W. Aldis Wright, Trin. Coll. Cambridge.
5 I will.
6 I would.
7 Printed chenore ye in the 4to, 1608.
8 Australes—(Theh vɔr jli, pro (əi warant jou) certum do," Gill, Logonomia, p. 17.
9 Letter from Mr. John Shelly, Plymouth.
usually a simple vowel of the (a, a, oh) series. In some dialects it is, when accented, a diphthong composed of the same first element and (i,'). In Scotch (oh, aa), even when emphatic (‘oh wohd’ne goho) = I would not go. In Ayrrshire it would probably be (aii, aa’j) in such a case, so also in Cumb. and Westm. In Lancashire it is (AA) even when emphatic, in Barnsley, Yorkshire, (aa). When unemphatic it is in all the dialects an obscure (a, a, e) sound. Even in Germany, where there is no tendency to pronounce ich (ikh) with an (ai), rapid speaking will generate (a), as (unab’edi, las’omi, taat’eda, deq’k’omo) = habe ich dich, lasse ich mich, thätich ich dir, denke ich mir, in Bavaria.1

The confusion of (i) with (e) penetrated, as we have seen, into orthography, p. 272. But during the xvth century there also arose a tendency to thin (ee) into (ii), whereby so many (ee) of the xivth century became (ii) by the xviith. This tendency was precisely the same as that which converted so many of the remaining (ee) into (ii) at the beginning of the xviiith century, p. 88. Now if we suppose these two tendencies to act together, which is no extravagant hypothesis, since they certainly co-existed, the result would be that (ii) would be begun as (ee) and ended as (ii), that is that (ii) would become first (eeii) and then (ei). During the same time we know also that (oo) was in many instances refined to (uu). We might therefore suppose that there was the converse tendency to take (uu) as (uu), and then as (oo), which is by no means uncommon, and then that the joint action of these two tendencies produced first (ouu), then (ou) or (ou) as it would have been certainly accepted. This supposition as to the mode of generating (ei, ou) from (ii, uu), has the advantage of being based upon known facts. But the considerations adduced on p. 233, are quite sufficient to account for the change. At the present moment the (ee, oo) of the South of England are actually changing into (ei, ou), and these sounds have been developed by the less educated, and therefore more advanced speakers, the more educated and therefore less advanced having only reached (eeii, ouu)2 although many of them are not conscious of saying anything by (ee, oo).

1 Schmeller, Mund. Bay. art. 284. 2 "The English alphabetic accented a, in the mouth of a well-educated Londoner .... is not quite simple, but finishes more slantly than it begins, tapering so to speak, towards the sound (i) .... o in a Londoner’s mouth is not always quite simple, but is apt to contract towards the end, finishing almost as oo in too.” B. H. Smart, Walker Remodelled, 1836, Principles, arts. 1 and 7. Mr. M. Bell, among “English Characteristics” reckons: “The tendency of long vowels to become diph- thongs. This is illustrated .... in the regular pronunciation of the vowels in aid, ail, aim, ahe, &c. (ei), ode, oak, globe, &c. (ou). The same tendency leads to the ‘Cockney’ peculiarity of separating the labio-lingual vowels (u, o) into their lingual and labial components, and pronouncing the latter successively instead of simultaneously. Thus we hear (eu, vu, gu) for (u), and (o’w, o’e, ah’e) for (o).” Visible Speech, p. 117. As Mr. Bell marks the second element by the glide sign he does not distinguish the length of
As has been already remarked, p. 234, the change from (ii, uu) to sounds of the (ai, au) order has not been confined to England, but took place in the literary language of the other Germanic countries, nearly at the same time, that is, during the xvth and xvirh centuries; and in these countries as well as in England traces of the original pronunciation remain in the provinces.

Siegenbeek, whose work on Dutch Spelling originated the orthography now in use, tells us that old Dutch manuscripts employed i, ii, for their long i, which, partly for distinctness and partly for ornament, became ij, and hence that the inhabitants of Friesland, Zeeland, Guelders, Overysssel, and Groningen, who still pronounce (ii), evidently preserve the ancient sound; but that the inhabitants of the province of Holland had at an early period changed the sound into one very like (ei) and that after the Spanish disturbances, that is, about the end of the xvirh century, this province having become the seat of learning and civilisation, its pronunciation necessarily became prevalent, and is now the literary pronunciation of the country. Hence we have an indubitably ancient (ii), preserved in those provinces of the Netherlands whose dialect most resembles ancient English, and passing into an (ai) in other provinces which by a political accident was able to set the fashion of pronunciation.

The first element, so that with him (ee, oo) have already in appearance become (ei, ou), but this does not represent his actual pronunciation, which is rather (ee'j, oo'w).

1 The Dutch ij, ei differ slightly, if at all. Sir Hendrik Gehle, D.D., minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Austin Friars, London, who kindly pointed out to me the passage in Siegenbeek (Sit'genbeek) referred to in the text, and confirmed what is there said of the provincial (ii), said that he felt more of the e in pronouncing ei than ij, reminding me much of Gill's remark (supra p. 114), of being diffuse over the e. At first he seemed to call both (ei), but afterwards he recognized my (oi, ei) as the two sounds, and, assuming the English as (ai), he said he considered the Dutch a nearer sound. The distinction (oi, ei) is precisely that which I had to make in Gill, and, considering the close connection between Dutch and English, the coincidence is remarkable.

2 "Doch deze enkele i kon geene plaats hebben in lettergrepen, op eeneen medeklinker stuitende, als mijn, zijn, blijf en soortgelijke; maar moest hier noodzakelijk verdubbeld worden.—Men schreef dús oudtijds, met eene dubbele i, blijf, wien, schrijf, von welke schrijf-wijze, in oude handschriften, nog vele sporen voorhaden zijn. Doch, om de gelijkheid der dubbele i met de u, waaruit ligtelijk verwarring kon ontstaan, en misschien ook sieraadshalve, begon men de tweede i reeds vroeg met een' langen staart te schrijven.‘t welk man, bij hare plaatsing vóór een vokaal aan het begin der woorden, insgelijks in zwang bragt. Wij kunnen niet voorbij, hier te doen opmerken, dat zij, die, in de woorden blijven, schrijven, mijn, zijn, bij de uitspraak den klink der enkele en dubbele i doen hooren, als de Vriegen, Zeeuwen, Gelderschen, Overijsselschen en Groningers, blijkens het voorgestelde, de echte en oorspronkelijke uitspraak dezer woor- den behouden hebben. Doch op de tong der Hollanders is deze echte klink reeds vroeg verloren geraakt, en voor eenen anderen, eenigzins zweep-mende naar den klink ei, verwisseld geworden. Nadat nu Holland, wer- waards, na de Spaansche beroeringen, de voornaam zetel der beschaaftheid en wetenschappen werd overgebracht, door middel van dit uitstekend voorregt, zijne uitspraak meer en meer als de algemeene en heerschende heeft doen gelden, is ook die verbastering in de meest beschaaflde uitspraak en daarop gebouwde schrijfwijze ingevoerd, en
We have precisely the same phenomena in the less closely related High German dialects. An old and middle high German i (ii) became a modern High German ei (ai). All these latter ei are however not derived from i (ii), but some come from a middle and old High German ei (ei), answering to the Gothic ai (ee).1 Moreover we have the same phenomenon of a persistence of the sound of (ii) in the provinces, notwithstanding the real change of orthography from i to ei, whereas in Dutch the change is only apparent, from ii to ij, and hence resembles the English retention of i through a change of sound. Schmeller says: “ei sounds, conformably with its origin, like a long (ii) by the lake of Constanzt, i.e. on the Upper Rhine, and by the tributaries to the Weser from the Rhön-chain of hills; 2 (miin, diin, siin;—bi, dri, Isis, Flis, Liim, Liib, bhiiis, Tsit —bis'e, blii-be; gri'e, i-li-e, lii-dei, shrii-dei, shrii-bei, trii-bei); = mein, dein, sein,—bei, drei, Eis, Fleiss, Leim, Leib, weiss, Zeit,— beissen, bleiben, greifen, eilen, leiden, schneiden, schreiben, treiben. Also on the Lauter (siin) for seyn, on the Ilz (ii) for ein, as in (ii-span'e, ) = einspannen; on the east of the Lech, (driii)-faeh, (drii)-fuesz, (shliif)stain.” 3

Dr. Rapp in the passage previously cited (supra p. 235) has endeavoured to give the relations of all the long vowels throughout the Germanic languages, and it seems worth while to reproduce his table here, although it is only a sketch, and requires much filling in to make it at all complete. The first line gives what Dr. Rapp imagines to have been the seven primary vowels in this system of languages. The lines 2 to 6, refer to the older, the lines 7 and 8 to the intermediate, and the following lines to modern forms. The pronunciations assigned may be occasionally disputed, but they are near enough for the present purposes, and without attempting to make any change, I have translated the phonetic symbols as well as I could understand them. The uniformity with which the Germanic, as distinguished from the Scandinavian, branches have in recent times adopted the (ai, au) forms in place of (ii, uu) is very striking. Many persons may feel that it is an argument in favour of the pronunciation of i long as (ii) in Anglo-Saxon, and therefore in Early English, that the Scandinavians certainly called their long i (ii), as their descendants in Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark continue to do. But that conterminous districts may differ precisely upon this point we have already seen in the case of Scotland (p. 287) and Holland (p. 294), and another instance may be cited from the

1 Rapp, Phys. d. Spr. iv, 11. Grimm, ib. 95, 106, 175, 182, 225. Grimm assumes Gothic ei, di = (ei, ni) apparently; in Chap. V, § 4, No. 3, the sounds (ii, ee) are preferred.

2 In the same district, au sounds as (uu) conformably with its origin.

3 Mundarten.Bayern's Art. 244.
Norman peninsula containing Cherbourg. At Montebourg, only fifteen miles SSE of Cherbourg, the pronunciation of $i$ as (ai) is very common, whereas at Beaumont Hague, on the same peninsula and only twenty-five miles NW of Montebourg, this pronunciation is unknown. Such examples show the necessity of examining existing phases of pronunciation before attempting to decide upon extinct usages.

**Relations of the Seven Long Vowels in the Germanic Languages according to Dr. M. Rapp.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long Vowels</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Primary</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gothic</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Icelandic</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Anglosaxon</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>eo</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ea</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Friesian</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Old Saxon</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Middle Saxon</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Middle German</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ie</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. English</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Danish</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>yy</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ooe</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Swedish</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ooe</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Dutch</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. High German</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Suabian</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>io</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Frankish</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. East Frankish</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Bavarian</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>io</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples.**
- Jahr, breit, Dieb, weil, Laub, gut, Haus
- English, year, broad, thief, wide, leaf, good, house

Although the subject is far from exhausted, as we are thus led into an examination of the cognate dialects, sufficient has been adduced to shew the antecedent probability of the theory that in the xiv th century long $i$ was pronounced as (ii), and as all the facts which we have been able to discover, agree with and are explicable by this theory, whereas the usual hypothesis that long $i$ was one of the (ei) diphthongs during all periods of our language, is not reconcilable with many of the facts adduced, and is opposed to the general tendency of the cognate dialects on the continent, it seems to be the only legitimate inference that in Chaucer's time long $i$ was (ii) and short (i) was (i).

1 This curious fact is given on the authority of Dr. Le Taillis, mayor of Héricer and Norman $i$, at the close of Chap. V. § 1, No. 3.
After the lengthened proof which has been given that long u in the xvith century had the French sound (yy), it follows almost as a matter of course, that those words in Chaucer which have long u, and which are as a general rule all taken from the French or Latin, had also the sound of (yy),¹ and this will be further confirmed when we find that (un) the only other sound it was likely to represent had a different symbolisation, ou. We may, however, notice the pure French rhyme—

Another day he wil par adventure
Reclayme the, and bring the to lure. 17003

compare by aventure 25, the English phrase. With this French sound there was also a tendency to dwell on the syllable ure with more accentual stress, so (naa’tyyr) 11, and

Venus, if it be youre wil
Yow in this gardyn thus to transfigure
Biform me sorwful wretched creature. 1106

Short u was properly (u) or (u) as in the xvirth century, and as in the Anglosaxon times. This we see from the Latin rhymes—

Sayde Plato. Ye, sire, and is it thus?
This is ignotum per ignotius. 13384
In which I pleyne upon Virginius.
And if he wil seyn it is nought thus. 13582

At the same time we find u short occasionally used as a substitute, apparently, for e and i short, where we cannot imagine that a difference of pronunciation was intended, as for example in the verbal termination -ed, bathud 3, enspirud 6, esud 29, while in the same passage occur perced 2, engendred 4, semed 39. In connection with the common forms list, lest should lust 102 be taken as different, or as another way of writing the same sound? Suster 1835, 8465, seems to have some claim to be called (sus’ter) on account of the form soster 3486 rhyming with Pater-noster, and the Anglosaxon form suster as well as sweoster, swyster, but it may have been likewise generally called (sis’ter).

In fitful 298 = fadur 100 = father, gult 10142 = guilt,

¹ Mr. Murray informs me that u still retains its French sound in Scotch in words taken from the French, as: tune, lute, cure, sure, Bruce, reduce, conducue, consume, assume, bruisse, judge, endure, rude, mute, secure, use, abuse, suit, mule, fule, just, [is the Cockney (dzhist) a corruption of (dzhyst)? it looks very like it,] justice, humour (y’mor), ulzie (y’li, y’lji), oil, and similarly e, e, z, are representatives of (l, nj), changed in some districts into (l, ni) in: assaulzie acquit, tuilzie a quarrel, fulzie contents of the parish dust cart, the toon’s fulzie, gaberluinzie wallet, cuinzie coin. But when we is final, and where ew is pronounced (iu) in English, whether derived from French or Anglosaxon sources, it is sounded (iu) or rather (yu) with the accent on the first element, as in: blue, due, duty, sue, ensue, hue, few, dew, rue, crew, blew, flew, grew, threw, brew, drew, view, new, ciew, Jew, rule (riul, ryul), sew, skew, beauty, feu, feud, feudal, queue (kyu), lewd, ruin (ryu’n), Euen (Yu’en) not (Ju’en). But the mev of the cat, and wero of the kitten are in Teviotdale called (mau, wau).
first 1920 = first, compare forst 530, huld 16699 = held, hulden 15802 = helden, hulles 7921 = hills, put 14982 = pit, and many other cases there seems to be no doubt that \textit{u} must be read as \textit{i} or \textit{e}. Compare Canturbery 16, with : from Canturbery, the more mery 803, and this again with the three rhymes—

\begin{quote}
And thus I lete him sitte in the girle
And January and May ronynge mirye.

\textit{thow} poete Marcian,
That writest us that ilke weddyng merye
Of hir Philologie and he Mercurie.

Him thought that bow the weenged god Mercurie
Byforn him stood, and bad him to be murye.
\end{quote}

10091

9606

1387

Here we have all three spellings mirye, merye, murye of the same word, the first rhyming distinctly with \textit{i} short or long, \textit{(i)} or \textit{(ii)}, and the two last rhyming with \textit{u} long which we must consider as (yy). Now in the Schipmannes Tale there is occasion to mention the town of Bruges, and we find it spelled Bruges 14466, but Brigges 14472, 14669, 14712, which must have been intended for the same sound. Recollecting that the sound of (y) short is in Sweden, Denmark, and most of Germany scarcely distinguished from (\textit{i}) short, into which it very often entirely falls, it occurred to me that the explanation of this use of \textit{u} short as \textit{i} might be a similar vagueness or indistinctness of pronunciation, and that the scribe, writing from dictation, either actual or internal, (for it will be found that the copyist usually pronounces the words to himself as he writes, with a mental effort which reproduces the sound to his consciousness although it is externally inaudible, and although the organs of speech are not even put into the corresponding positions), feeling doubtful, occasionally wrote \textit{u}, but generally \textit{i} or \textit{e}. This theory supposes that the (y) was a known English sound, and that the \textit{u} represented the Anglosaxon \textit{y}. In the words busy, bury where the old \textit{u} spelling has clung to the words notwithstanding the (\textit{i}, \textit{e}) sounds, we have \textit{y} in Anglosaxon byssig, byrigan. Trust is marked by Salesbury as having the sound (\textit{i}), and so it has in Scotch, where (pit) or (pet) is also said occasionally for \textit{put}. This again calls to mind the East Anglian (kiv\textit{er})\footnote{The East Anglian \textit{Promptorium} writes cuverynge, and, in connection with the words we have been previously considering, it is interesting to note the spellings fydyll fiddle, fa\textit{dyr} father, gylte guilt, forst first, hyllys hills, p\textit{y}l pit, putt put, lusty lusty lusty, cystyr sister, Mercurye Mercury, m\textit{yr}y merry.} for (kuv\textit{er}), now (kav\textit{\textae}) = \textit{cover}, mentioned in Gill, and also his denunciation of the Mopey transformation of (butsh\textit{erz} meet) into (b\textit{tsh}\textit{erz} miiit). There would seem therefore to be some physiological connection between \textit{u} short, and \textit{i} short, which must be sought for in the elevation of the tongue, both being high wide vowels, although (\textit{u}) is back and (\textit{i}) front, (\textit{u}) round and (\textit{i}) primary.

This theory that, when short \textit{u} stood for short \textit{i} or \textit{e}, it was in fact meant for the short sound of the French \textit{u} (\textit{y}), of which the long sound was at that time represented also by \textit{u}, will receive additional corroboration in the next chapter.
In Trevisa's Higden, taking the chapter 59, *De Incolarum Linguis* and comparing the text in Mr. Morris's Specimens of Early English, p. 338, taken from the Brit. Mus. MS. Tiberius, D. vii., with the Harleian MS. 1900, and Caxton's edition (Brit. Mus. C. 21. d) I find the following spellings:

**Tiberius D. vii.**

- *buþ*
- *furste*
- *bur̄etonge*
- *sùþthe*
- *lurnede*
- *wondur*
- *undurstondeþ*

**Harleian, 1900.**

- *beþ*
- *first*
- *bir̄etonge*
- *sìþfe*
- *ler̄ned*
- *wonder*
- *vnderstondeþ*

**Caxton.**

- *ben*
- *first*
- *langage*
- *syn, syth*
- *lerned*
- *wonder*
- *vnderstande*

This comparison at any rate shews that different scribes had a different feeling as to the vowel that should be employed, and proves the practical identity of this short *u* with short *i* or *e*. If any one will resolutely say,¹ (byth, fyrst, byr̄th-etug, syth-e, lyr-nede, wun-dyr, un-dyrstondeþ), and then compare his pronunciation with provincial utterances of the same words, which are the best living representatives of the ancient, he will be better able to appreciate the trouble of the scribe in selecting the proper letter, on the theory here advanced. It must be borne in mind that the scribe was quite familiar with long (yy) and had a letter for it, *u*, and that he had no other letter for short (y) but the same *u*, although he had three signs for short (*u*), viz. *u*, *o*, *ou*. In such a case he most probably felt it to be a greater liberty to use *i*, or *e*, than *u* in many words, although, to avoid the ambiguity of sound (y, u) in the letter *u*, he often employed *i*, *e*.

Although it is of course possible that there was a dialectic West of England pronunciation (*u*) which replaced (y) or (ê),² it is at least extremely doubtful, and certainly cannot apply to the indifferent use by the same writer of *u* and *e* in similar situations in the same sentence as already pointed out (p. 298).

¹ Without considerable practice an Englishman may find the distinct enunciation of these words very troublesome, especially when he feels bound to keep himself clear of (*u*, *i*, *e*). The true short (y) in a closed syllable is an especial stumbling block to Englishmen. Prof. Max Müller, gets so often called (Mål-a) and (Mål-a), that it is a pity English people do not know that these sounds would be unintelligible in Germany, where their own (Mål-a) would be readily understood. Even Wilkins, who lived at a time when we know from Wallis that (yy) was a common sound in England, and who must have constantly heard the sound from Wallis himself, says that this vowel is of "laborious and difficult pronunciation . . . . especially in the distinction of long and short." See supra p. 176.

² Mr. Barnes, in his Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect, 1848, p. 31, says: "U in dull, will, is rather unsettled, being mostly sounded in the Vale of Blackmore as *u* in *bull* (*u*); but in some parts *will* is *wul*, *u* in *lul* (*o*), and sometimes *will* with the *u* of German müller (*y*). . . . In the Vale of Blackmoor *will* is at different times *wul*, *wull* and *willi* (*wul*, *wal*, *wyl*) even in the same mouth." In the introductory letter to Nathan Hogg's Letters in the Devonshire Dialect, by Mr. Henry Baird, of Exeter, 1847, 12mo, pp. 51, I find the following orthographies kindly interpreted for me.
The conclusion is that U in the xivth century was generally \( yy \), but short U was occasionally employed for \( i, o \), which were generally sounds into which a more ancient, originally Anglosaxon \( y \), had fallen, although through errors of the scribe U was employed in many words for I, E simply.

**EU, EW — xivth Century.**

In the xivth century there were two pronunciations of this combination, as there were also in the French language, \( yy, eu \). The following lists may be collected from Chap. III., under the headings \( eu \) (p. 137) and \( u \) (p. 160), where the italicised words in \( ew \) are now spelled with \( we \).

\( Eu = (yy) \); blew, brew, gleeve, knew, mew (of hawks), new, rewe (a plant), slew, snew, brewe.

\( Eu = (eu) \); dewe (moisture), ewe, fewe, to hew, mew (of cats), sewer (a waiter), shew, shrewe, strew.

Rhymes in \( ew \) are necessarily few in number. I have noted rather more than thirty in the Canterbury Tales. For the purposes of comparison an alphabetical list of all the words in these rhymes, including one Latin word, and a few words whose spellings seemed of importance, though they do not occur in rhyming syllables, has been annexed. Against each word its pronunciation in the xivth century has been written, when it could be ascertained, on the authority of Bull. (Bullokar), But. (Butler), G. (Gill), P. (Palsgrave), Sa. (Salesbury), Sm. (Smith). The immediate ags. (Anglosaxon), or fr. (French, often old French), origin follows, together with the orthography, when it could be found, in the Pr. (Promptorium), the first being the reading in Mr. Albert Way’s text, and the subsequent ones those which he adds from other MS. Next follow the rhymes in which the word occurs, with its orthography in the place and the reference number. By this means a complete comparative view of all the words is furnished, which will enable us to draw a satisfactory conclusion.

by Mr. J. Shelly, of Plymouth, in which \( u \) is apparently used for \( a, o, u, y, yy, a, oo \); var (var) for \( vor (vorri) \) very, guide (gisd) good, du (dy, dy) do, purmoting (pormoتن) promoting, dude (dud) did, youve (yyvy) you’ve, •• (av) of, kase (кася) course, tull (tul) tell, spull (spal) spell, beutiful (beutiful) beautiful, use (ais) else, abut (ob’l, eb’al) able, uny (on i) only, thur (dha) thee, selling (wol’in) willing, buxes (books) books, a•• (adyy) adieu. Here we have dude (du) precisely as in the xiii th century, in Robert of Gloucester etc, but tull, spull (tal, spal) seem to indicate an ancient (tal, spal); yet this

may not be the case, for (tal, spal) may be representatives of (tal, spal). The Devonshire \( y \) is here seen to be uncertain and to admit \( a \) as well. The same is the case in Norfolk. Mr. M. Bell hears French \( u \) as \( a \). In Nathan Hogg’s New Series of poems, including ‘Mackey Lane’ a ghost story in the Devonshire Dialect, dedicated by permission to H.I.R. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, London, 1864, 12mo, pp. 52, Mr. Baird uses an italic \( u \) for the \( yy, wo \) sound, reserving roman \( u \) for the others, and similarly uses \( a \) for \( a \), and the whole orthography is much improved.
A careful examination of this list would shew that if attention is confined only to the words for which we have xviith century authority, the old classes would remain undisturbed, because no \((y)\) word rhymes with an \((eu)\) word or conversely. But if we remark that *hue* rhymes with *true, knew*, and also *rue*, and that *rue*, which rhymes with *hue*, also rhymes with *true* and with *shrew*, we are led to conclude that *true* and *shrew* would have rhymed in the xivth, as they do in the xixth century. But this breaks up the old classification altogether. On examining the etymological relations, it will be seen that the old classification is at variance with them, but taking them as a basis we can divide the words into two classes, French and Anglosaxon,—including in the latter, words certainly Germanic, though not accurately traced,—as follows:

French—*blue, due, eschew, glue, new, renew, stew, sue.*
Anglosaxon—*drunkelwe, few, how to hack, how servant, hue, knew, new, row row, rue, shew, shrew, threw, true.*

The following table then shews that words of the first class rhyme together, but no word of the first class rhymes with any word of the second class. The first class corresponds to a French *u*, the second to an Anglosaxon *iu, ew*. Taking into consideration the Latin rhyme: *de coitu*, eschieu 9685, as well as the derivation of these words, there can be little doubt that in Chaucer’s time the first class had \((y)\) and the second \((eu)\). This distinction, then so carefully kept, was not understood in the xviith century in which several of the \((eu)\) words, as *knew, new, true*, had fallen into the \((y)\) class. At present all the \((y)\) class, and most of the \((eu)\) class have formed an \((iu)\) class,\(^1\) except when, through the influence of a preceding \((r)\), the modern English organs naturally change \((iu)\) into \((uu)\), but some of the \((eu)\) class have become \((oo)\) as *shew*, now more frequently written *show*. In such a word as *Theseus 862*, there is no diphthong, and we have to read (Thee-se,us).

In the xivth century then it will be safest to call *EU, EW, (yy)*, in words of French origin, and \((eu)\) in all other words.

**Alphabetical List of EW Rhymes, etc.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>beauty (beu’ti) G., fr. beanté, Pr. bewte, beawtwe decor, bewte 2387</th>
<th>due (dry) Sm. G., fr. dü, Pr. duly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blue (blyy) Sm. ags. bleah, bleow, bleo, blio, Pr. bloo lividus; blewe mewe (for hawks) 10957</td>
<td>deblate, due eschiewe 9325, eschew dewe 3045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coitu, Lt. de coitu, eschieu 9685. As the practical identity of the spelling <em>te with e</em> has already been established, no weight can be laid on the variant <em>teu</em> as distinct from <em>eu.</em></td>
<td>eschew, fr. eschiver, eschever, eschnur, esquier, Pr. achwyn cite; eschien coitu 9685, eschiewe due 9325, eschew dewe 3045, eschiewed seved = followed 16823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drunkelwe, Pr. drunkelwe (see Mr. Albert Way’s note there) obrious, drunkelwe schrewhe 7627, 9407, 13910</td>
<td>fewe (fwi) P. Sm. G., ags. feawa; Pr. fewe paucus; fewe schewe 7431, 12546, 13758, fewe schrewhe 14234</td>
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<td>glue (glyy) P., fr. glu birdline, guyer stick together, Pr. glwyn visco, i-glewew renewed 10495</td>
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\(^1\) For the Scotch sounds, see p. 298, note 1, at the end.
hew (heu) Bull., ags. heawan, heavian, Pr. hewys seeo, hakke and hewe, lay hem on a rewe = row, 2867
hew = bind, domestic servant, ags. hiwa; hewe untrewe 9659.
hew, ags. hiw, hiw, heow; biewe trewe 13833, hewe trewe 10901, 17207, hewe newe 1089, 10953, 11327, hewerew = have compassion 12656
knew (kny) But., ags. cnewe perf. from cnudean; knewe newe 14995, knewe rewe = repent, 3081
new, for hawks, (myy) P. Sm. fr. mue place for putting poultry to fatten; P. mue for haukes meve; Pr. mv of hawkys, falconarium, meve or cowle, mv, saginarium; meve (for poultry) stewe 351, mewe (for hawks) biewe 10957
new (nyy) Sm. G., ags. neewe, niwe, nywe; Pr. newe, nev, novus; newe hewe, 1089, 10953, 11327, newe trewe 14344, 16535, newe untrewe 737, 12970, 15514, knewe newe 14995, newe threwe (error for through) 14983
remew, fr. remuer; Pr. remown or remyven, amoeeo; remewed i-glewed 10495.
row, ags. rawa, Pr. rowe series; lay hem on a rewe = row, hakke and hewe 2867
rue, pain, repentance, repent; ags. hrew, hrewan; Pr. ruwyn poeniteo compator; rewe = pain schrewe 6087, rewe = have compassion trewe 1865, rewe = repent trewe 3529, rewe = have composition hewe = hue 12656, rewe = repent knewe 3081
rule, fr. riule monastic rule, Pr. rowele of techyne, regula, norma; reule 173, rules 1674
ruth, see rue, quasi hrewye Pr. ruthe compasio; reuth = compassion

5074, reuth = compassion treuth
14608, routhe = compassion, treoutu slouthe = sloth 4949
shew (sheu) Sm. G. Bull, ags. seawian seawian; Pr. schewe or schewe ynge monstracio; schewe schrewe 5865, 12844, schewe fewe 7431, 12546, 13758
shrew (shreu) P., etymology unknown, see Wedgewood 3, 176. Pr. schreeva, schrewyd pra- vatus, schrewyd hertyd praevior, schrewe nesses praevitas, schrewe rewe = pain 6087; schrewe schewe 5865, 12844, schrewe drenkelaye 7627, 9407, 13910, schewe fewe 14234
stew, fr. estuve, Pr. stuwyn mete, styuyn, stupko; stuwyn menn or bathyn, styuyn in a sw, balneo; stwe fysche pond, stewe, vivarium; stwe bathe, stupha; stwe = fish pond mewe (for poultry) 551, styves = brothels lyves 6914
sue, fr. suiir, sivire, sivre, sewir; Pr. syvn or pursyvn perseguor, suwynge sequula, svinge successus; sewed eschewed 16823
surety (syyr) Sa. Bull., fr. seur; seurte 1606, sewerte 6485
through ags. þrew; threw (error for 12970, threwe) newe 14983
true (tryy) P. Sa. Bull. G., ags. treowe, trywe; Pr. true verus, truwe mann verax, trewe hewe = hue 10901, 17207, trewe hiewe = hue 13836, trewe rewe 1865, 3529, trewe newe 14344, 16535.
truth, ags. trew, Pr. trouthe veritas, treuth reuth 14608, trouthe theoute theoute slouthe = sloth 4949
untrue, see true, untrue hewe = servant 9659, untrue newe 737, 15514
value, fr. value; valieu 14582

OU, OW — XIV th Century.

As we have already had occasion to remark (p. 236), when the letter u, which is the natural representative of the (uu) sound in all languages that have adopted the Roman alphabet, has come to lose its proper sound, as in French, Dutch, Swedish, English, but that sound remains in the language, it becomes necessary to adopt some other notation for (uu). The (uu) sound in these cases has been generally a transformed (oo). Hence it lay ready at hand to use o simply for this sound, as we have seen was occasionally done in Chaucer (p. 267), and is still done in move, etc., and as the Swedes have been content to do. The Dutch employ oe for (uu), as they
use oo and o for (oo), but, as appears from the history of this orthography (p. 236, note 3), oe was in fact long o used as (uu), precisely as in the last case. The French used ou, in the earliest existing documents,¹ though the Normans used u for both (yy) and (uu) apparently, as may be seen in the French original of Henry III.'sds English proclamation, Chap. V, § 3, No. 1. On an examination of the documents of the xivth century it will be found that the use of u for i, e, representing the y, that is (y), of the Anglosaxon, greatly increased towards the end of the period, so that confusions between the values of u as (uu, yy) became annoying. Writers then appear to have introduced the spelling ou towards the close of that period, in conjunction with u, to represent (uu), but, the convenience being manifest, ou became general by the early part of the xivth century. These facts will be established in the next chapter, and are here only stated by way of anticipation. There was one disadvantage in the use of ou, namely that it had also to be employed for (oou), but this occasions very slight inconvenience. In the present place we have only to establish that ou really represented (uu) generally, and consequently (u) occasionally, in Chaucer.

As the use of u for short (u, u) was already well fixed, and its use for i, e was rapidly going out, ou was of course not so frequently employed for short (u) as for long (uu). Examples however occur, thus: ou 5729 stands for us, outerly 6245 for utterly, and the orthographies Arrious 6344 for Arrian, Caukous 6722 for Caeusus, leave no doubt of the use of ou as short (u). Curiously enough the sound of (uu) fell into (ou) about the xvith century (p. 150), and ou served then to represent that sound without change of spelling. But after this it became important to distinguish the (uu) and (oo) sounds of long o, and the orthography oo, adopted for the former (p. 96), has remained in use to the present day. In the unaccented syllables -our, representing -(uor), the orthography was left unchanged as well as the pronunciation. In the xvth century these syllables fell into (-or), and either the o or u in -our was felt to be superfluous. In quite recent times factions have been formed, one requiring -or to be used universally, others maintaining that -our should be preserved to distinguish the words that come from the French, which now exhibits -eur, corresponding to a later development of that language. In Chaucer's time however -our was used, simply because the pronunciation was (-uor), as -oun was used for the present common termination -on, compare corrupcioun 13950, confession 1735, region 2083, visison 7259, leon 6377, etc., which were pronounced (un) or (uun) even in the xivth century (p. 99). We have retained -ous unaltered, and this was also (-us) in the xvi th century (p. 150).

¹ Dies, Gram. d. Rom. Spr. 1, 429, 2nd ed., where he quotes Benary Röm. Lautlehre, 82, to show that the Old Romans occasionally used ou as a mere orthographical sign for u, and remarks that it was even employed for a short vowel, as navebous = navibus, observing that Mommsen (Unterit. Dialec. 217) and Ritschl (De milliario Popillano, p. 34) are of a different opinion, and consider that in really old inscriptions ou = ov, and not u.
As Palsgrave (p. 149), and Bullokar (p. 152), in the xvirth century recognized this (uu) sound of ou, it will only be necessary to introduce a few examples.

Rhymes with Latin Names:—Theseus, desireous 1675, curious, Darius 6079, Venus, contrarious 6279, Apius, lecherous 13680, Claudius, corragous 15821, vicious, Swethoneus = Suetonius 15949, Antiochius, venemous 16061.

Rhymes with French Words:—

What will ye dine? I will go there aboute.
Now, dame, quod he, jeo vous du saunz doubt. 7419
Full many maybe bright in bour
They mourne for him, par amour. 15153

Compare—
And but thou do my norice honoure
And to my chamber withinne my boure. 5882

Natural Sound.—The cry of the cuckoo was certainly intended to be (kuk'ku'n'), and this determines ow in
This croue song, Cuckow, cuckow, cuckow!
What brid, quod Phesus, what song syngistow now? 17175

Perfectly Saxon words as bour, now, aboute, having thus the sound of (uu) established, we may feel sure of it in other cases, as: hous Caukasous 6721, thus vicious 7629, dowte aboute 489, tour honour 2029, Arthour honour 6440, dortour hour 7437, powre laboure 185, flour odour 2939, hour schour 3519, emperour honour flour 5507, in an hour (error for houre), to honoure 14954, houres schoures 3195, 10431, and hence schowres 1 = (shuur' es); yow how 7982, youthe nouthe 463, to give the child to souke, all in the crouke 4155, colours (error for coloures) floures 10824, licour flour 3, adoun broun 394, licourous moss 3345, pitous moss 143, houndes stoundes 5867, stounde founde 5441, vertuous hous 251, for to touche, in his couche 5669, untrouthe routhe 5107. Whence also we conclude that: cowde 110, flowtyng 91, drowpud 107, embrowdid 88, so woweth hire 3372, thay blew and pouped, thay schryked and thay houped 16885, facound 13465, and numerous other words in ou, have also (uu) or (u).

As examples of those cases in which ou, ow, had the sound (ou) maintained in the xvirth century as (ou) practically, but (oo) theoretically, we may take: anoon the soules, with fleischhok or with oules = avuls, ags. sawl, awul 7311, Bowe, unkowne 125, lowe knowe 2301, I trowe, undurgrowe 155.

In the provinces two sounds of ou, ow are also common. One of these is (uu) in almost all districts, but the others varies as (aa, AA, au, iau, ou, iou), and even (au, ou), and there is great difficulty in obtaining a satisfactory account of what the sounds really are, and consequently in classifying them. The following lists referring to the dialect of South Shields,1 will serve as a specimen. For the

1 Obligingly communicated by the Rev. C. Y. Potts, of Ledbury.
present purpose the most important point to dwell on is the persistence of the (uu) sound.

\[ \text{o}u = (\text{uu}) \text{ in: down, town, crown, tower, now, trowsers, how, flower, power, drowned, cow, sow, bow s. & v. flectere, bow arcus} = (\text{bau}). \]

\[ \text{o}u = (\text{uu}) \text{ in: plough, round, sound, mound, hound, doubt, thou, about, count, out, house, sour, flour;—found, bound, ground, these three words are also pronounced with (o), but this is for the dialect even, very vulgar;—our, which is vulgarly (war).} \]

\[ \text{ou} = (\text{au}) \text{ in: brought, sought, fought, bought, thought, ought s. & v., nought, soul, four, loup s. & v. = leap, coup = exchange.} \]

\[ \text{ow} = (\text{aa}) \text{ in: blow, snow, low adj., row s., crow, slow, below, know, callow, arrow, barrow;—owe, own, another and less vulgar pronunciation of these words would be (au, aun), and in these words generally (au) not (oo) would be the alternative pronunciation.} \]

\[ o = (\text{au}) \text{ in: old, cold, also (aad, kaad);—sold, told, also (seld, teld);—old, bold, fold;—stroll, toll, roll;—over (au'er).} \]

(au) is heard in: daughter, neither, either, loose, sew, chew, mew, row v. & s., low = flame, bow arcus.

Mr. Murray has been kind enough to furnish the following interesting account of the Scotch usages:

"In all the Scottish dialects the Anglosaxon long u, and French ou, retain their old sound (uu, u) before a consonant as: bour (buur) bower, clour a swelling caused by a blow, dour, stubborn, flower (fluur), hour (uur), power (puur), tour (ets juur tuur to plee) its your turn to play, tower, sour, stour1 loose dust, shower, scour, devour (di-vuur), our (uur), your, pour (puur), cower (kuur), spout (spuut), shout, lout (luut) A.S. lūtian, to stoop, rouse, bouse (ruuz, buuz).

"In the following the vowel is shortened in quantity but unchanged in quality: brown (brun), crown, doun (duin), drown (drun), gown, loun, town (tun), bowl Fr. boule (bul), foul, fowl (ful), swim (sum), sum (sum), howl, yowl, scowl, owl, howlet Fr. houlette (nul'œt), mouldy, course, court (kurs, kurt), source, douche, croose (kruus) sprightly, house, mouse, louse, mouth (muth), drouth, south, Soutra.2 soutier, snout, out, about, (ut, øbut'), doubt, clout, bout (u dreqk'in but) a drinking bout, stout, scout, pouch, vouch, crouch, often (kruntsh), couch, bulk (buk), duck verb—"

\[ 1 \text{ The first stanza of Burns's address} \]

"to a Mountain Daisy, on turning one down with the plough, in April, 1786,"

Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flower,
Thou's met me in an evil hour;
For I maun crush among the stoure
Thy slender stem;
To spare thee now is past my pow'r,
Thou bonnie gem,

\[ 2 \text{ The hilly ridge which separates the Lothians from the south country.} \]"
the noun is (dyk, doek),—drouk to drench, jok to elude, louk, pouk to pick, pilfer, ploock to pluck, suck, toue o'drum, stouk a shock of corn.

"The combination -ound is, like -ind, in a transition state; the past participles: bound, found, ground, wound, are usually (ban, fand, gran, wan), and ground s. (grand), but I consider this to be recent, for I have heard (u) in some of these from old people, and we always hear it in: Where are ye (bun) or (bund) for, to beat the (bunds), boondit, boondarie, boun’tree: and the sound is always used in round (rund), sound, to found, founded, foundation, stound a fit or ‘spell’ as (u stund o dhe teeth’ek) = a fit of the toothache. Hound is occasionally (mand), usually (mund).

"Anglosaxon u final is also (uu) in most of the Scottish dialects. but in that of the Southern counties, the same law which has developed long i into (ei), here develops (uu) into (au). The following words therefore pronounced in the other dialects with (uu) are pronounced in Teviotdale and Dumfrieshshire with (au): cow, sow, how, you, now, bow to bend, through, doo dove,1 loco to love, brow, fu’ full, tipsy, goût, an after taste (guu), Tev. (gau), as (it has a kwir gau abut: it) = it has a queer flavour about it, pu’ pull, (suprâ p. 287,) mou’ mouth.

"The Borderers thus pronouncing (au) where the other Scots say (uu),—where the others say (au) they advance a step and say (ou), so that the following words are in the Lothians pronounced (au), in Teviotdale (ou), in English (oo) or (ou): bow arcus, grow, dow to avail, howe a hollow, knowe a knoll, bowe a boll,2 lowe3 a flame, powe a poll, rowe roll, row, stow, tow, trow, thowe to thaw, drow a Scotch mist, a drizzle, bowl, soul, four, glower to stare, ower over.

"The two pronunciations may be shewn thus:

Central Scotch: (four boulz fuu e nuu malk fe dhe kuu)
Teviotdale: (four boulz fuu e nuu malk thra4 dhe kuu)
English: four bowls full of new milk from the cow.

The conclusion seems therefore to be that OU, OW in the xivth century should be read as (uu, u) except in those cases where aw, or simple o was used in Anglosaxon.

1 A school inspector wishing to get the sound of (uu) out of a Hawick girl, and unaware of this peculiarity of pronunciation, asked her what she called a pigeon, (A dau) replied she, and posed him as much as the child posed the teacher, who, wanting to obtain from him the word take, asked him: "What would you do, if I gave you a piece of cake?" and received the very natural reply: "Eat it."

2 Compare Sir T. Smith’s Bow, Bowl, supra p. 151.

3 Compare— (Dharz le’t wat en dhe pou
Dhat lechts dhe kan’t at dhe lou)
=There’s little wit in the poll or head,
That lights the candle at the low or
flame;
and the pun on the names of Messe. Lowe and Bright at the Edinburgh Reform Demonstration: “The Lowe that’ll never burn Bright” (Dhe lou dhat’never burn breht).

4 So likewise in the Barnsley dialect throo is used for from.
§ 3. The Consonants.

Very little is to be learned from the rhymes respecting the consonants. With our knowledge of the xvi

B, C, CH, D, F.

B, CH, D, F.

B when silent as in doubt, debt, was not written thus: doucte 489, schette 282. It was otherwise (b) of course.

C was (s) or (k), according to the same rules as at present, but ei- remained (si-) and had not become (sh). In the termination -tion, we find c, s, t interchanging, shewing the identity of sound, but it always formed two syllables. Compare

| Lo, heer hath kynd his dominacioun, | 17114 |
| And appetit flemeth discretion. | 17214 |
| 0 wantrust, ful of fals suspicion | 16795 |
| Where was thy wit and thy discretion. | |
| And eke he was of such discretion. | |

CH was generally (tsh), see J, K.

D was (d) of course.

F seems to have been always (f), so that of must be called (of) not (ov). Judging from other writing, as Robert of Gloucester and Trevisa, u or v would have been used had (v) been pronounced. Mr. Murray says that of is still pronounced (of) in the North, when the consonant is retained before a vowel, as (dha mid of v bist) the head of a beast.

G, GN.

G followed the same rule as at present, and was (g) in all Saxon words, but in French words (g) before a, o, u, and (dzh) before (e, i). See J.

GN occasionally represented simple n, as in the couplet

Sche may unto a knave child atteigne
By liklihed, sith sche nys not bareigne.

where gn represents an old French gn, in baraignes, which was probably (nj) as now, so that (atain barain') would be the natural English representatives. Accordingly the MS. Univ. Cam. Dd. 4. 24, here writes atteyne, bareyne; a spelling found also in Harl. 7334, in

Thou maist to thy desir somtyme atteyne
But I that am exiled, and bareyne
Of alle grace.

while gn and n rhyme in

And of hisoughne vertu unconstreigned
Sche hath ful ofte tymte hire seek y-freyed.

where we should have expected gn in the second line as much as in the first. Companye 24, was also commonly written for: compaignye 3837.
How were *digne*, *benigne* 519, pronounced? As Anglo-French (*diyn*-e, *beniyn*-e)? Or after the custom of Latin pronunciation (*maq*nus*, *iq*nis) in the middle ages—testified by the medieval Latin orthography, and still existing in Salesbury’s time,—as (*diyn* *dign*nte, *beniyn* *be*­*nig*nte, *sain* *signifi*­*ve*)? The question affects also such words as *dignite*, *signifie*, *sign*. Here the modern use *condign* *dignity*, *benign* *benignity*, *sign* *signify* (*kundoin *dig*­*niti*, *binoyn* *binyg*­*niti*, *sain* *signi*­*fai*) would seem to lead to an anterior (*diyn* *dign*nte, *beniyn* *be*­*nig*nte, *sain* *signifi*­*ve*). But the old example of *i-seined* for *signed* in Henry III.’s English proclamation, throws a doubt over this. As however the special word *sign*, had assumed a thoroughly Saxon form, *segnyan* to sign or bless, *segnung* a signing with the cross or blessing, the (*ai*) sound would be developed naturally by the passage of the guttural *g* into (*j*).

Can we consider the forms: *deynous* 3939, *6·114*, *deyne* 3961, *5·204*, *deyneth* 5·288 as conclusive. The French *digne*, *daigner*, shew a double form in these words, and hence leave us still in doubt. The word: *dyne* 4·200, 4·201, = *dine*, was in French *disgnner*, *dispner*, and is considered by Roquefort to be derived from the commencement of the grace *dignare*, *domine*, but the etymology is so doubtful¹ that no weight can be attached to this. The termination -igne is not found rhyming either with -eyne or -yne, and this would à priori lead us to conclude that the sound was different from either, that is, neither (*-ain*-*e*) nor (*-iyne*-*e*). But we find: *digne* *benigne* *resign* 4·125, 4·225, *sygne* *benygone* 5·183, *digne* *signe* 5·330, so that the old and proved (*sain*) and the occasional (*dain*) would seem to imply also (*benain*-*e*, *resain*-*e*). On the other hand Gill writes (*benig*-*n*) or (*benig*-*n*) for *benign*, and this ought to imply that he did not know the pronunciation (*benain*-*e*), which may nevertheless have existed, and been ignored. Jones, however, 1701, gives only (*binig*-*on*), though he admits (*soyn*, *resain*-*e*), and Salesbury and Smith give (*soyn*), Gill (*soyn*), Buchanan and Sheridan in the xviii th century give (*binoyn* *bimain*-*e*). Similar difficulties have existed in the pronunciations of *impugn*, *impregn*.

If the sound (*ain*) had prevailed in Chaucer’s time, we should have expected (*ain*), not (*ein*) in the xvi th century. Bullokar seems to write (*siyn*), and the (*soyn*) of the xvi th and (*soyn*) of the xix th century are in harmony with this, which would imply (*siyn*) in Chaucer also. In this doubt the safest plan seems to be to adopt (*iyn*) for Chaucer’s pronunciation, admitting the secondary form (*ain*) when *eyn* is written. This will be consistent with the present and intermediate pronunciation, with the general use of *i* in Chaucer,

¹ Diez (Gr. de R.S. i, 439 note, 2nd ed) says that *dign* occurs in old French with silent *z*, as *brigans dignes* rhymed with *brigandines* citing Ducange sub voce *briga*. And the MS. 188 of Mag. Coll. Oxford, cited by M. Géni (Introduc- 

2 Among the etymons given are *deunevn*, *decoenare*, *decima* (hora), *sdiginaire*, *dejeauare* = *disjeunare*. See Donkin’s Diez, sub *desinare*.  

CHAP. IV. § 3. \thinspace G, GN — XIV TH CENTURY.  

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and with his use of \textit{gn}-\textit{e} in other words, and as regards the word \textit{sign} would imply that he took it from the French with the other words, or designedly adopted a French in preference to the antiquated pronunciation (\textit{sain}). The question is one of extreme difficulty and the conclusion is doubtful.

\textbf{GH, Y, Z}

The modern editors usually represent \textit{z} or rather \textit{j} by \textit{gh} when medial and final, and by \textit{g} or \textit{y} when initial. In Mr. Morris’s Chaucer Extracts he purposed to shew where the manuscript exhibited \textit{j} for his printed \textit{gh}, \textit{y}, by italicising these letters. He has not carried out his plan with sufficient accuracy to make an examination of the MS. unnecessary.\footnote{Assuming, however, that where he has used the italics, \textit{j} was employed in the MS., we obtain the following results for the Prologue, Knightes Tale, and Nonne Prestes Tale, in which I have here used a common \textit{z} in place of \textit{z} or \textit{j}. The numbers annexed to the words indicate the observed number of occurrences of this orthography.}

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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{rizt}</td>
<td>\textit{zelleden}</td>
<td>\textit{ziven}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the orthography is not consistent, for \textit{gh} is often employed in the MS. Thus, accepting Mr. Morris’s edition as correct, except in the words \textit{you}, etc., we find in the Prologue only:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{brought}</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>\textit{caughte}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bythought}</td>
<td>\textit{draught}</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{caught}</td>
<td>\textit{drought}</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This character in the MSS. is generally indistinguishable from \textit{z}, so that when an editor prints some words with \textit{j} and others with \textit{z} he is making an arbitrary distinction like that of separating \textit{u}, \textit{v}. In Mr. Morris’s edition of \textit{Sir Gawaine for the Early English Text Society}, \textit{j} is printed for both \textit{z} and \textit{z}. It would have been more consistent with the employment of Roman types to use \textit{z} instead of \textit{j} in both cases. This is the plan I have pursued in the following lists, and it is one followed by older printers and embalmed in the Scotch Menzies, Dalzel, Mackenzie, which are often called (\textit{Meq’iz}, \textit{Di’el}, \textit{De’el}, \textit{Maken’iz}) in Scotland, see p. 298, n.

2 Thus in v. 34 and 38 he prints ‘\textit{yow}’ in place of ‘\textit{yow}’ that is ‘\textit{jow}’.
high 1 neigh 2 oughte 1 taughte 1
highte 1 neighge 1 rought 1 though 2
inough 1 night 1 right 4 thought 2
knight 2 nightertale 1 seigh 1 wight 1
might 4 nightyngale 1 sleight 1 wright 1
mighte 1 nought 1 streight 1 wroughte 1
mighnten 1

It may be doubtful whether y is ever used initially, in the modern sense. I have not observed any instance in the MS., but I have not examined it thoroughly with this view. The use of y was quite established however before the time of printing.

The reader is requested to refer to the remarks on gh in Chap. III. (pp. 209-214). As gh still retained its guttural sounds in the xvi th century, we cannot but believe that it had these sounds in the xiv th, whatever may have been the Anglosaxon original sounds. The divarications of (kh) into (kjh, kwh) pointed out in the remarks referred to, so that it sank to (j, i) on the one hand, and (wh, u) on the other, are well shewn. Thus, to the first class belong theigh = (dhai)k for though,

For theigh thou night and day take of hem heed. 10926
which becomes simply they (dhai) in
That Chaucer, they he can but lewedly
On metres and on rhyming craftly. 4467
and similarly seigh 9605, sey 13307 for saw.

1 The sound is hardly lost yet in the provinces, thus Prof. Sedgwick in the work cited above, p. 289, note 4, says:

"The suppression of the guttural sounds is, I think, the greatest of all the modern changes in the spoken language of the northern counties. Every syllable which has a vowel or diphthong followed by gh was once the symbol of a guttural sound: and I remember the day when all the old men in the Dales sounded such words as sigh, night, sight, (sikh, nikht, sikht), &c., with a gentle guttural breathing, and many other words, such as trough, rough, tough (trookh, ruukh, tuukh), had their utterance, each in a grand sonorous guttural. The former of these guttural sounds seemed partly to come from the palate; the latter from the chest. Both were aspirated and articulated; and differed entirely from the natural and simple vocal sounds of the guttural vowels ă, ŏ (aa, AA). All the old people who remember the contested elections of Westmoreland, must have [p. 104] heard in the Dales of that county the deep guttural thunder in which the name—Harry Broughan (Bruhw-em)—was reverberated among the mountains. But we no longer hear the first syllable of Broughan sounded from the caverns of the chest,—thereby at once reminding us of our grand northern ancestry, and of an ancient fortress of which Brough (Brukw) was the written symbol. The sound first fell down to Bruffham (Brufum, Brofum), but was too vigorous for the nerves of modern ears; and then fell lower still into the monosyllabic broom (Bruum, p. 153)—an implement of servile use. We may polish and soften our language by this smoothing process; yet in so doing we are forgetting the tongue of our fathers; and, like degenerate children, we are cutting ourselves off from true sympathy with our great northern progenitors, and depriving our spoken language of a goodly part of its variety of form and grandeur of expression."—p. 103-4, palaeotype introduced. Mr. Murray notes that the Southern (o) is always (u) in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and that (ruf, tuf, Bruf,) are the present pronunciations of rough, tough, Brough, in those counties, and (Bruum) for Brougham in Cumberland.
To the second class belong lawghe 476, loch 3117 = laugh, saugh 5268, 9726, sauch 5265 = saw. ¹ Compare also herbergh 767, herberw 4117, herberw 4143. Sometimes the transition is complete as in

For, as I trowe, I have yow told ynowe
To reys a feend, al loke he never so rowe.

where y-nowe, rowe (inuu, ruu) stand for enough, rough, in which the modern sound of (f), as already suggested in p. 213, has arisen from (wh). So frequent was this change in the word enough, that it is sometimes neglected in writing as

For had we him, than were we syker y-nough,
But unto God of heven I make wowo.

only a couplet beyond the last example quoted, where we must read (inuu, avuu̯). Similarly ynow, now 12946, where ynow should be read as in you, y-nouw 11019. Plough which rhymes with inough 889, 3159, had generally the pronunciation (pluukh), and this reduced to (pluu), (shewn in the spelling plow, which I have noticed elsewhere, but not in Harl. 7334, an orthography found also in the authorized version of the Bible in the xvii th century), ² generated the modern (plou). ³ The following rhymes may also be noted:

When that he saugh that al the peple lough.
No more of this, for it is right y-nough.
He also hath to do more than y-nough
To kepe him & his capil out of the slough.

Compare
Now is my cart out of the sloo parde.
In which ther ran a symwbul in a sough
As it were a storme schuld berst every bough.
He siketh with ful many a sory sough
And goth, and geteth him a kneedyng trough.

The regular pronunciation of all theseough words seems to have been (uuukh), whence (uuwh, uu), which afterwards changed to (uf, ou), and finally to (af, ou). That gh was occasionally written without being pronounced, we see by the rhymes: at his retene, Sir Hughe 6937, melodie yhe 9, etc. We shall see that this is the case also in Shakspeare, whenever it was convenient for the rhyme.

The form augh may have had similar varieties of sound, as the spellings already cited indicate. In both cases we cannot do better than follow the spelling of the moment, except the rhyme requires

¹ There is a similar resolution of medial g in Icelandic. Thus lìuga to tell a falsehood, is theoretically (lìu-necha), and practically (lìu-wa). See Chap. V. § 4, No. 2.

² The passages are: plough Ps. 37, 12; plow Deut. 22, 10, 1 Sam. 14, 14, Job 4, 8, Prov. 20, 4, Isa. 28, 24, Hos. 16, 11, Amos 6, 12, 1 Cor. 9, 10; plowed Judg. 14, 18, Ps. 122, 3, Jer. 26, 18, Hos. 10, 13, Micah 3, 12; plowers Ps. 129, 3; ploweth i Cor. 9, 10; plowing i Kings 19, 19, Job 1, 14, Prov. 21, 4, Luke 17, 7; plowman Isa. 28, 24, Amos 9, 13; plowmen Isa. 61, 5, Jer. 14, 4; plowshares Isa. 2, 4, Joel 3, 10. Supra p. 159, note 4.

³ Mr. Murray observes: "ynough and ynow (anikw) and (anu) or rather (anyk) or (anyu) are both used in Scotch with a difference of application. Plough and plow are synonymous for the noun (plyk, ply), the former the more common: for the verb the latter alone is used as (a plyv bod, a plyv in matsh.)"
one of two forms to be altered, and then the first should generally be accommodated to the second, as there is a probability of its having been written down without consideration of what was to follow, and of its having been then left uncorrected, as being of slight importance. Thus augh, auwh, auh, aw = (aukwht, auwh, auh', au), where (aukh) may be used for (aukeh).

When the letter t follows fresh difficulty arises. How should drought, foughten, daughter, nouht, be pronounced? There seems nothing but theory to guide us. At present we say (drouj, draat, faa't'n, daa't, naat), but these are all quite recent developments. We find fought = (faun't) in Smith, daughter = (daukh'ter) in Gill, nought = (nour't, nau'r't) in Smith, and (noukht) in Gill. There is no xviith century authority for drought. Taking into consideration the double use of ou (uu, ouu), it seems probable that when the original vowel was u in ags. as drugo5, the sound should be (uu) as (druukht, druukveht) of which the modern (drouj) would be a legitimate descendant; and that when the original vowel was o as ags. dohtor, the sound was (ouu) or perhaps simply (ou), the (u) having been developed by a (kuh) sound of gh. This would give (druukht, foukh't'n, dooukh'ter, noukht) or (drukveht, foukh't'n, doukveht, noukveht). It will probably be as near the truth as we are able to get to write (drukht, foukh'ten, doukh'ter, noukht). The spelling nouht, however, indicates a very light sound of the guttural, as (nour't), which rapidly disappeared in (not, nat).1

What the initial sound of gh or j might have been, it is more difficult to say. Probably the sound of the ags. letter became (kh) or (gh) at an early period. Now in modern Germany (kh) is often considered to be the hiss of (j), that is (j), and the difference is certainly very slight. The case with which initial (kh) will pass into (j) may be well studied in modern German pronunciation. During the xvth century when initial j was replaced by y, the transition was certainly complete. In the next chapter (§ 2) reasons will be given for thinking that this transition may have been prevalent in the time of Lajamon and Ormin, the preceding (kh, gh) stage being relegated to the Old Anglosaxon period. It will therefore be safest to pronounce the initial j as (j) where it corresponds to the modern y.

We shall have an opportunity of seeing g in every stage of transition, from (g) through (g, gh, j) to (i) on the one hand, and through (gwh) to (w) on the other, and even absolutely disappearing through a scarcely pronounced (gh, gwh), in the living Icelandic tongue, the very interesting phonetic phenomena of which will be considered in Chap. V. § 4, No. 2.

1 Mr. Murray says that in Teviotdale drought is (druth) daughter, foughten, sough, bought, brought, thought, nought, wrought are (doukvehtar, foukveht'n, boukveht, wroukveht), &c., or perhaps (doukvehtar, foukveht), he prefers the former, though the o is absolutely long. In the other dialect they are (fokht, bokht, sokht, w'rokht), Aberdeen (vrokht) with simple (o) and (kh). So also with loch, hough, cough, trough, &c. Tev. (loukwh, loukveht), Central Scotch (lokwh, lookh).
H

H, by its substitution for gh, is shewn to have been pronounced when final distinctly as (n¹). In what cases, when initial, it became (n) or vanished, it is now impossible to say. It appears by many old MSS. that there was often great confusion as to the use of initial h in many words, indicating local and partial peculiarities of pronunciation, similar to those now found. But the MS. under consideration seems to be quite consistent in the use of initial h,¹ and there is therefore nothing to shew that it was not pronounced in honour, honest, hour, as well as other words. However, in this doubt, I have thought it safest in my transcriptions, to follow the modern use. In the words he, his, him, hire, hem, before which, especially when enclitic, the final e is, as we shall see, generally elided as freely as before a vowel, it is extremely probable that the h was silent under the same circumstances. It is known to be constantly so in modern English, and some orthoepists even admit that it should be silent.² The apostrophe in catch'em indicates the absent h, not an omitted th. When hath, have, hadde, were similarly placed they also probably lost the h, as they also admitted the elision of the vowel. The modern contractions I've, we've, they'd, and the old nadde = ne hadde 3751, point to the same conclusion. Hence when those words beginning with h stand in such a position that a final e might be elided before them, I omit the h in my transcriptions, but indicate the omission by a hyphen in the usual way, thus: (wel kuud -e sit on nors) 94.

J

J when representing the French consonant j, is now called (dzh) and was so in the xvi. cent. Was the old French sound (dzh) or (zh)? Diez (Gr. d. R. S. i. 400, 402) shews good reason to suppose that the Provençal pronunciation of ch, j, was (tsh, dzh), as for example Petrarch's ciant for Provençal chant, and Dante's giause for Pr. jauze. Again (ib. p. 448, 451) Diez shews reason for supposing (tsh) to be an old French sound of ch, although in Palsgrave's time it had sunk to (sh), and observes that in middle Greek, the French jean, Geoffroi, are rendered Tζίου, Tζεφρέ, which are the present combinations for (tshan, tshefree'). Considering that the Greek had no means of representing (dzh),³ this would stand for an original (dzh) rather than for (zh), which would have been best rendered by

¹ Host and ost, hosteerie and osterlzie, both occur.
² Thus in: Phonotypy by Modification, a means by which unusual types can be dispensed with on a plan proposed by T. W. Hill (the father of Sir Rowland Hill, and a well known orthoepist and educationalist) printed in 1848 for private circulation only, the last sentence runs thus (it is a quotation from Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, the italics are mine): "Ash iz feis undurwen't un inval'ntury ablw'- j'un und s² fuwand is'melf ridyw'st tw iz prim'itiv cumpl'j'un and in'di'- djens; that is: Thus his face underwent an involuntary ablation and he found himself reduced to his primitive complexion and indigence.
³ In the most recent Greek ντζ is used initially for (dzh), as ντζαυλ (dzhami') a mosque.
The middle Greeks according to Diez also wrote τζ for oh, as *Πρζρδος = (ritshard-os) for Richard. These transcriptions are precisely similar to Salesbury’s tsuirts, tsiff, tsiesuw, tsion, for churche, chefe, Jesu, John, and should evidently be interpreted in the same way. Even in Palsgrave’s time he makes French j = English j, which we know (p. 207) was then (dzh), but this certainly only implies a rooted mispronunciation, because we know that although (zh) had not then been developed in English, it existed in French (p. 207). But it implies the traditional pronunciation in English, because Palsgrave was decidedly archaic in his tendencies, as we have seen in his retention of (ii) for long i (p. 110), and (uu) for ow, ow (p. 149), out of the xv th into the xvi th century. This mispronunciation therefore is in itself a strong proof of the old pronunciation of j as (dzh). If to this we add that in the present pronunciation of the Norman peasantry (tsh, dzh) are occasionally used for (sh, zh),1 it will be difficult to suppose that oh, j, in Chaucer had any other meaning than (tsh, dzh).

K

K in Anglosaxon constantly generated tsh in English, as already explained (p. 205). The orthography of our MS. and the alterations of words to suit the rhyme, show that although in many cases the custom was firmly established, in others there was a fluctuation of use similar to that in the present day between breeks, breeches, Scotch brigg, kirk, English bridge, church. The termination -liq or -lic has become generally -ly = (-li) in Chaucer, but traces of the original form remain as -lik, lich; thus we have: sikurly 137, 154, against: sikirlik 3889, and: smoterlich, dich 3961 = (smoo-terlitsh, ditsh), = dirty, ditch. Against: the holy blissful martir for to seeke 17, we have: withoute more speche, not longe for to seeche 785, I schuld yow seeche, in softe speche 6983, and we may compare our modern words seek, beseech. Against the common form werk, as in: that was a clerk, al this werk, 11417, we have the altered forms: wirche, 2761, 7559, 9535, werche 4986, and so on. Such changes, which have been shown to be common to other languages, confirm the value of oh as (tsh) even in Saxon words. The pronunciation of ich as (itsh), in the phrase: so theech 12857, for example, = so the ich (soo thee-tsh) is singularly corroborated by Gill’s observation that in the East of England “pro (s) substituent (z), ut (ziq) pro (siq) cano; et (itsh) pro (oi) ego: (tsham) pro (oi am) sum: (tshil) pro (oi wil) volo: (tshi voor ji) pro (oi war’ant jou) certum do,” see suprâ, p. 293.

L, M, N, NG

L, M, N must have been (l, m, n) as in all languages. The termination -lo from the French is occasionally written -ul, -il, -yl. It

1 “Comme en anglais, D se fait sentir devant G et J, comme dans Gearse, brebis [Dgerce], ... CIH se prononce souvent comme en anglais TCH; Tsihien, chien, Tchibourj, Cherbourg.” Le Hérical, Glossaire Normand, vol. 1, pp. 90 and 32.
will be best to call it ('l) in modern English. Before a following vowel it probably became (l) as: simple and coy 119 = (simpl-and cuj) just as in modern English we have double, doubling not doubling, i.e. (dəb-1 do6-1u) not (dəb-1u). As there is a difficulty in establishing a nasal value of n in Old French,¹ there can be no thought of its occurrence in Chaucer.

NG was either (q) or (ag) or occasionally one and occasionally the other as in modern English. Modern use can be our only guide.

P, PH, QU

There is no reason for supposing p, ph, qu to have been anything but (p, f, kw), but of course it is impossible to determine whether qu was not (kw, ku) instead of (kw). In Chap. V, § 4, No. 1 & 3, the fact of the Runic and Gothic alphabets having a single sign for this sound, has led me to suppose that it was really simple (kw), and not double (kw, ku), even at that early epoch. The use of two letters cv in Anglosaxon would not decide anything, as (kw, ku) would be a sufficient approximation for all purposes of writing.

R

R presents the same difficulties as in the xvi th century, yet we cannot allow it to have 'any value but (r). It must however have affected the preceding vowel,² as we could otherwise scarcely account for the use of or, er, ir in the same words, as worche 9231, vurk 481, wirchung 3371. In one case at least we find ar where the modern form is er, as: thurgh the cite large, with cloth of gold and not with sarge 2569, but both sarge, sarge are old French forms. It is also observable that many words in which the sound was (ar) in the xvi th century appear as (er), thus, yerde, smerte, herte 149, werre, ferre 47; serve, sterve 1145, prive and pert 6696, pryvy and apert 10845, deere, sterve 4867, 5252, sterre, bere 2151. Against wors 9183, we have: wers, ers 3731; I moot reherse, al be they better or verse 3173, it needeth nat to reherse, who can do verse

¹ The chief reasons assigned by Diez (Gram. der rom. Sprach., 2 ed. vol. 1, p. 437), for considering the use of the French nasals to be old are the identity of the assonances on and en; and the constant confusion of the forms androit endroit. But the modern femme rhymes with dame, and yet there is no trace of nasality here. Diez also names the ancient rhymes of Salomon ferculum, zabolon convivium; but these may have been due rather to a peculiar (-om) pronunciation of the Latin, the m and n being allowed to rhyme, as in many English popular songs. At any rate these forms are not incompatible with non-nasality, which was the rule in Provençal, and Walloon, and there are absolutely no grounds for supposing that e, u, were pronounced as nasals even in the xvi th century. Rapp reads nasal n = (q). See Chap. V, § 4, note 1.

² Mr. Murray says: "R affects preceding vowel in Scotch even while remaining (r). A simple vowel, short before other consonants is long before final r: heat hear, bat bar, not nor, stout stoor, (hit xiir, bat baar, not noor, stut stuur). And a before a consonant followed by e mute is in the South of Scotland ea (ie) but before r it remains (e) so main and mane are distinguished (men, miem) but fair, fare are both (feer, fer) not (feer, fier) the r preventing the closing of the sound." Compare Cooper's observations, supr à p. 70, where his (eæo) is the counterpart of (ie).
10913. Since the xviiith century there has been a great tendency
to pronounce er as (ar) or (ař), as in clerk, Derby, sergeant, and
formerly servant, but the contrary tendency to use (er) for (ar) does
not seem to have been at all developed except at this earlier time.¹
The confusion of (ur, er) as in wors, vers, is very like the modern
confusion of (ař, er) with ('x). By a change of re into er the
rhyme: ers, kers 3753 is obtained. The terminations -re, -er
alternate, as: mordre 16538, morder 16539, at the commencement
of two consecutive lines. It would seem then that we should
always sound (-er), as (mur’der). The metathesis of r is frequent.
§ 5, art. 98, d.

S, SCH

S = (s) also represented (z) in plural terminations, but never
had the sound of (sh), which was always represented by
SCH a combination derived from the Saxon se, in the same way
as ch from Saxon c, to shew the effect of palatisation. In later
times the c was omitted.

T, TH, Ġ

T seems to have been generally (t), but it became (s) in the ter-
mination -tion, see examples under C.

TH, which is used promiscuously with Ġ in the MS., had pro-
ably the same sounds as at present, and distributed in the same
manner. Occasionally we meet with Ġ in places where we should
have expected th = (dh), as in hadur 100 = father, hider 674,
thider, slider 1265, where the rhyme shews that the sound was
really (d) and not (dh), but the (d) seems to guarantee the pronun-
ciation of th as (dh) when written in these words.

V, W, WH, X

These letters as consonants seem to have had precisely the same
sounds as at present, but w was also used occasionally as a vowel, as
herberw 4143. In arues 104, halues 14, which had arwe, halwe in
the singular, there seems no reason for not giving w its usual sound.

WR was probably pronounced (rw) as in ags. and down to the
xviith century (p. 186).

Y, Z, Ă

The Y consonant is always represented by Ă which is the same
form as the letter used for z. The meanings of this letter must be
disentangled by a consideration of modern usage, see supra under
GH (p. 310).

The consonants seem to call for no further remark, and the rules
laid down in this and the preceding section are sufficiently general
to permit the reader to read any line in this edition of Chaucer with
tolerable certainty, except as regards the use of the E final, which
has now to be considered.

¹ For the xviiith century see p. 86.

The Rev. C. Y. Potts remarks that in South Shields er is usually pronounced
(ar) or (aa') in: clergy, person, mercy, eternal, universal, learning, the last word
being also called (leer'mi).
§ 4. On the Pronunciation of E Final in the XIVth Century. ¹

That e final was at least occasionally pronounced, and that its sound did not differ, except in accent, from that of me, the = (mee, dhee) is conclusively proved by the following rhymes. It must be remembered that to me, to the, when the accent is thrown on to the preposition, become (too'me, too'dhee), with brief and indistinct (e), that is nearly (too'me, too'dhee), or as in modern High German (p. 321, n. 1). Hence the following rhymes show that Rome, cynamome, sothe must have been (Roo'me, sinamoo'me, soo'dhee), although there may have been, as frequently at present, a little liberty taken with double rhymes, and (soo'dhee) may have been used for (soo'the), and similarly (juu'dhee) for (juu'the), (swii'dhee) for (swith'e)² in the following couplets:

That streyt was come from the court of Rome.
Full lowde he sang, Come hider, love, to me.
My fayre bryd, my swete cynamome,
Awake, lemmam myn, and speketh to me.
So faren we, if I schal say the sothe.
Now, quod oure ost, yit let me talke to the.
Quod the Frankeleyn. considering thin youthe
So felingly thou spekest, sire, I alowe the.
Elles go bye som, and that as swithe.
Now good sire, go forth thy way and hy the.
Al esily now, for the love of Marte,
Quod Pandarus, for every thynge hath tyme;
So long abid til that the nyght departe,
For also sikere as thow list here bi me,
And God toforne I wol be thare at pryme.
Bot fader, if it to betide
That I aproche at any side
The place wher my ladi is
And þanne þat hire like ywyff
To speke a goodly word entome,
For al þe gold þat is in Rome
Ne cowþe, I after that bewroþ,
Bot all myn Anger ouergoþ.³

Here hy the stands for hye the, but the final e of hye is not pronounced, as also it is not pronounced in alowe the, so that we read (aluu• dhee, miÍ dhee). This omission will be considered afterwards.

The middle e in Dartemouthe holds the position of a final e in:
For ought I woot he was of Dartemouthe 391, where it is necessary for the metre, and it is observable that the e is here pronounced to this day by the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Dartëmouth and Dartëmoor.⁴

¹ This section was written before I had had an opportunity of seeing Prof. F. J. Child's 'admirable' Observations on the Language of Chaucer and Gower. I have thought it best to leave my investigation almost in its original state, and to give a complete account of these observations in the following section.

² Just as 'f, v rhyme in thevys, gref is 1755.

³ The rhyme time, by me, occurs eight times in Gower, i 227, 309, 379, ii 41, 49, 114, iii 6, 369.

⁴ Printed from the Harl. MS. 3869.

⁵ Private letter from Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth.
In the Man of Lawes Tale, there is a king called \textit{Alla}, whose name on one occasion is reduced to \textit{Alle}, which must have been pronounced \textit{(Al'e)}, so that \textit{calle} and \textit{bifalle} which rhyme with it must have also been \textit{(kal'e, bifal'e)} in—

Mauricius atte funtstone men him \textit{calle}.
This constabil doth come forth a messager,
And wrot to his kyng that cleped was \textit{Alle},
How that this blissful tydyng is \textit{bifalle}. \hfill 5143

Scarcely less convincing than the above instances is the case of the plurals in \textit{-es}, where they do not at present form a distinct syllable.\textsuperscript{1} Not only are these frequently spelled \textit{-is},\textsuperscript{2} as is the case still in Scotch,\textsuperscript{3} but they also often rhyme with the verb \textit{is}. Thus, taking first those spelled with \textit{es}:

For sondry scolis maken subtil \textit{clerkes}.
Womman of many a scole half a \textit{clerk es}.
How schuld I thanne, that live in such pleasaunce
As alle weddid men doon with their \textit{sywes},
Come to blisse ther Crist eterne on \textit{lyve es}? \hfill 9301
Him wolde he snybbe scharply for the \textit{nones},
A better preest I trowe ther nowher \textit{non is}.
Crist, which that is to every harm triacle,
By ceretyn menes ofte, as knownen \textit{clerkes},
Doth thing for ceretyn ende, that feel \textit{derk is}.
Thy wyf eek and thy weneche sinfully
Dronke of the same vessel sondry \textit{sywnes};
And heriest false goddes cursedly;
Therefore to the schapen ful gret \textit{pyne es}. \hfill 15713
Withinne the cloyster of thi blissful \textit{sydes}
Tooke mannes schap the eternal love and pees,
That of the trine compras lord and \textit{guyde is}.
And nyl himselfe doo no gentil \textit{dedes}
Ne folw his gentil aunceter, that \textit{dood is}. \hfill 6737

In the following the plural is written \textit{-is}, but it rhymes with \textit{is} in precisely the same way.

Of catapus, or of gaytre \textit{beriis}
Of erbe yve that groweth in our yerd, ther \textit{mercy is}.\textsuperscript{4} \hfill 16451
Ther schuln ye se expresse, that no \textit{dred is},
That he is gentil that doth gentil \textit{dedis}.
Ye loke as though the woode were ful of \textit{thevyss},
Sit doun anoon, and tel me what your \textit{gref is}. \hfill 7755
After the opynyon of ceretyn \textit{clerkis}.
Witnesses on him, that eny parfit \textit{clerk is}
And for that faith is deth withouten \textit{werkis},
So for to werken give me witt and space,
That I be quit fro thennes that most \textit{derk is}. \hfill 11992
Which gift of God had he for all his \textit{weyis}? 
No man hath such, that in the word on \textit{lyve is}. \hfill 5621

\textsuperscript{1} In the difficult combinations \textit{wristes}, \textit{priests}, we bear generally in the provinces, \textit{(rist'z, prist'z)},
\textsuperscript{2} Sometimes \textit{is} is used, with the same pronunciation as \textit{-is} or \textit{-es}, (p. 298),
\textsuperscript{3} This Scotch final \textit{-is}, generally formed a distinct syllable in serious poetry, but was practically reduced to \textit{-s} in familiar versification, and in prose, even in the xivth and xvth century, as shewn in Mr. Murray's paper, supra p. 287, note 1.
\textsuperscript{4} These lines are evidently corrupt as they stand. Morris reads 3-233, Of erbe yve growinge in our yerd, ther merry is.
So made he eek a temple of fals godis,
How might he do a thing that more forbad is?
But me was taught, nought longe tyms goon is,
That synnes Crist went never but onys
To wedyng.
Allas! and can ye ben agast of swevenys?
Nought, God wot, but vanite in sweven is.

Since in placis, place is 7349, the final -is must of necessity be pronounced, it is not reckoned among these examples, which are all that I have noted in the Canterbury Tales. To these, however, should be added, as equally convincing,—

Take youre disport: I nyf lieve no talis;
I know yow for a trewe wif, dame Alis.
From hous to hous, to here sondry talis,
That Jankyn clerk, and my gossib dame Alis.

It would be impossible to read many lines in Chaucer without finding that the number of syllables in a line would be constantly in default, if the final e's were not reckoned. At the same time the number of syllables in a line would often be in excess, if every e final were reckoned. Again, the slightest examination shews us words which are at present identical, differing in different places by having and not having a final e. That this insertion or omission of the e final is not due simply to carelessness or option of the scribe,\(^1\) is apparent from the presence or absence of the e being generally essential to the metre, or the rhyme, and a notion seems to have possessed some persons, that lines could be made to scan by omitting or inserting these e's at pleasure. The examination of the prose tales, where these final e's are also found, ought to disabuse us of this absurd notion. We must admit that these final e's formed a part of the language of the time, and that there must have been some reasons for their insertion and omission. These we have, if possible, to discover, and the first step is to examine two modern languages, German and French, in which final e's also occur, and which are the living representatives of the Saxon and Norman elements of which Chaucer's poems were composed.

Final e in German, which is always pronounced where written, arises in several ways:

1) it is a natural final of many words as Ruhe, Weise, Reise, Mutze, Rabe, Käse, Knabe, Heerde, Herberge, weise, leise, sachte,

\(^1\) This refers to the Harleian, No. 7334; other manuscripts are much less strict, and the confusion in the use of the final e seems to indicate a date of writing about the middle of xvth century or later, or else a scribe of Northern origin. In the first 42 lines of the prologue in the Lansdowne MS. No. 851, with which Wright and Morris collated the Harleian 7334 to form their texts, we find: 1 wyfe, 2 hate, 3 suche lycoyre, 4 whiche flore, 5 eke breje, 6 hate hethe, 7 hate ramme, 12 one, 13 straungere, 14 sundre (for sondry), 19 sesone daie, 20 laie, 22 devoute, 23 nighte, 24 twente (for twenty), 25 sondrie folke be (for by), 26 pilgrimes, 27 towardre, 29 esede, 31 euerchone, 32 anone, 34 pare hove, 37 resnone, 38 condicionne, 40 whiche whate 41 eke whatte ariae, 42 knyghte, where the Harleian shews no e, and: 8 halfe, 9 smal, 11 her, 30 sond, 31 had, 32 felawescep, where the Harleian has the final e. It is obvious that no conclusions respecting e final could be deduced from such an orthography.
lange = (ruu've, bhai'ze, rai'ze, myts'e, raar'be, kee'ze, knaa'be, neer'de, neer'de, neer'ber'gh'e, bhai'ze, lai'ze, szakh't'e, laq'e), and so forth, mostly representing some other vowel in old high German.

2) it is inflexional, frequently expressing—
   a) plurals as der Wind die Winde, der Zug die Züge, der Herzog die Herze, &c. = (der bhind dì bhind'e, der tsuugwh die tsygyh'e, der nerts'og dii nerts'ogh'e).
   b) dative cases singular, as dem Winde, dem Zuge, dem Herzoge = (deem bhind'e, deem tsuugwh'e, deem nerts'ogh'e).
   c) the plural of the indefinite adjective, as gute Götter, alle Menschen, lange Reisen = (guut'e goat'er, ale mensh'en, laq'e raai'zn).
   d) the feminine singular of the indefinite adjective, as gute Mutter, arme Frau, keine Frucht = (guut'e mut'er, arm'e frau, kain'e frukht).
   e) the nominative singular of the definite adjective in all genders, and accusative feminine and neuter, as der gute Mann die gute Frau, das gute Weib, ich ehre die gute Frau und das gute Weib = (der guut'e man, dii guut'e frau, das guut'e bhai'b, ikh ce're), &c.
   f) the imperative singular of verbs, as liebe Gott, ehre den König = (liib'e got, ce're deem koeen'h).
   g) the first person singular of the indicative mood present tense of verbs, as ich liebe ihn, ich sange an = (ikh lieb'e in, ikh faq'e an).

The first and third person singular of the present and past tenses of the subjunctive mood of verbs, as er sagt, sie komme; sie sagten er käme = (er zaaght, siiz kom'e, siiz zaaght'en, er keem'e).

e) the first and third person singular of the past tense of weak verbs, as ich liebte und er liebte dieselbe Freundin = (ikh liibt'e und eer liibt'e diiz'elb'e froynd'in).

f) it is frequently added to numbers in familiar counting, as eine, zweie, drie, vierie, funfie, &c. = (ain'e, tsbhai'e, drai'e, fiir'e, fyui'e).

With all these reasons for adding on e, and the very similar syllable en, (which on the Rhine is constantly called e), the language is necessarily full to overflowing with this termination, which is consequently very often dropped or slurred over with great rapidity in conversation. But that poets with perfect sensations of rhythm, and immense power of expression, accept this final e and even multiply it in a single line, may be collected from this one example in Goethe's most finished drama, Tasso, Act I., Sc. 1.

Ich bring' ihm seinen Sohn ....... (ikh briq im zain'en zoo'n) .......
Und thile seine väterliche Freude
unt tall'e zain'e fee'lilh'e froyd'e.)

1 The final German e, en, in these transcriptions have been generally represented by (e, en) as they are theoretically held to represent these sounds, but the reader should consult p. 119, note 1, col. 2, and p. 195, note 2, where these cases are fully discussed.

2 In these transcriptions the German eu has been represented by (oy), the sound preferred by Dr. Rapp, but (oi, oi) are frequent in the North, and (ai) in the South of Germany. Some theoreticians prefer (oy), and others (ay).

3 There are as many final e's in Chaucer's—

Him thoughte that his herte wolde breke
(Him thoughte that his herte wol'de breeke),
where the repeated e gives a melancholy softness to the line.

21
At the same time the first line gives an example of the elision of an -e—ich bringe ihm—before a following vowel. This is not a rule, or a necessity, it is merely a matter of feeling. In such a verse as

Wie brennt meine alte Wunde.—(Heine's Die Grenadiere)
(Bihil brennt main'e alte bhund'e)

the elision mein' would have been impossible, on account of the concord, although it would have avoided a trisyllabic measure and improved the metre. But throughout the first act of Tasso I have only noticed one instance in which Goethe has not avoided the necessity of an open vowel which he could not elide, namely

Für holde Früchte einer wahren Liebe
(Fyr hold'e frykht'e einer bhaar'ent liib'e).

where the natural pause at the cæsura assist the reader. Thus when ich, er, ihn, es follows a verbal -e, the e is always elided, as: gar oft beneid' ich, irr' ich mich nicht, besser wär's = wäre es, ich geb' ihm oft = (gar oft benaid' ikh, i.r. ißh mich nicht, bëser bheerz, ißh geeg iim oft), and so on. The feeling is strongly shown in

Erwach'! Erwache! Lass uns nicht empfinden,
Dass du das Gegenwärt ge ganz verkennt.

(Errbeakh', erbhakhe')! Las uns nißht empfind'en
Das duu das gee'rh'ennhet'she gents ferkenst').

Where there are two other elisions one marked in: Gegenwärtige, the other unmarked in: verkennest, both similar to what might occur in Old English as semde for semede = seemed, singst for singest.

But Goethe does not hesitate to add on his e to an open vowel, as: ich thue was ich kann = (ikh tuu'e bhas ikh kan).

The e of the dative case is frequently omitted, as after the italicized words in—

Und lass mich der Gelegenheit, dem Glück—

Mir ist an diesem Augenblick genug—

Ach! sie versagt mir eben jetzt! Im Glück—

Doch war an Wissenschaft, an rechtem Sinn—

(Und las mißh der gleechh'annait, deem glyk—

Müir ist an diizem au'gwehenblick genuugsch)—

Akh! szii ferzaagh't mir eew'en jëst! Im glyk—

Dokh bhaar an bhis'enshaft, an reiz't em zin—)

The imperative e is frequently omitted even when no vowel follows, as

Und licht er nicht—verneih' dass ich es sage!
(Und liibt er nißht—sërtsai das ißh es szaaagh'.)

The final e is omitted in many other cases where the feeling of the poet requires it, even before a consonant, or at the end of a line where the elision is not absolutely necessary to the metre, as

Fest bleibt dein Sinn, und richtig dein Geschmack,
Dein Urtheil g'rad, stets dein Antheil gross
Am Grossen.—

 Uns für den Schatz erkannte, den er lang'
Vergebens in der weiten Welt gesucht—
heiligt er

Den Pfad, den leis' ihr schöner Fuss betrat—
Ich sah ihn heut' von fern; er hielt ein Buch—
Und bist du zu gelind', so will ich treiben—
Die Menge macht den Künstler irr' und schein—
Von fremden Heerden *Wies'* und Busch erfüllt—
(Fest blaitp dain zin, und rih't'gh dain geshmak,
Dain ur-tail graad, shteet's ist dain an-tail groos
Am groos'en—
Uns fyr deen shots erkent'e, deen er laq
Fergeb-'en in der bhai't'en bhelt gezuukhet—
nail'ikht er
Deen pfaal, deen laiz ifr scheene'r fuus betrat'—
Ibh zaa in hoyt fon fern: er nill aint buukh
Und bist duu tsu gelind', zoo bhil ifh tral-'en—
Dii meq'e makht den kynstler i.r unt shoy—
Fon fremd'en heed'en bhui's und bush erflyt—)

All these examples are taken from the first act of Tasso. In lyrical poems we find similar omissions, not merely for the sake of rhythm or force, but also for the sake of rhyme. Thus in the Maylied.

Zwischen Waizen und Korn, (Tsbhish'en bhai't'en unt korn,
Zwischen Hecken und Dorn Tsbhish'en nek'en und dorn,
Zwischen Bäumen und Gras Tsbhish'en boym'en und graas,
Wo geht' s Liebchen? Bhoo geet -s lub'ken?
Seg mir das! Szaagh mir das!
An dem Felsen beim Fluss, An deem fels'en baim flus,
Wo sie reichte den Kuss, Bhoo zii ralh't'e deen kus,
Jenen ersten im Gras, Jeen'en erst'en im graas,
Soh' ich etwas! Szeec 'ich et'baas!
Ist sie das? Ist szii das?)

Here Gras (graas) for Grasse (graaz'e), and Fluss (flus) for Flusse (flus'e) are necessary for the rhyme. The most common omission is that of the dative e, but even the essential final e is occasionally left out, thus in the lines *An Luna*, we have *Ruh* (ruu'e) abbreviated to *Ruh* (ruu) for the rhyme.

Und in wollustvoller Ruh' (Unt in bhol-lustfol'er ruu
Säh' der Weltverschlag'ne Ritter (Szeen der bhel't'erslaagh'ne rit'er
Durch das gläserne Gegitter Durh das glaex'erne gerger
Seines Mädchens Nächten zu. Szaines meex'kens neek'te tsuu.)

Less common and, no doubt intentionally, very harsh, is Schiller's *Donnersprach* (don'er,shpraak'h) to rhyme with nach (naakh), in his *Kindes-mörderin*, st. 9.

On the other hand in Goethe's *Glück der Entfernung* (Glyk der Entfern'nuq) we have an e—apparently added in *Glücke* for *Glück,—
really an archaism from the middle high German *Gelücke,—also for the rhyme and metre.*

*Trünk', o Jüngling! heil'ges Glücke (Triqk, oo jyq'liq! nail'ghes glyk'e,*
Taglang aus der Liebsten Blücke. Taagh'laq aus der liib'sten blik'e.)

All poets do not avoid the open final e with the same scrupulousness as Goethe, thus Wilhelm Müller in his *Alexander Ypsilanti* has

An des Mittags Horizonte hing sein Auge unverwandt.
(An des mitt'taakhs noo-risotne niq szain angch'e un-feybant')

Such examples are however rare. On the other hand the omission of final e for rhyme or metre is very frequent. Thus for rhyme in Rückert's *Der Betrogene Teufel* (der betroogh'one toy'fel), *Eil'
E Ile (ail'ē) to rhyme with Theil (tail). In Heine's Dies Grenadiere, already quoted for non- elision, we have Grenadier' twice to rhyme with Quartier, mir (khartiir, miir), and bitt' (bit) to rhyme with mit (mit), and for metre

Und gür' mir um den Degen. (Und gyrt mir uum den desgu·em.)

These examples, which could easily be greatly multiplied, will serve to shew how a living language deals with its final e's, and Germans know that this treatment of e final is not a mere license taken by the poet to help him out of difficulties, but is on the contrary a source of great power of expression, giving force and character to many passages by omission, and softness and delicacy to the others by the frequent use of the final e. Hence we are led to look upon the use and disuse of this letter, (the feeling for which has been entirely lost by Englishmen,) as a great resource for the poet, and a great beauty in the language. To those whom long custom has made familiar with the German language and the music of its poetry, the idea of constantly clipping off these final e's in the English fashion would be distasteful and barbarous to the last degree, and their frequency conveys no feeling of trailiness or weakness, as it does to the mere English reader.

Proceeding to French we meet with a new phenomenon, an existing system of versification founded upon an obsolete system of pronunciation (p. 119, note). In looking at French songs when set to music, we see that all final e's are pronounced, except before a following vowel or a mute h, and that the -ent of the plural of verbs is also pronounced as e, (except in the combination -aient where it is absolutely mute), although it is not elided before a following vowel. But in common French discourse this final e and many medial e's may be said to be entirely elided. The consequence is that there is a great schism between the language of poetry and that of common life. When singing, the French not merely pronounce these e's, but dwell upon them, and give them long and accented notes in the music. This recognition is absolutely necessary to the measure of the verse, which, depending solely upon the number of the syllables in a line, and having no relation to the position of accent, is entirely broken up and destroyed when these syllables are omitted. And yet when they declaim, the French omit these final e's without mercy, producing, to English ears, a hideous rough shapeless unmusical result, which nothing but a consciousness of the existence of the omitted syllables can mass into rhythm.

1 In M. Jobert's Colloquial French (London, Whittaker, 1854), M. and Mlle. Thériot's Phonographe and Tourrier's Model Book (4th ed. 1851, London, Nutt), will be found excellent rules for shewing when this e is or is not to be pronounced.

2 The late M. Tarver, of Eton, in his Choix en Prose et en Vers (London, 1833), says: "The reading of French poetry (in tragedies especially, and principally in those which are considered as standards of classic purity,) is seldom pleasant to English ears; but in the complaint which is generally made of the want of harmony of the French verse, there is not sufficient allowance made. One is too apt to forget that the Ear, accustomed to the rhyme and peculiar intonations of one's
M. Féline, who endeavoured to introduce a phonetic system of printing French as an assistance in teaching ignorant adults to read, has, at the end of his *Exercise de lecture Phonétique, Aventures de Robinson Crusoe* (Paris, Didot, 1854), given an *Exemple de Déclamation*, consisting of a fragment of Lafontaine’s Fable (xi, 7), *Le paysan du Danube*, which he has printed phonetically. We are thus presented with a Frenchman’s views of how French poetry should be read, and as this is important in relation to the use of the final e, I think it worth while to give the greater portion of it in ordinary spelling and in a palaeotypic transcription of M. Féline’s characters. The lines are supposed to be spoken by a German peasant to the Roman Senate. They are introduced by the following remarks:

“Cet exemple nous montre que, même dans la déclamation, il est des e muets qui ne se prononcent pas, quoique leur présence soit nécessaire à la mesure syllabique des vers. Cette suppression a lieu, soit parce que les deux consonnes séparées par l’o muet s’unissent facilement en raison de leur douceur, soit parce que le sens est interrompu. Il importe aussi de faire observer que, presque toutes les fois que l’e muet est supprimé, la syllabe qui le précède en acquiert plus d’intensité ou de longueur.*1 A la fin des rimes féminines, quand il est précédé d’une voyelle, cette voyelle devient plus longue.2 On remarquera, en outre, que, lorsqu le sens unit la fin d’un vers au commencement du suivant, la liaison doit avoir lieu.”

language, is not easily pleased by foreign sounds;—that want of habit of hearing French read renders it a bad judge in point of harmony; that the full and rapid comprehension of the meaning of the author greatly influences our finding the words harmonious or harsh; and how few there are who can boast of so familiar an acquaintance with a foreign language!” The following brief résumé of the laws of French versification given by M. Tarver (ib.) may be useful. “Measure and Rhyme constitute French verse. Measure is determined by the number of syllables contained in the verse. The longest French verses have twelve syllables, commonly called feet. When, in the body of a verse, a word ends with an e muet, that is, an e not accented, and is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, the e muet is blended with that vowel, so as to form one sound, and consequently one foot only, instead of two. When the e muet is followed by an s, there is no elision. The termination ent, of the third person of verbs, which, in prose, is generally blended with the following syllable, if it begin with a vowel, must in verse, be sounded as a distinct syllable or foot, but, in the third person plural of the imperfect and conditional of verbs, such as parlai, parlaient, the ent of aient does not form one distinct syllable, because there is but one sound uttered, par-laiant, par-le-raient.

* Some diphthongs form two syllables, and some one, at the option of the author. The césure is a rest which comes after the sixth foot or syllable in heroic verse, and after the fourth syllable in verses of ten syllables.—There are no blank verses in French; they always rhyme. There are two sorts of rhymes, the masculine which ends with a consonant or combination of letters forming one full sound, such as, languissant, vanité, &c., the feminine with an e muet. In heroic verses, the rhymes must be regularly and alternately, two masculine and two feminine. If a stanza end with a masculine rhyme, the following must begin with a feminine, and vice versa.”

* “Enjambement, the running on of the sense from the end of one verse to the beginning of the following. It is a fault and to be avoided,” but is often designedly committed by Victor Hugo and recent poets.

*1 This Mr. Féline has not marked particularly, I shall therefore place two dots (...) in place of the suppressed “e muet,” in order to guide the reader.

*2 This he has marked, and hence I
Craignez, Romains, craignez que le ciel quelque jour
Ne transporte chez vous les pleurs et la misère;
Et mettant en nos mains, par un juste retour,
Les armes dont se sert sa vengeance sévère,
Il ne vous fasse en sa colère
Nos esclaves a votre tour.
Et pourquoi sommes nous les vôtres? Qu'on me die
En quoi vous valez mieux que cent peuples divers.
Quel droit vous a rendus maîtres de l'univers?
Pourquoi venir troubler une innocente vie?
Nous cultivions en paix d'heureux champs; et nos mains
Étaient propres aux arts, ainsi qu'au labourage.
Qu'avez vous appris aux Germains?
Ils ont l'adresse et le courage;
S'ils avaient eu l'avidité
Comme vous, et la violence,
Peut-être en votre place ils auraient la puissance,
Et sauraient en user sans inhumanité.
Celle que vos prêteurs ont sur nous exercée
N'entre qu'à peine en la pensée.
La majesté de vos autels
Elle même en est offensée;
Car sachez que les immortels
Ont les regards sur nous. Grâces à vos exemples
Ils n'ont devant les yeux que des objets d'horreur,
De mépris d'eux et de leurs temples,
D'avarice qui va jusques à la fureur.
Rien ne suffit aux gens qui nous viennent de Rome,
La terre et le travail de l'homme
Font pour les assouvir des efforts superflus.
Retirez-les: on ne veut plus
Cultiver pour eux les compagnes.
Nous quittons les cités, nous fuyons aux montagnes,
Nous laissons nos chères compagnes;
Nous ne conversons plus qu'avec des ours affreux,
Découragés de mettre au jour des malheureux,
Et de peupler pour Rome un pays qu'elle opprime.

mark the prolongation by reduplication
as usual. It is to be observed that M.
Féline seldom admits the existence of
long vowels in French, and that I have
strictly followed his system of notation,
except in his employment of the hyphen,
which he places before a pronounced final "æ muet," or a consonant that runs on to the following vowel, and which I employ in the usual palaeotypic manner.
Notwithstanding that this passage does not offer numerous examples of the disarrangement produced by modern speech in French verse, yet it is evident that had French verse arisen in the present day, or had it followed the usages of pronunciation, it could not have taken such a form. Thus the distinction between the masculine and feminine rhymes, which is so important in the construction of French verse, has entirely disappeared, sévère, colère, becoming (sever, koler), do not differ from divers, univers (diver, yniver), though a French poet who attempted to make the first rhyme with the second would be laughed from Parnassus. The rhyme mains, Germains, has disappeared in (meaz, zhermeaz), owing to a “liaison” preserving the s in one case, while it was lost in another. The open vowels, which are so strictly forbidden, crop up, as in

\[
\text{Comme vous, et la violence.}
\]

This line also wants two syllables, which the singer would have added as—

\[
\text{(koms vuz e la violaas).}
\]

Observe also how the lines

\[
\text{Elle même on est offensée—}
\]

\[
\text{D’avaries qui va jusques à la fureur—}
\]

suffer from the want of the italicized syllables.

The composition of French verse is as purely regulated by rule in France as that of ancient Latin and Greek verse is at modern English schools; it is thoroughly artificial. The French have got to feel a sort of rhythm in it as Etonians feel a rhythm in their own hexameters; but that the former at all resembled the rhythm known to the old French poets, can as little be imagined, as that the latter resembled the rhythm that guided Virgil. Even the popular rhymes of Béranger cannot always imitate the speech of the people, witness the italicized s’s in the following first stanza of Paillasse¹—

\[
\text{J’suis né Paillasse, et mon papa,}
\]

\[
\text{Pour m’laner sur la place,}
\]

\[
\text{D’un coup d’ pied queu qu’ part m’attrapa,}
\]

\[
\text{Et m’ dit: Sauté, Paillasse!}
\]

\[
\text{T’as l’ jarret dispos,}
\]

\[
\text{Quoiqu’ t’ ay’ l’ ventre gros}
\]

\[
\text{Et la fac’ rubiconde.}
\]

\[
\text{N’ saut’ point-z à demi}
\]

\[
\text{Paillass’ mon ami :}
\]

\[
\text{Sauté pour tout le monde!}
\]

From the French we learn then this lesson, that it is possible to have a versification which requires the pronunciation of o final, although it has disappeared from the language. Hence Chaucer may have used an o final in poetry, which was unknown in common speech. But the French o final, which has now disappeared, was pronounced in general conversation as late as the xvi th century, as

¹ Œuvres complètes de P. J. de Béranger, édition revue par l’auteur. 232, written in 1816.
we know both from Palsgrave, and from Meigret, and hence it must have been so pronounced in Chaucer's time, and must have formed part of the rhythm of the French verses with which he was well acquainted.

This examination of German and French versification has led us to two very different results. In German the final e is a living part of the language and metre, affecting the music of speech, a real element in prose and verse, in the loftiest and the homeliest discourse. In French the final e, although the representative of other original vowels, the note of feminine and of many parts of verbs, and of constant occurrence in writing, has died out as utterly in French as it has in English speech, but forms an element of the commonest as well as loftiest versification of the present day, any attempt to build verses upon the theory of its disappearance, as in English, being scouted as low and vulgar. What was the case with Chaucer?

The foundation of our language is Saxon. The construction of our sentences, the expressions of the relations of ideas by the order of words, has undergone little or no change from a period when French words were still unused. The only effect of the introduction of French words was to enlarge our vocabulary, not to alter our grammar. Hence it would seem more likely that while the Germanic e final was still in use in our language, it was employed by English poets much in the same way that it is now used by German poets. That is, we have every reason to suppose that it was generally, as we have proved that it was occasionally pronounced, whether it was a substitute for some other original vowel or was merely inflexional, but that in both cases it was omitted,\(^1\) when not destructive to the sense, before another vowel, or whenever its omission gave dignity, force or precision.\(^2\)

In French versification the rule for the elision of final e before a subsequent vowel or a mute was absolute. We should therefore expect to find this rule absolute in Chaucer at least for French words. But it may have been only partially adopted. In this case however we have no occasion to go to a French model. In Chap. V, §§ 1 and 2, we shall see that this was the rule of English versification, even in the \textit{xiii} th century.

It is quite possible that, as the inflexional condition of our lan-

\(^1\) In German and French poetry the omission of the vowel is complete and absolute. It is not in any way slurred over or rapidly pronounced in connection with the following vowel, as is the case in Italian and Spanish poetry, and even in Italian singing. The Germans, like the Greeks, do not even write the elided vowel. The Latins wrote the elided vowel as the Italians do, and may therefore have touched it briefly, as in the English custom of reading Latin verse, whereas it is the German custom to omit such vowels altogether even in reading Latin verse. Except in a few instances, as \textit{i', t', &c.}, the French do not mark the elision of a final e before a following vowel, and in old English the vowel was written even when elided.

\(^2\) Occasionally, but less frequently, the final e may have been also omitted for the sake of the rhyme or the metre, but in such cases the poet must have felt that the sacrifice would have been greater to turn his verse so as to render the elision unnecessary.
guage underwent a rapid degradation in the xvth century, and was
certainly much inferior in the xvth to what it was in the xiii th,
(several of the inflexional e's having perhaps disappeared even in
Chaucer's time), and as most of the manuscripts belong to a period
of at least a generation after Chaucer's death, this disuse of the final
e may have considerably advanced before the best copies of his writ-

tings, which we possess, had come into existence. It may therefore
well be that the scribe has frequently introduced or omitted final e's
with rather an indistinct and uncertain feeling as to where they
ought or ought not to be pronounced.¹

We know indeed that even in the xvi th century, when the final
e's had altogether disappeared from speech, they were considered an
indispensable ornament in writing, and were added on without any
knowledge on the writer's part whether their addition was or was
not historically justifiable.²

Before judging from the inner part of a line in Chaucer, whether
the final e's that are written should be pronounced or mute, it is
necessary to obtain some feeling as to the style and character of his
verse. We have no occasion to consider the shorter lines of Sir
Thopaz, nor the grouping of the lines into stanzas. The question is
only, of how many syllables did one of Chaucer's longer lines consist,
and where did the stress fall?

The last question requires the position of the accent³ in Chaucer's
words to be considered. Or rather the two questions must be con-
sidered together, for there is no means of determining the position
of the accent but by the metre. We may assume that the rhyming
syllables had sufficient stress to make the rhyme fully audible, but
we must be aware of concluding that therefore they had the chief
stress. This rule would be generally true in German verse,—where
however it is sometimes transgressed,—but it is not at all true of
French verse. Many writers assert that French words have a fixed
accent. In the xvi th century Palsgrave marks the position of the
French accent and lays down rules for it. So does the very high
phonetic authority, Rapp, in the xix th century. Nevertheless one
of the great peculiarities of French, as distinguished from Italian on
the one hand, (representing its Latin element,) and German on the
other, (representing its Frankish element,) is the absence of determinate stress upon any syllable in a word. French speakers do fre-
quently put a stress, but that stress varies with the feeling of the
moment, and without affecting the intelligibility of a word. I have

¹ See supra, note.
² See the laterrt of Salesbury's observations on Welsh pronunciation, infra, Ch. e fin.I. § 1.
³ The followine French on the very difficult subject and metre, make no pretense. The two volumes of the History of English Ac led P. 838, show the extent of the sue par l'ach, how-

ever, the present investigations make it requisite to reconsider. In these pages I have strictly confined myself to the smallest amount of discussion which my object allowed.
⁴ Compare etwas in the Maylied, supra p. 323, a word which generally has the stress on the et, as in other com-
pounds of et, but there has nearly an even stress on both syllables.
heard the last word in *les champs Elysées* pronounced with a distinct stress on the first syllable on one occasion, on the second on another, and on the third on another. A German speaker is apt to accent the final syllable in French words, an English speaker the first. It is the *evenness* with which a Frenchman pronounces the syllables that gives so much peculiarity to his pronunciation of English, and reflects his national habit of speech, a habit also shared, as I am informed, by the Turks. A simple example of the effect of this *evenness* is that most Englishmen feel the French Alexandrine to consist of four measures, of three syllables each, accent more or less distinctly on the last syllable, whereas the English and German Alexandrine founded upon it consists of six measures of two syllables each, more or less distinctly accented on the last. That the French allowed very evanescent syllables, as for example the final *e*, to fall on the even places, may be seen from the italicised syllables in Corneille's lines (*L'imitation de Iesu-Christ*):

Les tenebres jamais n'approchent qui me suit;  
Et partout sur mes pas il trouve vn iour sans nuit,  
Qui porte iusque au coeur la lumiere de vie.—  
*1, 1, 1*

Ne lui sçauroit offrir d'agreeables victimes—  
Et la vertu sans eux est de telle valeur,  
Qu'il vaut mieux bien sentir la douleur de tes fautes,  
Que sçauoir definir ce qu'est cette douleur.  
*1, 1, 3*

We also find the same word differently placed in a verse with respect to the odd and even places, which should therefore be differently accented according to any accentual theory. For example (Corneille, *Imitation*):

Et tu verras qu'enfin tout n'est que vanité.  
*1, 1, 3*

*Vanité* d'entasser richesses sur richesses.  
*1, 1, 4*

Le désir de sçauoir est naturel aux hommes.  
*1, 2, 1*

Borne tous tes desirs à ce qu'il te faut faire.  
*1, 2, 2*

Les Sçauans d'ordinaire ayment qu'on les regarde.  
*1, 2, 2*

Qui puissent d'vn Sçauant faire vn homme de bien.  
*1, 2, 2*

And so on, shewing that in the year 1651, when this was published, there was no proper determinate stress on any French words. From this to the xivth century is a great leap, but the very fact that Chaucer employs his French words in the same way, leads us to infer that he was accustomed to the same practice in his French originals, thus:

*Trouthe and honour, freedom and curtesie. 46*

*And evere honoured for his worthinesse. 50*

*Southe was so charitable and so pitous. 143*

*They fillen gruf and criden pitously. 951*

*Tathenes, for to dwellen in prisoun. 1025*

*Oure prisoun for it may non othir be. 1087*

*Fairest of faire, o lady min Venus. 2223*

*And ye be Venus, the goddess of love. 2251*

1 If the text be correct we find precisely similar cases in Chaucer—

*Ful wel sche sang the service devyne. 122*

*That often hadde been atte parvys. 312*

*As seyde himself more than a curat. 219*
It is needless to heap up examples as the fact is well known. It is dwelled upon by Mr. Skeat,1 but although he names the equable French pronunciation, he seems to think the final stress in English words to be due to the French and the change of accent to be entirely English. It is more probable that the words were always pronounced with an equable stress, which allowed of their appearing in either position, and this was altogether French.

There is at least one English termination which could be placed either in an odd or even place, namely -yne, thus in

Syngynge he was or flowtynge al the day. 91

-ynge occurs both in an even and odd place. This termination, as a true participial form, is difficult to derive from Anglosaxon, where the termination was -ende, -inde. In the Romaunt of the Rose we have -ande in an even place—

Poyntis and sleeves be welle sittande
Right and streight on the hande. 6·69
They shal hir telle hou they thee fande
Curteis and wys, and welle doande 6·83

And in the Canterbury Tales,

Touchand the cherd, they sayd that subtilte 7872

But it occurs in an odd place apparently in—

The God of Loue delyverly
Come lepande to me hastily. 6·59

and in the Canterbury Tales,

Ther is ful many an eyghe and many an eero
Awaytand on a lord, and he not where. 7635
His meyne, which that herd of this affray,
Com lepand in, and chased out the frere. 7738

and by the analogy of all Germanic inflexional syllables it ought to be unaccented.6

As a verbal noun the -yne came directly from Anglosaxon, and it occurs in an even place so early as Genesis and Exodus.

pride and giscinge of louerd-hed. v. 832

Chaucer therefore apparently took the liberty of placing French words, foreign names, and English words with heavy terminations, as -yne, -nesse, and some others,3 in any part of his line which

1 In the additions to Tyrwhitt's preliminary Essay, Mr. Morris's edition of Chaucer, vol. 1, 172-196. Bell and Dalby, London, 1866. See the list of words given by Prof. Child in his Essay, reproduced in the next section, art. 99. Prof. Child cites as "Examples of the French accent," which he evidently regards as lying on the last syllable—

ther 'was discord', rancour', ne hevy-
nes'se. 8308

glori and honour', regne', tresor' and
rent(e) 15697

2 Mr. Skeat accents it (ib. p. 185).

3 Prof. Child loc. cit. art. 99, also notices felaw'e 2550, &c., fel'aw 650, melle're mylle're 544, 3167; mel'er 3923, &c., yeman' 6962, ye'man 101.

The change of form of the present participle is carefully noted in Koch, Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache, vol. 1, p. 342, to which I am indebted for the references to the Romaunt of the Rose, the text of which however, is unfortunately very doubtful (p. 252). The form -ende is very common in Gower, and is generally accented. See Prof. Child's observations in the next section, art. 64.
suited his convenience, most *probably pronouncing them with an
even stress on each syllable, which in process of time became trans-
formed into a double method of accentuating. For English words
generally the usual Germanic rule of the stress on the radical syl-
lable apparently prevailed.

Chaucer's verse seems to consist generally of *five* measures, with
or without a final unaccented syllable, forming a "feminine rhyme,"
added at the pleasure of the poet. There is no trace of the strict
alternation of couplets with masculine and feminine rhymes which
distinguishes French verse of the classical period. Each measure
properly consisted of two syllables, with more or less stress on the
last, but each syllable might also have nearly the same stress. In
the first measure the chief stress was often on the first syllable, as

_Bright was the day and bliew the firmament_ 10093

Mr. Skeat has pointed out (ib. 174) that the first measure might
consist of a *single* syllable, which then ought to have a certain
stress, or at least be followed by a decidedly unaccented syllable, as

_May_ with all thyn flores and thy greene. 1512
_Ther_ by aventure this Palamoun. 1518
_Now_ it schyneth, now it reyneth faste. 1537

His example

_I make pleylyng my confessioun,_

_That I am the woful Palamoun._ 1737

can scarcely be correct, as such a reading would be quite destruc-
tive of the sense, for that, _am_, must be without stress, and _I_ must
have the stress. The line is therefore corrupt. Tyrwhitt reads
_thilke_ for _the_, another mode of correction would be

_That I am he, the woful Palamoun,_

_That hath thy prisoun broke wikkedly._

Probably Mr. Skeat is right in admitting a monosyllabic first
measure, but it should not be accepted in any particular case,
unless the single syllable it contains has a decided stress.1

In the modern verse of five measures, there must be a principal
stress on the last syllable

- of the second and fourth measures
- or of the first and fourth measures
- or of the third and some other measure.

---

1 The first line of the Canterbury Tales seems to belong to this category.
The Harleian 7334 reads _[swoote_ Whan that aprille with his schowres
where the italicised _e_ has no authority, compare_Averill_ 6128, but is also found
in the Corpus MS. Oxford. The Hengwrit MS. reads—_ [sote Whan that Averyll with his shoures
The Harleian 1758 reads—_ Whan that Aprill _w_ his schoures
The Lansdowne 851 has _[sote Whan _pat_ April wyfe his schoures

The Harleian 7333 has _[swoote Whanne _p_ Averyll _w_ his shoures
where _whanne_ is an Anglosaxon form.

Caxton's first edition reads _[sote Whan that Aprill with his shouris

And Pynson's edition 1493, has _[sote Whan that Aprille with his shoures

Marking the monosyllabic first measure
by Italics, I would read _[swoete Whan that April with his schoures

Similarly

_Al_ bysmoterud with his haburgeon. 77
There is also generally a stress upon the last syllable of the fifth measure, but if any one of the three conditions above stated are satisfied, the verse, so far as stress is concerned, is complete, no matter what other syllables have a greater or less stress or length. It is a mistake to suppose that there are commonly or regularly, five stresses, one to each measure.

This rule of stress is necessarily not so strictly carried out in Chaucer, who was provided with a number of words having even syllabic stress. But on examination it will be found to hold tolerably well. There are however many lines in which so many syllables come together, with little or no stress, that unless they are read somewhat syllabically rather than by measures, or stress, we fail to feel their rhythm. Thus

That every of you schal go where him lest. 1850

may be accented on the italicised syllables, (first and fourth measures), in which case of you schal go would be passed over lightly, or else the whole line may be read with an even stress like a French verse, and this seems the more probably correct method.

Any measure may occasionally consist of three syllables, but in this case the two first are always very light. In

Wyd was his parish, and houses fer asondur. 493
Biforn me soreful wrecched creature. 1108

the third italicised measure has three syllables. In such cases it will be generally found that the first syllable is merely an inflexional or derivative e, en, er.

It is not usual in modern verse to have two trisyllabic measures in the same line, or if they do so occur they must be widely separated. It is also not customary in modern verse, but it is not uncommon in Chaucer, to give three syllables to the fifth measure, as

Than with an angry woman doun in a house. 6361
As wel over hir housbond as over his love. 6621

1 The length of syllables has much to do with the force and character of a verse, but does not form part of its rhythmical laws.

2 Take for example the first six lines of Lord Byron's Corsair, marking the even measures by italics and the relative amount of stress by 0, 1, 2, we have—

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<td>O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea</td>
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<td>Our thoughts as boundless, and our souls as free,</td>
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<td>Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Survey our empire, and behold our home!</td>
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<tr>
<td>These are our realms, no limits to their sway—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Our flag the sceptre all who meet obey.</td>
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The distribution of stress is seen to be very varied, but the action of the rules given in the text is well marked. Different readers would probably differ as to the ratios 1 and 2, in some lines, and others might think that it would be sufficient to mark stress and no stress. The last line most nearly approaches to having five principal stresses.
If gentiles were planted naturally. 6716  
For vileyn synful deedes maketh a chert. 6740  
That will nought be governed after her wyves.1 6844

Besides the stress, the caesura plays an important part in modern verse. This consists in terminating a word, at the end of the second measure or in the middle of the third, or else more rarely at the end of the third or middle of the fourth measure. Words forming a logical whole must in this case be considered as parts of the same word. Thus Chaucer's

That slepan al the night—with open yhe. 10

(where the even measures are italicised) has the caesura (marked by a dash) after night, the end of the third measure, not at al, or the, because at the night has the effect of a single word.

If we now read Chaucer's lines with the pronunciation obtained in our previous investigations, we shall find it very difficult to say in general where the final e, when written, may not be sounded.2 But the principle of economy would lead us to avoid the use of trisyllabic measures where they are not agreeable, or where they would be too frequent.

Final e arises in Chaucer3 from nearly the same sources as in German:

1) as a substitute from some original final vowel—essential E  
2) as a mark of plural, oblique case, or definite adjective—inflectional, oblique, definite E  
3) as a mark of adverbs—adverbial E  
4) as a mark of the infinitive mood and gerund, past tense of weak verbs, and imperative mood—verbal E  
5) as a representative of the French final e—French E.

1 The trisyllabic measures in 6621 are avoided by reading o' er for o'er, as in modern times, and in 6740 by reading mak'th.

2 "It is difficult to point out instances where the -e final is not sounded but it appears to be silent in dore 2424, feste 885, regne 879, and beste 1328." Skeat, ibid. p. 183. The reference numbers have been adapted. Now on examining these lines—  
The rynges on the tempul dore that hange 2424  
only gives a trisyllabic fifth measure, comparable to the above instances where it is formed without a final e.  
And of the feste that was at hire weddynge. 885  
Ther as a beste may al his lust fulfille. 1320

have trisyllabic third measures, which have never a bad effect, indeed we have

precisely the same rhythm in a line in Goethe's Tasso, act 1:  
ein neu Hesperien  
Uns dustend bilden, erkenne's du sie nicht alle  
Für holde Früchte einer wahren Liebe?  
(ain ney Hesper'ien  
Uns dust'end bild'en, erkenst du zii niht al'e  
Fyr hold'e frych'te ainer bha'aren  
li'be?)

In fact when the caesura occurs in this place a trisyllabic third measure has a pleasant effect. In [879 How wennen was the regne of Femenye. There is simply an elision of e final before a following vowel. Hence these four instances selected by Mr. Skeat from the whole of the Knightes Tale, come to nothing.

3 Prof. Child's minute examination of the final E's in Chaucer, is given in the next section.
The use of the final e seems to have been more regular in poetry than prose, to judge by the prose tales in this manuscript, but this may be erroneous; the reason may only be that the scribe, to whom many of the uses of e final had become obsolete, had no guide, when writing prose, to correct his more modern spelling, or, as is more likely still, at once used the orthography corresponding to his more recent pronunciation.

The question now arises, was final e ever added on by the poet for the sake of metre or rhyme, as Goethe apparently added on e in Glücke as shewn above (p. 328)? It is possible, but not probable, as it would have been instantly detected as a weakness, unless it could be justified as an archaism, like Goethe's, or a colloquialism, as when zweie, dreie, is said in German. But the scribe certainly not unfrequently added on an e when it was not required, shewing that the value and meaning of the final e was disappearing in his time. Mr. Skeat calls this "orthoeptic" and considers that it has "solely to do with the length of the preceding vowel" (Ibid. p. 189). I am more inclined to consider it "ignorant," and as pointing out a later date for the writing of the MS. See the observations on the Lansdowne MS. 851, supra p. 320, note. It would be impossible to suppose that the writer of that MS. added on an e in: wyfe, hafe, suche, whiche,—examples which occur in the first four lines,—to shew the lengthening of a vowel which was not lengthened.

The following examination of words with final E in the first 100 lines of the Canterbury Tales will give a clearer notion of their origin and use. To each word is added the number of the line, with an accent after it when the word is final. From the metre alone it is of course generally impossible to determine whether the final E at the end of a line is to be pronounced. Therefore we may, for the moment, reject all such from consideration. When an apostrophe is substituted for a final E, it shews that the e is written, but not pronounced, and is followed by a vowel or enclitic beginning with h. A double apostrophe shews that the e was written, but should apparently be omitted for the sake of the metre. When the word is in italics, it is essential to the metre in the middle of a verse. Prof. Child's remarks in the next section should be consulted by means of the list of Forms of Words in Chaucer and Gower referred to in Prof. Child's memoirs there appended.

1. Superfluous final E, that is, a final E not required by grammar or by Anglo-Saxon usage. Aprille 1, vertu' 4, nyn' 24, wey' 34, all' 38, fiftene 61', hethen' 66, mek' 69. Here Aprille 1, is really not essential to the metre, if we allow of a monosyllabic first measure. Nyne 24, and fiftene 61', may have assumed the e as numerals, §5, art. 39. Weye 34, is written wegge in Ormin, so that the e was no more an addition of Chaucer's than the e of Glücke was an addition of Goethe's. The word occurs frequently without the e,

See Prof. Child on the cases where final e is found in Chaucer in words where it does not exist in Anglo-Saxon, infra § 5, art. 13, 14, 16, 17, 30; and my footnote on art. 13.
and should be so written here. Make 69, frequently requires to have a final e pronounced, but Orrin writes meoc, meoc without a final e.


3. Essential final E, that is, already existing in Anglosaxon or used as a substitute for some other vowel or syllable in Anglosaxon; the Anglosaxon form is given immediately after the word: swoote swete 1', swete swete 5, sonne sonna 7', ende ende 15', her" hira 32, tym' tima 35, tale talu 36, inne innan 41', trough' treow'e 46, werre werre 47', ferre feorra 48', maybe maeden 69', son' sunu 79, hop' hopa 88, mede, medu 89', goun" (old friesic gone) 93, nightegale 98'. In here — their 32, the e seems to have been scarcely ever pronounced. Though hope 88 may have been merely (hoop), the e may have been sounded (hoop'e) producing a trisyllabic second measure

In hope to stonden in his lady grace. 88

In goun'e there is no Anglosaxon authority, the e was not required and perhaps not pronounced.

4. Verbal final E, that is, a final E which arises from the inflections of the verb: they wende 16', to seeke 17', wer" thei 26, wolden ryde 27', hadd' I 31', made 33, to arysye 33', I yow devysye 34', I pace 36', to telle 38, wol I begynne 42', he lovede 45, it was wonne 51', he hadd' the bord bygonne 52', hadd' he be 56, he sayde 70', he wente 78, I gesse 82', syngyng', flowtyng 91, wel cowd' he sitt', ride 94', coude mak', endite 95', justn', daunc', write 96', he lovede 97. Were 26, hadde 56, were frequently, or generally monosyllabic; portray 96 should be portraye, but the e would be elided; lovede 45, 97 had the first e elided lov'de (luv'de), and similarly frequently.

5. Oblique final E, that is, e added to form a case or plural of substantives: to the roote 2', in every holt 6, in felaschip 26, 32, atte beste 29, to reste 30', of ech' 39, in hethenesse 49', for his worthinesse 50', in presse 81', of lengthe 83', of strengthe 84', by nightertale 97'.

6. Adjectival final E, that is, an e added to form the plural or feminine of adjectives, or to make adjectives definite: the yonge sonne 7', his halfe cours 8, smale fowles 9, ferne halwes kouthe' 14, than that they wer" seeke 18, thei alle 26', weren wye 28', our" 34, ful ofte tyme 52, alle naciouns 53, the grete see 59; this ilke 64, lokkes crull' 81, evens lengthe 83, freshe flours white and reede 90', sleeves wyde 93'. Ofte 52 seems here used as an adjective, for manye. In our 34 the e does not seem to have been ever pronounced.

7. Adverbial final E, used to form the adverb: oft' 55, everemor' 67, late 77.

8. Contracted article, atte beste = at the beste, 29', 56.
It is thus seen that if we omit the consideration of final e at the end of a line, and allow final e to be elided before a subsequent vowel, we have only 23 cases in the first 100 lines in which the final e was essential to the metre. These are distributed as follows:

1. Superfluous final E (doubtful) - - - - 1
2. French final E - - - - 2
3. Essential final E - - - - 3
4. Verbal final E - - - - 6
5. Oblique final E - - - - 0
6. Adjectival final E - - - - 10
7. Adverbial final E - - - - 1

—23

Shewing that the verbal and adjectival final E's were the most important. When the final E was so seldom required to satisfy the ear of a scribe who had ceased to use it in speech, we must not be surprised if he often treated it as an ornament to be added or omitted at pleasure. This seems to have been the case with all the later manuscripts.

Now turning from verse, let us examine the use of the final e in prose, as in the Tale of Melibeu. Here we do not find by any means so many e's, or such regularity in their use. I refer to the words by the number of the paragraph containing them, and give two or three words together to facilitate reference, italicising the word under consideration.

mighty and riche 1 has the French e.
upon a day 1 for daye.
him to play 1, for to playe.
deroes were fast i shitte 1, pl. part.
olde foos 1, plural adj.
here feet, here, &c. 1, as usual.
nose 1, ags. nasu.
rendynge 2 for rendynge, the final e is here constantly omitted, and it is not always inserted in verse.
gan wepe and crie 2, infinitive e, this is generally correctly inserted, but the gerund è is often omitted.
as she dorste 2, verbal e.
of his wepyng to stynte 2, the gerund e is correct, the oblique e is omitted, so again, of here wepyng to stinte 3: but, what man schulde of his wepyngo stynte 4. The oblique e of the dative we found most frequently omitted in German, and it is clear that after a preposition which shewed the connection sufficiently, the inflection could be readily dispensed with.

Remedy of Love 3 for remedye. We have already noticed in the poetry many cases in which y final had been written for ye in French words. It is very possible that in these words the use of the final e rapidly dropped from speech, and that then the words had final long (ii). See p. 283. Love, ags. lufu, has always retained its e, although the o may have been short (u) in the xivth century; it is long in Orrmin.
of hir child 3, oblique e, but child is constantly found with e even when not oblique.

hir fille 3, this seems a superfluous e, ags. yfl plicitude.
nidigence amyable 3, have the French termination.
hir housbonde 3, ags. husband, is regular.
in this wise 3, ags. wise.
youre self 3, usual form, but e not pronounced.
forsothe 3, adv. e, or else for sothe, oblique e.
to a wys man 3, ags. wise, distinct from the former wise. The oblique e is here omitted.
such sorwe 3. Orrmin has sorwh, but there is no e in ags. sorh, sorh, which should only form sorw, from sorwh = (sorkwh), compare sorrowful 4.
ye ne oughte nought 3, past tense.
youre silf destroye 3, infinitive e.
The wise man 3, definite adjective, compare the indefinite a wys man above.

his owne persone 3, owne feminine e, and persone French e.
answerde anoon and sayde 4, past tenses.
And when thou hast for-gon thy frend, do diligence to gete another frend, and this is more wisedom than to wepe for thy frend, which thou hast lorn, for therein is no boote 4. The spelling of frend is very careless, the first time it is right, the two following times it is reversed, frende frend for frend frende. To gete, to wepe are gerunds. Wisedom is an error for wisdom. Boote, old norse byti.

out of youre hert . . . glad in herte 4, ags. hearte, hence the first spelling is incorrect. Orrmin has heornte, herrte; hert would be a stag. It is singular that heart, hart are now distinguished by an e, but the e is put in the wrong part of the word. In German herz is a contracted form, and herze is occasionally used in poetry, o.h.g. hérza, goth. hairto (mer-too).

It is not necessary to continue this examination. Sufficient has been adduced to shew that the system of final e is the same in prose as in verse, so that it has not been invented by the poet or his scribe to patch up a line where necessary. If an editor of Chaucer would carefully examine all the final e's, restoring all those grammatically necessary, and ruthlessly omitting, or at least typographically indicating, all those which neither grammar nor derivation allow, when they were not necessary for the metre or rhyme, and then submit the others to a careful consideration, he would do the study of English great service. The elaborate researches of Prof. Child, described in the next section, have smoothed the way for such an edition, and in Chapter VII I have endeavoured to carry out this suggestion for the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, in a method there explained, and in an orthography which the present examination has suggested. The careful examination of every verse thus rendered necessary has resulted in convincing me that Chaucer and Goethe used the final e in precisely the same way, with the solitary exception of the consistent elision of e before a vowel and silent h.
This conclusion is in harmony with the historical position of Chaucer. He was not the first or the only writer of smooth verses in English. Ormin's are as regular as any written at the present day, and he treated his final e in precisely the same manner as Chaucer, making the same elisions. We shall find the same principle marked in the other versifiers of the xiii th century. Gower, Chaucer's contemporary, carries out the use of the final e even to a greater extent than Chaucer. As Gower wrote also in French, this greater regularity may be attributed to French influence, but we must remember that the French final e at that time must have been regularly and distinctly pronounced in common conversation as well as in verse, or it would not have formed a part of Meigret's phonetic prose in the middle of the xvi th century.

Although Chaucer, by the mere force of his genius, became the apparent founder of our English poetry,—few ever thinking of the equally smooth but insufferably tedious Gower,—he was in fact the last, not the first of a period. The wave of civil war passed over the country after his death, and when poetry again rose under Spenser, the language was altered in idiom and in sound, and Chaucer could only be 'translated,' not imitated. A new versification suited to the new form of language rose to majesty in Spenser, Shakspere, Milton. Hence we must not look upon Chaucer as an innovator, and the justification of his final e must not be sought for in an imitation of the French, but in the custom of all the versifiers which preceded and accompanied him.

Acting upon this feeling I have examined what would be the result of this theory upon the pronunciation of Chaucer's lines, and the mode in which I have printed the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales in Chap. VII, having given great facilities for performing the calculation, I have drawn up the following table. It must be remembered that the text in Chap. VII does not precisely accord with any manuscript, a few simple alterations having been made where the metre seemed to require it, but the general results will not be at all affected by these changes. The enumeration is by no means easy to make, as different opinions may be entertained of the categories under which elisions or retentions should be classed, and it is not possible to check it without taking far more trouble than the results deserve. In the present case the enumeration has been made twice, at considerable intervals, and the text was corrected between the two enumerations. The results differed, but not in any way to affect the conclusions to be drawn from them. The second series of numbers are here given because they refer to the text as it stands, but I would by no means guarantee their absolute correctness, although they were obtained with care.

1 Dryden's and Pope's 'translations' of Chaucer, remind one irresistibly of Quince's exclamation: 'Blesse thee bottome, blesse thee; thou are translated.'—Mid. N. Dream, act 3, sc. 1, speech 41.
Final E was pronounced—
Before a vowel, doubtful: th'olde Es culapius 429 — 1
Before a consonant — — — — 238
At the end of a line, that is, it is consonant with strictly
preserving the grammatical inflection, and the essen-
tial final E, with the rhyme, and with the cases last
numbered, to suppose that it was pronounced in this
position — — — — — — 420
Final ES was pronounced—
In the middle of a line — — — — — — 87
At the end of a line — — — — — — 37
Final E was elided—
Before a following vowel, always, with only one doubt-
ful exception, v. 429 — — — — — — 315
Before he 92, his 22, him 13, hir' 6, her' 4, hem 1, hadde
7, have 1, how 1, with one doubtful exception before
he: that on his schyne a normal hadde he 388, and
none for the other words, except hadde, how, have,
which have not been noted; total — — — — — 147
Final ES was treated as simple S—
In the middle of a line — — — — — — 18
Final E was regularly elided—
In hadde' (with 12 exceptions: v. 253, 286, 310, 373,
379, 386, 447, 464, 554, 677, 700, 760, as num-ered in Chap. VII, where the numbers sometimes
differ by 2 from Wright's) — — — — — — 18
In hir' = her, without exception — — — — — — 25
her' = their, without exception — — — — — — 12
wer' = were, one exception noted: woo was his cook,
but if his sauce were 351 — — — — — — 14
our' = our, without exception — — — — — — 19
your' = your, without exception — — — — — — 5
Final E was arbitrarily elided—
as in modern German poetry, for the sake adding force to
the expression, for the metre or for the rhyme, either
at the end of a line or before a consonant—
when the mark of the oblique case — — — — — — 37
when the mark of verbal inflexion — — — — — — 17
when essential, or representing a final vowel in an
anterior stage of the language — — — — — — 13
Final E was arbitrarily added—
for the sake of rhyme or metre, in no case noted.
These enumerations enable us to lay down the following rules for
the pronunciation of final E, which would have to be verified by a
wider field of research, and as they agree essentially with the
results of Prof. Child's more elaborate examination,—see the next
section, arts. 74 to 92,—they probably represent the practice of
the court dialect in the xivth century as nearly as we can hope to
attain. There is reason to suppose that the e final had been long
much neglected in the Northern dialect.
Final unaccented e, when essential or inflectional was regularly pronounced, except in the following cases:

1. It was regularly elided before a following vowel.
2. It was regularly elided before a following he, his, him, hir', her', hem, and occasionally before hadde, have, how, to which Prof. Child adds hath and her = here.
3. In the following words, e though generally written was never sounded, hir' = her, hir' = their, our' = our, your' = your.
4. Final e was frequently not sounded in hadd, wer', tim', mor'
5. Occasionally, but rarely in comparison to the other cases of elision, essential or inflectional final e was elided to render the expression terser, or to assist the metre or rhyme, precisely as in modern German poetry, but not so frequently as in German. The oblique e and essential e were most frequently dropped, as is also the case in German; the e of verbal inflection was seldom omitted.

By the elision of final e is meant its absolute suppression as in German, Greek, and French, not its rapid or slurred utterance as in Italian and Spanish. But there may be many cases of the fifth exception in which the elision may be saved by introducing a trissyllabic measure, without material harshness, and it must remain an undecided question whether Chaucer would or would not have elided the vowel in such cases. Judging from the practice in German, the elision seems most probable. For the effect of the action of these rules in declaiming Chaucer and Gower, reference must be made to the examples in Chap. VII:


In the Memoirs of the American Academy, New Series, Vol. viii, pp. 445-502, 3 June 1862, and Vol. ix. pp. 265-314, 9 January 1866 (subsequently revised so that it may be considered as dating from Nov. 1867), Professor Francis James Child, of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S., has given the results of an elaborate and searching examination into the language of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales as exhibited in Wright's edition of the Harl. MS. 7334, and Gower's Confessio Amantis as edited, from no one manuscript in particular, and with an arbitrary system of
spelling justified by no single manuscript, by Dr. Reinhold Pauli. As a large portion of these investigations tend towards the discovery of the number of syllables in words, by determining when the final e was or was not pronounced, or should or should not be written, the present work would be incomplete without a full account of them, more especially as the memoirs themselves are not readily accessible.

Nouns.

Art. 1. Nouns which in Anglosaxon end in a vowel terminate in Chaucer and Gower uniformly in e.  


1 Suprâ p. 256, note 1.  
2 In the Memoir on Gower, for §§ 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, as printed, read 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30 respectively, as pointed out in the corrections to that paper. The corrected numbers only are used here. The memoirs have been slightly abridged, chiefly by omission, and amalgamated. The long lists of words appended without references to certain articles, are given at length in a common index at the end, for convenience of casual consultation. When they do not appear in this index references are generally appended, but the whole of the references are not always given, and those to Paul’s Gower are frequently omitted altogether. The words of the author have generally been retained. This re-arrangement is made with the kind permission of Prof. Child.

3 In Prof. Child’s papers e means an e pronounced, e an e elided, Æ and Æ written and not elided but not forming a syllable in the editions used, [e] an e added by himself, (e) an e which occurs in Wright’s edition, but which he considers should be omitted. The grave accent (”) marks the accented syllable.  
4 The asterisk appended to the number of an article shows that the full references and explanations of the exemplificative words are in given the final table of Forms of Words in Chaucer and Gower.

The following extract from B. Thorpe’s Translation of E. Rask’s Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, Copenhagen, 1830, p. 28, will explain these references.  
“49. The following tables will serve as a synopsis of all the regular declensions:

**The Simple Order, or 1st Declension.**

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**The Complex Order.**

2nd. Declension.

3rd. Declension.

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3.* Masculines. (I. 2.)

Ex. Chaucer—ape, asse, balke, bane, bere, bi-leewe, bowe, clifte, crede, cronke, cuppe, drope, dwale, flane, feere, foode, galle, grame, hare, harre, hawe, hive, houbsonde housbonde, hope, hunte, hyne, knave, knotte, kyte, lappe, leere, lippe, make, mawe, moone, mouthbe, name, nekke, ox, poke, pope, pride, prikke, reeve, schrewe, spearwe, stake, steede, steere, sterre, stikke, tene, tyme, wele, welle, wete, wille, wrecche.—blosme, gere, shoppe, stelé, webbe, wone, wright'. Gower—ape, asse, bere, be-leve, bonde-man, bowe, crede, cuppe, drope, dwale, fere, fete, fode, folle, galle, gere, grame, hare, herre, hewe, hope wan-hope, hussé- (housé-)bonde, knape knave, lappe, like, lippe, make, mone, name, necke, onde, oxé, pese, pope, pricke, pride, see, shrewe, snake, sparde, spore, stake, steede, sterre, stike, swere, tene, thombe, time, wane, wele, welle, wille, wone, wrecche.—cope, hunte, like, wan[e], wrenne.

4.* Feminines. (I. 3.)

Ex. Chaucer—almesse, arwe, belle, berye, cappe, cheeke, chirche, cloote, cote, crowe, depee, dowfe, erthe, fye, glose, harpe, heepe, heire, herte, hose, howve, larke, lilie, mare, masse, myte, nightyngale, oule, panne, pipe, pirie, pisse-myre, pose, rake, rose, scheete, schere, schire, schyne, side, snare, sonne, swalwe, targe, throte, tonge, tonne, trapp, wake, wenche, wicche-craft, wise—birch', tapstiere. Gower—almesse, arwe, belle, blase, cheke, chirche, crowe, crumme, depee, erthe, harpe, herte, hitte, kerse, lilie, lunge, masse, mite, molde, nettle, nightingale, nonne, oule, panne, pipe, resshe risshe reishe, se see, shete, side, sive, sonne, swalwe, throte, tonne, tunge, wacche, weke, wicche-craft, wenche, wise.—lapp-winke, more, sale.

5.* In the following the final e has been absorbed by y or w. In the following the final e seems to have been transposed from after l (as is often the case after r). Gower 1—The following may or may not be correctly written. The combination of a liquid with e is unstable, the vowel easily slipping from one side to the other of the consonant.

Ex. Chaucer—play, lady, sty: herberw herbergh, widow widw:

6.* Exceptions to art. 3, 4.

Ex. Chaucer—pith, beech, kers, stat. Gower—laverock, to(e), roo.

7.* Second declension of Anglosaxon nouns. Masculines. (II. 2.)

Ex. Chaucer — awe, bale, cheese, ende, hate, hegge, herde, hyve, ire, leche, lye, mele, myre, pilwe-beer, reye, skathe, tete, whate—some, mere-

8.* Exceptions to art. 7. Termination -schipe. The length of the words compounded with this termination may perhaps account for the final e being soon dropped. Termination -ere in Saxon nouns signifying for the most part an agent. It is quite as likely as not that in 544, 3167, 2 the final e of mellers was pronounced. Gower—Such representatives as occur of the Saxon noun in -eré, denoting an agent, seem to want the final vowel. Nouns of this kind were by no means as common in the old language as in the modern. I have noticed but three fair cases in Gower. There are other in-

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1 Paragraphs introduced by the word Gower followed by (—), are taken from the memoir on Gower, the other being from the memoir on Chaucer, but occasionally paragraphs are headed Chaucer—for greater distinctness.

2 The simple numbers refer to the lines in Wright's edition, as throughout this chapter, supra p. 256.
stances without the final e, but in these cases the succeeding word begins with a vowel, and it is supposable that the e may have been elided. It is doubtful whether these words should be called exceptions to art. 7; for, in the first place, the metre does not settle the question of their form, inasmuch as clappère, for instance, would suit the verse (which hath no clapper for to chime, ii 131), as well as clapper; and secondly, for few, if for any of them, can we show a form in -ero in the Saxon dictionary.

Ex. Chaucer — felawshippe, friend-schippe, lordschippe, worship: carter, hopper, loveré, mellere miller, outry-dere, sleper, wonger. Gower — clapper,

9.* Third declension of Anglosaxon nouns. Neuters. (III. 1.)


10.* Feminines. (III. 2.)


11.* Exemptions. It will be noted that the nouns sone and love have the final e regularly in Gower, contrary to the apparent rule in Chaucer. The same is true of the important word time, art. 3.

Ex. Chaucer — sonë sonë, woodë woodë; answar, lové lovë.

13. Many nouns which in Anglosaxon end in a consonant have in Chaucer and Gower the termination ë, derived from an oblique case the old inflection. A few familiar parallel formations in other modern languages may be mentioned. Lat. radix, Ital. radice; animal, animale; cupidus, cupidine; imago, immagine; nix, neve; latro, ladrono; honor, onore; libertas, libertate; voluptas, volutate. So in colloquial Romain, as compared with Greek: — Greek, \( \lambda \alpha ριτάς \), Romain, \( \lambda μπάδα \); \( χιν \), \( χίνα \); νόε, νόκτα.

Two forms not unfrequently occur; one with, and the other without the vowel. By the dropping of this vowel in later English, the primitive form is restord. Though this secondary, transitional form in ë is found in Layamon and the Ormulum (quite frequently with Feminines of the second Saxon declension), yet it is by no means so common as in Chaucer.

As it is possible that some may think the forms in ë of the Mas-culine and Neuter nouns to be oblique cases of a nominative, which (if it occured) would be found to end in a consonant, the grammatical relations of these words are always indicated, but this (probably superfluous) trouble has not been taken with the Feminines.²

1 This mode of citation refers to Pauli's edition of Gower, vol. ii, p. 13. ² On examining Prof. Child's lists in §§ 14, 16, 17, 30, I have obtained the
14.* Masculines and neuters of the second and third declensions (II. 1, 2, III. 1, 2). Gower—Most, if not all, of the following, and many other nouns of the same declensions, are found in the primitive form without the vowel. In many instances the terminal e might be explained as the Saxon dative inflection, but it will be found on inspection that about half of the nouns in the list occur in the nominative or accusative case.

Ex. Chaucer—bedde, berne, bisse-mare, bladde, borwe, botme, brede, brembre, bronde, carte, childe, corne, cruppe, cultre, dale, donge, drynke, feere, ferne, folde, foote, fyre fyr, gate, golde, grave, grounde, -hede -hode falshede godhede hasthede kinghede knighthode knightlhedde ladyhede lik-lyhede maidenhede manhede susterhede wif(e)hode womanhede, hewe, home—
the adverb should be spelt hom, ags. ham, and not home; at hom is also the correct form, ags. at ham—horse, house, kinge, kinne, leefe, liche, limme, life live, lode, londe, lope, middle, minde, monthe, morde, morwe, mote, mouthe, mule, rede, reor, scorne, sete, shape, shipp, shotte, shrifte, sithe, slepe, smoke, sore, sothe, stronde, temple, thewe, thinge, towne, wave, wedde, weie, weighte, whipp, wisdome, wise, worde, worthe, wronge, yere—sho, fo
—hie, kepe, lette, leve, swonne, were.  

15.* The following merely drop a final n (compare Lat. and Ital. acumen, acume; certamen, certame; vimen, vime).  

Ex. Chaucer & Gower—eve, game, mayde.  

16.* Feminines of the second declension. (II. 3.) These nouns have in Anglosaxon all the oblique cases of the singular in e.  

Ex. Chaucer—beere, bene, boone, boote, bragge, brythe, burthe, byrne, dede, doune, dredé, file, gifte, gleede, halfe hallé, heedle, helle helle, helpe helpé, heste hest, hyre huyre, keye, kynde man-kynde, lengthe, leve, lisse, 

following results for Chaucer—I have not examined the instances in Gower because of the great uncertainty of Pauli's text. If we reject those nouns which are only found in oblique cases, those whose final e is elided before a vowel, those which occur at the end of a line where the final e of the rhyming word may have been omitted for the rhyme, those in which -re may have been written for -er, those in which e may have been a connecting vowel in compounds as in lichewake 2690, and those in which the authority of Ormin shews that a final e had long been assumed, the long list of masculines reduces to the following: childe 5339, 14960, foote 11489, hewe 1386, lyste 1884 (which should apparently be

\textit{lystes} as in 1861), morwe 14710, sothe 12590 (probably an adverb) swyne 16972, wave 4888, wife 6648. In the feminines we should also omit the accusative which had an e in Anglosaxon. They reduce to: bryde 9764, gifte 9167, lengthe, 17302, merthe 768 (plural?), schipae 2002 (probably an error for schipen), spanne 165 (the accusative of dimension?), tyle 7687 (probably accusative), youthe 2381 and frequently. The adjectives reduce in the same way to: bare 8766 (feminine?), blewe 866, cleue 1184 (ecc would only give a monosyllabic first measure), longe 1575, lowde 10582 (feminine?), merye 208 (Bosworth gives an ags. form mirige), shorts 6206 (not in Harl. 7334), tame 2188, wete 2340.
loode-sterre, lore, lynde, lyvere, meede, melle myllæ, merke, merthe, myle, neede, -nesse bysynesse boldënnesse
brightnesse clennesse cursednesses drunkenesses falsenesses goodnisses hardynesses hethenesses hevynesse
halinnesse holynlynesses lewenedesse newefanglînnesse schamfastnesses seeknesses sikernesses stedfastnesses
warmnesse wrinklednesses ydelenesses, bysynes clennëssë goodnes lewednes lustynes worthines woodnes, ore, pyle, pyne, quern, rewe, roode, schipne, sleeve, slouthe, sonde, sorwe, soule soulel, spanne, speche, spechë, stounde, streete, strenghtë, synne, throwe, tyde, tyle, upriste, wede, werte, while, wolle, wombe, wounde, yerde, youthë — asp, booke, droughthe, lynde, rewthe, scherte, sleighte, stevene, wilw, wreche. Gover — banke, bene, berthe birthe, blisse,

bonde, bone, bote, brigge, cheste, dede, drede, egge, fille felle fulle, filthe, forgifte, glede, glove, hallë, halfe halve, bede, hele, helle, helpe help, heste, hinde, hire, keie, kindë, kite, kithe, lengthë, leve, linde, lore, mareche, mede, merthe mirthë, milë, nede, -nesse businesse buxomnesse halinnesse idelnness
rightwishnesse sik(e)nesse sikernesses we- rinesse wildernessse witnesse, ore, quene quene, reste, rewe rowë, rinde, rode, roode, salve, score, shelle, sightë sinne, slave, slouthe, sonde, sorwe, soule, spanne, speche, stempe, stounde, streute, strengthe, synne, throwe, tyde, tyle, upriste, wede, werte, while, wolle, wombe, wounde, yerde, youthë — asp, booke, droughthe, lynde, rewthe, scherte, sleighte, stevene, wilw, wreche. Gover — banke, bene, berthe birthe, blisse,

17.* Exceptions to art. 16. Gover—Hand, might, night, wight, are exceptional in Anglosaxon, having the accusative singular like the nominative: so world, more commonly: bok (constantly misspelt boke) i 2, 5: ii 58: iii 65, 133, etc.; burgh, ii 232; iii 292; furgh, ii 245, all feminines, are also irregular in Saxon, and have the accusative singular like the nominative. Chaucer—Nouns derived from Saxon feminine nouns in -ung, -ing, or formed in imitation of such, terminate in Layamon mostly in -ingë, rarely in -ing. In the Ornulm the termination is almost invariably -ing, but one or two have the nominative, and three or four an accusative in -ingë. The more usual ending in Chaucer is certainly -ying. The termination -ynge occurs frequently at the end of a verse, and in most cases rhymed with an infinitive. Gover—Nouns derived from Saxon feminines in -ung, -ing, or formed in imitation of such, generally have in Gower the termination -inge, less frequently -ing: in the latter case the accent is sometimes thrown back.

Ex. Chaucer—aldir, ax, bench, bliss blisse, box, chest, curs, faun, fist fest, fitt, flight, floor, hand hond, heeth, hen, mark, might, milk, night, ok oke, queen, sight, rest, soken, tow, wight, world, nouns in -yang ãxyng begynnynng clothing comynng commynng dwellynng sightynng hangynng haryng hunting lokynng longynng makynng ofrynng rënnynng smyllynng teching wândrynng wëppynng wonyng writyng wynynng, lernynng turnynge, vanyschynge walkynge, carolynge comynge dawenynge evynynge felynge lyvyng morwenynge ofrynge rejoysynge semynge taryynge werkyngë all rhymed with infinitives synge bryngye stynge syrnyng [and with the exception of felynge 16779 all oblique]. Gover—axel bench bridë flight flor(e) hen hond les might milk night plitë sped(e) tow wight world, nouns in -inge axinge bakbitinge carolinnggh childinghe comeinge compleigninge greccheinge knoulechinghe lesingle lik- inghe lokynng mishandlinghe spekinghe tidynge welwillinghe weplinge wrrynge, beginning knouleching teching, hûnting liking wëning writing(e) ; excusing of, hunting as, shedding of are apparently cases of elision—steinen.

18.* The following nouns, of etymons more or less uncertain, but mostly of undoubted Gothic origin, are found in Chaucer and Gower terminating in ë.
Ex. Chaucer—brinke, cake, chaffare, cloke, clowde, cope, daggere, deynté, dogge, drake, felawé felawë felawë felawë, gable, jade, knarre, know-leche, kyn-redé, marie, roteroot, sole, slynge, snowte, stakle, tare, wyndowé wyndowé wyndowé wyndowé.

19.* The unaccented final e of nouns of French origin is sounded in Chaucer as it is in French verse. Exceptions, however, are frequent. Gower—Exceptions are by no means so common as in (Wright's text of) the Canterbury Tales; a few exceptions, after the sounds r and s, are cited under arts. 84, 91f. So in adjectives. Chaucer—It is scarcely necessary to mention that an internal e in French words is also pronounced, as, commaundé 2871, juggémént 780, etc.


20. The accented final e of French nouns (in modern English, y) is of course preserved in Chaucer.

Ex. Chaucer—adversité, bonté, cherté, clarré, contré, liberté, perré, plenté, pryyyté, renomé. [This accent on é is due to the editors, and is not in the MS.]


Ex. Chaucer—schires 15, cherles 7788, lordez 47, Cristes 480, piggëz 702, reeyes 601, modres metes kynges 5433-5. Gower—lovës 85, mannës iii 86, godës iii 88, worldës iii 90, nightës iii 96, daïcs iii 111, bullës iii 119, kingës iii 146, wivës iii 73.

The following have, at least sometimes, no termination:

Ex. Dec. I. Chaucer—holy chirche good 3981, holy chirche blood 3982, holy chirches feyth 11445; his lady grace 88, oore lady veyl 697, his ladys grace 9892; the sonne upriste 1053, the sonne stremes 16240, myn herte blood 10221, a widow some 14913. Gower—the chirche kei i 10, monot light iii 109 (perhaps compounds), the mones cercle iii 109; my lady side i 160, this lady name iii 157, my lady chere i 213, my lady kith[e] iii 5, my lady good iii 30, ladies lovers i 228, a hest i 84, a selve i 228, a daughter ii 227, a mercy ii 118. So, Chaucer—fader 9239, 9012, 15670, 8772, 4036, 9389, 12757, 15423, but fadres 5883, 8738, 8685, 8747, 13626, 783?, 10175?, 14883? brothir 3086, 13360?, brothers 11478, modres 15004, philosophre 12790, heven 6763, 10281, 12470, 16282, 13017. Gower—horse i 40, 119, heven ii 187, belle ii 97, sole ii 39; fader i 209, faders i 157, brother i 199, brothers i 214, mother i 289, moders ii 354, daughter i 208, doughters i 150.
So, many proper nouns in s, as in Anglo-Saxon and Modern English

Chaucer—Epicurus 338, Peneus 2066, phemus i 166, Bachus ii 358, Phebus Venus 10586, Melibeus 15382, Phebus i 250, etc.

Gower—Poly-

22. Plural of nouns. Nominative. The Nominative Plural is formed for the most part in -es; occasionally in -us or -is, a dialectic variety. Gower—-s only is frequently added, especially to nouns terminating in a liquid or in -f; sometimes when -es is added (rightly or wrongly), only -s is pronounced.

Ex. Chaucer—ladiés 900, bodyés 1007, kneès 1105, 1877, degreeés 17298; fowlés 9, domés 325, chiknes 382, bones 702, fyngres 129; croppés 7, robés 319, knobbès 635, wyfes 234, knyfes 368, kautyves 1719, lewes 1498; lokkés 76, songes 95, branches 1069; bootés 203, arguments 4632, ornamentes 8134, houndes 146, swordes 2028; strems é grevés dropés leevés 1497–8, brawnés shuldres armés 2183–8. Gower—weiës, tiranniës, thewës, soules, hills, formes, philosophres, fires, lores, sterres, droppes, herbes, leves, lives, wives, turves, bokes, clerkes, beinges, things, notes, froastes, bestes, flodes, cloudes, hevedes = heades, mouthes, mouthes. Chaucer—pilgrims 2850, naciouns 53, bargayns 284, sesouns 349, sessions 357, pens 7158, lazars 245, sellers 248, achatours 510, pilours 1009, lovers 1533—schoos 359, dys 1240; bisschops 4673, kevercheves 465, caytifs 926; reliks 13764, lordyngs lordynës 7250, 15725, yedyngës 237, prechings 6139; servantes 101, contractës 6890, vestimentz 2950, marchautnz 4668, 4691, arguments 4648, maundementz 6866, instrumentz 9587; greyhoundës 190, stiwardz 581, husbonds 2825. Gower—angels, cardinals, nations; courts, points i 149, pointës i 151, elements, jugements, arguments, tirants, Sarahs, complexions, masons; saints, estat(e)s, craftës, climates, herts hertëz i 325, lovers, flatrous, fethers; words i 176, wordës i 151, Grekês ii 171, Grekës ii 165, knes knës, tres treës.

23. The following have -en, -n, derived from the Saxon plural in -an of the 1st Declension: asschen 1304, asen 5867, assches 12735, been 10518, bees 7275, eyen yën 152, fleen 16949, hosen 458, oxen 5867, schoon 15143, schoos 459, ton 16348, toos 16817.

24. The following have -n, -en, by imitation, being of various declensions in Saxon. Gower—The following, which have the termination -n in Saxon, have superadded the -en of the 1st Declension to a weakened form of the Saxon plural.


25. The following have no termination in the plural, according to the rule of the Saxon neuters of the 2nd Declension: deer, folk, hors, neet, scheep, swin, thing, yer. (The word good added in Chaucer is corrected in Gower). So night 7467, wynter 10357, and probably freend 3052, 3053.

26. The plurals formed by change of vowel are the same in Chaucer and Gower as in English: feet, gees, men, teeth.

27. The following plurals of French words are remarkable: caas 325, paas 1892, degre 1892, seere 6923 (?), orgen 16337, vessel 15634, but vescealx vesceals 15680, 15687, riches and riches.
28. The Genitive Plural in Chaucer and Gower is much the same as in English, saving, of course, the use of ès instead of s.

Ex. Chaucer — lordès hestès 8405, lordès doughtrès 13488, foxes tailes 15519, bestes dennes 15749, seintes lyves 6272, mennes wittes 4622, wymmens counseiles 16742, his eyghen sight 10134. Gower — the Grekes lawe, alle mennes speche, mennes goodes ii 332, out of all other briddles sight i 100, princes hevedes, of the goddes purveyance.

ADJECTIVES.

29.* Adjectives which end in e in Saxon end in è in Chaucer and Gower. Several other adjectives might probably be inserted in this list, but as they are found in the Canterbury Tales only in the "definite form" (see art. 32), they have not been noticed.

Ex. Chaucer — blithe blithè, clene clene, dere, derne, drye, elenge, fremde, grene, heende, kene, kynde, lene, newe, proude prow, ripe, scheene, softe, stille, sterne, sweate wote, thanne, thikke, trewe, un-weede, white — (all-) oone, narwe, worthi worthy. Gower — blithe, a-cale, clene, dere, derne, drie, fre, grene, kinde unkinde, mete unmete, milde unmilde, neisse, newe, softe, sterna, stille, swete, thikke, thinne, trewe untrewe, un-wylde, yare — all-(al-)onè, onè.

30.* The following adjectives and adjective pronouns, though ending in a consonant in Saxon, have sometimes, or always, the termination è in Chaucer and Gower, resembling the nouns in art. 13 (compare Lat. atrox, Ital. atroce; fallax, fallace, etc.). Gower — But most or all of the following are found also in the older form, without the -e. It will be observed that the adjectives in list (a), are all from monosyllabic Saxon stems, or from contracted dissyllables. A few polysyllabic adjectives are also found in Gower with the termination è. Chaucer — So, as if by dropping the final consonant (compare Lat. mortalis, Ital. mortale, etc.): haire 14151, lyte lite 2629, moche 1810.

Ex. Chaucer — alle, bare, blewe, eche, evene, faire, fawe, foule, freshe, grete, hire, hire, longe, lowe, lowe, merye, olde, rowe, shorte, suche, swifte, tane, wete, which, wise, wyld wilde wild, yle, y-nowe — forme fader, apparently from ags. frumfader — ware 16094 should be vor, and share (chariot) 16996 char, not to be confounded with charè = chair 16099. Gower — (a) alle, bare, bleche, blinde, brode, faire, false, gladde, grete, leve, lewde, likeliche, longe, lowe, olde, one (the common forms are on, o; the misspelling one continually occurs in Pauli's text), righete, starpe, stronge, suche, tame un-tame, thikke, whiche, wilde, wise; so, moste i 92. — (b) wommanishè, bodelichè, diversè, comunè, devouè, secouè; so, as if by dropping the final consonant, golde, lite, moche.

31.* The following adjectives of uncertain derivation are found terminating in è: badde, deynè, dronkelewe, meke, raclè, wikke.

32. The Definite Form of monosyllabic Adjectives, including Participles and Adjective Pronouns (i.e. the Adjective when preceded by the Definite Article, by any other Demonstrative, or by a Possessive Pronoun) ends in Chaucer and Gower in è.

Ex. Chaucer — the yonge sonne 7, his halfe cours 8, iikè monk 175, atte (at the) fulle 63, thou felle Mars 1661, here hootè love 2321, that selve moment 2586, thy borne man 9664, thin false quarel 16932. Gower — the wise man i 5, this foule greate coise i 100, my faire maide i 154, her dreinte lord(e) ii 105, thy fulle mind ii 126, min holè herte ii 277, that stronge place ii 376, his ownè lif(e) i 9; so, in the derke i 190, in the depe i 194.
33. So, for the most part, the Definite Form of monosyllabic superlatives.

34. Among Definite Forms of the Adjective are to be reckoned adjectives occurring in forms of address (as in Anglosaxon, leófa fader, etc.).

Ex. Chaucer—ye false harlot 4266, indef. fals 1132, goode leman 4245, indef. good 514, but, O good Constance 5237, leeve brother 1186, O strong god 2375, indef. strong 752, O yonge Hughes 15095, indef. 79. It is possible, however, that some of these forms belong under art. 30. Gower—false cherl, ha, gode suster! thou foule beste, leve sir, O wise Diogene, thou proude clerk(e), O hihe fader, O blinde.

35. The Definite Form of Adjectives of more than one syllable has not (generally) the final ē. There are however more exceptions to this rule in Gower than in Chaucer. (a) Comparatives and Superlatives. (b) Post Participles in -ed, -t, -en. (c) Adjectives in -od, -en, -ful, -isch, -ly, -y, etc. (d) Various adjectives of Latin derivation and terminations.

36. The following exceptions to arts. 32, 33, 35, occur, but many of the readings are suspicious.

Ex. (a) To art. 32. Chaucer—the gret 2387, 2525, 14402, his high 2539?, 9534?, 14328?, the dreynet 4489?, the right 8149, his fals 13001, this good 14503?, this proud 3167? (the proude 4311, 16245), this fiers 4720. Gower his fals, her wrong, her glad, the bright, the ninth, the seventh, his high lignage, the high prowess, his high suffrance, his high compass; but the high god, his highè worthiness, his slié caste.—(b) To art. 33. Chaucer—the first 14239, at the, atte, last 11059, 10759, 14259, for the best 1849, 9392, 11198, the worst 1616. Gower—the best.—(c) To art. 35. Chaucer—(c) the wofullerè cheer 1342, the sorwfullestè man 9972, the semlièst man, 17051. Gower—(c) this tirannishe knight iii 266, her wommanische drede ii 66, thy bodeliche kinde i 271, the hevenliche might i 138. (d) The covetouse flattery, this lecherous[ē] pride iii 259, the pafrite medicine, the secondé.

37. The distinction of the French masculine and feminine adjective is preserved in one case,—seint, in Chaucer, seint Jon 5439, seintè Mary 7186, and may perhaps be noticed in Gower in one or two cases,—sovecine i 277, iii 360, gentile iii 352.

38. (a) The Comparative Degree of the Adjective is generally formed in Chaucer and Gower, as in modern English, in -er (S., -re).—(b) A few Comparatives of “irregular” Adjectives retain the Saxon ē: worse worse, lasse lesse, more bettre. These forms in -re are all suspicious. Those of three syllables (if correctly spelt) are contracted in reading, so that the metre does not determine their validity, and er and re are easily interchanged.—(c) The vowel change of the “ancient” comparison is found in the following: lenger 332, elder 15746, eldest 15898, strenger 14240, strongest 15561.—(d) Some analytic forms of comparison are found: mo slakke 14824, the moest stedefast 9425, the moste deinteuous 9588, the moste free 11926, the moste lusty 17039, the moste grettest.

39. The Plural of Monosyllabic Adjectives ends in ē. The same is the case with some of the Pronouns. So, also, bothe, fele, fewe, and many of the Cardinal numbers. Those from 4 to 12, inclusive, took an -e in Saxon when used absolutely except perhaps cahta, nigon, endlufon.
Ex. (a) Chaucer—blake 559, bylynde 4973, colde 1304, dede 7090, deve 12214, dulle 4622, goode 3156, hore 7764, hote 9682, reede 90, sadde 17190, sharpe 475, selendre 9476, seeke sike 18, slakke 14824, smale 9, stronge 2137, wayke 889, wrothe 1181, wyde 28, yonge 213; so, sworne brethren 6987, grete cheynes 15680. Most of the singulars occur without -e, as, blak 913, blynd 10214, cold 1577, deed 1201, deef 448, good 183, hoor 3876, hoot 7018, reed 1912, sad 17207, sharp 2006, selender 16319, sik 16323, smal 158, strong 637, wyk 14592, wroth 7743, wyd 493, yong 79. Gower—sharpe notes softe highe lowe ii 90, blinde, colde, gladde, grete, harde, i-nowe, loude, olde, save, shorte, smale, softe, sothe, swifte. (b) Chaucer—bothe 1841, fele 8793, fewe 641, othere othere 3232, but other 7369, suche 8215, which 1015, the two last being occasionally used for the singular also. Gower—bothe, fel, feue, some, som men i 21, suche, which. (c) Chaucer—twayne 8626, foure 2141, fyfe 462, sixe 14585, severe 7578, but seven 16352, twelve, 4139, but twelf 7839, threttene 7841, fiftene 61, eyghteteene 3223. Gower—tweine two, two iii 195, thre, four, five, eighte, nine, twelve, twelvè (twelvè) ii 68, thrittene, fourtene, fiftene, sixtene, eightetene; seven, ten, elleven, are undeclined; twenty, thrifty.

40. The Plural of Adjectives and Participles of more than one syllable has no -e.

Ex. (a) Chaucer—cursed stories 4500, cumentrefèd letters 5229, weddid men 8498, cered poketts 12736, sleves pur-filed 193, broken sleepees 1922, colours longyng 10353, they thankyn galpyng 10668. Gower—furred hodes i 63, lered men iii 283, no other cases observed. (b) Chaucer—skalled browes 629, lewed wordes 10023, wikked werkes 6414, wrecched wommen 952, wrecchede 923?, sacred teeres 1923, golden clothis 5927, cristen men 4800, open werres 2004, thinges spedful 5147, woful wrecches 1719, synful deedes 6740, careful sikes 11176, blisful sydes 11971, seecl clerkes 4098, mightly werkes 4898, litel children 4493, bitter teeres 2227, wiser men 9443, other men 12672, other 8312 absolutely. Gower—no dedly werres iii 222, thes(e) dreedfull i 56, thes(e) wofull ii 323, wofull teres iii 290, dolefull clothes iii 291, other i 106, etc., these other i 20, al other i 64, we find another care = another’s care i 167; other is sometimes undeclared in ags. (c) Chaucer—certeyn yeres 2968, mortal batailles 61, cruel briddes 15586, gentil men 6693, subtil clerkes 9301, parfyt blisses 9512, jelous strokes 2636, elders vertuous 6736, pitous teeres 12329, sightes mer-velous 11518. Gower—hasstif rodes ii 56, certein sterres iii 128, gentil hendes ii 281.

41. Even monosyllabic participles standing in the predicatc are unvaried in the plural. The same is sometimes the case with mono-syllabic adjectives. Gower—Adjectives and Participles standing in the predicatc sometimes take e in the plural, sometimes are unvaried.

Ex. Chaucer—(a) were hurt 2710, been born 4706, ben went 9575, were kept 10008, been maad 2091, ben knyt 11542, ben stert 11859, be brenpt 13355, sworn were 13592, were slayn 15625.—(b) quyk (they were) 1017, were glad 5804 were fayn 2709, which they weren 40, were wroth 8313, (were) lik 16354, but: blakè were 559, were seekè 18, waykè ben 889, weren wyde 28, ben devè 12214, dedè were 11493. Gower—(a) that be gretè i 5, ben to smalè i 6, ben un-ware i 17; wittes be so blinèd i 49, to him were allè things couthè i 138, which are derkè i 63, they were gladè i 79, weren dedè i 76, the gates were shetè i 348, we be saufè bothè two i 198, hem that were him levè i 27, briddes been made ii 80, that him thoughtè allè women lotè i 118, havè be full ofè sithes wrothè i 52, they shull of resen ben answerèd i 51; we have even: when that these herbès ben holsome i 161, in thinges that been naturelè i 133, of hem that weren so discretè i 167.—(b) hem that ben so derk i 78, we ben set i 317, they be shet i 10, so ben my wittes overiad ii 21, all men be left i 119, hem that thanne weren good i 11, which only weren sauf by ship i 38, the thre were eth to reule i 60, they were cleped ii 166, they ben laid ii 245, they ben corrupt ii 153.
42. Exceptions to arts. 39, 40, 41.

Ex. Chaucer—art. 39a bent bones 12687,—39e enleven 17300,—40a lernede men 577? lerned men 14389, eyen fast yschette 4980? Qu. festé schette?—40e dyversé freres 7537, dyversé folk dyversely they seyde 3855, divers freres 7532, thay ben so dyvers 7588.—art. 41 been mette 1638? were feldë 2926, they be i-mette 5535, been sette 5538, were made 5702? been mand 2091. Gower—40e of goldes and preciousé stones ii 47, his bedes most devoutë i 64, diversé occurs i 56, 252, 256, ii 154, 325, iii 26, but is found also in the singular, see art. 30 Ex. b.

43. The following adjectives (of French origin) exhibit the French plural in s: places delitables 11211, necessaries as ben plesynges 5131, wayes espiritueles, goodes espiritueles, but things espirituel, travailes covenables. Even Palsgrave says (1530) prounomes primytyves, verbes actyves personalles. Gower—til they became so vilains i 28.

44. Of the Genitive Plural of Adjectives there remains a trace in the word all: here aller cappe 588, your allther cost 801,oure althwr cok 825, alther best 712, alther first 10863; alther weyst i 53; ii 224; iii 9: allthermest i 147, 224, altherbest i 106: ii 20: althertrewest i 176.

PRONOUNS.

(See also arts. 30, 32a, 35e, 39b, 44.)

45. Personal Pronouns and their Possessives. Chaucer—Yk, 3865, ich 10037, 3862, 12857, 14362; my, myn; sing. and pl. : abs. form myn, mynë. Thy, thyn sing. and pl., abs. form thyn, thynë. Hir, hirë = her, abs. form heres. Our, ourë, abs. oures. Your, yourë, abs. youre, yourës. Her, hir, herë = their, abs. herës 7508; hem = them. The Saxon genitives min, þin, ëure, eowë, are declined (like adjectives) for possessive pronouns, but not the genitives of the third person. Of the above forms, some of those in ë must be regarded as adjectives declined. Gower—I; min, my, abs. min, minë; me dat. & acc. Thou; thin, thy, the dat. & acc. He, his gen. masc. & neut., her gen. fem., abs. hers, ii 287, her[ë]s ii 358; him dat. mas., herë her dat. fem., him acc. masc. i 6 etc., hirë, herë, her acc. fem. commonly her. We, ourë, our, us dat. acc. Ye, youre, your, abs. yourës, you dat. acc. Her = their, abs. her[ë]s, hem dat. acc. = them. Their, but seldom occurs and wherever it is found we should doubtless read her?; i 111, i 245, ii 48, iii 219, i 55, 59, 76, 115; them is not found.

46. In Saxon sylf, self, same, was declined like an adjective both definitely and indefinitely, and agreed with the pronoun to which it was attached; as, ic sylf, or ic sylfa, I myself; be me sylfum, by myself. The forms ic me-sylf, þi þe-self, I myself, etc., also occur. The following are the combinations of the personal pronouns with self in Chaucer—myself, myselfe, myselven; thyselven, himself, himselfe, himselven; hiself, hirselve, hirselven; youreselven, yourselfe, yours- selve, youreselven; hemself = themselves, hemselven. Gower—myself, myselfe; myselfe, myselfe, myselven; thyself, thyselven; himself, himselfe, himselfe, himselven; herself, herselve,
herselven; usself = ourselves; hemself, themselves; my ladies selve i 228, should doubtless be my ladie, the s being caught from selve: selfe, preceded by the article, means the same, as in Saxon; the selfe prest i 48.

47. Demonstratives and others. — Chaucer—that = the, as in: that oon, that other 1351, 1353, 7603, 9550, 9351, 12151, 12152, 14222, &c., tho = those; oon of tho that 2353; they (their and them do not occur), thi 1755 should probably be they, thes = these, this — these, these(?) 9150, etc, thisë(?) 9110; whoes genitive 5062, 5438, 7350, everich, on oon, non noon, pl. noon, abs. noon. Gower—that = the, the, that dem. sing., tho = those, this, these should be the, thes = these, thiikë = that, so = such. Relative that, which, whiche, whos, whom; that = that which, what = that which, the which, which that, etc. = simple which, etc; who that, what that, etc = quique, quicumque; what = whatsoever. Interrogative, who, which, what, as in English; whether = which of two. Indefinite, somwho = aliquis (once only) i 15.

48. Present Indicative. The First Person Singular of the Present Indicative terminates in -è.

Exceptions. Chaucer — I bequeñthè 2770 [?], trow 3665, 10527, trowè 17312, answerè 4892, schrew 7024, fel 2284: felè 9332, 9338, hopè 9548 redè, 14208. Gower— hast ben er this I redè the leve iii 47, also i 117, though I tell that I were ded(e); (probably incor- rect) i 299.

49. The Second Person of the Present Indicative ends in -st as in modern English. But sometimes in -s, in Chaucer not in Gower. The Second and Third Persons occasionally, but very rarely, end in Anglosaxon in is.

50. The Third Person ends generally in -eth, -th, occasionally (in Chaucer not in Gower) in -es (is).

51. But Saxon verbs which have t or d for the last consonant of the root, and one or two which have s, form the Third Person Singular in t as in Saxon. Exceptions sometimes occur, a dissyllabic form being used, as also in Anglosaxon, as sitteth, but this hardly occurs in Gower.

Ex. Chaucer—sitt sit syt 3641, 3817, etc., set 7564, writ 6291, smyt 7998, light 5526, put 13788, high 1974, byt (bids) 187, 9251, 10605, byt (abides) 13103, rit ryt 10483, 12536, 17011, slyt 12610, chyt 12849, let 8465, stant stont 3677, 7615, etc., fynt fin 4069, 4123, etc., grynt 5971, sent 9027, blent 13319, schcnt, hut 10825, holt halt 9224, ris ryst arist 3688, 4685, 5284, kyt(f) 4805. Exceptions: sitteth 1601, bydeth 3641, rideth 14734, stondith 14060, kissith 9822, ryseth 1495, 13662, bhiceth, heethith, putteth. Gower—writ, smit let, betit, shet = shoots, spret = spreads, beholt, put, set, holt, get, byt, fret, sit, hit, abit, fint, bint, blent; in a few cases we find d instead of t, stond ii 84, send iii 221, held iii 328; arist, lost lest = loses, wext; le let it never out of his honde, but get him more and holt it fast[e] ii 128, he taketh, he kepeth, he hall, he bint ii 284. Excep- tions; lasteth overcasteth i 317, but we should probably read arist in: the mede ariseth of the service iii 342.

52. The Plural of the Present Indicative ends in Chaucer in eth
(ith, th); more commonly in -en, n (yn); sometimes in e; in Gower, rarely in -eth, generally in -en, sometimes in -e.

53. Imperfect Indicative. Simple (or "Regular") Verbs. a. The Imperfect of Simple Verbs is often formed by adding -ede, -de, or -te to the root, with occasional change of vowel,—as in Saxon. b. The Imperfect Indicative, in Chaucer often (perhaps more generally), in Gower sometimes, drops the e of the above-mentioned terminations. c. The Second Person Singular of the Imperfect Indicative of simple verbs is formed in -est, like the Saxon and English. But thou axid occurs 7064.

Ex. to (c). The rhyme in several cases will shew conclusively that the final e was actually dropped, and not simply left off by the copyists: brought nought 11585, went yhent (participle) 12462, asserted converted (part.) 4857, ameveyd agreedee (part.) 11748, redressed oppresséd (part.) 11748, aspyed alliedd (part.) 16014, ayled i-sayld (part.) 16586.

54. Imperfect of Strong, Complex or "Irregular" Verbs. (a) Chaucer.—A few verbs have, besides the Strong Imperfect, a later form of the other conjugations, e.g.: sleep 98, 5165, 9731, slepte 4192, slept 11033; weep 2823, 2880, 8421, wept e 148; creep 4224, 4258, crepte 4191. The following cases are suspicious, and some, if not all of them, bad readings: biffelle biffelle fille 9771, 10390, 10007, 10883, dronke 7643, etc 15703, come (to) 1729 should be: com unto, badde (foure) 4911 (should be: bad the four). See has various forms, saw 11503, saugh 193, seigh 852, seyh 957, say 8543; sith 11162 (if correct) is an instance of an e arising from the softening away of a guttural. Ryngede (the tromp and clarioun) occurs 2602; rong 14077. The conjugation of the Anglosaxon hringan is uncertain, but it would be strange if a verb weak in Saxon had become strong in English. Gower—Several Strong or Complex Verbs have in Gower the Imperfect Tense in e, contrary both to ancient and present rule; but how as ever it felle so ii 67, but: beffel i 214, etc., he toke manifold(e) ii 231, he bonde both her armes ii 318, I camë fro ii 98, this ilkë talë comë iii 350. (b) Chaucer—The 2nd Person Singular of the Imperfect Indicative of Strong Verbs (which in Anglosaxon terminates in e) has commonly in Chaucer no termination or is the same as the 1st and 3rd, thus: thou bihight 2474, saugh 5268, swor 8372, bar 8944, 11976, spak 12422, 14168, dronk 15712, flough 16717, thou were 16146, 16718, were necë 4786, 13635, 15886, 15888, 15892, 17177, gave 15937, songë 17226, the e is doubtful in were, gave, songë, and especially in the two last; but, knewest 4787, highest 8872?, bygonnest 12370. Gower—The Second Person Singular of the Imperfect Indicative of Strong Verbs (which in Saxon ends in e) in the few cases which occur, either has e, or is the same as the 1st Person, as: thou sighë, werë, were, knewe, come.

55. The Plural of the Imperfect Indicative (both of Simple and Complex Verbs) ends (a) in -en, or (b) in -e, or (c) has no termination. Ex. to (c). Chaucer—schuld 2543, 4898, 14233, cried 2564, besought, sayd 7872, remued 11517, herd 14251, 14910, saugh saugh seigh 4638, rhymes with nought, 4116, had 5786, 7121, 9665, 9678, 13034, began, rhymes.
with man, 5767, bygon 7142, schon stood i 80, stood i 232, shuld iii 144, 9000, wan 11713, sat 14079, com ran iii 300, wold iii 355, had i 101, 16473, fond 16476, ran, rhymes with wist ii 163, fall ii 380. man, 16867. Gower—let i 80, under-

56. Subjunctive. The Singular of the Subjunctive, both Present and Imperfect, uniformly ends in é through all the Persons as in Saxon. The Plural of the Subjunctive is in -en, -e.

57. Imperative. In Anglosaxon the 2nd person singular of the Imperative consists of the root of the verb, and terminates therefore, in what is called the characteristic consonant: except that verbs whose infinitive is in -ian (1st Conj., 1st class) have the Imperative sing. in a (as fújan, fúja), while those which have a double characteristic drop one of the consonants and replace it with e (as sittan, sit). The plural of the Imperative is the same as that of the Indicative, and ends in ath (iath), when the pronoun or subject goes before or is omitted, or in e, when the pronoun which is the subject follows. In Chaucer the Imperative exhibits considerable irregularity. The a of the Saxon Imperative singular of the 1st conj. becomes e, which e is sometimes shortened or suppressed. The full plural form (in -eth) is of very frequent occurrence; but sometimes the -th appears to be dropped, and very frequently the whole termination. In this case the plural is not to be distinguished from the singular form, and both are found together. Gower—In those forms of the singular of the Imperative which end in a vowel, the vowel is not well preserved in Gower. In Pauli's text an e is generally appended to the forms which in Saxon end in a consonant; erroneously, as the slightest inspection will shew.

58. Second Person Singular of Imperative.

Ex. Chaucer—(a) Simple conjugation: aske axe 3557, herkne barke 9186 herk 7500, grope 7723, knokke 3432, thanke 16172, have 2421? have 2227, loke 7169 lokë 3549, schewë 7976, mak 3720, telle 7026 tellë 3433 tel 7345, bygynne 13049, fettë 3492, lef 1616 levë 7671?, fynd thou 2246, speed 3562, stynt 3146, keep 6488, red reed 17276, send 2327, plîght 6591, thank 10039, thon bek 17278, recë 12626?, yeldé 13604, wreke 15261?

(b) Complex conjugation: spek 3803, ber 7569, brek 15413, com 6015, et 15986, gif 2262, hold 2870, bihold 16501, awkaw 4260, awkaë 4288?, tak 2228 takë 9172? thon takë 15387, far well 14675, let lat 923 letë 3713?, do 2407, go 3431, wepë 2480? fynd 2246, drynk 7635, help 2088, smyt 17217, rms 13133, wyt 10061, abyd 5751, ches 1616 chëse 1597?, be 6488, rydë 15413? The superfluous é in all the words marked (?) is altogether suspicious, and probably should be dropped.

(a) In the following cases the final e is difficult to be accounted for, unless an abridged plural form is confounded with the singular: holdë this pës 9606, (Tyrwhitt has hold thou), wreke by counsel and thou shalt nat rewe 3530, ... I praye the ... as sendë love 2319, ne with no wood man walkë by the way 7669. Gower—(a) Forms which in Saxon end in a vowel: medë, lokë, tellë, but lokë i 88, tel i 49, etc., tellë i 47, herken i 53, etc., should very likely be herken, herke, shewë. (b) Forms which in Saxon end in a consonant: list, let, yif yef, shrif shrivë, drynk, kepë, redë, levë, spekë, takë, farë, comë, ahidë, beholdë. (c) behold(e) and demë (demeth?) my queele iii 196, for wicë (witë?) well that never man ii 242.

59. Plural (a) generally in -eth, (b) occasionally loses its final consonant; awake 3700, hithe 7191, tritte 10642, holde 7779
(rhymes with: he tolde), loke 11304, make 14837 (e) often the termination is entirely dropped, (d) sometimes the abridged plural (if we should not rather say the singular) seems to be used indifferently for the full and regular plural: in other words, the singular and plural forms are entirely confounded: tel sparith 5768, telleth let 6871, goth ley 2560, awakê speketh 3700, stoupeth helpeth put lokê 13255-7, youre gentilnesse ... lat thou falle 922-3, rydê brek 15413, cast armith 12312-3, voydith let schet 13064-5.

60. Infinitive. The Infinitive in Chaucer and Gower ends in -en (Anglosaxon -an) often shortened to -e. In a few cases in Chaucer the termination -e is dropped. A few contracted infinitives in Chaucer are sometimes protracted (?): to scene 1037, to sayne 10628, to doone 10648. The prefix y- (S. ge-) is found in at least one case before the infinitive: y-knowe 11199. We find in Gower the infinitive without to after several verbs which now require that sign, thus: thenke assaie, wende have said, assay desireth, they crie begunne, gonnen say, is free defende, oughte put, were lever have had. We also find the Infinitive with to or for to in the same connections, and to and for to indifferently used.

61. Participles. The Perfect Participle of Complex ("Irregular") Verbs terminates in -en. The -n is often dropped, especially in Gower as printed by Pauli. The contracted Participle seems in a few instances to be protracted (?), as: sene seene (S. segen) 134, 594, 926; slayne (S. slegen) 14115; sene i 42, 82: be-seine i 54.

62. Participles. The Perfect Participle of the simple Conjugation requires no notice. Send, which has Imperfect sende 4134, has Participle send 10458. Some Verbs which are of the Complex Conjugation in Saxon have become simple in Chaucer, according to the well known law. Hence we have wisst for witen 10574, 12210. Dawct 5935, amendit 7757, &c., are trivial dialectic varieties. The abbreviated forms annonciate, consecrate (like the above, common in Scotch) occur 15501, 3, kidde 9817, should probably be kid.

63. Participles. The prefix y-, i-, (S. ge-) frequently occurs in Chaucer, but not frequently in Gower, before the past participle.

64.* Participles. The Present Participle terminates for the most part in -yng (Anglosaxon -ende). In some cases, however, it is rhymed with the Infinitive Mood, and we must either suppose the participle to end in yngê, or else the Infinitive to have lost its termination. The older forms awaytand 7634, lepand 7739, touch- and 7872 occur, all in the Sompnoures Tales. Gower—The Present Participle terminates, with few exceptions, in -ende (S. -ende). Many words of French origin adopt this termination. In innumerable cases the elided e is not printed in Pauli's Gower. Much less frequently the accent is thrown back: comend after i 1, touchende of i 52, etc. Only two suspicious cases have been observed where the participle ends in -end, where no elision could take place. A very few cases occur of the later form of the participle in -inge, -ing, sailinge i 59, wisshinge and wêpinge i 45, meving i 213, brenninge ii 29, sitting iii 253.
65. Anomalous verbs.¹

**Can** = know, be able; **ps.** can canst; **ppl.** connen conne konne
conne can; **imps.** couthe cowthe cowthe cowthē; **impl.** couthen;
**inf.** conne; **pp.** couth cold.

**Dar** = dare; **ps.** dar dar(e) darst; **ppl.** darē dar dor; **imps.**
dorste dursest (?); **impl.** dorste durste

**Max** = may; **ps.** may, 2 might may mow mayst maist; **ppl.**
mowe mow may mowen; **prs.**? mowe mow; **imps.** mightē
might mihte; **impl.** mighten might; **inf.** mow.

**Mot** = must (debeo), may; **ps.** mot moot, 2 must most; **ppl.**
moten mote mot; **prs.** mote; **imps.** muste moste moste most (=
English must as at present); **impl.** musten mosten moste. In
the sense of may: **prs.** mote mot; **imps.** most (= might); **inf.**
mote.

**Owe** = debeo; **ps.** oweth = debet; **imps.** oughte = debet, ought,
aughte aught; **impl.** oughten oughte.

**Schal** = shall; **ps.** schal shalt; **ppl.** schullen schuln schul schal
sul (dialectic); **imps.** scholde schulde.

**Thar** = need; **ps.** he thar, 2 tharst; **ppl.** thar ye.

**Wot** = wot, scio; **ps.** wot woot, 2 wost; **ppl.** witen weten wite
wote wot woot woten; **imps.** wiste; **prs.** wite; **imperative** wite
(witeth ?); **inf.** witen wite; **pp.** wist; **pres. part.** witynge.

66. The Verbs **wil**, **stert**:

**Wil**; **ps.** I wil wol wole? wille, 2 wilt wolt wil wol, 3 wolē
wol wille woll wolle; **ppl.** wohn wol wolle wolle wol wol will;
**imps.** wolde woldē, 1, 2, 3, wold; **prs.** wile wolle; **pp.** wolde!

**Stert**; **ps.** stert start, (these might be Imperfect Tense but less
probably); **imps.** sterте; **impl.** starte; **pp.** stert; **pres. part.**
sterťng; **inf.** asterte; — **pp.** ystert (astert ?) 1594; **imps.** asterte
asterted.

67. Some impersonal verbs: him deyned 15620, him falles (=
opus est) 4025, him gained 536, him lakked 10330, hem liketh,
me lyst list lest lust, me liste; me mette (= me dreamed) 16380,
but he mette 16569, us moste (nobis opus est) 12874, us needeth;
him oughte (oportet), me rewith (penitet), him semeth, him smerte,
the thar (opus est tibi) 5911, 5918, it thinkith me 16264, him
thenketh 3615, thursted him 15525. **Gower**—him hungreth, me
longeth, him nedeth, me quemeth (placet), him reccheth, me
thinketh.

68. Negative Verbs: **Am**, nam nys nas necē; **Have**, nath nadde
nad; **Will**, nylle nyl noldē; **Wot**, nat not noot nyste nysten.

¹ Contractions: **ps.** present indicative singular, **ppl.** the same plural;
**imps.** and **impl.** imperfect indicative singular and plural; **inf.** infinitive;
**prs.** present subjunctive; **imps.** imperfect subjunctive; **pp.** past participle.
These are not Prof. Child's abbreviations. Chaucer and Gower are not
distinguished, and references are omitted.
Adverbs.

69.* Anglo-Saxon Adverbs have commonly in the positive degree the termination -e, and this termination is preserved in Chaucer and Gower.

Ex. Chaucer—brighte, clene, deepe, evele, evene, faire, faste, foule, harde, hye, inne, late, lighte, longe, loude, nede, oute, rathe, softe, sore, stille, swithe, unn-ethe, uppe, wide, yerne, ylike, yooore. So: blywe, lowe, persone. So in Layamon: clene, uiele, efne, feire, faste, fule, harde, heh(e) (hah), inne (in), late, longe, lude, nede, ra(þ), softe, sare, stille, swiþe, uneþe, uppe (up), wide, zeorne, iliche, zeare. And in the Ormulum, æþe, depe, fasste, fægære, fule, harde, heghe, ille, inne, lanige, late, nede, raþe, sare, swiþe, uppe (upp), zeorne. Gower—clene, depe, dimme, un-ethe, faire, faste, harde, highe, note, inne, ther-inne, with-inne, late, -liche a-liche besi-liche commun-liche due-liche even-liche parfit-liche privi-liche un-proper-liche sodein-liche solempnë-liche verri-liche, longe, loude, oute, same pariter, smale, softe, sone, sore, stille, swithe, uppe, wide, highe. So, alofte, blive, lowe, smarte, straitte, wele. Halving halving occurs ii 65, iii 206, 353, 356.

70. Comparatives and Superlatives of the Ancient ("Irregular") Form. Compar. Bet better; superl. best, the bet, the better. Fer ferre. Lenger, the lenger. More. Ner, neer, neere. Nest, iii 121. Lassë, the lassë; super. lest. Compar. Wers, worsë, the wersë, the werre. Note—bette, ferre, lenger, more, neere, were originally adj. forms. The following superlative forms are also noticeable on account of the e in moste, etc.: O firste moving 4715, the moste stedefast 9425, deintevous 9588, free 11926, gretttest, lusty 17039, the gentillest born 7948, but: the fairest hiewed 16355.

71. The following Adverbs have an internal e (i) which is not found in Anglo-Saxon: boldëly, forthëward, needëly, oonëly, softëly, trewëly, worthily; redëly ii 198. So semëly, rudëly, quyëly.

72.* The following Particles, of various terminations in Saxon, have -e more or less frequently in Chaucer and Gower. Those in Italics have also a form in -s, see art. 73.

Ex. From Saxon forms in -an. Chaucer—aboven above abovë, abowten aboute aboute, aasondre asonder aasondur, atwynne, beside, biforn beforne before, behynde byhyndë, bynethe, bytwene, by weste, henne, sitithen sitthe the sith, without e, withoute, by-yondë. Layamon, abuten, abute, biforen, bifore, behinden, bifinde, &c. Ormulum, abuten, biforenn, bifinndenn, &c. Gower—a-boven a-bove above, a-boute, a-twinne, be-hinde, be-twene betwene betwenn, -forn -forn a-forn a-fore to-fore tof forfere, -nethe be-nethe under-nethe, -side a-side be-siden be-side, sithen sithe, withouten withoute, without i e? —(b). Chaucer—betwix betwixe, bothe, ek ek eke eke, ever nevere, ever never (generally contracted to a monosylla-
ble), her heer heere, ther there, wher where, nothe, ofthe-ofte-tyme oft-sithe ofte sithes, seld, soone eft-soone, thanne thanne then thannë, whanne when, thenne, therfore therfor wherefore, tille, ynone; welle 1663 should probably be dwelle as in Tyrwhitt, but well, wele, occur in Layamon, and wel is rhymed with I fel (which possibly should be I fele) 2233. Gower—al-gate, a-longe, a-midde, a-monge among among(e), bothe, eft, ek eke, ferre fore, her here, ther therè there, wher wheres where, nede, ofte ofte-time often-tine, selde selden, sone, thanne thenne than then?, whanne when, thanne = unde whenne = unde whennë, therefore, towarde toward toward toward, wele, while whil.

73.* The following Particles, of various terminations in Anglo-
saxon, have in Chaucer and Gower the termination -es, -s.
Ex. Chaucer — ayeyn agens ayeins agenst against, algates algate algat\textdegree, amonges among, anyndes, in the middes of 16334, bysides, elles, hennes hens thennes whennes, needes, ones, synnes syns sins syn sin, thries, togideres, towardes, twyes, unnethes, whiles while whil, now-on-daies, 13324, other genitives used as adverbs are, his thonkes, here thonkes, 1628, 2109, 2116, his willes 5854. Gower— aboutes, algates, amiddes, amonges, besides, elles, needes, ones, thries, twies, un-ethes, up-rightes, -wardes to-wardes after-wards afterward, whiles whiles, for-the-nones, now-on-daies, now-a-daies, his thankes.

Elision of Final Vowels.

74. Even if Chaucer followed invariable rules with regard to the pronouncing or suppressing of the final \( e \), it cannot be expected that they should be entirely made out by examining one single text of the Canterbury Tales, which, though relatively a good one, is manifestly full of errors. A comparison of several of the better manuscripts would enable us to speak with much more accuracy and confidence. Tyrwhitt's arbitrary text may very frequently be used to clear up, both in this and in other particulars, the much superior manuscript published by Wright. Still the question whether an \( e \) was pronounced would often be one of much delicacy (as the previous question whether it actually existed is sometimes one of great difficulty), and not to be determined by counting syllables on the fingers. No supposition is indeed more absurd than that Chaucer, a master poet for any time, could write awkward, halting, or even unharmonious verses. It is to be held, therefore, that when a verse is bad, and cannot be made good anyway as it stands, then we have not the verse that Chaucer wrote. But with regard to the particular point upon which we are now engaged, it would often be indifferent, or nearly so, whether a final \( e \) is absolutely dropped, or lightly glided over. Then again, as not a few grammatical forms were most certainly written both with and without this termination, the fuller form would often slip in where the other would be preferable or necessary, much depending on the care, the intelligence, or the good ear of the scribe. Very often the concurrence of an initial vowel, justifying elision, with a doubtful final \( e \), renders it possible to read a verse in two ways or more; and lastly, hundreds of verses are so mutilated or corrupted that no safe opinion can be based upon them. Such verses as these ought plainly not to be used either to support or impugn a conclusion; neither ought the general rules which seem to be authorized by the majority of instances be too rigorously applied to the emendation of verses that cannot be made, as they stand, to come under these rules.

Gower—Unaccented \( e \) final may be elided (slurred) [but see above p. 342].

I. before a vowel following:

II. before a few words beginning with \( h \):

1. before the pronoun \( he \) (his, him, her, hem):
2. before \( hath \) (has) and \( hast \); before \( have \), except perhaps the Infinitive Mood; sometimes before \( hadde \) (had).
3. before the adverbs now and her (her).
4. before two or three words of French origin, in which h is silent.

When one of these words beginning with h ends the verse, no elision takes place before it.

The e final of a monosyllable generally does not suffer elision.

Elision seems frequently to be prevented by the casural pause.

75. Unaccented e final is commonly elided before a vowel 69, 81, 421, 498, 900, 7294, 7321, 9162, 9700, 12036, 13432, 13701, 14875, 15000 and innumerable other instances.

76. Unaccented e final is elided before a few words beginning with h:

a. Before the pronoun he (his, him, hire, hir, hem). Gower—But not when these pronouns stand at the end of a verse: wenendē that it werē he i 243, and in this wisē spedde he ii 74, haddē he ii 150, saidē his ii 383, toldē he iii 139.

b. Before hath (has), and sometimes apparently before have, hadde (had), though with regard to these last two words the number of cases is not enough for certainty. Gower—Before hath (has?) and hast: before have, except perhaps the Infinitive Mood; sometimes before hadde (had). Not often before have in the Infinitive. More frequently not before hadde. Hadde often stands at the end of the verse and then there is no elision.

c. Before how and her (beer). [Exceptions, both in Chaucer and Gower are queried, and the readings are doubtful.]

Ex. to (a). Chaucer—106, 184, 696, 949, 1364, 1370, 1483, 3954, 7462, 10418 and innumerable other cases.

Ex. to (b). For hath, has the Ex. are innumerable, as: fortune hath 1088, 1492, 16833, ful sone hath 2448, eelde hath 2449, neede has 4024, nature hath 2760, 3009, 13424, peple hath 8869, routhe has 9612, etc., but: and now so longē hath the tappe i-romme 3891? Gower—exceptions: som(e) causē hath whereof it groweth i 264, a sonē hath which as his lif(e) ii 324, men sain that nedē hath no lawe iii 277, of lovē hath within her warde ii 354, (but in the next verse): Phebus to love hath so constraigned), which kindē hath and reson can i 366.

For have. Chaucer—so longe have 11144, herte have 11352, sorwe have 12637 gaude have I 13804, Peyne have 15527, couthe have 9308. Exceptions: scholdē have 691, Arctē have 2260, drinkē have 4918, frerē have 7716, poeple have 8118, mightē have 8560, I schuldē han 15092, your talē have be 16285, schredden han 8254 doubtfull. Gower—though I siknesse have, and longe havē had i 5, but I his grace have i 73, if I for love havē i 224, etc. Thou might the morē havē i 178, he thoughtē havē iii 162, his lorē havē iii 302. No elision at the end of the verse: woldē have ii 358, hertē have ii 50, shuldē have iii 139, i 127, medē have iii 88, yiftē have i 170, i 323, mightē have iii 24, woldē have ii 211, ymage have ii 124.

For had, hadde. Chaucer—pope had 6002, chirch[e] had 7318, sonne had 11328, routhe had 11573, w[h]itnesse hadde 12017, sorwe had 1361?, frere had 7315? hert[e] had 11819?, science had 12660 bad reading, worle had 16151 bad reading. But: at many a noble avrē hadde he be 60, as Noē hadde 3560, namly on bedē hadden 5989, though he no morē hadde 9859. In Littowe hadde 54? atte siege hadde 56? Hadde he is sometimes contracted, and spelled as pronounced, had he, hadde, as: a garland had he set 668, 319, 351, in termes hadde caes 325, 54, 578; he hadde is generally pronounced he hadde (= he had?) as: ful ofte tyne he hadde the bord bygonne 52, for he hadde power 218, 85, 642. Gower—for he his love had i 77, thus he which
love had i 121, and of the sculle had i 128, wherof the sone had i 285, the god an eye had ii 149, this Adriagne had ii 308. Exceptions: was hoté, haddé i 55, the sceptre haddé i 179, wher(e) they the quené hadden do i 201, that Romé haddé ii 196, a werre had ii 200, so as the quene had ii 271, a sone had ii 302, victorié had iii 165, which lové haddé iii 364. 

Had final: a werre had i 125, joit had i 167, timé hadde i 219, a sone hadde i 312, to sone hadde ii 4, no lové hadde ii 48, her herté hadde ii 65, his willé hadde ii 196.

Ex. to (c). For how. Chaucer—by his clennesses how 508, than wol I clepe how 3577, but of my tale how 4610, jugge how may this be 6234, thou wilt algate wite how 7096, nought wold I telle how 11628, unto this philosophé how 11865, me mette how 16384, mette a thing 16598; wiste how 1491 indecive. Exceptions: I spak to him and saydé how that be 6149. Tyrrwhitt, said him how; in myn officé how that I may wynne 7003. Tyrrwhitt, how I may moste winne. In the following the infinitive should have an n.: to telle how 2823, dar I not telle how 14531, and ye schal understandé how 15760. Gower—the elision is very frequent, in the exceptions: if no man wroté how it stood i 4, and thoughté how(e) it was not good i 269, and all the causeté how it went ii 122, we should probably read how that, a phrase of frequent occurrence in similar positions. For her = here. Chaucer—that sterve here 1296, plight me thy trouth(e) her 6591, bothe heer 8043, anoon for myn alle ye heer take I the 12223. Exceptions: in erthé, heere 9521, lordings ensamplé herby 15725, here ensample may be pronounced ensemblé as in 5594. Gower—her not final: we shall befallé here i 3, and for to beare herof ii 70, lo, sone her(e) might thou ii 50, I not what falle herafter shall ii 278, of deddy peine here iii 37, my sone, herafter iii 145; it is to be observed that falle[n], beare[n], may be read as monosyllables; the other three cases cannot be explained away, if the readings are correct. Her = here final: penauncé here ii 43, saide here ii 45, alive here ii 171, telle here ii 175, ertheii 269, i 37, iii 94, 38, iii 106, etc.

For a few French words. Gower—(a) the vein[e] honour i 11, for thilke honour i 261, cause honest ii 9, of armes thilke honour ii 64, that love honest ii 75, of treble honour iii 165, of pess richesse honour iii 273, may never be to lové lawe honeste iii 352, but: which techeth thilke honeste iii 141, but upon allé honeste iii 272, where the elision is prevented by the ictus. (b) to feigne humility i 66, and with low(e) herte humbleste sue i 118. (c) thilke horrible sinne i 77, 78, that thilke horrible sinfull dede i 365. (d) dame Heleine ii 290, quene Heleine ii 384, had wonns Heleine ii 387, compare; after his moder quene Eleine i 276.

We find also in Gower: an saide Ha ii 320, and when he wok(e) he saide, Ha, wif(e) iii 310. But saide should perhaps be printed said, as: and said Ha, now thou art akate ii 338, or Ha should perhaps be Ah. We find: receiue til he saide ho ii 201, I woll the telle and thanne ho iii 274.

77. Except in the cases mentioned above, there appears to be no rule that final e should be elided before h, as: 14, 146, 150, 535, 884, 1015, 1051, 1677, 1820, 2088, 2465, 2711, 3953, 4266, 4407, 5934, 6035, 6548, etc.

78. It is very probable that some liberty was allowed with regard to elision of e before h. A few cases are added where the practice (so far as it can be determined by a very few examples) seems to have varied, and a few other instances, which, if the reading is correct, are exceptions to art. 77: 6034, 6062, 6085, 6085, 6169, 5599, 2273, 14512, 2369, 2791, 999, 4523, 8139, 11151, 12039, 17200.

79. An accented final e (including e coming from French é, even when the accent has been cast back) is of course not elided.

80. The e of monosyllables is commonly not elided, except in the
case of the article the and, in Chaucer, not in Gower, the negative particle ne.

81. The e of the is much more frequently elided than not, and before e almost invariably. The th is frequently united to the following word, as also with the verb the — thrive in the forms: theek, theech, 3862, 12857, 14362. The e of ne is perhaps less frequently united.

Ex. for the Chaucer— but to the effect 1191, this is the effect 1489, the enchaunte- ments 1946, 1958, 2279, 4570, etc., that is bitwixi thest 6829, thestat, tharray 718, the absence 1241, than was theassembé 4823, 3078, etc., in which thoffice 2865, thymage 14916, the herneys 2898, of children to thonour 9323. Exceptions: thé olde clerkes 1165, when al thé orient 1496, up to thé ancle 1663, on thé outer bright 2427, only thé intellect 2805, of which thé eldest 10344, thé elf-queen 6442, thé ende is this, that he 6652. Gower—

no exceptions to the elision of the noted.

For ne Chaucer—he ne hath no payne 1321, alias I ne havé 2229, ne aabdyé 3125, ne at Romé 4710, privé ne apert 6718, I ne held me 8694, I ne have as now 11289. Exceptions: né oynément 633, né of the knobbes 635, no berd né hadde he 691, fyr né eyr 1248, young né old 3112, né in noon other 9963, in al the world né hadde he 15540, if that the wynd né hadde he 16555.

82. The caesural pause frequently prevents the elision of final e.

Ex. Chaucer—

a. that on his schyné—a mormál hadde he. 388
this was thyn othée— and myn eek certayn. 1141
withouten douté—it may stondé so. 1324
and lete him stillé—in his prisoun dwelle. 1337
but how soche didé—I ne dar not telle. 2286
for thilke peyné—and that hooté fuyr(e). 2385
Some hadde salvé—and some hadde charmes. 2714
and tyl he hadde—al that night i-seyn. 4377
than that it roté—al the remenaunt. 4405
irs is a simné—oon the greté of sevne. 7587
to stonde in grace—of his lady deere. 13276
if that a princé—usé hasardrie. 14014
no longer thanné—after Deth thay sought[e]. 14187
b. the trespas of him bothé—and heré cause. 1766
I prey to God hir savé—and sustenece. 4580
for though that I be foulé—old and pore. 6645
com forth my sweté spouse—out of doute. 10018
in thendes of which an uncé—and no more. 13194
this Persoun him anwerdée—al at oones. 17324

Gower—

he wepté—and with woful terces. i 143
with strengthe—of his owne might i 286
suppliant of love—in our waies i 241
in the cronique—as I finde. ii 82
kisse her eftsoné—if I sholdé. ii 96
with all min herdé—I woll serve. ii 110
though he ne woldé—it allowe ii 146
and in worshippé—of her name. ii 171
and with spellinge—and her charmes ii 265
Jason bar(e) crownéd—on his hed(e) ii 267
her love is soné—after (aft'r) ago ii 300
with shamé—and the nimphe fledde ii 337
which kindé—in her lawes hath set(te) i 268 etc.

83. Other vowels are occasionally elided as in modern verse. [The examples cited 225, 294, 423, 929, 1111, 1830, 7285, 9212,
9284, 9394, 11669, 13734, 14874, 15112 are almost all simple cases of trisyllabic measures, and similarly in Gower, see art. 92.]

Silent Final E.

84. E final seems especially liable to become silent when it follows r. The sound r is peculiarly unstable, and most languages, in their successive stages or in their dialects, afford instances of its being transposed, now standing before, now following a vowel, as Saxon gær, gæs; Ital. capre, Roman dial. crape; Engl. iron, apron, spectre, etc. In Wright's text of the Canterbury Tales we often find the terminations re and er indifferently used, as asondre 5577, asonder (ur) 7256, 493. Of course we have no means of determining to what degree, if at all, the pronunciation er had begun to prevail even while the spelling re was retained. The Comparative Degree of Adjectives is commonly spelled with er in Chaucer (see art. 38), instead of the Saxon re, though both forms occur; as bettre 526, 650, better 10416, lengere 823. Nouns which anciently ended in -ere, generally or always end in -er, as hopper 4034, miller 3923, sleper 16377, etc. (see art. 8). We find many French words spelled both with re and er, as lettre 5228, 5229, 5241, letter 10415, cloystre oystre 181, 182, cloystor oyster 7681, 7682; chambre 1073, chambrur 13145, tendre 150, 9631, tender 9617, etc. We also find the final e of some French words absolutely dropped; thus maner occurs most commonly without the final e, except at the end of a verse, 71, 2546; 10501, 11737; ryver (F. rivière) is rhymed 6466 with bachelèr(F. bachelor), and 15148 with deer; cheer (F. chère) once 1342 with prisoner (F. prisonnier), though commonly pronounced cheerè. In these cases ryver must have been pronounced like our revere (ryve-er) and cheer che-er, instead of ryvèr-ê, cheer-ê, the r being in fact transposed.

Gower—The only cases which are supported by instances enough to make silent final e of consequence are the words have, here (their), were, more, and the termination -fore (to-fore, be-fore). We have also the double forms commun, comûnè; divers, diversè; here the longer form seems to be a license for the sake of rhyme. The Comparative of Adjectives is always written in Pauli's text with -er instead of the Saxon -re. French words are written indifferently with both terminations. Slight reliance, however, is to be placed upon the editor's spelling.

85. The only rule with regard to e being silent after r which can safely be made general, is perhaps that

e final is silent in the pronouns hirè, here (= her), very often spelled hir, herë (= their), ourë, yourë. Gower—The e final of here (= their) is silent, that is, not forming a full syllable; whether the letter was absolutely mute, or slurred, or, in the words ending in -re, pronounced before the r, I do not pretend to say. The dative and accusative of the feminine personal pronoun often preserve the Saxon e, see the forms hirè, herë, art. 45.
86. *E* final is in Chaucer frequently, in Gower sometimes, silent in *were*.

Ex. *Chaucer*—were, indic, 2nd pers. sing. 15866, 15888, 17177; plural of indic., 18, 26, 59, 81, 2169, 2185, etc., etc.; subjunctive, 584, 877, 1213, 1216, 14229, 14570, etc., written wer 10782, 16280 (ner = ne wer). Exceptions: weré, indic. 2nd. pers. sing. 4877, 16718, pl. of indic. *328*, 1703, 1966, 6893, 1238, etc., subjunctive 9483, 10529, may be read: it were good that such thing were y-knowe, or: and 't were good that such thing were knowe. *Gower*—[17 instances of weré, and 60 of weré are cited, and the last are only a few out of many.]

87. There can be no doubt, however, that *e* final was generally pronounced after *r*. It is commonly in the body of a verse, and for metre's sake, that the occasion is presented for dispensing with this sound; rarely it is dropped for the sake of rhyme, though very often *e* is added on that account to words which ordinarily terminate in a consonant,—or more properly speaking, of two existing forms; a rarer one in -e is often employed when the rhyme demands the final vowel, as yer by *yere* 4552, rhyming with *heere*. The final *e* of *deere* (ags. doere) and of *cheere* (Fr. chère) was most distinctly pronounced. We should therefore be justified in inferring that the final *e* was pronounced in the following words rhymed with *deere* and *cheere*, even if this fact could not be independently proved, as can be done in the case of most of the instances cited.

Ex. *Chaucer*—*deere* 1236, 2455, 3361, etc., the only exception noticed being 7354; with this rhyme: *heere* (adv.) 1821, 3502, 3774, pryerer 2261, 12184, yeré 8278, in *feere* 4815, 12308, steere 4868, 5263, freré 6881, 13283, maneré 7207, 8455, to *leeré* 7098, 13277, cheré 8017, 12232, 12310, matieré 8198, 8467, weré (subj.) 8758, to *heeré* 8963, *cheere* 12182, 15066, *beere* 15091, (to) appeare 13060. *cheere* 749, 5422, 8411, 8554 (cheer 9889 in a suspicious line); with this rhyme: *heeré* 7784, 8245, in *feeré* 4815, 8989, *freré* 6847, 7739, maneré 140, 10821, *leeré* (verb) 10418, *deere* 14739, 14836, materé 729, 15409, to *heeré* 915, 2900, *cheere* 8655, 9719, *beere* 6169, to re-*peire* 14737, all of which also occur in the former list. Similarly, *feere* 2346, 2688, 2932, 7286, 16877, with which rhyme: *eeré* 6603, *teré* 11206, 15664, *geré* 5220, *theré* 5222. Again, *beere* 15036, and above, with which rhyme: *weré* pl. 2901, 15662, *teré* 16064, *theré* 15037. Again, *eeré* 6218 and above (ags. earé), with which rhyme: *weré* pl. 8604, 12823, *weré* subj. 17131, theré 7656, weré 7364, 10629. *Gower*—the examples cited in arts. 84, 85, 86, are the only cases of *e* silent after *er*, except a few isolated ones, as: ther halp(e) him nother speré ne sheldé i 125, for if thou heré my talé wel(e) ii 340, he yav(e) hem answere (answre?) by and by iii 305. It has been observed already that such representatives as occur of the Saxon noun in -ere, denoting an agent, want the final vowel, but none of the few cases that occur are worth much, see art. 8.

88. Less to be relied on are the following:

*speré* 15289, ags. speré, and therefore: *beré* ursus 1642, weré pl. 2950, to beré 4877, to deré *ladeer* 10554.

*teere* (art. 87) and therefore: weré pl. 4954, 11493, 15662, theré 4956, weré 2nd pers. 16146, scheré 15642, yeré 15645, enquérer 9417. *scheré* ags. sceare; and therefore (?): weré pl. 15544, yeré 15545, teeré 15547.


*meré* (equa) 543, melleré? 544.

*forberé* 3168 mylleré? 3167.
89.* On the other hand, we find many cases in which e final must have been silent, or where it is actually dropped after er. Chauntecler is most misspelt with -e, in the Nonne Prestes Tale. That it ought to have no final e appears from the French derivation (Chantecler), and from the rhymes ber (tule) and powër (new fr. powër) 16822, 16830, also misspelt bore, powere.

Ex. berë ferre 1424, berë ursus 2060, berë ferë 8760, werë vestiri 8762, swerë jurare 11101, 12076, all rhymed with the pronoun herë hirë. So: answerë, baner, beëer, berë, chambrë, dëere, ferë, ferë (often frerë), maner, swerë, swerë. See art. 72 for the double forms: here her, there ther, where whe, ever ever.

90.* With regard to final e after ir, ar, or, ur, it does not appear to be more frequently silent in such cases than after other letters, except in sire and more. Gower—E final is sometimes silent in -fore and more. We find two forms sirë and sirë = sir, corresponding to French sire, sieur, Italian ser, sere.

Ex. Chaucer—sirë sirë, ië irë, barë, faire, sparë, charë Fr. chaire, declarë ?? declarë, hairë, peyrë, morë morë, porë porë, bifoër byforë, sorë sorë, dorë dorë, therefore therefor therforë, fourë, purë, vesturë. Gower—forë to-forë and -forë to-forë be-forë a-forë, morë ofterner morë.

91.* A considerable number of cases will now be given of e silent after other letters than r without any attempt to explain the fact. Many words of French origin are spelt in Chaucer sometimes with a final ce, sometimes with s. Gower—The only important instances of silent e final are the word have and some forms in -ce (se). Note-worthy instances of e final silent after other consonants than those already mentioned are very few. By noteworthy instances is meant cases in which a final e, that by general laws should be sounded, is required by the metre to be silent. Some of the apparent exceptions can be explained away. A few cannot.

Ex. Chaucer—e silent after l, m, n: allë, halë, talë, tellë, hellë, fellë, fellë, selë, melë, welë, souë, mylë, mylë, pyle—dâmë, madâmë, namë, claymë, dëmë, comë, weléomë, somë, tymë—pan', regnë, dënë, bégynmë, nonë, sonë, gounë. e silent after w, y: dawë, shrew', trewë, bowë, crow', ynowë, trowë, widow', morwë, jovë, weyë. e silent after p, b, v: helëpë, felawschëpë, worship, hopë, popë, havë, savë, avë, receyvë, levë, givë, gevë, lyvë, stryvë, lovë, grovë. e silent after k, g, ch: sákë, seekë, bisekë, spekë—mariëgë, viagë, visagë, agë, tonëgë, bringë, seqë—spechë, wrecchë, chirchë.

e silent after t, d, th, besides the final e of the imperfect inde. of simple verbs, which is as often silent as pronounced [unless the -el, for -edë be read -de, and the point is doubtful]: hatë, betë, getë, nueë, swëtë, hertë, schërtë, might', sight'—forbedë, dedë, heed', ledë, redë, steëdë, endë, fyndë, kyndë, lyndë, holdë, housë-bondë, fonëdë, woodë, lowdë, broy'd—byquethë, mirthë, rewthë, trouthë, youthë. e silent after s (s): nosë, prosë [the reference 466 is erroneous] clennesë besynes goodnes lowednes worthines, goddessë, bliss' blys', wisë, cheeses, supposed, these thësë, praysë, pres' Fr. presë, nobles'—gracë, forced but forcë in the same line 3910, princë, malicë, placë, Constaunce Constaunce. 

experience experiens, pleasuance pleisuas, norice noris, pacience paciens, sentence sentens, force fors, solas solas solace solace, allas laas lace trespace, trace trayes harnays, face faas, prefacse. [In a large number of cases the e here cited may have been an e introducing a trissilabic measure of no injury to the metre, see art. 92.] Gower—e is generally silent in havë except at the end of a line, but: ne havë when I spak(en)i 296, ye havë thilke vice i 55, havë non(en)i 295, be so they havë i 316, havë routhe i 47, and (infinite) i 94, 170, iii 222, 702. The fini-
tives and the plural forms of the indicative and subjunctive may have originally been written aven; so written, the word might perhaps have been contracted at pleasure into a monosyllable.

e is in a few words of Latin origin silent, or absent where it might be expected after e, s: græcæ, rhymes with ences, old Fr. a-crois ii 392, græcæ i 9, etc., Boniface, Morieç, Moris = Maurice, foreç, rhymes with hors ii 392, fallas Fr. fallace rhymes with was, iii 158: avarieç ii 290 avarieç i 127, pursé purs, this word derived from Middle Latin bursa, probably does not come to us through the Fr. bourse; it has dropped the e, like Swed. and Dan. bors, and Germ. bors, which is found as well as borse. helpè help 8 cases to helpè 9 cases; 2 quenè and 27 quenè, 2 sight and 6 sightè, 3 food and 5 or 6 fodè, 1 timè i 167 but elsewhere always timè, 1 nedè i 155 but elsewhere always nedè: 3 spedè and about 3 spedé, 2 I redè and elsewhere redè, etc. [These cases all require examination by manuscripts, and the remaining doubtful cases are therefore not cited here.]

92. For convenience sake the final e in the above citations has been treated as silent. It is, however, a question which may be called at least a difficult one to solve, whether the e in many cases was absolutely dropped, or only slightly pronounced. In very many lines the verse would be equally agreeable, whichever, of the two should be done; in some, the verse might be fuller to a good ear, if the e were slightly sounded; in some this sound would disturb the metre.

A considerable number of these exceptions might disappear on a comparison of manuscripts, but very many would doubtless remain. The vowel appears to be most frequently silent after the liquids, after w and v, t, d, and s. Some of the most noticeable words are the pronouns hire, here, oure, youre; the verb were; then sire, more, alle, tyno, sone (filius), trove, have, give, love, sight, woode, bliss.

Possibly, all that is to be said of this matter is, that the final e might be dropped freely, as in modern German verse, as:

das Erst’ wär’ so, das Zweite so.
der begehrt jede liebe Blum’ für sich,
und dünkelt ihm es wär’ kein’ Ehr’,
und Gunst die nicht zu pflücken wär’.—
hat er so aller Tren’, so aller Lieb’ vergessen.
&c., &c. —(Goethe’s Faust.)

Of course we are not authorized, in the present state of our knowledge, to drop the superfluous e and indicate the omission by an apostrophe.

CONTRACTIONS.

93. The e in final er is very frequently elided, especially under the circumstances in which e final would suffer elision. [Most of the instances cited seem more properly to belong to the class of trissyllabic measures. The words and a reference to the line in Chaucer are here added, when the words begin with a capital they occur in the lists given in both papers, when they are in small capitals they occur in the Gower papers only, and no references are given.] adder, After 162, 343, 527, anger 12847, answer 1325, begger 252, better, chambre, coper 13296, delyver 84, Ever Never 50, 345, 1824, 9963, 1262, 8020, 8027, 9605,
9618, 10077, 10078, Fader 5613, fether 2146, fynger 7472, hinder v., Lenger, Letter, Lever, maner 9755, monster, nedder 9660, neyther 9413, 9962, ofter 16914, other, over 11967, perssever 5730, silver 82, 631?, sobcr 7484, somer 396, sowter 3902, suster, tender, thunder, togider 826, water 402, 3815, 13244, Whether 1103, 15415, 9407, 15341, wonder 12531.

94. The vowel is elided under similar circumstances in the syllable -en. Chaucer: moooten 252, weren 1282, comen 803, riden 827, prissoun 1 1231, faren 1263, wepen 1593, bringen 5384, risen 10697, y-comen 14908. Gower: shulden i 76, wolden i 79, tretten i 250, geten i 339, vengen i 345, stonden i 364, woman ii 46, wepon ii 306, rehereen iii 19.

95. The third person singular of the Present Indicative ends commonly in -eth; not seldom in -th. When the form -eth is used, the e is often elided. Chaucer: answereth 1622, thenketh cometh 1645, cometh 8033, 14196, makth 5318, 7415, spekth 5646, clappith 7166, lyveth 7944, takith 8178, loveth 8246, 8247, spedithe 9801, bereth 10949, to-brekest 12835, abideth 14396. Gower: speketh i 64, maketh i 68, 156, wepeth erieth i 120, kepeth i 126, leseth i 305, etoth drinketh iii 39, taketh cometh iii 280, ariseth iii 342.

96. Miscellaneous contractions. [Most of these are cases of trisyllabic measures.] Chaucer: purchasyng 322, schirrevë 361 (?), parisshe 451, 496, parisch[e] 493, benedicite (bencité) 2117, 5823, 5862, 7038, 7166, 7752, 9211, 12556, we may therefore infer a lacuna in 1787, certeynly 2761, candel 5916, so candlestick (canstick) in Shakespeare, 1 Henry IV. 3, 1, speech 36 (Guest I, 54: canstick in the quartos), litel 7256, vanyssh 10642, widow 14920, (similar forms though not contracted are sorwe 1456, wilw 2924, morw 9622,) woldt 15431, wicked 16909, this is an unusual contraction, but by no means unparalleled, compare naked, Crashaw, ed. Turnbull, p. 123. Gower—bible i 136, quarrel ii 223, devil iii 203, dis-tempred i 281, heved iii 117, 376, augst iii, 121, 370, Sortes (Socrates) iii 366. Benedicite is not contracted i 48.

97. Cases like the following, in which contiguous words are blended, are not common in Chaucer, but there is no reason to suspect the correctness of the lines: at his (at's) 295, and a ('n a) 56, I ne (I n') 766, endure it (endur't) 1093, whether it (wher't) 9841. Contractions of the various kinds noticed in arts. 93–97 are on the whole not so frequent in Chaucer as in Shakespeare and Milton: see very numerous examples in Guest's English Rhythms B. I. C. III.—Gower. Contiguous words are not often blended, but some cases occur: fall it (fall't) ii 380, it is (it's) iii 348, I havë (I've) ii 61, that is (that's) iii 247.

1 The real division of the measures, indicated by italicising the even measures, in this line, seems to be: i-fether'd in his prison for ever more.

2 Pauli reads: yet in the bible this name is bore, but Harl. MS. 3490, 3869, 7184, and Soc. Antiq. MS. 134, all read his for this, giving a regular elision.
97a. Accent. Many words of French origin have two accents; sometimes on the final syllable, or the penult; sometimes thrown further back as in English. So also with nouns of Saxon origin in -ynge, -yng (see art. 17) and felawe felaw (see art. 18). 

Gower—Many words of French origin have a variable accent: the same is occasionally true of native words. The eliding of final e often causes the accent to be thrown back, [or rather conversely?]. Proper names of Latin origin have generally the French, or foreign, accent: Cesàr iii 366, Medéa ii 212, Gower iii 373, Encàs Anchises ii 4, Aprille ii 327. [The list of words is here given in alphabetical order with single references, a capital initial (when the word is not a proper name, and in that case an italic capital initial) points out that the word is in both lists, small letters in Chaucer and small capitals in Gower only.]

Chaucer

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<th>Gower</th>
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<td>ANSWERE</td>
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Gower—At this point it is proper to say that in all likelihood some troublesome forms in Gower are to be explained as simple licences. Such, very probably, are the causes of the singular of the Imperfect of Complex Verbs which have an e (art. 54). So when the vertu ii 38, 187, is stretched to vertue i 7, 18: when the preposition for is made to rhyme with bordi ii 59, the pronoun min with minè i 130, the noun men(e) (Fr. moyen) with lenè i 351, (if thou well) bethought with nought iii 357, (1) sigh with eyè iii 370, oxes (elsewhere oxen) with foxes ii 63, perhaps all that it is necessary to

1 This is numbered 99 in Chaucer, and 97a in Gower, where the art. numbered 99 in Chaucer is said to have been put wrongly among the miscellaneous notes, and it is therefore restored here to its proper place.
say is that a clumsy poet has taken an extraordinary liberty.¹ Such shortening of words as *pusillamité* for *pusillanimité* ii 12, 25, iii 210, Climestre for Clytemnestre, Methamor for Metamorphoses, is rather to be attributed to ignorance;² so Agamemon, Nauplius for Nauplius, &c. The vowels are not infrequently³ freely treated in the rhymes: e.g., minde ende ii 23, 67; ende kende (i.e. kinde) iii 120, nine peine ii 261, seen eyen iii 18; say see iii 31, wit yet; fell hill, men kin ii 158, iii 211, 280, kenne senne (i.e. sinne) ii 309, spedde hadde ii 191, deth geth (i.e. goth i 345, Sax. gæð), ii 303; i 220, 247; piche suche iii 312, &c.

**Miscellaneous Notes.**⁴

98. Letters. (a) Ch for the Saxon *c* (k) before or after e, i, occurs in several cases where the modern English has retained the primitive sound. (b) Saxon *g* is changed to *w* both in Chaucer and Gower instead of *y*, *i*, as in modern English, and to *y* where we have retained *g*. (c) Th is dropped after *t* or changed to *t* in con-

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¹ [Sometimes, not always, we may say that an editor has been careless. The following is the reading of these passages after Harl. MS. 3869. Tho was þe vertu sett a boue. i 7 In whom þat alle vertu duelleþ. i 18 That þing which I travaile fore O in good time were he bore. ii 59 For certes if fehe were myn I hadde hit leuere þan a myn Of gold. ii 130 For to wel can þer noman slyke Be hym no be non ðer mene To whom Daunger wol zive or lene Of þat Trefor he hæþ to kepe. ii 381 Mi fone if you be wel ðeþ for Which þonche þe þee forget it noþt. iii 357 And taken hiede of þat I fyhe Wherinne anon myn hertes yhe I caste. iii 370 Wherinne anon in ðedde of Oxes He let go zoken grete foxes. ii 63]

² [Yet Gower had certainly read Ovid in the original, and shews by his headings and his *Vox Clamantis*, that he could write Latin. Some of the errors are certainly due to the scribe; others may have been Anglicisms comparable to our Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Tully, Pliny.]

³ [The interchange of *i*, *e*, short is common in Chaucer, and must be accepted as (*i*, *e*), supra pp. 250, 272. The following are these passages according to Harl. MS. 3869. Ne mihte I lette out of my mende Bot if I þoghte vpon þat hende. ii 23 The whos kythode is þit in mende And ðchal be to þe worlde ende. ii 67]

⁴ Of these Prof. Child says: *Chaucer—The purpose of this paper being to do something towards ascertaining the forms of words used by Chaucer (including inflections), the notes upon that subject are intended to be complete, to the extent of the information to be derived from the one text employed. Not so with the Miscellaneous Notes, subjoined to the others. Gower—It may be observed that the subject of the article [memoir] is really concluded at art. 97a. The miscellaneous notes which follow contain a few things noticed in passing which may on some occasion be useful; but they are purely incidental, and do not profess to be complete. [In this re-arrangement of
tracted forms, and in Gower ags. d is retained, where we have changed to the aspirate th, spelt th. (d) The letters r and s were unstable in the older English, and subject to frequent metathesis. In the transition to modern English these letters have changed their position more than once in some words. Gower—(e) M is reinforced by b or p, n changed to m before p, n not yet reinforced by d as in English and s reinforced by t.

Ex. (a) Chaucer and Gower—secke =seck 786, 7537, 7539, i 290, ii 190, 193; receche =reck 1400, 5911, rececheth i 168, ii 284, wirche =work 2761, wor- chen i 166, ii 142, thenche =think 3253, scheneche =skink i 263, yliche, liche = like 7797, 10376, lich, liche i 118, 136, 258, 265, besi-liche i 3, even-liche i 179, etc., now -ly; ich =ik, I, 10037, and in: theech 12857, 14362. So rubriche = rubric, Fr. rubrique 5928.

Chaucer—On the other hand, k is often preserved where we have ch, as, biske = biseech 7251, etc. Gower—Saxon c (k) not changed to t as in modern Eng- lish: make =mate i 45, 112, 367, etc. or changed to tt when changed to ch in modern English, fette, ags. fecen = fetch ii 233, 237. We find: chever = chiver iii 9.

(b) Chaucer and Gower—daws =day, 11492, i 136, fawe, ags. feash =fegan, fain, 5802, i-slawe =slain 14271, 16500, morwe, ags. morgen, E. morne i 186, 205, wowe, ags. wag, E. wall, wawes, ags. wagas; E. waves, 4888, i 141, 223, 312, etc. gerarchie = hierarchy iii 146 is old Fr. gierarchie, Ital. gerarchia. willow = wilt thou, woltow 1546, 6422, hastow = hast thou 3394, 3358, 11893, wostow 3544, alepis- tow 4167, herdistow 4168, artow 4728, hydestow 5980, schaltow 6998, atte beste = at the best 29, atte siege 56, atte fulle 633, atte laste 2828, atte i 16, ii 345, 377, atte boord 10393, ate bord ii 299, atte halle 1038, etc., etc. Gower—fader in i 49, 60, 61, i 260, 332, father ii 174 is undoubtedly wrong; moder i 104 etc., weder i 112 etc., wether in 295 is wrong, hider i 70, thider i 186, whider ii 21, gader ii 293, togider in 324. On the other hand we have: rother, ags. roßer =rudder.

(d) Chaucer—berstles, ags. bristli, E. bristle, 568; brid, ags. bridd, E. bird, 17104; brast breste, ags. berstan, E. burst, 2612, 2613; brent brenne, ags. byrnan brennan, E. burn, 948, 17161; carte, ags. creat, E. cart, 2043; crispe (crips, House of Fame iii 296, Morris 5-251), ags. crips crispe, E. crisp, 2167; erulle, E. curl, 81; kers, ags. cerse cresse, E. cress, 3754; thirled, ags. thyrld thyrle, E. thrilled, 2712, (nose-) thurlers, E. (nos)-trils, 569; thridde, ags. thridda, E. third, 14251, threttene 7841, thrity 14437; thrup, ags. thror, E.-thorp, -throp, 8070, 8084; thurgh, ags. thurh, E. through, 1098; axe, ags. ascan acian, 1349, 12354, axyn 1828, aske 5567; crispe, ags. cirps (see above); lipsede, E. lipsed, 266; claspsed, E. clasped, 275. Gower—brid bird i 112, 113 etc., bird i 206; hunder hundred ii 92, 249, 381; third third i 56, thirti thirty iii 214, brene burn i 334, brent i 109; kerse cress i 229, 334; Adriane Ariadne ii 307, etc.; axe ask, i 334, ii 222, etc. (e) thombe, ags. juma, i 175, stempne, ags. stemn i 312—wimpel, ags. winpel, i 326, 327.—kinled = kindled ii 96, compare kin-dred and kind, genus, which is apparently from Saxon cynn, not cynned. [The following is from E. Mätzner, Englische Gram- matik, Berlin, 1860–1865, i 175: an unmeaning d is added on to a final n; hind =servant, ags. hina, old E. hyne; fond, old norse fana, fatue se gerere, old E. fon, still in Spenser, and fond; lend, ags. leuan, old E. and Scotch lenen; round with obsolete roun in Skelton, Spenser, and Shakspeare, ags. runian, G. zurauen; sound, ags. s. son, old Fr. son, sun, v. soner, suner, old E. s. son, v. souen; astound and astonish, old Fr. astoner mixed with ags. stuman, E. stun, etc.] lost, for lose, ags. los, i 147, 238, ii 186, 277, but: loss i 270.

Prof. Child’s memoirs, some of the completeness of the first part has been necessarily sacrificed. Although the Miscellaneous Notes do not in general bear upon the subject of the present treatise, they present so much that is interesting to the Societies for which it has been written, that it has been thought advisable to give them nearly in full.]
99. See 97a.

100. Syntax for Measures, Kinds, etc. (a) Nouns denoting a substance measured, weighed, or numbered, are not followed by a noun with of; as in modern English; but are in apposition with the noun denoting the measure, as in ags. sometimes, and in German regularly. (b) Nouns denoting sort or kind are in like manner not followed by a noun with of, but by a noun in apposition, as also in German. (c) Things numbered are put in the singular after numerals as in German and ags. (d) Sometimes numerals preceded by the article a are treated like nouns, the thing numbered being put in the plural number, but still without a preceding of, compare, a few pears, a great many men, a dozen books.

Ex. (a) a peyre dys (G. ein paar Würfel) 4384, 14038, a peyre plates 2123; a barrel ale, G. eine Tonne Bier, 16373, a botel hay, G. ein Bund Heu, 16946; a bushel whet 7328, 4310, half a quarter otes 7545; the beste galoun wyn 16956, a morsel bred 16920.

(b) a maner deye, G. eine Art Milchfrau, 16332, a maner sergeant 8395, so 3881, 11742, 11745, no maner wight 71, 2546, a maner kinde i 88, 123, what maner name i 206, such a manner wise i 342, what manner thing ii 142, what mestir men 1712, no kyn monay 14749.

(c) syn thilke day that she was seven night old 16359, this fourteneight 931, thrifty winter he was old 14437, 16545, 7233, a child of twelf month old 14895, foure yer 8487, 8612, 13445, twenty winter age ii 226, of eigh(te)ntoñie winter age i 102, withinne seven winter age ii 267, ii 266, of nine hundred winter old(e) ii 265, of thre yer(e) age ii 22, of twelv(e) yer(e) age ii 68. So after numerals preceded by a: of an hundred winter age ii 343, of a ten yer(e) age ii 17, a thousand winter (tosome, after) i 267, ii 266, a thousand yer(e) ii 9, a ten mile i 209, a thousand sithe i 160, a thousand score i 176, a thousand del(e) i 295. The ags. use of winter for year is to be noticed, and also the of, supplying the place of the ags. gen. in old of nine hundred winter. Night and winter (ags. nith, winter) have commonly the plural like the singular in ags. (instead of nhta, wintra), but this is not a peculiarity of infection; it is a consequence of a principle of syntax. Year (ags. gear) might have the plural like the singular, at any rate; still the cases cited are fair instances of the rule. Fortnight (fourteneight 931) has become a compound noun, and so has twelve-month (a twelve moneth 653), but these forms properly come under (c) and (d).

(d) a seven bushels 14186, a twenty bookes 296 (Tyr. the right reading), a twenty thousand freres 7277, Tyr., his maistres clepelth commen a gret route, and up they risen, a ten other a twelve 10697, a thousand times i 330, a a fewe yeres iii 246, seven yeres ii 9; according to the same principle: a certain frankes 14745, a certain yeres 15663, a certeyn of conclusions 3193, a certeyn gold 14815.

101. Genitive Case. (a) Some genitives are employed as adverbs. (b) The genitive sign is not annexed to a compound phrase as in English. (c) The genitive of names of persons and titles of books is sometimes used as a nominative in Chaucer, and in Gower the genitive case of classical proper names is frequently so used; Gower also declines classical proper names, a custom still in use with some old-fashioned Germans.

Ex. (a) his thonkes 1628, 2109, bere thonkes 2116, his willes 5854, needes 1171, 7887, etc. (b) the wyves love of Bathe = wife of Bath's love 9046, my modres Ceres soule = my mother Ceres's soul 10139, Goddess sone of hevene = God of heaven's son; in Yvestes temple the goddesss ii 157, the kinges daughter of Cecile i 104, 235. (c) Cerces 1494, Judicium 15532, Encydos 16845, Sibelles ii 260, Sibele ii 166, Cereres and Ceres ii 168, Circe ii 49 etc., Echates ii 260, Spercheidos ii 261, the temple Apollinis ii 366, that he wolde upon knighthode Achilles sue ii 212 Achilles nom. same page, Del-
boram hath Abel take iii 277, Debor-
amo, same page; till they Pentapolim
have take, and: for Pentapolim iii 341,
Judean ii 191, Ephesim iii 335, Thel-
maeus ii 54, Thelmaeus iii 60;

102. Dative Case. (a) After to be, with: wel 2111; wo 1015,
14421, 10892, 353, bygoon 11628, 5338, schapen 1394, loth 1839,
lef 14175, loth 488, 11903, lever 295, 16955. NB. him haddé
lever 3541, 8320, have I lever 11672, 15379. (b) After verbs of
motion as in Saxon: got him 3434, 4060, 13662, 14474; went hir
4213, 9653, 13038; rydeth him 1693, stalked him 8401, hy the
13223?, styrt hir 3822? (c) After other verbs: dreden hem 12252,
fallet hir 5524, stelle hem = from them 4008, us thoughte 786.

103. Personal Pronouns. Me for I, once, 1810; his, gen. of it,
6726, 7838, it am I, as in ags. and German, 1462, 1738, 3764,
5529, 14625; he, in the sense of one, indefinite, in the Persones
Tale; he, she, redundant with proper names 6225, 9554, 16880,
5360, 9608, 9912, 10564, 6080, 9242, 9247, 16627, etc. Both (as
in German) follows and does not precede, the genitive of the
personal pronoun, as: here bothe lawes 4641, etc.

104. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns. (a) That is fre-
quently used in conjunction with the pronoun he so that both ex-
press only the relative pronoun: that-he 44, that-his 2712, 14915,
that-him 3430, without the personal pronoun 12164, on-his 4691.
Compare Mrs. Gamp’s “a lady which her name is Harris,” “she
being in liquor, which I thought I smelt her.” (b) Which fre-
quently has the signification of what, what sort of, like welch in
German: which a miracle 2677, which they were 40, 2950, 3611,
5621, 6875, 10896, 11754, 16065. (c) Which that, the whiche that
is used for which in the prose tales. (d) What is used for why,
like Latin quid, German was: 184, 1382. (e) What is used in an
indefinite sense (like German etwas, was) wite ye what? = wissen
Sie was? 10305, 17014; so apparently, at first, in the colloquial
“I’ll tell you what (Ich will Ihnen was sagen)”; but the emphasis
put on the what shews that it is not now regarded as indefinite,
[compare German, Das sag’ ich Ihnen]. (f) Whoso is frequently
used in the sense of if any one, 748, 4615, 9890, 13903. (g)
Gower—As who saith = one might say, so to speak, i 268, ii 131.

105. Indefinite Pronouns. (a) Peculiar uses of one 7587, 11046,
8088, 11499; iii 189, i 201, ii 70, ii 159, 259, iii 327; we also
find: in all this world ne mighte be a gladder woman then was
sche iii 51. one = only iii 231, all min one i 45, all him one
i 148, iii 285, 178. (b) Peculiar use of ought, like the German
etwa = perhaps: can he ought telle a mery tale or tweye? 12525.

106. Prefixes. The prefixes for- (German ver-, Lat. per-, con-) and
to- (Germ. zer-, Lat. dis-) have not lost their force in Chaucer
and Gower.

Ex. Chaucer—forpyned 1455, foster-
1562, 14535, fordrunken 3122, 4148,
forthinketh 9780, fordruye 10723, for-
fered 10840, forbrosed 16100, for-
kuteth 17272, forkerveth 17272, for-
trode, forslowith, forsuggitith, forlesith,
forletin, all in the Persones Tale.
Gower—forstormed i 160, forblowe i
160, fordoth i 266, forgnawe i 328,
forwept ii 15, forwaked ii 16, forshape
Chaucer and Gower follow the Anglosaxon practice with regard to negatives, which was (like the Greek) not, as in modern English, to negative the copula only, but to give a negative character to as many words as were susceptible of being thus affected. Two negatives are perhaps more common than one, and verses can often be restored to good metre by restoring a ne which had been dropped: ne—nought 74, nys no 1124, nas no—nolde 552, never—no—no 71, nas no—ne no 7874, no—ne nil no 8522, neyther—ne noon—ne noon—never—nolde 9964, etc. But = only, takes a negative as in Saxon and vulgar modern English: I nam but deed 1124, nys but Persones Tales.

108. Various Particles.

All although ii 160.
alonge on along of because of ii 22 96, 121, 310.
as with the fundamental meaning of considering, with respect to, so far as concerns, is employed by Chaucer and Gower in various shades of distinctness and strength, decreasing to insignificance. A similar loose use of as is now reviving:
as in so litel space 87, as now (Ger. als dann?) 887, 7899, 12872; so, 5623, 7557, 8370, 8828, 244, 7947, 9671, 6055, 3297, 3385, 6947, 7107, 6979.
as in suppling phrases is often absolutely redundant, 2304, 2819, 3172, 3775, 5773, 6642, 7253, 7833, 8761, 11201, 11371, 13581; and also in 7196. In like manner so is redundant in one instance 10772.
as is used as a relative in this one case; there may be more, but others have not been noted: his hundred as I spak of now 1860.
as intensive = Latin quam; as blive =immediately, not very different from our as quick, ii 266, 313; als swithe iii 305, als faste i 55, also faste ii 132, 156; also blive iii 49. als =as: for als moche i 51, als fer as i 89, 132, als well as ii 203, 379, iii 19.
as—that inasmuch as; seeing that, quippe; as he that i 245, ii 325, as ye that ii 322, as she whiche ii 336.
at-after after: mete iii 41, 63. Still used in the north of England. I do not find the combination in Saxon, but as set-foran occurs, set-after probably existed.
by about; tel I by this men, by wommen 17120.
by of time as Germ. bei; by oldē daires i 67, by olde tide ii 132, by the brodel sune i 255, by the morwe 242, by thrifty mile ii 193, by times seven i 138, by that = because that i 226. [Compare (modern) betimes, by daylight, by the morrow.]
erst than before, 1568, 14077, erst without than 8212; er than 12827.
ever among still, continually, i 149, 195, ii 15, iii 303, 328; ever in on(e) iii 28, 29.
first then before 1157.
forth with with, i 194, 209, 216, ii 67, 154.
how that however that, although; how that ignorance be moder of alle harm, certis negligence is the noirc Persones Tale.
in aunter if if haply i 19; =lest, i 344, ii 147.
into until, my deth i 117, now ii 278, iii 188.
in with within 9818, 10216, 9268.
long on, ags. gelang, along of, because of, 12850, 12858. See alonge on.
noon no =not: or non 11090, 14492, 12544, i 230, 342, iii 322, etc.
nought forthy nevertheless, iii 355.
of representing the ags. gen., foryete of i 157, nedeith of i 272, he thonketh God (dat.) of his miracle i 210, iii 273, lefte of ii 207, they drad him (dat.) of vengeance iii 321, pray of iii 350, of
whom I mene iii 301, 302, touchend[e] of i 19. In the following the reason of the of is not quite so clear: call[e] of= by the name of? ii 331, of love to sped ii 33, i 331, love sped e i 334, 336, of that shall sped e iii 241, of which to done ii 175, iii 553. I that lawe obeie of which that kings ben put under i 117.

of by, Fr. par; of that i 1, of knight-hode ii 157, of drinke iii 4, etc., of.

of that because, why (parce que), i 56, 157, 161, etc.

other or, 9157, 10697, 13730, 13731.

other while—otherwhile &llore—&l-llore i 104.

other—either either—or 1595, 1596; other—other or, 13077, 13078.

that with imperative = Fr. que, entreaty; that ye not discover 9816, ne that thy tale make us for to slepe 7890(?); that foule him fall e 318, that wer e do iii 182.

ther, tho relatively, where, when: 172, 224, 249, 7042, 8696, 10812, the(on) my lady is ii 372, tho this man iii 324, 336, etc.; theras ii 107, there-


at min (thin, her) above. This singular phrase seems to signify, greater than I am (she is) at present, in: as though I were at min above iii 9, as though she were at her above ii 212; in: and how they were at her above ii 378, perhaps, they bore themselves as if superior to what they really were; in: thou might not come at thin above of that thou woldest not achieve ii 32, the meaning is, thou canst not make thyself master of what thou wouldest achieve.

can thank seire gratias, savoir gre: 1810, 3066, i 393, i 17.
do cause make, 2398, 2623, 16427, ii 29, iii 94, =cause to be, Germ. lassen, 15638, 10075. Let do, 10360, 13588, i 63, 208, i 191.
gan as an auxiliary to form an imperfect tense: she gan falle ii 381, 385, etc.
gesse think, as in New England; in Persones Tale, ii 11, 59, 368, iii 180.
go walk, Germ. gehgen; ride or go 2254, 9964, 7175, go walkid??(=walkid) 7360; go ne speke iii 3, 5, etc.
hadde lever had rather, j'aimerai mieux, ich hätte lieber, i 295, ii 211, levest wolde be i 96, ii 46, i 96; I wolde rather ii 94. I had rather seems to be an imitation of I had lever; when the phrase came into use is not known to me.
life being, person, iii 264, 253; lives creature = living creature, 2397, 8779, ii 14.
many on(e) many a one i 56, ii 313.
moon masculine as in ags.: the mone of silver has his part ii 84, iii 109; but: ne yet the moné that she carie ii 112; go tak(e) the moné ther it sit i 86.
much great, moche 496, more 2826, moste 897; moré feith iii 326, moré delit iii 335, mosté joy iii 8, care iii 254.

nale alehouse 6931.
past participles used adverbially, Germ. er kommt geritten; ride amaid i 110, goth astraid i 132, iii 175, goth astray, same page; stonden mis-believed ii 152. He can ride i 53, ii 46, 170, where ride looks more like the infinitive than like the participle; cam ridend, pres. part. ii 180, 47; and lefts hem both[e] ligge so ii 160, is another extraordinary case of the use of an in-

finite.
schal owes, is bound to, 12590, 11062? More distinctly in the sense of owes, if the reading is correct, and there is no ellipsis, in Court of Love,
110. Peculiar Order of Words.

repeenting folk of here folies, Tale of Melibeeus; digne fruyt of patiences, but: works worthy of confessionoun, both in Persones Tale, lerned men in lorc 14589, wrap in me 14151, that I of woot 5441, that I of havé sayd 7827, upon he he had 619, with kempe[d] heres on his browes stowe 2136, on to see 3247, ground(c) literar on 12703, al that a man bilongeth unto 9333, to quyte with the knightes tale 3121, helc with your eyen 10246, 10955, 13079, and many cases in Gower. Of his visage and seeth the make=and seeth the make of his visage i 367, so ii 62, ii 298, etc., as thou might of to-foré rede =rede of toforé iii 342, of gold that I the mantel tok(e)=I toke the mantel of gold ii 368, but al this wo is cause of man=man is cause of al this wo i 34, to reule with thy conscience=to reule thy conscience with i 60, to rocké with her child a slepe=to rock her child asleep with i 196, o dampeed man to helle=O man! damned to hell i 189, on daies now=now-a-days ii 59, in perle=whitc than forsake=than, in white pearls, forsake ii 335, the kinges daughter Lamedon=the daughter of the king Lamedon ii 375.

111. Ellipsis (a) of the relative pronoun, (b) of the personal pronoun when subject, (c) of be, and other verbs, after shall, (d) of have, (e) of it, (f) of to before the infinitive, (g) of with, but note that the instrument, etc., are expressed in ags. with the abl.

Ex. (a) there was non auditor [that] cowde on him wynne 596, and in a purs of silk [that] heng on his schert 9757, a pyn [that] stant in his cre 10630, he sent after a clerk [that] was in the toun 13555; unto the park [that] was fasté by ii 46, etc., so: men besche [what] his will ii 25. (b) us thoughte ... and [we] graunted 786, this thing was graunted, and [we] oure others swore ... and prayden 813, ye, false harlot, hast [thon] ? 4266, ye, schal [he]? 10138; it thought her faire and [she] saide here ii 45, slain I have this maidé Thaise and [she] is begrave iii 325, he was rebuked of hem and [they] saiden ii 150, etc. (c) that is, or shal [be] whil that the world wol dure 1362; it is said and ever shal [be] i 16, 222, ii 39, iii 88, 190, 351; I wot never whider I shall [go] ii 21, that they with him to Tharse sheldé [go] iii 327, which wepte as she to water sholde [turn] iii 260, and what she sholdé [become, come to] she was alrad iii 321, [compare German, du sollet dahin; wohin muss ich?] (d) he wold hier [have] bent anoon 3347. (e) ner [were it not for] gingling of the bellis 16280, nere myn extorcions, I might not lyven 7021. (f) now is tyme [to] wake al night 3672, he was worthy [to] have his lif 6627. (g) thing which he said [with] his owné mouth ii 310, iii 155, fightend, [with] his owné bondes slain i 90, made cloth [with] her owné hand ii 83, 190, 204, i 346, 351, iii 306, where he [with] his
owne body lay ii 198, iii 208. (2) owne had ii 236, for in the plit(e) [in] I not what thing it may amonnte [to?] which I the finde iii 354, perhaps mere ii 191, 194, etc., he no childe [of?] his carelessness.

In an appendix Prof. Child refers to the following among other lines as illustrating his observations, the numbers under 112 refer to the articles, the others to the lines:—129, 85 19 69. 230, 60 69 56a. 456, 89. 610, 53a 60. 673-4, 19 12. 822, 55 17. 956, 53a 4 60. 1221-3, 16 19 4 60 50. 1299, 91e 91e 95. 1612, 89 91c 60. 1616, 58b 36b. 1805, 85 19. 2306, 19. 2521, 53b. 2807, 60 4 53a. 2960, 14 4 61. 3699-3700, 30 29 32 19 58d. 4049-50, 38b 52e. 4052, 35a. 4300, 2. 4649, 59. 5590, 91a 86 85. 5859, 56 3 61, 5947, 91e 90 3 91e. 7017, 48 60. 7026, 34 58 3. 7593-4, 7 30 16 11 56b 60 14. 9475, 30 32 20 19. 11849, 35a 33. 12221, 53a 35e 15 29. 12621 58b 22. 12991, 85 90 71. 14861, 10 86 56b. 15037, 69 19 72b. 16421-2. 22 40 73 22 60. Nearly every line will be found to furnish examples.

The wonderful industry, the acuteness and accuracy, of Prof. Child could not have had justice done to them, without inserting the above full account of his memoirs. It is to be hoped that he will eventually himself put these papers, enriched with the results of an examination of those MS, which the Chaucer Society is now publishing, into a more accessible form, as they ought to be studied by all students of Chaucer and of the English language of the xiv th century.

It now remains to add the references to the words in arts. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 29, 30, 31, 64, 69, 72, 73, 89, 90, 91. These are arranged below alphabetically, according to the modern orthography of the word cited, if it is still in use in the xix th century. This is placed first, with a capital if found in both the Chaucer and Gower Memoirs, in small letters if in Chaucer only, in small capitals if in Gower only. The word is preceded by * if it occurs in the list of exceptions, by ** if it is also only found in an oblique case in the Chaucer, and then few or no references are given; by † if it is an adjective or participle, by ‡ if an indeclinable, by § if of uncertain origin. If the word is not now in use the roman word is omitted, and the article begins with the number usually following the first word. This number refers to the art. in both the Chaucer and Gower Memoirs in which (or in the notes to which) the word is to be found, and on referring to that number in the above account, the category under which Prof. Child places the word is readily seen. Next comes the spelling as found in Wright’s Chaucer, or, if the word is not there found, in Pauli’s Gower, printed in Italics, with this exception, that when a final ′ is there written but for any reason not pronounced, it is replaced by an apostrophe. This deviation from Prof. Child’s system of notation, which has been followed in the preceding account of his system, has been adopted here, because by this means all written ′s will have to be pronounced, and the index will be made conformable to the illustration in Chap. VII. After the spelling
of the MSS., the word in roman letters give the Saxon original, and an acute accent (') after any shows that it is a form in Łązamon, but a (°) that it occurs in Orrmin. Then follow the references to the lines in Wright's Chaucer, or to the volume and page of Pauli's Gower, a final accent (') showing that the word cited is final in the line quoted. Several of the references in the memoirs are omitted, especially to the imperfect Gower text, and for oblique cases. Many of the Chaucer references have been verified, and all been compared with the original memoirs. Additions in brackets are generally by the present writer, and the other observations are either in the precise words used by Prof. Child, or their equivalents. Many words in other articles, besides those enumerated above, have been inserted, for the purpose of assisting the reader to turn to the proper article, and for these the above information is not given, and no references are added.

Thus the articles "ABBESS, About, against, algates," are to be read as follows:—

"ABBESS," modern form, found in the Gower memoir only (indicated by the small capitals), "19" mentioned in art. 19, "abesse" form in Pauli's Gower at "iii 337," vol. iii, p. 337, "French" derived from the French.

† Indeclinable; "About," modern spelling, the word being found in both memoirs (indicated by the capital), "72" in the 72nd art., "abouten," the spelling in Wright's Chaucer, "abutan" Anglosaxon form, "3645" line in Wright's Chaucer in which the spelling abouten occurs; "aboute" another spelling with e pronounced occurring in Wright's Chaucer, "892" line 892 last word indicated by the accent ('), "2191 3554 4146," and also in these lines but not as the last word, "about" the same spelling as before but with the e not pronounced "2187" occurring in line 2187, "art. 73" the word is also referred to in art. 73, under the form "aboutes," in which it occurs in Pauli's Gower, "iii 162" vol. iii, page 162 last word (') in a line.

‡ Indeclinable, "against," modern form, the word occurs in the Chaucer memoir only (indicated by the absence of capital), "73" at art 73, "ageyn" the form in Wright's Chaucer; "ongean, agean togeanes" Anglosaxon forms, "agein' ageines' agenesst" forms in Łązamon (indicated by the acute accent), "onggaen' onngæness" forms in Orrmin (indicated by the °), &c.

‡ Indeclinable. "72, 73" referred to in art. 72 and art. 73, not existing in the xixth century, indicated by having no word in Roman letters preceding these figures; "Algates," occurring in both memoirs, indicated by the initial capital, the spelling in Wright's Chaucer, "7096, 7293, 13024" at these lines, "algat" assumes the form algat with e elided, "573, 7619" in these lines, "algat (?)" the form algat which is doubtful, "14422" in this line, and "algate" occurs, "i 25" in Pauli's Gower vol i, p. 25, "[always]" this is the meaning of the word, which is always added when the word is obsolete.
FORMS OF WORDS IN CHAUCER AND GOWER REFERRED TO IN PROFESSOR CHILD'S MEMOIRS.

See the Explanation of the Arrangement, pp. 377-8.

ABBESS 19 abbesse iii 337 French
†About 72 abouten abutan 3645, aboute 892' 2191 3554 4146 about' 2187, art. 73 aboutes iii 162'
‡Above 72 aboveon, -, abUFan 53 2771 '797', above 1802' 1906' 8789' abouve' 2029 3213
‡29 a-cale 3-cele iii 296' [a cold]
[Accent] art. 97a
*adder 5 neder adder naedre iii 118 ii 72 260
[Adjectives] art. 29 to 44.
ADVENTURE 19 adventure ii 236, art. 108 in aunter if [if haply] French
[Adverbs] art. 69 to 73.
†against 73 ageyn ongean ago- 

taneous* azenin' agenez' agenest' onmen' ouynænes' 66 4812, agens ageyns 1511 8046 8787 10371, agaynes 10199, agenst ageynst 8196 13579
*age 90 age 13445
†alas 91 alstras new French la 2391
alder 17 aldir alor al 2923
Aile 9 ale calu calo 343 669 13736 3130' 13730' i 294'
‡73 Algates 7096 7393 13024 i 102, algat' 573 7619, algat(?) 14422, art. 72 algatie i 25 [always]
†alike 69 ylike yliche gelice 7797 7812 8630
*†All 30 alle call all' all* alle' 1247
1686 2704 4586 9623 13659 14015
14472 & al 7057 12613 12599 14091
14246 14576, art. 91 all* 210, 348 7797 937 946 979 4541 &c alther aller [of all] art. 44
†ALL 108 [although]
Alms 4 almesse velmasset allmess' 4588'
‡ALOFT 69 72 alofte ii 103' i 284'
†Alone 29 alloon 9200 9435 14256' 14707' is from the ags. definite form ana=solus, ii 293
‡ALONG 72 alonge ii 22', art. 108
am 103 ii am i
†Amidst 73 amyddes -middan -middles amidde' amidden' 2011 10723 16215
in the middes (of) 16534, art. 72 amidde' ii 58' 119'
†Among 73 amonges gemang imong'
amang' amang2 9902 14639, among
6534, art. 72 amengro ii 22 310'
‡64 -and old form of the present part-
participles awaytand 7684, lepand
7739, touchand 7872
ankle 9 ance unce 1662
[Anomalous Verbs] art. 65
Answer 12 answar andswaru answare'
andsware' 6492, art. 89 answer'
9744, art. 11 answere i 96' 97 146'
Ape 3 ape apa 3933 7046'13241' 15396' appear 87 appeere
19 Arcite 1579 1582 &c. Arcit' 1147
1357 2317
ARIALNE 98 Adriane
*16 ariste arist i 320' where the e final
is omitted in Pauli [arising]
arm 14 arme earn 158 probably an
error; 2918 should be armes
Arrow 4 arnwe arewe' arwe' 11424
ashes 23 assan asschen assen aisches
ask 98 axe
as 188 [considering]
*asp 16 asp asp 2923?
Ass 3 asse asse ass? 1679'
‡asunder 72 asonder on-, a-, sundran
5577, asonder 7256' asondur 493'
AT—ABOVE 109
at—after 108 [after]
‡atween 72 atwynne ontweanen 3589'
13098'
ought 105 ought
AUGUST 96 augst
aunt 19 aunte 5401 French
AVARICHE 19 avarice i 127 French
*bve 91 av' 14919 [extremely doubtful]
‡awating 64 awaytand 7634
awe 7 axe ege ege' ahe' 66' 16045'
axe 17 ax eex eax' axe' 2546
*AXLE 17 axial exal i 320 (?)
‡BARE 18 bale old swedish babe, Ger-
man bube? i 344
‡†Bad 31 badde 9467 3157' 9482'
15908' ii 47
Bale 7 bale beaulu balu' bale' 13409'
bulk 3 balke balca bolea 3918'
*band 16 bonde bend also m. i 102'
bane 3 bane bana bona bone'bane' 1099
1683' 16446'
*BANK 16 banke bane i 164
*banner 89 baner French baniere 980
BAPTISM 19 baptisme i 276 French
* ‡Bare 30 90 bare bare' bare' 8755
8771' 11884' 12660' i 286
‡Barne 14 berno bern berno' berno'
13812' i 162'
Be v. 111 [elided]
Be—, 106'
* Exceptional.  ** Exceptional oblique.  † Adjective.  ‡ Indeclinable.  § Uncertain Origin.
**Bean 16 bene bean 9296 3770' 4514' 9139' ii 275'**

Bear 3 bere bera 2144,1642' ii 339, art. 89 ber'? 2060' [rh. here=her, probably the e was pronounced in here] art. 88

**bear 89 ber' (verb) 1424 9918 12264 all inf; 2762 imperative, 8760 pres., to bere art. 88**

**beard 14 berde beard iii 319**

Beast 19 best 7424 9413 10578 6616' beste i 280 French

**beat 91 bet' 383 [wrong reference?]**

**bede 14 bede bed i 208' [prayerv**

**beech 6 beech boece 12856' 2925' bees 23 beon been bees**

**bede 14 bede bed i 208' [prayerv**

**beech 6 beech boece 12856' 2925' bees 23 beon been bees**

**bene 14 bene ben '2747**

**behind 72 behynde behindan 3239 7723' 10522**

Belief 3 biweere geleafa ilfele' laeke' 3456 11445' 11991' 12355' bileve i 356

Bell 4 belle belle belle' 171' 14077' 14407' 16266' i 13'

**Benche 17 bench bench bench' bennche' 5529 ii 274, see BANK**

**beneath 72 bynethe benipan 4039**

**beneficite 96, see p. 260**

**bequeathe 91 bygueth' 2770**

**berry 4 berie berige berie berie' 207'**

**beseech 91 bisek' 7251, art. 98**

**beside 72 beside be sidan 10688'**

**besides 73 bynides be sidan 13344, besides i 359**

better 38 bettre betere bettre' 526 650, bet adv. form in als. 4534 4731 10914

**between 72 bytwene betwynan 2861' 3107' between i 6, 9, 20 between i 12**

**betwixt 72 betwixt between 1707 3096, betwixte 1212 2172 9348 14247**

**beyond 72 bygond? geondan geonda geonda 16130**

**Bible 96**

**bier 16 87 beer ber beer' 15091 beer' 6179 [the cases in 16 are oblique], art. 87**

**bill 19 bille 13585 13591' French**

**binn 16 byrne binn 595'**

**birch 4 birch[e] birche birche 2923' birch' asp.**

**bird 98 brid**

**Birth 16 burthe beorS 4612, berthe birthe ii 76 155**

**14 bissemare bissemare bismare [abuse, filthiness] 3963'**

**blade 14 bladde bled 620'**

**blaze 4 blaze blaze ii 244'**

**blesh 30 blesche blac 21 som on for she is pale and bleshe**

**blind 30 blinde blind i 8 bliss 17 91 blys blys 1686' rh. this, blys' 4453 rh. is 4842 & blesse 1415 & oblique only**

**blithe 29 blithe blithe' 1880' 14210' blith' 848 blith 10652**

blossom 3 blosme blosma blosme' 3324 (blosm' upon)

**bloe 30 bleeve bleov 566**

**bloo 67 Blyne bilyfe' bilyfe' bilife' 2699' 5973' 7102', i 314', ii 238' [quickly]**

**Boar 14 boare bar 2072 iii 268'**

**boat 14 bote bat i 2**

**bodilily 30 bodetiche iii 14**

**bondman 3 bondeman bonda iii 320**

**Boneface 91 Bonefae' i 258 261, but rh. grace i 258**

**book 16 books boec' 6373 oblique, book 6251**

**Boon 16 boone ben bene' 2271' 2671' 9499' 12162' &c [in all the cases cited rh. soon] i 185' iii 223**

**Boot 16 boots bot bote' 426' 6054' [both rh. roote] i 228' 235'**

**booth 18 bothe Ger. bude, Dut. boede, iii 281'**

**borne 19 ofr bourde, i 304' French**

**14 Borree borg borh' [loan] 10910'**

**Both 72 botha batwa 'bade' bove' bape' 5855 6823 ii 229, art. 39 and 103**

**Bottom 14 botme botm 13249**

**bound 19 bounde bonde mid. Lat. bunda, old fr. bonde, iii 102' French**

**Bow 3 bowe boga 17044 108' 9885' 17061', art. 91 bow' 2897 [the elision is not certain]**

**bowel 19 bocelf ofr. boele iii 265' French**

**box 17 box box 5165**

**bramble 14 brembre brember 15157**

**brand 14 brome brand brand' 15313'**

**bread 14 brede bread bred' 7422**

**breech 7 breeche brike i 351'**

**Breed 11 bredo 2918 1972' 13156' 16646' ii 66' [breadth]**

**Bride 16 brede bryd' bryde' brid' 9764, art. 17 brid' i 102 art. 91 bryde' 0694 brid' i 102**

**Bridge 16 brigge brygge' bruge' 3920' ii 201**

**brightly 69 brighte beorhte 3352**

* Exceptional. **Exceptional oblique. +Adjective. †Indeclinable. §Uncertain Origin.
brim 7 brimme brymme ii 293
*bring 91 bring' 10049
†Drink 18 brînke Icelandic bringr =
colliehul) 11472 9277' 11170'
bristle 98 berulle
†Broad 30 brode bred ii 107
Brother 21 brother, brethren ags.
brother brothe're brethren' bro-
theres' brethren', art. 23
**brotherhood 14 brethrenes 518
*Brow 14 broce brear i 95'
†bull 18 bulle bolle Iceland. bole bauli, Ger.
bulle, ags. bulluca iii 118 ii 72 (2)
burned 98 bren't brenne
burst 98 brest breste
*busyness 91 byneses 13140
By 105 [about, of time]
†72 bywaste bewestan 390' [westwards]
†cake 18 cake, Danish kage, Swedish
kaka 4309' 13737
Can, and its parts, art. 65, art. 109,
can thank [scire gratias]
Candle 96 candel
cap 4 cappe cappe 588' 687' 3146'
Care 11 care cearu care'' 1491' 4934'
14611' 15170' i 339
*Cart 14 carte erat' carste' karsto
7123, cart 16522 7121 7136 16533,
art. 98
*carter 8 carter 7122 7124 7141
cases 27 cases
cause 19 cause 4142 5705 7056 French
centre 19 centre 10336 French
clinely 96 certeynly
† 18 Chaffare 14696' 14751'
chamber 19 chambré 1073, art. 89,
chambr' 9696 French
chanticleer 89 chaunticleere French chant-
tecer 16336, mostly misspelt as above
in the Nonnes Prestes Tale; that it ought
to have no final e appears from the
French derivation, and from the
rhymes ber (tull) and powêr (Norm-
man French pouer) 16222 16330,
also misspelt bore powere.
**chantership 14 chantership
30 char 16096' should be char =
chariot, not to be confounded with
art. 90 char 16099 = chair
†Chaste 19 chasté 2306 French
Cheek 4 cheeke chece cece 6374' 15524'
cheek' 15629 bad verse
Cheer 19 chere i 55 French, art. 87
Cheese 7 cheese cyse cese 7329, art.
91, chese' 3628 suspicious verse
*Chest 16 kiste cist iii 316', art. 17,
chest cest cist 6084 14149 rh. rest,
6982 rh. lest
*16 cheste ceast? i 294 [strife, con-
tumely]
*Child 14 childle cold child' child'
child' 5539 14930 15217' 8453,
child 15221 15228 1531 15488
15768 i 190 ii 16, children childre
childer ags. cildre elde eild childere'
children' childres' child're', art. 23
**childhood 14 childheades 14912'
chill 7 chele cele cyle ii 369'
chin 9 chînne cinne i 275'
Church 4 chyrche cyrice chirche' kyrke'
7391 7775 13744 13793 &c, art. 91
chyrch' 3984, art. 21
cinnamon 19 cynamome 3699 French
*claim 91 clayn' 9176
*clapper 8 clapper, ii 13
claspod 98 claspud
†Clean 29 clene cleene clene' clene'
506 12087 14288, art. 91 clen' 12228
†Cleanly 69 clene cleene clanic 12553
*clennness 91 clennness' 508
clearly 87 cleere
cleft 3 clifte clyfa 7727'
*clerk 14 clere cleric cleere iii 288
§clown 18 clowe, Middle Latin cloca,
Flemish klocke, 2001'.
4 cloote clate 12505 [burdock]
§Cloud 18 clouded 16268'
*Coal 14 cole col col' 13088'? 13124'
come 7 cyme cume' come'' (noun)
12271? [coming, advent]
*come 91 com (verb) 689 14184
commandment 19 commandement 2871
2981 12991 French
†common 30 comune iii 152 159 comun
i 216 284 French
[Comparison of Adjectives] art. 38
*Constance 91 Constanse' 4698 4858
4866 4986 Constanse' 4654 4651
5320 5527, art. 19 Constanse i 185
186
[Contractions] art. 93 to 97
*Cope 14 cope cop iii 102', art. 4
cappa ii 101? § art. 18 15435'
**corn 14 corne corn corn'' 14404'
cot cote 4 cotle cola cote 2459'
couch 19 coute 7551 French
*coutler colter 14 cultere culter 3761
3785 3810
Creed 3 crede creda 12975'
*crest 6 kers cerse 3754', art. 4 kers
i 299 344', art. 98
§cripple 18 cripel Ice. kryppill, Dut.
krepl, Ger. krüppel, iii 147
crisp 98 crisp
crock 3 crooke crocca 4156'
**crop 14 croppe croppe 1534
Crow 4 crowe crane 17175 17062'
17292' 2694', art. 91 crow 17172
CRUM 4 crume crume iii 35
Cup 3 cuppe cuppa cuppe' 134 10930'
curl 98 curlle

curse 17 curs curs 663 658 4347
†daggar 18 daggere (a thing to dag or
pierce with ags. ending -ere?) 14070
[bad line] 113', dagger 12435

††Dainty 18 31 deynye, (Welsh dant
=tooth; dantaidd = toothsome,
Wedgewood) 4569 5790 9917 15122,
deynleth 16321 ii 255

**Dale 14 dale dvel dal' dale' 16248'
dame madam 19 dame madam' 16382
16444 16656 madam' 11635 11830
16456, art. 91 daw 4671 4604 5152
madam' 7786 7792 French

Dare, and its parts, art. 65
**dark 14 derke dearke adj 4336'
[Dative Case] art. 102
DAUGHTER 21 doughter, pl. ags. dothru
dothere' dothren' doth're' doughter's
doughters', art. 23

*daw 91 daw' 10069

*DAY 14 dawe daw i 113', art. 98

*DEAL 14 dle dle' iii 110
†Dear 29 dere deore deore' deore' dere'
dere' 13593' 14921', art. 87, art. 89
deer' 7334 15538' [see peer]

*DEATH 14 dethy deal 2 202
*declare 90 declare' 7061' 14393'
*declar' 14893 extremely doubtful

*Deed 16 dede dded dde' ded 3 4853'
5911 etc., etc., i 272

*deem 91 dem' 3194

Deep 4 deepy dpey deepo 4875'
†Deeply 69 deeppe deepo 120' i 98
deer 25 deer' deepo pl.

DEAF 19 deafle 2 206 French
[Definite Adjectives] art. 32 to 36
degrees 26 degree
88 dere derian [injure]
†29 Derne derne' derne' derne' 3200
3278 i 107' [secret]

DESSERT 19 deserte' ii 391 French

DEVIL 96
†DEVOUt 30 devoute i 64 French
Diana 19 Dyane 2074 2348 etc. Dyane'
2293 French

*dis'91 ded' 14926

†DIMLY 69 dimme dimme' ii 293'
†DIVERS 30 diverse ii 85 77 125 iii 12
295, divers i 356' iii 3' 384' French

do 109 [cause]

ystery 18 dogge, Icelandic doggr, Dutch
doghe 6651 9888

**Doom 14 dom' dom dom' 11240,
dome iii 211'

Door 11 90 dore duru dyr duru' 1989
3435 3499 13065 15145 14624 etc.
dor' 552 2424 3471 3482 3634 [all
these are doubtful, they might be
dore introducing trisyllabic measures]
†DOUBLE 19 double i 181 iii 187 French
doubt 19 doute 9969 French
dove 4 doufe dufe 10013 13812

**down 16 doun dun' 15207'
†drrake 18 drrake 3576'

Dread 16 drede dreed dred' drede'
16648 9031' etc. i 139

†Drink 14 drynke drine drinea drine'
*drinke' drinke' drinkne' 1617 3411
4918 7481 etc., art. 7 love drinke

iii 12 16

†† 31 Drankenewe 7625' 9407' [dru-
ken] so costlewe [costly], Persones
Tale, De Superbia, 3rd par. near the
end. iii 6'

Drop 3 drape dropa drope' 12450 (131
bad line) ii 266, 286'

†Dry 29 dreye dryye drygge' 16334
422' 15703' i 234

*drought 16 drougthe druga' 10432

**dung 14 dounge dung 16504, dounge
532

Dvole 3 dvola 4159' [nightshade]
[E Final Silent] art. 84 to 92

*each 30 eache eale alc' eche' ille'
1184 [doubtful, there may be only
a defective first measure, p. 333.]

Eagle 19 eagle 2180 10437 French
Ear 2 ore eere 3 6218 6603' 8603',
art. 87

Earth 4 erthe erthe erthe' erthe'
1248 8079 8557 10707 erth i 25
ii 197 [doubtful]

ee 19 eee 971 French

†EDGE 16 egge ceg ii 251
†† 22 eft elf i 171 [after, again]
†Eke 72 eek ek ac ec' ek' 5031 5612
6588 8818 eke eke 4480 5136 6231
7075 7765 11692 15786 (all rh. with
seeke); 6375 7445 15522 (all rh. with
checke), 16873 (rh. with breke)

Eld 11 elde yld yld aeld' auld' elde'
6789 6797 3888' iii 365

†29 elenge ellende = peregirus, and
therefore miser, as in other lan-
guages, see Dieff. Goth. W. 1, 37,
d being changed into g, as in the
modern English form of the pre-
sent participle p. 14633 6781' [rh.
challenge and hence pronounced
(elendzhe), and consequently not

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. †† Indeclinable. ††† Uncertain Origin.
analogous to the change of the partici-
ple from -inde to -inge, as sug-
gested by Prof. Child]

[Ellipsis of Final Vowels] art. 74 to 83

†Else 73 elles elles elles' elles' 1230

4910 11209 i 1 i 203

End 7 ende ende ende" 1867 4901 7037

15' etc. ii 61 186, art. 91 end' 197

64 -ende, usual termination of the pre-

sent participle, even of French verbs,
in Gower, accordende i 213', comende
i 88 133' 220', touchende i 243,
wegende i 74, eriende i 137, kne-

lende i 155, praiende i 345, swende
i 278 131', spekende i 6', thankende
i 369, thankende i 297, ridente i
191 i 46, ambrende i 46, winkende
i 189, boitende i 201, swomende i
188, salirende i 200, bleedende iii 60,
unswettende iii 143, continuende i 18'
etc., all with the accent on -end. The
accent is occasionally thrown back,
comend i i, touchend i i 52, be-

longend i 12, wailend i 144, walkend
i 185, wepend i 236, kne lend' i 96,
slombrond i 103 etc.

†enough 30 72 ynowe genoh inoh" inow' 12788', art. 91 ynow' 4675

ENVI 19 envis i 223 French

*er 8 -er -ere -ere, [see carter hoppers
lover' mettler outsider s dreep wonger
; generally -er]

erst than 108 [Before]

Eve 15 eve æfen, æfeon' beve' efenn' 832 4993' i 70' ii 332'; at 5914'

†even 30 evens efen efene' efenn' 83

8316

evenly 69 evens efene 1062

*ever never 72 evere nevere æfre æfer
æfere æfer' æfer' 50 676 1231 1347
1408, ever never 70 1135 1554 2397
2414, generally contracted to a monosyllable, art. 108 ever among

[still]

*evilly 69 eycle yfele 1129, yll' 3715

*excellent 19 excellent 10459 French

*experience 19 91 experience '099', ex-
perien 5583 10112 (6050 rh. defens
which in Old French is spelt both
with and without a final e) French

Eye 2 ye ye eage eche' 10' 3018'

4700' 8109' etc. even yen, ags. eagan,
art. 23

*face 19 91 face Norman French face,
9710 rh. trespace 1580 16252, faas
rh. haas =has 13117'?

fain 98 fauce

†Fair 30 90 faire feger feir' feuire'
fagger' 2388 2665 4021 12043 [all
these are fem.] 234 2596 [these two
are plural], 884 1687 [these two are
definite], 12060 [probably an adv.,
i 253 [a faire knight, probably in-
fectional], fair 165 575 3232 7383'
9147' 9431' 14432'

†Fairly 69 faire fegere 94 12060'

91 fallas Fr. fallace, iii 158 rh. was,
fallas inne ii 85 [deceit, cunning]

†false 30 false fals ii 329

**Falschood 14 falsehede 1301 i 216
fan 17 fann fann 3315 16974 (?)

†far 72 ferre teor i 19

Fare 11 fare faru fare' fore' 1811'
4989' i 173' 271'

†Fast 69 faste feste 4192 6552 11159
13033 13351 i 55

Father 21 fader, art. 98

*30 face, feah (=feagen as in feallie)
5802' [fain]

†Fear 14 89 fer' fer' 11172 [oblique],
feere 2346 2688 2932 7286 [oblique,
all for feere] i 57' 90', art. 87

Feast 19 feste 908 6660 8067 8072
8145 8886 i 182, fest 6658 French

†fe 14 feo feoh i 293 [cattle] mo-

nosyllable contracted

*feel 91 fel' 9332 pres., 9338 pres.
feere see fere

39 fele fola 8793 [many]

*fell 91 fell' 2112 subj.

†Fellow 18 Icelandie felagi felæve
2550 16512 397' 655' 1627' 4248'
4366' 6967' 16490' felæu 650 1194
2626 2657 4257 7605 7624 7668
16489 16514 16516 16527 16531,
felæw' 652, felæw' 892

fellowship 8 91 felæwship' 476 430

3 Ferre fere ferea fera fevere' 4748'
4815' 6506' 8989' [in all these
cases the word means companionship
rather than companion; it is the
German gefährted, properly der mit-
fahrende, compare English wayfarer]

[Feminine of Adjectives] art. 37

*fern 14 ferne fearn 10569'

FETCH 98 fette

few 39 fave lace feawa feawa 641 7432'

*fidde 5 fithol fithele 298

*Fill 16 filled fyll 1530' 7282' i 254

FILTH 16 fithe filth' i 174

*find 91 fynd' 15408

Finisterre 88 Fynister

*Fire 14 fyr' fyr fur' fyr' 2921 2935
2948 [fure furese seem to be oblique
forms only]

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. + Adjective. † Indeclinable. \ Uncertain Origin.
**fish 14 fissh3e? fisce fisce fisce' 180
[oblique with omitted e: is likened to a fish’ that’s watisries]
Fist 17 fisst fest fyst 6374 4273 rh.
brest, 6216 rh. list, 14217 rh. best,
17329 rh. test, art. 16 fishe i 175 obl.
fit 17 fitt fitt 4182 5624 rh. wit
fleas 23 flean fleen
FLEET 3 flete flota i 314, art. 14 flete
fleot i 187
**FLESH 14 fissh3e fissh3e i 342
Flight 17 fliht flyht fhuh’ flht’ fhht’
990 rh. knight, ii 327 rh. night, art.
16 flihts ii 373’ printed flight
Floor 17 foor flor florr 3471, flor(e) ii 326
rh. sewor(e) ii 337, art. 91 flor’,
i 337, probably belongs to art. 17
and should have no final e.
fly 4 flye fleoge flyge 4350 14582 10178'
FOAL 3 foole folo i 314
*Foe 14 fo fthon fa i 116, pl. foone
foos ags. fa, Bosw., art. 23
*Fold 14 foode fulud fald 514’ i 16’
*Folk 14 fooles folo ii i 165, art. 25
*fond 91 fonda’ 9284
Food 3 91 foode foda fode’ 7463’, rh.
good ii 362’ iii 26’ 30’ fode five or
six times in Gower
*Foot 14 foote fot fot’ 11499 iii 149’,
pl. feet ags. fct, art. 26
†FOR 72 for for i 59 to rhyme with
bore, ii 239 to rhyme with forlore,
iii 308 rh. more
forbear 88 forbere
*forbid 91 forbeal’ 9635
Force 19 force 3910, art. 91 forc3e
3910 [for leeful is with force forc’
to schowve], art. 91 force 7771 9171
9709 10214 10304 13548 13718'
17000 (rh. core) French, ii 393 rh.
hors
For-, 106
†FORE 72 forso forso, aforon ofor
iii 32’, afor i 364, toforf tofor, toforn
i 204 to’for’ i 59, befor’ i 138, art. 90
for’ i 59 117 138 etc. forso i 32 204
FORTH WITH 108 [with]
Fortune 19 fortune 15487 15727 15943
16209 i 22 (4 cases) French
†foully 69 foule ful’ fullic 16964
†foul 30 foule ful’ ful’ fule’ 6645
6664’
*FOUNDER s. 8 founder i 161
†four 90 foure 2141 3883 13388
†FRE 29 freo fri i 107’
†frend 29 fremede 10743
†freshe 30 fresche fresche’ frech’
fresh’o 2388 6562 2733 10698
*Friar 89 frer’ 208 7315, frere 7252
7254 7268 7264 etc., art. 87
friend 25 freend pl.
*friendship 8 friendship freondescope
430
†funke 18 Ger. funke iii 18’ [spark]
†gable 18 gable Gothic gibla, German
giebel, Danish gavl 3571’
Gall 3 galle gaalla galle’ 6522’ 11956’
12725’ 15833’ i 303’ ii 177
Game 15 game gamen gamen’ gome’
game’ 3405 14701’, acc. 855’, in
14244’ i 94’, gam’ 2288 3741
gan 109 [auxiliary]
gap 11 gapp geapu (Bosw.) 1061 1647’
*Gate 14 gate great get’ gate’o 14144’
OTHER 98 gader
Gear 3 gere gearch garea 367? 354?
ger 2122’? art. 88
[Genitive Case] art. 101, [Genitive of
Nouns] art. 21 and 28
get 91 get’ 9819
*Gift 16 gifte gift get 9187 5685’
12203’, gyfte i 276’, for-gyfte iii 372’
*give 91 giv’ give’ 223 7455 7464 7457
9401 9403 14319
†GLAD 30 gladde glad i 211
†16 Gleede gled 1999’ 15870’ i 280
[red hot coal]
glose 4 glose glose 7374’ 7502’
*GLOVE 16 glove glof i 351’
go 109 [walk], art. 111 [elided]
*godess 91 goddess 930
*GODHEAD 14 godhede i 364
*Gold 14 golde gold’ gold 12138,
nom. ii 366’
†GOLDEN 30 golde golden ii 356’
*goodness 91 goodness 7385
goose pl. geese 26 gese ges
*gown 91 goun’ 93
Grace 19 91 grace 16219 3071’ 14132’
i 9, art. 91 grac’ 1175, 6842, gras
15924’ rh. Thomps French
Grame 3 grama grame’ 1333’ [grief]
*Grave 14 grave grauf 2780’ ii 114’
†Great 30 grete great great’ 4754
9100 9848 10783 15885’ i 125 ii 345,
gret 341 439 749 1159 1247 1401
2485 4814 5100 etc. great i 70
†Green 29 grene grene’ grene’ 2937 3876
**Ground 14 grounde grund grund
7657’ i 111
*grove 14 91 grov’ great 1690, grove
[oblique only]
guess 109 gesse [think]
†Guess 18 gesse gesse Dutch gissen,
Swed. gissa, iiii 211’ i 105’
had liever 109 hadde lever

* Exceptional.  ** Exceptional oblique: + Adjective.  † Indeclinable.  ‡ Uncertain Origin.
† hairy 30 90 hairo hæren 14151
* half 16 halfe halfe healf i 8' 17' on other half i 77
† halfing healftunga iii 206 [halfwise]
* Hall 16 halfe heall halle' 10394 ii 205' art. 91 Hall' 9962 10400
* Hand 17 honds hando hand' hond' 13788 [this is acc. and all the other instances cited are oblique, so that this is not properly an exceptional word, hand hondo are the common forms] hand fand 4113 hond fond 5026 hond bond 10065
† Hard 69 harde hearde i 220
Hare 3 hæro hara 191' 686' 1812' 15167' ii 93'
Harp 4 harpe hearpe harpe 6039
3 Hiero hoerma 552' [hinge] herre iii 36'
Haste 19 haste i 252 French
* 14 haithide ii 245
Hate 7 hate heto hateo 6331' 13826' 16074', art. 91 hate' 13640
haunch 19 haunchhe 3279 French
* have 91 hæw 888 909 921 1257 2774
9210 9277 9308 10371 10594 10853
11559 11456 11530 14140 14142 and almost always; generally hav' in Gower, except, of course, at the end of a line
haw 3 have haga 6240' 14270'
he 103 [one indeterminate and mark of gender], art. 11 elided
* head 14 heed heafud hæfð hæde' hæfeld' 10404 heved 12294 [heed seems to be only oblique]
heard 87 heere
Heart 4 herte heorte heorte' heorte' herrer' 955 956 1146 2651 6354 etc. (40 cases), art. 91 hert 10526
8062 16301 9113 (7 cases), art. 21
Heat 11 hete hate hateo hateo' 12448' 12506' 13336' 13453'
heath 17 heeth hæð 6'
**heaven 14 hevene hefon heovene' heofne' heofne', of 7588', in 9513', art. 21
hedge 7 hegge hege 16704
* Heed 16 heede hyd 305' 8611' 10926'
12363' 13178', art. 91 heed 7483
12987, i 82'
* Heel 16 helo helo i 17' i 210'
†9 heede gehende? heede' 3199
3401 3487 [courteous]
Height 11 heighte heighDo 2921', rh. 
bright (brighte ð) 4432, rh. right
17298 [this is an error, it rhymes with to my sight, which may have been an error for sightæ]
4 heire here here' 12061' [hair-cloth]
11 Hele hælo hele' hæle' 1273' 3104'
15531' [heath]
* Hell 16 'hele' hell hellæ 660 ? ii 116', art. 21
* Help 16 91 helpe help hellæ 9202
i 236, art. 91 helpe' 10773 hell 11983 i 30
Hen 17 hen henn 178
† hence 73 hennes hens heanon heonane heonene' hene' hines' 10972 14102, art. 72 hene heonan 3887'
herb 19 herbe 11344 French
* herberg 6 herberw herberwh herbergh herbergeh herberwe' herrberghe' 405 767 4117 4143 11347
Herd 7 herde hirdæ 605 12120, art. 16 hierd i 340 should be hierde
† Here 72 her leer her hero hereo' 6583 6591 6595 6624 14346' heere
1821' 3774' 7370', art. 87
heritage 19 heritage 10046 11867
French
* 14 herne ern 11433' [eagle]
* Heste 16 hees heste' hæse' 3588 by-
heste 4457' ii 85 hest 11376 8004? [behest command]
9 hevenriche heofourice i 265' [king-
dom of heaven]
3 Heve hiwa 9659' [servant]
* 14 his hig i 9' [haste]
* Hierarchy 98 gerarchie
† high 30 highe heath hæch' hæhge' heih' heze' 7474 8011 8082 12436'
14055 high' 11047 11085 high' 14202 14867
† high 69 hye heahe 2077 3243' highe
ii 35'
Hilt 4 hille i 328'
hind 3 hyne hina 605' 13247' [servant]
* Hind 16 hinde hind ii 45' [deer]
hip 4 heepe heope hiope 15158' [berry]
* Hire 16 hyre huyre' byre hure' 6590'
7555' 16938' iii 352
his 103 [of it]
Hither 98 hider
hive 7 hyre hyre (inc. gen.) 16878 7275'
hyre see heve
* hold 91 hold' 9364
* hole 14 hole hol hol', in 13209
**holm, 14 -holme -holm, of 4284
*Home 14 home ham ii 7
Homicide 19 homocide 14978 French
** hood 14 -hede -hod -hods' -ede' -had'
Hope 3, 91 hope hopa hopæ 12798
2437 10502 12606' i 227, art. 91 hop' 88 9548

* Exceptional.  ** Exceptional oblique.  + Adjective.  † Indeclinable.  § Uncertain Origin.
*hopper 8 hopper hoppere 4034 4037
*horse 14 horse hors iii 259, art. 21, pl. ags. hors hors' horses', art. 25
†holye 69 holye ii 28' 301'
hose 4 hose hose' hose' 3931', hosey ags.
hosan, art. 23
host 19 hoste oste 753 6868 16936.  
host ost 829 3116 12591 12625, 11007 12530 rh. wost, 16983 rh;  
gost, French
hour 19 houre i 9 French
**House 14 house hus hus' 5934 i 294
 hour that 108 [however that]
4 houre hufe 909' [hat cap]
*Hue 14 hewe hewe' hewe' 1366
†hughe 19 hughe French abuge i 236
hunter 3 hunte hunte' hunnte' 2020 [a line not in the Harleian 7334] 'hunt 2014 bad line, 2630
hunt' as
Husband 3 housbond housebond hus-
bonde husbonde' housbonde' 6034'
6062' 14978' 5612' 5959' housbond
6085 8597 (6107?) housbond 16850,  
art. 91 hous'bond' 8574
I 45 yk ich etc., art. 98
*16 ighte ight i 375' printed ight,
[possession]
†til 30 yfle yfle ufele' uvel' ille' 4182
image 19 ymage i 34 ii 178 French
[Imperative] arts. 57-59
[Imperfect Indicative] arts. 53-55
[Impersonal Verbs] art. 67
†In 69 inne inne 41' 10891 12809
ther'innen i 224, with-inne i 30
[Infini"tive] art. 60
-ing 17 -ynge -ynge -ung -ing, ing'
rarely -inge generally, -inge' almost
invariably. The more usual ending
in Chaucer is certainly -ynge. The
termination -ynge occurs frequently
at the end of a verse and in most
cases rhymed with an infinitive
vanyshyng [acc.] 2362 rh. plur.
-pres. ind., envynssyng [acc. after
thurgh] 9934, flesyng 16779, re-
joysyng 17178, [the other cases cited
are oblique]. In Gower the termina-
tion is generally -inge, less fre-
cquently -ing; in the latter case the
accent is sometimes thrown back, 
asinge i 171, bakkylinge i 213', caro-
linge ii 53', childylinge iii 211, comyngs
ii 29' 33', compleynyngs i 237', gruc-
chylinge i 234, knaulyngings i 123' ii
25' iii 34', losyngs i 65' 213', likyngs
i 65' 173', lokinys i 65', mishandl/ing
i 189, spekylings iii 252, tidyngs i 327,
ii 243' 355, wylwylinge i 355', wyp-
inges ii 122, wrytynge i 4 iii 104; be-
ginhng rh. spring iii 104, knauly-
ing i 3', teynging i 95, all accent
on the last syllable; hunting i 53,
liking iii 319, weyning i 107 103, 
writing i 5 accenteted on the first;
excuses of i 107, hunting as i 53, 
sheding of i 316 364 accenteted on
the last, are apparently cases of elision.
†-ing, 64 -ynge -ynge, -ende, for the
most part -ynge; in some cases how-
ever it is rhymed with the infinitive
mood, and we must either suppose
the participle to end in -ynge, or else
the infinitive to have lost its termi-
nation. [Probably -ynge is the old
and -ynge the abridged form] wonyng
390, lyggyng 1013, romyng 1073,
dwellyng 1421, rayhynng [several
MS. read naslyng] 2505, wynsyng
3263, sensing 3341, abydnyng 3595,
walkynng 3595, knoynyng 4225, yma-
gynyng (rh. thing) 8474; romyng
10092, fastynyng 13778, sittyng 502?,
lyvyng 903?, lotlynyng 12114', thun-
deryng (rh. to sprynge) 2176', glitter-
yng(e?) rh. byryng(e) inf. 2892, styr-
yng(e) rh. to sprynge(e) 3673, wepy-
yng rh. byryng inf. 8790, swellyngyng
(rh. byryng inf.) 12207, lenyngyng
rh. synge inf.) 14927. See -and.
INN 9 inne inne inn iiii 314'
 inquire 88 enquere
Intent 19 entente 1499 7138 14986
7212' 8610' 8737 11934' etc. entent
3173 4567 13234 5350' 15123' i 101
French
into 108 [until]
†INVISIBLE 19 invisible ii 247 French
in with 108 [within]
Ire 7 90 ire yrre (inc. gen.) irre' 1661
1764 7503 14072 17210 17220 ir'
7575' rh. squire' 7671
†jade 18 jade 16298'
Joy 19 joye 1873 1875 12507, art. 91
joy' 9929 French
judge 19 jugge jugge 12317 12391
13540 13573 French
judgment 19 jugment 780 820 etc.
French
JUSTICE 19 justice iii 201 French
†keen 29 kene cene kene' 2875' 9633'
15745'
*Keep 14 kepe 9394 keep 400' 10272
keep' 6207'; at 506' should certainly
be keep
*Key 16 keye cwe 9918' 13147' ii 188

* Exceptional;  ** Exceptional oblique.  † Adjective.  ‡ Indecinable.  § Uncertain Origin.
Long 69 longe lange 1545 14847
15596', art. 108 long on [along of, because of]
*lordship 8 lordship' blafordscape
1627, rh. felsauschipe
**Lore 16 lorr lar lare' 4762' ii 81
lose 98 lost
†loud 30 lowde hlud 10582 [inflectional]
†Loudly 69 loude hlude 716', louthe (from another Saxon form, hloede) 17026', art. 91 lowd' 15024
Love 12 love lufo lufo love' lufe 369', 20 674 6096 6336 14569 (5 cases), art. 91 lov' 1137 1756 1807 2226
2262 2308 2316, etc., etc. (17 cases).
In Gower e is regularly pronounced
*lover 5 lover 1381 ?
†Low 30 lowe loh' laih' lage' 3696' 6783' i 84' ii 294'
†Lowly 69 lowe lage' loh' 1407' 17297
LUNG 4 lunge lunge iii 100
†-ly 69 -liche, alike i 268, bealliche ii 3, comunliche ii 226, duelliche iii 245, evenliche ii 179', openliche ii 328, parfitliche ii 185, priveliche ii 336, privelich iii 252, unpropriche ii 129, sodeincliche ii 336, solempnliche iii 329, verclite i 72
**16 lynde lade lyden [speech] 10749
*Madame 91 madam' 7786 7792 [see dame], art. 19 Madame iii 300
MAGIC 19 magique iii 128 French
Maid 15 mayde magden maednen maiden' maide' maigden' nom. 8253 12055 14878, acc. 6468 i 154, mayden 2202 2307 6469 i 154
*Maidenhood 14 maydenhehe maigdenhëd' 4450' 5651' 8713' 8742' 12054' ii 55 230'
3 Make maca macche make' 5667', 2558' 5120' 12152' 15203' [mate, spouse] ii 204' [form]
male 19 male 12494 French
*malice 91 malic' 8950 9098
*Mannhood mankede 1287' i 82' 144'
Manner 19 manner 10501' 11737' manner
10452 11742 11745, art. 89 maner' 71 2546 3681 8395 16332, etc.
French
many 11 mayne meigne menige men-geo mane' 1260 7627 10310' 14459'
many one 109
MAFFA MUNDI 19 mappemounde iii 102' French
Mare 4 mare mere myre 17010' 4053' 693' mere 543'
**Mark 16 merke meare marke' merrke' 1192' marche' i 245, art. 17 mark marc [money] 12954
§mari 18 marte', German mergel, Latin marga, French marge, 3460
*Marriage 19 marriaug' 3550 9560 9663, art. 19, i 101' French
MARVEL 19 merveille i 327 ii 236 French
Mass 4 masse masse' messo' 7331 9763 14662 15047
mate 98 make which see
MATTER 19 matere i 43' 146' 343 365
ii 207 383 iii 137 French
MAURICE 91 Morie' Moris i 206 211 213 191
Maw 3 mawe maga 4906' 15234' 14411' may 65 [all its parts]
me 103 me for i
Mead 7 mete meadu 89' 6443' 10105' 11459' [the last three instances are oblique]
meal 9 mele melu mele [flour] 4040
3937' 4243', art. 90 mel' 4051? 4068?
*meal 14 male mel mel' mel' [repast] 4886, mel mel 7356' 16319'
§mean 18 mone Old Fris. mone, ohg. meina i 97' iii 285' 333'
[Measures, Kinds, etc., Syntax for]
art. 100
Meat 7 mete mete mett mete' 127
15910 10932', art. 91 met' 136 345 9795 10384
Medicine 19 medecine 10254 French
*Meed 16 meed med mede' 772' 3380'
†§ Meek 31 meke 3262 6016' 14653'
Gothic mucks, North Friesic meek
‡meet 29 mete mate i 166', unmete i 163
7 mele mele iii 21' [cup]
men 26 men pl.
mermaid 7 meremayd mere mere' 16756
†fmerry 30 merye mirig murie' muri'
208' 8491'
MESSAGE 19 message i 288 French
Mnw 19 mewe Fr. mue, i 326' French
*MIDDLE 14 middle middel i 120
*Might 17 91 might, miht meht
mheets' mihht' mihhte' 1789 2237
and almost always, might' 10447'
†MILD 29 mild milde mild, i 196, un-
milde i 84'
*Mile 16 myle mil mile' 12816 14687
14127', art. 91 mil' 14102
Milk 17 milk mile mole milc' mile' 360 rh. sük}
Name \(3 \text{name name' name' name'} = 1439 \text{1588 12030 12384 etc. name' was 15128 perhaps we should read name' is, art. 91 name' 14864 15128' \}

\[ \text{nature 19 nature ii 17 French nave 11 nave nauft 7848' [of a wheel]} \]

\[ \text{navy 19 navie i 197 French neat 25 neat pl.} \]

\[ \text{neath 72 -nefte, benethe benipan i 35, underneth underninan i 258} \]

\[ \text{Neck 3 nekke hnecca 238 1220 3916 5859 etc., nekbon 6488? nekkebon 16548} \]

\[ \text{Need 16 need need' need' ned' 306' [rh. need which should be heed, all the other instances are oblique]} \]

\[ \text{Needle 16 nedel nedel iii 20 perhaps should be needle} \]

\[ \text{Needs 72, 73 needs neede needes neede' neede' 1171 7887 10179 13127 16720, i 108, art. 69 need 9208 9825' 13208, ned' 14520, art. 72 need i 147} \]

\[ \text{29 neisse hise nese i 284'} \]

\[ \text{Negative Sentences] art. 107. [Negative Verbs] art. 68} \]

\[ \text{nephew 5 neveu 15890, 'is from the French neveu not from ages. nefa, whence comes the old English and modern colloquial form neve, nevie'} \]

\[ \text{ness (termination) 16 -ness, -ness -nes -nis -ness' (uniformly) besynesse 14636 ii 11, besynes 13140, boldenesse obl., brighteness 12089', buxonnesse i 87, cleanness 508? curnedobesse obl., drunkenesses 5196, faireness obl., falseness 12904', goodnes 7395, goodness obl., haliness i 874', hardynesse 1927, hetheness obl., heynesse 5565' 3808, holiness obl., homynesse obl., idelness ii 41, levednes 12415, lustynes 1941' newefanginess, 10923', rightwisnesse i 7, sehamfastness 842', seekeness obl., sikereness i 105, sikernesse obl. in 105', stedfastnesse obl., warneinness obl., werynese i 195, wickedness 5043', wilderness i 193, witnesse obl., witnesse i 223, worthiness 2594, worthynesse obl., wrecchedness obl., woodnes 2013 13911 should be woodnesse, ydelnes ydelnesse 1942 11930'} \]

\[ \text{Nettle 4 nettle nettle i 173} \]

\[ \text{Now 29 neve niwe niwe' 430 888'} \]

\[ \text{Nice 19 nice 12421 12770 12575' ii 22 [foolish]} \]

**mill 16 mells mylen 3921', millen 4309, art. 91 myll' 4019**

* miller 8 mellere 547? 4044? 544 rh. mere, 3167 rh. forbere; miller 3923

3993 3998 4008 4094

* Mind 14 mynde mynd minde° 13347

4947 i 6' ii 55'

mire 7 myre myre 510' 6554' 16037'

Mirth 16 merithe mehr morthe' 768

[pl.F.,] 5981' [rh. of birth which should probably be of birth], art. 91

mirth' 9613

[Miscellaneous Notes] arts. 98 to 111

Mite 4 myte mite 1560' 7543' 12439' 12561'

* Month 14 monthe monad' monob' 27

iii 117 119 124 125

Moon 3 moone mona° 3515 4296, art. 109. mas. 9759 11599, monb' i 65', art. 21

*+ more 90 mor' mare mare' 98 827

976 1124 2742 7453 7679 9372

9489 13219 14791 14842, frequently in Gower, mor 7485 10648, 16255,

more 306 785 1577 2826 4049 4050

9107 14563; 804 3222 3519 6023

6313 9110 13322 14560 15774

16790 16813 16915 17072, more frequent than mor' in Gower, mor' more occur in successive lines i 44, art. 38

more 4 more more i 98' [mulberry ?]

* Morning 14 morn' morn' morgen morn' mor' morc' morwe' morwen 360 3236,

morwen 10099 morwe' 832 14710 1494, i 186 205

*morrow 91 morc' 824 [see morning]

art. 98

† Most 30 most 1 92 112

60 mot = must [all its parts]

* Mote 14 mote mot i 179

Mother 98 moder; art. 21 mo?res =

mother's

Mould 4 molde molde i 217'

Mouth 14 moutha moutha i 149' 295'

[mouth of an animal]

moutha 3 moutha moutha Dortemouthe

391' [mouth of a river]

† Much 30 moche micel' mucel 1810 1914 9117 2928 16256 mochil-(a-

el) 17269 17270, art. 109 [great]

*Mule 14, mule mul, 19 mule Fr.

mule i 210

Multitude 19 multitude ii 201 French

* Murder 14 mordre morder i 270

myself 46 myself 11735, myselfe 9334

11674, myselfen 805 14500

109 nale [alehouse]

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique.  Adjective. † Indecinable. § Uncertain Origin.
niece 19 nece 14511 14536 14744 French
* Night 17 nighte niht niht' niht' 16704 [12746] is oblique, and probably the rhymes should be night' night might; night is the common form], art. 25 night pl.

Nightingale 4 nightingale nihtegale 98' 3577 15245' 17068' i 54'
*91 nobles French noblesse 15504
† None 108 [not]
‡ Nones 75 for the none s ii 72'
 Nose 11 nose nasu nosu 152 559 7846, art. 91 nos 123 [omit fid] 705 2169
 nought forthy 105 [nevertheless]
[Nouns] arts. 1 to 28
‡ Now a days 73 now on days 13324
‡ Now then 72 noute the nüja nüpe' 464' Noun 4 none s iii 281'
* Nurse 91 norice 5881, noris 5494
 Nuth 11 nutte-tre hntu hntu ii 30, nutteshole ii 20'
oak 17 ok ook ae 2292
† Oak 16 ore ar iii 322'
* Oath 14 oths as a's 1141, oth 3291? ooth 120 should probably be othes [?], supra p. 264.'
† Of 108 sign of gen., of = by; of that = because
19 offrende i 73' French
† Ofte 72 ofte oft (Gothic ufta, Danish ofte) ofte' offte' 1269 9541; ofte-tyme 52 358, ofte-tymes 1314; ofte-sithe 1879; ofte sithes 487 ags.
ofte's offte-sipe' often-time ii 287?
or 19 ore iii 165 French
† Old 30 olde eald ald ald' alde' olde' ald' 4470 9830 11465, old 12129 14128 14155 14160, art. 38 elder eldest
† Once 73 ones ane one' aenes' aenes' 7259 16767 ii 106
 3 onde onda i 75', ii 260' [hatred]
† Owe 29 one s iii 231 from ags. definite form ana=solus; iii 213? art. 30 ii 255 every-uch-one ii 45, ar 105
[Order of Words, Peculiar] art. 110
*16 ore ar are' ore' are' 3724' [honour, favour]
organs 27 orgon pl.
† Other 108 [or], otherwise [at one time and at another]
† Out 69 owe ute ut 11407'
* Outrier 8 outrydere utridere ridere' 166?
 owe 60 [all its parts]
Owl 4 owe ule 6663'

Ox 3 oxe oxe oxe 8083 13769 16490 16513, art. 23 ozen
्Pack 18 packe Dan. pakke, Swed.
packa, Ger. pack, ii 312' 393'
pair 19 90 peryre 4384 2123 French
Pan 4 panne panne 13243 13138' 7196', art. 91 pan rh. man 1167 15438
[in the two last cases =brain-pan, head]
[Partieples] arts. 61 to 64, [Partieples, past, used adverbially] art. 109
[Partieles, Various] art. 108
Passage 19 passage i 223 French
Patience 19 91 pacience 1085', i 302 paciens 16312
Pease 3 pese pisa ii 275'
peer 59 peere 4023 10989 rh. here which should probably be her, 16336 rh. chaunteleere which should have no e, 15540 rh. deere, but probably in all cases it should be written peer as in 12907
Person 19 persone 15428, person 10339 French
Pestilence 19 pestilence ii 346 French
Philosopher's 21 philosophe
[Phrases, Peculiar] art. 109
Physic 19 phisik 413 2762 phisique i 265 French
pillowbeer 7 pilscebeer pyle 696
Pipe 4 pipe pipe 567
4 pirie pirige 10091' 10099' [peartree]
pismire 4 pissemyre -mire 7407'
*pith 6 pith pitha 6057'
Place 19 place 7262 9963, art. 91 plac' 15024 French
plant 19 plante 11344 French
*play 5 play plegra plæge' 1127' 8906' 9404' 14528'
*pleaunsce 91 pleasauce French plaisance 8840', plaisansa 8794
**plight 16 plight plhht plht' plhht' plhht' 12880', art. 17 plight This word is always a monosyllable in Gower, but is continually spelt with a final e, as are also (wrongly) the words rhymed with it, e.g. appetite, spirit, parfet; i 129' 259'
[Plural of Adjectives] arts. 39 to 44,
[Plural of Nouns] arts. 22 to 23
poke 3 poke poca 7778 4276'
Pomp 19 pompe 8804 French
*poor 19 90 par' 4536 4540 16308
pore 232 480 490 539 704 13594
14128 16307 French
†poorly 69 pore 8919?]
 Pope 5 pope papa pape' 8678 263' 645', art. 91 pop' 6002

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. § Uncertain Origin.
Chap. IV. § 5. PROF. CHILD ON CHAUCER AND GOWER.

4 posepose (Bosw. after Sommer)

*praise 91 prays 9420

*preface 91 prefas French, préface 12199

[Prefixes] art. 106

[Present Indicative] arts. 48 to 52

*press 91 press French pressse 10563

Frick 3 prikkhe pricea 4393

Pride 3 pride prtya pryt prude' prute' 897' 9867' 14514' 15674' etc.

*prince 91 prin' 4642


prose 91 pros 466 [wrong reference prose 15342' 15345']

†prond 29 pround pryte prut 7509', proud 3863' 3167?'

PURCHASE 91 purchase ii 331' 351' (old French pourchas), is not to be confounded with the verb

†pure 90 pure 1281' 12016

PURSE 91 purs' iii 155, purs ii 298, this word derived from the Middle Latin bursa probably does not come to us through the French bourse; it has dropped the e, like Swed. and Dan. bors, and Germ. bors, (which is found as well as borse)

*91 py'l 6944' [pillage]

*16 pysn pin pine5' 6369' [wo, grief, pain]

*Queen 17, 91 queen generally, queene
cwen quen' queene' cwen° 15834' 973' 4581' 6630' 11358' 14892' 15834' etc.

all the other instances cited are oblique and queen is the common form, art. 16 queu i 46 [27 cases in Gower] quen' ii 212, iii 388

*queen 16 queuene cwoern 15660

†31 racle 17210' 17271' 17221' [rash]

rake 4 rake race 289'

*69 rathe hari'ge 3756' 14510' [quickly]

*receive-91 receyve 9576

*14 Rede red i 45', art. 91 red' 14205

[advice]

reck 98 recche

reeve 3 reeve refe rev'e 589' 617' 3901 4323

reign 19 regne 4813, art. 91 regn' 1626

French

remembrance 19 remembranc 9855

French

request 19 requests 8061', request 7980′

French


lest' 8722'?, art. 16 reste i 75' and generally in Gower

†Rich 19 riche 866' 1913' 4814

French riches 27 richesses riches pl

†right 30 righte riht iii 129

*rid 16 rinde rind i 152

†ripe 29 ripe ripe 17015

*Road 16 rode rad i 110 (?)

*ROAR 14 rore rar iii 74

*ROE 6 roo raha ra ii 95

Rome 19 Rome 673' 4576' 5388 10545

c., to 182' ii 195' 196', Rom' 5386

French

rood 16 roode rod rode° 6078' i 198

†Root 18 rote roote Icelandic rot, Gothic

vaurses, augs. wrot 13389', 2', 329' 425'

rose 4 rose rose 1040' 15448

*rough 30 roue hrow hreoh rah'
rage' ruh' 12789'

†Row 16 rowe raw 2858' i 50

rubric 98 rubrique

Rudder 98 rother

Rush 4 resshe visshe visse she resce risce

i 160' ii 97' 284'

†Ruth 16 rewthe routhe (as if from)
hrew9' roue' Icelandic hryg9' 916

8438 etc., art. 91 reveth' 10752

rue 7 reye ryge (Bosw.) 7328'

†saint 37 seinte fem. [supra p. 246, note]

Sake 11 sake sau cele sak°' 10039' 6945'

7299' 7314' 8131', art. 91 sak' 539' 1319' 1802

SALe 4 sale selle ? old German sala, i 29

*SALve 16 salve sealf i 8'

†SAME 69 same same=pariter, ii 240'(?)

sauce 19 saucz 129 335

French

*save 91 sav' 7289' 7449' 7857' 13717

14133

Saw 11 sawe sau sau' 1165' 1528'

6241' 12619'

scathe 7 skathe sceoØ (inc. gen. Bosw.)

448' 9048'

†29 scoene scene scene' shene° 115'

1511' [bright]

*16 schipne seypen 2002 [shed, stable]

11 schonende scandu scendo shande°

15316' [harm]

School 11 scole scolu 7768' 9443' 14909

14915

*SCORE 16 score scor i 176

*SCORN 14 scorne scernr Icelandic

skarn, old German scern, iii 226

Sea 4, 7 see sae (inc. gen.) sa° always

monosyllable 278 700' 4914 4965'

etc., art. 3 i 35

†SECOND 30 secounde i 159 but the

form seconde is found in old French

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. § Uncertain Origin.
secrets 27 sacre pl.
*seek 91 seek* 14109, art. 98 seehe
†Seldom 72 selde veld selde 10125
3503', seldewhanne ni, 90, selved ni 96
self 46 self selve selven
*sentence 91 sentence 308' 14974', sentens 17352
service 19 service 122 French
*set 14 sete siet set i 1565
Shadow 11 schadwe shawe stedaceu 4430
4365' 6968' shadwe he 4430 it 45
shall 60 [all its parts], = owe art. 108
Shame 11 shane scamu shame* 12433
13335 1557' 3052*
*shape 14 shape sceap iii 28
†sharp 30 sharp scearp ii 82
she 111 omitted
shear[s] 4 schere scare 15452'
*sheep 14 schepe sccep speep* 506' should certainly be scheep, cf. 6014
13766 where the same rhyme occurs
508 16137, art. 25 scheep pl.
Sheet 4 scheete scyte scete 12807'
*shell 16 shelle shale scel ii 20'
shin 4 schyne scine 388 ?
*ship 8 skim-shipe-scipe [generally -ship'], the length of the words
compounded with this termination may perhaps account for the final e
being soon dropped. *felawship* 476,
friendship' freondscepe 430, lord-
schipe hlafordscepe 1627, worship
woerthscepe 12560. 7 -ship e dron-
kishhippe iii 17 worshippe ii 65 kinde-
ship felship occur in a couplet i 170
but doubtless should have a final e
*Ship 14 shippes cep scip' schip' 5032
iii 295
shire 4 schire seire 358' 586'
*Shirt 16 scherte schurts (as if from)
sceort sceyt 15608; 1568 and 9859
(rh. herte); schert 6768 (rh. povert)
16066 (rh. hert doubtful), art. 91
schert 748 2548 6768
shiver 98 chever
*shoe 14 sho schoh scoo i 15 iii 236 is
a contraction, art. 23 schoon schoos
shop 3 schopp pe scoppa? 4376 4374' [it
is very uncertain whether this is the
same as the ags. sceoppa, treasury]
*short 30 shorte scort scort short' 6206, schort 748 2548, schort 93
*short 14 shotte scot i 234
Shrew 3 schrewere scoawa 17083, art. 91
shrew 7024
*shrift 14 shrifte script i 66
16 sibredre sibreden [relationship] iii
254' merely drops final n, like art.
16, so apparently met-rede iii 68

Side 4 side side side* 1277 2736 9808
9821, etc.
†-side 72 -side, side omsidan? ii 85',
besiden besidan ii 379, beside iii 82
siege 19 sege 939, art. 91 sef 16865
French
sieve 4 sive sife i 294 (?)
*sign 14 sighhe sig? 10811
†Sight 17, 91 sighte shis* 2118
2335 3949 10280, art. 91
sight [a common form] 3395 7653
etc., art. 16 ii 243', art. 108 [mul-
titude]
sign 19 signs 10024 10087 French
[Silent Final E] arts. 84 to 92
*Sin 16 symsyn synn synne* 5010 6773 etc.
†Since 73 synnes syns sins siot'an siot' 6551 8047 9341 9396 14284 14822,
syn sin 10181 12226, art. 72 siththen
6826 15657, siththe 4478, sith 8225
7821, seth 5234
Sir 90 sir' French sire, 9542 12527
13030 13035 16274 16428 16516
etc., sir 7056, sire 16253, 357 (rh.
schire) both forms occur in Gower
sisterhood 14 susterhede iii 278'
sisters 24 sistron sustres
*14 Sitho si's* 9183 5153'
5575' i 160 [time turn]
skill 9 skilles seile i 16 skill found only
when rh. will probably should have the
of, art. 91 skill i 42 49, 8 cases
rhyming to will, elsewhere skille (11
cases) wille, i 277 etc., so that we
should probably read skills wille in
the other instances
skink 89 scheme
‡Skull 18 skullc Old German scuilla
ags. sceill? 3933' 4305'
†slain 98 ialsawerk
*SLAUGHT 16 -slaught man-slaeht i
364' should be -slaughte
*Sleep 14 sleep sleep sleep* 1046
16498 i 81'
sleeper 8 sleeper sleeper 16377'
*"Sleeve 16 slef 13156' ii 213'
*Sleight 16 sleight sliS Icelandic slægð
1950 [the cases cited for sleighte are
all oblique] i 238 acc. i 198 nom.
§sling 18 slynes, as if from ags. sling.
16240'
slit 7 slitte slite 15'
*主旨 16 slouthe slouw* 4950 i 372
†69 smale smale ii 279'
†smartly 69 smarte iii 113'
*Smoke 14 smoke smuc smec* 5860' i
211'

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjectival. ‡ Indeclinable. § Uncertain Origin.
snake 3 snakes snaca iii 118'

snake 4 snare snare (Bosw.) [the word is not in Bosworth’s large dictionary, but is given in his small one on the authority of Leo’s Sprachproben 1838) 1492' 4991' 17669'

§Snout 18 snoute Danish snude, Swed. snyte, 14916', snwet 13691

Æ Soft 29 soft softe soft' softe' softe' 6994

Æ Softly 69 softe softe 2783

17 sohen soic soen soen 3985 [right of search, privilege]

(solace 91 solas solas solas solac Norman French solas, is rh. with caas 800, 16689 allane 9149 [French cas alas, las from lassus was in the older French variable according to the sex of the person uttering the exclamation, as lasse! fuit ele; halas! fuit-il. Palsgrave has both forms also. The distinction is not preserved in Chaucer, but the diversity in the spelling of the word may possibly be owing to the existence of these two forms]. 11114 rh. was 3654 rh. Nicholas; solace rh. place, Norman French place, 4144 15193

†Solemn 19 solemne 209 French

*Some 91 som' 9345

Son 10, 12, 91 some sunu sume' some' sume' 1065 11000 135669 son' 6733 7655 8524 8552 12345 15016 15889 16597 17250 etc, etc [none of these are convincing, the most so are 8524 & 16597]. In Gower e is regularly pronounced, son' i 317?

*16 Sonde sande sondre' 4809' 4943' 5246' 5469' etc. etc. i 212; etc. [message]

‡Soon 72 soone soma soma' 15769, eft- soone 16082' eftsones 6390, art. 91 son' 6733 7655 and almost always, art. 92 i 250

*Sooth 14 sothe soth sooth sooth' sooth' 12590 rh. to the, but perhaps adverb, 6183' sothe' i 31

*Soothsayer 8 soth(e)sayer iiii 164

*sore 14 90 sore sar sar' sore' 2745', i 310'

††t sore 14 69 sor' +2697 +3462, +sore 230 1396 6810 12657 12799

*Sorrow 16 sorve sorh sorhge' serrhe' 953 1221 etc.

*Soul 16 soul' sawel sawle' sawle' 2788 8435, etc (13 cases) [of the 5 specified, 3 are oblique] i 203 256, art. 91 soul' 658 14356

sovereign 37 sovereign fem.

sow 11 sowe sung 2921 bad line

Spade 11 spade spadu spad 555'

*Span 16 spanne spann 135 [acc. of dimension?] i 79'

spare 9 spare 759

STARK 3 starks spearca i 258

sparrow 3 sparrow sparrowa 628' 7386'

*Speak 9 spek' 9742 9747

Spear 9 spere spere' spere' 15289

164' 4879' spere' 2712?

*Speech 16 speche spece speche' 1373 2800 etc. [two instances cited are oblique], art. 91 spech' 16978

*Speed 17 spat' spat' spat' i 88, spale' i 90, art. 91 sped' sped' about equally often ags. sped

**spell 14 spele' spell' spell' 15301'

spouse 19 spouse 12072 12125 French

SPUME 19 spume ii 265 French

SPUR 3 sporo spura i 321 [Chaucer spores 475]

Stake 3 stak' staca 8580' 669'

§stall 18 stakal Icelandic stickr, Swedish stjelk, 3917'

**stall' 14 stallo stall' 8483'

Star 3 sterro storrora storrere' sterre' 2061'

start 61 [all its parts]

STEAD 7 stede steda style i 60 f.

*STEALTH 16 stelthe [as if from an ags.] stelth' i 349

Steed 3 stedro steda stedro 2159 2729

10484 15162, etc. art. 91 sted' 10438?

3 Steere steara ster' 4868' 5253' [helm rudder]

3 stelo stele stel' 3783' 6531' [handle, stel is given in the dictionaries]

*16 stempne stenn sten i 312 [voice] see stevene, art. 98

†Sten 29 stener steron sterne' 8341

16 Stevne stenf stenfe' stefne' 4381 [pl.] 1526' [oblique?] steven 10464

16777 [all doubtful r. heven] [voice] see stempne

Stick 3 tikka sticca 13193 13199

†Still 29 stillle stillle still' 10810'

11782' 16929'

†Still 69 stillle stillle 7782

stot 6 stot stot' 7125 7212 617'

*16 Stounde stund stundre' stundn' 1214' [short space of time] i 90'

STRAITLY 69 straitte Lat. stricte ii 354' iii 47'

* Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indeclinable. § Uncertain Origin.
**TILTH** 16 tilthe tilsh ii 168

Time 3, 91 tymé time time 44 722 864 4056 4448 etc. (24 cases), art. 91 tim' 9678 10327 10790 12976 etc. (14 cases) rh. tymé i 227 309 370 etc. In Gower é is regularly pronounced except only in ii 167

[Time, expressions for] art. 109
†to 108 [unto], sign of dat.
106 To- tohewen, toschrede etc.
*To 6 to' ta ii 143", art. 23 ton toos
†together 73 togederes togedere
togadere's togedde're 14117

Tongue 4 tongue tongue tongue 3894 5319 7232 13813, art. 91 tong' 10349 tongue 295
*tooth 14 tothe tos toph' 6184", art. 26 teeth pl.
†touching 64 touchand 7872
†Tow 17 tow tow 5671, ii 315
†Towards 73 towards towards towards' toward' toward' 11883 14121, toward 13544 14220 art. 72 tovàrd ii 13, toward i 122
*Town 14 town tun" 7936 11713 [towne appears to be only oblique]
†to 295 ii 293
*Trace 91 trace Norman French trace trasse, 1953 rh. atlas; traves 2141 rh. harnays Norman French harnas, harnois

trap 4 trappe trappe trappe 11653' 11939'

TREE 9 tre treow treo tre i 137
†trow 91 treow 526 1803 3665 9092 9111 10850 etc.
†True 29 trewe treowe trowwe' trowwe' 533 961, art. 91 trow' 10043, untrew e ii 224

trump 19 trump 2176 French

Truth 11 trouth trouth só trouthé' trowwe' 3502 6595 6633 6986 etc. (16 cases), art. 91 trouth' 10959 11071 11903, trouth 10262, in all 4 cases

Tun 4 tunne tunne tunne' 1996 5759 3992' 8091' i 321
†Twice 73 twyes twiwa twiggés' twie' twien' twi' twigges" 4346 5478 14958
†Unusually 69 uneaże uneaže unmame' unmethe 11659 13318 16037, art. 73 unmethe 5976 11048
†unto 108 [until]
†Unwieldy 29 unwedele unwylde = im-

potens 16187 3884 is pl. unwylde, i 312' iii 147'
†Up 69 uppe uppe up 10929' i 15', art. 108, [upon]

†UPRIGHTLY 73 uprihtes i 35'
**16 urpista uparist arisit' 1053 [arising]

use 91 us' ii 132 should be us rh. 
vverus(e) i 15 56, jus(e) ii 266, re-

fus(e) iii 298

vane 3 fane fana 8872 [Verbs] arts. 48 to 68

vessels 27 vessel vessealx vessels pl.
*vesture 90 vestur' 10373
vice 19 vice i 157 French

virgin 19 virgin e ii 186 French
*visage 91 visage' 630
*voyage 91 viage' 794

wake 4 wake waive wecche' 2960 2962
[liche-wake waking of the body, mo-

dern watch]

**Wall 14 walle wasll walle' 1970', 
1911' rh. coralle which should be coral, old French coral [both may have an oblique c], walle' 1990, walle 1921 1977 1980', art. 98 wove

wane 3 wane wana iii 304 wain a de-
fec? rh. Adrian e ii 307

3 wanhope ii 115 117 [despair]

War 9 werre werre woorre' werre' 5972 47' 1449' werr' 1289 f
*WArd 16 warde wardii 56'

-wards 73 -wardes, to-wardes i 5 122

159 etc., after-wards ii 356, afterward 
iii 37 39

ware 11 ware waru (Bosw.) 4560' 14467'
†ware 30 ware 16094' should be war
**wart 16 Wert' weart' 557

watch 4 wacche wacce ii 96 [see 

wake]

*Wave 14 wave wæg 4888 ii 105', 
art. 98

*Way 14 weye weye we' wey' wege' 793' 4805' contracted, art. 91 wey' 34, way 7118 14176' i 29

we 111 omitted

Weal 3 wele wela wole' 1274' 3103' 13350', art. 91 wel' 4542 8350 8847

*WEALTH 16 welthe [as if from an ags.]

wel' i 39'

*wear 99 wer' 8762 inf., art. 109

wear on

wesil 5 wesil wisel 3234

3 webbe webba 364 a webb a dyer
[weaver]

*14 Wedde wedd 1220' i 249 [pledge]

**Weed [dress] 16 weede wæd wede'

wede' 1008' 8730' i 221'

week 4 weke wicce wuce iii 116'

*WEIGHT 14 weighte wiht ii 276'

*Exceptional. **Exceptional oblique. † Adjective. ‡ Indecinmable. § Uncertain Origin.
*W. 16 wierd wyrd i 340 should be wierde
*welcome 91 welcom' 764 856 7382 7393
Well 3 welle well yyle well welle' 5597 7924 1535 11689', art. 91 well'
Wenche 4 wenche wenche wenchell' 3971 4165 4192 6944 etc.
*16 wene wen wena j 85' [doubt conjecture expectation weaning]
*16 wente ags. j 161' [way manner]
*14 were as if from ags. wer iii 253' [defence]
\{were\} 18, i 107 318' [worry]
\{wet\} 3 wete wata wate wate' 13115'
\{wet\} 30 wete wet wet' 2340
\{what\} 104 = why
7 Whête whate 5725 4312' 13863' 14278'
*whelp 14 whelpes whelp welp' 259'
\{When\} 72 wanne hwanne hwenne hwanne whanen' whone' etc. whanen' whann' 11718 14695 i 212 [seldom in Gower], whan 1 5 762 782 803 824 915 3054 3055 [frequent in Gower]
\{whence\} 73 whennes whanan whanna whanenn' whone' 12175 13750, whens 8464, art. 72 whenne i 198 when ii 46 iii 308
\{Where\} 72 wher whaw hwar wher' where' 323 344 9783 10134 etc. where 4556 7630' 9462 (less common both in Chaucer and Gower)
\{wherefore\} 72 wherefore 13631'
\{whether\} 98 weder
\{Which\} 30 whiche hwyle' woche' whicle' whille' 15896, which 4 2677 etc. i 135 ii 177 395', art. 104
*While 16 white whil' while' whil' 4226 8899 10004 etc. [all the cases cited are oblique, but as etc. is put after them there may be others direct] i 282 ii 54 79
\{While\} Whilst 72, 73 white' pau hwile' whil' 6352 13067 13854 15047 i 29 whites 13065, whil's i 345, whil 1362 6350 i 12
*Whip 14 whippe hweop 5757 9545' i 283'
*whistle 5 whistle whistle' 4153
*white 29 white hweite hwite hwite' whit' 775, the common form is whit 17065 283 3238 2180'

*Exceptional. ** Exceptional oblique. + Adjective. † Indeclinable. ‡ Uncertain Origin.
Chaucer's Pronunciation and Orthography.

Although much doubt must necessarily attach to the system of investigation here followed, and although in some few cases it has been necessary to help out research by theory, it has enabled us to arrive at a very definite and detailed result, which may be put to the test of practice. I have made the experiment of reading several hundred lines of Chaucer's prologue to large audiences, according to the system of pronunciation to which I have been here led, and it has been to me a considerable confirmation of my results, that these audiences generally, and those among them in particular whose previous studies had made them best qualified to judge, have expressed themselves satisfied with the oral effect, as giving a new power of appreciating the language and versification of the old master. It will be difficult to convey the proper impression by mere symbols, which the

*Exceptional.  **Exceptional oblique.  †Adjective.  ‡Indeclinable.  §Uncertain Origin.
reader will have to study, and which he will perhaps misrender, or at least occasionally stumble over, so that he will not so readily appreciate the system of pronunciation here advocated, as would be desirable for proper judgment. But to enable the reader who dares to face such an essay as the present, and breast the difficulty of a new notation, to understand in connection the isolated results here obtained, I shall in Chap. VII. give the whole of the familiar prologue to the Canterbury Tales in palaeotype as an example, interleaving it with a text in which I shall follow the Harleian MS. 7334 as closely as possible, in a systematised orthography. Before explaining this method, which might possibly be adopted with advantage in popular editions of Chaucer, and other authors of the xivth century, I shall give a short account of the results obtained in the preceding sections.

Probable Sounds of the Letters in Harleian MS. 7334, and hence generally in the xivth Century.

A long, (aa) or Italian a in padre, English a in father, psalm, far; possibly (aa) as in French âge, and German mahnne, aal, when broadly pronounced.

A short, (a) Italian a in anno, or as some pronounce a in cask, past, quite distinct from a in cat, man.

AA the same as A long, (aa).

AI, (ai) as in Isaiah, aye, Etonian pronunciation of the Greek καλ, the German ai, Italian ahi! French païen.

AU, (au), the sound of (aa) followed by the sound of (uu), German au in haus, distinct from English ou in house.

AW, (au) the same as AU.

AY, (ai) the same as AI.

B, (b), as now, never mute.

C, (k) before a, o, u; (s) before e, i; ei is (si), never (sh) as in modern English.

CH, (tsh), as in such, match, Italian ci, Spanish ch, German deutch.

D, (d) as now, never (dzh).

E long, (ee) English chair, dare, there; very nearly the same as French é in même, and Italian e aperto (ee), not the same as English in ale, fate (ee, eei); but this last sound may be used by those who have a difficulty with the others. Never (ii), as in modern English supreme.

E short, (e) as now in met, pen.

E final, when pronounced, (e), same as E short, but generally elided before vowels and he, his, him, hire, here, etc., and not sounded in oure, youre, hire, here, seldom sounded in hadde and sometimes mute in other words.
EA, (ee) same as E long, very rarely used.
EE, (ee) same as E long.
EI, (ai) same as AI.
EO, (ee) same as E long, rarely used.
EU, has two sounds, (yy) or French u long, in words derived from
th French where the modern French orthography is u; and (eu)
or Italian Europa, the sound of (ee) followed by the sound of
(uu), in all other words. EU is never to be sounded as (iu) as
in modern now.
EW, (eu) the same as EU.
AY, (ai) the same as AI.
F, (f) as at present; never (v) as now in of.
G, (g) before a, o, u and in Anglosaxon words before e, i; in French
words before e, i it is (dzh) as the present gem, gentle.
GH, (kh), as the Scotch loch, Irish lough, German loch; after an
(u) sound (kuh); when the sound was (u'), (wh), or omitted,
it was otherwise written. It was never sounded as (f).
H, (n), as in house; it may have been mute in some accented
words, as host, honour, and in the unaccented he, his, him, hire,
here, hem, have, etc. When a vowel is elided before these words,
the h should be disregarded, otherwise it is most convenient to
follow the present usage. When following a vowel in the same
syllable, as in nounht, it was a gentle (kh), or (n').
I long, (ii) the drewed sound of i in still, heard in singing, and
quite distinct from (ii) or ea in steal, but the latter sound (ii)
may be substituted for it, by those who find the former (ii) too
difficult. It may have been occasionally almost (ee) and then
rhymed to (ee). It was never pronounced (ai), or as the modern
pronoun I, or as ei ey, ai ay (ai), with which it is never found
to rhyme.
I short, (i), that is, as i in the English finny (fin'i), and not as (i),
that is, i in the French fini (fini).
I consonant, (dzh) usually printed J.
IE, (ee) same as E long. Rare.
J, (dzh), frequently printed for I; MSS. seldom distinguish i, j.
K, (k) as now.
L, (l) as now.
LE, ('l) as now in temple. It is frequently run on as (l) to the
following vowel.
M, (m) as now.
N, (n) as now.
NG, (q) or (qq) according to the same rules as now, or (ndzh) as
in strange.
O long, (oo) that is English ore, cross when lengthened, not (oo)
in English home as usually pronounced, but as it may be heard
in the provinces; Welsh and Spanish o long; Italian o aperto;
French chose when lengthened, no trace of tapering into a final
u. Those who cannot readily say (oo) may use (oo), the usual
o in home.
O short, had two sounds (o, u); generally (o) the short sound of the last letter, not heard in usual English, the French homme, German holtz, Italian o aperto. Different from (o) in English hot, which however may be used for it when the speaker cannot reach the other sound, just as (oo) in home may be used for (oo), but (poop pop) do not form a pair, as is the case with (poop pop). Occasionally o short was sounded as short u, apparently in those cases in which it was thus sounded in the xviith century provided it corresponded to Anglosaxon u; generally it was (u) in words which now have (o) as wonder.

OA, (oo) if used, but no instance is known.

OE, (ee) same as long E, very rare.

OI, (ui) as some persons call buoy, almost like ooi in wooing; not (oi) as in English joy, but at most (oi) as in a provincial pronunciation of boy.

OO, (oo) the same as long O.

OU, has three sounds, (uu, u, ou); generally (uu) as in boot, but occasionally (u) as in pull; in words derived from Anglosaxon aw, ow it is (ou) nearly as in the modern know, which may be used for it. See OUGH.

OUGH, (uukh, uukwh) when derived from Anglosaxon words having u before a guttural, as in ynough, plough, drought, otherwise (oukwh, oukwh) or (okwh) as in though, foughten, oughte.

OW, (uu, u, ou) same as OU, but used more frequently than OU for (ou), especially when final.

OY, (oi) the same as OI.

P, (p) as now.

PH, (f) as now.

QU, (kw) as now.

R, (r) only trilled, as in present red herring; never as in modern ear, hearing, serf, surf.

RE, (cr) same as ER, sometimes run on as (r) to the following vowel.

RH, (r) as now.

S, (s,z). Probably the (s) and (z) sounds were used much as at present, but was appears to have had (s). SI was (si) and never (sh) as at present.

SCH, (sh), present sh.

T, (t) as at present, -tioun was (si,uun).

TH, in two syllables (th, dh) distributed as at present.

U long, (yy) the true French long u, which it represented.

U short, had three sounds (u, i, e); the general sound was (u) as in pull, but (i) or (e) was heard occasionally, and possibly had been original (y) or short French u.

U consonant, (v), usually printed v.

UI, UY, a very rare combination, sometimes written for oi, oy, and then pronounced (ui) most probably; sometimes, perhaps, written for French us, when it may either have been (ui) or (yy), most probable the latter.
V, (v) as now, seldom distinguished from U in MSS, both forms 
w, v being used, but v being generally chosen for the initial, 
whether vowel or consonant.
W, (w), as now, and also occasionally the simple vowel (u), as 
in sorrowful.
WH, (wh) as now.
WR, (rw) as in French roi, or else (wr, w'r).
X, (ks) as now.
Y, long, replaced I long, and had the same sound.
Y, short, (i) the same as I short.
Y, consonant (j) as now.
Z, (z) as now.

This gives a complete system of pronunciation, with only
a few doubtful points, chiefly as to the pronunciation of O
short as (u).

On this view of the signification of the orthography of the
Harleian MS. 7334, we may proceed to systematize the same
thus,—

Systematization of the Orthography of Harl. MS., 7334.

A when followed by a single consonant, which is in turn followed
by a vowel or an apostrophe, will be long, otherwise short.
AA will represent long A in other cases.
AI will be disused.
AW will be used as the diphthong (au) to the exclusion of AU.
AY will be used to the exclusion of ai, ei, ey, for those diphthongs
(ai) which had an a in the Anglosaxon or French original.
E when followed by a single consonant, which is in turn followed
by a vowel or an apostrophe, will be long, otherwise short.
EA will be disused.
EE will represent long E in other cases.
EI will be disused.
EO will be disused.
EU will represent the diphthong eu when of French origin = (yy).
EW will represent the diphthong ew when not of French origin,
and = (eu).
EY will be used to the exclusion of ai, ay, ei for those diphthongs
(ai) which had not an a in the Anglosaxon or French original.
I will represent short (i) when not final, and will be used for the
pronoun I. See Y vowel.
IE will be disused.
O when followed by a single consonant, which is in turn followed
by a vowel or an apostrophe, will be long, otherwise short, and
the two sounds of short o will not be distinguished.
OA will be disused.
OE will be disused.
OI will be disused.
OO will represent long O in other cases.
OU will represent the long sound (uu), never the short sound (u) or the diphthong (ou).
OW will represent the diphthong (ouu) exclusively.
OY will represent the diphthong now written oi, oy.
U long and U short, though having different sounds will not be distinguished, the first occurring only in French, and the latter only in Anglosaxon words, but the use of U as I and E will be discontinued.
W vowel will only be used in diphthongs, in other cases it will be replaced by OU long as herberou for herberw, or U short.
Y vowel will be used in diphthongs, and for long i or (ii), except the pronoun I, which will continue to be written I, for either long or short final i or y, and for the prefix y- or i- of the past participle.

The consonants, including W, WH, Y, will be used as at present, the two values of C and G not being distinguished, and J, V being exclusively used for I and U consonant. When C, G have to be (s, dzh) before a, o, u in French words, an e is inserted which is not pronounced, as habergeoun 76. GH medial or final, Y initial will replace 5 uniformly instead of partially, and TH will replace p.
The two sounds of TH will not be distinguished. H will be written uniformly in those words where it generally appears initially. The doubling of consonants to indicate short vowels will follow the usual orthography.
E final or medial will be treated in such a way as to shew its nature. When it should be sounded according to the laws of grammar or from historical derivation, but is elided for the sake of the metre, whether before a vowel or consonant, it will be replaced by an apostrophe, precisely as in modern German, and all elisions will be treated in the same way. Hence e', g' final must be read as (s, dzh). When it is superfluous, having no claim to be written, but required for the metre, it will be replaced by e. In other cases it will be simply written as e, so that every written e will have to be pronounced, except when it is used after e, g and before another vowel, merely to indicate that these letters are to be pronounced as (s, dzh). When the authority of Orrmin can be given for a final e, it will not be considered superfluous.

When the first measure of a verse is deficient in a syllable, it will be preceded by three dots, thus (...) to mark the deficiency.

With the exception of the (...), é and ('), which are introduced for the convenience of the modern reader, the orthography would be perfectly well understood by the person who wrote this Harleian MS. and appears to be the ideal which he aimed at. This orthographical system will be used in the subsequent transcript of the prologue. It requires occasionally some etymological knowledge in which I may be deficient, but such trips I hope will be readily forgiven and corrected.
When a language has to be studied from its sources by scholars, its monuments should be presented in the form in which they exist. Hence the value of the exact reprints of several MSS. of Chaucer which have now been undertaken by the Chaucer Society, and which will inaugurate an entirely new system of studying ancient forms of language. We shall no longer echo opinions, perhaps hastily formed, by scholars in past days, who, deserving of all praise for what they did in their time, had not the advantages which their own labours have given to the present generation. Each scholar will be enabled to study the sources themselves, to compare the different forms they assume, and to conjecture the probable reality which they partly conceal. But how shall that result be expressed? Speaking for the English language only, it is evidently impossible to print the writings prior to Caxton, in modern orthography, without presenting a translation—to which, except linguistically, there is of course no objection—instead of the apparently best form of the original. Not to mention the organic difference of an inflectional system which would be thus concealed, and the destruction of poetical rhythm by the excision of final E, we have the simple fact that many words found in those authors have no similar modern form,1 and hence that if we adopted a modern orthography, we must either replace them, or leave them as an old patch on a new garment.

For general purposes of teaching, the great diversity of orthography which medieval scribes indulged in, is undesirable, as tending to confuse the mind, and in no respect repaying the young student for the trouble it costs. Hence some uniform systematic orthography is desirable, and that which has just been explained, seems to combine every necessary requisite for the xiv th and xv th century. For writings which date from after the disappearance of our inflectional system, and the silencing of final E, or say, from after the close of the xv th century, the modern orthography, which is now systematically employed in reprints of Shak-speare and the Authorized Version, is the only one which

1 The vocabulary on pp. 379–397 furnishes the following examples:—a-cale, algate, -and (in participles) ariste, borde, borwe, a., breede, bywester, chare, cheste, come a., dere, derne, dwale, elenge, -ende (in participles), fallas, fawe, fele, fere, fremde, funke, grame, hulling, harre, heire, herne, heste, hevenriche, hewe, hie a., hewe, howve, yk ich, ichte, kingesriche, knarre, leere a. and v., lefte a., letter, liche a., like a., lode, lynde, make a., mele, mot, nale, neisshe, nobles a. a., offrende, onde, pirie, pese, pyle, pyne, racle, rathe, rede, scheene a., schipne, schonde, sibrede, sitho, smale, steere, stele, stempe, stevene, stounde, swere a., swithe, thar v., thee v., thilke, tho, upriste, wanhope, webbe, wedde, wen a., wente a., were a., wicke, wyte a., wonger, worlderiche, yerne.
has a claim to be used except in designedly diplomatic editions. Before the use of *ou* was introduced for (uu) at the end of the xiii th or beginning of the xiv th century, the complete Anglosaxon system alone has any right to be employed. Hence for school and general editions of English works, the following systems of orthography are suggested:

1) **Anglosaxon period to the close of the xiii th century,—** the received Anglosaxon spelling.

2) **From the beginning of the xiv th to the close of the xv th century,—** the system explained on p. 401, which may be briefly termed Chaucer’s orthography.

3) **From the commencement of the xvith century—the orthography now in use.**

But in the last period, and even in the most recent times, circumstances may arise where a diplomatic representation of MSS. may be desirable. Such cases are however not contemplated in any of the above suggestions, although in the citations made in this work, diplomatic correctness has almost always been attempted.

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1 As for example, when the peculiar orthography of the writer is of more importance than his matter. Thus the following reproductions of letters actually written on business within the last three years, one by a private soldier in a very clear and legible hand, and the other by the keeper of a servant’s registry office in a rapid scrawl, are valuable as shewing how difficult our present orthography and punctuation are to acquire. Several names have been reduced to initials, but otherwise the originals have been carefully imitated.

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1. **To Capt. S. Esq**

Dear Sir I wish to Informe you of a place No 17 Rosemary Lane ware a Drunkin woman name of Butttler Lives her husband aD to Leive her for Idal ways Sergent Atkinson was Letter Righter for her to her Husband to return back again and other Smal Favours as promised to send her 6 or 8 mitilia men he will send to Lodge with her their is her own faml ey and her Daughters famley all Crouded in 2 smoal rooms with a Varity of Other Companye and filth . a Servay is very much needed

Yours Respectufely  
and yurs mens Freund  
May 22/1866

2. **Warckington.**  

if i had nown Last tuesday i Could have Sent Mrs S. a good Waitres She as been 5 years 6 Months at Mrs D.s of Cockemth but Mr S. of C. Hall as been here About her and i think he Will have Engaged her if thay Could Agree for Wages I have nown her for 12 years and She as been Reckomend by Me for thatt Lenth of time I Shall See her in Person at Cockermouth to Merrr Monday and if not Engaged I Shall get her to Meet Mrs. S. She is a Good needle Woman She only Gave [looks like Gone, this writer does not always distinguish o a, and writes u, e, n, v, and sometimes s in the same way] her place up Last tuesday I have My Book on 2 Good Coocks and 2 very nice Girls for House Maidis i Will Dow My best to Get one but i Must have A Little time if M. A. C. is Engaged She as no Parents here they Are Gone away [written upon another word which is illegible] She Lived 2 years With Mrs. J. S. in our own town her Age is 27 She is tall and a fine Looekg Girl as a Good Head and fine Eye Whath i Call a nobel Loooking Woman She is very Steady and Con have a Good Caracter [looks like lenceten at first, capital C is always like t] from Mrs D Oh B Peason i hope i Shall Get her to Morrar [looks like dlomuae] 5 years 6 Months at Mrs d.
§ 7. Change of Pronunciation during the Fifteenth Century.

Comparing the results just obtained for the close of the XIV th century, with those found in Chap. III, § 6, p. 225, for the XVI th century, we are able to estimate the action of the XV th century upon English pronunciation, and to give some rough and practical indications for reading works of that transition period.

The pronunciation of the combinations employed may be considered as having been practically the same at the close of the XIV th and during the first third or first half of the XV th century, except in the points here enumerated.

Final E in the XV th century was retained in writing, but had absolutely ceased to have any sound, and had come to be regarded mainly as an orthoepical symbol for indicating the length of the next preceding vowel, unless it was itself preceded by a double consonant. How soon this final e was lost it is impossible to say, but great irregularities already occur in the Thornton MS. of Lincoln, about the middle of the XV th century. Hence it will be safest to omit it altogether in reading works of that and later periods. Gross and frequent irregularities in the use of e final in any manuscript seem to point to the copyist’s having lived about or after the middle of the XV th century.

Short U, from being frequently used for (y) and pronounced (i) or (e), became established for the latter sounds in a very few words, as busy, bury. In other cases therefore it had best be read as (u).

Long E split into two sounds, retaining its sound of (ee) in many words, but becoming (ii) in others, in which the single e was generally replaced by ee in the latter part of the XV th century. There is no means at present of discovering which of the words now spelled with ee, were at any given epoch during the XV th century pronounced with (ee) and which with (ii). The probability is that the two sounds coexisted in the mouths of different speakers for many years, just as we have seen that both sounds were for several years given to the combination ea at the beginning of the XVII th century. Hence if in reading works printed by Caxton we uniformly pronounced long e and ee as (ee) we should have probably a very antiquated pronunciation, similar in effect to the use of (griit, briik) for great, break at the present day, and if we uniformly pronounced (ii) where the spelling ee was employed in the XV th century, (avoiding the ioticism of the present day), we should have been thought to have a strange affected effeminate way of speaking. It will be most convenient however to use the XIV th century style up

1 See Rev. George G. Perry’s edition of the Morte Arthure (Early English Text Society’s publications, 1865), preface p. viii. As however this is an alliterative poem, it is impossible to apply the same rhythmical principles as in Chaucer. But see the irregularities of the Lansdowne MS. 851 in respect to final e as pointed out in § 4, p. 320, note.
to the issue of Caxton’s first work, and the xivth century style afterwards. This is of course an arbitrary, but still a convenient distinction, and some such rule is necessary or we should not be able to read xvth century books at all.

Long I, which interchanged with ey in a few words in the xivth century, as dry, die, high, eye, became uniformly (ei) or (ai) in the xvth. It will be convenient after the death of Chaucer’s contemporary Gower and his follower Lydgate, that is after the middle of the xvth century, to adopt the (ai) uniformly. This is no doubt an anticipation, but there seems to be no means of controlling it. We have indeed seen the probability of long e having been occasionally (ii) or (ii) to the middle of the xvi th century. (Supr. pp. 110, 114.)

Long O like long e split into two sounds, (oo, uu), the latter of which had the spelling oo assigned to it. It will be best to follow the same law with respect to it as with respect to e, and use (oo) only up till Caxton’s time, and then (oo, uu) as in the xvi th century.

EE, OO must follow the same laws as long e and long o, for which they were only substitutes.

OI probably gradually changed from (ui) to (oi), but, as we have seen, the old (ui) asserted itself in many words even in the xiv th century. It will be most convenient to use (oi) after Lydgate or the middle of the xvth century.

EO followed the fate of long e.

EU, EW still formed two series in the xivth century, but, as we have seen, with different divisions from those used in the xiv th century. The safest way is to adopt the xivth century pronunciation till the close of the xvth century. Most probably we should only run the risk of being slightly archaic in a few words.

OU, OW, where sounded (ou, on) retained its sound; but as even Palsgrave 1530, and Bullokar 1580, acknowledge the (uu) sound in other words, it will be quite legitimate to do so till the beginning of the xvi th century.

GH may have changed slightly; the (keh) and (wh) sounds of GH were probably entirely lost in (f), but (kh) was retained.

We are thus enabled to read xvth century writings, not with great confidence certainly as to catching the prevailing pronunciation of any period, but with a tolerable certainty of pronouncing intelligibly, although occasionally in an antiquated and occasionally in an affectedly modern manner.

§ 8. Pronunciation during the Earlier Part of the xivth Century.

The difficulty that besets us in attempting to determine pronunciation from orthography is the difficulty of determining the age of the MS. The tendency of writers at all times, and even in the present day, with some important exceptions, to disregard the orthography of the original
which they are copying, and adopt that to which they are themselves accustomed, is so strong and so difficult to check, that even if we supposed the older copyists to have set to work with an intention of giving a faithful transcript of their originals, we could not hope to obtain one. The older copyists indeed never seem to have entertained the least notion that they had to give a faithful transcript, or at least confined their notion of fidelity to a rendering of words and not of orthographies. We may, however, lay down this principle, for MSS. before the invention of printing:—

The Scribe always intended to make his Orthography indicate his own pronunciation.

There was no notion of any historical or etymological spelling, but certain definite senses were attributed to certain combinations of letters and by means of them the scribe endeavoured, with more or less success, to express himself.

Now throughout the xivth century it appears to me, on examining the best reprints, and especially those furnished by Mr. Morris in his specimens that the alphabetical system of all the scribes was essentially that which has been described and systematised in § 6 of this Chapter. It will be seen at once that this was not a definite and complete system, but admitted of many ambiguities, and many varieties of spelling several important sounds. Thus, confining ourselves to the vowels, we may expect to find—

<table>
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<tr>
<td>(a) a</td>
<td>(aa) a aoa</td>
<td>(ai) ai ei ay ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) e</td>
<td>(ee) ee ea eo oe ie</td>
<td>(ui) oi ui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) i y u</td>
<td>(ii) i y</td>
<td>(au) au aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o) o</td>
<td>(ou) oo oa</td>
<td>(ou) ou ow</td>
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<td>(u) u</td>
<td>(uu) ou ow</td>
<td>(ou) ou ow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(y) u</td>
<td>(yy) eu ew</td>
<td>(eu) eu ew</td>
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The special mark of this system of spelling, that which distinguishes it from the orthography of the xvi th century on the one hand, and the orthography of the xiii th on the

1 Having lately had occasion to have printed by a printer who was unaccustomed to facsimile work, I have had painful experience of the obstinacy of compositors and the blindness of printers' readers in serving up and passing over modern réchauffées of ancient spellings. We cannot suppose that the old copyists behaved better. We know that the older printed books are full of the grossest disfigurations of their originals, and yet there is a better chance of correctness in a printed book, which must be diligently revised and can be easily altered, than in a M.S. which is read and corrected with difficulty.

2 Specimens of Early English selected from the chief English authors, A.D. 1250—A.D. 1400, with Grammatical Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by R. Morris, Esq., Oxford, Clarendon Press Series, 1867.
other, is the expression of the sound of (uu) by ou, ow with scarcely any exception. We have not lost that method of spelling in a few instances even at the present day. And occasional instances of ou for (uu) probably occurred, before the general use was established. Throughout this period also, and down to the present time simple o is occasionally used for (uu) as well as for (u). But it is the general and regular use of ou or ow for (uu) that characterises this system of spelling. The words pou, now, how, oure may be taken as convenient marks of this orthography as distinguished from the more ancient spelling to be presently considered, so that where we find these words thus written we may expect to find the rest of the system of orthography just explained, a system which may be, and probably often is, much more recent than the date of the work to which it is adapted. In Mr. Morris's specimens, this test will include under this system, the whole of his book, from the Romance of King Alexander downwards, although this Romance itself, Robert of Gloucester, and the Metrical Psalter belong to the xiii th century, in which a different system prevailed, and the Proverbs of Hendyng, Robert of Brunne, William de Shoreham, the Cursor Mundi, Sunday Sermons in Verse, Dan Michel and Richard Rolle de Hampole, belong quite to the beginning of the xiv th century. The MS. of Havelock the Dane, as we shall find hereafter (Chap. V. § 1, No. 5.) belongs to the transition period, containing both pu and pou.

It is not to be supposed that these ancient authors pronounced in the same way as Chaucer, or that writers like Richard Rolle de Hampole near Doncaster, and Dan Michel of Northgate in Kent, had the same method of speech or pronunciation. Far from it. All that is meant is that they used a similar system of orthography, and that by interpreting their letters according to this system we can recover, very closely if not exactly, the pronunciation their transcribers meant to be adopted.

Dan Michel's orthography is very peculiar, marking a strong provincial pronunciation. The consonant combination ss evidently

1 The following list of words in which ou = (uu) is taken from Walker: Bouge, croup, group, aggroup, amour, paramour, bouse, bousy, bouteuf, capouch, cartouch, fourbe, gout (taste), ragout, rendezvous, ronge, soup, sous, surtout, through, throughly, toupee or toupet, you, your, youth, tour, contour, tournay, tournament, pour, and route (a road), accoutre, billet-doux, agouti, uncouth, wound (a hurt), and routine (a beaten road). These words in italics are Anglosaxon. The use of ou for (u) is a recent formation in: would, could, should; cowshe had a long vowel.

2 Walker gives the following list for (uu): prove, move, behave, and their compounds, lose, do, ado, Rome, poltron, ponton, sponton, who, whom, womb, tomb. And the following for (w): woman, bosom, worsted, wolf, Wolsey, Worcester, Wolverhampton.

3 At the beginning of this MS. (Arundel 57) we read: jsis boc is dan
represents sh, and has been constructed on the same principles as the Welsh dd, ff, ll for (dh, f, lhh) as distinct from d, f, l = (d, v, l). In precisely the same way the Spaniards wrote U, uu (the latter being contracted in the usual way to ñ, but the uncontracted form occurring also ¹) for (lj, nj), and so many writers have proposed hh, tt, dd, ss, zz, for the Arabic (k, t, d, s, z). Probably Dan Michael finding no sound of ch in sch, objected to use it. But ss is really ambiguous; thus in yblissed = blessed, ss can only mean double s. We find the same orthography ss at an earlier period (see Chap. V, § 1, No. 3) so that Dan Michael did not invent it. Other writers have employed the same notation.² His use of a, e, i, ai are clear. The rhyme: bread dyad, seems to point to (eaa) or (ea) with the stress on the last syllable as the value of ea. Since u is clearly used as (u) in pou, and as the substitute for v after h, in huou, and ou is employed in our = us, ou, u must have had their usual sounds (uu, v), so that short o probably always represented (o) and not (u), although it is constantly employed for an ags. u. When u was long, which only happens in a few French words, it of course had the sound (yy), but this was apparently unknown to the dialect, an important remark when we recollect that Wallis was a native of Kent, and at the same time the last writer who insisted on the pronunciation of long u as (yy) in received English, (pp. 171-6). The constant use of u as a consonant (v) often renders words difficult to recognize. The use of by for be, and final y in the infinitive of verbs would be quite inconsistent with an (ei) pronunciation of i, and hence is corroborative of the conclusion before arrived at (p.297.) The examples on p. 412, render this clear. They are taken from the preface and the end of the book, just before the final sermon, Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. 262.³ The Lord’s Prayer and Creed may be compared with other earlier versions in Chap. V. § 1, No. 3, and Wilkins’s version in Chap. IX, § 1.

Michel’s of Northgate, ywrit an englis of his ozene hand. ²We have therefore the author’s actual orthography, a most important fact.

¹ See supra p. 193, note 3.

² Thus in Thomas de Erisedoune’s prophecy of king Edward II, in the same MS. fo. 86, we find ssal sel for shall.

³ Dan Michel’s Ayenbite of Inwyt, or Remorse of Conscience, in the Kentish Dialect, 1340 A.D. Printed from the Autograph MS. in the British Museum, with an introduction by Richard Morris, Esq., London, 1866, 8vo, pp. c, 359. Early English Text Society. The following orthographical points of difference between the Southern and Northern dialects, are noticed by Mr. Morris in the “grammatical introduction” to this work. A. Consonants.

1) CH for K, the Southern forms being named first, as chele for kele = cold. ²) V for F, now disused in the South East. ³) Z for S, found alone in the Ayenbite of all writings of the xiv th century. ⁴) Vowel before R in place of vowel after R, as berne for brene burn. ⁵) PS for SP as hap as for haps. ⁶) G for Y, as begge for bye, sege for saye. (7) B for V as libbe, habbe, habbe for live, have, heve = heave. B. Vocals. ¹) O for A, as bon for ban. ²) E for A, as azgen for agan = against. ³) AW for AI=ags, ag, as faue for fain. ⁴) U for I, as frost, hul, sun for flat, kill, sin. ⁵) EO for E, as breoste for breste. ⁶) An inserted y before e and a, as byeam byam for beam, and dyad for dead. ⁷) An inserted u before o, the only words of this kind in the Ayenbite being buon, goode, guo, guos, zuol for bone, good, go, goose, and Dorset zull, a plough.
Richard Rolle de Hampole, an Augustine monk near Doncaster, who died 1349, left many writings in the Northern dialect, presenting a strong contrast to the Kentish, just considered. The manuscript is however not so carefully spelled, and there are many final E's written, which were clearly not pronounced, so that we must either assume a much later date for the actual writing, or suppose that on account of the general omission of the inflectional -e in Northern speech, the habit of writing had become lax there at an earlier period, precisely as it became lax in the South during the xiv th century as the final -e became discontinued. In the present case, probably, both causes were in action. The Prick of Conscience¹ is in verse, with very perfect rhymes,² and there can be no difficulty in reading it. The verse, however, is so "hummocky" that no conclusions could be drawn from it respecting the number of syllables in a word.

A short extract will suffice to show the action of our rules for pronunciation. Many liberties have been taken with the pronunciation of the final E's, to reduce them to order, but the orthography of the text is Mr. Morris's. The e before s in the plural of nouns and the third person singular of nouns, has been considered mute whenever the rhythm would allow, in deference to the opinion of Mr. Murray, who has made the Northern dialects his peculiar study.³

¹ The Prick of Conscience Stimulus Conscientiae, a Northumbrian Poem, by Richard Rolle de Hampole, copied and edited from MSS. in the library of the British Museum with an introduction, notes, and glossarial index, by Richard Morris, published for the Philosophical Society, 1863. This edition chiefly follows Cotton. MS. Galba, E. ix. Six out of the other MSS. are adaptations of the poem to a more southern dialect. This MS. is supposed not to be later than the beginning of the xiv th century, and is therefore much more recent than Rolle de Hampole himself, and hence no reliance whatever can be placed on the final e.

² In v. 1273 we find fortune for fortuna (which occurs in v. 1286), so that probably buke v. 2300, which may have represented the northern pronunciation (byyk) should be altered to bok to rhyme with lokale in the following line. I have not noted other faulty rhymes.

³ The -es has been preserved in v. 480. The final -e in formfather v. 483 has also been retained for the rhythm, although Mr. Murray prefers form, referring to formkind, formbirth, formdays. Mr. Murray thinks that ai, ay had in Scotland the sound of (ee) at the beginning of the xvi th century, at least a century before it was recognized in the South, although we learn from Hart that it was well known in 1569 (supra p. 122) or rather in 1551, the date of his first draft (infra Chap. VIII, § 3, first note). Mr. Murray's opinion is based upon the sudden appearance of the orthography ay about 1500 in Gawain Douglas, who uses it where an intermediate (ai) between the old (aa) and modern (ee) is hardly conceivable, and his often interchanging a and ay in the same word, as bray, bra. Again thare, thair, thayr are regularly confounded, and bath, bathe, bayth, bath all occur. We have the rhymes: Ida lay, say Ortigia, Cassendray away, gait half=gave have, rais face, say ishay =esché. Possibly this was a period of transitional sound from (aa) or (an) to (ah) or (ae), and Douglas, if the spelling is really his, which of course is doubtful, strove to mark it by the same device which was known to him possibly by the pronunciation of Greek (the Erasmian system not having been yet introduced), namely the addition of í, or else from the growing habit of calling French ai (ee). There seems to be no doubt that in the instances named, and in: twa tway, ma may mo =plures, wraith =wroth, maid =made,
It cannot be supposed that this mode of reading the writing of Dan Michel, and Richard Rolle, precisely renders the pronunciation of the dialect which they followed. We know how slightly dialects are at present represented, and how very insufficient our pronunciation would be if derived from the usual orthographical and orthoepical rules. It is not likely that writers five hundred years ago should have been more accurate. They had however the advantage of an alphabet in which the value of each combination was settled with remarkable exactness, and hence they were able by their orthography to make a near approach to the sound of speech around them. But their alphabet only having an accurate representation of the simple and compound sounds: \( a, a, a, a, u, b, d, [d\,h], dzh, e, e, e, e, i, i, i, i, j, k, kh, l, 'l, m, n, o, o, o, oo, oo, oou, p, q, r, r, w, s, sh, t, th, tsh, u, uu, v, w, wh, yy \), although far superior to that now in use, which only professes to represent in a very lame, confused, and uncertain manner, the simple and compound sounds: \( a, a, a, a, b, d, [d\,h], dzh, e, o, e, o, o, o, o, o, u, f, g, h, i, i, i, i, i, u, j, k, l, m, n, o, o, o, o, p, q, r, i, s, sh, t, th, tsh, u, uu, v, w, wh, z, [zh] \),—the same in number but differing in value,—must have been as inadequate to represent our provincial sounds of that time, as our present orthography is to write our present provincial dialects, as may be concluded from an inspection of the key to Glossotype, p. 16. The writer probably refined the dialect and selected his sounds, giving an approximation which would have been understood by a native. It is also possible that he may have pressed some combinations and letters to do a double duty. Writers were already familiar with double uses. Thus \( i, u \) were vowels or consonants; \( o = (o, u) \), \( u = (yy, u) \), \( ou = ow (uu, oou) \), \( eu = (yy, eu) \), and long and short vowels were written with the same sign. But if in their dialectic writing they took such liberties, we have no satisfactory means, if indeed we have any means of detecting them. Such an approximation however as results from the preceding examination of Chaucer and Gower must certainly be far nearer the truth than any hap-hazard reading, founded upon modern analogies without historical investigation, and as such is worth the study and acceptance of the scholar. We may indeed feel some confidence that Hampole and Dan Michel would have at least understood the above conjectured pronunciation. But the usual modern English sounds would have probably sounded as strange to their ears, as an ordinary Frenchman’s declaration of Shakspere to ours, or our own Southern pronunciation of Burns to an Ayrshire peasant.

aith = oath, ai could not have been (ai). We cannot but feel rejoiced to know that the long neglected Scotch dialects, which are in fact those of Northern England, are undergoing a thorough examination by one so well qualified in every respect as Mr. Murray, who to his local knowledge of the Border dialects, both Scotch and English, and an antiquarian research into their form and history, joins an extensive acquaintance with those languages, both European and Oriental, which have chiefly engaged the attention of philologists, and a long theoretical and practical familiarity with phonetics.
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE EARLIER

EXTRACTS FROM DAN MICHEL.

_Ayenbite of Inwyt._

_PREFACE, p. 1._

Hoo-lë arq'ag'leq Miik'kaa'reeel',
Saint Gaa'briv'eel', and Raa'faa-
ecel',
Jee breq'ë mec to dhoo kastel-
Dheer âle zaul'en faa'reth wel.
Lord Dzhee'syy' almiht'i kiq,
Dhet maadst, and lookest âle'e
thiq.
Mee dhet am dhii maa'kiq;
To dhii'ne blås'e mee dhuu briel'
Blånd, and draf, and al'swo domb,
Of zew'entii jeer al vol rond,
Ne shole bii draaghre to dhe
grond,
Vor pen'v, vor mark, nee vor
pond.

L'ENVOY, p. 262.

Nuu itsh wil'e dhet je iwë'te,
ruu nit is i-went,
dhet dhis book is i-rwiit'e mid
Eq'lish of Kent.
Dhis book is i-maad vor leu'ede
men,
Vor vaader, and vor mod'er, and
vor odher ken,
ham vor to bergh-e vram al'e
manee're zen,
Dhet in'e maar in'wit'e ne
blee've noo fuul wen.
'Whoo aa'se God?' is nis naam
i-zed,
dhet dhis book maad'e. God
him seeve dhet breaad
of ag'gelz of hee'ven, and dher-
too' nis reed,
and on'dervoq' nis zaul'e when
dhet mee is draad.

_Amen._

_Ymende. pet bis booc is uol-
ueld ine je eue of je holy
apostles Symon an' Judas, of
ane broper of je cloostre of
sanynt austin of Canterberi, Ine
je yeare of oure lhordes beringe. 1340._
Pater noster

Vader oure þet art ine he-
uenes, y-halged by þi name.
cominde þi riche. y-worþe þi
wil, ase ine heuene: and ine
erþe. bread oure echedayes: yef
ous to day. and uorlet oure oure
yeldinges: ase and we uorleteþ
oure yelderes. and ne oures led
nagt: in-to uondinge. ac vri
ous uram queade. zuo by hit.

Pater noster

Vaa'der u u're, dhet art i ne
neev'en es, i-nal'ghehd bi'i dhii
naam'e. Koo'mind'e dhii rii'tshe.
L-wordh'e dhil wil, as in'e neev-
ene, and in'e erth'e. Breada u u're
eet'shedaies jef us to dai. And
vorlet' us u u're jeld'iq'es, ase'e
and wee vorleec'th u u're jeld-
eres. And nee us leed nakht in-
too vond'i'q'e. Ak vri'i us vram
kweaad'e. Zwoo bii hit.

Ave Maria

Hayl Marie, of þonke uol.
Lhord by mid þe. y-blissed
þou ine wymmen. and y-blis-
sed þe ouet of þine wombe.
zuo by hit.

Ave Maria

Hail Mari'i'e, of thooq'e vol.
Lhord bii mid dhee. Iblised
dhuu in'e wim'en, and i'blised
dhe oo'vet of dhiin'e wom'be.
Zwoo bii hit.

Credo

Ich leue ine god, uader al-
migti. makere of heuene, and
of erþe. And ine iseu crist,
his Zone on-lepi oure lhord.
þet y-kend is, of þe holy gost.
y-bore of Marie Mayde. y-
byneder ond'our poums pilate. y-
nayled a rode. dyad. and be-
bered. yede down to helle.
þane briddae day a-ros uram
þe dyade. Steag to heuenes.
zit aþe riht half of god þe
uader al-migti. þannes to com-
eee he is, to deme þe quike,
and þe dyade. Ich y-leue ine
þe holy gost. holy cherche
generalliche. Mennesse of hal-
gen. Lesnesse of zennes. of
ulessse arizinge. and lyf eure-
estinde. zuo by hyt.

Kredo

Itsh lee've in God, vaa'der al-
mikht'ii, maa'ker'e of neev'en e
and of erth'e. And in'e Dzhee-
sy Krist, his zoo'one oon'leep'i
uure Lhord, dhet isked' is of dhe
nool'i Goost, iboo're of Mari'i'a
Maid'e, ïpîn'ed oon'd'er Puuns
Piilaate mail'ed na roo'de, djaad,
and bebered, see'de duum to
ne'e, dhan'e thri'de dai aroo-
vram dhe djaad'e, steagh to
neev'en es, zit adh'e ri'kht half
of God dhe vaa'der al mikht'ii.
Dhan'es to koom'one he is, to
decom'e dhe kwi'ke, and dhe
djaad'e. Itsh illee've in'e dhe
nool'i Goost, nool'i tshertsh'e
dzhern'erall'i'tshe, meen'nes'e of
nal'ghen, lees'nes'e of zon'ces, of
vlesh'e arui'züq'e, and liif erw'er-
est'm'de. Zwoo bii hit.

1 For the translation of pages 412 and 414, see p. 416.
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE EARLIER

EXTRACTS FROM RICHARD ROLLE DE HAMPOLE.


And [when man] was born til þis worldys light,
He ne had nouther strenthe ne myght,
Nouther to ga ne yhit to stand,
Ne to crepe with fote ne with hand.
Þan has a man les myght þan a beste
When he es born, and es sene leste;
For a best, when it is born, may ga
Alstite aftir, and ryn to and fra;
Bot a man has na myght þar-to,
When he es born, swa to do;
For þan may he noght stande ne crepe,
But ligge and sprawel, and cry and wepe.
For unnethes es a child born fully,
Þat it ne bygyynes to goule and cry;
And by þat cry men knaw þan
Whether it be man or weman.
For when it es born it cryes swa:
If it be man it says "a. a,"
þat þe first letter es of þe nam,
Of our forme-fader Adam.
And if þe child a woman be,
When it es born it says "e. e,"
E es þe first letter and þe hede
Of þe name of Eve þat bygun our dede.
Þarfor a clerk made on þis manere
þis vers of metre þat is wretten here:

Dicentes E. vel A. quot-quot nascuntur ab Eva.
"Alle þas," he says, "þat comes of Eve,
þat es al men þat here byhoves leve,
Whan þai er born, what-swa þai be,
þai say outher a. a. or e. e."
þus es here þe bygynnynge
Of our lyfe sorow and gretyng,
Til whilk our wretchednes stirres us,
And þarfor Innocent says þus:
Omnes nascimur euiintes,
ut nature nostro miseriue
exprimamus.

He says, "al er we born gretand,
And makand a sorrowful sembland,
For to shew þe grete wretchednes
Of our kynd þat in us es."
þus when þe tyme come ofoure birthe,
Al made sorow and na mirthe;
Naked we come hider, and bare,
And pure, swa sal we hethen fare.
Dhe Prik of Kon'siens' v. 464-509

And [when man] was born til dhis world'is liikht, 
Hee nee mad nudh'er strenth ne miikht, 
Nudh'er to gaa, ne shin't stand, 
Nee to kreek with foot ne with hand. 
Dhan was a man les miikht dhan a beest 
When nee es born, and es seen leest; 
For a beest, when it es born, mai gaa 
Als'tiiit ait'ir, and rin too and fraa; 
Bot a man ras naa miikht dhartoo; 
When nee es born, swaa to doo; 
For dhan mai ne nokht stand ne kreek, 
Bot leg and spraul, and krii' and weep. 
For unceehzz es a tshild born ful'lii'; 
Dhat it nee big'inz to guul and kriiv; 
And bu'i dhat krii' men knaaau dhan 
Whedh'eer it be man or woo'man'; 
For when it es born it kri' es swaa; 
If it bee man it saiz "aa! aag!" 
Dhat dhe first let'er is of dhe naam 
Of uur form'e-faa'eder Aa'daam'. 
And ef dhe tshild a woo'man' bee, 
When it es born it saiz "ee! ee!" 
Ee es dhe first let'er and dhe heed 
Of dhe naam of Eev dhat bigan uur deed. 
Dharfoor a klerk maad on dhis maneer 
Dhis vers of mee't er dhat is rcwee'ten neer; 
Diisen'teees E. vel Aa. kwot-kwot naskun'tur ab "Al dhaas," nee saiz, "dhat koomz of Eev, 
Dhat es al men, dhat ner biihoovz' leev, 
When dhai er born, what-swaa' dhai bee, 
Dhai sai udh'er aa! aa! or ee! ee!" 
Dhus es ner dhe bi'gin'zq'. 
Of uur liif sor'u and gree'tiq', 
Til whilk uur rvetshe'dnes stirz us, 
And dhar'foor In'osent saiz dhus: 
Om'nees nas'iumur eedzhyylan'tees ut naa'tyy'ree nos'tree miser'iam eksprimaa'mus. 
Hee saiz: "al er wee born greet'and' 
And maak'and' a sor'ful sem'bland', 
For to shu' dhe greet rvetshe'dnes 
Of uur kiiid dhat in us es."

Dhus when dhe tiiim koom of uur birth, 
Al maad sor'u and naa mirth; 
Naak'ed wee koom miid'er and baar, 
And pyyr, swaa sal wee medh'een faar.
TRANSLATION OF DAN MICHEL.

Preface.

Holy Archangel Michael, Saint Gabriel and Raphael, May ye bring me to the castle where all souls fare well. Lord Jesus, almighty king, That madest, and keepest all things, Me, that am thy making, To thy bliss bring thou me. Blind and deaf and also dumb, Of seventy year all full round, Not shall be dragged to the ground, For penny, for mark, nor for pound.

L' Envoy.

Now I will that ye wit how it has gone (happened), that this book has been written with English of Kent. This book has been made for unlearned men, for fathers, and for mothers, and for other kin, them for to save from all manner (of) sin, that in their conscience may remain no evil thought. "(Mii) Who, (khAA) like (Eel) God?" i.e. Michael, is his name called, that this book made. God give him the bread of angels of heaven, and thereto his advice (help), and receive his soul when that it is dead.

Amen.

Note, that this book is fulfilled in the eve of the holy apostles Simon and Judas, (27 Oct.), by a brother of the Cloister of St. Austin of Canterbury, in the year of our lord’s bearing (birth), 1340.

TRANSLATION OF RICHARD ROLLE DE HAMPOLE.

And [when man] was born to this world’s light, He had not neither strength nor power, Neither to go nor yet to stand, Nor to creep with foot nor hand. Then has a man less power than a beast, When he is born and is seen least; For a beast, when it is born, may walk Immediately after, and run to and fro; But a man has no power thereto. When he is born, so to do; For then he may not stand nor creep but [must] lie and sprawl and cry and weep. For hardly is a child born fully, That it begins not to howl and cry; And by that cry men know then Whether it be man or woman. For when it is born it cries so; If it be man it says Ah! Ah! That is the first letter of the name Of our first-father Adam. And if the child a woman be, When it is born it says, Eh! Eh! E is the first letter and the head Of the name of Eve that began our death. Therefore a clerk made on this manner This verse of metre that is written here:

Saying E. or A. as many as are born of Eve. “All those,” he says, “that come of Eve, That is, all men that it behoves to live here, When they are born, whatsoever they be, They say either Ah! Ah! or Eh! Eh!” Thus is here the beginning Of our life’s sorrow and weeping, To which our wretchedness stirs us, And therefore Innocent says thus: We are all born howling, that the misery of our nature we may express. He says: “All we are born weeping, And making a sorrowful semblance, For to shew the great wretchedness Of our nature that is in us.” Thus when the time came of our birth, All made sorrow and no mirth; Naked we came hither and bare, And poor, so shall we fare (go) hence.

STEPHEN AUSTIN, PRINTER, HERTFORD.
ON

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

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

INCLUDING

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

BY

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


PART II.

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE XIII TH AND PREVIOUS CENTURIES, OF ANGLOSAXON, ICELANDIC, OLD NORSE AND GOTHIC, WITH CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF THE VALUE OF LETTERS AND EXPRESSIONS OF SOUND IN ENGLISH WRITING.

LONDON:

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1869.
ADDITIONAL CORRIGENDA IN PART I.

p. 13, l. 7 from bottom, omit But for convenience, a very brief key is given on p. 16.

Cancel p. 16, which is replaced by pp. 614–5.

p. 105, n. 2, l. 6, for bolt read (bolt).

p. 107, l. 4 from bottom of text, for (A) read (Ai).

p. 111, l. 6, for (oi, ou) read (ai, su).

p. 118, l. 6 from bottom, for teims read tems.

p. 119, l. 15, for aryl read rayl.

p. 141, l. 8 from bottom, omit as we sounded lyke.

p. 153, l. 9 and 3 from bottom of text, omit and which, and that the change.

p. 254, n. 1, l. 6, omit (possibly a reference to St. Mary le bon); n. 3, add at the end of this note: See note on v. 672, Chap. VII. § 1.

p. 265, l. 24—26, omit But susteene . . . 8323.

p. 309, n. 1, l. 3, for z read p.


p. 333, n. 1, l. 8, for Hengwit read Hengwrt.

p. 336, n., supply 1.

p. 347, art. 17, l. 10, for -înge read -îngë.

p. 355, art. 53, for Ex. to (c), read Ex. to (a).

p. 371, Ex. col. 1, l. 28, before wiltow insert (c).


p. 407, table col. 2, l. 4, for “(ou) o oo oo” read “(oo) o oo oo.” Note that “(ou) ou ow” in col. 3, l. 4 is correct.

CORRIGENDA IN PART II.

p. 473, n. col. 2, l. 1, for p. 446 read p. 447.

p. 477, n. 2, l. 3, omit more.

p. 506, n. 2, last word, for (ruu’le) read (ruu’le), See p. 573, under IU.

p. 562, translation, verse 13, l. 4, for yon, read yonder.

STEPHEN AUSTIN, PRINTER, HERTFORD.
NOTICE.

On account of the unexpected length of the present investigations, the Societies for which they are published have found it most convenient to divide them into four parts, instead of two as previously contemplated. The present second part concludes most of the researches themselves. The third part, containing Chapters VII. and VIII., is in the press, and will be ready by January, 1870. Chapter VII. will contain an introduction to the specimen of Chaucer; a critical text of the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, with especial reference to final e, metrical peculiarities, and introduction of French words, together with the conjectured pronunciation; a passage from Gower, printed for the first time, according to three MSS. with the conjectured pronunciation; and a specimen of Wycliffe. Chapter VIII. will contain Salesbury’s and Barcley’s works; specimens of phonetic writing in the xvi th century, by Hart, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler; a Pronouncing Vocabulary of the period; an account of French and Latin pronunciation in the xvi th century; an examination of Spenser’s and Shakspere’s rhymes, and Shakspere’s puns; and an attempt to restore Shakspere’s pronunciation. The fourth part, will treat of English pronunciation during the xvii th and xviii th centuries, and of dialectic usages, and will contain full indices to every part of the work, but the time of its appearance cannot yet be announced.

A. J. E.

Kensington,
1 Aug., 1869.
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For the intended contents of the whole work, see Part I.
CHAPTER V.

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE THIRTEENTH AND PREVIOUS CENTURIES, AND OF THE TEUTONIC AND SCANDINAVIAN SOURCES OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 1. Rhymed Poems of the Thirteenth Century and Earlier.

It remains for us to apply the method employed for ascertaining the pronunciation of English during the xivth century, to the discovery, if possible, of that of the xiii th century, and for this purpose it is necessary to examine the rhymed poems of this date in manuscripts which seem to belong with certainty to that period. Poems composed in the xiii th century, but transcribed in the xiv th, and therefore presenting the peculiar orthography of the latter period, are of little use for our purpose. This will account for the rejection of many rhymed poems which belong to this period. The following cases have been selected with some care.

The Cuckoo Song and Prisoner’s Prayer, which stand first, have their antiquity well established, and possess the great advantage of a contemporary musical setting, which is of considerable assistance in determining the pronunciation or elision of the final e. As the old notation of music requires especial study to read, faithful translations into the modern notation, preserving exactly the number and pitch of the notes, have been printed. This is precisely similar to reducing the manuscript letters to the form of Roman types, extending the contractions and pointing. In the first piece the time of each note is accurately determined in the original, and is strictly observed in the transcript. In the second, which is in plain chant, this is not the case, and hence such time has been assigned as was suggested by a careful examination of the notes in connection with the words.

In approaching these earlier poems we stand already upon very secure ground. The values of a, ai, au, e, ei, eu, i, i.e, o, oi, ou, as (aa a, ai, au, ee e, ei ai, eu, ii i, ee, oo o, ui, oou ou) have every appearance of being the most ancient possible, and the only doubtful points turn on such fine
distinctions as (a a, e e, i i), which it would be impossible to
determine from the rhymes alone with certainty, since the
necessarily strongly provincial character of all early poems,
will certainly admit of rhymes apparently lax, which only
represent peculiar pronunciations. In fact there was no
longer a common or a recognized superior dialect, for the
English language had long ceased to be that of the nobility.
From the Anglo-Saxon Charters of the Conqueror down
to the memorable proclamation issued by Henry III. (see
below, p. 498), and for a century afterwards, the English
language was ignored by the authorities, and was only used
by or for "lewd men."1 But there was a certain amount of
education among the priests, who were the chief writers, and
who saved the language from falling into the helplessness of
peasant dialogue.

The chief points of difficulty are the use of ou for (uu, u),
the use of u for (yy, y) and even (i, e), and of eu for (yy).
The meaning of ea, eo, oa, practically unused in the xiv th
century, has also to be determined. The result of the pre-
sent investigation may be conveniently anticipated. It will
be found that ou was not used at all for (uu, u) till near the
close of the xiii th century, when the growing use of u for
(yy) or (i, e), rendered the meaning of u uncertain. But in
the pure xiii th century writings u only is employed for (uu),
and becomes a test orthography (p. 408). The combination eu
or ev, does not seem to have been used except as (eu). The
combinations ea, eo, so frequently rhyme with e, and inter-
change with it orthographically, that their meaning was
probably intentionally (ea, eo), with the stress on the first
element, and the second element obscure,2 so that the result,
scarcely differed from (ee') or even (ee). The combination
oa was either (aa) or (aa). The consonants seem to have
been the same as in the xiv th century, although z may pos-
sibly have retained more of the (gh) than the (j) character.

1 Man og to luuen sat rimes ren,
&c Wifed wel &c lagede men,
hu man may him wel loken
og he ne be lered on no boken,
Luuen god and feruen ay.

Genesis and Exodus, 1-5.

jis boe is y-mad war levede men.

Ayenbite of Invyt, supra p. 412.

2 The general rule for the stress upon
the elements of diphthongs is that it
falls upon the first, but this rule is
occasionally violated. Thus in many
combinations with initial (i, u) the
stress falls on the second element, in
which case, according to some writers,
the first element falls into (j, w), which
however, others deny. In (ju, ui) the
stress is properly on the first element,
as also in most provincial diphthongs
beginning with (i), as (stian, men)
=stone, man. But in Italian chiaro,
ghiaccio (ciarro, giat*tshio) the (i) is
touched quite lightly, and is almost
evanescent, so that (kjarro, giat*
tsho) would generally be thought
enough. A method is therefore re-
quired for indicating the stress, when
difficulty might arise, or when it is
§ 1, No. 1. CUCKOO SONG — XIII TH CENTURY.

1. The Cuckoo Song (with the Music), circa A.D. 1240.

The Harleian MS. 978, in the British Museum, was a monk's album or commonplace book. It is a small vellum MS. entirely of the thirteenth century, but evidently written by many hands at different times. The contents are very miscellaneous. It begins with several musical pieces, some with and some without words, Latin, French, and English; it proceeds to give an account of musical notation and tones, then suddenly commences a calendar, of which only the first two months are complete, though the others are blocked in. Then comes a letter to Alexander the Great on the preservation of health, Avicenna on the same, account of the seasons, melancholy, etc., all in Latin. On fo. 24, the language changes to French, and we have recipes for oxymel, hypocras, etc. On fo. 32, the hand changes, but the recipes are continued. The language reverts to Latin on fo. 32b, and the hand changes again on fo. 33b, col. 2, line 2. Without pursuing the catalogue further, we may notice a change of hand again on fo. 37 and fo. 38, where a beautifully written French Esop commences. We have again a different hand on fo. 66b, and so on. In the later part of the volume is a Latin poem of (twice) 968 lines on the Battle of Lewes, 14th May, 1264, (printed by Mr. T. Wright in his Political Songs, pp. 72-121), in which the cause of the Barons against Henry III., is so warmly taken, that it must have been composed, and probably also transcribed, before they were utterly routed and ruined.

abnormal, and for this purpose the acute accent may be used, as (kîa-ro, giât-teshio), and similarly (ea, è6) in some theoretical pronunciations of Anglo-Saxon, and this accent may be used in all cases if desired. In Iceland I have heard the triphong (iou) with the unusual stress on the first, and (ie) when apparently (iê) was written, and in such cases the mark is indispensable. In Icelandic, I have also found it necessary to symbolize a very faint pronunciation of a letter, rather indicated than pronounced, rather felt by the speaker than heard by the listener, by prefixing a cut [, to such a letter, as the symbol of evenes-
cence, so that we might write (e|a) for (ea) that is (ea), or (kîa-ro, giât-
tshio) if preferred. If it is wished to show that a whole word or phrase is so spoken, then it should be enclosed be-
tween [ ]; thus, clergymen will fre-
quently faintly indicate words preced-
ing an accented syllable, as (|'n it'
'keen-im (t-pahs) = and it came to pass. These symbols must be considered as appended to the list of palaeotypic signs, suprà p. 12.

1 Compare the opening lines—
Calamus velociter
scribe sic scribentis,
Lingua laudabiliter
t e benedicentis,
Dei patris dextera,
dorne virtutum,
Qui das tuis prospera
quando vis ad nutum ;
In te jam confidere
discant universi,
Quos volebant perdere
qui nunc sunt dispersi.
Quorum caput captur,
membra captivantur ;
Gens elata labitur,
fideles laetantur.
Jam respirat Anglia,
sperans libertatem ;
Cuï Dei gratia
det prosperitatem !
Comparati canibus
Angli viluerunt,
Sed nunc victis hostibus
capat extulerunt.

Wright prints each pair of lines in one, as in the original MS., but the rhymes point out this present division, which doubles the number of lines in the
at Evesham, 4th Aug. 1265. This is therefore important in fixing the date of the MS., but Sir Frederick Madden assigns to the first portion of the MS. a date twenty or thirty years earlier, and believes that the writer, that is, transcriber,—by no means, necessarily, author—was a monk of the Monastery at Reading, founded by Henry I, 1125.1

poem. It was be seen from these lines what smoothness of versification the monks in the xiii th century were accustomed to, with only some slight accentual liberties, and what perfect rhymes they formed in Latin. We shall find the same smoothness in a very similar metre in Ormin, and hence must expect that the English versification of the present period will also run without stumbling, unless the writer is very uncultivated.

1 The following notes are written in pencil at the beginning of the volume. "The whole is of the thirteenth century, except some writing on ff. 16b-17. F.M."—"In all probability the earlier portion of this volume was written in the Abbey of Reading, about the year 1240. Compare the Obits in the Calendar with those in the Calendar of the Cartulary of Reading, in MS. Cott. Vesp. E.V. F.M. April 1862." Mr. William Chappell has kindly favoured me with the inspection of a letter from Sir F. Madden, in which he gives the grounds for this opinion, and as the date of the MS. is of considerable importance to our investigation I add an abstract of the same, which Sir F. M. has politely revised. 1. It is certain that the first part of the MS. (say the first 30 folios) is considerably older than the second, which contains the poem on the battle of Lewes composed 1264.- 2. In this first part is a portion of a calendar, containing the obits of Abbots Roger 19 Jan. [1164]; Auscherius 27 Jan. [1135]; Reginald 3 Feb. [1158]; Joseph 8 Feb. [circa 1180]; and Symon 13 Feb. [1226]. In Browne Willis's History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies, etc., 1718, vol 1, p. 159, all these Abbots are named, as Abbots of Reading; 3. The complete calendar, left unfinished in Harl. 978, is found [with the exception of Dec.] in the Cartulary of Reading, Cotton MS. Vesp. E.V. fo. 11b to fo. 16b. The latest obit recorded in the old writing of the months after Feb., is that of Abbot Adam de Latebury, 6 April 1238, all later obits are in a clearly marked later hand. The part of the Cartulary coeval with the Calendar was written about 1240, for fo. 22b contains a charter dated 24 Henry III., 1239-40, and at fo. 33b is a marginal note written subsequently to the text, and dated 29 Hen. III., 1244-5. In Jan. and Feb. the obits are the same as in Harl. 978, [with this difference that in the Harl. MS. Abbot Roger's obit is given under 19 Jan., and in the Cotton MS. under 20 Jan.] From these facts Sir F. M. "considers it proved by internal evidence, First, that the Calendar in both MS.' and consequently the preceding parts, "was written in 1240 or very little later. Secondly, that the Calendars... were undoubtedly written at Reading, by a monk of that house. Lastly," he adds, "there is a remarkable entry in the Calendar of Harl. 978 (but omitted in that of Vesp. E.V.) on St. Wulstan's day, 19th Jan., as follows:—Ora, Wulstane, pro nostro fratre Johanne de de Forstete. I am strongly tempted to regard this John de Fornsett, (who, from his name must have been a native of Norfolk), as the Scribe of the MS., for I cannot otherwise account for the odd introduction of his name in the Calendar." The entry referred to is literally as follows, the italics indicating extended contractions:—"xiii kalendae Wlstani episcopi obit Rogerus abbas. Ora Wlstane pro nostro fratre Johanne de fornete." The omission of the s after W, as in Wulstan is not uncommon, but it is noteworthy in this place, because in the English Song, which will be presently given at length, wode for wode occurs, and this à priori connects the two writers together, but of course the person who wrote that entry, which is in exactly the same handwriting as the rest, could not have been John of Fornsett. Hence I should consider this entry as making it highly probable that this monk was not the scribe, and the singular insertion may be due to his having been an intimate friend
This MS. contains on fo. 10b. the music and words of the Cuckoo Song, which, Mr. W. Chappell says, "is not only one of the first English songs with or without music, but the first example of counterpart in six parts, as well as of fugue, catch, and canon; and at least a century, if not two hundred years, earlier than any composition of the kind produced out of England." This song which

of the scribe. The MS. was evidently one for private use, and this note of a friend's death is anything but surprising.

"You are probably right as to John de Fornsete not being the scribe," remarks Sir F. M., "still the introduction of his name is very singular, and I do not recollect any other instance of a friend being thus commemorated."

The above historical external evidence of the real date of this MS., is rendered the more important because Hawkins says, 2, 93, and Burney 2, 405 in their Histories of Music, attribute it to the xvth century, "misled," says Sir F. M., "by an ignorant note of Dr. Gifford on the fly-leaf of the volume," and by the nature of the musical composition, which they supposed could not have been written before the time of John of Dunstable in the xvth century, an opinion refuted by Mr. W. Chappell, who quotes Walter Odlington, 1228-1240 (Scripторum de Musica Medii Ævi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit unumque primum edidit E. de Coussemaker, Paris, 1863, 4to., p. 245) to this effect: "Habet quidem Discantus species plures. Et si quod unus cantat omnes per ordinem recitent, vocatur Rondellus; id est, rotabilis vel circumdactus."

We also know that the English spelling of Cuckoo in the xvth century was Cuckow, not Cuceu, which only could have been used in the xiii th.

1 W. Chappell, F.S.A. Popular Music of the olden time, a collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads, and Dance Tunes, illustrative of the National Music of England, etc. The whole of the airs harmonized by G. A. Macfarren. (Printed 1855-9) p. 23. Mr. Chappell has given a facsimile of this song as the title page to his work, and says, in the explanation of that plate: "The composition is in what was called 'perfect time,' and therefore every long note must be treated as dotted, unless it is immediately followed by a short note (here of diamond shape) to fill the time of the dot. The music is on six lines, and if the lowest line were taken away, the remaining would be the five now employed in part music, where the C clef is used on the third line for a counter-tenor voice. ... The Round has been recently sung in public, and gave so much satisfaction, even to modern hearers, that a repetition was demanded."

He adds in another place, p. 23:—

"The chief merit of this song is the airy and pastoral correspondence between the words and music, and I believe its superiority to be owing to its having been a national song and tune, selected according to the custom of the time as a basis for harmony, and that it is not entirely a scholastic composition. The fact of its having a natural drone bass would tend rather to confirm this view than otherwise. The bagpipe, the true parent of the organ, was then in use as a rustic instrument throughout Europe. The rote, too, which was in somewhat better estimation, had a drone, like the modern hurdy-gurdy, from the turning of its wheel. When the canon is sung the key-note may be sustained throughout, and it will be in accordance with the rules of modern harmony. But the foot or burden, as it stands in the ancient copy, will produce a very indifferent effect on a modern ear,—we ought perhaps to except the lover of Scotch reels—from its constantly making fifths and octaves with the voices, although such progressions were not forbidden by the laws of music in that age. No subject would be more natural for a pastoral song than the approach of summer, and, curiously enough, the late Mr. Bunting noted down an Irish song from tradition, the title of which he translated 'Summer is coming,' and the tune begins in the same way. That is the air to which Moore adapted the words, 'Rich and rare were the gems she wore.'"

This resemblance is perfectly fortuitous, and does not extend beyond the first three notes, the fourth note of the Irish
is so great a musical curiosity, is also a valuable contribution to our knowledge of early English pronunciation. In order to make the song more readily legible, it will be here interpreted into the ordinary musical notation, the English words in Roman type, and below them the Latin hymn, by which it perhaps obtained its introduction into the monk's commonplace book, in Italics, (which when used for entire passages will indicate red ink,) and a literal translation of the notes into modern music. On the opposite page will be given the metrical arrangement, conjectured pronunciation, and literal translations. See pp. 426, 427.

air runs into a totally different chord.
The fact that the song was in six parts, has occasioned some persons to suppose that it was alluded to in the last stanza of the 'Tournament of totenham,' Harl. MS. 5396, fo. 310, the handwriting of which is referred to A.D. 1466. As the stanza is not printed quite correctly in Percy's Reliques, 2nd ed., ii, 16, it may be added here as transcribed from the original MS. It is scarcely right to suppose, however, that the Cuckoo Song was the only six part song known.

At pat feft pay were seryuyd with a
ryche a ray
Every. v. and y v had a cokenay
And fo pay fat in jolyte al pe lang day
And at pe laft pey went to bed with
ful gret deray
mekyl myrth eas jem amang
In every corner of pe hous
Was melody delecysy
For to here precyus
of vj meny s Fang.

Dr. Rimbault has published a modern version of this song in his Ancient Vocal Music of England, Novello, No. 13, in which he says: "the editor has followed an ancient transcript in the Pepysian Library, which omits the two bass parts forming the burden, in the Museum copy, and has added an Accompaniment upon a drone bass. The effect produced is considerably improved." Dr. Rimbault has politely informed me in a private letter to Mr. G. A. Macfarren, that he obtained his copy of this transcript from the late Prof. Walmisley of Cambridge, in 1838. Mr. Aldis Wright kindly made a search for the original in the Pepysian Library, but was unable to find a trace of it.

1 Hawkins and Burney (supra, p. 420, note 1, near the end,) have given translations with all the parts written at length, but have not arranged the words properly. In the present interpretation the arrangement of the original is followed, and for one deviation from the former translations I am indebted to Mr. William Chappell.

2 Mr. G. A. Macfarren, the composer, in reply to my question whether he considered the English or Latin words to have been the original, says: "I am strongly of opinion that the music was composed to the English words, and the Latin Hymn afterwards adapted to it, because it was a common practice to adapt sacred words to secular tunes (as for instance, Thomas, archbishop of York in the xiith century and Richard Vichys of Ossey in the xivth wrote many such), but it would have been regarded as a desecration to appropriate a church theme to a secular subject. Witness also the many masses set to music, throughout which the French song of L'homme Armé is employed as a canto fermo, and Josquín de Pré's Mass on this Song in praise of Chess, in proof of this same church practice. To this we may add that there are no Latin words to the Pes or Burden, which is an essential part of the harmony.

3 This arrangement is reprinted from the work cited below, p. 498. As respects the language, all the words are asgs. except cuccu, stert, uert. The first cuccu as we shall see is onomatopoeic (imsonic, or mimetic), the second stert, and its diminutive stortle, is fully at home in the German, old sturzan, new stürzen, and Scandianvan, Danish styrte, Swedish störta, and may be a development of stir, or may be related to the same root as asgs. steortan to erect, stort a tail, stear a spine, see Dief. Goth. W. 2, 304, 315, 333, Wedgewood, Etym. Dict. 3, 314. As to the third uert, Dr. Stratmann suggests fort, which would be the
The musical notes, with their precise value in time, and the Latin hymn, determine the number of syllables. As we find however the Latin accent occasionally violated (non parcens, vitæ donát et secúm coróndát), we cannot be surprised at a similar violation of the English, in Wel singès þu. Taking the notes as interpreted on p. 426, it would seem easy to rearrange the words so as to avoid this false accentuation, but the ligatures of the original, corresponding to the slurs in the translation, forbid this rearrangement, which, with other liberties, Hawkins and Burney have not hesitated to adopt. Hence we find that this termination -es, might be, and probably was, fully pronounced. On the other hand, the termination -ep, although fully pronounced in growep, blowep, was elided, either after a vowel or consonant, when convenient for the metre as in springep; or for the music, as in houp. In the latter case the metre would require the syllable -ep to be fully pronounced, compare

Awe blep after lomb
Louep after calue cu,

but the musician ventured not only to drop a syllable, but to put the whole heavy truncated word houp to a short note. This may teach us that our older and ruder poets did not hesitate to lay words on a Procrustean bed. In med, bulluc, ags. medu, bullucu, the poet took the same liberty, and elided the final -e, for the rhyme in the first case, for the metre in the second. This precisely agrees with what we determined to be the occasional practice of the xrvth century (p. 342, No. 5), and shews that the omission was absolute, not a mere slurring over or lightly touching of the sound. We must consider that the words were felt to be as really truncated as Ruh' for Ruhä appears to be in modern German speech, for we have the essential -e preserved in vede, awe, bucke, the dative -e in calue, the adverbial -e in ludge, marue, all of which have a distinct musical note assigned. In the last word, however, both vowels in -ie are given to one note, as many a time would be given to three notes only in modern ballads.

The principal fact, however, that we learn from this song, as to the pronunciation of the letters in the xiii th century, is that long (uu) which was represented generally by ou and occasionally by o; but never by u, in the xrvth century, was now invariably represented by u. This is deduced from the word cuccu, which is manifestly an imitation of the cry of the bird,¹ as in French coucou, old French coucoul, Italian cuco, German kokuk, kuckuk, Dutch koeke, (kuu-kuuk), Latin cuculus, coccyx, Greek κόκκυξ, Sanscrit kokila.²

ags. feortan, pedere, but this change of f into v, although frequent in old MSS, is not confirmed by any other usage in the present poem, and the use of a Norman word err in a hunting phrase seems natural. The use of the word as a verb, however, requires confirmation.

¹ The musical interval of the cry is a descending minor third, which the composer has not imitated, the only instance in which he has introduced such an interval in connection with the cry, being in v. 6, where in sing cuccu he first descends and then ascends a minor third, the notes being f d f.

² "Cuckoo in English is clearly a mere imitation of the cry of that bird, even more so then the corresponding terms in Greek, Sanskrit, and Latin. In these languages the imitative element has received the support of a derivative suffix; we have kohi in Sanskrit, and
The sound must have been (kuk'kuu·) or (kuk'kuu·) or simply (kuk·u), as at present. The orthography may be compared with the cuckow of Chaucer 17174 (supra p. 305), where the short (u) remains the same, but the long (uu) is represented by ou. Agreeing with this we have lhude, nu, cu, ĵu which were loude loude, now, cow, thou in Chaucer. And thus the characteristic difference between the orthographies of the xiii th and xiv th centuries (p. 408,) is established by reference to a bird's cry, which cannot have changed.

But u in the xiii th century did not always represent the sounds (uu, u), as we see by the word murie, which however is not enough in itself, or even when compared with the ags. mirige, to establish the second sound of u as (i) or (e), or originally (y) as previously suggested (p. 299). In Hali Meidenhad we constantly find u for i or y. Thus in the first page, bliĉeliker ags. bliĉelice, blithely, lustini ags. lystnan, listen, brudlac, ags. brydlac, marriage gift, clipping ags. clyppan, clip embrace, hvouch ags. hwile, which, puncte8 ags. pincan, seem; euch each, in which last word the sound the (cutsch) is almost unthinkable. The town of Hertford is so spelled in the French version of the English proclamation of Henry III, but appears as Hurtford, in the contemporary English version, 1258. The conclusion seems to be rather that the u, which was properly and generally employed as (uu, u), was coming into use to replace the ags. y (y), which it succeeded in doing by the end of the xiii th century, thereby necessitating the recurrence to ou for (uu). Was this double use of u, then, due to the Norman influence? In the French version of the Proclamation already cited, we have Cunte, tuz, nus, pur, sicum, iurz, sunt, etc., in which u was most probably (uu, u), while in Duc, saluz, greignure, esluz, urgent, desuz, etc., the sound could hardly have been other than (yy, y). The Norman u derived from Latin u may have been frequently (yy), and that derived from Latin o, may have been generally (uu). The point is not yet satisfactorily established, and the English and Nor-

kokkyx in Greek, cuculus in Latin, (Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, i. 84; Zeitschrift, iii. 43). Cuckoo is, in fact, a modern word, which has taken the place of the Anglosaxon geac[gek], the German Gau(e) (gauk(e)h), and, being purely onomatopoetic, it is of course not liable to the changes of Grimm's Law. As the word cuckoo predicates nothing but the sound of a particular bird, it could never be applied for expressing any general quality in which other animals might share; and the only derivatives to which it might give rise are words expressive of a metaphorical likeness with the bird. The same applies to cock, the Sanskrit kuki

" Max Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language, 1861, p. 347. Pott, in the passage referred to, gives as other names for the cuckoo, old Slavonic g'ez'olka, Lithuanian g'ez'uz'ē, Lettish dieggufte and Lithuanian kuko, to scream like a cuckoo, old Norse gaukr (gauvikr) etc., and gives other examples of names of birds from their cry. Cumberland (gauk), Scotch (gauk).


2 Both versions are given below, pp. 500-505, accurately printed from the originals in the Public Record Office.

3 Mr. Payne is of opinion that the Norman u, u, were always (uu). Com-
man orthographies derive so differently, that in the xiii th century
they can scarcely be held to influence each other. Hence the in-
troduction of ou for (uu) into English may be a native development,
as already stated, and not due to French customs. The frequent
appearance of u, where i would be expected, in Western English,
as in dide, lite for dide, lute, may at most indicate a wider geo-
graphical extension of that sound (y) which is now nearly con-
fining in the west to Devonshire. In our inability however to
determine the last, especially in Eastern and Southern English,
where we find the orthographies u, i, e interchanging, we have
no choice but to pronounce as i, e (i, e). See the remarks on the
same example of u in the xiv th century, suprà pp. 298-300. Num-
erous examples will occur in the following pages of this section.

We gather then from the Cuckoo Song: 1) that ou, ov were
used for (ou) only, as in houly, growly, ags. hlowan, growan, and
never for (uu, u) which were uniformly represented by u, but u
itself was probably ambiguous, and also represented an actual or
older (yy, y), which was interchangeable with i, e; 2) that e final
was regularly pronounced, but might be suppressed even not before
a vowel, when required for the metre or rhyme; 3) that -eb might
be pronounced or suppressed; 4) that-es might be so distinctly
pronounced as to be sung to an accented note.

As regards the remaining letters and combinations no information
is given, but on the other hand there is no reason to suppose them
different from the sounds already obtained for the xiv th century.
The words are practically the same. The consonants no doubt had
not altered. The vowels a, e, o had already received their most
ancient powers (a, e, o). The only doubt affects i, which in the
xivth century we concluded to be (ii, i). There can be little doubt
that the Latin value of these letters was (ii, i), but it does not
follow that when the Saxons changed their runic for the Roman
alphabet, they actually said (ii, i). If they had said (ii, i) it would
have been near enough. In subsequent examples we shall frequently
find i, e short confused, which would still lead us to suppose that i
short was (i) rather than (i). But from this time forth the evidence
is not strong enough for long i being (ii). It certainly could not
have been (ai), if we were right in concluding that it was (ii) in
the xivth century (p. 297). In this doubtful state of the case, I
shall adopt (ii, i) as the long and short sound of i, in all my indi-
cations of the pronunciation of the xivth century and earlier, and
content myself with recording here once for all that I consider the
short i to have been certainly (i), and that the time when long i
passed from (ii) into (ii), if there ever was such a time in England,
is unknown. Upon these grounds I have drawn up the pronun-
ciation exhibited on (p. 427).

pare: bure mesaventure, bure couver-
ture from King Horn, infrà p. 480, and
the spelling huis mais, p. 449. When
the spelling ou was established for (uu),
u had almost certainly the sound of (yy),
and it is possible that this later ortho-
graphy may be a guide to the oldest
pronunciation.
THE CUCKOO SONG.

From the Herletan MS. 978, fo. 10 b.

[Pastorale.]

\[ S \]

\[ \text{v-mer if i - cu-men in. Lhud-e sing cuc-cu. Grow-ep sed and blow-ep} \]

\[ \text{Per-fpi-ce christ-i - co-la. que dig-na-ci-o. ce - li - cus a - gri-co-} \]

\[ \text{med and spring} \]

\[ \text{b e w - de nu. Sing cuc - cu Aw - e ble-teb af-} \]

\[ \text{ter la pro vi-tif ve - ci-o. fi - li - o non par-conf ex-po-fu-} \]

\[ \text{lomb, lhoup af - ter cal-ue cu. Bull-ue fter-t-ep, buck - e uert-ep} \]

\[ \text{it. mor - is ex - si - ci-o} \quad \text{Qui cap - ti - vos fe - ni - si - vos} \]

\[ \text{Mu - rie sing cuc - cu} \quad \text{Cuc-cu cuc - cu Wel fin-gel} \]

\[ \text{a fup - pis-ci-o} \quad \text{Vi - te do - nat et fe-cum cor-o - nat in ce-} \]

\[ \text{Hanc rotam cantare possunt quatuor socii. A pacio-} \]

\[ \text{ribuf suten quam a tribus ul faltam vquobus non debet} \]

\[ \text{pu nauer nu.} \quad \text{li fo - li - o} \]

\[ \text{Sing cuc-cu nu. Sing cuc-cu.} \]

\[ \text{Sing cuc-cu nu fine. Sed immediate repetens principium.} \]

\[ \text{hoc desit alius. pausans in medio & non in} \]

\[ \text{fine.} \]
THE CUCKOO SONG.

From the Harleian MS. 978, fo. 10b.

Early English Original. Conjectured Pronunciation.

Su'mer is ikuu'men in.
Lhuu'de siq, kuk'kuu•!
Groo'eth seed,
And blooo'eth meed,
5 And spriqth dhe uud'e nuu.
Siq, kuk'kuu•!
Au'e blee't'eth after lomb,
Lhoouth after kal've kuu.
Bul'uk stert'eth,
10 Buk' e vert'eth,
Mer'ie siq, kuk'kuu!
Kuk'kuu•! kuk'kuu!
Wel siq'es dhuu, kuk'kuu!
Nee swiik dhuu naver nuu.

Sing cucco nu. Sing cucco.

Pes.

Sing cucco nu. Sing cucco.

Sing cucco. Sing cucco nu.

Sing cucco nu. Sing cucco nu.

Verbal Translation of the Early English.—Summer has come in, Loudly sing, cuckoo! Grows seed, And blossoms mead, And springs the wood now. Sing, cuckoo! Ewe bleats after lamb, Lows after (its) calf (the) cow. Bullock leaps, Buck verts (seeks the green), Merrily sing, cuckoo! Cuckoo, cuckoo! Well singest thou, cuckoo, Cease thou not never now. Burden. Sing, cuckoo, now! sing, cucco! Sing, cucco! sing, cucco, now!

Latin Hymn to the same notes.—Perfice Xp'icola.—que dignacio.—celicus—agricola—pro utif vicio.—filo—non parcef exposuit—mortus excio—Qui captiuros—semiusuos—a supplicio—vite donat—et secum coronat—in celi folio.

Verbal Translation of the Latin Hymn.—Behold, Christ-Worshipper (Christico|la) What condescension! From heaven The husbandman For the fault of the vine, His son Not sparing has exposed To the destruction of death, Who the captives Half-alive From punishment Gives to life, And crowns with him In heaven's throne.
Three peculiarities will here be noticed (au\'e, lamb, nav\'er), corresponding to ave, lamb, naver, in the MSS. Since, then, the scribe is supposed by Sir F. Madden to have been a Norfolk man, I endeavoured to write the song in the present Norfolk pronunciation, and having submitted the following to competent revision I believe that it is sufficiently correct to shew that if the old pronunciation, already given (p. 427), has any claim to consideration, there is no ground to suppose that the song was written in an East Anglian dialect. The East Midland form singes, which may have been a scribal error for singest, is the only East Anglian point of grammar, and nauer of sound.

Norfolk Pronunciation of the Cuckoo Song.

(Som\'-i iz k\'am \'in.
Le\'end\'-li siq, kuku\'u!)
Graau\'eth seed,
And blau\'eth meed,
And sprith\'d dhe \'ad neu.
Siu, kuku\'u!
Jou\' blee\'eth aft\'-i lam,
Laauth aft\'-i kalf \'ku,

Bul\'-ak start\'-eth,
Bak wait\'-eth,
Merr\'i siq, kuku\'u!
Kuku\'u, kuku\'u!
Wes siq\'est d\'heu, kuku\'u!
Not sees d\'heu nav\'i neu.

2. The Prisoner's Prayer (with the Music), circa a.d. 1270.

In the Record Room of the Town Clerk's Office in the Guildhall of the City of London, is preserved an old quarto vellum manuscript known as the Liber de Antiquis Legibus, of which a re-arranged transcription was made by Mr. Stapleton for the Camden Society, and a translation has been more recently published by Mr. Riley. Neither of these works mention a poem in Norman French and English, with musical notes, which is inserted at the end of the volume, although Mr. Stapleton gives passages which occur immediately before and after it, and upon one of the pages of the song. Both transcriber and translator seem to have considered the song as worthless, or as irrelevant to the other matters in the book. No doubt it did not form part of the work. It seems to have been inserted as a useful piece of parchment, and the old numbering of the folios does not go so far. But it is entirely in a xiii\textsuperscript{th} century hand, exactly similar to that of the Cuckoo Song, and the musical notes, although not written in strict time, are of precisely similar forms. It would seem to be a piece of parchment and writing older than many parts of the book itself, and probably coeval with the Cuckoo Song. The music is adapted to the French words, which

1 De Antiquis Legibus Liber. Cronica Maiorum et Viccomitum Londoniarum et quedam, que continebant temporibus illis ab anno MCCLXIX ad annum MCCLXXIV; cum appendice. Nunc primum typis mandata curante Thoma Stapleton. 1846.


3 The following notes will enable the reader to insert this song correctly in Stapleton's transcript. The numbers
are carefully placed under their notes, but the English translation, written under the French, is not kept strictly under the corresponding notes and often runs to a considerable length beyond the French. Both begin together at the beginnings of stanzas. There are several mistakes in the English, and one word deleted in the French and not restored. This and the absence of musical notes to the few last words, shews that the manuscript was not properly revised. It is therefore necessary to add a corrected text (pp. 435, 437), which is that followed in the subsequent remarks. ¹

The notes, which are now first published (pp. 432-3), presented considerable difficulty, from their being written in plain chant, and therefore without any division of time, the length of the notes being left to the feeling of the singer, as in modern recitative. In the following edition I have duly translated the pitch of each note, and expanded the ligatures into slurred notes, placing the French words in brackets are those of the folios numbered in an ancient hand, the other numbering is modern and in pencil. I have to thank the courtesy of Mr. Town Clerk for allowing me to inspect the book and make such extracts as were necessary.

Fo. [157], a. Fuit vir quidam, Stap. 238. This ends on fo. [158], a, last paragraph. This folio contains, 1ste vero. A. natus fuit anno domini mo. ducentesimo primo, Stap. 239. The Mem., 1686, Stap. 253, ke la Reyne Isabel etc. L'an É. xx. is in a totally different hand.

Fo. [159], a, the six Latin lines, Stap. 253. In hoc folio continentur etc.

Fo. 159, b, is blank, but both 159, a and b are ruled for double columns and for writing.

Fo. 160, a, is blank and not ruled, apparently an old piece of parchment, used and put in.

Fo. 160, b, and 161, a, the words and music of the Prisoner's Prayer.

Fo. 161, b, the last words of the same Prayer, viz. "et jor et doint ioye certeyns," and "we moten Ey and o habben the eche bliffe," without either musical notes or staff. This page also contains the notice: Cum de edifices, Stap. 253.

Fo. 162, a, the five lines, Una Neron die, Stap. 253.

Fo. 162, b. A hymn consisting of ten lines and a half of musical stuff, with Latin words: In translation beati thome, the whole crossed out with one cross.

Fo. 163, a and b. The notice of Thedmar, Stap. 239, Fo. 163 b, is the last written page, there are however three other blank folios, and one with scribbling upon it, which ends the book.

The handwriting of the Prisoner's Prayer corresponds with that in the best and oldest writing in the book, and cannot be later than 1250.

¹ The English text of the Prisoner's Prayer appears to have been first published in the Reliquæ Antiquæ i, 274, from a transcription by J. O. Halliwell, which reads, incorrectly, v. 1, nun for min, v. 16 lich for licti, v. 26 prsun for prisun, v. 38 us for h us and v. 39, misse for milse, and arranges v. 13, 14 thus

For othre habbet misnome
Ben in this prisun i-broct.

The present copy is re-printed, from the work cited below, p. 498, n. 1, with an improved stanza III, and the correction v. 41 wu fit go for wu fit. go, the result of renewed inspection. The corrected text has also been re-corrected, especially in the verse last cited, where Dr. Strattmann's conjecture that go wu fit go stands for go h u s o it go has been adopted, wu = wh u, being a not unfrequent form of h u in the xiii th century, (infra p. 446,) and the contraction sit for so it being partially justified by Orrmin's x h o t  for x ho it = she it, and h et for he it. Most of the other corrections are evident enough. The only difficult word ipelit is illustrated below, p. 448. See also: þat wer for sin in helle ipilt; of paradis hi wer ute pilt; fort godes sone in rode.
under the notes as indicated in the original. But I have taken the liberty of reducing the time to a modern system, and have added bars accordingly. As frequently happens in translations, the English words do not in all cases exactly correspond to the notes written for the French. This has occasioned much difficulty in adjusting the corrected text of the English words to the notes, and such changes in the music as have appeared necessary are indicated by smaller notes. When two sets of notes appear in one bar, the direction of their tails shows in the usual way to what version they refer. It is evident that no stress can be laid on any passages in which such alterations have appeared necessary, as regards the pronunciation of the syllables. Enough passages remain in which final -e was undoubtedly pronounced, to establish here as well as in the Cuckoo Song, the general rule for pronouncing it. At the same

was pilt, Furnivall's Early English Poems, p. 13, v. 8 and 36; p. 14, v. 56, from Harl. MS. 913. The French text has been printed by M. Jules Delpit, in his Collection Générale des Documents Français qui se trouvent en Angleterre, Paris, 1847, 4to. vol. 1, p. 28, No. LXVII. This transcript is faulty having d'anguste for d'anguste v. 2, dur for duz v. 6, en sait for en ses v. 12, E sires Deus he for Sire deus ky v. 15, I cel for icel v. 23, morten for morten 28, fort for fors v. 30, guê for guie v. 34. The u and v are also modernized, the stanzas not divided as in the original, some contractions expanded without notice and others not, the omission of et v. 39 not perceived and v. 6 made to end with tres puis instead of These, in defiance of the metrical point, the metre and music. In citing the Rel. Ant. for the English version, M. Delpit prints Hallwell, Shraps, Pickering for Hallwell, Scraps, Picking. He says of this poem (ib. p. cxcii): "Le No lxvii est le plus ancien document en vers publié dans ce volume. Je l'ai trouvé sur les feuillet de garde d'un manuscrit du xiii siècle, connu dans les archives de la mairie de Londres sous le nom de Liber de antiquis legisbus; mais sa composition peut remonter à une époque beaucoup plus ancienne que celle de sa transcription .... il m'a paru important par son ancienneté, et de nature à fournir quelques remarques utiles sur les règles qui présideront à la formation de la langue que nous parlons."

1 In three instances only have I deviated from the original. The second syllable of pleynye in v. 1, and of prison in v. 4, and the word Christ in v. 7, have each in the MS. two identical repeated notes written close together. In each case I have reduced these to a single note, as I have been unable to obtain any explanation of this doubling.

2 The key is the ecclesiastical mode of which the scale ran from G, thus G A b c d e f g, without any sharps or flats. Each stanza is treated as a separate composition, and the second half of each stanza repeats the music of the first half, almost precisely. This has enabled me to supply the missing notes of the fifth stanza, answering to the French words: "et jor et doint loye certyne," with almost perfect certainty. I am indebted to Mr. Wm. Chappell for much information respecting the meaning of the old musical notation, and for an acquaintance with the important works of E. de Cousse-maker: (Scripturn de Musica Medii Evi novam seriem, 1864, 4to, and L'Art Harmonique aux xii et xiii siècles, 1865, 4to) without which I could not have translated the music at all. But for the barring of the Prisoner's Prayer, I alone am responsible, and I have been guided entirely by the symmetry of the musical passages and the rhythm of the words, not at all by any possible indications of length in the notes themselves, as was the case in the Cuckoo Song, in which the time is accurately indicated.

3 Thus we cannot be quite sure that the singer pronounced shame v. 4 in two syllables, although there seems to be no doubt that he said name v. 5 in two syllables. Similarly some, missome, v. 11, 13, may have omitted the final -e for the music.
time other passages occur in which it seems to have been undoubtedly omitted, not only before a vowel, but elsewhere, and these are all indicated by an apostrophe in the corrected text.¹

The rhymes are generally quite regular, but there are a few anomalies which prepare us to look out for assonances intermixed with perfect rhymes in poems of the xiii th century and earlier. Thus: man am 7, 9; hem men 21, 22; live bilive stige 27, 28, 29; mildse blisse 39, 44; are all assonances (p. 245, note). But they are assonances which many ears mistake for rhymes, because the differences of the consonants are not obtrusive. The French version has also the assonance: deus mortels, 15, 16; and perhaps: euyn heim, 37, 38.

As regards the orthography in the uncorrected text, the use of ð for ð is common enough in other MSS. not to need explanation; the ȝ for ch is an occasional carelessness, compare the 4, with ich 1, 2, 3, found also in the Proclamation of Henry III.; and the occasional insertion of ȝ is frequent in Layamon, and may indicate a doubtful pronunciation, compare vs 20, with hus 40, 41. More noticeable is the invariable use of th for þ at so early a period, and ȝh or occasionally ȝh (forghcf 21, yhef 23) for ð; the use of ð for ȝt (noct 12, ibroct 14) is not otherwise uncommon. The orthography ȝh seems to point to a (gh) or (jh) as preceding the use of (ȝ), where ð occurred in ags., as already suggested (p. 313). Wos 24 for ȝhos, and, if Dr. Stratmann is correct, ȝu 42 for ȝuh and that for hu, may be assimilated to the cases of inserted ȝ, as shewing a lack of appreciation of the aspirate. The use of c for s in such words as blisse 31, 44, is not uncommon, compare Gen. and Ex. 3518. Mai 28, for the older form mag, and maiden 35, indicate that the diphthong had been completely formed from æg (ag, agh, agh, aȝ, ai); and ey 43, compared with Orrmin's aȝ (<a>), shows that a writer did not feel any difference between the diphthongs (ei, ai), which Sir Thomas Smith found it so hard to distinguish three centuries later (p. 121) and which were constantly confused in the xiv th century (p. 263). These are the only words in the English text bearing on these diphthongs. But in the French we have, souerem, mayn, euayn, heim 35, 36, 37, 38, rhyming together, and we have plesi, forjet 24, 25, indicating an unpronounced s before t, and a degeneration of ai in certain words into (e) even at this early period. The Prisoner's Prayer never uses ou for (uu), but employs u as in puthe 1, uu 2, thu 8, prisu 9, ut 10, buten 34. The sume 11, and minume 13, are either errors for sume, misnume, or some, mis-nome, probably the latter, as same, same are the ags. forms. There is no instance of u being employed for i, e or ags. y. The French text, to which the notes were primarily adapted, raises the question of the pronunciation of Norman. See p. 438.

¹ Final -e, elided before a vowel, knß 1, sor' 3, bal' hal' 17, wel' 31, but' 34 (this is a conjectural emendation), habb' 37, bring' 40; before an H, oþr' habbeþ 13, raþ' he 32; before a consonant, þin' 5, hop' 27, bar' 35, son' 36, liv' 42; internal o omitted, much'le 4, hev'ne 18, 35; and if Dr. Stratmann's correction is adopted we have s'it for so it, v. 42.
THE PRISONER'S PRAYER.

From the Liber de Antquis Legibus, fo. 160 b.

Note. The French as in the Original MS., the English according to the Corrected Text. The slurred and joined notes represent the original ligatures. The time and bars are modern, the original being in plain chant. The last five bars are not in the MS., but have been supplied from the parallel passage commencing with the bar marked *.

[Adagio, affettuoso.]

I. Eyns ne soy ke pleyn-te fu o-re pleyn dan-gus-se tres-
    su trop ai mal et con-trey-re Sanz de-cer-te en pri-sun sui. car may-dez tres-
    pu-is the-su. duz deus et de-bon-ney-re.

II. Je-su crist veirs deu eir hom. preng-e
    vus de mei pi-te. Je-tez mei de la pri-sun y ie sui a-tort ge-te. Io e

Maestoso.]

a hun-te li-ue-re. III. Sire deus ky as mor-tels es de par-dun

ue-i-ne. su-ca-rez de-liue-rez nus de ces-te pei-

and bo-te. Hev-ne king! Of bis won-ing Ut us brin-gen mo-
1. PRISONER'S PRAYER—XIII TH CENTURY.

ne Par-don'ez et as-soy-lez i-cel' gen-til si-re.

Si te plest par ki for-fet nous suf-frun tel mar-ti-re.

en tris-tes-ce ore le ga-ris-tore bles-ce for-tu-ne ke le gui-e.

Re-que-rez i-cel sei-gnur ke il par sa grant dul-cur nus get de ces-te

2. For whos gilt We beo p i-pilt In pis pri-sun il-le.

For hos est ke se a-fi-e en cest-e mort-en u-ie ke tant nus con-tra-

par-of mis-se World-es we-le, mid i-wis-se Ne las-teb but' on stande.

ki par e-uayn nus ont tres-tuz en sun heim a grant do-lur(et) pein-e.

3. Ne hop'non to his live! Herne-maéhe bi- li-ve He-ze béz he li-e Et v nad fors boy-di-e. Ore est hoem en le-es-se et ore est sti-ze deb fel-lep him to grunde. Nu hap man wel' and blis-se, Rab' he schal

en tris-tes-ce ore le ga-ris-tore bles-ce for-tu-ne ke le gui-e.

4. Forza.

V. Vir-gine, et mere au so-ne-rein, ke nus ie-ta de la ma-yn Al mau-fe

Re-que-rez i-cel sei-gnur ke il par sa grant dul-cur nus get de ces-te

He bring'us ut of pis wo-ning For his mu-chel-emild-se

5. [Con Forza.]

ki par e-uayn nus ont tres-tuz en sun heim a grant do-lur(et) pein-e.

of us rew-sing And bring'us ut of pis wo-ning For his mu-chel-emild-se

He bring'us ut of pis wo-ning And us ta-che werchen swo In pis liv' go hu

6. [Allegretto.]

IV. [Fous est ke se a-fi-e en cest-e mort-en u-ie. ke tant nus con-tra-

en tris-tes-ce ore le ga-ris-tore bles-ce for-tu-ne ke le gui-e.

ki par e-uayn nus ont tres-tuz en sun heim a grant do-lur(et) pein-e.

**Norman French Original.**

I.

Eynf ne fo[y] ke pleýnte fu
ore pleýn danguffê trefsi
trop ai mal et contreyre
Sanz decerte en prṣun fui.
car maydez trespus[1he]u.
duz deuf et debonyre.

II.

Ihe[9/u] cirt verf deu uerf hom.
prene vul de mei pite.
Jetez mei de la prisun
v ie fui atort gete.
Io e mi autre compagnun
deus enfet la uerite.
tut pur autre mesprisun
fumes a hunte liuere.

III.

Sire deus
ky af mortels
ef de pardin uesne.
fucurez
deluercz

nul de ceste peine.

**Early English Translation.**

I.

Ar ne kuthe ich forghe non.
nu ich mot mauen min mon.
karful welsore ich fyche.
Geltles iche sholye muchele scheame
help god for thiw swete name
kỳng of heuene riche.

II.

Jeu crisf fod god fod man
louerd thu rew vponme
of prṣun thar ich in am
bring me vt and makye fre.
Jch and mine feren fume
god wot ich ne lyghe noct
for othre habbet mif nome ben
m thỳf prṣun ibroct.

III.

Al micti
that wel leth
of bale nf hale and bote.
heuene king
of this woning
vt vs bringe mote.

**Verbal Translation of the Norman French.—I.** Once (I) knew not what affliction was, Now, full of anguish, tormented (très sue), Too much (I) have (of) ill and misfortune. Without guilt in prison am (I), Wherefore help me right soon (très puis) Jesus, Sweet God and gracious. II. Jesus Christ, true God, true man, Take you pity on me, Cast me from the prison, Where I am wrongfully thrown. I and my other companion, God knows of it (en sait) the truth, All for other mistake (in mistake for others), Are delivered to shame.—III. Sire God, Who to (aux) mortals Art of pardon source (veine), Help, Deliver Us from this pain.
Corrected Text.  

I.  
Ar ne ku$p' ich sorge non,  
Nu ich mot manen min mon.  

Karful wel sor' ich siche.  
Giltles, ich jolie much'le schame.  

Help, God, for jin' swete name,  
King of hevene riche.  

II.  
Jesu Crist, so$p' God, so$p man,  
Lhoverd, rew jhu upon me!  
Of prisun jarin ich am,  
Bring me ut and makie fre!  
Ich and mine feren some,  
(God wot, ich ne lige nought,)  
For opr' habbe$p' ben misnome  
[And] in jis prisun ibrogt.  

III.  
Almigti,  
Pat wel liztli  
Of bal' is hal' and bote,  
Hev'ne king!  
Of jis woning  
Ut us bringen mote.  

Conjectured Pronunciation.  

I.  
Aar ne kuuth itsh sor'ghe noon,  
Nuu itsh moot maa'nem min moon.  

Kaar'ful' wel soor' itsh siitsh'e.  
Gilt'les, itsh tho'lie mutsh'le shaa'me.  

Help, God, for dhiin swee-te naa-me,  
Ki of nee'vene riitsh'e.  

II.  
Dzhee'su Krist, sooth God, sooth man,  
Lhov'erd, reu dhu upon mee!  
Of jriisuu'n dhaarin' itsh am,  
Briq me uut and maa'kie free!  
Itsh and mii'ne fee'ren soo'me,  
(God wot, itsh ne lii'ghe nokht,)  
For oo'dhr'- ab'eth been mis-noon'ee  
[And] in dhis jriisuun' ibrokht'.  

III.  
Almi'k'tii',  
Dhat wel liizht'lii'  
Of baal is naal and boo'te,  
Heev'ne king!  
Of dhis woo'niq'  
Uut us briq'en moo'te.

Verbal Translation of the Early English (corrected text).—I. Erst not knew I sorrow none, Now I must moan (ags. manan) my moan. Ful of care right sorely I sigh. Guiltless, I suffer much shame. Help, God, for thy sweet name, King of heaven's kingdom.—II. Jesus Christ, true God, true man, Lord, rue thou (have mercy) upon me! Of (the) prison wherein I am, Bring me out and make (me) free! I and my companions (plural here, singular in the French) together (God knows, I not lie nought), Have been for others mistaken, i.e. wrongfully taken, [And] in (to) this prison brought.—III. Almighty, That well easily Of harm is healing and remedy, Heaven's king, Of this affliction May (he) bring us out.
**Norman French.**

Pardonez.

*et asfoylez.*

icel' gentil sire.

si te plesf

par ki forfeft

nuf suffrun tel marture.

**Early English.**

Forỳhef hem

the wýkke men

god ýhef it 1f thī wille

for wof gelt

we bed ipelt

in thof prīsun hille.

IV.

Fouf est ke fe afte
en ceste morten uie.
ke tant nuf contratlie.

Et v nad fors boýdie.

Ore est hoem en leesse
*et ore est en trissefse*

ore le garnt ore blefse

fortune ke le gufe.

V.

Virgne. *et mere au fouerein.*

ke nuf ieta de la maýn
al maufi ki par euayn
nuf ont treftuz en fun heim

a grant dolur [*et*] peme.

Reqerez icel feignur

ke il par fa grant dulcur

nuf get de ceste dolur.

*v nuf sumus nuýt et Jor*

*et dount 1oye certeyne.*

---

*Verbal Translation of the Norman French, continued.—Pardon And absolve Him, gentle sire, If (it) thee please, By whose crime We suffer such martyrdom. —IV. Mad is (he) that has confidence In this death in life (mort en vie,) Which afflicts (contralie=contrarie, Roquefort) us so much, And where (there) is nothing but deceit (*et ou n'a=il n'y a,* hors=que, boydie=boisie=voisie, from versatia). Now is man in joy, And now (he) is in sorrow, Now him heals (guerit), now wounds, Fortune who guides (guide) him. —V. Virgin and mother to the sovereign Who cast us with his (la, lit. the as in modern French) hand To the devils (aux malfaits), who through Eve (Evaïn) Have us right all (très tous) on their hook (heim, hain, hain=Latin hæmus, modern hameçon) In great grief and (supply et, wanted for the construction, metre, and music, the word originally written has been erased,) pain. Beseech that Lord, That he by his great sweet- ness (douceur) May cast us from this grief, Where we are night and day, And give (donne) sure joy.*
Corrected Text.

Forjef hem
Pe wikke men,
God, gíf it is þi wille,
For whos gilt
We beoþ ipilt
In þis prisun ille.

IV.
Ne hop' non to his live!
Heer ne mag he bilive.
Hege þeg he stige,
Deþ felleþ him to grunde.
Nu hæþ man wel' and blisse,
Ræþ he schal þarof misse.
Worldes wee, mid iwisse,
Ne lastþ but' on stunde.

V.
Magden, þat bar' þe hev'ne king,
Bisech þin son', þat swete þing,
þat he habb' of us rewsing,
And bring' us of this woning,
For his muchele mildse.
He bring' us ut of this wo,
And us tache werchen swo,
In þis liv' go hu s' it go,
þat we moten, æg and o,
Habben þe eche blisse.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Forject þem
Dhe wik-e men,
God, gíf it is dhii wil-e,
For whos gilt
We beeuth ipilt;
In dhis prii-suun il-e.

IV.
Ne hoop noon too his lii-ve!
Heer nee mai nee billi-ve,
Hekh-e dheeth ne stiir-ghe,
Deeth fel-eth nim to grund-e.
Nuu rath man weel and blis-e
Raath ee shal dhaar-of mis-e.
World'es wee-ê, mid iw ise,
Ne last-eth buut oon stund-e.

V.
Maid-en dhat baar dhe neev-ne kiq
Bisectsh- dhiin soon dhat sweet-e thiq,
Dhat ne náb of us reuisq',
And briq us of dhis woo-niq'
For nis mutsh-ol-e mil-se.
Hee briq us uut of this woo
And us taatsh-e wertsh-en swoo,
In dhis liiv goo nuu s- it goo,
Dhat we moo-ten, ai and oo,
Hab-en dhe eetsh-e blis-e.

Verbal Translation of the Early English (corrected text), continued.—Forgive them The wicked men, God, if it is thy will, For whose guilt We (have) been thrust In (to) this vile prison.—IV. Let none have trust in his life! Here may he not remain. High though he rise, Death falls him to (the) ground. Now hath one weal and bliss, Suddenly he shall miss thereof. (The) world's weal, with certainty, Lasteth not but one hour.—V. Maiden, that bare the heaven's king, Beseech thy son, that sweet thing, That he have of us pity, And bring us out of this affliction, For his great mercy. May he bring us out of this woe, And so to act teach us, In this life go how so it go, That we may, aye and ever Have the eternal bliss.
An examination of the pronunciation of old French, especially of
the Norman dialect, is also almost forced upon our attention by
the close connection of the two languages during the formation of
English proper. The researches now being instituted by Mr. J.
Payne into the persistence of Norman forms have given the
pronunciation of Norman a still greater interest. The investigation
is fraught with difficulty, as will appear at once from the present
attempt to resuscitate early English sounds. It must be conducted
separately, first by an examination of all the documents tending to
throw a light upon early French pronunciation; secondly, by a careful
study of the living dialectic pronunciation in the North of France;
thirdly, by a review of Norman French poetry, either in original ma-
nuscripts of known dates or in trustworthy editions of the same,
such as M. Michel’s edition of Benoit. To assume that old Norman
was pronounced as modern Norman, or modern English, would be against all historical precedent, and the most
probable hypothesis is that it differed from all of these in many
respects, but that we may find indications of the existence of all of
the latter forms in particular cases. Such an investigation is
entirely beside the present, although both have been occasionally
brought in contact, through Palsgrave in the xviith century, and
such translations from the Norman as the Prisoner’s Prayer, and
the rhymes of English and French in Chaucer and the Political
Songs. It would be difficult for any but a Frenchman to conduct,

1 “The Norman element in the
English, spoken and written, of the
xiii th and xiv th centuries, and in the
provincial dialects,” is the more ex-
tended title which Mr. Payne has
adopted for his papers read before the
Philological Society in 1868 and 1869.

2 Chronique des Ducs de Normandie
par Benoit, trouvère anglo-normand du
xvi è siècle, publiée pour la première
fois d’après un manuscrit du Musée
Britannique par Francisque Michel,
1836-1844. 3 vols. 4to. Published by
order of the French government. The
MS. followed is Hârl. 1717, and the
printed text was compared with the
original by Sir F. Madden. There is
a copy in the Reading Room of the
British Museum.

3 It would be as wrong to suppose
that there is a Norman dialect, as that
there is a Scottish dialect. Both of
them admit of separation into several
distinct forms, requiring different forms
of writing to be intelligible. M. l’abbé
Delalonde, professor of history at the
faculty of theology at Rouen, who has
most kindly replied in writing to
certain questions which I took the
liberty of putting to him on Norman
speech, says: “On ne peut, à mon
avis, généraliser aucune assertion sur
les points de détail, attendu que l’ex-
pression et même l’accent se localisent
extrêmement . . . . Ce qui est vrai ici,
peut ne pas l’être là . . . . Chez nous
(dans le diocèse de Rouen) on trouve
deux dialectes complètement différents
d’accent: le brayon, parlé dans la
portion orientale du département (ou
diaconisé) surtout dans l’arrondisse-
ment de Neufchâtel, et une portion de celui
de Dieppe. L’accent est picard, par
conséquent bref, et avec le système de
syncope propre au picard: *vent-
tent bien, mais *n’ peuvent pas,
ils veulent bien, mais ils ne peuvent
pas. Du reste pas de mots originaux.
Le cauchois, parlé dans tout le plateau
occidental allonge extrêmement la der-
nière ou l’avant dernière syllabe du mot,
prononce l’à très ouvert: le dialecte cau-
chois est riche en mots originaux, mais
ces mots sont fort localisés.” The “bas
Normand” speaks, again, a different
set of dialects. Hence, although we
may find remnants of old pronunciation
in all these dialects, it would be hazard-
ous to infer the old pronunciation from
any one of them.
and we may probably have to wait for a considerable time, before a properly qualified investigator devotes himself to the task. May this last anticipation prove incorrect!  

3. Miscellanies of the XIIIth Century from Reliquiae Antiquae, Early English Poems, and Political Songs, with an Examination of the Norman French Ep, AI.

Under this heading some brief notices will be given of short rhymed pieces belonging to the XIIIth or the earliest part of the XIVth century, contained in the Reliquiae Antiquae, Early English Poems, and Political Songs.

The most considerable poem in the Reliquiae Antiquae is the Bestiary, i. 208; it is only partly in rhyme, and the rhymes are not frequently broken by non-rhyming couplets, or fall into mere assonances, so that no reliance is to be placed upon them for determining the pronunciation. Thus we cannot be sure that s, which is used throughout the poem for sh, was pronounced (s), from the rhyme: fis is, p. 220, v. 499, 529, for between them we have: biswiken bigripin, v. 515. Other parts are alliterative and therefore of no assistance, but they burst out occasionally in rhyme for a few lines. This poem uses u consistently for (uu), and ou, ow for (ou, ou) as in: out p. 223, v. 645 = aught, nout p. 209, v. 18 = nought, occasionally written ngt, p. 212, v. 187, sowles p. 211, v. 118, soule p. 213, v. 206, knowe8 p. 211, v. 121, knov p. 212, v. 165. There seems to be no use of u for i or e throughout the poem, thus we have: mirie p. 221, v. 570, pit p. 226, v. 761; this consorts properly with the consistent use of u for (uu). Similarly

1 Diez, Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen, 2nd ed. 1856, vol. 1, pp. 404-454, investigates the meaning of the old French letters, but leaves much to be desired. The commencement of an investigation into the values of Norman ei, ai, together with a few other casual remarks on old and modern Norman pronunciation, will be found below, p. 453. See also the extracts from Dr. Rapp, below, p. 509, n. 1.

2 Reliquiae Antiquae. Scaps from Ancient Manuscripts illustrating chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language. Edited by Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell, 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 327 and 287, 1841-1843. The text has generally been carefully transcribed and printed, but some mistakes occur, as pointed out p. 429, note 1, p. 441, note 1, and p. 446, note 2.


5 The text of this was especially read by the MS. Arundel 292, fo. 4. for the Rel. Ant. It has been reprinted with extensive notes, and a few conjectural emendations, in: Altenglische Sprachproben nebst einem Wörterbuche, unter Mitwirkung von Karl Goldbeck herausgegeben von Eduard Mätzner. Berlin, 1867. Large 8vo. vol. i. p. 57.


The spelling is generally good and consistent,2 but it presents certain peculiarities. Thus s is always employed both for s and sh, and the rhyme, as already pointed out, ought to determine that (s) was the only sound. Also g is used throughout, generally as pure g with the guttural effect after vowels, as in: sigte p. 211, v. 107, rigten p. 211, v. 117, drigten p. 211, v. 119, ñurg p. 211, v. 119, inog p. 211, v. 142. Sometimes the resolution into (j) or (i) seems indicated by a prefixed i, as: leige®p. 216, v. 359, maig p. 210, v. 80, p. 220, v. 516, p. 221, v. 548, but the g is then most generally omitted as in: mai p. 211, v. 129, mainles = without power, main force? p. 211, v. 128, dai p. 210, v. 63, but dei p. 215, v. 305, meiden p. 209, v. 37, shewing that ai, ei were confused. Initially the g was simply (j) to judge by: ging = young, p. 213, v. 214, gu = you p. 244, v. 700, ge = she p. 214, v. 243, but it may have been (gh). After i it disappears altogether as: sti p. 213, v. 198. The aspirate h is treated very irregularly, being sometimes start-\lingly inserted, as hae for ae p. 226, v. 792, and frequently omitted. After w it generally disappears, as: wit, wel = white, wheel, p. 225, v. 737. The form wu for whu = hu = how (supra p. 429, note 1,) is frequent, as p. 209, v. 36 and v. 55, but: hu p. 210, v. 56, in the next line. The pronunciation of ch seems intended for (tsh), and such apparent rhymes as: riche ilike = rich alike p. 222, v. 604, must be considered as assonances, unless we suppose -like to be an orthographical error for -liche. The use of ñ is general, but we have bicemeth p. 210, v. 91, unless it be a misprint. After s, t, d this ñ becomes t, as in Ormin, the instances are collected by Mätzner at v. 22.

The diphthongs ai, ei appear to be (ai) by the cases already cited. Forbroiden p. 211, v. 124, seems to stand for forbragden and should imply therefore oi = (oi), but it is uncertain, and similar oi diph-\thongs are unknown, so that we cannot infer generally oi = (oi). In: newe p. 225, v. 724, spewed p. 211, v. 139, ñewes p. 212, v. 183, refulike p. 223, v. 652, we can hardly take eu for anything but (eu). In: taunede p. 226, v. 767, middle high German zounen to shew, (an) seems to be implied.

1 Wor so he wunephis panter, he fedeth him at mid oser der, of sees he wile he nimep sees cul and set him weel til he is full.

= Wereso he dwelleth, this panther, he feedeth him all with other deer (beasts), of those that he will, he taketh the cowl (skin ?) and feedeth him wel til he is full. This is Mätzner’s interpretation of cul. The Latin has only: diversis pastus venatibus. The ags. cule (Ælf. gl. 20), cугle (ib.), cuhle, cowl is remarkable for the early in-terchange of (f, gh) which has not descended. If cul is to be thus inter-\preted, it has lost a final e. But is not rather cul the French word meaning rump, the prime piece?

2 The handwriting of the MS. is particularly beautiful, large, and careful.
On the whole this poem, though presenting some peculiarities, fully confirms the conclusions derived from the two preceding old poems. In none of the others does the orthography seem so trustworthy.

The Family Prayer, Paternoster, etc., vol. i, p. 22, mixes assonances with its rhymes freely, as: lif siche, bunden wndes; kingdom don; wndis bunde. Of these: lif siche = sickness, is useful in establishing the value of the long i as (ii) or (ii'). The u is consistently used as (uu), and ou in trove as (ouu), once erroneous spelled true, but au is also used in sauk, which, if correct, is an early and quite unusual transformation of suk. The rhyme to this word: bysuak seems to imply some error in the MS., which is here correctly transcribed. Another unusual form is: leyse for lese, and fleyes for fleisch, compare supra p. 265, and infra p. 473, n. 4. Although Marie occurs fully in: Heil, Marie, ful of grace! = (Hail Maria' e ful of grace!) it is abbreviated to Mari, in

Moder of mile,1 and maidin Mari, Help us at ure hending, for þi merci. Help us at uur engiq for dhiis mersi.)

No doubt this was a very ancient occasional abbreviation of a name so common on the lips of all worshippers: thus in Germany (Marii) is fully as common as (Mari-e) in addressing persons of that name. See p. 446, Ex. 3. The aspirate comes in curiously in: hart = art, hus = us, as well as house, hending = ending, herdeþe = earthe, hure = our. The guttural is evidently expressed by ch in: þich,2 halmichtende, licht, richt, which is very unusual.

The Creed and Paternoster, vol. i, p. 57, are not in the pure xiii th century orthography. We have indeed: ure, wiputen, but: Pounce (written Punce = Pontius, in the last example), ouis, foule. This shews a period of transition, which will be especially noticed in Havelok, infra p. 471, occasioned by the growing use of u as (yy) or (ii, i, e), compare in the Creed: y-burid, and in the Paternoster: als we forgivet uch opir man. Other peculiarities here are: sshipper = schipper, ags. scyppan, create; and: fleiss = fleisch, flesh; steich = steag, ascended. The rhymes in the Paternoster are correct, except: don man.

Another Creed, Paternoster, Ave, etc., are given in vol. i, p. 234, in which the u long is perfectly preserved for (uu), and: biriedd, iche, are used. Pontius appears as Ponce, which compared with the first Punce, shews the use of o for short (u). The Paternoster is chiefly in assonances, and we cannot feel sure that: deadd soxfasthecd, in the next prayer, is a rhyme or an assonance, that is, whether the first word is (deed) or (deeth), or (dead). The last little moral has some assonances:

If man him biçoete
Inderlike and ofte
Wu arde is to fore
Fro bedde te flore,

If man -im bithokh-те,
In-erlik and ofте,
Huu nard te floore
Fro bede-te floore,

1 This is the MS. reading, the printed text has milte, ags. mildsc, see supra p. 429, note 1.
2 Imperative of þoon to prosper.
But we might suppose that (bithof'te) was already occasionally pronounced, as in the West of England (suprà p. 212). The French fine, finir, end, establishes the pronunciation of pine. Fore for fare is a North-countryism, and to for the usual to, seems to indicate an indistinct utterance, perhaps (to). I have ventured to pronounce: sal, sulde, with (sh), but I do not feel quite certain, for reasons named above, p. 440.

Immediately preceding this moral is the following in which: I ne, occurs in Mr. Wright’s text, but: ine, in one word, occurs in the MS, just as in the old high German quoted by Graff, (suprà p. 292, n. 2), and clearly showing the (in’e) or (ii’ne) pronunciation.

In this pronunciation I have taken some necessary liberties with the text, as the omission of an Infinitive n for the rhyme, rectification of the aspirate, w for vch, d for s, etc.

The three first Paternosters, Aves, and Credos, are here given for comparison with those of Dan Michel, suprà p. 413. They have been read with the original MSS., and are printed accordingly, with the exception of capitals, punctuation, undotted i, and long i. Titles, where wanting, are added for convenience. The pronunciation is adapted to a slightly amended text, as the manuscripts are often very faulty, but the different provincial characters are not disturbed. The whole writing and versification is very rude and uncouth.

**Conjectured Pronunciation.**

**Pater noster.**

Uu’re faa-der dhat art in nevene,
halghed bee ji name with gift-is
sei-vene,
Saa-min kuu-me dhi kiq’doom:
Dhi wil in erth, als in heyne be don.
Uu’re breed, dhat last-es ai,
Giv it us, dhis ilke dai,
And uu’re misdeed-is dhuu forgii’v us
Als whe forgii’v dhaihm dhat misdooon:
And leed us in til naa fan’diqu’e, [us.
But freels-us fra alii’le thiq’e.

Aa’men.

1 The printed text of the *Reliquiae Antiquae* was first read by me with the MSS., and the proofs of these pages were again compared with the originals by Mr. Brock.
Ave
Heil Marie, ful of grace,
þe laurid þich þe in heuririk place.
blesced þu mang alle wimmem, and blesced þe þe blosme of þi wambre.
Amen.

Ave
Hail, Marii'e, ful of graa'æ, [plaæ-se
Dhe laavird thiik dhe in ev'rilk
Blis'ed dhe hauv maq a'le wim'en'
And bles'ed dhe blosm- of dhe wamb. 
Aa'men'.

Credo
Hi true in God, fader hal-micht-
tende, þat makede heuen and herdeþe, and in Íhesuc Krist, is ane lepi sole, hure lauerd, þat was bigotin of þe hali gast, and born of þe mainden Marie, pinid under Punce Pilate, festened to þe rode, ded and duluun, licht in til helle, þe þride dai up ras fra dede to liue, stegh in til heuenne, sitis on is fadir richt hand, fadir al-waldand, he þen sal come to deme þe quike an þe dede. Hy troue hy þeli gast, and hely kirke, þe samminge of halghes, forgifnes of sinnes, vprisigen of flëyes, and life wiþ-hutin hend. Amen.

Kre'do
Ii troue in God, faderer al-miikt-
end-e, þhat maa-kede nev'en and ethre'e, and in Dzhee'sus Krist, his aaneleepi soo'ne, nu're laverd, þhat was bigoten of dhe Haal-li Gaast, and born of dhe Mai'den Mari'e, piíned under Punse Pilaat'e, festened to dhe roode, ded and duluun, licht in til nel-e, dhe thrid-e dai up-raas' fra deede to lii've, steegeh in til hev'e, sitis on his faa'erer richt hand, faderer al-wald-and', xee dhen shal kuurne to deeme dhe kwi'ke and dhe deede'. Ii troue [in] dhe Haal-li Gaast, and haal-li Kirke', dhe samniq-e of halghes, forgifnes of sin'es, up'-rii'sighen of flesh, and lii've withuu'ten end'e Aa'men.


Pater noster in Anglico
Vre fader in heuene riche, þe name be hallid euer iliche þu bringe vs to þi michil blise, þi wille to wirche þu vs wisse, Als hit is in heuene i-do
Euer in eorpe ben hit al so, þat holi bred þat lestep ay þu send hit ous þis ilke day, Forgiene ous alle þat we hauuþ don, Als we forgiiuet ouch oþir man
No lete vs falle in no fondinge, Ak scilde vs fro þe foule þinge. Amen.

Pater noster
Uvre faa'nder in hev'e riitsh'e, Dhi naam'e be nal'ed ever liitsh'e Dhuu briq us too dhe mitsh'el blise', Dhi wil'e to wirtsh'e dhauv us wis'e,
Als nit is in hev'n- idoo'
Ev'er in eth'e ben it al'soo', Dhat noo'li bred dhat lesteth ai Dhauv send nit us dhis ilke dai, Forgiev us al dhat wee navh doon, Als wee forgiev'eth eech ooth'er man, Nee leet us fal in noo fon'diq'e, Ak shild us froo dhe fuur'e thiq'e.

Aa'men'.

Credo
I bleuene in God faadir almiichty, 
shipper of heuene and of eorpe, and in Íthesus Crist, his onlepi sole, 
vre louerd, þat is iuange þurch þe holy gost, bore of Marie Mayden, 
þalede pijn under Pounce Pilat, 
pichh on rode tre, ded and yburriid, 
licht in to helle, þe þride day fram 
deth aros, steich in to heuene, sit on 
his fadir richt honde. God almiichti, 
þenne is cominde to deme þe qukke 
and þe dede. I bleuene in þe holy 
gost, al holy chirche, mone of 
alle halwen, forgiuenis of sinne, 
þleiss vprising, lyf wiþu'ten ende.

Amen.

Kre'do
Ii bleu'ær in God, faa'nder almiikt-h'ti, 
shipër of nev'e and of ethre', and in 
Dzhee'sus Krist, his oon'leepi soo'ne, 
uure lover'd, dhat is ifage thurkh the 
Hoo'l'i Goost, boor'en of Marii'e mai'den. 
þoode leipi ûnder Punse Pilaat, 
pichh on the roode tree, deed and iberied, 
licht into mel'e, dhe thrid'e dai from 
deth aros', staichh into nev'e, sit on 
his faa'àer richt mond'ê, God almiikt-h'ti, 
þhore is kuum'end'e to deeme dhe kwik'e 
and dhe deede'. Ii bleu'ær in dhe Hoo'l'i 
Goost, al noo-li tahshir'h, moone of 
al'-e hal'wen, forgi'nes of sin'e, flash 
uprîs'iq', liif withuu'ten end'.

Aa'men'.
MISCELLANIES — XIII TH CENTURY.

**Arund. MS. 292, fol. 3. Rel. Ant. 1, 234.**

**Pater noster.**

Fader ure Screen art in heune blisse
Sin hege name itt wurthe bliscedd,
Cumen itt motte 0i king dom,
Sin hal it wil it be al don
In heune and in erse all so,
So itt sall ben ful wel ic tro;
If us alle one 'Sis dai
Vre bred of icha dai
And forgiue us ure sinne
Als we don ure wiserwinnes;
Leet us noet in fondinge faile,
Ooc fro indu 0i sild us ale.

**Aue Maria**

Marie ful of grace, weel de be,
Godd of heune be wi 0e,
Oure alle wumen bliscedd tu be,
So be 0e bern datt is born of 0e.

**Credo in Deum**

I leue in Godd al-michten fader,
'Att heune and erde made to gar;
And in Ihesu Crist bis leue sun,
Vre onelic lonerd, ik him mune,
'Att of de holigost bikenedd was,
Of Marie 'Sek maiden boren he was,
Pinedd under Ponce Pilate,
On roede nailled for mannes sake;
'Sar 'Solede he deadd widuten wold,
And birieyd was in de roche cold,
Dun til helle lieten he gan,
'Se 'Sidde dait off deadd atkam,
To heume he steg in ure manliche,
'Sar sitte'0 he in his faderes riche,
O domes dait sal he cumen agen,
To demen dede and liues men:
I leue on 'Se halig gast,
al holi chirche stedefast
Men off alle holi kinne,
And forguenesse of mannes sinne,
Vpringe of alle men,
And eche lif I leue. Amen.

**Camden's Remaines p. 24.**

**Pater noster.**

Faa'eder ure ure dhat art in nevne blisse
Dhiin nekke'0e naam it wurde blisse'd,
Kuu'men it moote dhiis ki'doom'
Dhiin maai'li wil it bee al doon
In nev'en and in erth al soo,
So it shal been ful wel ik trooo,
Gif us alee on 1 dhis dai
Uure bred of iit'sh'e day
And forgiv us ure sine'
Als wee doon uure wiide'werinnes;
Leet us nokoht in fon'dic'0e falee,
Ook fro ii vil dhiu shild us alle.

**A've**

Marii'0e ful of graase, wel de 2 be,
God of nev'ne bee with dhee,
Ovr- ale wiemen blist tu 3 bee,
So bee dhe bern dat'-s 4 born of dhe.

**Kree'do**

Ii leev in God al'miht'en Faadar,
Dhat nev'n and erth'e maad togaader;
And in Dzheseus Krist, nis leeeve suune,
Uur oc'neliik loverd, ik iem muune,
Dhat of dhe Hoo'li Goost bikened was,
Of Marii'0e dhe mai'0en boon he was,
Piiwed un'nder Puns'e Pilaa-te,
On roode nail'ed for man'e saa'ke.
Dhar dhoold e death withu'ten woold,
And beried was in dhe rotshe koold,
Duun til hel'e licht'en he gaan,
Dhec thri'de dai of death atkam';
To nev'n -e steegh in uur man liir'tshe,
Dhar stiv'the e in -is faa'tres riit'she;
O doome's dai shal -e kuu'men agen';
To deem'en deed and liives men:
Ii leev on dhe Hai'li Gaast,
Al nooli't shibh't'e steed'fext,
Men of ale hoo'li kiene,
And forgivneses of man'es siu'e,
Upriis'iq of ale men,
And eet'she liif ii leev. Aa'men'.

The short Proverbial Verses, vol. ii, p. 14, are taken from the margin of the Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vi, fo. 21, where they are in a different hand from the text and are probably much later, though, as Mr. Wright observes, "in a hand of the thirteenth century." They contain some peculiarities as: 0eise midoutin lessing, for: 0ese

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1 This line is probably corrupt. The hiatus (ale on), is unlikely, but to read: (Gif us aloo'ene . . . dhis dail), would be deficient unless we inserted (nuu) or some such word, after (alo'ene), meaning: give us alone [now] this day. The rhyme is, however, so rough, that criticism is out of the question.

2 (De) for (dhe) after (wel); (tu) for (dhu) after (blist) which must be taken as a monosyllable, this change of (dhu) into (tu) shewing that the preceding letter was voiceless, that is (t) not (d), as ju would have otherwise been (dun), compare the first case, and also (dat) for (dhat) after (bcrn).
MISCELLANIES — XIII TH CENTURY.

§ 1, No. 3.

wiputen lesing — these without lying. This form peise is not named by Stratmann, and is perhaps an individuality. The ou in: midoutin stroutende, belong to the transition period, shewn distinctly by: “that tu, and tou,” both of which = tu, in two following lines. The form ielu, printed jelu, for jelu = yellow, is peculiar, as shewing the complete passage of ȝ into i.

In vol. i, p. 89, there is a Hymn to the Virgin, and another on p. 102, preceded by a curious parabolal poem, beginning: “Somer is comen and winter 2 gon,” not entirely legible, all taken from MS. Egerton 613, fo. 1 and 2. The first and last are in the same hand, the second in a different hand, but they all belong to the transition period; thus on p. 89 we have: thou, our, flour, ous (twice), foule; but also: but = out, thu (3 times); also: put = pit, shewing the (y) or (i, e) sound of u. The last has: foules = fowls, witoute = without, ous = us, but generally keeps the u pure. And the second prayer p. 102, while it has: thu (16 times), flur, withuthen, oreisun, tunge, has also: out, fuhl; and: sunne (3 times) = sin. It is curious to note also: ic chabbe, and ich chabbe, for ich habbe, implying probably the running on of the words thus: (i,tshab'e). The orthography: flesch, for: flesh, is perhaps to be compared with: ihe, for: ich, in the preceding line.

The other poems in the Reliquia Antiquae, belonging either to the transition or later periods, do not call for any further remark.

The first seven pieces in the Early English Poems taken from Harl. MS. 913, are all assigned to a date prior to 1300, but like the fifteen pieces which follow from Harl. MS. 2277 and ascribed to 1305-10, they belong to the transition period with respect to ou and u.

In the Sarmyn pp. 1-7, the transition period is marked by: ou 5 (the figures refer to the stanzas), sou 2a, mouh 4, aboute 4, jou 5, wipoute 7, etc.; against: ure 1, us 3, schulders 5, luse = lousse 5, wipoute prute = proud 6 (the adjective always end in t); prude 10, pride 12, is the substantive in which u = i,) acenitis 24, lude = loudly 31, uir 41, etc. The u for i is common, as munde kunde = mind kind 26, ihuidd 11. The palatalised guttural usually sinks into i, as: seib 3, mei 8, dai 18, ei hei = eye high 22, etc.; but sometimes remains, as: heij 53, 56, neibor 9; heij = though 27. We find also: fleisse meisse = flesh mass 6 (see infra p. 473, n. 4), hir hirist = herr, hearest 33, file = vile 3, drit = dirt 7, dritte = dirt 10, ihe 13, mov = mow 14, nov = now 31, vorjinge = farthing 24, wi = will 31, angles = angels 33, woni = to dwell 51, and these infinitives in i, usually accented, occur as will be presently seen, in other parts of the same MS. There is an assonance: sprede wrekke 30, and: virst best 57 may probably be: prist = thirst best, a rhyme of i, e, but the rhymes in general are not remarkable. The final e seems simply disregarded in rhyme and metre, but the metre is so hummocky that it is difficult to make anything of it.

1 Both are printed in Goldbeck and Mätzner’s Alteenglische Sprachproben, text of the Rel. Ant. is not in the MS. p. 58.
Take for example the last stanza, p. 7, which may perhaps be read as marked:

Alle ðat beþ icommin here
fort to hire þis sarmun
loke ðat je nab no were
for seeue þer je habbij þo pardoun.

(Al dhat beeth ikum'en heer
For to niire diis sarmun;
Looke dhat je n-ab no weere,
For sev jeer je habth pardou:n:)

The whole MS. seems marked by provincialisms, which it is extremely difficult to understand. The first stanza of the xv. Signa ante judicium, p. 7, is in the same style, and was probably due to the same author:

pe grace of ihesu fulle of miyte
proj prier of ure swete leuedi
mote amang vs nupe alijte
And euer vs þem and saui.

(Dhe graas of Dzee-eu ful of mikt
Thrukh prier of uur sweet levdi:
Moot amaq: us nuudh alikht
And ever us zeem and saavi:)

Such attempts, however, to give pronunciation, must be viewed with indulgence, they are necessarily very hazardous. In this piece: ysaie profecie 9, must have the vowels in ai divided, y-sa-i-e. The final e in mercie 25 is idle, added on to rhyme with cri in the same stanza, where it was probably not pronounced, as we have: of ihesu crist merci to cri 80, and

je. xii. dai þe fure. elemens sul cri
al in one heij steuene
merci ihesu ßi mari
as jou ert god and king of heuene, 177

which gives us another example of Mari, see supra, p. 441, and similarly: to cri, merci 137. Remarkable forms: dotus angus = doubtful anquish 113, probably = (duutus* aggus*) with a Norman u = (u), fisses = fishes 121, euch uerisse wattir = each fresh water 125, skëis = skies 133, where I suspect an accidental transposition of ei for ie, as the form is otherwise incomprehensible, fentis = fiends 161, fure = four 169, 177, wolny nulni = wullen-hi ne-wullen-hi, = will they n'ill they 173, maugrei = maugre 173, probably a Norman form.

The Fall and Passion, p. 12, has the rhyme: frute dute = fruit doubt 23 (line) which is decidedly favourable to the English pronunciation of Norman u at that time as (uu) see p. 424, note 3. Remarkable forms: maistre = mastery 21, maistri = mystery 50, sso = she 52, yo = she 79, flees, = flesh 49, as he is manhed siwed 97, hou hi lord ssold siu þe 105. The following infinitives in -i occur: suffri = to suffer 66, honuri = to honour 72, biri = to bury 74, 76; and: sauid isimid 43, being accent on the last syllable imply the same form. The same accent occurs in the rhyme: ipinsed suffred 89, siwed suffrid 97. The rhyme: alowe two 79, seems to be an error.

The Ten Commandments, p. 15, has also: honuri worþi = to honour, to worship 17, and the assonance: iwisse limmes 5. The Fragment on the Seven Sins, p. 17, has also: clansi = cleanse imperative st. 5, herrid = horrid, st. 10, nemeni = to name st. 10, woni = to dwell v. 9, prute shrute = proud shrute v. 10, fleis = flesh v. 12, þer is mani man bi peiþe (= bepeached, deceived?), so þe
fend him hau[i]p icti[te] (= taught?) 22, susteni = to sustain 58. Christ on the Cross p. 20, has: bewonde wnde = wounded wound v. 3, fote blode 11, anguis 14, gredind deind 25, strang hond 26. The Rhyme beginning Fragment p. 21, is only remarkable for making in me answer to inne, but as the trick of beginning a line with the last word of the preceding line is not carried out consistently, this assonance may have no special meaning. The whole examination does not lead to much. The orthography is so singular and so irregular, we might almost say so ignorant, and the dialect so peculiar, that it is of very little assistance. No general result could be deduced. The rhymes are not certain enough to be of much value, and are generally the veriest doggrel conceivable, while the metre is nowhere. In the parts from Harl. MS. 2277, we may notice the false rhymes: poynte quynte p. 66, v. 5, (unless indeed poynte is to be Normanized into peynite), britaigne fawe p. 68, v. 85, against: bratigne fayne p. 69, v. 133, and the assonance: makede glade p. 108, v. 35. The form sede for seide is found in: rede sede p. 66, v. 28; p. 68, v. 99, sede mede p. 72, v. 56, dede sede p. 74, v. 48. See infrà, p. 484. But seide also occurs, p. 72, v. 58, v. 60, etc., being the regular form.

In an extract from Cott. MS. Vesp. D. IX., (which being of the xvth century, does not properly belong to this place), Why I can't be a nun, p. 138, we find: wept few accept ihesu trew observaunce new variaunce p. 139, v. 40, but ihesu may not have been intended to rhyme with few trew new, because we find a line ending with this name thrown in without a rhyme on the next page 140, v. 88, kyn necessite wyn me omnipotent Ihesu present ys thys, etc. In p. 140, v. 100, we find:

To the for comfort I make my sute
To have that ioy that lastythe ay,
For her loue that bare that frute
Swete ihesu miserere mei.

giving the rhyme: ay mei, the last word being Latin: This may be compared with: Sinay day, in Chaucer, suprà p. 264, and Dr. Gills (eci) p. 114.

In the Political Songs Mr. Wright has collected a number of short poems in Latin, Norman French, and English, referring to the xivth or beginning of the xivth century. Unfortunately most of the English songs, as: the Song against the King of Almaine p. 69, Song of the Husbandman p. 149, Song against the Pride of the Ladies p. 153, Satyre on the Consistory Courts p. 155, Song of the Flemish Insurrection p. 187, Execution of Sir Simon Fraser p. 212, Song against the Retinnes of Great People p. 237, Elegy on the Death of Edward I. p. 246, are from Harl. MS. 2253, which has adopted the full xivth century orthography, so that they are of little use here. The principal points are the assonances: lonke songe wlonke thonke p. 156, and longe londe p. 193. There are numerous instances of u = (i, e), as: hude prude p. 150, sturne hurne p. 159, wunne sumne p. 153, prude shrude hude p. 153, prude drede p. 190. The apparent rhyme: ded sayde p. 246,
is probably no rhyme at all, but the nature of the stanza is broken and the first and third lines do not rhyme, which is precisely what we find in the next stanza but one, p. 247, where otherwise: sunne Edward, would form a rhyme! Still, as we have just seen, the form sede also occurs, and may: here be meant (p. 447). Ded gret redde p. 248 must be regarded throughout as an assonance. In: chivalrie dyeheyge eric p. 249, the second and third words should have been written: dye hye, as often in Chaucer.

Of all the Political Songs the only two which exhibit almost precisely the orthography of the xiii. century, are those from the Harl. MS. 913, viz. The Song of the Tames, p. 195, and the Song of Negó, p. 210. The last raises no new points, and may be passed over. The first exhibits as for sch in: ssold p. 197, also written schold in the same page, ssal pp. 201, 203, 204, ssul pp. 202, 205, precisely as in the Ayenbite, supra p. 409. There are some little slips as: feloni = felonie p. 197, line 13, amy lie, ami mei both on p. 200, where mei is an error for me. The first will not rhyme unless we read: li', which is unusual, but the final e's are lax in this song. The use of boi = boy, in: tel me, boi, what hast ido? p. 199, l. 5 is noteworthy. The curious word i-pilt, in the Prisoner's Prayer, v. 25, (supra p. 429, note 1), is well illustrated by the passages

And so men didde that seli asse,
That trepasid neit, no did not gilte,
With ham bothe iwreid was,
And in the ditement was iplit. p. 198.
Godis grame most hi have
That in the curte the so pilt!

When hit is so, ich vouchevare,
Ie forgive the this gilte. p. 199.
Ie am iwreid, Sire, to the,
For that ilk gilte;
Sire, ichul sker me,
I ne jef ham dint no pilt. p. 200.

The Auchinleck¹ MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, has not thoroughly adopted the xiv. century orthography,² and as it belongs to the very beginning of the xiv. century³ has a claim to such forms in Sir Tristrem, the 37th piece.

1 "In the year 1504, the barony or manour of Auchinleck (pronounced Ijleek) in Ayshire, which belonged to a family of the same name with the lands, having fallen to the crown by forfeiture, James the Fourth, King of Scotland, granted it to Thomas Boswell." — Boswell's Life of Johnson, anno 1776. "The pronunciation of Ijleek for Auchinleck, was formerly common, but is fast disappearing, and is now confined, I should say, to the lower classes of the parish and neighbourhood." Private letter from Mr. Halkett, Librarian of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, 18 Jan. 1869.

2 Nu, hu, occur occasionally, but rarely. Nu occurs once in the piece immediately cited, nu and hu several times in the second piece, which, though last in the MS., is said to be in an older hand. I have not noticed any

3 An "Account of the Auchinleck MS. Advocates' Library (W. 4, 1,) and a catalogue of its contents," forms the fourth appendix to the introduction to Sir Walter Scott's edition of Sir Tris-

trem, to which a facsimile of the first two stanzas of that poem are prefixed It is a quarto of 334 leaves, containing 44 pieces of poetry, on parchment, "in a distinct and beautiful hand, which the most able antiquaries are inclined to refer to the earlier part of the xiv. century. The pages are divided into two columns, unless where the verses, being Alexandrine, occupy the whole breadth of the quarto. In two or three instances there occurs a variation in the handwriting; but as the poems regularly follow each other, there is no reason to believe that such alterations
be considered here. There are two extracts from it, On the King’s
Breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charta, p. 253 (MS. No. 21),
and the Evil Times of Edward II. p. 323 (MS. No. 44). The
second only offers the curious orthography: muis huis, p. 326,
for: mous hous, and the assonance: hundred wonder p. 344.
But the first is very singular. The second, third, fourth, fifth,
and sixth stanzas, containing the sayings of the “iiiij. wise men”
have a peculiar arrangement of rhymes, differing from the rest of
the poem, which may be symbolised thus, like letters shewing
rhymes: $a a b c e b d d d e e e$. The last five stanzas stand thus:
$a a b c e b$. None of these lines present any difficulty or novelty.
The following is the first stanza, which Wright prints in divided
lines, but which in the MS. itself runs across the page, although
the pages of the MS. are usually divided into two columns, indicating,
apparently, that the transcriber considered the final rhymes only as
pointing out the divisions.

Len puet fere et defere ceo fait il trop souent
It mis nou̍jer wel ne faire perfere engelond is shent
Noftre prince de engletere per le consail de sa gent
At westminter after þe feire maden a gret parlement
La chartre fet de cyre ieo lenteink et bien le crey
It was holde to nelt þe fire and is moltes al awey
Ore ne say mes que dire tout i va a tripolay,
hudred. chapitl. court am shire al hit got a deuel way 2
des plusages de latere ore escotez vn sairmoun
Of iiiij. wise men þat þer were whi engelonde is broght adoun 3

indicate an earlier or later date than
may be reasonably ascribed to the rest
of the work; although the satire
against Simonie, No. 44, seems rather
in an older hand than the others,
and may be an exception to the general
rule. The MS. was presented to the
Faculty of Advocates, in 1744, by
Alexander Boswell, of Auchinleck, a
Lord of Session, by the title of Lord
Auchinleck, and father of the late
James Boswell, Esq., the biographer of
Dr. Johnson. Of its former history
nothing is known. Many circum-
stances lead us to conclude that the
MS. has been written in an Anglo-
Norman Convent. That it has been
compiled in England there can be but
little doubt. Every poem which has a
particular local reference, concerns
South Britain alone. . . . On the other
hand, not a word is to be found in the
collection relating particularly to Scot-
tish affairs.”

1 Compare “And let me slepe, a
twenty deuel way!”—Cant. Tales 3713.
2 The passage as we learn by Mr.
Wright’s note on p. 385, was trans-
ferred to his pages from: “an in-
teresting little volume of early poetry,
edited and printed privately by David
Laing, Esq., and W. B. D. Turnbull,
Esq., under the title of ‘Owain Miles,
and other Inedited Fragments of An-
cient English Poetry. Svo. Edinburgh,
1837.” The present copy follows a
careful transcript obligingly made for
me by Mr. Halkett, the Librarian of
the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, who
says: “In Owain Miles the editors
have divided each line into two; in my
transcript you have them as they were
originally written. There are no points
except a dot after the word hundred,
and another after the word chapitle; I
am not sure whether they have been
put there by design or by accident.”
On examining the orthography of the
two pieces in this MS. given by
Wright, and of Sir Tristrem as edited
by Scott, we find it very irregular with
respect to final $e$, in which it agrees
with the MS. of Hampole (p. 410).
Similarly, in the poems of the “deeff,
sick, blyun,” monk John Audelay of
Haughmond, four miles from Shrews-
bury, written 1426, necessarily from
dition and of course unrevised by
the author (edited from MS. Bodl. 546,
for the Percy Society, by J. O. Halli-
Now if we adopted Mr. Wright's arrangement in half lines we should be led to suppose that the rhymes were intended to be arranged thus: \( ab\ ab\ ab\ ab\ cd\ cd\ cd\ cd\ ef\ ef\), and thus make: defere faire Engletere feire, rhyme together. But the first and third words probably ended in (-eer) and our previous investigations lead us to consider that the second and fourth ended in (ai-re).\(^1\) We have not hitherto found a single instance in any good xiv th century MS. of e rhyming with ay or ey.\(^2\) The few

well, 1844), the final e has apparently no phonetic meaning at all. The whole character of the spelling of Sir Tristrem (MS. No. 37) is northern. In the present short extract we have both Engelond and Engelonde in the nominative; in the second line faire should be fair (p. 383), and then of course feire must be feir if it is intended to rhyme. maden a gret parlement, seems an error for, made a grete parlement; Wright reads made a gret.

\(^1\) A Somerseshire farming man once asked me if I had seen the (shlp) on the (fair), which sounded remarkably like a ship on fire, but merely meant the sheep in the fair from which I was walking. This is therefore an existent (fair) pronunciation of the Norman (feire.)

\(^2\) This rhyming of ey with e, must be distinguished from the double forms ey, e, in certain words which occurs in a few instances, see supra p. 265, and compare the double forms ey, i, pp. 284-286. The apparent rhyme: ded, sayde, p. 448, we have seen may not have been meant for a rhyme at all. Since the text was in type my attention has been directed to some apparent rhymes of ay, e in the poems of Audeley referred to in the last note but one. It will be advisable to consider these rhymes in this place. We must remember that the poet was both blind and deaf, and had an illiterate scribe. These three points are well proved by the notice (p. vi., Halliwell's edition, to the pages of which all references will be made): "iste liber fuit compositus per Johannem Awdelay, capellanum, qui fuit secus et surdus, in sua visitacione, ad honorem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et ad exemplum aliorum, in monasterio de Hagmon, anno Domini millesimo ccce, mo vicesimo vi, anime propicietur Deus." The secus for cucus, or as we now write coccus, shows the trustworthiness of the scribe. The English part is full of the grossest or-

thorical eccentricities and inconsistencies, and was probably written by an ignorant brother, whose labours the author was unable to revise either by eye or ear. Under these circumstances we should rather be surprised at the regularity of the rhymes than at the occasional utter forgetfulness of rhyme, as: law withdrew dais p. 22, (but perhaps dawes should be read, see supra p. 371, Ex. b.), leadmen corexen releegyn p. 24, Christ charyte p. 26, to therfro more p. 40, worlde rewarde p. 40, reprevey dispilid p. 60 (both accented on the penultim), Lorde worlde p. 60, Judas cos = kiss p. 60, Lord soffyrd p. 61, thorst last p. 64, opus masse p. 73, on-morwe underne p. 75, dirnes masse p. 76, dynt stont p. 78, masse worse p. 79, prayere honour p. 79. It is evident from these examples that we must not press Audeley's doggrel rhymes too closely, and certainly not draw any inference from a few isolated examples. There can be no doubt, however, that he did not distinguish short i and short e, and there seems little doubt that he confused long i and long e also. Every page offers examples of the first, and the rhyme in -e, -i, -y, -ye is the commonest he has. The words, die, high, eye, were to him dye, hye, ye the last was even written -e, (p. x), and the two former constantly rhyme -e. Mr. Halliwell says (p. xi) that in Shropshire "i is still turned into e, which may be regarded one of Audeley's dialectical peculiarities, especially in the prefixes to the verbs." Another peculiarity, of the scribe at any rate, is to consider oi and i as identical, at least in some words. We have already cited dispilid = despooled, p. 60, and we have dystry p. 20 but dysstry p. 33, four=fire, p. 48, rhyming to weere. Another singular rhyme, if any weight is to be attached to it is: hyng dryne p. 61, see supra p. 192. The word cro is has various rhymes: was, losse p. 61, choyes p. 8,
earlier cases which appear to exist in Havelok, etc., will hereafter be shewn to have probably arisen from errors (p. 473). Could we then have no and e would hesitate to consider a false rhyme. To the same category I relegate the example in the same place of the next stanza: sayne eyne sene p. 46, where sene = seen is the infinitive mood of see, y-seyne bene p. 68 = i-seen been, are past participle forms, and the spelling of the first word is erroneous, but we have a similar form in Chaucer, supra p. 265. Bred betrayed p. 70, I class with: wayt aldat p. 47, as mere helpless rhymes; if the one could prove that ay = (ee), the other would prove ay = (a), for the rhyme: face alas p. 60, would establish long a = (aa). In cowsele asayle batelay p. viii, the first word should have its usual form counseyl. In eme = modern aim p. 12, 37 and often, the e is correct, the modern spelling is wrong, the origin being Fr. esomer = astimare. The above are absolutely all the cases observed, and the impression produced on myself by the examination of these rhymes, is, that Audelay pronounced ay, e, differently, and that the conclusions deduced from other sources apply to these cases also, viz: ay = (ai), o = (e). Nevertheless there are at least two MSS. and there may be more, which certainly confuse ay, ay with e, both in spelling and sound. The most striking of these in the Lincoln's Inn MS. 150, from which Weber has printed the greater part of King Alisaunder (in vol. 1 of Metrical Romances of the xiii th, xiv th and xv th centuries, published from Ancient Manuscripts, with an introduction, notes, and a glossary, by Henry Weber, Esq., Edinburgh, 1810, 3 vols., 8vo.), and which must be carefully distinguished from the Bodl. MS. Laud. 1, 74, from which he has taken v. 4772—5989 of the same romance. This poem is supposed to have been written before 1300, and both the MSS. are attributed by Weber to the xiv th century, but Mr. Furnivall and Mr. Skeat date the Lincoln's Inn MS. about 1450. The Bodleian MS. has nothing strange, except: noye daye 5412, ryth nyth 4812 (but: nighth ryth 6076) which reminds one of Havelock's peculiar th, infra p. 477, and there are a few i, e rhymes, as: clere fire 5542, and some e, a, as: art cert 5502, but not frequent, and some assonances, as: blith wyf 5138. But on the whole it
from this popular song conclude that all this is a mistake, and suppose that Chaucer, and Gower, and other writers, although frequently hard up for rhymes, never employed such an extremely convenient jingle which lay ready to hand? The conclusion would be hazardous in the extreme, and is certainly unnecessary, for the apparent

is tolerably regular, and admitting the correctness of: cuntrey 4898, 5008, charrey 5096, curey 5118, tornay play journael noblay 6212, presents no other remarkable orthography. But the Lincoln’s Inn MS. is very peculiar, and if we had to deduce pronunciation from its rhymes, we should be badly off indeed. Omitting the false rhymes, 63, 305, 1515, 1708, 3173, etc., the assonances, the cases in which the first syllable of a dissyllable rhymes with a monosyllable as: bridel ride 958, walles al 1876, foughte doughte 2761, certis heart 6544, etc., the rhymes of a with e, o and even i, as: wist cast 716, fynde thousand 2403, often spelled thounsnde, sixe waxe 6038; of e with i, a, o; and confining ourselves to the combinations ei, ai, oi, ui or ey, ay, oy, uy, we find ei written for e in: leynthe streynt 788, 7351, nobleys 1373, eynde 1573, 1912, eleir 2885, steil 3211, speide neide 3441, yeild 3791, heynde 4206, yeir 6963, which are conclusive as to confusion in the scribe’s mind between these sounds. But we also find ai rhyming with a, e, i, oi; ei with ai, e, i, uy; oi with ai, i; ui with e, i, oi. These rhymes are so curious that many of them may be cited. Al, A: saide mede 525, 7393, barbarics mayne 1591, amayrlysis talis 1780, Taran, mayn 3247. Al, E: camelis vitailes 854, bonere = debnonair faire 6732, saide ledo 6942, saide maied = mede? 7327. Al, I: Akaye Arabye 3399, play dye = deye 3442, bywryghen sayn 4116, raineth schyneth 6450, high contray 7143. Al, OI: y-said anoyed 273, 876, 1287, 1599, and often, play boy 1730, (boy is absolutely written bay 4376), taile speole 2153, faile Tysolei 2148, palfrey bo 3207, pays = peace noise 3373. EI, Al, I: cheynteyn mayn 3199, reyne mayne 7378. EI, E: thede fede 95, deys = daits nobles 1039, cse deys = daits 1153, kene eyghnen 1317, yeild sheilds 2067, seye = seen padre 2179, corteyes pes = peace 2951, yeld field 2969, steil wel 3419, kep = keep deep 3429; (but: kepe deep 3477), seide felawre 6588, mestier conseiler 7480. EI, I: nygh
anomaly is easily explained. The writer began in Norman French, meaning to mix up English with it, just as Norman French, English and Latin are intermixed in a haphazard manner in the Song of the Times, p. 251. In this way he wrote the two first lines, taking the arrangement in the MS., (which did not rhyme in the middle); but reverting to Norman French in his third line he threw off a middle rhyme to his first, and then for the sake of symmetry he made his fourth line have a middle rhyme to his second, thus producing, if we count the middle rhymes, the somewhat singular arrangement: \( ab \ ab \ ab \ ab \). Naturally enough in adding the next four lines he adopted the more obvious arrangement: \( ab \ ab \ ab \ ab \), for the words: cyre fire dire shire, all rhyme; and the words: crey awey Tripolay wey, also rhymed to English ears at least, as (-ai). A question, however, arises whether the Norman French: crey, Tripolay, ended in (ai) as well as the English: awey, wey. Of the latter we can at present feel little doubt, of the former there may be considerable cause for hesitation. In modern French ei, ai, are in most words called (ee), and the stanza we have been considering has been relied upon to establish that ai, ei in English had the sound of (ee), on the presumption that: defere, faire, Engleterre, feire, were all intended to rhyme in (ee're). If we take the arrangement of the lines in the MS. itself, there is no room at all for this assumption, because in fact we have only ten rude Alexandrines, rhyming thus: \( a \ a \ a \ a \ b \ b \ b \ b \ c \ c \), at their ends, and occasionally, but not essentially, rhyming their middles. As, however, the other view is strongly insisted on, it is advisable, without further reference to an isolated song which can really establish nothing, to enter upon an examination of the probable value of ei, ai, in old Norman, a question so extensive and so beset with difficulties that it is impossible to discuss it fully.

The conclusions to which I have been led by an examination of all the rhymes in Wace’s Roman de Rou, and several other Norman

have used (ee) for ei (ei, ai) in some words at a very early period precisely as Hart did in the xvi\textsuperscript{th} century (p. 122), the great majority of educated men, and all speakers of the Court dialect said (ei) or (ai) where ei, ai were written, down to the middle or end of the xvi\textsuperscript{th} century, and believing that the hypothesis of an original (ee) sound, followed by an (ai) pronunciation in the xvi\textsuperscript{th} century as distinctly laid down by Sir T. Smith (p. 121), which again became (ee) in the xvii\textsuperscript{th} century, is untenable.

1 Fire has a dative e; shire asg. seire an essential e. The word shire is still pronounced (shir) by many, sup\textsuperscript{r}a p. 275, note 3. Cyre, dire, were French (siire, diire) anglicized, perhaps to (siire, diire). The rhyme was therefore (-iire) or (-ii're) in all, or the first in the French and the second in the English.

2 Mr. Wright prints way, Mr. Halkett transcribes wey.

3 Rapp has adopted the pronunciation (ee) for ai in old French, see infr\textsuperscript{a}, p. 509, note 1.

4 See the previous remarks, p. 438.

5 Le Roman de Rou et des Dues de Normandie, par Robert Wace, poète normand du xii\textsuperscript{e} siècle, publié pour la première fois, d’après les manuscrits de France et Angleterre, avec des notes pour servir à l’intelligence du texte, par Frédéric Pluquet, Rouen 1827, 8vo, 2 vols., 16547 verses.
poems, are that ei, ai, when written were always meant to indicate the diphthongs (ei, ai) or the disyllables (e,i) and (a,i), but that they were occasionally employed, perhaps by a scribal error, for simple e (e). It also appears tolerably certain that in a small series of words both (ai) and (e) were pronounced at a very early period, and that in other cases, by the same sort of habit which at the present day leads an Englishman to terminate his (oe, oo) in (i,u), thus (eii, oou), and which led him in the last century to palatalise k, g into (kj, gj) before (e, ai),—habits which, it is important to observe, exist in full force at the present day in Icelandic, the living representative of the language spoken by the Norsemen before they acquired Normandy, and therefore probably indicating the tendency of the pronunciation these would adopt—the Normans introduced an unhistorical, but really pronounced (i) after e, a, in many words; so that this introduced i was not an idle orthographical ornament, but implied an actual alteration of sound. Whether the sounds (ei, ai) were kept as distinct as they now are in modern French conseil, travail, it would be difficult to determine, but they were certainly confused in writing, and it is probable that to English ears, which seem to have long confused the sounds, they sounded the same as the ordinary English (ai).1 The existence of the sounds (ei, ai) in vieil, ail and such words, seems indeed to imply a prior (ei, ai) pronunciation, because, as we have every reason to suppose that the palatisation of the l in (lj) and even (jh) or its entire absorption in (i), as (vjei, ai), is comparatively modern, and we know that l had the contrary tendency to labialisation after the same vowels e, a in French, compare eux, aux, it seems probable that this palatisation was generated by a preceding (i) and did not conversely generate the (i). Supposing these conclusions were correct, an Englishman, at least, would rhyme: creyawy Tripolay wey, as we have supposed, in (-ai). The following is a brief statement of some of the grounds on which these conclusions rest.

Both ai and ei occasionally represent divided vowels and not diphthongs, in which case the French editors generally write ai, ei, but it is more convenient to use the ordinary signs -ai, ei with Dr.

1 Modern Englishmen readily hear all combinations which approach in sound to their (ai), as (ai). Compare p. 123, note 4. Observe the common error (kuv'doil) for (ku deo) coup d'oil. See also the various Scotch sounds, p. 290, which Englishmen usually find the greatest difficulty in distinguishing. When I was recently prevailing to make a literary English friend appreciate the difference (ei, ai), I entirely failed, and he heard both sounds as (ai). The Dutch ei, j = (ei, ai) as I heard them (p. 295, note 1), are both heard as (ai) by Englishmen, and as (ai) by Germans. The modern Icelandic diphthongs corresponding to ei, ai are written et, a and pronounced (ees, aar) with a distinct and lengthened primary, and an extremely abbreviated secondary element. Compare the effect of the similar sound (eii) of southern English long a at Tenby, p. 272, note 3. Also observe the actual change of long a into (ei) or (aii), as (reei;i deai) for rainy day, among the children of the uneducated classes in London, pointed out to me by school-teachers to whom it occasioned difficulty, see p. 294 and note 2. The change of (ee) into (ei) and hence (ai) is therefore not merely à priori likely from Norse habits, but actually corroborated by existing English uses.
Delius. These divisions occur even in words which in modern times have received the sound of (ee) or (ee), as well as in such words as: poiz fu ocis en traison 51, et en France mainte envaïe 135, guerpí ont toz li plein païs 529, where the separation still remains in: trahison, envahir, pays, and the pronunciation has altered in the last word only.

Aider in the Norman war-cry is always aie:

Franceiz erient: Monjoe. e Normanz: Dening 3 aie. 4665

The complete: aider, occasionally occurs, and this divided form seems etymologically more ancient than the diphthongal: aider, which is however more common.4 It is worthy of remark that the diphthongal pronunciation (ai'der) remained well into the xvi th century, as it is classed with: aymant, hair, as having both vowels pronounced by Meigret (supra p. 118), and Ramus, 1562, classes: païant gaiant aidant (Livet, p. 205). The older pronunciation of this one word, therefore does not admit of doubt.

Par false e par feinte haine
Fu faite cesto desaisine.

This word: haine, is now pronounced (een), Féline writes (en), but: hair is (a,iir) not (eer, air), haïssable (a,isabl'). The verb is now very variable: je hais, tu hais, il hait; nous haïssons, vous haïissez, ils haïssent. The Old French: hadir, cited by Diez, seems to imply the greater antiquity of the divided vowels.

1 Maistre Wace's St. Nicholas. Ein altfranzösisches Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts aus Oxford Hand- schriften, herausgegeben von Dr. Nicolas Delius, Bonn, 1850, 8vo. pp. 95. "Eben so unentbehrlich erscheinen die Trennungspunkte über zwei Vokalen, die sonst, zur Beeinträchtigung des Verses, für einen Diphthong gelesen würden, z. B. eü, oi, u. s. w. Die Methode französischer Editoren im ersteren Falle éu, blescure u. s. w. zu schreiben, ist schwerlich zu rechtfertigen, da ein so betontes e wohl kaum von dem folgenden Vokal verschluckt worden wäre, wie das in der neuer Sprache doch geschehen ist; eu, blescure u. s. w."
Preface, p. xi. Dr. Delius's reason may admit of dispute. The proper method is, of course, to follow the manuscript, and leave the rest to the reader, but in the present case I shall use ai, ei, as the object is to point out such cases to the eye.

2 The simple figure refers to the verse in the Roman de Rou. The letters B, E, refer to Benoît (supra p. 438, note 2) and Eustache (Roman d'Eustache le Moine, edited by F. Michel, Lond. 1834, 8vo).

3 On this extraordinary form Dening for Deus, Dr. Rapp remarks (Phys. d. Spr. ii, 86) that the black letter v, x of the middle ages only differed by a small tail affixed to the latter, and this he supposes induced the scribes to abbreviate the frequent termination us, ux, that is, vs, vx, as they should have been written, into x, which meant v with a subscribed x, and also led them to write x for v. Modern editors, he complains, have overlooked this, and hence written this pseudo x for v, in characters where the resemblance of form has altogether disappeared. So that now we find generally at one time als, els, fils, at another ax, ex, fax, and even where there was no s, at one time dis, at another diez, or dieu, which are, Dr. Rapp thinks, entirely due to errors of writing or reading. Hence we must always determine in the printed copies whether x stands for s, u, or us. To this abbreviation Dr. Rapp also attributes the German proverb, to make one an x for a u, "einem ein X für ein U machen," that is, substitute the false for the true, which he thinks is a proof that the custom was objected to even in the middle ages.

4 It. aita, Pr. ahiu, O. Fr. aïde aïe, Fr. aide, Eng. aid, It. attare, Pr. aidar, Fr. aider. Donkin's Diez's Rom. Dic. sub ajuta.
The modern French is (treeme). The divided vowels again appear to be more ancient.\(^1\)

Ausi cum glaive ist de gaïne
U cum lion prent sa rabine. \(\quad\) B. vol. i. p. 16.

Here again the modern French is (geen), but the divided vowels are more ancient.\(^2\)

For eï.
Emme sa fille fu reïne
A lie fu Engleterre encline. \(\quad\) 6548

The modern French is (reen), but the g extruded from regina shews the divided vowels to be the more ancient, and they were more common in this word in old Norman. Even the form: roïne is found in Wace's Brut.

Grant partie sor la marine
Malgre sa feme la roïne \(\quad\) v. 43.

Compare also
Tu meisme, dist Rou, as fet ton jugement. \(\quad\) 2029

The following examples are curious:
Sire, dist un Visconte, jo vos dirai ja veïr,
Cele vile n'est pas legiere a aseïr
Par l'ewe e par li pont povez sovent veïr
Chevaliers e serjanz cha dedenz receveïr.
Turna sei pur li cors veïr:
Gis tei, dist il, ne te moveïr.
En la boisiere volt veïr,
Ne sai s'il out de rien espeïr. \(\quad\) 5688

Here we see a divided: veïr, rhyming with an undivided: -eïr. Now the hypothesis that veïr was in such a case pronounced as eïr, seems contrary to all possibility or probability. But this might be simulated by the prefixing of an e, thus making the ordinary: veïr into: vëceïr, so that in this case we should not so much have a divided eïr, as an omitted e. This notion is partly sustained by comparing

A plusors des Baronz a monstre son cunseïl;
Si l'en tindrent tresuit a bon et a feïl. \(\quad\) 3314
Ki li donouent tel cunseil
Ne li unt pas esto feïl. \(\quad\) 8483

where the same word feïl, L. fidelis, rhyming with the same word cunseïl is at one time spelt feïl and at another feoiïl, which I have interpreted by a diéresis. This may however have been only a scribal accident. Still this insertion of e is similar to the familiar use of u or eï as the metre seems to require. This explanation hardly applies to

Normandie prendront e tendront soubs lor peïz
E se voudrent la France partiront entr' eïz. \(\quad\) 3633

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1 It. traino, Sp. trajin, Pr. trahi, Fr. E. train (O. Fr. traïn), from trahere; vb. It. trainare, Pr. trahinar, Fr. trainer. The suffix ino is not added to verbs, so the Ital. and Sp. forms may have been borrowed from the Pr. Fr. trahim traïm. Donkin’s Diez.

2 It. guaina, Fr. gaine, O. Fr. gainë, Rou. waine, W. gwain a sheath; from vagina. Milanese has guadinna, Venetian guazina. Donkin’s Diez.
and it seems more natural to suppose that (e,i) and (ei) were found sufficient rhymes, when a trouvère was hard pressed. But whatever explanation is adopted, we must remember that whereas veir is generally a monosyllable, it is made a disyllable in these places for the exigencies of the metre, which could hardly have been done unless it contained within itself the elements of resolvability, by containing two vowel sounds usually diphthongizing. This reminds us of the division of ueine, mayn into ueine, main for the exigencies of the music only, and even against the metre, in the Prisoner's Prayer, p. 432, line 7, and p. 453, line 6, of the music, which certainly could not have been attempted if both vowels had not been sounded. See also the apparent division of the diphthong in Chaucer, supra p. 264, and Havelok, infra p. 476. The double orthography:ismaier, esmaai, the last of which rhymes with ai, in:

Guert, dist Heraut, ne t' esmaier,
Dex nos pot bien, s'il volt, aider. 13015
Guert, dist il, nos anemiz creissent;
Chevaliers viennent et espeissent,
Molt part en vient, grant poor ai;
Unkes maiz tant ne m' esmaai. 13027

is scarcely comprehensible on the supposition that a was not clearly pronounced.

These quotations seem to establish the existence of ei, ai as diphthongs, and as divided vowels with the pronunciations (ei, ai) and (e,i, a,i) and the confusion of ei, ai when ai was an undoubted diphthong as in aider, compare sentrevident = s'entr'aident, in the Norman version of the Proclamation of Henry III, p. 502, l. 2. The question then becomes whether this pronunciation was universal, or whether ei, ai were not occasionally pronounced (ee) as at present.

Now in the first place we must not lose sight of the fact that several words were spelled indifferently with e or ai.

Odes n'en volt pur li rien fere,
Orguil respundi e contrer. 6612
Cil n'en ose plus nient fere
Dez ke li Düs le rova tere. 7057
Ki a sun cuer vunt a cuntraire
Maiz n'en pot il a cel tema faire. 8433
E de la grant destrucion
Ke paen a Dol orent fet:
S'il en France venir les lait. 6946
Se il nel fet, a nul jur mais
N'ara trievès de li ne pois. 8453
Mes par li bons cleris ki l'escriestrent. 37
Ne mes tant com l'en vait disant. 59
Sul Deus est sachanz e mestre
D'Oceane fist eissir e naistre B. vol. i. p. 5

Compare: estre maistre ib. p. 10. If we examine old French, as distinct from Norman, we shall find the interchange of ai, e constant. It is almost impossible to open Roquefort's Dictionnaire at hazard without finding examples. But at this early period, xith or xith century, I have not yet seen the confusion in many words. In the Roman de Rou, the only final words in -ere for -aire which
I have noticed are: fere, tere, contrere, and these, so far as I have observed, do not rhyme with words that are not also spelled with ai. Such words would, therefore, be probably words of double sounds, and if we met a rhyme like: faire cuntreire, we should naturally suppose that the scribe had mistaken in spelling one of the words. Thus, in the lines just cited, for: fet lait, read fait lait. This is precisely similar to the double forms in Chaucer: dye deye, ye eye, etc. (supra p. 284-6.) That the change had taken place in a large number of words in the xivth century we see by such English words as: ese, pees, cler = aise, paix, clair, in Chaucer, but the double form: ese eyse, shew that the tradition at least, of the old diphthongal form was not lost in England (p. 265). In this examination it would be necessary for certainty to revert to original manuscripts of a known date, for at a late period scribes must necessarily have confused spellings which had come to be identical in signification.

The Normans, if they carried with them Norse traditions, as interpreted by modern Icelandic, into the French pronunciation, must have had a tendency to palatisation; they must have been fond, that is, of prefixing or subjoining i to any other vowel, either always or occasionally. This is fully borne out in the Roman de Rou. Thus, for preceding i: triegue 1362, trieves 1320, legiere 1328, aidier 13016, chierte 1571, cunquiere 4677, similarly matiere, baniere, chief; mangie, eslaisse, E. p. 4, the practice being common. For a succeeding i: we have the frequent termination -aige co-existing with -age, as langage usage 5217, message passaige 10790, rivaiges damaiges 127, and: tuit = tout, tous 1074, trestuit = tres tous 1076, where the change is made to rhyme with: s'enfuit, muit, deduit, but all the forms: tuit, tut, tot, are found. Now to this Norman tendency I attribute the addition of an i to a pure e, as in dei = dé 3770, creimone 14966, compare cremuz 15049, and such common forms as: sei mei tei dei mescrei lei porkei 2021-8, meiz 3636, which are all alterations of a Latin e in the direction of palatalisation, whereas the French forms: soi moi toi etc. = (sue mue tue) etc. are in the opposite direction of labialisation. Compare also: vezins 186, with: veizin 2292, which seem to show how Latin i passed through Norman e before it became Norman ei, as a palatalisation of the e. From insufficient research I have not met with -tei for -te, answering to the Latin -tas, but Mr. Payne says he has found in Lymage del Monde, Harl. MS. 4333, dated 1246, all the forms: pouretci humilitci ueritei, vanitei, vanite, and similar

1 See an account of Icelandic, infra 6, No. 2. See also supra p. 454.
2 In addition to the observations at the close of the note on p. 120, M. l'abbé Delalonde, (p. 438, n. 3), says: "La pronuciation rivege, etc., n'existe pas dans la Seine-Inferérieure, sauf à St. Valery-en-Caux, où l'on pourrait trouver quelque chose d'analogue: on dirait plutôt à St. Valery rivege: mais il faut noter que l'accent Valeriguisa diffe sensiblement de l'accent cauchaiz; à St. Valery on forme les lettres: a devient i, et e devient é. Je n'ai jamais entendu dire riveige."
3 See supra p. 131, note, col. 1; p. 138, note, col. 1; and p. 187. A lady informs me that (sue, mue, tue,) etc., were the received pronunciations, when she was in French Canada.
varieties in the past participle. I am inclined to class these forms with the others as Norman palatalisations, but of less frequent occurrence than those with which we are so familiar, and confined to particular writers and localities.

This discussion is necessarily left in a very incomplete form, and it is evident that lengthy researches would be necessary to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Nevertheless, it seems to me, that a high degree of probability has been attained for the theory that when the scribe wrote ei, ai he meant (ei, ai), or (oei, aai). 1 The true English diphthongs were derived from the Saxon, eg, ag, ae, and passed through (eh, ah, aeh) most probably, to become finally fused into (ai). They do not in any respect depend upon the Norman, and hence, from the rhyming of: awey wey, both from ags. weg, and hence both necessarily (wai), with the Norman: crei Tripolay, in the passage which has led to this discussion, (supra p. 449), we should conclude that the Anglo-Normans said (-ai) rather than allow the unproved theory that the Anglo-Normans of the xiii th century called: crei Tripolay (kree Tripolee), to establish by a single example the English pronunciation of: awey wey, as (awee· wee), in contradiction to the evidence that the diphthongal (awai· wai) were recognised by Dr. Gill as late as 1621, and still exist dialectically. Such a conclusion would be similar to the theory which, starting from modern use, makes old English long i = (ai), finds the same sound in Anglosaxon, and even imagines that the old Norman was pronounced so in England, so that the rhymes: eyre fire dire shire of our song (p. 449) should be: (soir fair doir shoir), an hypothesis which our examination of long i in the xvir th century (pp. 270–297) must render extremely improbable. 2

1 Mr. Joseph Payne, as a consequence of his researches on Norman orthography, etc. (supra p. 438, note 1), dissents from the conclusions in the text respecting the Norman value of ei, ai, which he believes to have always had the sound (ee), and he considers that the French rhymes cited supra p. 264 would tend to prove that Chaucer also pronounced his ei, ai as (ee). So far as I understood, he considers that ei, ai had the same sound (ee) from the earliest times in England, but that ai, ei had the sound (ai) in the English of the xvi th century, as well as that of (ee) which Hart accepts as the only sound, supra p. 122. The reader is referred to pp. 118-124, p. 238, pp. 263-266, to the rhyme ay, mei=English aye, Latin mei, p. 447, and to the use of æxg, egx in Ormin, infrà p. 489, as well as to the preceding investigation, for the reasons which lead me to the conclusion that ei, ai were (ei, ai), or simply (ai) from the earliest times to the end of the xvi th century, allowing the northern habit of (ee) to have co-existed from, at least, the beginning of the xvi th century in Scotland, supra p. 410, note 3, and perhaps at a still earlier period in some districts of England, probably north-midland, supra p. 452, note, col. 2, although even there it is unlikely that the forms (ei, ai) had invariably the sound of (ee). See also infra p. 473, note 1. I much regret that owing to Mr. Payne’s researches not being yet (April, 1869) in type, I am unable to examine the proofs which he has adduced, but no one can hereafter properly appreciate the evidence on which a decision has to be taken, without thoroughly examining what he has so carefully and conscientiously adduced.

2 Nevertheless as M. Le Hériche has advanced an opinion that the pronunciation ai (ai) for long i was by no means unknown to the old Norman language, and has stated that it is even known in the modern Norman dialect, it is necessary to consider what he has
Our knowledge of English pronunciation in the xiii th and xiv th centuries, is now so much more certain than any knowledge which advanced. The following are the words of his assertion, Histoire et Glossaire du Normand de l' Anglais, etc., i. 27, "On retrouve en Normandie l' I ouvert des Anglais, c'est-à-dire Ai. Dans la Hague on dit: "Il est en prison;" c'est-à-dire prison, "il est jolai," c'est-à-dire joli. Ce son d'ail-leurs n'était pas étranger au vieux normand, comme le prouve ce vers de Wace:

   Eve est isle, Zorneée (thorn) est es-paine (épine)
   Soit rain, soit arbre, soit raine,
Les paysans de Molèbre, c'est-à-dire de l'Ile-de-France, prononcent quelquefois ainsi; voyez dans l'acte II de Dom Juan: 'Chagrine, Chopaine.' Mais les exemples sont assez nombreux en vieux normand; outre celui de Wace nous pouvons en citer un de Bencois:

   Noise, meslée n'ataine,
Gardez que chacun en devine.
Nous pouvons encore en citer un mo-derne, tiré d'une chanson patoise, sur le nom propre Edelaine:

   Vous y v'la donc, monsieur Edlaine.
   (Condoléance hagnoise, par Edelaine.)
Le paysan bas-normand rentre dans la prononciation anglaise de l'Y final, par exemple To sanctify, lorsqu'il dit "Tu betifais," tu dis ou fais des bêtises; et il prononce Envaie, envie, comme l'Anglais prononce Vie, apocope du mot normand. Du reste, c'est aussi la prononciation de Picardie, où le mot "Arnould daîne" est devenu célèbre. Le normand a traduit en ei l'I du latin, que le français a traduit en ei: Deit (digitus), Freid (frigidus), Peil (pilus), Neir (niger), Peis (pisus), Sei (sisis). C'est ainsi que la forme primitive Franci, Anglois, Danois re-présente Franc, Angli, Dant.' We have seen the uncritical manner in which this author cites Palsgrave, supra p. 120, note, making him assert that in the French of his time A was pronounced as the modern French a, ai, whereas Palsgrave gives a as the general sound, and ai not ai, that is (ai) not (ex), as a sound of a in a very limited class of words. I therefore considered it necessary to check the assertions in the above quotation as well as I could. My friend Mr. W. Babington, being resident at Havre when this passage came under my con-sideration, obligingly made inquiries for me of the vicars of Notre Dame at Havre, Messrs. Herval and Le Due, and of Norman gentlemen from the different departments of Seine In-férieure, Calvados, Orne and Eure, but could find no trace of this pronuncia-tion of long i as ai (ai). M. l'abbé Delalonde (supra, p. 438 n. 3) whom I also consulted on this point, writes to me: "I changed en ai est tout à fait étranger à notre contrée." But re-specting "Arnould daîne," he says: "Le célèbre proverbe est totalement inconnu chez nous; il signifie bien: Arnould dine, . . . quant à la ma-nière de prononcer le mot diner, je le représenterais plutôt ainsi: déîner, et cette prononciation est fort répandue parmi les paysans." This probably means (dienne). As, however, none of these inquiries had extended to the precise district pointed out by M. Le Hériecher as that in which ai was said for long i, viz. la Hague, the penin-sula containing Cherbourg, I wrote to M. Totain, the curé of Beaumont, the nearest town to Cape de la Hague, and he has favoured me with the following reply: "Étranger au pays de la Hague que je n'habite que depuis quelques années, je ne suis pas autant au courant que beaucoup d'autres de la pronuncia-tion des habitans. J'ai cependant interroge quelques personnes de la localité que j'habite, et elles m'ont affirmé que, dans le canton de Beaumont, nulle part on ne dit: praison pour prison, ni jolai pour joli; ni: tu betifais pour bêtises. On dit: il est parti en pri-sion; il est joli—tu dis ou tu fais des bêtises. On ne dit pas non plus envaie pour envie." In a subsequent com-munication, M. Totain says: "Mon Maire, M. Le Taillis, Docteur médecin, originaire de Montebourg," a small town fifteen miles S.S.E. of Cherbourg on the same peninsula, "m'a affirmé que la prononciation: il est jolai, il est en praison, tu betifais, qui n'est pas usité dans la Hague, l'est très généralement parmi les habitants de Montebourg et des environs." (supra p. 297, note.) After this examination we may feel certain that the pronun-ciation of long i as (ai) adduced by M.
we possess of the old Norman pronunciation, that, as it is in general derived from independent sources, we are rather justified in reversing the process of investigation and using rhymes of English and

Le Hériche is a remarkably circumscribed local pronunciation of no historical value, although it has the phonetic importance of showing that the change of (i) to (ai) is not confined to England, Germany, and Holland, but has an analogue, confined indeed to a very small district, but still existent in Normandy. We proceed then at once to what bears more directly on our present investigation, an examination of the evidence on which he attributes this pronunciation to the old Norman of the xxi th century. M. Le Hériche does not give the reference to Wace and it was not without considerable difficulty that I discovered the passage he apparently meant to cite in Roman de Rou, vol. ii, p. 105, v. 10659. Wace is explaining the meaning of the English word Zonee as he writes it, that is, Thornay, Thorn island, on which Westminster Abbey was built, and says—not what M. Le Hériche has written, but—

*Èe est isle, zon est espine,*

*Seit rainz, seit arbre, seit racine.*

All trace of an ai = (ai) sound here disappears. The next passage cited from Beneois (Benoit?) again without any reference, I have been unable to verify, but supposing that it is correctly cited—a very hazardous supposition, after the above misquotation—the metre requires the separation of the syllables a-ta-i-ne, and the rhyme becomes regular. Roquefort gives the verb under the forms: atainer, ataigner, atayner, athir, atiner = nuire, referring to the low Breton atayna, and the substantive in the forms: atahan, ataine, ataineanment, atayne, atenes, ataine, atine, ataine, atine = haine. The word was evidently pronounced in a variety of ways, and it is not an example which establishes anything. From M. Le Hériche's assertion with which he introduces this instance, that there are "numerous" examples of the rhyming of ai with i in old Norman, it would seem that he had confused the diphthong (ai) with the divided vowels (a, i), and that when, as is quite right, proper, and consistent, (ai) rhymes with (i), he concluded that (ai) rhymes with (i), which is perfectly different. Certainly no one who can confuse the two cases, is competent to make use of rhymes to determine pronunciation. We may therefore dismiss M. Le Hériche's assertion that the pronunciation ai (ai) for long i was not unknown to the old Normand, as perfectly destitute of foundation, neither of his examples bearing in the least upon it, and both discrediting his method of research. My own examination of all the rhymes in Wace's Roman de Rou has not produced a single instance of this monstrosity. In the modern example from La Hague, as the author writes Edaine and not Edaine, this does not seem to be a case in point, but appears to refer to some other dialectic tendency similar to that cited by M. Delalande de déterminer for diner. I have not been able to see or hear of a copy of the poem Condoctance Haguaise cited by M. Le Hériche. Respecting the two words cited from Don Juan, we must remember that Molière lived in the xvin th century, hence his ai, not ai, should mean (ee). There are many curious spellings in Le Festin de Pierre, Act 2, sc. 1, as ai for oï and conversely, ar for er, i for u, but perhaps no cases of ai for i except those cited: "Igha que tu me chagraines l'esprit, franchement." "Je m'en vais boire chopatine pour me rebuter tout sait peu de la fatigue que j'aie cue." The esprit, fatigue shew that there was no general change. M. Totain says in reference to words in -ine, as "poitrine, chagrine, vermine, chopine, etc., nos paysans les prononcent généralement comme s’il y avait: éne ou aine. Ainsi ils disent; Viens bère une chôpenê ou une chopaine, c’est-à-dire; Viens boire une chopine.” This confirms the above view of Edaine. After this examination it would be unsafe to build upon M. Le Hériche’s account of Norman pronunciation, which begins with an assertion very far from being borne out by his subsequent remarks, even supposing them correct: "Quand la prononciation normande n’existera plus, on pourra la retrouver presque tout entière, dans la prononciation anglaise.”—Credat Judaeus!
NORMAN AND ENGLISH RHYMES.  

Chapter V.

Norman to elicit the English pronunciation of Norman. Of course it is necessary to be sure that apparent rhymes are meant to be such, and to exclude assonances when consonants are to be determined, and not to deduce anything from single instances, which may be only scribal errors. For example the passage last cited (p. 449) could not be used to deduce the pronunciation of any of the Norman words, except: tere, sarmoun, which certainly rhyme with: were, adoun, in the last stanza, and which must therefore have been called (tee're, sarmuun'), an important conclusion as respects the last word, as it excludes the idea of the English having heard any approach to the modern French nasality in the last word. It is evident that in the former part of the stanza the Norman words may rhyme with Norman and the English with English throughout, as shewn by the italics for the Norman in: defere sovent, faire shent, Engletere gent, faire parlement; cyre crey, fire awey, dire Tripolay, shire wey, and hence no information would result. The construction of ballads is so loose that we have really no right to assume anything else, if we take the middle rhymes into account.

The following lines are curious (Pol. Songs, p. 49, from Harl. MS. 978, undoubtedly of the xiii th century, suprâ p. 420, n. 1).

competenter per Robert, robbur designatur;  
Ei per Richard riche hard congrue notatur;  
Gilbert non sine re gilur appellatur;  
Gefrei, si rem tangimus, in jo frai commutatur.

The consonants must here not be pressed too hard, and we cannot be certain that Robert was pronounced Rober as at present. The Gilbert, gilur = Gilbert guiler, shew the identity of Norman and English i long, guaranteed as (ii, ii) by the present and perhaps ancient short vowel in the first syllable of Gilbert; and Gefrei, jo frai = je ferai, is useful in assigning the pronunciation of Geoffrey as (Dzhef'rai'). But (Dzhef'ree') must have also been in use, see p. 498. There is scarcely anything else which is useful in the Pol. Songs, but the following may be noted, the French words being italicised as before: pas was p. 189, De be p. 191, Boloyne moyne assoygne loyne Coloyne Sesoyne p. 191, Dee contree p. 216, egisse wise p. 251, and the Latin: custodi mody p. 251.

There are three poems from Univ. Camb. MS. Gg. 4, 27, in which many French rhymes occur. This MS., from which also the Chaucer Society are printing the Canterbury Tales, is supposed to belong to the first half of the xvth century, but evidently cannot belong to a Southern locality on account of its treatment of the final e.

1 In the spelling robbur, gilur the u stands for e as usual; the English reader should not think of such a sound as (a) or (i).

2 These were printed 11 July 1864 for private circulation by Rev. H. Bradshaw, of King's, College, Cambridge, to whose kindness I am indebted for the copies from which I quote.

3 See an interesting account of this MS. and its numerous peculiarities, prefixed to the Chaucer Society's reprint. It may be compared with Audelay (suprâ p. 450, note 2), in the interchange of o with a, e, u, the use of ony for any, the frequent use of e for i, the neglect of final e, and in many other points, so that its authority on questions of Southern pronunciation is very slight.
these rhymes do not properly belong to the period of this chapter, this seems the most appropriate place for their consideration. The first stanzas of the poems are as follows:

I. De Amico ad Amicam.

1. A celuy qui pluyes cyme en Mounde
   Of alle tho that I haue founde
   Carissima
   Salut od treye amour
   With grace joye and alle honour
   Dulcissima

2. Sache bien pleyant et beele
   That I am ryjt in good heele
   Laus cristo
   Et moun amour done vous ay
   And also thynowene nyjt and day
   In cisto

II. Responcio

1. A soun treschere et special
   Fer and ner and oueral
   In mundo
   Que soy ou salt; et gre
   With mouth word and herte fre
   Iocundo

2. Ieo vous sanj debat
   That je wolde of myn stat
   Audire
   Sertefyes a vous ieo say
   I wil In tyme whan I may
   Venyre

III. [The Songs of the Birds]

1. In may whan euery herte is lyjt
   And flourys frosschely sprede and sprynge
   And Phebus with hise bemys bryyte
   Was in the hole so cler schynynge
   That sesyn in a morwenynge
   Myr sor for syghte to don socour
   With inne a wode was myn walkynge
   Par moy ouhter hors de dolour

2. And in an erber sote and grene . . . . .
   That benchede was with clourys newe
   A doun I sat me to bemene
   For verray seyk ful pale of hewe
   And say be syde aturtil trewe
   For leue gan syngyn of hire fere
   In frensch ho so the roundele knewe
   Amour me faut souent pensere.

The following arrangement of these rhymes will shew their bearing. The French words are in Italics, the references to the number of the poem, as above, and the line, explanations in brackets:

A. debat senbat [s'en bat] iii 22, debat
   stat ii 7—special oueral ii 1——alias
   was ii 31—toward gard [garde] i 70

AI. ay [ai] day i 10, serray [serai]
   day ii 13, say [sais] may ii 10

E. le [lő, broad] me i 52, le the ii 28——
   pote [pitö] me ii 40, verite the i. 23,
   charlei be i 67, volunte the [thee] i 37,
   ii 46——gre [gré] fre [free] ii 4, tres-
   same [très aimé] be i 55, tresame the

El. weye soye [sois] iii 46, espesye [épeé, should be espie, the e was a subsequent insertion] deye [should be dye as often in Chaucer, p. 284] i 22

EU. rewe adecue iii 94, crew deceu iii 54

I. eye [vie] curteysye ii 49, pry [prie] curteysy [should be curteysye as in the last case] i 64, ermony [should be harmonye] oublye iii 30, maladye sikyrlye [should be sikyrly, but then the rhyme is faulty in a northern or late xv th century manner] ii 16, ieo vous pry [for prye]

So far as these rhymes establish anything they go to confirm our former conclusions in every respect, and to shew an absence of nasality in the English pronunciation of French in the xv th century, as we shall find again in the xvi th, Chap. VIII, § 3. The rhyme: tryst nyxt, is very remarkable. It cannot be supposed either that 3 was in such a position as nyzt ever pronounced as s, although we find dyzt = dis i 31 in the French; nor on the other hand can we suppose that s was omitted in tryst and 3 in nyzt, producing the rhyme: (trit, niit,) because s is still pronounced in this French word. Hence we are compelled to assume an assonance (trist, ništ), which a clumsy poet found quite near enough to satisfy his ear. Mr. Lumby however entertains a different opinion. In his edition of King Horn, infra p. 480, n. 1, from this same Cambridge MS. Gg. 4, 27, 2, he observes on the forms, mį før e = miȝte 10, doʃter = doʃter 249, rhyming with poȝte, and riʃt = riȝt in line 663 of Florij in the same MS., which line also contains noʒt, with 3 and not f: “This interchange,” he says, “occurs so often in early MSS. that it is a conclusive proof of a similarity in sound between the letters,” and adds that “in several copies of Piers Plowman soure occurs for soure,” 1 and refers to Rel. Ant. i. 48, for a poem where this substitution occurs throughout. This poem, The Five Joys of the Virgin, is from Trin. Coll. MS. B 14, 39, 2 which Mr. T. Wright

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1 Mr. Skeat knows only of one copy, MS. Cotton Vesp. B. xvi, where there are several, but not many, examples, and the spelling is altogether singular.

2 Some account of this MS. is given in Mr. Albert Way’s Preface to the Promptorium Parvulorum, p. lxxii, under the heading “Femina.” This MS., I am informed by Mr. Aldis Wright, the librarian of Trinity College, disappeared from that library between 1853 and 1859, and as no one had taken it out on bond in that interval, it must have been appropriated. There are notices of it in Hickes, The-saurus i, 144, 154, and its disappearance is a serious loss to Early English philology. The poem of the Five Joys is reprinted in Golbeck and Mätzner’s Sprachproben p. 51, but these editors have taken the liberty of replacing -ft by -ht throughout.
assigns to the first half of the xiii th century, a conclusion at variance with the orthography thou which is invariable and occurs frequently, and wid-oute. The only other test word is ure, which has the xiii th century form, so that the close of the xiii th century is the time indicated, as for Havelok. The words containing l for z in this poem are: brift mifte, lifte rifte, mifte, drift rift, mifte brifte, brift. This same poem contains some other curious orthographies as: sue [such], seal, sculde, scene. It omits the gutturals altogether in: broutest [broughtest], slo [slew]. It apparently confuses v with j in

The thirde dai he ros to live;
Levedi, oft were thou blive [blipe?] ¹
Ac never so thou were tho.
Levedi, for then ilke sive [sipe?]
That thou were of thi sone blive [blipe?]
Al mi sunnes thou do me fro!

In the last stanza we have: beue newe, printed, meaning apparently: bene newe, which would be an assonance, and is the reading adopted by Mätzner.

Levedi, teet thou me mi bene
For the joie that ever is newe,
Thou let me never be furlorn.

These peculiarities render this text not particularly useful for our purpose, and inasmuch as z was used for both z and g, some inaccurate scribes may have considered that l, which was also certainly (z) at times, might be used for g. The only passage I have yet met in which z standing for g has apparently the sound (s), is this very suspicious couplet of a poem full of bad spelling (i 19, suprà p. 463):

Jeo sui pour toy dolant et tryst
THER me peynyst bothe day and nytt
Amore,

and it would be unwise to found a theory upon a single instance of such small authority. In the first passage of King Horn, the parallel MSS. in Mr. Lumby's preface, p. vi, give myhte, miete; and miete occurs two line above in his own text.

These rhymes of Norman and English are rather to be treated as jokes than as serious attempts to determine the Norman pronunciation. They may be classed with Hood's description of an Englishman's difficulties in France:

Chaises stand for chairs,
They christen letters Billies,
They call their mothers mares,
And all their daughters fillies;
Strange it was to hear,
I'll tell you what's a good 'un,
They call their leather queer,
And half their shoes are wooden,

For wine I reedl'd about
To show my meaning fully,
And made a pair of horns
To ask for "beef and bully."
Then their cash was strange,
It bored me every minute.
How here's a hog to change,
How many sows are in it!

¹ Blive means quickly, which will not make sense here. The rhyme here then sinks into an assonance, which even more resembles a rhyme than:
Moore's Fudge Family in Paris, shews: joy Roi, St. Denis penny, swear is Very's, throat papillote, fond Fronde, cracker fiacre, Natties pâtes, affiches wish, Russes use, mon Prince sense, jolie Dolly, écrevisses bliss, coach poche. In Byron we find: true is petits puits (Juan, 15, 68) éprouveuse muse (ib. 9, 84), Vauban hang slang (ib. 5, 11), à l'Allemande understand hand (ib. 15, 66), French Per- venche 14, 75. These modern instances should teach us not to ride our old examples too hard, and certainly not to draw conclusions from a few cases.


Mr. Richard Morris attributes the composition of the rhymed account of Genesis and Exodus contained in a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to about A.D. 1250, but the actual writing of the MS. to nearly as late as 1300, so that it was "the work of a scribe to whom the language was more or less archaic." The dialect he considers, together with that of the Bestiary (suprà, p. 439), and the Ormulum (infra, p. 486) to be East Midland. This poem being well known to all the members of the Early English Text Society, I have examined the rhymes to obtain indications of the pronunciation, and shall refer to them by the number of the lines in which they occur.

Assonances are not uncommon, but the principal are those in which an, corresponds to am, as: ëan nam 481, nam canahan 725, abram leman 781, abram iurdan 805, abram man 909, bigan abram 921, abraham ëan 1189, nam laban 1653. Occasionally in im, caym kin 543, elim sin 3307; on om, on-on hom 2199; un um, cumen muncen 1621. Probably: gate quake 1054 is an error of the scribe for: gate quate. Joseph swep 2085, hond wrong 2063, sokoth pharaofh 3209, are single cases, but oe occurs more frequently: fot oc 2497, oc mod 3923, moës boc 3603. Altogether false rhymes are rare, and are probably scribal errors: agen undergo 1159, drog nuge 1327, get bigat 2277, ëor ger 2417, specande lockende 2821, moysen man 3109, elizar or 4091. In: numen komen 343, broken luken 361, 3779, this is almost certainly the case, and in: swem greim 391, which would otherwise be an example of ë, ëi rhyming, the second word should be grem or grim. The rhyme ë, ë is normal, as in Chaucer, (suprà p. 272): liëer neëer 369, effraym hem 2151, witten eten 2289, abiden deden 2483, mide dede 2963, and probably implies that ë = (ë, ë). Oce- 


1
casionally an e final seems omitted, or added by mistake, as: song amongst 699, child milde 985, compare: child milde 1305. In many instances -e, and -en rhyme, where the editor has apparently changed -e into en, though in some cases it would seem more correct to change -en into -e.

As regards u, it had certainly generally the pronunciation (uu), and those rare cases in which it is replaced by ou, may be attributed to the more modern habits of the scribe, as the use of ou for (uu) seems to have commenced about the close of the xiii th century. Thus we find: run = speech, circumcision 991, town dun = down 2739, but: tun dun 713, teremuth = Pharaoh's daughter's name, out 2615. But the Hebrew: man hu? nu 3329, alluding to Ex. xvi, 15 (man nuu?), what is this?, the question asked when the manna was first seen, as clearly points to the use of u for (uu) as the cuceu of the Cuckoo Song. The use of u for (yy), probably called (ii, i, e) is rare, but we find untuderi = barren, 964.

That the unaccented syllables were occasionally pronounced in a slovenly manner, we collect from the rhyme: euenehe one 391.

Diphthongal combinations are altogether rare.

Ea occurs, but rhymes with e, and may be always a scribal error: forhead dead 811, opened dead 387, red dead 401, head dead 1059, ear scar = dear? 1089, forked dead 1329, dead red 2513. Probably pronounced (ee') or (ee, e) in all cases.

Oa rhymes always with a, and may have been (aa): moal = speech natural 81, woa = woc euu = Eve 257, gomorra c6oa = ca 839, oba woa = woe 879, salmona c6oa 3893, fasga doa = ca 4129.

Ai, ei rhyme together, and must have both been (ai): ay day 87, wei dai 1429, grei awei 1723, dai awei 2305, day wey 2721, dai mai 2747. In: awei deai 861, the last word is a mere scribal error for dai.

The guttural g is occasionally omitted, as: ru esau 1539, where ru = rough. Sometimes it is merely changed into w, probably indicating (wh) or (gwh): noght sowt 2869. We also find initial gh, in ghe = she, 237, 337, 339, but ge = she 1024 possibly a remnant of (gh), though (i) seems to have been the sound intended.

This examination confirms our previous conclusions as to the pronunciation of the xiii th century.

The following is an attempt to convey a notion of how the poem may have been read. The text is according to the MS., the pronunciation introduces some conjectural emendations, without which it would have been impossible to read the text.1

1 In one or two points I differ from Mr. Morris, particularly in the last line but four, where he takes buten hunte = "without search, or hunting, without delay," but by restoring ie in the preceding line, wanted for the metre and the sense, and taking Sor buten to mean there about as in: Sor buten noe long swing he dreg 566, vii. mone6 Sor-buten he ben 3625, hunte becomes the infinite mood, and the construction is io sal hunte Sor-buten, I shall hunt there about, I shall endeavour to accomplish it.
Wisdom then made each thing of
goat,  
Whatsoever in heaven or here is  
  wrought.
Light-bearer [Lucifer] he [God] clothed  
in precious clothing,
And he became in himself proud,
And with that pride in-him waxed an  
envy
That ill ruleth all his path.
Then not might he no lord endure,
That for-him should [all] things control.
My flight, he said, I will up-take,
My seat north in heaven make,
And there I will sit and see,
All the things that in the world be,
  Between heaven’s hil and hell’s ditch,
  And be to-my lord even-like.
Then became he dragon that ere was  
knight,
Then became he mirky that ere was  
light,
And every one that held with him
Then became mirky, and black, and dim,
And fell out of heaven’s light,
In to this middle welkin’s night,
And get ne kuðe he nogt blinne
for to don an oðer sinne.
Eften he sag in paradíf
Adam and eue in mike priif,
Newelike he was of erðe wrogt,
And to þat mirie blisse brogt;
Sowgte his quead, hu ma it ben,
Adam ben king and eue queuen
Of alle þe singe in werlde ben.
Hu mai it hauen, hu mai it sen,
Of ðif, of fugel, of wrim, of der,
Of alle þinghe þe wunen her,
Enverile þing haued he geue
name,
Me to forge, scade, and same;
for adam ful ðus, and his wif,
In blisse ðus leden lesteful lif;
for alle þo, þe of hem sule cumen,
sulen ermor in blisse wunen,
And we þe ben fro heuene
driuen,
sulen súffe one in forwe liuen;
Get ic wene I can a red,
Þat hem fal bringen iwel sped;

And yet not could he not cease
For to do another sin.
Eastwards he saw in paradise,
Adam and Eve in much honour,
Newly he was of earth wrought,
And to that merry bliss brought.
Thought this evil-one, how may it be,
Adam be king and Eve queen
Of all things that in world be.
How may I have, how may I see!
Of fish, of fowl, of worm, of beast,

And jet ne kuudh-e nee nokht
blin-e
for to doon an oodh-er sin-e.
Eest-en ne saagh in paarradiis
Aa’dam and Eev in mik-e priis,
Neu-liik-e was of erth-e rwookht,
And too dhat mir-iie blis-s brokht,
Thoukht-e his kwed, wuun mai
it been,
Aa’dam been kiq and Ee-ve
kween,
Of æl-thiêd-dhee -n werlde been,
Hun mai ic ðaan, wuun mai ic
seen.
Of ðis, of fuugh-xl, of werm, of
der,
Of æl-thiêd-dhee wuun-en neer,
Eer’ilk-thiêd hauv -e gëev-e
naa-me,
Mee to sorgh-e, scaddh and
saame.
For Aa’dam sal dhus, and his
wif
In bliss leed’en lesteful lif;
For alle dhee -f ðem sul’e kun-
men
Sul’en eermoor in bliss-e wuun-
en,
And wee dhe been froo nev-ne
drii-ven,
Sul’en dhus oon in sorgh-e lii-ven,
Jet ik woon i kan a reed
Dhat ðem sal bria’en ii’-vel speed.

Translation.

And all things that dwell here,
To-every thing has he given name,
For my sorrow, scatfe and shame.
For Adam thus and his wife
In bliss lead lasting-full life.
For all who of them shall come
Shall evermore in bliss dwell,
And we that be from heaven driven,
Shall thus only in sorrow live.
Yet I ween I know a plan
That them shall bring evil speed,
for gef he don ȝad god for-bead,

sav fal hem bringen to ȝo dead,

And sav got ȝis ilke dai,
For buten hunte if ic mai;
Ic wene ȝat ic, and eue hife wif,

fulen adam bilirten of his lif.

Ic wene ȝat ic and eue

fulen alle is blifte dreue.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

For jef ne doon dhat God for-
bead

Dhat sal nem briq'en too dho
deedh,

And [ic] sal jet dhis ilke dai
Dhoor buut'ên hunte'ef if ik mai:
Ik wene'e dhat ik and Eev -is
wiif

Sul'en Aa'dam bilir'ten of his
liif,

Ic wene'e [to sooth] dhat ik and
Ee've

Sul'en [Aa'dam] al -is blis'e
dree've.

Translation.

For if they do that-which God forbade,
That shall bring them to the death.
And [I] shall yet this same day
There about hunt, if I may.

I wene that I, and Eve his wife,
Shall Adam betrick of his life,
I wene [in sooth] that I and Eve
Shall [for-Adam] all his bliss trouble.

5. Havelok the Dane, circâ A.D. 1290.

Sir Frederick Madden in his edition of this poem ¹ considers its
author to have been a Lincolnshire man, and the time of composition
between A.D. 1270 and 1290. As the romance was popular, there
may have been many copies, and the manuscript followed by Sir F.
Madden may not have been original. In its orthography, apart
from its dialectic peculiarities, (which are numerous but do not here
come into consideration, as the object is merely to determine the
value of the letters,) it shews a transition from the customs of the
xiii th to those of the xiv th century, much more marked than in
Genesis and Exodus. Thus ou is frequently used for (uu), jou
being the common form, though jv is by no means unfrequent,
indeed both forms occur in the same line: Grim, jou wors jv art
mi thral 527, and we have jw 1316, and jw 388, where, probably,
a final u has been accidentally omitted by the scribe. The following

¹ The Ancient English Romance of
Havelok the Dane, accompanied by the
French Text, with an Introduction and
Glossary by Frederick Madden, Esq.,
F.A.S., F.R.S.L., subkeeper of the
manuscripts in the British Museum,
printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1828,
4to. This edition being very scarce, a
new one compared afresh with the MS.
has been prepared for the Early English
Text Society under the title: The Lay
of Havelock the Dane; composed in
the reign of Edward I., about A.D.
1280, formerly edited by Sir F. Mad-
den for the Roxburghe Club, and now
re-edited from the unique MS. Laud
Misc. 108, in the Bodleian Library,
Oxford, by Rev. Walter W. Skeat,
M.A., London, 1869. It will there-
fore be assumed to be accessible to all
members of that Society, and will be
cited by the number of the verses, as
usual. The citations originally made
from Sir F. Madden's edition have
been verified by Mr. Skeat's. I am much
indebted to Mr. Skeat for many hints, and
for kindly allowing me to make use of
his proof sheets before publication, so
as to enable me to insert this notice in
its proper place.
rhymes serve to shew the identity of the two spellings: yow now 160, prisoun lajurun 330, mouth suth 483, yw = you nou 453, nov = now you 484, bounden wonden = wounden 546, unbounden funden 602, hw = how he was mike, hw he was strong 960, doun tun = town 1630, wounde grunde 1975, bowr tour 2072, dune crowne 2656. Of course ou, ow also occur as (ou) corresponding to ags. aw, oh, and the guttural is generally lost in (w) after o, thus: ynowe slowe 2682. In: crowd god 2338, we should probably read crod, as the proper form of the past participle. The frequent occurrence of ou, however, would lead one to suppose that the actual MS. must belong to the very end of the xiii th, if not to the beginning of the xiv th century.

Assonances are frequent, and the more marked that there is often no relation between the consonants which follow the identical vowels. Thus: rym fin 21, yeme quene 182, harde crankede 567, behe rede 694, knaue plawe 949, stareden3 ladden 1037,

1 Ags. creôdan (créèd, cruden, cro- den) Ættmüller, Lex. Anglos, p. 400. Nall (suprà p. 166, note 1) under Crowd-Barrow, quotes: "She sent her mother word by Kate, that she should come hither when God sent time, though she should be crod in a barrow. Letter of Margery Paston, A.D. 1477." 2 Mr. Skeat informs me that: "No other MS. of Havelok has ever been heard of, or known to exist: though of course there may have been several. If this is not the original, it is at any rate a very early copy. I do not think Sir F. Madden, or any other judge of writing, would admit it to be later than about 1280, the probable date of the composition. The evident age of the MS. is one evidence of its early composition." The MS. containing Havelok begins with lives of Saints, and Havelok was overlooked for years, because it does not begin till fo. 204. It ends on fo. 219b, and is immediately followed by Kyng Horn in the same column. This has all the appearance of a copy, not an original MS., and as we have two other copies of King Horn (p. 480, n. 1), we may some day find another of Havelok. Even a much later one (as in the case of Laamon) would be of great service. It is of course impossible to date a MS. by the writing only, within 30 years, the working life-time of a single scribe. The orthography would lead me to place the actual manuscript after the copying of Genesis and Exodus, and within the variable period, say 1280 to 1310. Probably after the last date ou was universally employed for (uu). If the reader will turn to: Seinte Marherete, the Meiden ant Martyr, in old English, first edited from the skin books in 1862 by Oswald Cockayne, M.A., and now reissued for the Early English Text Society, 1886, and compare the three versions there given, the first from the MS. Reg. 17, A. xxvii., apparently written in 1230, in which no case of ou=(uu) occurs; the second from MS. Harl. 2277, attributed to 1330, in which ou is always used for (uu); and the third from the lost Cam. MS. (suprà p. 464, n. 1) as printed by Hickes, in which, if the text is to be trusted, there is just a trace of u=(uu) —ju 22, prisun 26, etc., dragun 44, ut 28, 56, poru 47—amidst a great preponderance of ou, the value of this sign of age in a MS. will become more apparent; compare also suprà, pp. 408, 423,449, 445, 467, and p. 481, l. 11.

3 "Probably miswritten for stradden contended." Skeat, Glossary, Sir F. Madden, and Garnett are of the same opinion. It is with great diffidence that I presume to doubt this correction. Stradden would introduce a Norse word, whereas the noun strawt is used immediately 1039, and verb stroute in 1779, from ags. strudan, strudan, and it does not seem likely that both words should coexist in the same dialect, or, if they did, should be used in immediate proximity. Nor, I must confess, does contended seem to make very good sense. The passage relates to the game of "putting the stone," the point being to see who should throw an enormous stone furthest, for he whose stone was
even an inch before the others was to be held a champion:

Hwo so mithe putten børe
Biform an[ot]er, an inch or more,
Wore ye [= he?] yung; [or] wore he hold,
He was for a kempe told. 1033

What would then be more natural than for the champions and the lads to stand and look intently, stare, prior to the throw, and then make a great contention, strout, about the best cast. This is what the text says as it stands:

Al-so [e[j] stoden; an[d] ofte stareden þe chaunpions, and ek the ladden,
And he maden mikel strat
Abouten þe alþerbeste but. 1037

It would, however, be rather curious to say that the champions and lads stood and contended and made a great contention about the best throw. If we must alter the passage, straden, strode about (Ettm. 746), would make decent sense, but not so good as stareden. It was doubtless the apparent harshness of the assonance: stareden ladden, which led to this conjecture. In the same way Mr. Morris, anxious to avoid the assonance: harde crakede 567, proposed to change

And caste þe knae adoun so harde, þat hise crowne he þer crakede into
And caste þe knae so harde adoun, þat he crakede per hise crowne.
(Skeat, p. 91). Where the rhyme requires adoune as in King Horn 1487 (Lumby's edn.)

Fikenhilfes crowne
þer ifulde adune . . .

which is quoted in Mr. Skeat's glossary (from MS Harl. 2253,) as: crowne adoune, showing the more ancient form of the other version of King Horn. But the only alteration really required is: þer he crakede, for: he þer crakede, in order to preserve the e in crowne. As to the assonance itself, it is harsh to our ears only. We must remember the constant habit of the metathesis of r, so that: harde crakede, may have been called: harde carkede, which would have been almost a rhyme, as: star'den ladden, also is. On the principle of not making unnecessary changes, I prefer accepting the reading of the MS. in each case as it stands, and therefore retain both: harde crakede, and stareden ladden, as assonances.

1 And þe predde so sore he slow, þat he made up-on the feld
His left arm fleye, with the sword.

On which Mr. Skeat remarks: "Cf. 1. 1825. We should otherwise be tempted to read sheld; especially as the shield is more appropriate to the left arm." This was Sir F. Madden's original suggestion. But with may denote the instrument: he slow þe predde so sore with the sword, pat he made, etc. Compare the constructions, supra p. 376, art. 110. Compare also the parallel passage:

For his sword he hof up heye,
And þe hand he dide of fleye,
That he smot him with so sore. 2750

I feel doubtful whether the other interpretation: that he made his left arm together with the sword, fall on the field, could be justified by parallel passages.

2 This may be a rhyme, see supra p. 192.

3 As we find: rede boþe 694, beþe rede 1680, we should of course read: beþe rede in this place. This is only one of the numerous instances of the interchange of e, a, o, to be noticed presently. Thus we have: boþe 1336, 2543, and boþen 173, 697, 958.

4 According to the text Godrich hears the knights talk of Havelok:

Hw he was strong man and hey,
Hw he was strong and ek fri, '1071, and then he thought that King Athel-
rhyme: yhe se 1984, is a mere misprint in Sir F. Madden's edition, corrected by Mr. Skeat to: jhe se, where the h is an idle insertion, compare jbe = thigh 1950, and: здание = ـینج, Gen. and Ex. 300.

The passages which present the greatest difficulty are the following: eir tother 410, misdede leyde 994, deled wosseyled 1736. The last is explained by: wesseylen todeyle 2098, which ought to show that the writer had two ways of pronouncing: deyen, deylen, (decl'en, dail'en). Compare:

So pat jbe blod ran of his fleys, 216
pat tendre was, and swipe nAYS,
And woundede him rith in je flesh
pat tendre was, and swipe nesh. 2742

As the dialect of Havelok shews a Scandinavian character in many words, the form deylen may have arisen from that source, Icelandic at deila, (dceil'a) to divide, and it would be in fact more difficult to account for the forms fleys neys. If we do not accept wald had made him swear to give his daughter to the "hexte" = highest, tallest, man alive, and then asks

If were the i findon an J so hey
So hauelok is, or so sley? 1083

It is evident that the two couples ought to correspond. Sley, of course, means skilful, Havelocks skill: hw he warp je ston Ouer je ladders euerilkon 1061, having made him the common talk. Fri yields no good sense.

For fleys see supra pp. 265, 441, 445. The form is, in fact, not unusual. For neys there seems to be no authority, and cognate languages do not exhibit the diphthong (ei), as they do in the case of high German fleisch, theil, weiech (fleish, tail, bhaik), compare Dutch, vleesch, deel, week (vlees, deel, bheek). These undoubted correspondences of (e, aI) in high and low German, and the occasional use of ei in Icelandic as deila, veikr (deiel'a, veikr), but its rejection in other cases, as fleks (fleek), may at least serve to render intelligible some doubtful usages in such a provincial region and early time as that which gives us the rhyme of Havelok. Not only does provincial, but even metropolitan usage at the present day, furnish examples which may give as much trouble to a future investigator. Compare the example Chap. XI. § 3, where it will be seen that Mr. Melville Bell writes: (deiz, weisted, fain, gav, kein, sei), where I have (deez, weested, feen, goev, keem, see) = days, wasted, fain, gave, came, say, though we are both supposed to speak the same dialect. See also p. 450 n. 2, and p. 459, n. 1, and the forms sede saide, p. 446. . . .

After the preceding observations had gone to press, I received a remarkable confirmation of the views there expressed concerning the possibility of different pronunciations coexisting in limited districts, from an account of the present pronunciation of English in the Peak of Derbyshire, orally communicated to me by a native of the district, Mr. Thomas Hallam, of Manchester. A somewhat detailed account of these remarkable pronunciations will be given below, Chap. XI. § 4, but it is as well to notice here, that on the west of the mountain ridge of the peak we find (mee, dee, swee, pee) and on the east (mi, dii, wuwi, pii) for may, day, away, pay, and again on the west we have (ship, sixp, mi) and on the east (sheip, sleip, mei) for sheep, sleep, me. This characteristic diphthong (ei), found also in the west of the ridge in (dzheist, dzheint, belle, peint, cint-munt) for joist, joint, boil, point, ointment, is, as pronounced to me by Mr. Hallam, a sound which one Southerner will hear as (ee) and another as (ai). Compare paynte = peynpe, p. 447, l. 14.

We can guess how a peasant of the Peak, with his partial inculcation into the mysteries of modern orthography is likely to write, but to put ourselves into the position of the most careful of ancient scribes, we have only to endeavour to appreciate such sounds and attempt to commit them to paper, after a careful study of phonetics. The extreme difficulty of appreciation, the readiness with which we mentally as-
the form *deyle*, then one of three things must be the case: 1) The rhyme may be faulty, but it would be perhaps the only faulty rhyme. Or, 2) the *ey, e* may be a true rhyme, but then, independently of previous investigations, the persistent avoidance of such rhymes is remarkable, and there would have been no reason to lug in, for example, *without faile* 179, 209, as a rhyme to *cornwayle*, with scarcely a shadow of excuse from the sense. Or 3) the passages containing *deled, to deyle*, may be corrupt. For this there is some ground. The passages are:

But hwan he haueden pe kiwing deled, 1736
And fele siy'es haueden wosseyled.
Hweper he sitten nou, and wesseylen,
Or of ani shotshipe to-deyle. 2098

The first line contains at least one corrupt unintelligible word *kiwing*, and not only is the metre of the last line unusually defective, but the construction *to-deyle of* for *participate in*, seems forced and unsatisfactory. It would, however, be too hazardous, in the absence of parallel passages, to propose any emendation.

The second passage

Neure more he him misdede,
Ne hond on him with yuele leyde. 994

cannot be so explained, as *dede* never appears as *deide*, and it would not be right to conclude that there was an assonance formed by calling *leyde* (*leid'e*) rather than (*laid'e*), in face of the older Saxon mon forms: *leide, leiden, leide, laden, leide*. There was no period of English pronunciation in which *misdede leyde* would have rhymed, so far as our researches extend. The passage must therefore be corrupt. In the first place the sense is bad: "never more he hurt him by deed, and never laid hand on him with evil intent," merely repeats in the second line what is said in the first. We

sociate the unusual with the usual sound, the hesitation which we feel in selecting one orthography in place of another, and the variety of pronunciations prevalent within a limited district, none of which can claim the pre-eminence — true picture of English habits of speech in the xiii century — will make us more readily understand the varieties of orthography adopted by ancient scribes, and rather admire than depreciate the partial uniformity to which they attained. For myself I should feel no surprise to find one writer representing the "Derbyshire" sound of *sheep*, in "ordinary spelling" as *shipe*, another as *shape*, and a third as *shipe*. Should we then be surprised if we found an old monk proceeding from a similar district at one time writing *sheep*, and at another *shepp*? and should we conclude in the modern case that *ee, a, i*, had the same sound, or in the old case that *e, ey*, had the same meaning? At most, they would be different appreciations of the same sound, and might possibly indicate the co-existence of different sounds within the same district. And such coexistence is not confined to English dialects. The vulgar (een, keen,) coexists with the polite (ain, kain) = *cin, kein*, in Berlin, Saxony, and many parts of Germany. In the Dyak (Dai'ak) languages of Sarawak (Saraa-wak), (*ee, ai*) constantly interchange even in adjacent house-clusters, sometimes even in the same house-cluster, so that (*bacee*) or (*bosi*) would be equally intelligible for *great*. Generally in these languages (*ii, ee, ai*) interchange on the one hand, and (*oo, uu, au*) on the other, as I have just been informed (April, 1869) by an English resident of long standing in Sarawak. See also *neither*, supra p. 129, n. 1.
want the sense, "he never more wronged him by word, or deed." This is supplied by reading misseyde for misede, and of the correctness of this reading we can have no doubt after considering the parallel passages.

Ne found he non that him misseyde,  
N[e] with iuele on[ne] hand leyde.  
Robard hire ledde, that was red,  
Pat hau[ed]e barne for hire he ded  
Or ani hauede hire misseyd,  
Or hand with iuele onne leyd.  
Me wore leuere i wore lame,  
Panne men dide him ani shame,  
Or tok, or onne handes leyde,  
Vn-ornelfke [vn-orneilik[e]?, or same seyde.  

The first instance  
Hauelok, that was the eir  
Swanborow, his sister, Helfled, the tother.  

is also corrupt on the face of it, for the second line of the couplet is outrageously prolonged. The word eyr occurs not unfrequently at the end of a line, as 110, 288, 605, 1095 and always rhymes with fair. This suggests the reading  
Hauelok, that was the eir,  
Swanborow, Helfled her sister fair,  

which at least preserves metre and rhyme, and is immediately suggested by the parallel passage:  
Of his bodi ne haude he eyr  
Bute a mayden swij[e] fayr.  

The rhyme i, e, as: bidde stede 2548 is frequent. Shewed knawed 2057, must be considered in connection with: shewe lowe 1698, and lowe awe 1291, where lowe, ags. hlaw, means a hill, preserved in the Scotch law; as well as with the not unfrequent interchange of e, o, as: sore wore = were 236, wore = were more 1700, were sore 414, (where Mr. Skeat reads wore), more thore = there 921, cle[x]k yerke = York 1177, and also of o, a: lange gange 795, 2586, sawe wowe = wall 1962, 2142,

1 "Corrupt? Lines 410, 411 do not rhyme well together." Skeat.  
2 We may even imagine how the extraordinary error in the MS. arose. Suppose, as usual, that the scribe was writing from dictation. The reader gives out: "Swanborow, Helfled her sister fair," the scribe writes "Swanborow, his sister;" altering her to his as a matter of course, because only a masculine noun had preceded; the reader sees the error and exclaims, "Thou hast forgotten Helfled that other;" the scribe immediately claps down the words "Helfled the tother," and is quite satisfied he has correctly followed the reader in the monstrosity: "Swanborow his sister, Helfled the tother!" Se non e vero, è ben trovato. I had at first proposed: Swanborow, Helfled his sisters fair, in order to preserve as much of the original as possible, but the examples: his children yunge 368, we aren boîte jine 619, kniues longe 1769, hundes teyte 1841, wundes swîp egrete 1898, monkees blake 2520, shew that: his sisters faire, would have been required and this would have militated against the rhyme. Unless, indeed, the author could have dispensed with this final e if the necessity of rhyme lay on him, as he does dispense apparently with an e, which is at once plural and dative, in:

Hwan he haude mærrede and oth  
Taken of lef and of loth.  

where however perhaps: othe, lefe, lothe, should be read.
there = there = there more 2486, open drepen = kill 1782.
We have then to admit that the pronunciation of the writer varied in the same word at different times, and that he allowed himself to interchange e, a, o. The same interchange of (ee, oo) is observable in the modern Scotch and English: aik oak, aits oats, aith oath, caip cope, claith cloth, craik croak, daigh dough, dail dole, gaist ghost, gait goat, grain groan, graip grope, hail whole, haim home, kaim comb, laid load, laird lord, laith loath, main moan, mair more, maist most, raid road, raip rope, saip soap, sair sore, spaik spoke of a wheel, taid toad. In Aberdeen we even find (stiuin, biin) for stone, bone. But it will be seen on examining other Scotch ai = (ee) forms, that they often derive from an ags. a, e. Herein then we seem to have an indication of the key to this dialectic peculiarity. The original (aa) was at one time broadened into (oo), and at another squeezed into (ee), and the habits of the speaker became so uncertain that all three forms in (ee, aa, oo) were in sufficiently common use to allow a rhymester to employ whichever was most convenient, till at last (oo, ee) interchanged without the intervention of an original (aa).

We find the regular interchange of at, ei, as: at hayse = at ease preyse 59, deye preyse 168, seyl nayl 711, ay domesday 747. There seems to be even a probability of seint having been occasionally dissyllabic, as supra p. 264. Thus, comparing ion 177:

In al denemark is wimmæ [non] = (In al Denmark') is wum'an noon, 
So fayr so sche, bi seint iohan. 1719  
But gaf hem leue sone anon  
And bitauhte hem seint Iohan. 2956 
Soo fair so shee, bi saa-int Dzohon.  
But gaa- -em lee've soon anoon'.

We have also occasionally the (i) value of u. In two instances this value is apparently given to u in words which were undoubtedly generally pronounced with (u), as:

So þat þei nouth ne blinne 
Til þat to sette bigan þe sunne. 2670
Per was swilk dreeping of þe folk 
Þat on þe feld was neuere a polk 
Þat it ne stod of blod so ful, 
Þat þe strem ran intil þe hul. 2684

In the first ease read so þat þei [stunte] nouth ne blinne, the ags. forms, stunte, blunne, making metre, rhyme, and construction, perfect. In the second, hul, which was supposed by Sir F. Madden to mean hill, is perhaps a provincial pronunciation of the ags. and old norse hol, Swedish hol, Danish hul, a hollow for the valley, as the battle was fought at Tetford, near Horncastle. But the line is possibly corrupt, and there is no obvious means of correction from the want of parallel passages.¹

¹ As it stands the passage must be translated: "There was such slaying of the people, That on the field there was never a puddle, That it stood not so full of blood, That the stream ran into the hollow(?)." Mr. Murray, who suggested the insertion of stunte above, inclines to hul hollow, on account of the Scotch use of houe (hoon, hau), a direct descendant of a previous (hul), as opposed to knoll, for a small valley or depression. Part of a village in Teviotdale is called Huole-o-the-Burn (hul, huel, huel, huel).
The other rhymes do not require particular notice. The value of the *letters* is clearly that established for the xivth century, by previous research, with, in the case of *ou*, an anticipation of the usages of the xivth. The metre is rugged and the spelling irregular, so that the use of the final -e cannot accurately be determined. But there is no reason to suppose it different from what had been found for others.

The orthography of the guttural in connection with *t* is very remarkable, as: knict 239, knieth 77, knith 1068, knith 2706, brouth 336, brihte rithe 2610, bitawte auth 1409, etc., implying a peculiarity of pronunciation, which, in the absence of parallel usage, and determining rhymes, cannot be appreciated with certainty. We must not forget, however, that *sigh, drought, height*, were sometimes called (soith, draith, neith) in the xvth century (p. 212), and that *Keighley* in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and therefore likely to be somewhat inclined to the same pronunciation as the writer of Havelok, is now called (Kiith'-l), and the pronunciation (nekth) for *height*, has been noted near Ledbury in Herefordshire, which greatly resembles -ctn in knieth. At first sight -th looks like a metathesis of *ht*, just as we find the 1377 for *ich*, and this in connection with the actual occurrence of *-ht* or even -ct, -cth, would lead directly to the usual (-kht) pronunciation. But an examination of the orthography in the poem shows a systematic avoidance of the guttural except in relation to *t*. In all other cases it is expressed only by *y i, w u*, as: cie, flye, heic, leye = mentire, seyen, sleie; awe = possess, dawes = days, drawen drou, fawen = fain, flow, galwe, mowe, slou, pou = though. Even with *t* the sign of the guttural is frequently omitted, as: aute laute 743, but: awete 207, lauthie 1673. It seems then very possible that these -ct, -cith, -th, -t, only mean *t*, with a merely orthographical indication of the guttural. This pronunciation of final -cith is not unknown in German.¹

The otiose *h* after initial *t*, and even elsewhere (supra p. 473, l. 8), found occasionally in various manuscripts, but never systematically carried out, is not to be compared with this use of *h* in connection with final *t*, where in most other MSS. the guttural is inserted as *h, g, j.*²

We must also recollect that in MSS., as we have had occasion to see also in the Prisoner’s Prayer and elsewhere, the letter *h* is used very loosely, even when initial. In Havelok it is unnecessarily prefixed in: holde 30, hetce 146, het 653, but: et 656, heuere 17, her 229, hof 1976, helde 128, etc., etc., and we find it omitted in: ausden 163, oseed 971, etc., but with no

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² The French *thé*, German *Thee* has (t) or if it is more dental (.t) on the continent more than with us, this applies to every *t* and not merely to those written *th*. In one dialect of the Peak of Derbyshire (.t) is heard only, but always, before *r* and -er.
sort of uniformity. Hence the temptation to use it as an idle
letter, or an orthographical expedient.

That long i was (ii) or (ii) appears among other passages from
As she shulde hisc clothes handel
On forto don, and blawe þer fr (= fir)
She saw therinne a lith ( = tight) ful shir ( = sheer). 586
Al so brith, al so shir,
So it were a blaze of fir. 1253

The word sheer, Gothic scheir (skiirs) bright, clear, old Saxon
skiri, middle high German and new low German schir, new high
German schier (shiir), old high German seieri (skii’ri ?), ags. seir
old norse skir (skiir), Orrmin shir, is a word which from the earliest
times and in almost all dialects, and specially in English, has re-
tained the sound of (-iir), and hence is an excellent rhyme to deter-
mine the old sound of fir.

The reader will find many points of orthography and pronuncia-
tion touched on with great care in Mr. Skeat’s edition §§ 27 and 28,
and a full consideration of the treatment of final e in § 29. 2

It is with great diffidence that I annex an example of this difficult
provincial poem. The text is given exactly, in the pronunciation I
have ventured on a few alterations, intended to be corrections.

_Havelok 2312-2345._

When he had homage and oaths
Taken of dear and of loth,

_Vbbe dubbede him to knith,
With a sword ful swijfe brith,
And þe folk of al þe lond
Bitauhte him al in his hond,
Þe cunnriche eueril del,
And made him king heylike and wel,
Hwan he was king, þer mouthe men se
Þe moste ioie þat mouhte be:

_translation._

When he had homage and oaths
Taken of dear and [eke] of loath (ones),
Ubbe dubbed him (to) knight,
With a sword ful very bright,
And the folk of all the land

1 Mr. Skeat reads þe.
2 Mr. Skeat having requested me to read and comment on some of these
points, I endeavoured to do so, in great haste, at a time when accidental circum-
stances disabled me from giving them proper attention. In those cases where
the present statements differ from those hasty expressions of mine which Mr.
Skeat, anxious not to smother opinions

Committed to-him al in[to] his hand
The kingdom every part,
And made him king, highlike and wel.
When he was king, there might one see
The most joy that might be;

opposed to his own, has politely printed,
they must be considered as corrections,
resulting from careful re-examination.
I regret not having been able to examine
all the cases of final e, to determine
the circumstances of its elision and
suppression, but I believe that it was
not otherwise treated than in the Cuckoo
Song and Prisoner’s Prayer.
Buttinge with sharpe spere,  
Skirming with taleuaces, þat men beres,  
Wrestling with ladde, putting of ston,  
Harping and piping, ful god won,

Leyk of mine, of hasard ok,  
Romanz reding on þe bok;  
þer mouthe men here þe gestes singe,

þe gleymen on þe tabour dinge;  
þer mouhte men se þe boles beyte,  
And þe bores, with hundes teyte;

þo mouthe men se eueril gleu,  
þer mouthe men se hw grim greu;

Was neuere yete ioie more  
In al þis word, þan þo was þore.

þor was so mike ycft of cloþes,  
þat þou i swore you grete othes,

I ne wreouth þer-offe crowd:  
þat may i ful wel swere, bi god!

þere was swiphe gode metes,  
And of wyn, þat men fer fetes,  
Rith al so mik and grete plente,  
So it were water of þe se.  
þe feste foruoi dawes sat,  
So riche was neuere non so þat.

Harping and piping, full good quantity,  
Game of Mine, of Hassard eck,  
Romance reading on the book.

There might one hear the jests sung,  
The gleemen on the tabour drum,  
There might one see the bulls baited,  
And the boars, with merry [staunch?] hounds,  
Then might one see every glee,

But'iq' [dher was] with sharpe speare,  
Skirm'iq' with tal'vases, dhat men beer'e,  
Rweast'iq' with ladz, put'iq' of stoon,  
Harpiq' and piip'iq', ful good woon,

Laik of Min, of Has'ard ook,  
Room'ans reed'iq' on dhe book;

Dher mou'tre men mee're dhe dzhester's siq'e,  
Dhe gla'men on dhe taar'bur diq'e;

Dher mou'tre men see þe bol'es bai'te  
And the boor'es, with hund'es taître;

Dhoo mou'tre men see ev'r'il gleu,  
Dher mou'tre men see hue Grim greu;

Was never jet'e dzhoi'e moo're  
In al dhis wold, dhan dhoo was dhoor'e.

Dher was so mik'e seft of klood'h'es  
Dhat dhou i swoore' ju greet oodh'es,

In'e woor'e nout dherof'e krod:  
Dhat mai i ful welswee're, bi God!

Dher was swidh'e good'e meet'z'es,  
And of wiin, that men fer fet'z'es,  
Riit al soo mik and gret plent'ee;  
Soo it wer wa'ter of dhe see.  
The fest'z foour'zi dau'ez sat,  
So rithz'e was never noon so dhat.

Translation.

There might one see how Grim grew;  
Was never yet joie more  
In all this world than then was there.

There was so great gift of clothes  
That though I swore you great oaths  
I-(not) were not thereof oppressed:

That may I full well swear, by God.

There were very good meats,  
And of wine, that one far fetches,  
Right also much and great plenty,  
As-if it were water of the sea.

The feast forty days lasted,  
So rich was never none as that.
6. **King Horn, circa A.D. 1290.**

The story of King Horn exists in three several manuscripts which present such great varieties both of orthography and language, that the text must be considered uncertain. The oldest was apparently written about the latter half of the xiii th century, and is that which will be followed here. In some cases f occurs for 3 or z which represents 5. On this orthography see supra (p. 464). The dialect is Midland, and the whole poem bears a great affinity to Havelok.

There is the usual rhyming of i, e or u, e when u stands for i: adrenche of pinche 105, Westernesse blisse 157, ire = ear were 309, wille telle 365, pelle fulle = pall fill 401, brunie = armour. denie = din 591, dunte wente 609, ferde hurede 751, custe = kissed reste 1189, etc.

There are a few cases of e, a, in which the a should be replaced by e, as: biweste laste 5, warne berne 689.

As in Havelok, there are cases of e, o, in which one or the other letter must be dialectically altered, if the readings are correct: more ;ere 95, swerde orde 623, sende yrlonde 1001, posse Westernesse 1011. We have a, o in: felawe knowe 1089.

A few cases of u, o, may shew a dialectic pronunciation of u as (o), or o as (u): stunde londe 167, þohte þuhte 277, buȝe iswoȝe 427, þonge isprunge 547, hunde fonde 831.

In some cases u = (uu) seems to rhyme with u = (yy). In bur mesauentur 325, 649, bure couverture 695, one might fancy that the French word was mispronounced with (uu). The word lure 270, might therefore be to lure, which makes good sense, and have been used as a term of falconry, but would then, probably in a Saxon's mouth, have been called (luure'-e), but it must apparently have been to lower or watch for, 2 which would be properly (luure'-e), since the Harl. MS. 2253, fo. 85, reads loure. Stuard 275, 393, is probably a clerical error for stiward compare ags. stiward, which

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1 Cambridge Univ. Lib. Gg. 4, 27, 2. This is contrasted with the Bodleian MS. Laud 108 fo. 219b, and Harl. MS. 2253, in the preface to: King Horn, with Fragments of Floriz and Blanchefleur, and of the Assumption of our Lady, from a MS. (Gg. 4, 27, 2) in the Cambridge University Library; also from MSS. in the British Museum. The Assumption of our Lady (Add. MSS. 10036) and Fragments of the Floyres and Blancheflur (Cotton Vitellius D. iii), edited with notes and glossary by J. Rawson Lumby, M.A. London, 1866. 8vo. pp. xx, 142, E. E. T. S. The extracts from the three MSS. taken in the above order present the following among other varieties, he he heo they ben ben ben be

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2 "lure (n), O. Dutch leuren, loren, Fr. leurrer, lure, Chauc. C. t. 5997; lured (part.) vis. P. P. 3351.—(luren) lourin, L. Germ. luren (speculati?) lour (lower) soucou, prompt. pare. 316; loure Gow. conf. am. 1, 47; Rich. 3470; vis P. P. 2735; Triam. 1032; louring (part.) Chauc. C. t. 6848." Stratmann, 373.
occurs 227, and is the reading of the Harl. MS. 2253 elsewhere. In: ture pure = tower peer 1091, we must suppose pure = (puur'e), to pore or look intently. The origin of the word is very obscure. The reading of the Harl. MS. 2253 is totally different, and introduces loke for pure.

The form ou occasionally, but very rarely occurs, by no means so frequently as in Havelok, is: galun glotum 1123, harpurs gigours 1471. This applies only to this particular MS. of King Horn. Probably the ou is fully as frequent in the Laud. MS. 108, as it is in that MS. copy of Havelok, both these poems being in the same handwriting. The greater rarity of ou in this Cam. MS. of King Horn is evidence of its greater antiquity, and forms a presumption in favour of earlier copies of Havelok having also existed. It is certainly desirable for the investigation of the orthography and development of the English language in the 13th century, and especially with a view to illustrate Havelok, to have the Laud MS. copy of King Horn accurately printed and compared with the Cam. MS. The scribes of the two MS. possibly belonged not only to different times but to different districts, and yet were so nearly contemporary, that the comparison would probably clear up many points of difficulty. In the Harl. MS. 2253, "which has been printed, but very badly, by Ritson in the second volume of his Metrical Romances," (Lumby, p. vi.) the ou is paramount.

Sometimes a word is changed for the sake of the rhyme, as; birine = bo-rain bischine 11, ype = ethe = easily dife = deths = death 57, ired = eare tires = tears 959. The two latter are however perhaps rather to be considered as dialectic peculiarities. Notwithstanding all these resources the shortness of the lines seems to have driven the rhymester to great shifts, unless the scribe has much belied him, for we have such decidedly false rhymes as: he deihe 331, foftte brieste 389, biposte miyte 411, onge bringe 279, ringe onge 565, 1187, (query, read jinge, the form found in the Harleian MS. 2253,) sede read seide leide 691, heirs read heiris pris 897, his (? palais 1255, yrlonde fendede read fonde 1513, quene been 1519. To these we must add: bure foure 1161, unless we admit for (fu're) (fou're) as suprâ p. 446, l. 21. It is however probable that all these cases are mistakes. The great diversity of the MSS., forbids us to lay great store by any particular readings.

The marked peculiarity of the poem, and one which makes it worth while to notice it especially, is the prevalence of assonances, single, or double, that is, assonances in which the consonants after the identical accented vowel are different, but those, if there are any, following the identical unaccented vowel are the same or different, as in Spanish; and assonances which being half rhyme and half assonance, may be called conassonances, the accented syllables rhyming, and the unaccented being assonant, which also occur in Spanish though they are not legitimate. Compare the assonances of disyllables and monosyllables in King Alisaunder, suprâ p. 452, note, col. 1, l. 13. These assonances, which are so
clearly developed in King Horn, remove any difficulty about admitting them in Havelok, where they are not so frequent. The following is a list of both kinds.

**Assonances:** sones gomes 21, beste werste 27, gripe smite 51, admirad bald 89, makede = mak’d euerade 165, swithe blieue 471, whit ilk 501, proue woste 545, take rape 553, trewe leue 561, man cam 787, woste gloue 793, nadre harde 863, ryngue Rymen-hilde 873, 1287, companye hience 879, shorte dorste 927, blieue blieue 967, iknowe 983, haue felase 995, bloue froze 1009, loze rowe 1079, wunder tunge 1247, grauel castel 1465, yswoe louze read loze 1479.

**Conassonances:** moder gode 145, gumes icume 161, doster read doşter þoste 249, scholde woldest 395, lîte kniȝtes 519, feste gestes 521, igolde woldest 643, doster ofte 697, ride bridel 771, ariued fiuce 807, fiʃte kniȝtes 811, borde wordes 827, hundes funde 881, kniȝtes wîste 885, doster lofte 903, while bigiled 957, kniȝtes fiȝte 1213, houe proued 1267, draȝe felasæ 1289, hundred wunder 1329.

The rhyme: time bi me 533, is interesting from its association with the same rhymes in Chaucer and Gower (p. 280).

The word *pleing* 32, seems to be a contraction of *pleying*, and this renders the rhyme: king pleying 32, perfect.

The following may serve as a specimen of the language of this poem, according to this more ancient version. The pronunciation indicates occasionally conjectural emendations, principally for the sake of the metre.

**King Horn 223-234, 241-276.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>þe kynq com in to halle</td>
<td>Dhe Kiq kaam in to mal’e,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Among his kniȝtes alle:</td>
<td>Amoq nis knikht’es al’e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forþ he clupede aȝelbrus,</td>
<td>Forth ne klep’ed Aȝelbruous,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þat was stiward of his hus.</td>
<td>Dhat was Stiward of nis nuus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stiwarde, tak nu here</td>
<td>Stiward taak nuu neer’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi fundlyng for to lere</td>
<td>Mi fund’liq, for to leere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of þyne meiﬁere,</td>
<td>Of dhii’ne mesteere’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of wude and of riuere,</td>
<td>Of wuud and of riweere’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And tech him to harpe</td>
<td>And teetsh him to narpe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wip his nayles scharpe,</td>
<td>With nis nail’es sharpe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biuore me to kerue</td>
<td>Bifoore mee to kerve’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And of þe cupe serue.</td>
<td>And of dhe kup’e serue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aȝelbrus gan þere</td>
<td>Aȝelbruous gan leere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horn and his yfer:</td>
<td>Horn and nis ifeere:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horn in herto laȝe</td>
<td>Horn in nert’e lakte’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al þat ne him taȝe.</td>
<td>Al dhat nee nim takhte’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In þe curt and ute</td>
<td>In dhe kuurt and utte’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And elles al abute,</td>
<td>And el’es al abuut’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luuede men horn child,</td>
<td>Luvde men Horn Tshild.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And mete him louede Rymen-hild,</td>
<td>Meest luvd- im Riim’enhild</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The king came in to hall
Among his knights all.
Forth he called Athelbrus
That was steward of his house.
“Steward take now here
My foundling, for to teach
Of thy craft,
Of wood and of river,
And teach him to harp
With his sharp nails,
Before me to carve,
And serve of the cup,”
Athelbrus began to teach
Horn and his companions.
Horn received in his heart
All that he taught him.
In the court and out
And else all about.
Loved one Horn Child.
Most loved him Rimenhild,
The king’s own daughter.
To-her was he most in thought.
She loved so Horn Child
That she began to grow wild.

Translation.

For she might not at table
With him speak no word,
Nor nought in the hall
Among all the knights,
Nor in no other place.
Of people she had dread.
By day nor by night
With him she might not speak.
Her sorrow nor her pain
Might not ever cease.
In heart she had woe.
Thus bethought her then.
She would-send him messenger
To the hand of Athelbrus,
That he should come-to her,
And thus should bring Horn
All into her bower.
For she began to lower (lure?)
And the messenger said,
That sick lay the maid
And bad him come quickly (?)
For she was in no wise blithe.
To-the steward was woe,
For he knew-not what to do.
7. **Moral Ode, Pater Noster, Orison, End of XIIIth Century.**

The compositions of the XIIIth century have all a decidedly local character, but the phonetic meaning of the letters, *which is all we have to deal with*, seems as firmly established as in the XIVth. The poems mentioned above belong perhaps to the XIIIth century. The copies to which we shall refer have been published for the Early English Text Society. It will not be necessary to examine them in much detail. They present much the same character as Havelok, with the *e, i* and *o, o* and *a rhymes*. The orthography is very unsteady, and it is difficult to feel certain in any place that we are not dealing with a scribal error rather than a peculiarity of pronunciation. It will be sufficient to deal with a few peculiarities.

The **Moral Ode, or Poema Morale**: *Rowen sowen* = *rue sow 19*, written: *ruwen seowen*, in the Egerton MS., are *ags. hrowan, sawan*, and can only rhyme by the dialectic interchange of *e, o*, as: *shewe lowe*, in Havelok (supra p. 476). *Seide misede 129*, seiden reden 223, require a peculiar dialectic pronunciation of *seide* as *sede*, and that this existed we learn not only from the orthography: of *sede*, rede 155, in this MS. but from the parallel rhymes: *sede misede 131*, sede rede 225 in the Egerton MS. See supra, p. 447. *Hulde felde 343*, *hulle fulle 347* and *durlinges 385*, are examples of the use of *u* for *i*, or *e*, common in this MS.

The **Pater Noster** offers many examples of *u* for *i*: *wule 14*, of †punche 16, ufele 17, *kenne wunne = win 19*, inne *sunne = sin 23, 139, 224*, wulle ifulle 55, sunne unwune 282. The rhyme: *bone clene 167*, shews how *o* was written for *e* even when *e* was pronounced. *Wreíse segge 179*, shews the derivation of the (ai) sound from (egh), and: *mei dei 169*, shews the identity of *ei, ai*.

The **Orison**, or On God *Ureison of Ure Lefdi*, contains a few peculiarities which suggest scribal errors: *Marie lefde 1*, *lefdi liuie 11*, *lefdi beien 17*, could not have rhymed. The first would be satisfied by the more ancient form *lefðie*, *ags. hrfdi*, which is justified by *lefðie* in Layamon, 15647, or else by the contracted form *Mari*, which we have already had reason to suspect, p. 441. The difficulty of: *lefðie boie 17*, as it would then be written, is the same as that of: *beie offric 2*, and: *lefðie liuie 11* offers a singular form for *liuie*, and a transmuted accent. See several other instances of like forms, supra p. 446. See also the infinitives in the **Assumpcioun** in Lumby's King Horn, p. 44, and in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite*. *Kwene reine = queen rain*, 57, should evidently be: *kwene rene*, the old *ags. form ren*, which existed as well as *regen*, here coming into use.

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The following brief extract from the Paternoster will convey some notion of the language.

**Paternoster, 75-98.**

*Cume þi riche we seggéd hit.*

Herenið alle to þis writ. His riche is al þis middeleard. Eorðe and heofene and wylcherd ofer alle is his muchele mihte. Lauerd he is icleped mid rihte. Lauerd he is of alle scæfte. In corðe. in heune is his mahte alle þe scæfte þe he bi-gon. þet is þet sódþe hit wes for mon alle þinge he makede ðet again. Er he efre makede mon. he makede mon i rihtwisnesse. Onlete on his onlitchesse. Alle dor and fujel iifliht; lete he makede adurnihti. þene Mon he lufede and welbi þouhte. and for þi his neb upward he wrohte. þet wes al mid muchele skile; þif he hit understonden wil. Neb upwardes he him wrohte. he walde þet he of him þoht[e].

Al swa þe lauerd þet him wrohte.

**Conjectured Pronunciation.**

*Ad veen'iat regnum tuu'um.*

Kuum-e dhi riitsh-e! We sai'reth nit. Herk'nith al-e too dhis rewit. His riitsh is al dhis mid'el erd, Erth and nev'n-and ii'wilk herd. Ov'er al is his mutsh'le mikht'e Lau'erd ne is iclep'ed mid riht' e Lau'erd ne is of al-e skaft'e. In erth, in he'ven is mis makht'e: Al'e dhe skaft'e dhee ne bigon', Dhet is dhet soodh, nit wes for mon. Al'e thiq he maaked [? ?] Eer ne ev'ra mak'de mon. He maak'de mon i riikt'wisnes'e, On'leet on mis on'litshnes'e. Al'e door and fugh'el iifliht': Lec'te maak'ed aduun'rikht : Dheen'e Mon ne luvd- and wel bithokht'e, And fordihi' mis neb up'ward' he rwokht'e, Dhet was al mid mutsh'le skiiile, Jif je nit undertond' on will'e. Neb up'ward'es nee nim rwokht'e. He wald'e dhet nee of nim thokht'e, Alswaa dhe' Lav'erd dhet nim rwokht'e.

**Mr. Morris’s Translation.**

*Adveniat regnum tuum.*

Thy kingdom come, we do say it, Hearken all unto this writ! His kingdom is this middle earth, Earth and heaven, and each abode; Over all is his great might. Lord he is called with right; Lord he is of all creatures, In earth and heaven is his might. All the creatures that he formed, That is truth, it was for man, All things he made to appear Before he ever made man. He made man in righteousness, In the form of his own likeness. All deer (animals) and fowl of flight He made to stoop adownright (downwards).

Man he loved and cared for well, And therefore his face upward he wrought; That was all for a good skill (reason), If that understand ye will. Face upwards he him wrought, He would that man of him thought, That he should love him with thought (in his mind) As the Lord that him wrought.
§ 2. Unrhymed Poems of the Thirteenth Century and Earlier.

The rhymed poems having resulted in a satisfactory determination of the values of the letters, it is necessary to apply the result to the examination of documents in which no rhyme is employed. The first of these that has been selected is so careful in its orthography that it is in many respects more fitted for our purpose than the laxly written poems already considered. The second has chiefly antiquity to recommend it, and its principal phonetic value lies in the great diversity of representations which it supplies for the same word.

1. **Orrmin's Ormulum, End of XIIth Century.**

Orrmin's Ormulum¹ is written in a strict orthography, with some inevitable slips here and there perhaps, which escaped the author's evidently careful and repeated revision,² and as the object of this orthography was phonetic, the poem may be fairly considered as being the first example of the application of the purely phonetic principle in the orthography of English.

Orrmin's scheme was to double the following consonant when a vowel was short. The origin of the feeling which led to this notation has been already explained (p. 55). This plan has the obvious disadvantage of not indicating the length of a vowel when no

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¹ The Ormulum. Now first edited from the original manuscript in the Bodleian (Jun. MS. 1.) with Notes and a Glossary by Robert Meadows White, D.D. Oxford, 1852, 2 vols. 8vo. "If we consider alone the character of the handwriting, the ink, and the material used by the scribe, we find reasons for placing the date of the MS. early in the thirteenth century," pref. lxxii. Mr. Garnett considers it to have been written in Peterborough. Dr. White writes "The Ormulum" with a prefixed the and single r in the above title, but in the introduction we read—

² In the facsimile of the sixteen opening lines prefixed to White's edition, we see that the second consonant in a reduplication was sometimes written over the other, and sometimes not. The same was the case occasionally with b in ßb, etc. Thus, representing the superior consonant by an italic, we have in these sixteen lines, broþerr (twice), troweþe, takenn, rezheol, folþhen, swasumm (twice),þwille, wennd, little, hafþ. As we have also at length broþerr (twice), Wallt', afft', flæshess, crisstennedom, þurh (three times), fulluhht, godess, þatt, witt, hafenn, etc., and as in the cases of superposition the writing was crowded, I conceive these to have been corrections, similar to the little accent marks by which words were separated that had been too closely written. If then in some cases we find a single consonant where we should have expected a double consonant, we may fairly attribute it to a slip which has escaped correction. Occasionally, where two consonants follow the vowel, the first consonant seems not to have been doubled, either through the author's inadvertence or from his not having thoroughly settled the system of writing, so that we find kinde and kimde, which must have both had a short i, and may be compared to the double forms amang, amang, which must have signified the same sound.
consonant followed. Thus in the opening lines ðe, i, o, to, swa were all probably short, and ba = both, was long. The writing, however, shews no difference. There was also this inconvenience that as the short vowels are more frequent than the long, the writing was overlaid with doubled letters. The expedient of doubling the vowel to indicate length, also very common and natural, overcomes both difficulties, as may be seen by the example of pronunciation in paleotype below p. 490. Thorpe in the Preface to his Analecta Anglo-Saxonica, 1846, p. xi, attributes to Orrmin the precise correspondence of long and short vowels which exist at the present day,¹ so that according to him Orrmin's a, e, i, o, u represented (œ a, ï e, ì ì, ò o, ù u), an hypothesis which our preceding investigations render untenable. If any weight is to be attributed to our determination of the values of a, e, i, o in Chaucer, and u in the Cuckoo Song, we can hardly conceive the pairing of the vowels to have been otherwise then (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu u), except that very possibly (aa a, ee e, ii i) may have replaced the first three pairs, and as to the last pair, there might, from previous examples, be a suspicion that the long and short u may have been at least occasionally (yy, y); but no examples of the use of u for i, e seem to occur, so that u should probably be always read as (uu, u). The form on for (uu) never occurs.

There are very few divided vowels, but we meet with a and eo. The a in numerous instances replaces an ags. ea as in: þæd dead, þæm dream sound, ðæm hream cry, þæm team offspring, þærd remorse, þæp steep steep. It often alternates with e and sometimes even with eo, thus we have: þæredenn dredenn, 2 pr. þæredæst, 3 pr. þæredþp, 2 pl. þæredenn, 3 pr. þæredde, imp. þæred; þærefed, þærefedd, þærefed. These confusions seem to indicate that ao, eo, e had the same sound. Even if a retained its true ags. sound, which was probably (æ æ, æ), this would readily be confounded with (ee, e), and this again with (ee, e). It seems preferable then to give a the same sound as e, viz. (ee, e), or else to regard a as (e), and e as (e).

As respects eo, Mr. White observes that: "a remarkable instance of the preference of e for eo will be found by the omission, nearly

¹ He says: "The author seems to have been a critic in his mother-tongue; and to [through?] his idea of doubling the consonant after a short vowel (as in German), we are enabled to form some tolerably accurate notions as to the pronunciation of our forefathers. Thus he writes min with a single n only because the i is long or diphthonal, as in our mine. So also in kinde (pronounced as our kind) dom, bow, had, lif (pronounced as our life), etc. On the other hand, wherever the consonant is doubled, the vowel preceding is short and sharp, as in诤t (pronounced as our yet, not yate, as it would be if written with a single i) God (pronounced God, not God), etc. Thus hus is to be pronounced hooes, whereas puss, with a double s, is our thus." Tyrwhitt, in his Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, Part III. § iv. note 52, declares himself unable to comprehend the meaning of those doubled consonants, and in quoting the commencement of the Dedication, "ventures (first begging Ormin's pardon for disregarding his injunction) to leave out the superfluous letters." To have been consistent, then, he should have written: beging, lev, letters, instead of the "superfusously lettered" beging, leave, letters!
uniform, of o in the latter part of the MS., in the inserted leaves, and in the dedication and preface, as in the forms lede, þede, werelld, etc., the o having been written in the above words and in others in the first part of the MS., afterwards erased, and then re-written. In these last named instances the o has been retained in printing in order to preserve the orthography. Perhaps the o was rejected as not essential for pronunciation; Cf. our word people." Of course such deletions and restitutions of o could not have taken place unless eo formed one syllable, as White observes, quoting v. 8571:

\[ \text{ja shulenn been off heo kinn.} \]
Possibly the writing may have been Orrmin's, the deletion his brother's, who was requested to examine the manuscript, ded. v. 65:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Annd to bitoche ice off pis boc} & \\
\text{heh wikenn\textsuperscript{1} alls itt semej} & \\
\text{all to þurrhesekenn illo an ferrs} & \\
\text{annd to þurrholken offte,} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

certainly rather for the purpose of detecting trips in doctrine,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{patt upponn all pis boc ne be} & \\
\text{nan word ðæn Cristess laire,} & \\
\text{nan word tatt swipe wel ne be} & \\
\text{to trowwenn and to folgheenn;} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

but we can easily imagine "broþerr Wallterr" having extended his observations to the spelling, and Orrmin having on further reflection, restored his own orthography. In this case Orrmin attached a value to eo different from (ee). However it be, we find as a matter of fact that in White's glossary almost every word spelled with eo has a secondary form spelled with simple e. This would rather indicate (ee\textsubscript{1}o), with a strongly marked (ee) and an evanescent (o), comparable to the (oo\textsubscript{1}u, oo\textsuperscript{w}) in our modern pronunciation of know \(=\) (noou).

The forms ai, ei, au, ou do not occur, but the syllables 155, eg5, ag5, aww, eww, most probably indicated the presence of diphthongs. The letter ð had of course a different sound from g. The regular (gh) sound seems to have been written gh, while (kh) was h or hh. Thus from ægheenn to own, we have ah owns, and ahhe goods, cattle. We have also berrghenn to save, berrhless salvation. Observe that in these cases gh comes before a vowel, as in hallghæ, reghell, folghenn, etc., and h, hh, before a consonant or at the end of a word, and this rule appears to have been consistently carried out. The simple ð then probably functioned as (j), as in: jarrken, jate, je, jelden, jeellpen, jeorne jeorrne jernerne, je, jife, jiff, jilt, jocc, jol, jung, jure. The initial gh is peculiar to the word gho = she and the contraction ghôt=gho itt. In the later text of Laga-mon we have ðeo for she; see also ghe, ge, suprà p. 467. It would be difficult to pronounce ghô otherwise than (gho, Jho), and it would seem to be a peculiar derivative from heo, the (jh) being generated in the same way that it is in a not unusual modern pro-

\textsuperscript{1}White translates, office, duty, attendants, and Stratmann sub voce charge. See Laga-mon's wikenares= wiken.
nunciation of the words, hue, Hume, Hughes = (jhuu, Jhuum, Jhuuz). From these (jho, Jhe) forms the subsequent (shoo, shee, shii) easily follow. What then was the effect of 3 when final? We know that many orthoepists, as Wallis, consider that the final element in the diphthongs (ai, an) is (3, w) and not (i, u), p. 186. We see also from the example of Auwwstin, Ded. v. 10, which we know from Latin sources must have been (Austiin'), that Orrmin belonged to this class. It follows therefore that euw must have been (eu) in oneuwe and that 33, 33 must have been (ai, ei), or (aii, eei), as it is unlikely that Orrmin would have made the difference, the duplication of 3 serving only to shew the strict diphthongation of the elements.

The legitimacy of this interpretation will be more readily admitted after an inspection of the following lists of all simple words which I have observed in Orrmin containing 33 and 33.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a}33 & \text{ aye} \\
\text{d}33 & \text{ day, gen. and pl.} \\
\text{d}33 & \text{ dajhess, dajjes; a}33 & \text{ daj}33 & \text{ deg} \\
\text{f}33 & \text{ fair, a}33 & \text{ faj}33 & \text{ fairly, a}33 & \text{ faj}33 & \text{ fajgere} \\
\text{fr}33 & \text{ to ask, a}33 & \text{ frej}33 & \text{ frayne, } \\
\text{m}33 & \text{ (1) mag, a}33 & \text{ mag}33 & \text{ (2) maid icel. mey,} \\
\text{ma}33 & \text{leenn maiden, a}33 & \text{ mag}33 & \text{ lejklenn mag}33 & \text{ magden} \\
\text{ma}33 & \text{estre magister} \\
\text{ma}33 & \text{je tribe, a}33 & \text{ mag}33 & \text{ nay} \\
\text{ma}33 & \text{leenn to nail, a}33 & \text{ mag}33 & \text{ nejklan} \\
\text{wa}33 & \text{ gge}33 & \text{ woe} \\
\text{wa}33 & \text{ gin wain, a}33 & \text{ wa}33 & \text{ wagn} \\
\text{wa}33 & \text{gn ejp carrieth, a}33 & \text{ wagn} \\
\text{be}33 & \text{zen gen. of ba both} \\
\text{be}33 & \text{zanns bezants} \\
\text{be}33 & \text{zen bitter, icel. beiskr} \\
\text{be}33 & \text{ zen to beat, a}33 & \text{ beatan} \\
\text{cle}33 & \text{enlegghe chastity} \\
\text{ez}33 & \text{ fear, a}33 & \text{ eglan} \\
\text{ez}33 & \text{ leenn to oil, a}33 & \text{ eg}33 & \text{ pers other, a}33 & \text{ ekher} \\
\text{egg}33 & \text{ whar everywhere, a}33 & \text{ eg}33 & \text{ hwair} \\
\text{flegg}33 & \text{ fail, old Fr. flaial, Lat. flagellum} \\
\text{ge}33 & \text{ zen to gain, icel. at} \\
\text{ge}33 & \text{ jhena,} \\
\text{ge}33 & \text{ jenike conveniently, icel. jenugileg} \\
\text{ide}33 & \text{ legge idleness} \\
\text{leg}33 & \text{ legge to lay, a}33 & \text{ leg}33 & \text{ lyd layeth laid} \\
\text{ly}33 & \text{ a}33 & \text{ leggen to lay.} \\
\text{leg}33 & \text{ kenn to play, icel. at leika} \\
\text{leg}33 & \text{ kenn to inquire, icel. at leita} \\
\text{le}33 & \text{ metlegge humility} \\
\text{re}33 & \text{ jn rain, a}33 & \text{ regn} \\
\text{regn}33 & \text{ kenn to raise, icel. at reisa to travel} \\
\text{seg}33 & \text{ seg33 seg33} \\
\text{seg}33 & \text{sazet saith said saith} \\
\text{seg}33 & \text{geum} \\
\text{tweg}33 & \text{ jwain} \\
\text{beg}33 & \text{it they} \\
\text{beg}33 & \text{gm them} \\
\text{yeg}33 & \text{gheir their} \\
\text{weg}33 & \text{ way, a}33 & \text{ weg} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In almost all these cases we see 33 answering to a}33 and e33 to a}33 and once ea, or Icel. ei, and twice e = (oe). The most remarkable exception is peggm from a}33, as it accounts for the form peim, paim, (p. 442, Pater. v. 8), and perhaps for peis, forms sometimes found in old English. It does not seem possible to establish the transition of a}33 into ai (agh, agh, ar, ai) more clearly.

The combinations i}33 or i}33 occur in -lig, as innwarrdlig, witerrlig, and in twizzess and similar words, where the difference of the single 3 and double 33 has to be noted. Properly the sound should be that of the very common German termination -ig, as inveondig, wahrhaftig, which is theoretically (-igh) and practically (-ikh), as (in-bhend:igh, bhaar-naft:igh), or (in-bhend:ikh, bhaar-naft:ikh). It would therefore be hazardous to read i}33, i}33, otherwise than as (iikh, iikh) final or (iigh, iigh) before vowels. The objection that these sounds when final should have been written -ih, -ikh, must be met by the habit of the a}33 final -ig. The same reason may have led Orrmin to use 33 in the middle of a word in
place of ï¿½h, which would have been the regular reduplication of ï¿½h, compare ssh in English, dedication 109. The value of wu in ï¿½wu is doubtful, but it does not seem likely to have differed from (uu). The f between two vowels, and frequently elsewhere, was most probably (v), a letter which Orrmin avoids, but ff was of course (f). This would accord with the modern Welsh usage.

As to the final e, the rule of pronunciation given, by the strict observation of the number of syllables in each line, is precisely that at which we arrived for Chaucer, down to the occasional elision of an inflectional final e, even when not preceding a vowel, in which case Orrmin simply left it out.1 The elisions, however, are not so frequent as in Chaucer. Thus, in the first 1000 lines of the Homilies in White's text, final e is elided five times before himm, three times before he, twice before himm and hisse, once before hu and once before Herodess v. 277, which is very peculiar. The elisions before a vowel are more common. Open e perhaps does not occur, so that the practice of the end of the xivth century is justified by an English practice at the beginning of the xiii th, which cannot have been influenced by Norman habits. Coalescent words also occur as palde, namm = þæ alde, ne amm, hét = he itt, noff = ne off, nafte, naffde = ne hafe, ne haffle, etc. A final ð or ð changes the following ð to t, a practice which we have met with before (p. 444, n. 2), and which was still preserved in Chaucer's: wiltow = wilt thou, etc. (p. 371), but here carried much farther. We may therefore feel considerable confidence in pronouncing Orrmulum as follows:

**Orrmulum, Dedication.**

And whase wilenn shall þiss boc

efft operr sipe writenn, 96

himm bidde icc þatt hét write

riht

swa summ þiss boc himm tæch-
eþ

all þwert út afterr þatt itt iss

uppo þiss firrstse bisne, 100

wipþ all swilk rime alls her iss

sett,

**Conjectured Pronunciation.**

And whaa-see wii-len shal this

book

eft oo'dher sii'dhe rew'ten,

nim bid ik dhat nee-t rew'te

rikht

swaa sum dhis book him tæchst-

eth,

al thwert uat aft'er dhat it is

uppo dhis first'e biis'ne,

with al swilk riim als heer is

set

**Verbal Translation.**

And whose shall desire this book

Again another time to write, 96

Him's beg I that he it write rightly

Just as this book him teacheth,

All throughout after (the way) that it is

On this first example, 100

With all such number as is here set

(forth)
with all se fele wordess;
and tatt he loke wel þatt he
an boestaff write twiȝgess 104
eȝwher þær itt uppþ þiss boc
iss writenn o þatt wise;
loke he well þatt hét write swa,

for he ne mæg ðohht elless
onn Ennglish writenn rihtht te
word,
þatt write he wel to soþe.
And þiff manne wile witenne whi
ice hafe don þiss dede, 112
whi ice till Ennglish hafe weþnd
godspelless hallghe lære;
ice hafe itt don forþi þatt all
crisstene folkkes berrhless 116
iss lang uppþ þatt an, þatt tegʒ
godspelless hallghe lære
wiþ þulle maithte folþghe rihtht,
þurrh þohht, þurrh word, þurrh
dede.

Icc þatt tiss Ennglish hafe sett
Ennglishse manne to lære, 322
ic wass, þær þær I crisstnedd
wass,
Orrmin bi name nemnnedd.

and icc Orrmin full innwardliʒ,
wiþ muþ ann þe wiþʒ
herrte, 326
her bidde þa Criststene mann
þatt herenn opper rēdenn
þiss boc, hemm bidde icc her þatt
tegʒ
forr me þiss bede biddenn : 330

Verbal Translation.

With all so many words,
And that he look well, that he
One letter write twice,

Everywhere where it upon this book
Is written on that wise;
Look he well that he it write so,
For he may not else

In English write rightly the word,
That know he well to sooth.
And if one will know why
I have done this deed,

Why I into English have turned
Gospel's holy lore;
I have done it because that all
Christian people's salvation

is along of that one (thing), that they
Gospel's holy lore

With full power follow rightly,
By thought, by word, by deed. * * *
I that this English have set (forth) 321
Englishmen to teach,
I was there where I christened was,
Orrmin by name named;
And I Orrmin full inwardly,
With mouth and eke with heart 326

Here pray the Christian men
That hear or read
This book, them pray I here that they
For me this prayer pray:
That brother that this English writing
First of all (men) wrote and wrought,
True bliss may (he) find.

As considerable doubt attaches to the length of the vowel in old
English, and as Orrmin's orthography is meant to resolve that
doubt, it seems worth while to collect together all the instances
where he seems to mark vowels as long. In the following lists,
which have been collected from White's glossary, all the simple
(uncompounded) words in which a long vowel before a consonant
appeared to be indicated with tolerable certainty have been col-
lected. To all cases in which a vowel is followed by more than
one consonant, and the first of those consonants is not doubled,
doubt attaches, because Orrmin's usage fluctuates in some of them,
and he seems to have thought that two consonants would act oc-
casionally as well as a doubled consonant. Such words are there-
fore excluded, as are also all monosyllables ending in a vowel, and
therefore of undetermined quantity. The use of the short sign (')
sometimes seems to indicate a short vowel, where only one con-
sonant follows, and hence a few of the following words may be
doubtful, but on the whole it would seem that a long vowel was
intended in each of the following cases.

**List of Orrmin's Words Containing Long Vowels.**

| Long A (aa) | dale | lade | rape | wrap
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| adle | drake | laf | rapenn | pafe
| afell | draghenn | laferrd | sake | praghe
| azhe | faderr | lah | same |
| an | faken | lakenn | samenn |
| aniz | farenn | lare | sare |
| ar | frame | late | shame |
| are | gal | læghe | shape |
| aren | gan | makenn | skaøesst |
| atell | gate | male | slæn |
| aþell | zate | man | snap |
| aþess | zaternn | manaþ | stan |
| aþummm | zehatenn | manig | stræc |
| aþowht | grap | mare | swære |
| bæþ | bad | nakedd | swæt |
| brad | hafenn | name | takenn |
| bræþ | hal | nan | tale |
| kafe | halig | naness | wac |
| kare | ham | nape | wakenk |
| charig | hat | ran | war |
| clake | hatenn | rap | wat |
| cloþ | lac | ras | watœw |
| cnaþ | lade | rap | wræt |

1 This list and the following have been checked by Mr. Brock.
draem
færenn
fæwe
flash
zap
gætenn
haefled
haele
haep
hær
hæse
hate
hænenn
hæwenn
whær
læc
læche
læfe
læpenn
lærenn
laetenn
meleann
meless
menne
mære
mæp
nafre
rad
rædis
raefenn
raem
raw
sæm
shædenn
shæwenn
shråeddenn
slæn
sleep
spæche
stæp
stræm
stræte
taschenn
tælenn
tæm-enn
weode
wadel
wealling
weppenn
wepte
weer-e
weaw
weæppenn
kechell
kelenn
ekene
chehiping
chesenn
kepenn
clene
cleppenn
cenedess
cenellenn
cwemmenn
ewen
dede
deme-nn
dope
dezenn
drefedd
dreghenn
ec
eche
efenn
eken
ele
etenn
ezhe
fedenn
fele
fære
flætæpp
flæghenn
frend
gæmmenn
gær
gætte
gædæg
grene
gresse
grettæn
hæfenn
hehe
her
hære
hête
hêw
hæwenn
heghæ
ledæn
lefe
lefenn
lem
len
lenenn
letæn
lehæ
leghæn
medae
mekenn
mele
menenn
menæpp
mete
metedd
meghæ
ned
nedl
neh
new
pening
pæst
redenn
reghæll
sec
sed
sefenn
seknenn
sel
ser
shene
shep
shetenn
slep
smec
smere
smæpe
sped
spæddenn
spæckenn
steckenn
stær
stren
swære
swet
steckenn
tene
tredenn
tædenn
wel
wen-enn
weppenn
were
werenn
wrekeenn
wregenn
pæde
pes
pæppenn
whil
idæll
ifell
irenn
licer
lich
lif
like
likenn
lim
limest
lin
litell
lìpæ
nikoll
min
minepp
nimenn
nip
nìghæn
pine-nn
ridingess
rime
risenn
shinepp
shir
shrædenn
shrifenn
side
sikenn
sikkær
sìpæ
sìge
skælded
skir
smíkær
smitten
stidæg
stïh
stærenn
stæggæn
swæn
swipe
tìd
time
wic
wide
wif
win
wiss
wiss
wite
witen
witer
wîpær
writenn
witðærr
pìse
blom
boc
bote
bodig
bone
bozhæss
bote
boþæ
broþær
clofenn
comæ
croc
dom
don
floid
flor
flowedd
fode
fon
fot
frofre
god
gol
gæm
hof
holepp
hope
hogheful
inch
lofenn
lokenn
lome
loghe
mod
modær
mone
monepp
mot-e
notest
ofærr
ofne
oþærr
plæh
rhof
rode
ros
rosexn
rote
rotæn
scone
shop
sloþ
snotærr
sone
soþ
stoke-æs
toc
tor
wod
woh
wokenn
As considerable interest attaches to the determination of such adjectives and substantives as had a final e in early English, and as Orrmin's versification establishes with certainty the pronunciation of such letters, except when they are elidably situate, I have collected from White's glossary all such words, adding the meaning. A few substantives are only found in oblique cases, and these are marked † because the e may be only inflectional. In the case of the adjectives it is not always certain, from a simple inspection of the glossary, whether the e is a mere mark of the plural or of the definite inflection. When I have detected either of these to be the case I have omitted the adjective from the list, but I have not thought it necessary to verify every case. Such a table of German nouns and adjectives would seem ridiculous to a German, because he cannot dissociate the e from the words. We have become so used to its absence that every kind of artificial means is necessary to restore the association.

**List of Orrmin's Adjectives and Substantives ending in E.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adle, disease</td>
<td>adde, dize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abere clear</td>
<td>abere, cleres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>achede † luxury</td>
<td>achede, lurich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acre ear</td>
<td>acre, air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethe goods</td>
<td>ethe, goedes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahhte alone (adv.)</td>
<td>ahhte, alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ange sorrow</td>
<td>ange, sorro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andante odious</td>
<td>andante, odios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andswarde answer</td>
<td>andswarde, awnswer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are grace</td>
<td>are, grace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arke ark</td>
<td>arke, arck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disse ass</td>
<td>disse, ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe axe</td>
<td>axe, axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aghe axe</td>
<td>aghe, axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bare bier</td>
<td>bare, bier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bede player</td>
<td>bede, player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belle bell</td>
<td>belle, bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bene player</td>
<td>bene, player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bennche † bench</td>
<td>bennche, bench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berme † barn</td>
<td>berme, barn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berrne † barn</td>
<td>berrne, barn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bettre better</td>
<td>bettre, better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilenge belonging to</td>
<td>bilenge, belonging to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birde lineage</td>
<td>birde, lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisne example</td>
<td>bisne, example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bite morsel</td>
<td>bite, morsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blisse bliss</td>
<td>blisse, bliss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blipe blihe</td>
<td>blipe, blithe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blome blome</td>
<td>blome, blome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boostme blossom</td>
<td>boostme, blossom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bode command</td>
<td>bode, command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone boon</td>
<td>bone, boon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bote remedy</td>
<td>bote, remedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bope booth</td>
<td>bope, booth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brapte anger</td>
<td>brapte, anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bremte furieus</td>
<td>bremte, furious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bridale bridal</td>
<td>bridale, bridal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bridgume bride-groom</td>
<td>bridgume, bride-groom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu laxe axe</td>
<td>bu laxe, axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bule bull</td>
<td>bule, bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burre † bower</td>
<td>burre, bower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>care care</td>
<td>care, care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chele cold</td>
<td>chele, cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chepingbope mar-ket-booth</td>
<td>chepingbope, market-booth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chestre city</td>
<td>chestre, city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clake † accusation</td>
<td>clake, accusation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close clean</td>
<td>close, clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cribbe crib</td>
<td>cribbe, crib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cude cul</td>
<td>cude, cul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cullifre dove</td>
<td>cullifre, dove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewemo agreeable</td>
<td>ewemo, agreeable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedbote repentance</td>
<td>dedbote, repentance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>false false</td>
<td>false, false</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dale part</td>
<td>dale, part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darne secret</td>
<td>darne, secret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daftfe humble</td>
<td>daftfe, humble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de aile valley</td>
<td>de, aisle, valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dede deed</td>
<td>de, deed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deme † judge</td>
<td>deme, judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>depe, depe deep</td>
<td>depe, depe, deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deore, dere dear</td>
<td>deore, dere, dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drige dry</td>
<td>drige, dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>druhpe † drought</td>
<td>druhpe, drought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dure door</td>
<td>dure, door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwillde error</td>
<td>dwillde, error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eche eternal</td>
<td>eche, eternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egge † edge</td>
<td>egge, edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehite eight</td>
<td>ehite, eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elde † age</td>
<td>elde, age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elo oil</td>
<td>elo, oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ende end country</td>
<td>ende, end, country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enpe, enpe earth</td>
<td>enpe, enpe, earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erre animal</td>
<td>erre, animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ernde errand</td>
<td>ernde, errand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eghe eye</td>
<td>eghe, eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eghesalfie eye-salve</td>
<td>eghesalfie, eye-salve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eghesihpe eyesight</td>
<td>eghesihpe, eyesight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egge † fear</td>
<td>egge, fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fawe few</td>
<td>fawe, few</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It will be found on examination that though many of the above -e are justified by the existence of some final vowel or syllable in Anglosaxon or Icelandic, not a few have been clearly subsequently developed. See supra, p. 345, note 2, and the Table, pp. 379-397.
2. Layamon’s Brut, beginning of xiii th Century.

Although Layamon’s Brut 1 is written in verse, yet the rhythm and orthography are so irregular that it is scarcely easier to conjecture the pronunciation than if it were mere prose. In fact with Orrmin we take leave of all certainty arising from metre or strict orthography. But the extraordinary diversity of spelling is of itself some assistance.

Weighing the results already obtained we cannot be very far wrong in supposing $a$, $e$, $i$, $o$, $u$ to be (aa, ee, ii, oo, uu), with the doubtful (i) or (y) for $u$ occasionally as in lut, lutel, lutere (lit, lit-el, lidh-ere) few, little, wicked. 2 Again $a$ may be called (ee, e), and as $eo$ interchanges with $e$ it may be (ee) or (ee-o). $Ea$ is rare and interchanges with $a$, so that it may be (ea) or even (eá) with a more distinct (a). Among the consonants $z$, $h$, follow the same rule as in Orrmin, $ch$ is of course (tsh), but (sh) does not seem to have been developed, as $sc$ is constantly used.

On account of the extreme western locality of the author’s residence (3½ miles south-east of Bewdley, in Worcestershire) there may have been many dialectic peculiarities which would tend to give the letters slightly different values from those thus assigned, but it seems probable that such a pronunciation as the following would have been intelligible. 3

Layamon’s Brut.


Sixti winter hefde Leir;
pis lond al to welden.
be king hefde þreo dohtren;
bi his drihhliche quen.
nefde he nenne sune;
þer fore he warðe sari,
his manscipe to halden;
buten þa þreo dohtren.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Siks’ti win’ter neev’d de Lair
dhis lond al to-weld’en.
Dhe kiq neev’d de three dokht’ren
bii nis drizh-litshe kween.
Neev’d ne nen’e suun’e,
dheerfoor’ ne ward’ sari,
rnis man’skiipe to hald’en,
buat’ en dha three dokht’ren.

1 Layamon’s Brut, or Chronicle of Britain; a poetical-semi-saxon paraphrase of the Brut of Wace, now first published from the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, accompanied by a literal translation, notes, and a grammatical glossary. By Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1847, 3 vols, royal 8vo. The Cottonian MSS. are Calig. A. ix, the older version, which is attributed to the beginning of the xiii th century at latest, and Otho. C. xiii, which is of a much later date.

2 The forms litul, lih’re also occur. It is quite possible that in such words both modes of speech (lut-el, liel) occurred in these Western dialects, see p. 298, p. 300 note 2, and p. 424.

3 The many interesting points which would arise from a careful study of the dialectic peculiarities indicated by the orthography are of course passed over here, as the object is only to ascertain the phonetic meaning of the letters, which is an entirely preliminary investigation without which the other could not properly succeed, but which is quite independent of any other research.
Sixty winters had Leir
this land 'all' to govern.
The king had three daughters
by his noble queen;
he had no son,—
therefore he was sorry,—
his honor to hold,
extpect the three daughters.
The eldest daughter hight Gornoille,
the second Regau,
the third Cordoiille.
She was the youngest 'sister,'
of beauty fairest of all;
she was to her father as dear
as his own life!
Then the king grew old,
and weakened in strength,
and he betheought him
what he might do
with his kingdom,
after his day.
He said to himself
that that was evil:
"I will divide my realm
to 'all' my daughters,
and give them my kingdom,
and share among my children;"
but first I will prove
which is my best friend,
and she shall have the best part
of my lordly land."
Thus the king thought,
and thereafter he wrought.
§ 3. Prose Writings of the xiii th Century and Earlier.

Here we have only the spelling to trust to, and to see whether the determination of the values of the letters by means of the poets is borne out by the systematic orthography of the prose writers. Very brief notices are all that need to be given.


This proclamation, issued by the barons in the king’s name, has been fully considered in a separate work, in which the pronunciation was assigned in accordance with the results at which I had then arrived, but subsequent research has induced me slightly to alter my opinion on certain points. Considering that the document is formal, it seems probably that ea, eo had their full (eə, ɵ) sounds. It is even possible that eow may have been (éou) rather than (éu), but the constant practice of writing ev in trewe leads me to believe that the initial eo of this combination has to be read (e) simply. The occurrence of simple ev, however, casts some doubt upon this conclusion as respects the actual pronunciation of the scribe. There is probably little doubt that the more general pronunciation of ea, eo, at that time was (ee), and of eow (eu). The combination oa is rare. We have seen it rhyme with (aa) in Genesis and Exodus (p. 467), and the writer may have said (aa, aa, aah), the last as an intermediate sound. As a compromise I use (aa, a). The interchange of e, e in redesmen, redesmen, seems to imply that a had become simple (ee, e). In accordance with former usage (ai) is employed for ei, but we must not fail to observe the correspondence of the French Fiz Geoffreï, p. 504, with the English Geoffrees sune p. 505, shewing that the pronunciation (Dzhef’reœ’) was then current (supra p. 462). The name Aldithel in the English, p. 504, and Audithel’ in the French, p. 505, seems to be a contraction for the name Aldidelege in Staffordshire (Domesday Book, printed edition, fo. 250b, col. 2, photozincographed edition, Staffordshire, p. x. col. 2,) =ald-ide-lege, or ags. eald yða lega, that is, old-water-land, compare Cædmon’s ea-stream-yða. Ide, still called (Iid) supra p. 291, is in Devonshire (Domesday Book, fo. 101b, col. 2,) as also Ideford; Idefill is in Kent, Iden in Sussex. Hence the probable alteration of the name was (ald-iï·dha-lec·yða, ald-i::dh’e-lai, auld-i-lai, aud-e-lai, aad’lec, aad’le), compare Audelay, p. 449, n. 2, and the modern Audley. The other vowels and the consonants present no difficulty. The length of the vowels, where it differs in my scheme

1 The only English Proclamation of Henry III, 18 October 1258, and its treatment by former editors and translators, considered and illustrated; to which are added editions of the Cuckoo Song and The Prisoner’s Prayer, Lyrics of the xiii th century, London, 1868, 8vo. pp. 135, by the author of this treatise.

2 The error of supposing long i to have been occasionally (ai), see supra p. 279, was not detected till after the book had been printed off, and is referred to in the errata. The use of Henr’,... send igretinge for sende p, is well illustrated by Prof. F. J. Child, supra p. 354, art. 51.
from that assigned to Anglosaxon, will generally be found justified by the spelling of Orrmin, or by more recent usage. The quantity of the Anglosaxon short vowels seems to have frequently suffered in passing through the Norman period of repression, when the language ceased to be cultivated by men of letters.

The complete proclamation, with the French original, is here reproduced from the stereotype plates of the work cited in note 1, in order that the first correct presentation of this venerable and interesting document may be preserved for the use of the Early English Text Society. To insure accuracy, the proofs had been compared three times with the originals in the Public Record Office. A few very slight inaccuracies in the stereotype plates have been removed in this edition, after a fourth comparison. The bracketed numbers refer to the numbers of the lines in the original MSS.

The following is an abstract of the history of this important proclamation, the only public English document known to have been issued under our Norman kings. On account of the quarrels between Henry III. and his barons, the latter were summoned to Westminster 7 April, 1258, when Henry submitted himself to a Council of Twenty-four, twelve chosen by himself, and twelve by the Barons, or, as they called themselves, the Commons. This Council appointed a Committee of Four to choose a Cabinet of Fifteen. To this Council and Cabinet were due the provisions of Oxford, 11 June 1258, which ordered a Parliament consisting of the Fifteen, and Twelve Magnates to meet three times a year, and for the first time on 6 October 1258. At this Parliament the following Proclamation was agreed to, and issued in Latin, French, and English. The Latin version has not yet been found. There are two copies of the French, and one of the English in existence. The French version which follows contains the names of thirteen out of the Cabinet of Fifteen, and three from among the first appointed Twelve Parliamentary Magnates. The object of the Proclamation, was to make each man in the country take the oath already taken by the King and the Commons at Oxford, pledging him to obey the Council of Twenty-four, to assist it to the utmost of his power, and to oppose its enemies.

The English proclamation seems to have been published from the original by Somner 1659, Hearne 1720, Henshall 1798, the Record Commission (in its edition of Rymer's Foedera 1816,) the Master of the Rolls (in Sir H. James' photozincographed National Manuscripts 1865), and, in part, by Astle 1803 (in facsimile), but in all cases incorrectly, and the errors made by these editors have increased in the hands of Tyrrel 1700, Lyttelton 1767, Henry 1781-93, Latham 1841, and Koch 1863, who followed Somner; and Craik 1851, who followed Rymer. Pauli 1853, and Regel 1856 (who is followed by Marsh 1862,) conjecturally, and on the whole satisfactorily, amended Rymer by means of the French version, which has been published by Rymer and Pauli only, but the latter merely transcribed the former, leaving a grievous blunder uncorrected. Some of the errors of these various editions are given on page 504.
OLD FRENCH VERSION.

*Patent Roll, 42 Henry III. m. 1, n. 1.*


Modern English Translation of Old English Version.

[1] Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, sends greetings to all his lieges, clerical and lay, in Huntingdonshire. [2] That know ye well all, that we will and grant that that which our councillors, all or the greater part of them, that have been chosen by us, and by the people of the country of our kingdom, have done, and shall [3] do, to the glory of God, and in furtherance of our allegiance, for the benefit of the country, by the provision of the aforesaid councillors, be stedfast and lasting in all things ever without end. And we call upon [4] all our lieges in the allegiance that they owe us, that they stedfastly hold and swear to hold and to defend the acts that have been passed, or shall be passed by the aforesaid councillors, [5] or by the
OLD ENGLISH VERSION.

*Patent Roll, 43 Henry III. m. 15., n. 40*

[1] ■ [H]enr' *burh* godef *fultume* king on Engleneloande. *Lhauererd* on *Ýrloand*. *Duk* on *Norm* on *Aquitain* and eorl on Ancrow *Send* *igretinge* to alle *hie* holde *ilærde* and *ileawede* on *Huntendon'schild* [2] *hæt* witen *ge* wel alle *hæt* *we* willen and *vnnen* *hæt* *hæt* *vre* *rædef- men* alle *ôfer* *he* moare *dæl* of *heom* *hæt* beôf *icho- fen* *burh* uf and *burh* *hæt* *loandesf* folk on *vre* kuneriche. *habbeôf *idon* and *schullen* [3] *don* in *he* worþnesse of *gode* and on *vre* *treowþe*. for *he* freme of *he* *loande*. *burh* *he* *beshte* of *hæn* to *forenseide* *rædesmen*: beô *stedeôfset* and *ilestinde* in *alle* *þinge* *abuten* *andenes*. And we hoaten [4] *alle* *vre* *treowe* in *he* *treowþe* *hæt* *heo* *vi* *ogen*. *hæt* *heo* *stedeôfslîchhe* *healden* and *sweeven* to *healden* and to *werien* *ðo* *wëtersself* *hæt* *beon* *imakede* and *beon* to *maken* *burh* *hæn* to *foren* *iseide* *rædesmen* [5] *ôfer* *burh* *he*
Old French Version.—(Continued.)


Modern English Translation of Old English Version.—(Con.)
greater part of them, as it has been before said. And that each help the other so to do by that same oath, against all men, doing and receiving justice. And let no man take any land or [6] chattel, whereby this provision may be let or impaired in any wise. And if any person or persons oppose this provision, we will and enjoin that all our lieges hold them as mortal enemies. And because [7] we will that this should be stedfast and lasting, we send you this letter patent signed with our seal, to hold among you in the treasury. Witnesses ourselves at London, the eighteenth day of the month [8] of October, in the two and fortieth year of our reign. And this was done in the presence of our sworn councillors, Boneface, archbishop of Canterbury; Walter of Cantelow, bishop of Worcester; [9] Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester; Richard of Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford; Roger
Old English Version.—(Continued.)


Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

maorse deel of heom al'swo al'se hit iz bifo'ron isaid: And dhet eetsh oodh'er helpe dhet for to doon'e bii dhaan il'tshe ooth'e aje'nes al'e men, rikh't for to doon'e and to faq'en. And noan ne nii'me of land'e ne of [6] ekht'e, wheerthurkh'dhis besiikht'e muugh'e beon ilet' odh'er iwers'ed on on'ie wiise. And ðif oni odh'er on'ie kuum'en heer onje'nes, we wil'en and haa'ten dhet al'e uu're treu'e heom heald'en dead'litshe ifaan'. And for dhet [7] we wil'en dhet dhis beo stee'defest and lest'inde, we send'en jeu dhis reit oop'en isain'ed with uu're seel, to hald'en amaq'es jeu in'e hoord. Witnexe us sel'ven et Lun'deene, dhaan'e ekht'etenthe dai, on dhe moonth'e [8] of Oktoo'ber in dhe twoo and fou'riiikhthe jeare'o uu're kruun'iqe. And dhis wes idoon' etfoo'ren uu'reiswoo'renerere'desmen, Bon'efaase, Ar'tshebish'op on Kan'terber'i; Walt'er of Kan'telou, bish'op on Wuiretshester; [9] Sii'moon of Munt'fort, eorl on Lair'tshester; Rii'tshard of Klaa're, eorl on Gloou'tshester and on Hert'ford; Rodzh'er
Old French Version.—(Continued.)

Old English Version.—(Continued.)

Bigod eorl on Northfolk' and Marefcal on Engleneloand.'
Perref of Sauueye. Will' of Fort eorl on Aubem'.


Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

Bii'god, eorl on Northþolke and Maa'reskal on Eq'leneland'e. Per'es of Savaie; Wil'helm of Fort, eorl on Au'bemarle;
[10] Dhzoom of Ples'aiiz, eorl on Waa'rewiike; Dhzoom Dhzefrees suun'e; Per'es of Munt'fort; Rii'tshard of Grai; Rodz'her of Mort'emër; Dhzaam'ez of Al'dithel, and etfoo'ren oodh're moogh'e

[11] And al on dho il'tshe word'en is isend' in to ev'ritshe oodh're shii're oover al dheere kin'erütsche on Eq'lenelande, and eek in til Iir'lande.

Henry, Latham, and Craik of the passage: And þæt æhe oþer helpe ... deadliche ifoan, 5, 6, are ludicrously wrong.

Somner's Latin version is: "Et quod unusquisque, vigore ejusdem juramenti, contra omnes homines, in omnibus tum faciendis, tum recipiendis, ut id ita fiat et observetur, alter alteri sint auxilio. Et (quod) nullus sive de terrâ (vel, gente) meâ, sive quacunque allia, per consilium hujusmodi (hujus scil. consilii obenendi causâ) impediatur, sive damnnum patiatur, ullo modo. Et si quis, sive vir sive femina, huic (edito) contravenerit, volumus et mandamus ut omnes fideles nostri eos habeant infensissimos."

Craik's English version is: "And that each other help that for to do, by them (to) each other against all men (in all that they) ought for to do and to promote. And none, nor of my land nor elsewhere, through this business may be let (hindered) or damaged in anywise. And if any man or any woman come them against, we will and enjoin that all our lieges them hold deadly foes."

The most remarkable error in the copy of the French version printed in Rymer is: nos Giueons, for nos enueons 6, which has the false appearance of an appropriation of a Saxon word by the Normans, with a French inflexion,—a philological curiosity!

The Ancren Riwe and the Hali Meidenhad may be considered together.1

In the Ancren Riwe it will be seen that the simple vowels $a$, $e$, $i$, $o$, $u$ must be taken as usual to mean (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu u), with a much larger allowance of $u = (y)$ or $(i, e)$ than is found, except in the west of England. Thus we have gult, cluppen, fustes, fur, lupes, lut, nule, for guilt, clip (embrace), fists, fire, lips, little, n’ill. Besides this there is a very extensive assortment of diphthongs and even triphthongs, which should be apparently pronounced thus: $ai$, $au$, $ea$, $ei$, $eo$, $eu$, $oi$, $ou$, $ui = (ai, au, eea ea, ai, eeo eo, eu, ooa, uui, ouo ou, ui)$. The $oa$, $oi$, $ui$ as in bloaen bloomen buine are too rare to form a good judgment on.

The combination $iu$ which only occurs in the foreign word riuwl is most probably intended to give the sound (yy), for it is scarcely possible to imagine that $(yy)$ could not have been pronounced, and that therefore $io = (iu)$.2 On account of the action of the $r$ the sound (riul) is difficult to enunciate purely, and (riul, ryyl, ryl) are all easier, and they are consequently still in use provincially.

The following brief example from p. 70 of the Ancren Riwe,3 will shew the effect of these assumptions, and will render an example from Hali Meidenhad needless:

Original Text.

Muche fol he were, þe muhte, to his owene bihove, hwede se he wolde, grinde greot oþer hwete, xif he grunde þet greot and lefte þene hwete. Hwete is holi speche, ase Seint Anselme seïs. Heo grit greot ðe cheffeð. Þe twu choeken beoð þe two gristones. Þe tungne is þe cleppe. Lokeð, leoue sustren, ðet ouer choeken ne grinden neuer

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Muthèr fool nee weerê, dhe mukhtê, to his ouwe ney binoowê, whedhêr see ne woldê, grindêngreot oo'dheer wheetê, jif ne grundê dhêt greetô and lee'veðe dhêenê wheetê. Whee'tê is nool'i speetshe', ase Saint Anselm'e saith. Hee'o grit greot dhe tsheef'leth. Dhe ttwo tsheek'en beoth dhe ttwo grin'stoun'es.4 Dhe tuq'e is the klep'e. Look'eth, leove sustren, dhêt oou'er tsheok'en ne grin'den nev'er


2 As the combination $iu$ does not occur in other words, and as $riul$ are found in very old Norman, the point must be considered doubtful. In the xivth century the sound was almost certainly (ryyl’e). Mr. Payne is inclined to think that the old Norman sound was (riul’e).

3 The proof was read by Mr. Brock by the original MS., Cott. Nero A. xiv.

4 The “colloquial” pronunciation (grin’stôn), mentioned by Smart, is thus shewn to be very ancient, and becomes a proof that $grin$ was formerly (grind) not (grain), supra p. 276, and p. 290, l. 3.
§ 3, No. 2 & 3. HOMILIES—XII TH CENTURY.

bute soule uode: ne our earen ne hercen never bute soule heale: and nout one our earen, anh ower eie purles tune's againel idel speche: 'het to ou ne come no tale, ne ti' singe of fe worlde.

Verbal Translation.

Much fool he were, that might, to his own behoof, whether so he would, grind chaff (grits) or wheat, if he ground the chaff and left the wheat. Wheat is holy speech, as Saint Anselm saith. She grinds chaff that chaffs (chatters). The two cheeks are the two grindstones. The tongue is the clapper. Look, dear sisters, that your cheeks do not grind never but soul's food; nor your ears do not harken never but to soul's health; and not only your ears, but your eye's windows fence against idle speech; (so) that to you (may) not come neither tale nor tiding of the world.

3. Old English Homilies, xiiith Century.

The venerable homilies lately disinterred by Mr. Morris cannot be read in any other way than the Ancren Riwle. The values of all the letters and combinations seem to be completely known, and no further change can be expected. A very brief example will therefore suffice. In the following, the original text is exactly reproduced except in (1) mid for mi"e, (2) wolde for walde, (3) ga"e for gae, (4) do"e for de" e, (5) bulke for buke. The leinten for lenten at the beginning, may, as so many other evidently are, be a dialectic pronunciation, and is comparable with flesh for flesh (supra p. 473, n. 1), but Stratmann quotes the same form from Wright, Vocab. 90, Rob. Glouc. 187, 8. The experiment of writing (y) for u, when it may be (i, e), and (ei) for ei, as being older forms, has here been made.

Original Text, p. 25.
Dominica Prima in Quadragesima.

[1] A leinten time uile mon ga"e to scritte; þer beo"e summe þe mare herm is þe ga"e al swa ic nupe cow tellen wulle. He sei mid[1] ha mu"ene þet nis naut in his heorte. ic wulle gan to scritte for some alswa do"e oþer men. þif ic forlete þe preost me wolde[2] eskien on ester dei hwa me scriue ere he me þe he husul and ec for monne weordes ðinge. he ne ga"e[3] naut to scritte al swa do"e oþer men.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

First Sunday in Lent.

In leinten tii'me y'wilk mon gaath to skrífte. Dher beoth sum' e, dhe maa're nerm is dhe gaath, alswaa ic nuu'dhe jou tel'en wyl'e. He saith mid dha muu'dhe, dhet nis naut in his neorte: "Ik wyl' e gaan to skrífte for skoo'me alswaa' dooth oo' dher men; zif ik forlee' tê, dhe preest me wol'de es' kien on eester dai whaa me skríi've, eer nee me ree've ruus'ul, and eek for mon'e woer'des thiq'e." Hee no gaath naut to skrífte alswaa' dooth oo'dher men.

1 In the same work with the Moral Ode, supra p. 484, note 1.
Ah al swa he doç(4) swa he swica he biswike's hine scolfe on ende and bi's al swa is an eppel iheowe's. he bi's wi'xuten feire and frakel wisinne. Awah þet he efre wulle þristelechen oþer bi-þenchen mid his fule heart þe heo wulle underfon swa he; þing and swa hali swa is eristes licome in his sunfulle bulke,(6) and wene's þet hit wulle him helpen.' Neisô-liche nawiht ah þenne þe preost hit deç in his muþe. þenne cume's drihtenes engel and binime's þa halinesse mid him toward heouene riche. þet þær bilef's in his muþe, ah jif eni mon hit muste isean, he mahte ise ane berminde glede þet hine al for-berna's þurut to cole.

Mr. Morris's Translation, p. 24.

In Lenten time each man goes to confession; there are some to whom there is greater harm in going (than in abstaining), as I will now tell you. He saith with the mouth what is not in his heart. "I will go to shrift for shame, as other men do; if I neglect the priest will ask me on Easter day who shrove me, before he administer to me the sacrament, and also for the sake of man's esteem." He does not go to shrift as other [good] men do, but acts like the cheat who at last deceiveth himself, and is as a rosy apple—fair without and rotten within. Alas that he will ever dare or think with his foul heart to receive so high and so holy a thing as is Christ's flesh into his sinful body, and thinketh that it will help him. Nay truly not! but when the priest putteth it in his mouth, then cometh the Lord's angel and taketh the holiness with him toward heaven-kingdom. As for what remaineth there in his mouth, if any man were able to perceive it, he might see a burning gleed that consumes him all to coals.

§ 4. Teutonic and Scandinavian Sources of the English Language.

The pronunciation of English has now been traced up to the earliest period in which it is known in a literary form as distinct from Anglosaxon. To complete the edifice, some account must be attempted of the pronunciation of Anglo-saxon, the direct mother, and Old Norse, an important modifier of our tongue. These again point to Gothic as the oldest low German dialect that is known. It would be highly desirable to add an account of Old ~Norman, but no
sufficient researches have been made into that language to warrant any detailed statement of the pronunciation of that language. It must be therefore entirely passed over.1

1 See the observations on p. 438, and the remarks on Norman ai, ei, p. 453.

Dr. Rapp, while owning that the deciphering of the phonetic meaning of Northern and Old French documents was one of the most difficult parts of his task, has yet ventured to assign such definite values to the symbols as to give detailed specimens, which he has not attempted for Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse. Although I am far from agreeing with his results, which appear to be founded upon insufficient examination of the sources of information, the reader will probably be pleased to have a brief account of his opinions, Phys. d. Spr. ii, 82-117. The following seems to be his alphabet: A aa a, AI ee, AU au, B b, C k s sh, CH sh, D d, E ee e o e, EI ei, EU oo ey, G

Du Chevalier, qui oit la Messe et Notre Dame estoit pour lui au tournoiement.

Extrait d’un MS. de Sorbonne No. 331 (2).

Dous Jhesus, com cil bel guerroie, Et comme noblement tournoi, Qui volentiers au monstier tourne, Où l’en le saint servise atourne 4 Et celebre le saint mistere Du doux Fils de la Vierge Mere. Pour ce veuil un conte retraire, Si com le truis en exemplaire. 8 Un Chevalier curtois et sages, Hardis et de grant vasselages, Nus mieudres en Chevalerie, Moult amoit la Vierge Marie. 12 Pour son bargne demener Et son franc cors d’armes poner, Aloit à son tournoiement, Garnis de son contenement. 16 Au Dieu plesir ainsi avint, Que quant le jour du tournoi vint, Il se hastoit de chevauchier : Bien vouisit être en champ premier 20 D’une église qui près estoit Où les sains que l’on sonoit Pour la sainte Messe chanter. Le Chevalier sans arreser 24 S’en est alé droit à l’église Pour escouter le Dieu servise, L’en chantoit tantost hautement Une Messe dévotement 28 De la sainte Vierge Marie, Puis a on autre comencie,

g zh, H u, I ii, J zh, K k, L l, M m, N n, [AN aq, EN eq, IN iq, ON oq, UN yq, AIN EIN eq, OIN oiq, UIN uiq], O oo o o, OE e e, OI oi, OU u au, P p, Q k, R r, S s, T t, [-NT -n, -q], U y e e, UI ui, V v, X u s us ks, Y i, Z s ts.

The following is a small portion of his example taken from Etienne Barbasan, Fabliaux et Contes des Poètes français des xi, xii, xiii, xiv et xv siècles, 1808, 8vo, 4 vols., vol. i, p. 82, the original text, which Rapp omits, is here added by way of comparison. As I have not been quite able to appreciate his system of accentuation, I omit it altogether. I have also forborne to correct any apparent errors, such as making meisme v. 35, of two, instead of three syllables.

Du chevalier, ki ooit la mese et
notro dame estoit puur lui au
turnoiameq.

Duus Zhesys, kom shil bel geroio
E kome nobloameq turnoio
Ki voleqtiers au monstier turno,
Uu l- eq l eq servis- aturna
E shelebro l eq mistero
Dy duns Fils de la Vierzhe Mera,
Puur she velz yq koqa retreerea,
Si kom l truis en eseqpleero.—
Yq shevalier kurtois e saqhaes,
Hardis e de graq vasselazhaes,
Nys miédres eq shevalaria,
Mult amoit la Vierzhe Maria,
Puur soq barnazha demeneer
E soq fraqk koors d- armes peneer
Aloit a soq turnoiameq
Garnis de soq koqtenomeq
Au Dice plesir eqai aviq.
Ke kaq l zhurz dy turnoi viq,
Il se rastoit de shevausheer;
Bieq vusit estr- eq shaq premier,
D- ynl- eglise ki prest estoit,
Oii los seqs ke l- q sonoit,
Puur la seqta mesa shaqter,
Le shevalier saqs aresteer
S- en est aleq droit a l- eglise
Puur eskuteer l Dio servisa;
L- eq shaqtoit taqtost raumameq
Yna mesa devotameq
De la seqta Vierzhe Maria;
Puis a on autre komeqshiia,
ANGLO-SAXON. PRONUNCIATION. CHAP. V.

1. Anglosaxon.

The value of the letters in Anglosaxon proper could not have materially differed from that which the whole of the preceding investigations has led us to assume for the letters used in the earlier part of the xincent and close of the xincent century. The most remarkable difference was the vowel y, manifestly (yy, y), which however had become interchangeable with s, and therefore equivalent to (ii, i) or (ii, s) before the inflectional system of the Anglosaxon literature had disappeared. The vowel a we may also assume to have had its deeper sound, now again familiar in England (aa, a). It is very probable that a was sounded fully as broad as (aa, a), but e was probably not so broad as (ee e) because it would have been otherwise confused with (aa, a). That short s was (i), from the Saxon times to the present day, there can be very little doubt, although, from having no direct authority for this conclusion, I have generally written it (i) before the xivth century. But we

Le Chevalier bien l'escouta, 32
De bon cuer la Dame pria,
Et quant la Messe fut finie,
La tierce fu recomenciée
Tantost en ce meisme lieu.
Sire, pour la sainte char de Dieu,
Ce li a dit son Escueir,
L'heure passe de tournoier,
Et vous que demoure izi ?
Venez vous en, je vous en pri,
Volez vous devenir hermide,
Ou papalart, ou ypocrize ?
Alons-en a nostre mester.
Amis, ce dist li Chevalier,
Cil tournoie moul noblement,
Qui le servise Dieu enten,
Quant les Messes seront trestoutes
Dittes, s'en irons a nos routes :
Se Dieu plest, ains n'en partirai,
Et puis au Dieu plesir irai
Tournoier viguerseusement ;
De ce ne tint parlament.
Devers l'autel sa chiere tourne,
En sainctes oroisons sejourne
Tant que toutes chantées furent,
Puis monterent, com ferre durent,
Et chevauchirent vers le feu
ou ferre devoient leur geu.

Le chevalier bieq l eskuta,
De beq kuer la damo pria.
E'ka la meso fyt fineo
La tiersho fy rekomeqshieo
Tantost eq sho meesmo lye.
Siir, pur la seqto shar de Diöe,
Sha li a dit son escueir,
L-aero pasa de turnoeier,
E' vus kee demures ishiu ?
Venees vus eq, zhu vus eq prii,
Volees vus deueuir hermite,
U papalart u ipokréea ?
Alooq eq a nostre mester.
Amis, sho dist li shevalier,
Shil turneoio mult noblameq
Kí le serviso Diöe eqteq ;
Kao los mesos sereq trestutes
Ditas, s-en reeqs a nos rutaq ;
Se Diöec plëst, eqs n-ec partireeq,
E' puis a Diöe plesir ireq
Turnoeier viguerseomeq ;
De sho ne tiq parlameeq.
Devers l-aotel sa shiere tourna,
Eq sequeqs oriosqes sezhurne
Tag ke tutes shaeqees eyro,
Puis moqtera, kom ferro dyro,
E shevauhiere vers le léeo
Uu ferre davoio leer zhewo.

GLOSSAIRE.

3. monstier, monastere
8. trus, trouve
11. mieudres, meiller
13. barnage, courage, force, valeur, noblese
14. pener, tour-menter
16. contenement, etat
22. sains, cloches.

26. le Dieu servise, la servise de Dieu
30. puis, on en a une autre commencé
39. que, pourquoi demeurez-vous ici ?
42. papelart, faux décot
43. alons-en, allons nous-en
48. s'en irons, si nous, et nous nous en irons
55. tant que, jusqu'à ce que.
find (£) or even (£), so rooted in the North of Europe at the present
day, among not merely the English, but the Scotch, Dutch, Danes,
and Swedes, and above all, the Icelanders, who acknowledge it
orthographically, that it presents the appearance of an original sound,
rather than of a modern development. The £ was almost certainly
(oo £); the distinction (oo £) is quite of modern growth, nor have we
been led to suppose that there was any equivalent distinction from the
xvi th century upwards. The u was perhaps (uu u) rather than
(uu u) or (uu u), the modern use.

The digraphs ea, eo could scarcely have been (ja, jo) as Rask
supposes, being misled apparently by modern Scandinavian usage.
The confusions of ea with a on the one hand, and a on the other,
even in Anglosaxon, and its further confusion with e in more recent
times, as the xiii th century, exclude the sound of (j) with certainty.1
And similarly for (eo). But it is possible that they were occasion-
ally pronounced with the second element more conspicuous than
the first, so that though we may generally write (ea, eo), as true
diphthongs, in the ordinary manner, it may be occasionally neces-
sary to indicate the preponderance of the second element by
writing (ca, co) or perhaps more truly (eaa, eoo) which might fall
into (aa, oo, uu). On examining the long list of Anglosaxon words
commencing with ea eo, the following are all that I have noticed
which could give rise to the notion of the pronunciation (ja jo),
which Rask seems to have adopted through his own Scandinavian
habits: ealo ale, vulgar (xel, xel): Eeforwic, in Domesday Eurvic,
York, with the secondary form Eferwic; eond yond, the proper form
being geond, eow you; eowu ewe, dialectic (joo). Remembering
how recently the sounds (w, j) have been prefixed to the English
one, Scotch ane (wan, jen), we can find no difficulty with these
words. The Icelandic Jarl, which many persons rely upon for
proving that ags. eorl must have been (jorl), was perhaps a deriva-
tive of ar the hearth, and was anciently applied to an upper,domes-
tic, whereas the ags. word was probably connected with the old
Saxon erl, constantly used for male, man, and in the plural erlos,
and compound erlcepi for men, people, collectively (Schmeller’s
Heliand, Gloss. p. 29). Hence the effect of palatisation can alone
be relied on in support of this (j) theory.

Now the palatisation of a preceding c (k) into (k) would be produced
by the simple action of the palatal (£) and would not require that
that (£) should be squeezed into (i, j). Indeed, we have observed
a tendency to palatisation in French and English before (a) sounds,
which in French produced (kj, tsh, sh) (p. 53), but in English after
flourishing for a little time as (ki, kr, kiu) and still dragging out an
obscure existence in a fast disappearing generation, or on the boards
of second-rate theatres, (p. 206), is rapidly going out of use and
favour.2 In modern French, too, both (kj) and (gj) are used with-

1 The isolated identification of ea
with (je) in certain words, by Sales-
bury, we have seen reason to suppose
was a misprint, p. 80.

2 It is strongly marked in the dia-
lects of the Peak of Derbyshire.
out any tendency to becoming (sh, zh) as in queue, guenx (kjœ, gjo). Icelandic is a conspicuous example of the same, as k, g are there always palatized into (kj, gj) before (aa, ce, eet, i, j) without having the least tendency to become (tsh, dzh). The (k) itself is naturally an unstable letter; either the tongue has a tendency to rise, producing (kj), or the lips a tendency to round, producing (kw), and from these physiological actions can be traced a vast variety of changes in time and place. The same remarks apply also to (g) and to (kh, gh). A proper understanding of the relations, palatal (k, kj, tj, tsh, sh), and (kh, kjh, rh, i, j), labial (k, x, kw, w, b, p) and (kh, xh, kwh, wh, f) will serve to solve numerous riddles in comparative philology. Not only does, however, a palatal vowel by direct action, or occasionally a guttural vowel by contrary action, tend to palatalize a consonant, but also the presence of the liquids (l, m, n, r) produces the same effect in the Germanic languages, as we have already had occasion to observe (p. 203). It is curious to note how certain words, however, resist palatalization, while their fellows readily succumb to the influence, as in drink drench. The resistance to palatalization is not purely Scotch. We find werschen in the Prisoner's Prayer, v. 41, and wersch often in Chaucer, but we constantly find werk. In the Ancren Riwle, while k had yielded to (tsh) by itself, sc had not become (sh), as in Italy and Germany, and as generally in England at that time, and the modern shot scot, ags. scet, shows both the palatalized and unpalatalized form of the same word still current. Again although ceale is now chalk (kcalf, tshaak), and ceap is cheap (kéap, tseep, tshiip), ceald, cealf are cold, calf1 (koald, kaald, koold, koould, koold; kcalf, kaalf, kaaluf, kauf, kaaf), and if cicen has become chicken (tshik-en), altering the first and retaining the second (k), cicene has become kitchen (kitsh-en) by a precisely contrary action. Again, the single word wieca seems to have given rise to both witch and wicked, (wike in Orrmimn) and similarly ags. wie gives wick as an independent word, also heard in Wickham and in terminations as bailiwick, sherifwick, as well as Berwick, Almwick, while in other cases it gives (witsh) as in Ipswich2 or (idzh) as in Norwich. Hence the pure (k) is no more the sign of a north country pronunciation than the (tsh) of the south; nor is it at all necessary to suppose that ea, eo were (ja, jo) to account for the change of a preceding (k) into (tsh).

As to the consonants generally there is very little to observe, except that probably (kj, gj) were well in use in the early Anglosaxon times, that g also probably became (gh) that is, (gjh) in many cases, in the same way as it now does in Iceland, and in Modern Saxony,3 so that the preparation for the (z) or simple (i) sound was early made. On the other hand, after (o, u) sounds and in other

1 In Cumberland (koof).
2 So called generally by persons living away from East Anglia. In Norwich I heard it called (ips-idzh) which follows the analogy of Norwich and Greenwich.
3 Modern Saxon is high German, old Saxon and Anglosaxon low German. There was no connection between the two, and no connection is intended to be implied by this illustration. They are two independent phenomena.
places g may have had an early tendency to (gwh) as we also find in Icelandic, and thus prepared the subsequent changes (p. 212 and p. 311.)

The letter h seems to have naturally played a triple part, the three functions being frequently confused, and by no means generally understood at the present day. At the beginning of words h was either (n) or (n'), probably sometimes one and sometimes the other as in modern English, and in almost all languages where h is pronounced at all. At the end of words, the (n') was replaced by the (kh) which is an easier terminal sound, and more adapted to check a vowel sound. The initial combinations hl, hr, hn, hw, are ordinarily assumed to be (khl, khr, khn, kwh) and at a remote period, before Anglosaxon was properly constituted, they may have been (kjhl, kjhr, kjhn, kwh). But it seems more probable that in the more cultivated period they were reduced to (lh, rh, nh, wh), the last (wh) remaining to the present day, although sadly neglected in the South of England, and the first (lh) existing in the xiii th century, though the second and third (rh, nh) rapidly disappeared. This view is strongly confirmed by the existent Icelandic pronunciation of hj, hl, hn, hr, hw as (jh, lh, nh, rh, wh). The device of prefixing h to form the symbols for these sounds, is so natural, that many persons still insist that the proper way of writing when is hven, and when I was printing phonetically I found this position of the letters practically sufficient. An accurate analysis, however, would shew that (n'wen) was materially different from (when), and that therefore in all accurate phonetic writing the sounds should be distinguished.

The letter p I presume was (w), certainly not (v), and probably not (bh). It is supposed by some to be merely a variety of the medieval form of v, but I consider it to be rather the old rune called wén = hope, in Cotton MS. Otho B. 10, as quoted in Hicke's Anglosaxon Grammar (Thesaurus i. 135). The sound of v consonant in ancient Latin, is a matter of dispute; it was probably (w) or (bh), and more probably the latter than the former, because we can hardly imagine (w) generating (v) except through (bh), but the passage from (bh) to (v) is so easy and slight, that the two parts of Germany which are distinguished by the two different sounds at this day, profess to pronounce their w in the same way. (Bh) is a kind of bat sound, readily falling into (w) or (v), but the real (w) has a very moderate domain in Europe. The (bh) is thoroughly established in high Germany and in Spain, where the old joke of

“felices populi quibus vivere est bibere”

1 Mr. Skeat notices only seven or eight instances of the use of p in Havelock, adding: "This evidence is interesting as shewing that this letter was then fast going out of use, and I think we may safely date the final disappearance of this letter from MSS. at about 1300."—Havelock, Preface § 26.

2 An accurate conception of the three sounds (w, bh, v) is necessary for the proper understanding of many linguistic relations. For (w) the lips are rounded nearly as for (u) and the
points at once to the antiquity of the sound in that country in which it is still used for both b and v, and to the probable pronunciation of v in Latin as (bh) at that time. The example of karveas being heard as cav' n' eas = cave ne eas, would be solved by the identity (kahhn-es) in both languages at that time. At the time when the Anglo-Saxons, being Christianized, adopted the Christian Roman alphabet, the Roman v consonant was certainly (v), a sound which the Anglo-Saxons did not then distinguish from (f'), as we have reason to suppose that the letter f, like the letter s, served the purposes of both hiss and buzz. The consequence was that the Anglo-Saxons had no sign for their w consonant, which was distinct from v, and they therefore retained their runic p. For these reasons I think that p was (w) not (v), and that the German habit of transliterating p by v is improper.

The combinations cw, wl, wr, were probably the labial modifications (kw, lw, rw). The first has been already explained. The other two still occur in French loi, roi = (iwa, rwa), confused with (lua, rua) on the one hand and (iwa, rwa) on the other, suprâ p. 187. The action is however truly simultaneous. The ags. wulaco (lwaa'ko) seems to have generated (luuk) in lukewarm, and back of the tongue is raised, but the outer edges of the lips are brought more together than for (u), and the sound of (w) when continued is therefore a buzz, a mixture of voice and whisper, and not a pure vowel sound. When the buzz is strong the tremor of the lips is very perceptible, and a little more force produces the labial trill (brh). If the voice is removed we have (wh), and the back of the tongue being raised as before mentioned, the slightest effort suffices to raise it higher and produce (khb). This gives the relation between the gutturals and labials which plays such an important part in comparative philology. On the other hand, for (bh) the tongue is not raised, the sound is a pure labial, less like (u), but easily deduced from (w) by lowering the tongue and slightly flattening the lips. It is, to those used to it, an extremely easy and pleasant consonant, produced with the least possible effort. By dropping the voice it produces (ph), which is not now used in Europe, but was probably a value of φ. For (w, bh) there must be no contact with the teeth. Directly the lower lip touches the upper teeth, an impediment is raised to the passage of the air through the mouth, and the breath, escaping out on both sides, produces a rushing, rubbing, rustling sound, distinctive of the "divided" consonants, and known as (v), which, on dropping the voice, becomes (f). But all degrees of contact between the lower lip and the teeth are possible, producing varieties of (f, v), from sounds which can scarcely be distinguished from (ph, bh), up to extremely harsh hisses and buzzes. Generally, then, (w) is a consonant framed from (u) by closing the lips too closely to allow of a pure resonance for the vowel sound; (bh) is a (b) with the lips just slightly opened, or a (v) without touching the teeth, that is, a pure labial; (v) is a denti-labial. The (w) is further distinguished from (bh, v) by having the tongue raised. It is possible, of course to raise the tongue when sounding (v); the result is (vh), a very peculiar and disagreeable sound. But if the tongue is raised when sounding (bh) no ear would distinguish the result from (w). The following words should be carefully pronounced to shew these differences: Fr. oui, oui; Eng. we, German wie, Fr. vie = (u,i ûi wîi viî), Dutch letters u, v, = (yy, see, bhee); usual Scotch quhen, English when, Aberdeenshire fen = (kachen, when, fen); usual German schreiben, faulty German schreiwen = (shrai'ben, shrai'bhen); German pferd now (pfert), once probably (pffert) and in some Bavarian dialects (pfert).
white (luiii-te) has become (loo-te), lote, countenance in G. and E. 1162, 2328. On the other hand, as wrong exists as (vraq) in Aberdeenshire, so volnce (lweedk-o) generated the Scotch volnk (vloqk) the origin of our flunkie. In ags. wliips (luips) the labial modification has been simply dropped in Chaucer's lipsen 266, Sir T. Smith's (lips) and our lisp. Ags. wlietian to nauseate, loath, seems to be lost, but (iweat) and (laadh) = ags. lo8, loath, are closely related in sound. Wl, wr, could scarcely be pronounced initially as (wl-, wr-), but would require the insertion of ('), thus (w'l-, w'r-), as seems to be the case in some Scotch dialects at the present day (p. 290.) The mode of writing would then be similar to that adopted for hl, hr = (lh, rh). The reason why ow was used in preference to wc, is probably to be sought in the Latin qu, and the probability that (kw-) being sounded with tolerable ease may have been confused with the correct sound (kw), for which there was a single character both in the Runic and Gothic alphabets.

The letter (g) of the Roman alphabet was also not quite the same as the ags. g in all cases. In later stages of the language, as in the xin-th century, two forms (g, x) are found in use, the latter of which, under the form 3 became confused with z in writing, and subsequently in printing (p. 310). But the Roman g represented some of the sounds of ags. g and hence the Anglosaxons found no more difficulty in using it than is now felt by the modern high Germans. The two sounds (th, dh) however, had no Latin equivalent. Though the old Latins had introduced th, oh, for the Greek sounds θ, χ, the probability is that these letters were never properly pronounced, and that at the period in question they were merely (t, k) as at present in Italy, and therefore quite unsuited for Anglosaxon. Hence the necessity for þ Ɔ, the former a rune, the latter a modified d, whereas the use of y for (y) would imply that the Latins still made some distinction between 3 and y.

What were the precise meanings of þ Ɔ, or rather how the meanings (th, dh) were distributed over them, it does not seem possible to elicit from the confused state of existing manuscripts. It is generally accepted that þ is (th) and Ɔ is (dh), yet þ is generally employed in initials, and Ɔ elsewhere, quite disregardful of modern usage, which we know has remained unaltered for 300 years, and therefore might be supposed to represent the old practice. We find, however, in modern Icelandie, a systematic adherence to the rule

1 Mr. Oswald Cockayne seems to consider Ɔ = (th), and þ = (dh), for in the preface to his edition of Hali Meidenhad (supra p. 506, n. 1), which is otherwise in ordinary orthography, he generally, but not quite consistently, employs þ & in these senses. Thus I find: þe, þis, þose, þat, þey, þom, þear, but: þirþenþ, faiþ, and in one place: auþor, though in three other cases: aþor, is written; with this last spelling agrees: læþó, deþó, and, perhaps: wiþó, which some still call (with), but then we also find: Sough. These inconsistencies in a modern writer who was evidently desirous of indicating the two sounds (th, dh) by appropriate letters may serve to explain the numerous inconsistencies of ancient and perhaps less careful scribes, who were certainly not less intending to carry out theoretical conceptions of orthography. See infra, No. 2, under 8 þ in the Icelandic Alphabet.
of initial ð and medial and final ð in writing, and a uniform corresponding pronunciation of (th) for ð and (dh) for ð. Hence we should not be justified in pronouncing pure Anglosaxon in any other way, and we must suppose the change to have occurred in the transition period from pure Anglosaxon to Early English.

In the above remarks we have endeavoured to assign the probable values of the Anglosaxon letters from the conclusions to which we were gradually led for the xiiiith century, but these values differ materially from those assigned by our native Anglosaxon scholars. We have seen (p. 255, note 1) that one of them, an excellent scholar, who has paid much attention to the subject, decidedly calls long i (oi), long e (ii), long a (oo), long u (uu). The well known scholar, Benjamin Thorpe, evidently made long i (ai), and short u (o), although he makes long e and u in Orrmin (ee, uu), see p. 487, note. Now it is certainly desirable to have some direct evidence as to the sounds of these long vowels, and this seems to be furnished by a valuable and interesting MS. at Oxford, to which attention was drawn by Hickes, who gave some extracts from it, which will be here reproduced. In order to correct the errors in Hickes’s transcription, Mr. G. Waring, of Oxford, obligingly collated the text with the MS., and has subsequently compared the proofs of the extracts with the original. I am also indebted to him for the account of the MS. given below.

1 Usage is not yet quite fixed in some few cases. Meath and Louth are commonly called (Mith, Louth) by the uninitiated, and (Miidh, Lodh) comes on them as a surprise. With the preposition was always (with) in the xviith century, and with the substantive is still so called. Sometimes an arbitrary distinction is made. Dr. R. G. Latham calls himself (Leeth-wm), but informs me that his family says (Leedh-wm). This is an instance of a variation of the medial th, which, so far as I can recall, is always (dh) in ordinary words. The change of final (dh) to (th) is natural enough, through the frequent use of (-dhth) as in breathe = (brididth) at the end of a sentence, or when prolonged without a following vowel. The initial change has only affected the common words: that, the, thee, their, them, then, thence, there and its compounds, these, they, thine, this, those, thou, though, thus, thy. These have all (th) so far as they exist in Icelandic. But it must be remembered that we have a western dialect which uses (dh) initially in all cases. It would be interesting to know if there are any dialects which use (th) initially in all. Enclitically and after words ending with d, t we know that so late as Orrmin, and even later, ð became t, and not d, even in pat, pu, etc., and even after d, which is rather in favour of a (th) than a (dh) sound. But see a different use, p. 444, note 2.


3 The MS. is thus described by Hickes: “Dum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana Codic. Saxonicos perscrutarer, inveni pervertustum librum MS. cujus nota, NE. D. 2. 19. in quo quidem libro nonnullae lectiones ex veteris testamenti LXXII. interpretum versione Graeca, cum Latina translatione ex alio in altera columnā scriptā, Saxo-" nicis litteris describuntur.” Mr. Waring says that the present signature of the MS. is Auct. F. 4. 32. It is a small quarto volume containing several unconnected pieces of great age and value. On the first page is a figure of Christ with an entry stating it to have been drawn by the hand of St. Dunstan. Fo. 1–8, “In homonomi sumi tonantis ars Euticii Gramatici,” with several interlinear glosses, partly Latin and partly Old British.—Fo. 10–18. Anglo-" saxon homily on the Invention of the
The peculiarity of this manuscript is that it gives certain Greek texts in Anglosaxon characters, which are seen immediately not to reproduce the original letters, but to be intended to represent their sounds in reading. There is no indication of the age of the MS. in any part of the book, but Mr. Waring thinks that these transcriptions were probably written in the latter half of the xth century. Now we shall see that Greek was at that time probably pronounced almost, if not quite, as at present. Hence, by comparing the letters by which the Anglosaxon scribe translated the Greek sounds, we have direct evidence of the values he assigned to the Anglosaxon letters themselves. To make this comparison the more complete, I append the extracts given in Hickes, which are quite sufficient for the purpose, as collated by Mr. Waring, and contrast them with the modern Greek pronunciation, as obligingly furnished to me by Prof. Valetta, adding the ancient text for comparison. As the

Cross, superscribed lxiii, as if forming part of a collection. The handwriting is ancient, the language pure and strictly grammatical. Judging from these characteristics and certain peculiarities of dialect, Mr. Waring assigns it to the latter half of the xth century. The legend is that of the poem of Elene.—Fo. 19. See below at fo. 24.—Fo. 20–22. A Lunar and Paschal Calendar.—Fo. 23. Pauca de Mensuris, containing several Old British glosses. —Fo. 19 and fo. 24–36. Extracts from the Septuagint with corresponding texts from the Itala, in two parts: fo. 24–28, the Septuagint text in Greek characters, full of flagrant blunders, and critically worthless; fo. 19, and half of fo. 28 to 36, the Septuagint text in Anglosaxon characters, of a decidedly better quality than the other. —Fo. 37 to end, Ovidii Nasonis Artis Amatoriae, Lib. prim., accompanied with many interlinear glosses in Latin and Old British. —The pieces commencing on folios 1, 20, 23, 37, are noticed in Lhuyd, Archæol. p. 226, and Zeuss, Celtica I, p. xxxviii, and II, p. 1076 ff. The whole codex is described in p. 63 of : Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Liber Alter seu Humphredi Wanei Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Anglia Bibliothecis existat, nec non multorum Vett. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus, cum totius Thesauri Linguarum Septentrionalium sex Indicibus, Oxford, 1703, folio, forming the second volume of Hickes. The Scribe apparently did not know Greek. The letters are run much into each other, with very imperfect attempts at arrangement into words. 1

1 The following are his reasons: There could be little doubt of the date, if a period could be assigned when priests of the Anglosaxon church might have been brought into connection with those of Constantinople, and this is easily done. Otho I, emperor of Germany, 936–973, married Radigith, daughter of King Athelstan of England, 930, and his son and successor Otho II, married Theophania, daughter of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus, in 973, after the latter emperor’s assassination. At the court of Otho, then, where constant connection was kept up with the Anglosaxons and the Greeks, there was a means opened out for the priests of the former to receive some tincture of Hellenic letters. We shall therefore hardly be wrong in referring such transcriptions to the latter part of the xth century. Want of opportunity is against an earlier date, and the confusion and ruin occasioned by the Danish invasion in the early part of the xi th century, the close connection of Canute with Rome, and the subsequent Norman influence through Edward the Confessor, render a later date almost impossible. To this we may add the agreement of the Saxon homily in the same book with the language of the xth century. 2

2 Author of a learned work in modern Greek on the Life and Poems of Homer. «Oμηρον θλος καὶ ποιήματα, πραγματεία ιστορική καὶ κριτική, ἐν Ιωάννου Ν. Βαλέττα, Λονδίνο, 1867. 3 There will be found many dif-
modern Greek does not distinguish long and short vowels, and does not seem to appreciate any such difference, but pronounces the same vowel in the same word sometimes long and sometimes short, according to the feeling of the moment, I felt that it would be misleading to indicate long and short vowels in the following, and I have therefore, for convenience marked them all as short. The same indistinctness exists in the Italian, Spanish, and French languages, and probably exists naturally wherever the vowels are in perfect pairs. On a very accurate examination of the vowel pairs in English it will be seen that in many words they differ rather in quality than in quantity, and that there is, as Professor Haldeman urges, a medial length of vowel, which is sometimes heard as short and sometimes as long. The Scotch consider most of their vowels as short, though they strike an English ear at first as long, being probably medial, and Féline marks almost all French vowels as short, though other writers mark them frequently as long. When I have placed the accent mark after the vowel instead of after the consonant, there seemed to be certainly an option in pronouncing long or short, and the shortest vowels, are, as in Italian, always perfectly clear and never degenerate into obscurities like the English. The letters β, φ, seem to be naturally pronounced by Prof. Valetta as (bh, ph), but when he became particularly emphatic he made them (v, f). I have, therefore, used (v, f) in my transcription as more convenient, and for the same reason have transcribed αv, eu as (av, ev) or (af, ef).

1 My attention was first drawn to the doubtful medial quantity of the Italian vowels by H.I.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, and Señor Cubi y Soler made me notice the absence of truly ‘stopped,’ or shut, short vowels in Castilian, which he said was a particular mark of that leading Spanish dialect, so that he suggested the use of long vowel signs in all Spanish words.

2 Analytic Orthography, p. 80. Prof. Haldeman makes short vowels last about a quarter of a second, medial about three-eighths or one-half, and long vowels about five-eighths or three-quarters, so that the comparative lengths are about as 2, 3 and 5, or 1, 2, 3.

3 The sounds (bh, ph) are most probably very ancient. Prof. Goldstücker in his learned paper on the Greek Digamma, read before the Philological Society, 20th Nov. 1868, attempted to point out the Greek words in which it had existed by means of a comparison with the Sanskrit form, inferring a digamma in many cases where the latter began with (v), or (sv), and the Greek had either no initial consonant or only an aspirate. Remembering that the Sanskrit grammarians affirm the Sanskrit sound to be a true (v), made with action of the teeth, and that in Spanish we know historically that Latin F, certainly (f), passed through (ν) and became lost, as in filius, old Spanish fijo, modern hijo in which the h is not pronounced (xo), and knowing first how easily (v, f) are confused, next how unlikely the Greeks who had σφ = (sp) would be to allow (sv) or (sf), the case with which therefore an initial (s) in this combination would be rejected, and at the same time the very probable transit of (s) into (f), we are led to the sound of (f) as that most likely to fulfil the phonetic conditions imposed on the digamma by comparative philology. The sound (v) would not be easily lost except before (o, u), and the sound (bh) was already probably existent, and became fixed as one (if not the only) sound of Ḗriā.
Anglosaxon Transcription.

MS. fo. 30, b.

26. Physoimen anthrhopon cat icona ce cath omysin imeteran ce archeto ton ichthyon tis talasas ce ton petinon tu uranu ce ton ctinon ce passes tis gis ce panpton ton herpeton ton herpeton ton epis tis gis ce egeneto utos

27. ce ephyisen o theos ton anthrhopon cat icona theu epyisien auton aren ce thily epyoisesen autos.

28. ce eulogisen autous legon auxanaste ce plithyneste ce plirosate tin gin ce catacyrieu-sate autis ce archete ton ichthyon tis thalasssis ce ton petinon tu uranu ce ton pantoan ctinon tis gis ce pantoan ton erpeton ton erpeton epis tis gis

29. ce ipen o theos idu edoca ymin panta chorton spomoni spiron sperma o estin epano pas-sis tis gis ce pan xylon o echi en eauto carpon spermatos spori-mu ymin estiae is brosin.

30. ce passin tys thirios tis gis ce passin tys petinys tu uranu ce panti erpeto erponti epis tis gis o echi en eauto pnois zois ce panta chorton chloron is brosin ce egeneto utos.

Greek Text.

26. pooiswem enathropow kat elin an metevon kai kath oimasis kai arche-tosan ton ichthinos thes halados, kai ton peteion ton ouranos, kai ton kthron, kai pashe thes thes, kai panion ton erpeton ton erpeton enthe thes thes.

27. ka epitis ev x theos ton anathro-pon cat elin theos epitis enauton urpon kai thli epitis enauton.

28. ka elyogisen autous o theos, legon, elansee, kai xlywesabe, kai plhresate ton thes thes, kai katakureieasate authe, kai arxete ton ichthinos thes thes halados, kai ton peteion ton oura-non, kai panion ton kthron, kai pa-sis thes thes, kai panion ton erpeton, kai kath thes thes, kai panion ton erpeton, kai pa-sis thes thes.

29. ka ephyisen o theos ton anathropon, kai thes thes, kai pa-sis thes thes, kai pa-sis epis thes thes, kai pa-sis epis thes thes.

30. ka pa-si epis thes thes, kai pa-si epis thes thes, kai pa-si epis thes thes, kai pa-si epis thes thes, kai pa-si epis thes thes.
Anglo-Saxon Transcription.

31. ce yden o theos ta panta ósa ephyisen ce idu cala lian ce egeneto hespera ce egeneto prohi himera ecti.

MS. fo. 34, b.
1. O theus epiransen ton habracham ce iden pros auton habracham ce iden idu ego.
2. ce iden labeto yion su ton agapeton on egapesas ton isac ce poreutheti is ten gen ten ypselen ce prosencon autoneci is olo-carposin is ena oros on sy ipo
3. anastas de habracham to prohi . . . .

MS. fo. 34 a.
1. on tropon epipothie elafos epi tas pegas ton ydaton utos epipothi e psuyche mu pros se o theus
2. edipisen e psyche mu pros ton theon ton zonta pote ixo cae opthesome tu prosopu tu theu
3. egenethe my ta dacrya mu artos emeras cae nyctos.

MS. fo. 32, b.
1. Ce epilemposente epta gynenees enos anthropu leguse ton arton emon fagometha ce ta

Modern Greek Pronunciation.

31. ke i'dhen o theos' ta pan-da, o'sa epi'-ise, ke idhu' kal-a-li'an' ke even'eto espe'-ara, ke even'eto pro'i', ima-rea ek-ти.

Genesis ch. xxii.
1. o theos' epi'-rasen ton Avra,-am', ke i'pen afo', Avra,am', Avra,am', ke i'pen idhu' egho'.
2. Ke i'pe, lav'e ton i,on' su ton aghapiton', on igha'pisas ton Isa,ak'; ke poref'-thiti is tin jin tin ipsilin', ke anen'-eqke afront.' eki' is olokarposin ef en ton o're'o on an si i'po
3. anastas' dhe Avra,am' to pro'i' . . . .

Psalm xiii.
1. on tropon epipothi' i el'-afos epi' tas pighas' ton idha' ton u'tos epipothi' i psikhi' mu pros se, o theos'
2. edhip'sisen i psikhi' mu pros ton theon' ton zon'da; po'te iks'o ke ofthi'some to proso'po tu the,u'?
3. eveni-thi ta dhak'ria'mu 
em' ar' tos imer'as ke niktos'

Isaiah ch. iv.
1. ke epilip'sonde epta' jine'kes anthropu enos', legh'use: ton ar'ton imon' faghom'etha, ke

Greek Text.

31. kal eliav 6 Thevs ta pawnta, oso epolipsoe kal idou kalad lian' kal egeneto estrapa, kal egeneto proi' i'mera ekth.

Genesis Ch. xxii.

1. 6 Thevs epi'reaseson ton 'Abrasam', kal eliav autw' 'Abrasam, 'Abrasam' kal eliav, idou egw.

2. kal eliav, labbe ton iion sou ton .anap'tin, 6n epipthasa, ton 'Isaak', kal poreuthi eis ton gen ton uthplin, kal anvegeke auton ekei eis olokarposin eth eis tov trwv dan an sou eliav.

3. anastas 6e 'Abrasam to proi' . . . .

Psalm xiii.
1. 6n tropon epipodei 6 exaros epi tais pigmais ton odaton, oitvos, epipodei 6 psikh mou prois se, 6 Thevs:',
2. epi'reasa 6 psikh mou prois ton Thein ton Zonta: pate hein kal ophthasma to proso'pou ton Thein;
3. egenethi tis dekara mou emoi artois

Isaiah Chap. iv.
1. Kal eplipreposetai epi ta guvaikeis anidropou onw', leghusai ton artan

nymi faghometha, kal ta imatiia nymi

Chap. V.
Anglosaxon Transcription.
imatia emon peribalometha plen
to onoma su ce elte ef emas
afele ton onidismon emon

2. te de emera ecinie empi-
lampsı o theus en boile meta
odoxes epi tes ges tu yposse ce
doxase to katalipthen tu israel.

3. ce este to ypolidpthen en
sion ce to katalipthen en hiru-
salem agiy clothesonte pantes y
engraphentes is zoen en hirusa-
lem.

4. oti ecplyni kirios ton rupon
yon ce thygateren sion ce
to aema eccathari ce messo auton
en pneumati criseos ce n pneu-
mati causeos.

5. ce exi ce este apas topos
tu orus sion ce panta ta peri
cyclo autes sciasi nfele emeras
cae os capnu ce fotos pyros
coeumnu nyctos pase te doxe
secausthesete.

6. ce este is scan apo cau-
matos in scepe ce en apocryfo
apo scesseretos ce yetu.

Isaiah ch. v.
1. Aso de to agapetom asma
to agapeto to ampeionu mu Am-
pelos egneto to ecapemeno en
cerati en topo pioni

Modern Greek Pronunciation.
ta ima'tia imon' perivalu'metha:
plin to o'noma to son keklis'tho
ef imas', a'fele ton onidhis'mon'
imon'.

2. ti dhe imera eki'ni epi-
lam'psi o theos' en vuli' meta-
dhok'sis epi' tis' ris, tu ipso'se ke
dhoksaa'se to katalipthen' tu
Isra'il'.

3. ke este to ipolidpthen' en
Sion' ke to katalipthen' en Ieru-
salim', a'ri'i klithi'sonde pan'des
i ghrafen'des is zoin' en Ierus-
salem.

4. o'ti ekplini' k'ri'rios ton
ri'pon ton ion' ke ton thigia-
ter'on Sion', ke to e'ma ekkath-
ari,i' ek mes'u after', en pnev-
mati kri'seos ke pnev'mati kaf'
seos.

5. ke ik'si', ke este pas to'pos
tu or'us Sion', ke pan'da ta peri-
kik'lo after', skia'si nefel'i imer-
as, ke os kapnu' ke fotos' piros'
keomen'u niktos', ke pa'si ti
dhok'si skepasti'se.

6. ke este is skian' apo' kav-
matos, ke en skep'i', ke en
apokri'fo apo' sklirot'itos ke ietu'.

Isaiah ch. v.
1. a'so dhi to ighapimen'o
as'ma tu aghapituv mo to ambe-
lo'ni mu. Ambelon' eveni'thi to
igapimen'o eq ge'ratei en dopo
pi'oni.

Greek Text.

1. Aso de to agapetom asma
to agapeto to ampeionu mu Am-
pelos egneto to ecapemeno en
cerati en topo pioni

5. kal' jei, kal es'tai pi'a to'sos tu'
oros Sio'n, kal panta ta perikui'kho
aut'hs skiaete vefle' moras, kal aos
kapnou kal fotei'n to peris' kai'menon
nuke'te, kal pada ti doxe sketepbthei'ete.

6. kal es'tai eis oron apd kal'matos,
kai ev skenex, kal ev anpeiiropi apd
nikrop'thtos kal otebou.

Isaiah Chap. v.
1. a'so dhi to ighapimen'o
as'ma tu aghapituv mo to ambe-
lo'ni mu. Ambelon' eveni'thi to
igapimen'o eq ge'ratei en dopo
pi'oni.
**Anglosaxon Transcription.**

2. ce fragmon perietheca eac echaracosa ce ephyteusa ompelon sorec ce ocodomesa pyrgon en meso autu ce prolenion orxya en auto ce emina tu pyese stafyl-len epyesen de acantas

MS. fo. 33, b.

1. Y dipsontes poreuesthe ef ydur ce ody men u eooethe argyra'nh badisantes agorasete ce piec aneu argyriu ce timis ynon ce stear

2. inati timasthe argyrio ke ton misthon ymon .u. chi plis-monin acusate mu cea fagesthe ta agatha ce tryfisi en agathys i psychi ymon

3. prosechete tys osin ymon ce epacoluthisate tes odys mu acusate mu cea ziste en agathys i psychi ymon cea chthisome ymin diathicin eonion ta osia dauid ta pista.

4. iedu martyrion auton dedoca ethnesin archonta ce prostas-sonta ethnesin.

5. ethni a uc idisan se epical-sonte se ce y las .y. uc epistanto se epi se catafeuxonte enecen tu theu tu agiu israelot oti edoxasen se.

**Modern Greek Pronunciation.**

2. ke fragmwn periethi'ka ke ekhara'kosa ke efi'teza am-belon Sorik' ke okodho'misa pir'ghon en meso'auto' ke proli'nion or'iksa en auto', ke emina tu pi'i'se stafalin', ke epi'isen akan-thas.

Isaiah ch. lv.

1. i dhipson'des, porev'esthe ef i'dhor, ke o'si mi ekh'ete ar'vri'ou, vadhi'sandes aghora'sate, ke fa'vete an'ev arviri'u ke timis'i'non ke ste'ar.

2. inati timas'the arvri'i, ke ton mokh'thon imon' uk is plis-monin' i akus'ate' mu, ke fa'resthe aghath'a, ke endri'fis en aghathis'i psikhi'imon'.

3. prose'khete tis osin' imon', ke epakoluthi'sate tes odhis'mu: isaku'sate' mu ke zi'sete en aghathis'i psikhi'imon', ke dihai'th'some imin: dhai'thi'kin, o'ionia, ta o'sia Dhavidh' ta pista.

4. idhu' marti'riou en eth'nesin e'dhoka afrom' ar'konda ke prostas'onda eth'nesin.

5. eth'ni a uik i'dhasi se epikale'sonde se, ke la'i i uk epi's'tande se epi se katef-ksonde en'eken Kiri'u tu the'u' su tu az'i u Isra,il', oti edhok' sase' se.

**Greek**

2. kal phragmo'n peri'dhika, kal 'exaradikwsoa, kal ef'teusa 'ampeletu Xri'hhe, kal 'phod'meta pa'rgon ev me'son avtoj, kal proleh'noi ou'raa ev ati', kal 'meina toj poi'hsai sta'fylh, kai 'epo'nhein akoudas.

Isaiah Chap. lv.

1. oI di'fantes, porei'esthe ef' ydor, kai deoi mi 'ehte aргyriou, ba'dantas 'agoraste, kai fa'vete 'eneu aргyriou kai timis oioj kai stear.

2. inati timas'the aргyriou, kai toj mako'n ou'm ju ek plis'monin; a'kousatej mou, kai fa'vete agada, kai 'enprifthsei ev agadosi ei' psich'h ou'm.

**Text.**

3. proso'xete toj ou'no ou'm, kal e'pako'losthaste ta'si'ou'doi mou' ek' akousatej mou, kai 'xhetai ev a'gadosi ei' psich'h ou'm, kai diast'hsmou ou'm diast'hsh an'wios, ta' ou'dia Da'idia ta' pista.

4. ido' mar'tirion ev e'xhe'sin edo'ka avtoj, ar'xonta kai prosta'xonta e'xhe'sin.

5. he'na a oik ida'sai se, e'pikai'losan-tai se, kai la'o ou'di e'pi'san-tai se epi se ka'tafie'xontai, e'nekev Kyp'ou toj Theou' sou toj ag'llo' Isra'hi, oti edo'xase se.
From these extracts we may deduce the following table of the correspondence of the Greek and Anglosaxon letters. A third column shows the values now attributed to the Greek letters in Athens, including some combinations which do not occur in the extracts.

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<th>Greek Letters</th>
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As Prof. Valetta pronounced, α was (aa, a) or (aa, a), but there was never any rounding or labialisation producing (ah, a). From this, however, it does not follow that the ags. α which transcribes α may not have had a labialised form, for, just as the French α was called (ahr) in England, when it was only (α), p. 226, note, col. 2, so the Anglosaxons would have transcribed α by a, even if the first said (a) and the last (α). But we may safely conclude that ags. long α was not (oo) or even (oo).

The uniform transcription of ε, and almost uniform transcription of α, by e, precludes the idea that ags. ε was ever anything but (ee, e). When αυ was not represented by e, which is very rarely, it is represented by αο, which must be regarded rather as a Latin than an ags. form, having then the invariable sound of (ee), although the ags. α itself is found in ee Is. 55, 1. 5. Thus και is generally written ωο but occasionally ωε Is. 42, 2; and este χαιτα Is. 4, 3. 5 is evidently more correct than ϵατα,Gen. 1, 29; so that ωομα αιμα Is. 4, 4, should be ωμα.

The transcription of ω o by o, shews that ags. must have been (oo, o) or (oo, o). Prof. Valetta pronounced Greek, and indeed English, with a clear (oo, o), and did not seem to be aware of (oo). But just as Englishmen nowadays report the Greek ω to be (oo), so the Anglosaxons would of course have used their o, whether it meant (oo) or (oo).

The uniform transcription of i by i shews that ags. i was certainly
(ii, i) or (ii i). There are six letters and combinations in modern Greek which, in Prof. Valetta's pronunciation, have the sound of (ii, i), viz.: η i v ei oi u. Of these the ags. transcription gives i for i and e uniformly, with the single error ie in Ps. 42, 1 epipothie ἐπιποθεί. For η we find most generally i, but in about 50 instances e, not, however, uniformly, thus against passēs πᾶσης Gen. 1, 26, we find passis, ib. v. 29; against ten gen τὴν γῆν Gen. 22, 2, we may put τις gis, Gen. 1, 30; against emeras ἤμερας Ps. 42, 3, we have himera Gen. 1, 31; against ψυχή ψυχή Ps. 42, 2, we have ψυχή, Is. 55, 2; against epyesen ἐποιήσεν Is. 5, 2, we have epyesen Gen. 1, 27, against exi ἔξει Is. 4, 5, we have izarre ἔξω Ps. 42, 2, and so on. Hence we cannot conclude that η was sounded as (e), or e as (i), but must consider that there was some confusion in the mind of the scribe, perhaps arising from the Latin transcriptions of η, with which he was necessarily more familiar. The forms ecinti ἐκείνη Is. 4, 2, and agapameno ἡγαπάμενο Is. 5, 1 are mere mistakes. The Greek v oi are uniformly rendered by y and vy by yi, mere clerical errors excepted, as epyesen ἐποιήσεν Gen. 1, 27 when five words before it was epyisen; and eepulun rupon ἐκπλυνεί ρύπον Is. 4, 4, between which words stands kiris κύριος (having i and not y for vy) as if to shew the error, while ψευχή ψυχή Ps. 42, 1, indicates an intention to correct such errors. Now we have reason to suppose that the earlier sounds of v u oi were (y, yi, ui), and that the degradation of y, yi into (i), was similar to the common upper German use of (i) for (y), while (i) for (ui) is comparable to the French français (fraisse) for français (français). At present Prof. Valetta will not admit any other sound but (i) for any one of the three combinations, v u oi, but Franz asserts in his Modern Greek Grammar,1 that v u oi resemble French u,2 which at least shews a probability that the Anglosaxon scribe also recognized (y) rather than (i) in the combinations v u oi, and hence that the ags. y was, as is generally suspected, (y).

The Greek ou is the least disputed of the Greek sounds; it remained for writers of the xvth century to start the theory that both Greek ou and Latin u were (ou), supra pp. 150-1. We find it uniformly represented by u, with the exception of the manifest error boile βοήτ η Is. 4, 2.

As to the transcriptions au, eu for au, eu, it is not easy to say whether they are to be taken as Latin (au, eu), or whether u is

1 Grammatica Linguae Graecae Recemtorioris, Romæ in Collegio Urbano, 1837, 8vo. pp. v, 137, and tables. The preface is signed Ioannes Franzierius, and dated Romæ, Idibus Martiiis, 1837. Franz was, I believe, a Bavarian priest who was sometimes at the court of Otho.

2 "Vocalium pronunciationem exa-
§ 4, No. 1. ANGLO SAXON PRONUNCIATION.

"u consonant," that is v, in which case (av, ev) would agree with the modern sounds except before τ, τ, κ.

These transcriptions establish, therefore, by direct evidence, that:
ags. a was one of the sounds (a, a, ah, Α), and not (ο, o).
ags. e was (e).
ags. i was one of the sounds (i, i), and not a diphthong like (ai)
ags. o was one of the sounds (ο, o)
ags. u was one of the sounds (u, u), and not (ou)
ags. y was probably (γ) but may have been (i) or (ι)

The transcription has several foreign letters and combinations as, ae, e, th, x, ph, ch, the meaning of which is generally evident. The only difficulty is ph when used for ιπ in physisen ποιήσομεν, Gen. 1, 26, ephyisen ἔποιησεν, v. 27, where it is explained by the concurrent form eρyisen in the same verse. In all other words p only is used. The concurrent form f when ph represents φ as in nεβελε fοτος υεφέλη φωτός, Is. 4, 5, shows its value in this case. Before
th, there seems to have been the same difficulty of pronouncing ph, as at the present day, where so many say, as most used to write dιpθογ (dip-thaq), for we find opthesome όφθησομαι Ps. 42, 2, ἔπολιθθεν ἦπολειφθεν Is. 4, 3, where the modern Greek says (ipoliththen'). Similarly of α is found in χθ in iεθύον ἰχθύον Gen. 1, 28. It is rather remarkable that ḏ was not used for θ.

The consistent use of e to transcribe Greek κ, to the exclusion of k, shews that the ags. always pronounced e as either (k) or (κ), the distinction, of course, being unrecognized. As b, g, d are used for β, γ, δ, no countenance is given to the modern uses (bh, gh, dh), where (bh) becomes (v), and (gh) is rather (grh) or the lighter (r), but before (i, e) falls into (gh, grh) or (γ), the last being the recognized sound. The character θ stood in readiness for δ, but as th had been used for θ, dh would have been the only appropriate sign for δ, and this was not a known symbol. Perhaps the use of ḏ, θ, had begun to be unsettled, and this may have prevented their employment for θ, δ. The ags. g was itself most probably often (gh) and hence no better sign could be devised, even if the (gh) sound of γ was recognized. The modern change of τ, τ, κ, into (b, d, g), after μ, ν, γ, is not acknowledged. But the change of γ into (q) before κ in the middle of a word is acknowledged as prosenecos άνένεγκε Gen. 22, 2.

The Greek aspirate is generally omitted, but ά is occasionally inserted where there is none in the original, especial to avoid an hiatus as προκι πρωτ, Gen. 1, 31, israel Ίσραήλ, Is. 55, 5, and this is occasionally strengthened in ch as habracham 'Αβαδάμ.

The principal gain, then, of this transliteration is the establishment of the Anglosaxon simple vowel system within certain limits; nothing is gained for the double vowels ea, eo. On the whole, the results are confirmatory of those arrived at by the totally different process of gradual ascension from the English of the xivth, xiii th, and xii th centuries.
We have assumed as well known that the pronunciation of Greek in the xth century at Byzantium was practically the same as that now in use at Athens. The proofs of this are to be sought in the hieroglyphical transcription of the names and titles of the Greek and Roman Pharaohs, as collected in Lepsius’s Königsbuch, in the Septuagint and the New Testament transcription of Hebrew words, and in the New Testament transcription of Latin names, in the Syriac vowel points, in the transcription of Latin names by Polybius and other Greek writers, in the numerous errors of the old Christian and other inscriptions, and, among other sources, in the writing of Latin words in Greek letters in the vth and viith centuries, by certain Greeks at Ravenna, who had to attest certain Latin documents which still exist, and have been published by Marini. As a companion to the above transcription of Greek into Anglosaxon characters, a few of these attempts by Greeks to write Latin in Greek characters will be interesting, and, if we bear in mind that they were writing an unknown language from dictation and would be therefore likely to commit as many errors of audition and pronunciation as a decidedly provincial Frenchman, ignorant of English, who attempted to write English from dictation in his own characters, we shall see that the key to his meaning is to be found in the modern pronunciation of Greek. The Latin interpretation here annexed has been deduced from corresponding Latin attestations in the same documents. The Latin letters u, n, d, indicate some peculiar forms of ν, ν, δ, and η is sometimes Latin n, and sometimes a peculiar form of η. The transcript of Marini is not always trustworthy, and in a few

1 "Why Greek alters not in fourteen centuries, and English must needs alter in four, is queer," wrote a friend in reply to an observation of mine on the pronunciation of Greek at the time of Ulilas. Of course there must have been reasons for the preservation of any pronunciation for so long a time. Greece was a very small country, but it had numerous dialects, and by neglecting these we reduce the country almost to one city, Byzantium, the seat of the Greek empire, and of Greek learning and literature, till quite recent times. The pronunciation we have to deal with is therefore that of an undisturbed court and literary dialect, in which we should naturally expect the utmost uniformity to prevail, while as it gave the character to all Greek literature, it became the norm for all "correct" speakers. England offers the utmost contrast to this state of things, and the violent successions of two civil wars, the forcing of a peasant into a court dialect, the adoption of a whole vocabulary from a foreign tongue, the parliamentary introduction of provincial speakers among the highest of the realm, the general importance of secondary cities, and other causes, readily suggest themselves to account for the numerous changes which have prevailed. If we examined the Greek dialects at present for variety of pronunciation, we should probably obtain a large amount of information, important in its bearings even upon ancient Greek usages. The modern system of education however, which aims at uniformity of pronunciation and a recurrence to ancient idiom, only the ancient Greek Grammar being taught in schools, may soon efface these records of the past. In the disturbed state of Greece, from the death of Alexander B.C. 323 to the establishment of the Greek empire, A.D. 395, took place most probably those changes which separate the modern from the ancient system.

instances it has been corrected by his facsimiles, but the passages ought to be carefully re-edited from the original documents. The numbers and pages refer to Marini’s book, and the numbers in ( ) to the lines of the document. The Latin contractions have not been extended, and Marini is not always clear as to their meaning.


Attestation to a will A.D. 575, by which certain property was left to the Church at Ravenna. The numbers are those of the lines. Corrected by facsimile, pl. V.

(24) Petrus vl. Collelctarum ovei
(25) . . . . τηταμητων ρουγατω α Μανανα . .
(26) . . . . τηταμητων ρουγλητων περ και κωστοιν ερειδε σαντα ηθηλια
(27) . . . . και Ραιανιππα τηηνης σους-
κρηθην.

No. 90, p. 139. In Bologna, Museo dell’ Instituto.

Deed of Gift to the Church at Ravenna, vi th or vii th century. Corrected by facsimile, pl. XII.

(38) Ραμπιος χρυσωσακαλακτις ουει
(39) χαρτονηλε σουσοφθοτω . .
(40) σουσακαροι πρικταρω
(41) . . . . ιμπωτε τωτοιες σου-
τατε μουνελε ετ εμπωτε σ . .
(42) πουσιντσινιοσ σεγκουν σουπερινοσ λεγι-
tορ φακτα . . . .
(43) Ραιανιππατε Εκλησια ιεωπαι μα Εικισταταρ . .
(44) Γεοργι· Μαειστρο Μιλιτ . με τους
(45) Πρυμκιριοσ Λουμ . . . .
(46) κους Θ . . . .
(47) . . . . ραδιοευρει και με πρεπε
(48) . . . . κα Ροκκης ηεκε . .
(49) σορα ποις σε ρελικτα . .
(50) . . . . των αι εωεις τετις σουκρηθην ετ δε κομεθ . .
(51) . . . . πουσιντσινιοσ σεγκουν σουπερινοσ
(52) λεγουν . . . .
(53) σουκρηθην εταθ.
(54) . . . . και πουσε
(55) σουκρηθην εταθ.
(56) . . . . και πουσε
(57) . . . . και πουσε
(58) . . . . και πουσε
(59) . . . . και πουσε
(60) . . . . και πουσε
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(125) . . . . και πουσе
(126) . . . . και πουσе
(127) . . . . και πουσе
(128) . . . . και πουσε
No. 110, p. 169. Bergamo, in the possession of the Marchesa Antonia Solzi Suardi.

Deed of Gift. Supposed to be of the vi th century. No facsimile.

(9) . . . sp. oui oucscocucw Translate


Deed of Sale. vi th century.

(92) Iulianos u. A Rmecanius eis eiostwevris Translate


Deed of Sale. a.d. 591. No facsimile.

(78) Pacicurcos B. eis eiostreunis Translate

The Latin A is here uniformly represented by a. But E, though generally e, is often η, and very rarely i, indicating not so much a wavering pronunciation of e, η, i, as an uncertain appreciation of the sound of the Latin e, confirmed by modern Italian usage. I is regularly i, but not unfrequently ei; in uerentai viginti (No. 114, line 92), if the transcription is to be trusted, i, e, ai all occur for i, and e is also found occasionally, compare uerenti (No. 122,
§ 4, No. 1. 

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line 82); this again must be attributed to mishearing of the Latin. O is o, ο, and rarely oν, for similar reasons. U is regularly ου, occasionally o, u in the words, κοι, κυι, for qui, and rarely ο. I have already recorded my opinion that the original sound of Greek οι was (ii), and Latin oe (né), see Trans. Phil. Soc. 1867, supp. p. 65. Probably αθκοιαί = atque (No. 110, line 11) is Marini’s misprint for αθκουαι. AE is generally e, occasionally aι. AU is represented by au in aυρι = auri, No. 122, line 82, but it is still possible that the Greek said (abh’ri), as I heard a guide at Pompeii call centauro (tshentah’ro), and compare Παυεννατη = Ravennateum. The Greek eι, οι are written occasionally for ei, oι; compare eις, eεις = eις, ουεικ οικ = huic. Among the consonants β is used for Latin v = (bh)?, and b, but Latin b is also represented by v a special form of v; γ is used for g which, however, occasionally falls into v; δ is rather avoided, or receives a special form d for Latin d; ζ only occurs in one of the attempts γαυκίσσο to spell Gaukíso, and in ακτίζαο, δονατζίνεσε for actio donationes, which seem to indicate its present use in τζ, ντζ = (tsh, dzh), but observe the pure t in πρεσωτία = presentia; θ is only used as a mispronunciation of t; κ universally represents c, indicating that the Latin letter had preserved its sound down to this period in Italy, as indeed the ags. use of c is sufficient to prove; λ = l; μ = m, but the m is often quite dropped when final, indicating the transition to the modern Italian -o, -a, from -um, -am, the accusative forms; ν = n, but n and m are much confused; ε = x, π = p, ρ = r, σ = s, τ = t, φ = f, χ does not occur, ψ = ps as in γψου = ipso, σουσκριψι = subscripsi, but ειςτις = ipsis, is also found. The use of σαντα = sancta, seems to indicate a transition to the modern Italian santa, although σακτα, σανκτα also occur, and the combinations γγ, γς are not found.

The extremely recent date of the present pronunciation of Greek in England is not generally appreciated. In 1554 the present modern Greek pronunciation was regularly taught.1 Sir Thomas

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1 See: Institutiones Lingvæ Graecæ; N. Clenardo Authorum cum Scholijs P. Antésignani Rapistagnisis, Lugduni, 1554, in which the only pronunciation taught is that now usual at Athens. Compare also the passage in Rabelais —La vie de Garagantua et de Pantaigruel. Book ii, chap. ix. (first edn. 1535), “Dont dist le compagnon: “Despota tînyν panagathe diati sy mi ouk artodois? horas gar lîmo analis-comomen eme athlon, ke en to metaxy me ouk eleis oudamos, zetes de par emou ha ou chre. Ke homos philologi pantes homologousis tote logos to ke remata peritta hyarchin, opote pragma afro pasi delon esti. Entha gar anankei monon logi isin, hina pragmata (hon peri amphisbethoumen), me prosphores epiphente.” Quoy? dist Carpalim lacquays de l’Antagruel, c’est grec, je l’ay entendu. Et comment? as tu demeuré en Grece?” The Greek is thus restored in the edition of the Œuvres de Rabelais par Esmangart et Eloï Johanneau (Paris, 1823, 9 vols. 8vo.) vol. 3, p. 296. Δέσποτα τοίνυν πανάγαθε, δια τι σύ μοι οὐκ ἀρτοδοτεῖς; ὀρᾷ γὰρ λαμψ ἀναλισκομένον ἐμε ἄθλιον, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ με οὐκ ἑλεῖς οἶδαμός: ζήτει δὲ παρ’ ἐμοῦ δ’ ὑμὲν χρῆ. Καὶ ὁμως φιλολόγοι πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι τότε λόγους τι καὶ βήματα περιττὰ ύπάρχειν ὅτετο πράγμα αὐτὸ πάσι δηλῶν ὑστὶν. “Ενθά γὰρ ἀναγκαῖος μόνον λόγοι εἰσίν, ἵνα πράγματα, δι’ ἐπετρεπτοῦμεν, μὴ πρόσφορον ἐπι-φανείαν. Observe the retention of e for η; dialectically οἴδερον θερίον, etc., are still found for οἰδηρον θηριόν, etc., in Modern Greek.
Smith's theories were quite heretical in 1568, see supra, p. 35, note 1, and he called α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, αι, ει, αυ, ευ, ου, ω (αι a, ε, ee, εί i, oo, yy, ai, ei, au, eu, ou, we), entirely ignoring the sound long of (ii) both in Latin and Greek. In the xviiith century α, ι, υ, ει, αυ, ευ, ου, became (αι a, ει i, υi, ει, ai, ει, ωι, ωι), in the xviiith α, η, became (ει, ii), and thus in one letter, η, the former pronunciation was restored. The extraordinary mispronunciation of Latin and Greek now prevalent in England, results from the application of our own changeable pronunciation to the fixed pronunciation of dead languages, and from the historical ignorance which assumes that a language have only one pronunciation through the generations for which it lasts. We may never be able to recover the pronunciation, or appreciate the quantitative rhythm of the Athenian tragedians or of the Homeric rhapsodists, but we can read as Plutarch and as Lucian, and we should be satisfied with that privilege, remembering that if we pronounced these later authors otherwise than as the modern Greeks, we should certainly pronounce wrongly. It would indeed be just as absurd to read Lucian with the pronunciation of Aristophanes, as to read Tennyson with the pronunciation of Chaucer.1

1 The following is Koran's eloquent apology for the modern Greek pronunciation in the preface to his edition of Isocrates, Paris, 1807. No one who is acquainted with ancient Greek will have any difficulty in reading it, and the English pronunciation of Greek is so mixed up with the history of our own pronunciation, that it is not out of place to give it here at length:—

Σάζονται πολλ'όστρα της γνωστής παλαιαί, των οποίων η κόσμος γραφείν ἀποδειχνεί, των που σημειώνει τίς Ελληνικής γλώσσης η προφορά εἶναι τη νήτη και η προφορά, ήτις ἦν χρήσιν κατά τούς καισαρίκους, κα ήσος ἀνώτερα κατ' αὐνότις τους Πολεμαίκους χρόνων, ήγουν κατ' εκείνην διά την περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου, εἰς την οποίαν ἔζησαν καθεξής, ὁ Πολύβιος, ὁ Αλικαρβασαίος Ἀιανίατος, ὁ Σικελίος Δίδυμος, ὁ Στράβων, καὶ ἐκλείων καταστορέ μέχρι τῆς δεύτερης ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἐκατονταετηρίδος, Ἀιος ὁ Χρυσόστομος, ὁ Πλούταρχος, ὁ Αλκανδρός, ὁ Παύσιας, ὁ Δανικάρος, ὁ Γαλλέρος, Σέξτος ὁ Ἐλκερίνος, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἀπολογοὐν ὑπὲρφασεῖς. "Εἰς ἡν ἦν καθαρὰ ἡ σημειών ἡμῶν προφορά, εἰς ἐκείνην ἦν ημῶν ὁ αὐτίς τῆς βαρβαρότητος," ἐμπρόκειτο ἡ ἀποκρίσιμα πρὸς τοὺς κατηγόρους, καὶ τοὺς παρακάτωσμεν ἐν ὑποφέρωσιν μὲ μακροθυμίαν νὰ προφέρωμεν καὶ ἠμέσως, ὁ ἐπρόφεραν ἥθελε. Στηρίζεται μάλιστα ἡ κατηγορία εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν, ήγουν τὴν ἐξανάγκης συμβαίνουσαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμοῦ τῆς συχνῆς ἑπανάληψης, ὁπόταν καὶ αἱ διήθησην Εἴ καὶ Οἴ τοποφέρηται ὑπὲρ αὐτό. Ἀμφιβολία δὲν εἶναι ὅτι ἡ συχνὴ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ἑπανάληψης εἶναι φυσικὰ Ἅρβης ἀλλ' ἢ χρ. διὰ τούτου πρέπει τις πάντως νὰ τὴν ἀποφέρῃ μὲ περιεργὰ δεισιδαιμόνια, ὅταν μάλιστα δὲν ἦν σύμφωνα τὰ ἑπαναλαμβανομένα στοιχεῖα; Παραδείγματος χάριν εἰς τῶν ἑπίχων τοῦ τοῦ Ὀμήρου (Ιλιδ. Ε. 222).

Ο Τρώιος ἦταν, ἐπιστάμενοι πεδίος, εὐρίσκεται ἐξαίκης ἡ διήθησης Οἴ. Μ' ἄλλο τοῦτο δὲν βλέπω διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴν προφέρομεν κατὰ τὴν προφοράν τῶν Γραικῶν.

Το Τρώιον έπιστάμενον πεδίον ὑπὲρελθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἀκοήν ἁπάντες σειρὰ προφέρομεν, ὑπὸ τὸν προφέρομεν πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλληνικοῦ Εὐρωπαίους.

Διὸς Τρώιον έπιστάμενον πεδίον Σέξτος ὁ Ἐλκερίνος ὀνομαζεῖ καθαρὰ τὰς διήθησις τὰς στοιχείας, ἡμῶν τὰς στοιχεῖα ἦν ἄλλα γράμματα εἰς τὴν προφοράν. [In a footnote the author says that Sextus lived A.D. 100, and cites a long passage from his Πρὸς Γεραιματίκα. κεφ. τ. § 117, σελ. 241, beginning: 'Εστι οὖν ὁ τοῦ ΑΙ καὶ ΕΙ]
After thus establishing the value of these transcriptions of the Septuagint into Anglosaxon characters for indicating the precise signification of the Anglosaxon vowels in the xth century, it may seem superfluous to cite Norman traditions in the xii th and xiii th, were there not always a certain amount of satisfaction in cumulative evidence. In Wace's Roman de Rou, which unfortunately exists only in later transcripts, and whose author probably always pronounced the despaired Saxon most vilely, and certainly spelled it abominably, we find the following indications. Describing the conduct of the Saxons the night before the battle of Hastings, he says:

Molt les veissiez demener
Treper e saillir e chanter
Buffe e crier wicsel

which may perhaps be rendered: “You might see them much sporting, gambling, leaping, singing, joking, and crying Was hel, and Let hit cuman, and Drine hal, Drinc Hindward, and Drine to me, Drine healf and Drink to me.” In this Was hel and Drine hal are well known, and we must not be surprised at finding Norman ei for ags. e, a strange sound, when Orrmin shows begstenn for ags. beatan (suprà p. 489). Drink to me, remains in our language.

I adopt the reading of the Duchesne MS. cited by Pluquet, since the reading in his text “Bubbie orient e wicsel” is unintelligible. Buifer is from “buffe, buffet, bufle: coup de poing, soufflet, tape; buffa, en Ital. buffettone; en Basq. bufeta; en Languedocien bufa,” (Roquefort); whence English buffet, compare Italian buffet, whence our buffet. Compare also the Norfolk buffe, to handle clumsily, to speak thickly and inarticulately (Nall), to abuse, to rate soundly (as I am informed by Mr. Waring); also German Büffel, buffalo, buff, lout (compare Ochs for a fool) and büsseln to drudge (Hilpert). Whether buffet is a Norman word adopted into English, or an English word Normanized — compare the modern French boxer, to box—it is impossible to determine in the absence of parallel passages. It seems here to imply rough joking.
Perhaps *Lat hit cuman*, is a good wish, may you have what you want, and the drinking *hindweard* and *healf*, may refer to some customs such as still prevail among those who, making an art of toping, such as standing back to back and giving each to drink from the other’s cup, or both drinking from the same bowl, etc. The passage is, however, not of much service phonetically, and the Anglosaxon words are doubtful. The following are better:

*Olirrosse* sovent criront,  
*E Godemite* altretant  
*Olirrosse* est en engleiz  
Ke Saint Croix est en francaiz,

Hence *Olichrosse* = *Hâlig Cross*, which looks like an error for *Rôd*, and *Godemite* is *God Almighty*. The former would incline to a very broad pronunciation of *â* as (AA), and perhaps arose from the subsequent southern *holy*. The latter might imply that long *i* was (ii), and certainly that they did not pronounce *almighty* as at present; but as the vowel was certainly short in *miht*, we do not gain much, except to learn that this form coexisted with Orrmin’s *Allmahhtig*. The form *Godelamit* occurs in the singular poem called *La Pais aux Englois*, attributed to A.D. 1263, which ridicules English French in an orthography difficult to comprehend.1

Normanz escriént: Dex aie;  
La gent englesche: Ut s’escrie. v. 13193  
Quant Engles saient hors a cri.

The two last lines are an addition to the text of Pluquet, taken from MS. 6987, Bib. Roy. de Paris (E. Taylor’s translation, p. 191), and imply that *ut* = ags. *ut*, and therefore fixes the traditional pronunciation as (uut), which is of some value. The *Man* of v. 109, and *Zoonée* of v. 10659 (supra, p. 461, note col. 1) are useless.

Marie de France belonged to quite the beginning of the 13th century, and we have the advantage of an indubitably early manuscript of much of her poetry.2 In her lai de *Laustic* (Roquefort 1, 315, Harl. MS. 978, fo. 142), which Roquefort explains as intended for a Breton word, meaning a nightingale, she says:

Laustic ad nun eco mett auif  
Sil apelent en hur paif

1 See Journal de l’Institute Historique, Première Anné, 1834, p. 363, for which reference I am indebted to the kindness of M. Francisque Michel. In this poem *roi* is uniformly spelled *rai*, and *foire* rhymes to *Ingletiere*, *guere*, *conquere*, which seems to militate against the view I have taken on p. 453, and at least shews that (*feer-e* was a presumed Anglo-Norman pronunciation at the time, but whether it was the only or general value, or whether this may not be due to the author's pronunciation, or to the Poitevin dialect to which the editor attributes the piece, it is difficult for any one to determine, who knows the inconsistent way in which dialectic or foreign pronunciation is still represented orthographically, e.g. Burns's Scotch. No doubt can be felt as to the presumed rhyming word *faire* (p. 449), after seeing Orrmin’s orthography *faççer*, p. 489.

2 The Harl. 978 described supra, p. 419. The Fables of Esop there named are by Marie de France, and many of her lays occur in the latter part of the same MS. See: Poésies de Marie de France, poète Anglo-normand du xiiiéme siècle, par B. de Roquefort, Paris, 1819, 2 vols. 8vo. I am indebted to Mr. Payne for having drawn my attention to the transcription of English in her
In the lai de *Chevrefoil* (Roq., 1, 388, Harl. MS. 978, fo. 148b), we find:

En suhtwales v. il fu nez v. 16. Gotelef lapelent en engleif
En cornvaille uait tut dreit. v. 27. Chevrefole le nument en franceis. v. 115

In the lai de *Milun* (Roq. 1, 328) we find Suhtwales v. 9, Irlande 15, Norweie 16, Guhtlante 16, Southamptune 318, Nor-thombre 453. In the lai d’Yvenec (Roq. 1, 274), we have Incolne = *Lincoln* v. 26, and Yllande = *Ireland*, v. 27. In the Fables (Roq. 2, 141, Harl. MS. 978, fo. 53b), we have:

Si ad ure ke li uileinf
Euft tel bek mut li pleirct

Lung cum li witecocs aneit.

v. 18-20

where Roquefort cites the variants: huitedox, widecos, witecoc, which all seem to mean *whitecock*, an unknown bird, but as Norman *ui* was probably not so truly (ui) as (uí), or according to Mr. Payne (uu), p. 424, n. 3, and certainly often replaced (uu), p. 458, l. 27, these may mean (uí·ekok, uút·ekok), that is (wuud·ekok), ags. wuducocc (Ettm. 86), English woodcock, with an omitted (w) before (uu), p. 420, note, col. 2. These words give (aa a, ee e, ii i, oo o, uu) as Marie de France’s appreciation of the sounds of the Anglosaxon, or xiith century English *a, e, i, o, u*.

In order to see at a glance the different opinions that prevail respecting the values of the Anglo-saxon letters, a table has been annexed on p. 534, giving also the views of Rask, Grimm, and Rapp. Neither Rask nor Rapp give any illustrations, though Rapp writes a few isolated words. But as we have ventured to give a theoretical representation of the values of the letters, symbolizing of course different pronunciations according as they are used in different combinations to express the very distinct dialects which prevailed at the time, it is necessary to shew the effect of this theory, by attempting the phonetic representation of a short passage. The parable of the Prodigal Son, has been selected for this purpose, and will be hereafter presented in Icelandic (No. 2), Gothic (No. 3),

and Wace’s poems. It is true that her transliterations of English rather represent the pronunciation of the xiith century, than of Anglosaxon, and should, properly speaking, have been adduced on p. 462, but as I was not aware of them till after that sheet was printed off, I am glad to have this opportunity of inserting them.


2 This being contrary to his usual custom he explains by saying: “Da dieser Dialekt noch zu gar keinem festen Resultate über die Kritik der Buchstaben gelangt ist, sind wir weit entfernt, mit dahin einschlagenden Sprachproben uns zu befassen.”

the Wycliffite version (Chap. VII., § 3), for the sake of comparison. The translation at the foot of the page is intended to point out the grammatical construction, and the etymological relations of each word to the English, and would be therefore scarcely intelligible if the passage were not so well known.

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Anglosaxon, Lucas 15, 11-32.

11 Soðlice sum man hæfdæ twegen suna.

12 Ða cwæþ se ungra [Thorpe, ydæra] to his fæder, Fæder, syle me minne dæl minre æhtæ þæ me to gebyreæ. Ða dældæ he hym hys æhtæ.

13 Ða, æfter seawa dagum, ealle his ping gegaderæ se ungæra sunu, and ferde wæclæce on fearlen rice, and forspilde þær his æhta, lybbende on his gælsan.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

11 Soððliike sum man nœv'de tweegh'en sam'a.

12 Thaa kwæðæ se ghiq'ra to mis fæð'er, Fæð'er, sylæ me mìn-e dæl mìnre ækt'ære theæ me too-geby'r'edæ. Thaa dæældæ'ne mìn mís æækt'ær.

13 Thaa, æftær feawa dagh-um, ealæ mis ðígh gægæderæ se ghiq'ra sam'u, and for-dææ kwæk'liike on fear-len riilk'e, and for-spil'dæ thaær mís æækt'ær, lyb'ænde on mís gææl'san.


11 Soothly some man had twain sons.

12 Then quoth the younger to his father, Father, sell (give) me mine dea (part) of mine owning that me to belongeth. Then dealed he him his owning.

13 Then, after few days, all his things gathered the younger son, and fared banished-like (abroad) on far kingdom, and for-spilled (lost) there his ownings, living on his luxury.
14 Da he hig hæfdæ ealle amyrrede, þa wearæ mycel hungær on þam rice; and he wearæ wædla.

15 Þa ferde he and folgodæ ánæm burh-sittendum men þæs rices: þa sende he hine to his tune, þæt he heoldæ hys swyn.

16 Da gewilnode he his wambe gefyllan of þam bean-coddum þæ sa swyn atæton: and him man ne sealde.

17 Þa beþohte he hine, and ewæ, Eala hu fela yrðilæga on mines fæder huse hlæf gehnæhe habbaæ, and ic her on hungre forweoræ!

18 Ic arise, and ic fare to minum fæder, and ic sece him,

19 Eala fæder, ic synæode on heofenas, and beforæ þæ, nu ic neom wyrdæ þæt ic beo þin sunu nemned: do me swa æanne of þinum yrðilægum.

20 And he aras þa, and com to his fæder. And þa gytt, þa he was feor his fæder, he hyne gesæah, and wearæ mid mild-heortnesse astyræd, and agen hine ærn, and hine beclypte, and cystæ hine.

**Verbatim Translation.**

14 Then (when) he them had all dissipated, then worth (became) muckle hungær on that kingdom; and he worth (became) destitute.

15 Then færed he and followed one borough-sitting man of that kingdom: then sent he him to his town (inclosure), that he might hold his swine.

16 Then desired he his womb (belly) to-fill of (with) the bean-cods that the swine ate; and to-him man not sold (gave).

17 Then beþohte he him, and quoth, Oh! how many earthing (farmers) on mine father's house, loaf (bread) enough have, and I here on hunger forth-worth (perish).

18 I arise and I fare to mine father, and I say to him,

19 Oh! father, I sinned on heavens, and before thee, now I not-am worthy that I be thine son named: do to-me as to-one of thine earthings (farmers).

20 And he arose then, and came to his father. And then yet, then (while) he was far-from his father, he him saw, and worth (became) with mildheartiness a-stirred, and again him ran, and him be-clipped (embraced), and kissed him.
21 Đa cwæð his sunu, Fæder, ic syngode on heofon, and beforan þe, nu ic ne eom wyrðe þæt ic þin sunu beo genemned.

22 Đa cwæð se fæder to his þeowum, Bringa raæ þone selestan geygrelan, and seryda hine; and sylla him hring on his hand, and gescy to his fotum;

23 And brings an fætt stýric, and ofsleað; and uton etan, and gewistfullian:

24 forjam þes min sunu wæs dead, and he geedecode; he forwearð, and he ys genet. Đa ongunnon hig gewistlæcan.

25 Soðlice his yldra sunu wæs on æceræ; and he côm: and þa he þam huse genealæhte, he gehyrde þone sweg and þæt wered.

26 Đa clypode he ænne þeon, and acsode hine hwæt þæt ware.

27 Đa cwæð he, þin broðer com, and þin fæder ofsloh án fætt calf; forjam he hine halne onfeng.

28 Đa gebealh he hine, and noldæ ingín: þa eode his fæder út, and ongan hine biddan.

Verbatim Translation.

21 Then quoth his son, Father, I sinned on heaven, and before thee, now I not am worthy that I thine son be named.
22 Then quoth the father to his thanes (servants). Bring rathe (quickly) the best garment, and shroud (clothe) him, and sell (give) him a-ring on his hand, and shoes to his feet,
23 and bring one fat steer, and slaughter; and let us eat and feast,
24 for-that (because) this mine son was dead, and he again-quickened; he forth-worth (perished), and he is met. Then began they to-feast.
25 Soothly his elder son was on acre; and he came, and then (while) he to-the house neared, he heard the music and the company,
26 Then eleped (called) he one thane (servant) and asked him what that were.
27 Then quoth he, Thine brother came, and thine father slaughtered one fat calf; for That he him whole fanged (received).
28 Then was-wrathful-at he him and not-would go-in: then went his father out, and began him to-bid.
29 Thaæ kwæth he, his fæder andswariende, Efne, swa fela geara ic þe þeowode, and ic næfæ þin bebod ne forgymde, and ne sealdest þu me næfæ án ticcen, þæt ic mid minum freondum gewistfullode:

30 ac syæsan þæs þin sunu com, þe hys spéde mid myltrystrum amyerde, þu ofsloge him fætt cealf.

31 Ñaæ cwæs he, Sunu, þu eart symle mid me, and ealle mine þing synd þine: þe gebyrede gewistfullian and geblissian: forþam þæs þin broþer wæs dead, and he geedecode; he forwearþæ, and he ys gemet.

Verbatim Translation.

29 Then quoth he, his father answering, Lo! so many years I thee thaned (served), and I never thine bidding not neglected, and not soldest (gavest) thou me never one kid, that I with my friends feasted:

30 Eke (but) sithens (since) this thine son came, that his speed (property) with mistresses lost, thou slaughtrest for-him fat calf.

31 Then quoth he, Son, thou art ever with me, and all mine things are thine; to-thee belonged to-feast and to-bliss; for-that this thine brother was dead, and he again-quickened; he forth-worth (perished), and he is gemect.

2. Icelandic and Old Norse.

In the ixth century, Iceland was discovered and colonised by the Scandinavians. The writing at first used was runic, but Roman Christianity and Roman letters, which seem to have always gone hand in hand, were introduced in the xth century, and MSS. of the xith and xith centuries still exist. The sea usually unites; but large tracts of dangerous wintry sea, and a climate which for months in the year closes the harbours, separate. The Icelandic colonizers were so separated from their native country that their tongue was practically unaffected by the causes which divided it on the continent into two, mutually unintelligible, literary languages, the Danish and Swedish, and the numerous unwritten Norwegian dialects.1 In Iceland, therefore, we have the strange

1 “On the older Runic stones altogether the same tongue is found in all three kingdoms, and in the oldest laws of each people very nearly the same. This tongue occurs first under the denomination Dønsk tunga (Døenst tuuqga) because Denmark was in the oldest times the mightiest kingdom.... But the Old Norse began also first to decay in Denmark, and therefore took the name Norraæna (Norraæina), because it was probably spoken best and most purely in Norway.... Before the Union of Calmar [between Den- mark, Sweden, and Norway, 1397], it was materially changed both in Sweden
spectacle of a living medieval tongue, with all its terminations, inflections, and vowel changes, whether of mutation (Umlaut) or progression (Lautverschiebung), practically unchanged, and in daily use. The language of the oldest MSS. scarcely differs from that of the most modern printed books as much as that of Chaucer from that of Shakspere. Practically the study of Icelandic is the study of the language spoken by those fierce invaders of our Eastern coasts, whose tongue has so powerfully and permanently affected all our Eastern and Northern dialects. It is, therefore, of extreme interest to all students of dialectic or early English. 1 But its orthographic laws are so different from those with which we are familiar, and many of its sounds are so singular,—living remnants of habits which seem to have been widely diffused in the xth century, but which have become lost, and generally misunderstood in modern times—that a careful examination and explanation of their nature is necessary. As no treatise has as yet appeared which conveys satisfactory information, I have availed myself of the kindness of Mr. Eiríkr Magnísson, 2 who, to a perfect knowledge of his native tongue joins a long and familiar acquaintance with the language and pronunciation of England, and who has taken the greatest pains to enable me to render the following account as complete and trustworthy as possible. 3 Whether the actual pronunciation of Icelandic is or is not the same as that in use in the xth century, it is not easy to determine. The antecedent probability

and Norway; then arose the name íslenzka (islenzka) which the tongue has kept to the present day." —Rask, Gram. art. 518. “From the North the same tongue was spread over the Ferro, Orkney, Shetland, and Western Isles, and from Iceland to the coast of Greenland; but the old Greenland has been now for a long time lost, and since the Scottish Isles were joined to Scotland, the Old Norse language has given way to the New English. On the Ferro Isles a dialect is still spoken, which comes very near to the Icelandic, but is of little interest since it has no literature except some popular songs.” —Ibid. Art. 520. These songs were published with a Danish translation by Lyngbye, Randers, 1822 (Dasent’s note). See also Ivar Aaes’s Dictionary of the Dialects of Norway.

1 Prof. Th. Möbius’s Analecta Norræna, and Altnordisches Glossar, recently published, will be found useful for students who are acquainted with German. The glossary extends to several other selections named in the preface. A uniform modern orthography is adopted in all the extracts, but carefully printed specimens of the orthography adopted in ancient manuscripts are given in an appendix. A grammar is to follow, and in the meantime, Dasent’s Rask’s Grammar may be used. The following are Icelandic Dictionaries of repute, which have superseded Björn Haldorson’s Lexicon Islandicum-Danicum, edited by Rask, Copenhagen, 1814, 2 vols., 4to. Sveinbjörn Egils-son, Lexicon Poeticum antiquae Linguae Septentrionalis, Copenhagen, 1840, Svo. pp. 932. Erik Jonsson, Oldnordisk Ordbo, Copenhagen, 1863, Svo. Fritz-ner, Ordbo over det gamle norske Sprog, Christiania, 1867.

2 Editor of the revised edition of the Icelandic Version of the Bible for the British and Foreign Bible Society, author of Legends of Iceland, and translator of various sagas.

3 Mr. Henry Sweet, of the Philological Society, having acquired the pronunciation of Icelandic from another teacher, Mr. Hjaltafin, I requested him to inform me where his impressions differed from mine. The observations which he has been kind enough to furnish, are added in the shape of footnotes, signed H. S.
is that there are differences, and with respect to y this probability
amounts almost to a certainty. But Rask, Rapp, and Grimm differ most materially in their views, and as they cannot all be
right, it is very likely they are all wrong. None of them seem to
have pursued a satisfactory course for arriving at the truth, which
would require a long study of the phonetic relations of existing
dialects in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, the careful
examination of ancient manuscripts, of rhymes and assonances, and
of the internal phonetic relations of the language itself. Mr. Henry
Sweet having carried out this programme to a great extent, has
obligingly furnished me with his own views on the subject, which
I have appended to a tabular account of the opinions of Rask,
Rapp, and Grimm, at the close of this section. It is first necessary
to ascertain existing usage.

Icelandic now possesses eight simple vowels, a, e, i, ɔ, o, õ, u, ŵ
= (a, e, i, ɔ, o, õ, u) either short or long, the shortening being
generally indicated by two following consonants, or a doubled con-
sonant. The letters ỳ y are at present identical with i, i. It has
also six diphthongs; namely, three ɔ diphthongs, ɔ au, ei or ey,
the two last being at present identical = (aai, cecei, eel); two u
diphthongs, ɔ, õ = (aau, ouu), the great peculiarity of all these
diphthongs being the importance of the first element, and the
brevity of the second, which in the case of ei, ó amounts to that
faint indication of an (i, u) heard in the English day, know (deej,
noozw), in Icelandic letters dei, nó; and one acknowledged diph-
thong with (i) prefixed, e or e as it is now written, and which
might with equal propriety be written je, for in fact there are
numerous other diphthongs of the same class, now written with a
prefixed je, but formerly written with a prefixed i.

The consonants b, d, ḍ, h, j, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v = (b, d, ḍ, h, l, m,
n, p, r, s, t, v) almost invariably; ʃ varies between (f, v) and some-
times (b, m); k, g are properly (k, g) but are often palatalised to
(k, ɡ), and ɡ takes all guttural phases of (gh, gh, Jh; gvh, vh),
down to (ʃ, ʃ), and complete disappearance; c used to be employed
in the combination ck only, and ɡ in the combination qv, but as
neither ɔ or q belong to the language, they have been both super-
seded by k; x is occasionally used for ks or gs; and z is employed
for the sound of s before which a dental has been omitted, but not
very consistently. The old letters þ, ɣ are retained as (th, dh),
although ḍ is often employed for ɣ in older printed books. The
combinations hf, hl, hn, hr, hv are called (rh, lh, nh, rh, wh). The
double letters ʊ, nn are mostly (dl, dn) when medial, and (thl, thn)
or (dtlh, dtln) when final. In the doubled tt, the first t indicates
an assimilated guttural, which however is generally more or less
heard. The following is a particular alphabetical account of the
behaviour of each letter and principal combination.

1 A Grammar of the Icelandic or
Old Norse Tongue, translated from
the Swedish of Erasmus Rask by G.
W. Dasent, London, Pickering; Frank-
fort, Jaeger, 1843. The Swedish title
is: Anvisning till Isländskan eller
Nordiska Fornspråket, af Erasmus
Christian Rask. Från Danskan öfver-
Icelandic Alphabet.

A, distinctly (aa, a), not so low as (aa, a), and never pronounced to (ah), but occasionally as high as (aah, ah), though this may be an individual peculiarity, and was certainly unintentional. 1 Most of the words cited by Grimm as having short (a) are now pronounced with long (aa). Ex. hann (man) he, alt (alht) all, hafsd (hav'dh), landis (landidh) the land; drafi (draavi) husks, matar (maa'tar) meat = food, taka (taa'ka) take, maður (maa'dhar) man; 2 sagði (saah'gh'dhi) said. In unaccented syllables, where open or closed, the short a is general.

Å, a clear diphthong (aa'), with the first element predominant, and the final short, and thus distinguished from the German au (au). Not (ao, ao) as suggested by Rapp. Never (aa), but confounded occasionally with o in MSS, with which compare the Welch confusion of au, o (au, oo). When å is final and emphatic there seems to be an inclination to sound after it a whispered û ('u), or the labio-gutturals (wh, gwh), just slightly touched, as å (aa'wh) river, fá (faau wh). Before a doubled letter the first element is somewhat shortened, and before doubled t, the guttural is decidedly touched, as díti (au kwh'ti) had, but the whole combination is spoken with extreme brevity.

Æ, the diphthong (aa'), taken by Rapp as (ae), from his inability to appreciate (i); distinct therefore from German ei, ai (ai). There is an unacknowledged tendency to develop a palato-guttural sound, as (j, Jh, gh, kh), after a, when final, or before a vowel, as: æ (aa'jh) aye ever, æa (aar'va) to cry for pain. And before two consonants or a doubled consonant, the first element is shortened, as: ætla (aít-la) to think ættir (aít-tir) oughtest.

AU sounds to me as the diphthong (œœi), scarcely differing from the French oeil on the one hand and the Dutch ui on the other. Rask refers the Icelandic sound to the German eu, as Dr. Gehle did the Dutch (suprà p. 235, n. 1, and p. 295, n. 1), and Rapp, as I understand him, says that Rask pronounced the diphthong au as (œœ), which pronunciation seems to furnish the key to the orthography, for a changes its sound by Umlaut to e through a following i, and to ò (œ) through a following u (œ), as: fæðir, fæður (faa'dhir, feæ'dhor). This organic law of change was probably the cause why au was written for ò in old MSS. quasi, a as altered by the influence of u, and the same spelling was also used for ūu (œœ) most naturally. Now since (œ) is often confounded with (y), and (y), when brief, is easily confounded with (i), we see how au might


1 Decidedly (ah) in unaccented syllables, and in accented intermediate to (ah) and (a).—H.S. Is this sound (ah)?

2 Compare the Norfolk manoeur, a girl, and the observation in Nall’s Glossary. This Icelandic word was formerly manoeur, modern Danish mand.

3 For the use of i to signify a scarcely audible utterance of the following element, see suprà, p. 419, note, col. 1.
come to be (œœœœ, œœœœ, œœœœ), and, in the present absence of (y) from the language, would naturally rest in (œœœœ). The German eu is very variously pronounced (supra p. 321, note 2). Rask must have alluded to the somewhat rare (œœ) sound, which he heard as (œy). If the view here taken be correct, the sound (œœ) was probably the oldest form of this diphthong, and the antiquity of the (œ) sound of u, is also rendered probable.¹ Ex. hlaup (lœœlœp) course, lauf (lœœlœiv) leaf, skaut (skœœlœit) lap, kaupa (kœœlœpa) buy.

B is always (b).

C is "used by old writers indiscriminately with k, especially at the end of monosyllables. It is now used only in ck for kk, but many write kk and thus shut c entirely out of the language, a custom which is already (1815) old, though not general."—Rask.

D is always intended to be (d) according to the present orthography, but in older printed matter it also stood for 8. It is found only at the beginning of words and syllables, and after l, n, m, and d. It is occasionally written when not pronounced, as: syndga (sin'ga) to sin.

D is precisely the English (dh), but never occurs initially in Icelandic, where it is found in place of (d), after vowels and r, f, g, and "in old writers it is sometimes found after l, m."—Rask.

There are some districts in Western Iceland where it cannot be pronounced, and is replaced by (d). It has disappeared in Swedish, but is heard though not written, in Danish. The present use of ñ, 8 in Icelandic accords generally with their written use in Anglo-saxon, and consequently there is a presumption that the English use of an initial (dh) is modern, see supra p. 515.²

¹ This conjecture will be incorrect if, as seems probable, Mr. Sweet's views are to be adopted, infrà, p. 559.

² Since p. 515 was sent to press, Mr. Henry Sweet has read his investigation of the meaning of þ 8 before the Philological Society (4 June, 1889). He considers that the sound was originally uniformly vocal = (dh), in the earliest stages of the Teutonic languages, and that the non-vocal (th) is a later and progressive development. He believes that the earliest Icelandic of the xiiith century had the same pronunciation of þ as the modern, except in the words which have , exceptionally an initial vocal form in English, thus, ancient (th) is a later and progressive development. He finds to be very uncertain. In modern Icelandic, 8 is often evanescent (dh), according to Mr. Sweet, and in the Norwegian dialects it disappears entirely leaving an hiatus. See Rapp's opinion, infra p. 555, n., col. 2. It should be mentioned that one of our words having an initial (dh), thought, is pronounced with initial (th) in Scotland, (thoo), which however, may be a remnant of the form thoht, possibly a form of thought, for which initial (th) would be regular. As regards Anglo-saxon, the real usages of MSS., disregarding the manipulation of editors, are very uncertain, according to Mr. Sweet. The Northumbrian writings use 8 everywhere, except in the contraction þt. Rapp (Vergleichende Grammatik, iii, 128) complains that a great mistake has been made respecting Anglo-saxon þ 8, especially in England. The Anglo-saxons, he says, probably wrote first with runic, then with Latin letters, and there being no Latin letter for (th), the sound was represented in three ways; occasionally, even in the oldest monuments, by th, [compare supra p. 525, l. 22]: afterwards by the runic þ, and thirdly by the Icelandic 8. Englishmen could not but feel that þ, 8 were convenient representatives for their own two sounds (th, dh), although a cursory inspection of the MSS. would shew the discordance; so that some inverted the order and made þ, 8 = (dh, th), [supra p. 515, note 1]. Neither the Anglo-saxon nor
E is properly (ee, e) long and short.¹ The sound did not appear to me to be so low as (ee, e), and certainly was not so high as (ee, e). Grimm (ib. pp. 427-432) endeavours to divide the sound into two, (e) corresponding to Gothic a, and (e), which he writes e, corresponding to Gothic ē. There is no trace of this in the spoken language. Ex. ennrefmur (en'frem mar) and further; sem (seem) who; herrar (her rar) lords, verk (verk) work, etc. Initially it is occasionally pronounced like ē, as: ec (seech) I.

E', E" the form ē was proposed by Rask, and has been generally adopted, the older writers employ ē or omit the accent altogether, leaving it to be supplied by the reader—either form is considered equivalent to je, and should therefore be (see, je), but in fact, as in many cases where j is written, the result is often a diphthong with the stress on the first element, as: trè (trée) tree, mér (méer) to me; but: fēnu (free no, fiee no) sees, property, rēttur (reē'tor)² right, fēll (fiedthl) fell, etc.

El, EY. These two signs are now identical in signification. Rask says that the two sounds are still distinct in Norway, where ey = (cei), and in the Ferro dialect, where it is commonly (oi). At present, however, both are (cei) or (cej), not sensibly differing from southern English day, and having its first element distinctly (ee) and hence materially differing from e. It is occasionally shortened by shortening the first element, and then may be written (ei) to shew the brevity of the second element, so that the effect is almost (e). Ex. seil (seeil) towing line, heill (heē'fdthl) whole, þeirra (th ir ra) of them, cytt (e'it) wasted.

F, properly (f), with a very mild hiss, scarcely more than a single tooth being touched by the lower lip, so that it approaches (ph). It has this sound only at the beginning of syllables, or before s. or when doubled. At the end of a word or between vowels it falls into an equally mild (v). Before l, n, at the end of syllables it falls into (b), but if d or t follow the n, then fnd, fnt become (mnd, mnt), most generally, though some say (mnd, fnt). Ex. fótur (foo'tor) foot, ofsi (ov'si) arrogance; haf (naav) see, arfr (arv'or) inheritance; tafla (tab la) table, nafn (nab'nh) name; nefna (neb'na) to name, nefnt (nemnt) supine of nefna; jafnt (jaft), from the pulpit (jamnt) equally.³

G is the most changeable of all the letters, and it is difficult to lay down rules which should apply to every case. At the beginning of syllables it is (g) before a, ã, o, ò, u, û, ò, au, and (g) before a, e, ei, õ, i, ù, ã, ey and also before j. The first group corresponds

Early English use þ or ð in place of an organic (d). The Englishman now pronounces the demonstrative pronominal family with initial (dh), which no one has yet asserted for Anglosaxon (wass noch niemand im Anglesächsischen behauptet hat). He considers that English (dh) has arisen partly from (th) and partly from (d), and that in Anglosaxon þ, d, must be everywhere restored, and ð eliminated. He even assumes initial th = (th) in Chaucer, see the introduction to Chap. VII. § 1, near the end.¹ I took the e for (s) instead of (c).—H.S.

² The sound before tt is a pure aspirate without consonant quality, reē't (reē'h't).—H.S.
³ Jafnt or jamnt with voiceless m (jamnt).—H.S.
to non-palatal vowels, and the second to palatal vowels, but this division is not exact, for e, u ð (ø, ø, ø) have precisely the same elevation of the tongue as ei (eii), and ø (aai) is a back vowel, before which the use of the palatal (g) is exactly similar to that in older English regard, sky (rigard-, skai), suprâ p. 206. The palatal k, g are expressed by kj, gj before the first group, and should always be so expressed. G after ø, o, becomes (gh), and after ð, u, it falls into (wh, wh, w) or almost entirely disappears. But after an (i) sound, it becomes (gh, kh) or even completely (jh, j), and occasionally disappears as (j). These changes are extremely interesting because they show the stages through which the ags. ð passed in older English before it entirely subsided into the present (j i, w u) or totally disappeared. We have, therefore, an actual living example of the intermediate sounds, already suggested by theory, establishing the correctness of the previous hypothesis, suprâ, p. 512. Ex.:

(g), gafa (gauv-va) gift, gâs (gaaus) goose, gankur (geaçi-kar) cuckoo, gloâ (glooudh) live coal, göður (goou ðwer), göra (goœ-ra) to make.

(g), ges (gaais) geeæe, geta (gaai-þa) to keep, geit (geitg) goat, gjöf (gieœv) gift, gjarn (giadtunh) prone, þygja (piüg'gia) purse, geta (geœ-va) give.

(gh) og (oogh) and, dögum (dœægh-œm) to days, sagxi (saal1gh-ðhi) daglaunamm (daa1gh·leœei·namen) day labourers.

(gwh, wh, w), ljúga (luuu·gwa, luuu·wha, luuu·wa, luu·a) to tell a falsehood, all varieties of barely pronounced (gwh) being permissible, and the last two forms being most common. This disappearance of (gwh) strongly calls to mind the absence of (gh) in the Welsh system of mutation of initial consonants, thus (b, f, m; d, dh, n) should have in Welsh a corresponding (g, gh, g), but instead of (gh) an hiatus is substituted as: eu gafr, dy afr, fy ngafr (cy gaav'r, ðx aav'r, va-qaav'r), their, thy, my goat, where we ought clearly to have (ðx ghaav'r).

(gh, jh) mig (miigh) me, eigum (eëigh-œm) possessions, sig (siigh) himself, eg (seegh) I, gnaeð (gnaai·ghd), enough.

(gh) fjarklegt (fiar·laai·kht) far lying.

(j) feginn (feœ·in) fain, segja (seci·va) to say, dragiœ (draœ·iðh), draw, put, bogi (boœ·jí) bow for shooting, agí (aa·ji) chastisement, bágindi (baau·jindi) troubles.

In addition to these we must reckon the cases where a scarcely perceptible (gh, jh, gwh, wh) is developed from (i, uu) as: æ, bû (ai·jh, buœ·wh) ever, farm. The Swedish reading of gn as (qn) is unknown except when d, t follow as lygndi (liœñ·di) became calm, rigndi, rign (riœñ·di, riœnt) was rained on. When s follows the n is lost, as gagns (gagks).

H before vowels is (u, n) and is never dropped. Before consonants it is used simply to make them voiceless. Thus we have the remarkable set of digraphs, HJ, HL, HN, HR, HV, existing as distinct (jh, lh, nh, rh, wh), as was conjectured for Anglosaxon,
p. 513. \( \text{HJ} = (\text{jh}) \) is precisely the same as the initial element in my pronunciation of \( \text{hue} \) (\( \text{rhu} \)), and is not \( (\text{kh}, \text{gh}) \), but of course only slightly different. \( \text{HL} = (\text{l}h) \) is the true whispered (l), with the breath passing out at each side of the tongue, and hence different from the unilateral Welch \( \text{ll} \) (\( \text{llh} \)), so that Welch: \( \text{lladd} \) (\( \text{llhaadh} \)) to \( \text{kill} \), and Icelandic: \( \text{hla's} \) (\( \text{llahaadh} \)) a street, a mound, are perfectly distinct in sound. This \( (\text{l}h) \) sound is also frequently developed from \( \text{ll} \) final, intended for \( dl \), but called \( (\text{dtlh}) \) as \( \text{all} \) (\( \text{audth} \)) \( \text{eel} \), and even before \( t \), as: \( \text{alt} \) (\( \text{alht} \)) \( \text{all} \). It would therefore naturally replace our English final \( ('l) \) in \( \text{fiddle} \), if \( l \) occurred final after a consonant, just as the modern French stable \( (\text{stablh}) \), p. 52.\(^1\) This is really the case with \( \text{HN} = (\text{nh}) \), which not only occurs initially, as \( \text{hnistur} \) \( \text{(nhii-ver)} \) \text{knife} \( (\text{nh}) \), but in \( \text{nn} \) as: \( \text{einn} \) \( \text{(ei-idtnh)} \) \text{one} \( \text{and} \), and: \( \text{vatn} \) \( \text{(vatnh)} \) \text{water} \( \text{In HR} = (\text{rh}) \) the Icelandic possesses perfect whispered \( r \), which on the analogy of \( (\text{l}h, \text{nh}) \) is the sound of the favourite nominative termination \( \text{-r} \) in old Norse, as: \( \text{bleikr} \), \( \text{deigr} \) \( \text{(bleeikrhr, deeeighr)} \) \text{pale, wet} \( \text{but the modern custom is to use} \text{-ur} \) \( \text{(-or)} \) \text{in its place} \( \text{and this pronunciation has probably arisen from the sound} \text{(rh)} \) \text{having been dropped} \( \text{and} \text{(r)} \) simply retained, as \( \text{bleeekr} \) \( \text{with a distinct trilled} \) \( \text{r} \) \text{not forming a syllable} \( \text{and different from} \text{(bleeik'r)} \), into which it probably sank, before the transition into \( \text{(blee'ikor)} \) \text{took place} \( \text{as the Icelander naturally conceives all indistinct sounds to be} \) \( \text{(s)} \) \text{which is} \text{his} \text{"natural vowel."} \text{The close resemblance of} \text{(rh)} \text{to} \text{(s)} \text{however} \text{and the correspondence of the Icelandic} \text{-r} \text{with the Gothic} \text{-s} \text{renders the old sound} \text{(rh)} \text{extremely probable} \text{and possibly the old Latin confusion of terminal} \text{s} \text{r} \text{as} \text{arbos} \text{arbor} \text{honos} \text{honor} \text{may rest upon a similar antecedent whispered pronunciation of} \text{r} \text{The use of} \text{HV} = (\text{wh}) \text{is the most singular} \text{because} \text{(w) is not a recognized element in the language} \text{and it will be best considered under} \text{V} \text{I is distinctly} \text{(ii, i) both long and short} \text{the very sounds which} \text{we were led to attribute to} \text{i} \text{in the xiv th century} \text{(p. 297).} \text{It is interesting also to see that foreigners} \text{unable to appreciate the true} \text{(ii i)} \text{confuse it with} \text{(ee, e)} \text{which is a corroboration of the re-}  

1 The sound of \( hl \) is more correctly \( (\text{ljh}) \).—H. S. See infrà, p. 546, n. 1.  

2 Compare Cooper, p. 32, "\text{N Formatur ab extremitate linguae superiurum dentium radici appositi (si spiritus utrinque per labia effatur formatur l) huic correspondet \text{hn} quam scribitum \text{Angli} per \text{knu} know know cognosco." —p. 37, "\text{hn} quam scribimus \text{kn}." —p. 38, "\text{zh, wh, sh, th, kn} in Alphabeto non numerantur." —p. 39, "\text{kn} ponitur pro \text{hn}." —p. 67. "\text{Kn sonatur ut \text{hn}; know nebulo, knead mala cisso, kneeg genu, kneel ingenculous, knife culter, knight cques, kinet netco, knock tundo, know noseo, knuckle articulus; quasi \text{hnave}, etc."  

3 Rask says that the "sound especially when it is long seems to approach to that of the deep e (e)." Rapp says "folglich i = é gitt," i.e. consequently \( \text{i} = (\text{e}) \). Grimm says: "Während der unterschied zwischen i und i in solchen zweisilbigen formen beinahe unmerklich sein, z. b. \text{qviña} poema fast lauten musz wie \text{qviña} metus, obschon kurzes i im munde des Isländer sich dem claut näher.," i.e. he considers that the disyllables \text{qviña} poem, \text{qviña} fear ought to be nearly indistinguishable, "although in the mouth of an Icelander short i approaches to the sound of e." (Gr. I, 486). Mr. Sweet says than in unaccented syllables i is rather (e) than (i).
mark, p. 271, and even in some terminations, e often stands in MSS. for i, as in: háskalegr, misseri, lande, for háskaligr, missiri, landi (nausu-kalitiger, mis-jisiri, land-i) dangerous, quarter year, to a land. At the present day, however, the (ii) is very distinct, as is never confused with (ii), thus: vinum minum (vi'ii'mom mi-mom) do not rhyme, and children in repeating the alphabet never confuse i with i, that is (ii) with (ii). Icelandic is the only language I have met with which distinctly recognizes this long (ii), though we have seen that it is occasionally generated in English (p. 106). The short i is the true usual English (i), and is perfectly distinct from (i). In older books i before a vowel was used, where j is now employed.

I on the other hand is (ii, i), generally long, but short in unaccented syllables. It is not, however, found short in closed accented syllables as in Scotch and French. Rask considers i, u as diphthongs, as it were if w = (ii, svu), but there is no foundation for this in actual speech, and the conception seems due to the mode of writing.

J was used as the ancient capital of i, at the beginning of words, but as it was there pronounced as (j) before vowels, it has in recent times been used in the middle of words before vowels, even though the sound was not always the pure consonant (j), but much more frequently an (i) diphthongising with the following vowel. It changes a preceding k, g from (k, g) into (k, g), but the sound of (i) is still heard as much as in the Italian: chiaro, ghiaja (kiáa'ro, gíá-ia) clear, gravel. It does not seem to change a preceding l, n from (l, n) into (lj, nj), as ljá (liáau) new cut grass, ljóð (lióoudh) poem, líufur (liú-ver) gentle, ljá (liáa) to lend; niálgur (níáal-gar) hedgehog. In some cases the sound of (j) would be difficult as: fjáirins (fláa-rinzs) of the fee, fjarlægt (flaar-laai'kht) far-lying; bjóst (biooust) busked, brjósti (brjouost'i) breast, hljóp (hlhoup) leaped. Hence j must be merely looked upon as a diphthongizing (i), not (i). In all these cases, however, a simple (j) would be considered correct, thus (Iaau, liooudh, luuv-ver, Iaai, nwaal'gar, flaau-rins, flaaar-laai'kht, bioouest, brjouost'i, hlhoup).

K is (k) before a, ð, o, ö, u, ú, öu and (k) before a, e, ei, i, i, y, ý, ey, j, thus kirkja (kir-kia) church, contains the true intermediate sound between the Scotch kirk (kerk) and Chaucer's chirohe (tshirhsh'e), suprà pp. 203-6. K does not assume the forms (kh, kh, kuch), and hence differs materially from G.

L is usually and always intentionally (l), but the sound of (lh) is sometimes produced by a following t, as alt (alht) all. In the case of û, the first l is pronounced as (d), and if the second is final, it becomes (û), and thus generates a (t) in passing from (d), so that the combination becomes (-dtlh), and the first (d) is frequently scarcely audible, as (-t dtlh), the whole combination being rapidly

1 Short (i) in þing (thig). I think Mr. Hjaltalin said that the pronunciation (thig) with open (i) sometimes occurs.—H. S.

2 I thought k before e, ı, etc., was really (kj) not (k-j), but this was probably incorrect.—H. S.
pronounced,¹ and $rl$ is treated in the same way, thus: kall karl
(ka$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$ $dt\text{\textsubscript{h}}$) calling, churl. Between two vowels, $ll$ is distinctly ($dl$)
as kalla (kad$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$la) to call. See N. For $hl$ see H.

M is always intentionally (m), but may be voiceless (mh) before t.

N is always intentionally (n), but after t, k final, (nh) is generated
as: vatn (vatnh) water, regn (regn nh) rain, vagn (vagn nh) wain,
and $nn$ $rn$ are both (t$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$ $dt\text{\textsubscript{h}}$) final, see L. Thus kl$\text{\textsubscript{e}}$n (klie $dt\text{\textsubscript{h}}$)
small, finn (fiu $dt\text{\textsubscript{h}}$) fine, järn (jauu $dt\text{\textsubscript{h}}$) iron. "But should
$nn$ belong to the following syllable, or if it be a simple vowel that
goes before, the sound is (n), as á-nni (aunn ni) to the river, dat. sing.
with art., ey-nni (inn ni) to the island;" so also: kanna (kan$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$na) to
survey, hann (han$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$) he, breanna (bren$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$na) to burn, etc. Old writers
often used $ll$, $nn$, in all cases before $d$, $t$ without regard to the
radical form, though the custom was never general. This $nn$ has
been long since entirely laid aside, as also $ll$, $d$ where the root has
a simple $l$, $lj$.—Rask.³ In NG 'the $n$ becomes (q), and the $g$
hits its full sound of (g), thus þing (thiug)⁴ council, assembly, and the
preceding vowel is always one of the accented series $a$, $i$, $o$, $u$, $y$.
Konráð Gíslason, however, maintains that the vowel should always
be unaccented in old Norse; but his opinion does not find much
favour. NK is also pronounced (qk) as: þáni (thauq-$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$) mind,
thought, hánki (mauq-$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$) handle of a basket, ear of a jar.

O is the pure (oo, ò) long and short, suprà pp. 94-96, quite
distinct from the English (la, ø),⁵ and is identified by Rask with the
Swedish ò, Russian and Finnish ø, but as he also makes it the same
as English o (ø), some doubt attaches to the other indications.

O' is the pure English diphthong (ou) as heard in know. The
final $u$ here generates a-(w) when another vowel follows, as sóá$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$í
(soar-wadhi) wasted. When a doubled $tt$ follows, where there is an
assimilated guttural, the first element is shortened, and the guttural
is faintly heard, as döttir (do$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$ gwht-tór) daughter. When $ó$ is final, the
(u) is heard quite as distinctly as in English, thus skó (skoo$\text{\textsubscript{u}}$)
shoes, is a perfect rhyme to know.

Ô, OE,⁶ is (œe, ø) long and short, and is kept quite distinct from
(øe, ø), as in dögum (doeagh$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$m) to days. The form ø is only used
by theoretical writers.

P is always (p), except in the combination pt which is called (ft)
as lopt (loft) air, but modern writers, and among them the learned
Jón Þorkelsson, are beginning to employ ft by preference.

¹ $ll$, $nn$ = (‘dlh, ‘dhnh) between vowels generally, as well as final, falla, altira, einna = (a$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$dlura), etc. $l$ is
generally rather (i). One Icelander
(Mr. G. Vigfusson) said he could not
sound the English l. Thus falla is more
correctly (fædljah).—H.S.

² In both these cases -nni stands for
-inni and is the dat. fem. of the suffixed
definite article, so that it has no etymo-
lological connection with the preceding
$\text{\textsubscript{a}}$, ey, and the division of the sylla-
bles being etymological, not phonetic,
in Icelandic, -nn is said to belong en-
tirely to the second syllable, but a dis-
tinct (n,n) is really pronounced.

³ Before t, n is voiceless as beint
(beemñht).—H.S.

⁴ See p. 545, note 1.

⁵ I took the o for (ø) not (o).—H.S.

⁶ In old Icelandic there was a long
ø distinct from ø, but it seems to have
been absorbed by ø at an early period.

—H.S.
QV is found in old MSS. but even there interchanges with kv. At present q has no value different from (k), and consequently (k) is now generally written.

R is a strongly trilled (.r) as in Scotland, and when doubled, as in fjarri (fia.r.r) remote, the number of vibrations of the tip of the tongue is very great. Final -ur (-or) is however more lightly pronounced. In the following transcription I shall simply use (r), but the reader must be careful never to say (r). The combinations rl, rn are considered under L, N. The final -r after consonants, was probably (rh) see hr under H, but it is now generally replaced by -ur (-or).

S is always intentionally (s), and never (z), but (z) is sometimes generated, although it is not recognized. Thus (s) final after l, n, and perhaps in other cases, generates an intermediate (z). For example, if we compare: eins, sins (eeinzs, siinzs), with English stains, scenes (steinzs, siinzs), we shall see that the difference of the terminations, here written alike, arises from the (s) in Icelandic being intentional and predominant, but the (z) generated and therefore lightly touched, while in English the (z) is intentional and predominant, and though the (s) is often prolonged, and in the church singing of charity children, not unfrequently painfully hissed, it is yet merely generated by a careless relaxation of the voice, and its very existence is unknown to many speakers. We might therefore write the Icelandic (-nis) and the English (-inz), but (-ns, -nz) is sufficient for most purposes. I found also that there was an unacknowledged tendency to pronounce s final after long vowels, in the same way; thus: lás, bás, meis, vís, hís, rós, hús, mús sounded to me (launzs, baunzs, meeizs, viizs, rhisz, roozzs, nuuuzs, muuuzs) halter, stable, manger, wise, vegetable, rose, house, mouse, the two last words sounding quite different from the Scotch (mus, mus). Even in the name of Iceland itself, Island, I found the s varying from (z) to (s) at different times, as (iis'land, iiz'land). Between two vowels s may similarly have a tendency to become (z), but I have not had time to examine the numerous words of this class orally, and it would be necessary to examine natives who had not learned the sound of (z) from other languages. We may always pronounce (s) without offence, but (z) would be frequently very offensive. Initially before j, s seems to assume the form (sj) or (shj), the latter was the sound I heard in sjúkur (shjuu'kor) sick. Icelanders have a difficulty in acquiring the sound of English (sh), except in such a word as sugar, which they probably call (shjuungvr).

T is the usual (t), but in tt, where the first t stands for an assimilated guttural, while both letters are pronounced (t,t), the guttural still generally asserts itself, see AE, A', O'.

P is (th), and that invariably, although it stands in places where

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1 In rt, the r is voiceless, as hart pronounce (sh, tsh). They sound our (harht).—H.S.
2 Most Icelanders seem unable to (z) very difficult.—H.S.
(dh) is now pronounced in English. Rask, however, excepts "pronouns and particles which in daily speech are attracted like enclitics to the foregoing word, as á æfl-banni in thy days, hafr þú hast thou? where it has the sound of ð. The word þú is often thus contracted with verbs, in which case u loses its accent, and þ is changed into ð, ð, or ð, as the foregoing letter may require; as haf-Su (navdha) Imper. of hafr to have, kom-du (kom'da) Imper. of koma, ris-tu (riist'to) of risa to rise." These are equivalent to Chaucer's saystow wiltow (sais'tu, wilt'w), sayest thou, wilt thou, (suprâ p. 371, art. 98, c, Ex.) the vulgar German haschte (nash'to) = hast du, hast thou, etc. They are generated, unintentional sounds.¹

U seems to be pure (ao, ø) long and short, and the existence of the forms å, ø (aau, ouu) would seem to indicate the absence of any letter for (u) even in ancient times, and au for (oœ) and (oœœ) appears to imply that this value of u was ancient, see AU.² This sound of (ø) is often confused with (y), on the one hand, and (o) on the other. Thus to Mr. M. Bell the French u sounds (ø), and to me (y). In our own provinces (y, ø) seem to be heard indifferently, thus I heard both (týy) and (too) for two in Norwich. See also the Devonshire sounds in (p. 301 note). In Scotland (y) and (ø) are both used, though only (y) is generally recognized. I hear (ø) for the French e muet, but others hear (ø, ðh). In some parts of Germany (ø) and in others (ø) are used for ð. Hence we must not be surprised at Rask's finding Icelandic u "almost like deep ⁴ Swedish ö in hög rökt," probably (ø), or "German ù," which he may have heard as (ø), wishing to keep it distinct from (u) into which his own Danish y had fallen. He adds that "the word guð God is pronounced nearly as gvðë or gvûë," but to me it sounds (greðdh) or (greðdh) where the inserted v, or a labialized g arising perhaps from an intense effort to avoid any palatization of the g into (gj). The distinction between the sounds of u, ö (ø, ø) is, if I rightly appreciate it, precisely the same as that between i, ð (i, i), or (e, e) that is, the position of the tongue and lips is the same for both elements in each pair, but the whole of the back part of the mouth etc., is wider for the second element in each pair than for the first.

U is (uu, u), long in accented, short in open unaccented syllables.⁵ Rask says that it has two sounds, apparently (uu, u), but his explanation is quite unintelligible, owing to his confusing vowels so unlike, as (ø, ø, ø, u). No such distinction was admitted by Mr. Magnússon. It seems impossible to an Icelander to pronounce final ù without some labio-guttural intonation after it, such as (wh, gwh), thus: bú (buu) or rather (buunwh) farm.

¹ The change of þ to ð is rare in this case.
² See note on ð, suprà, p. 541, n. 2.
³ See, however, a different opinion advanced by Mr. Sweet, infrâ, p. 559.
⁴ Rask calls (ø) deep, and (e) high, which is contrary to the usual termin-
ology, thus art. 15, he speaks of "á or high e in the Swedish word engel, French è in après, English e in fellow or ai in hair," and "the lower sound of e in the Swedish lefva, veta, French è."
⁵ Short (u) in þungr, not (ø) as if spelled u.—H.S.
\begin{quote}
\textbf{ICELANDIC PRONUNCIATION.}

V is (\textit{v}) with so slight a contact of the lower lips with the upper teeth as to vary in effect at different times as (bh, \textit{v}), but I did not feel justified in noting it as (bh) without having an opportunity of hearing the sound from numerous speakers.\footnote{I thought at first that \textit{v} was (bh), and I was only induced to consider it as a (\textit{v}) by the distinct statement of Mr. Hjaltalin that it was a dental sound.—\textit{H. S.}} That it was not originally (\textit{v}) is clear to me from the combination \textit{HV}, which is called (\textit{wh}) in the southern, and (\textit{kwh}) in the northern districts of Iceland, corresponding to the English and Scotch sounds of \textit{wh}, and the South and North Wales pronunciation of \textit{chw}. These point to an original (\textit{w}) and to the transitional sound (\textit{bh}) before falling into (\textit{v}). For the unvoiced (\textit{v}) could only be (\textit{f}), the Aberdeen expression of \textit{wh}; and the unvoiced (\textit{bh}) would be (\textit{ph}), neither of which sounds seem to be used, although \textit{f} now falls into \textit{v}. It is very possible that in earlier times \textit{f} had the true sounds of (\textit{f}, \textit{v}), and that \textit{v}, then not distinguished in writing from \textit{u}, was (\textit{w}), whence \textit{hv} would be (\textit{wh}). At the present day, \textit{v}, \textit{hv} = (\textit{v}, \textit{wh}) is an anomaly, which could hardly have been original.

X is traditionally used for \textit{ks}, \textit{gs}, without any known reason, except custom, and shortens the preceding vowel like a doubled consonant.

Y has precisely the same value as \textit{i} (\textit{i}) and is only employed to point out certain grammatical or etymological relations. But in some valleys it is yet called (\textit{y}), and this was possibly its original sound. The present sound is supposed to have taken its rise in the xii\textsuperscript{th} century, and to have become prevalent in the xiv\textsuperscript{th}.

\textit{Y} is now the same as \textit{i} (\textit{ii}). "The name of the letter, however, is pronounced altogether as it is in Swedish and Danish," says Rask, that is, as (\textit{yy}) or more commonly \textit{ypsilon}.

Z has always the sound of (\textit{s}), its use is merely etymological or literary, shewing that some letter has been lost before \textit{s}, and as it is not consistently employed, it would be better disused altogether.

The alphabet is read thus, in Icelandic orthography; a á b é c ð é e ê e eff gè hà i í jo é ká ell emm enn o ó pè qú err ess tè u ú vaff ex ypsilon ýpsilon zeta þorn æ = (aa aau bee see dree eedh ee see ef gsee naau ii ii roodh kaau edlíth em en oo ouu pee kuu er es tée oo uu vaf eks ýpsilon ïpsilon see'äta thodtnh aai). Both æ and ë are written occasionally, but they are not distinguished in sound, and are both named (aaï).

The stress is on the first syllable of all words long or short, simple or compound, but in the case of compounds each component has an accent as if it were simple, and the chief stress lies on the first. A single final consonant, or a single consonant between two vowels, leaves the preceding vowel long, as: vel (veol) well, man-saugur (maan'seai'jar) lovesong, veè (veoedh) pledge, pat (thaat) that, til (til) to. A doubled consonant, or two consonants (of which final \textit{r} is not one) shortens and "stops" the preceding vowel, and diminishes the length of the first element of diphthongs. Doubled consonants are fully pronounced, as in Italian, suprà p. 55.
\end{quote}
Rask asserts that all vowels and diphthongs are nasalized when standing immediately before m and n, but if such nasalisation exists, it must be very slight, and I did not detect it. But see infra p. 558, l. 25.

When three consonants come together one is usually omitted, as hált (maaulit) half, volgt (volht) lukewarm, margvt (maart) much. Similarly islenzskt (iis'lenst) Icelandic, danskt (danst) Danish; gagns (gagks) of use, hrafnis (rhafs) a crow's, vatsn (vas) water's. Similarly r is little heard before st and nd, as verstur (vest'or) worst, fyrstur (fis'tor) first. For rl, rn, see L, N; for nd, fut, see F, for gnd, gnt, see G.

These observations will give the reader a tolerably complete notion of Icelandic pronunciation, and enable him, with a little attention, to read intelligibly. There is no sound really difficult in the language, but the combinations are unusual, and will require care. It is therefore necessary to have an example, for which, as already mentioned (p. 534,) the parable of the Prodigal Son has been selected. The text is taken from that revised by Mr. Magnússon,¹ and the pronunciation was written down from his dictation, and afterwards carefully compared with his reading. The translation is constructed on the same principles as before (p. 534). The reader is recommended to read the words of one verse over with care and repeat them till he can form the sounds with ease and rapidity from memory before proceeding to a second verse. If he proceeds through the whole parable in this way, and commits the text to memory, he will be able to read any Icelandic book intelligibly to an Icelander.

Lúkasar Guðspjall 15, 11-32.

11. Emnfremur sag'si hann: maður nökkur átti tvo sønu,

12. Sá yngri þeirra sag'si við fósur sinn: fáðir! látt mig fá þann hluta fjárins, sem mór ber; og hann skipti milli þeirra fénu.


11. Still-further said he: man certain had two sons,
12. The younger of-them said to father his: father! let me fang that lot of-the-fee which to-me are-borne; and he divided between them fee-the.

13. Some days since, took the


Nokkrum dögum síðar tók só yngri alt fé sitt og ferðaði í fjarlægt land; þar söði hann fé sínu í óhófsönum lífnaði.

Nú er hann hafði eytt öllum eignum sínum, kom þar mikið hallæri í landin, tók hann þá að lífða nauð.

Fór hann þá og reðst til eins borgara í því landi, sem sendi hann út á bú sitt, að gefa þar svína sinna;

Varð hann þá fæginn, að seðja sig af drafi því, er svínin átú; og einginn varð til að gefa honum nokkuð.

Nú er hann ránkaði við sér, sagði hann: hversu marga daglaunamenn heldur fædir mín, sem hafa gnægg matar en eg først í húngri.

Eg vil taka mig upp og fara til föður míns, og seðja við hann: Fædir! eg hent syndgað móti himminum og fyrir þér,

Og er ekki leingur verður að heita sonur þinn. Fár þú med mig eins og einn af daglaunamönnum þínun.

13. Nokkrum dögum síðar tók só yngri alt fé sitt og ferðaði í fjarlægt land; þar söði hann fé sínu í óhófsönum lífnaði.


15. Fór hann þá og reðst til eins borgara í því landi, sem sendi hann út á bú sitt, að gefa þar svína sinna;

16. Varð hann þá fæginn, að seðja sig af drafi því, er svínin átú; og einginn varð til að gefa honum nokkuð.

17. Nú er hann ránkaði við sér, sagði hann: hversu marga daglaunamenn heldur fædir mín, sem hafa gnægg matar en eg først í húngri.

18. Eg vil taka mig upp og fara til föður míns, og seðja við hann: Fædir! eg hent syndgað móti himminum og fyrir þér,

19. Og er ekki leingur verður að heita sonur þinn. Fár þú med mig eins og einn af daglaunamönnum þínun.

Verbatim Translation.

younger all fee his and fared in far-lying land; there wasted he fee his in un-measure-some living.

14. Now as he had wasted all own-ings his, came there much hard-eating (famine) in land-the, took he then to suffer need.

15. Fared he then and betook-him to one citizen in that land, who sent him out to begging (farm) his, to keep there swine his;

16. Was he then fain to fill himself of hucks those, which swine-the ate; and no-one worth to (became to, was at hand) to give him anything.

17. Now, as he came to himself, said he: how many day-loans-men holds father mine, who have enough meat and I perish in hunger;

18. I will take me up and fare til father mine, and say to him: Father! I have sinned against heaven-the and before thee,

19. And am not longer worthy to hight son thine. Fare thou with me like as one of day-loans-men thine.
20. Bjóst hann þá til ferðar til fósur síns; en er hann var enn nú lángt í burtu, sá faðir hans hann og kendi þý brjóst í um hann, hjóp og fell um háls honum og kysti hann.


22. Því þessi sonur minn, sem var dauður, er lifnauður aptur, og hann, sem týndur var er fundinn; tóku menn nú að gleðjast.

25. En svo bar við, að eldri bróðir hans var á akri, og er hann kom og nálagaðist húsía, heyrði hann samsaung og dans.

26. Kallaði hann þá á einn af þjónustumönnunum, og frétti hann, hvað um væri;

Verbatim Translation.

20. Busked (arose) he then to faring to father his; but as he was even now long on way (away), saw father his him and moved in breast for him, leaped and fell over neck to-him and kissed him.

21. But son-the said to him: Father mine, I have sinned against heaven-the and before thee, and am now not further worthy to hight son thine.

22. Then said father-the to thanes his: Fare hither the best robe and fare him in; drag ring on hand his and shoes on feet to-him.

23. Come with fattéd -calf and slaughter, so we get to-eat and be glad;

24. For this son mine who was dead, is enlivened again, and he, who tined (lost) was, is found. Took men now to gladden-themselves.

25. But so bore to, that elder brother his was on acre, and as he came and neared house-the, heard he music and dance;

26. Called he then on one of thanesmen-the, and asked him, what about were;
27. He said: Brother thine is come, and father thine has slaughtered thine fatted-calf, for that he fetched son his whole home.
28. Grew-wroth he then and would not fare in. Father his fared then out and bade him in to come.
29. But he answered and said to father his: In so many years have I now thaned (served) thee and never deviated out of biddings thine, though hast thou never given me kid, so that I might gladden myself with friends mine.

27. Hann sagði: bróðir þinn er kominn, og faðir þinn hefir sláträð alikálfí, af því hann heimti soninn heilan heim.
29. En hann svaraði og sagði við fóður sinn: í svo mörg ár hefi eg nú þjónað þér og aldrei breytt út af bósum þínun, þó hefir þú aldrei gefið mér kíslíng, svo að eg gæti glatt mig með vinum mínunum;
30. En þessi sonur þinn, sem soðeir hefir eigum þínun með skækjum, er nú kominn, og hans vegna sláträð þú alikálfí.
31. En hann sagði við hann: sonur minn, þú ert alt af með mér, og allar mínar eigur heyra þér til;
32. Nú ættir þú að vera glaður og í góðu skapi, þar bróðir þinn, sem dauður var, er lífnaður aptur, og hann, sem týndur var, er fundinn.

27. Hann saahgíðhí: broodurhír thín er koomí-n, oogh faadh-lír thín nevví-slaatradh aalíkaalví, av thvii han neeim-tí soon sin neeí-lan neeim.
29. En hán svaaíradhí oogh saahgíðhí viíth fóeddhrír sín: ii svoo mörg aur neeví jeeñe núu thíouínaíthíre oogh álíreí breít uút av boddhrím thíinním, thouu neevír thíu álíreí gée-vóidh fíeër kidhir’aq svoo adh jeeñequa-tíí glat miígh meedh vííí-mí miiíí-míe;
30. En thes’sí sooí-nær thín, seem soo-wadhrhí neevír eeighím thíí-ním meedh skaa’í-koom, er núu koom’é-n, oogh hánz vegna slauatráð thíu aalí-ikaaluí-ví.
31. En hán saahgíígh’dhí viíth hán: sooí-nár mín, thuuu eért álht av meedh míeër, oogh adt-lár mií-urlí eëeíí’-hr neeíí’-ráthíeer tiíl;
32. Nuu aí lht-tíú thauu aadhrhíru aadhrhíru gíaadhór oogh ii gooodhr’s kaaa’pi, thaar broodh-ír thín, seem déeédh’-hr vaar, er lb’-nadhrú aft-vr, oogh nan, seem tiínd-vr vaar, er fónd’ín.

Verbatim Translation.

27. But this son thine, who wasted has ownings thine with harlots, is now come, and his ways (for his sake) slaughtered thou fatted-calf.
31. But he said to him: Son mine, thou art all of (always) with me, and all my ownings belong thee to:
32. Now oughtest thou to be glad and in good shape, there (because) brother thine who dead was, is enlivened again, and he, who tined was, is found.
PRONUNCIATION OF OLD NORSE.

Rask considers that the modern pronunciation is practically the same as the ancient, except in a few instances, hence in the following table the modern forms as already explained, are given in Rask’s column, and his supposed ancient values are bracketed. Rapp gives an opinion upon nearly every letter in the alphabet, and although he did not consider that he had arrived at a result sufficiently definite to give an example, he has transcribed a large number of words into his alphabet, a selection of which is subjoined. Grimm’s pronunciation is not easy to be determined, and the sounds which I have given must be therefore considered to be in great part conjectural. The vowels are taken from the third, and the consonants from the second edition of his Grammar.

On these conjectures generally I make no observation, except to remark that I feel doubtful as to the value which Rask meant to ascribe to the old u. He says: “u, without accent, may perhaps have had the sound of the short English u in nut, but, the Danish o in hos, the Swedish o in sporde, menniskor lúorik, etc.” These sounds are certainly not identical, and I have been accustomed to consider them as (a, o, u) respectively. Grimm assumes the English u to be a sound between German o and ö, whatever that may mean.1 Neither he nor Rask, therefore, had mastered the English (a, ø) sounds. I have represented Rask’s ancient u by (ø, u) doubtfully, but believe that the latter is more probable.

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1 Gr. P. 391, “vor einfachen consonanten hat u einen laut zwischen nhd. o und õ; das nnl. u neigt sich mehr zu ü.”
Old Norse words as pronounced by Rapp: á (AA) in, water, æ (ee) always, åttá (aArrta) eight, auk (ouk) also, auga (aug’a) eye, bleikr (bleik’r) pale, bleyd (blyyd’i) fear, blés (bles’e) blew, blód (blood) blood, bökr (bcek’r) books, bók (book) book, brúda (bruud’h’a) of bridies, byd (byyd’h) invite, byggia (byg’ja) build, dagr degi dögum (dag’r, deg’i, deg’um) day, to a day, to days, döttir (doot’-tir) daughter, dýpi (dyp’i) depth, ey (ey) island, eyk (oik) oak, fel (frel) fell, flúgga (flu’-ga) fly, fötr (föotr’r) feet, frí (frii) free, fullr (fool’r) full, fylli (fyl’i) fullness, gæs (gees) geese, gás (gæs) goose, göra gjórt (ger’a goort) to do, did, hálmr (khalm’r) halm, hlaup (khloup) leap, hniós (hniós’a) sneeze, hreinn (krain’n) pure, hvítr (khhrn’t) white, kaupa (koeup’a) to buy, kné (knée) knee, kránkr (kraaq’k’t) sick, liúga (liuga) to tell a falsehood, opt (opt) often, skapt (skapt) handle úngr (uuq’g’t) youth, verd (bherd) price, vís (bhii’s) wise.

The following observations on the Old Norse pronunciation, based upon a phonetic examination of the structure of the language, its connection with the Teutonic branches and the usages of Old MSS., are drawn up from notes kindly furnished me by Mr. Henry Sweet, of the Philological Society (suprâ p. 539, l. 9).

1 The following is a translation of Dr. Rapp’s latest views on the subject (Vergl. Gramm. iii. 40). “Of the seven long vowels, the two strongest (ii) and (uu) have remained intact. The (aa) subsequently, as everywhere else, degenerated in the direction of (o). The mutates of (aa, uu) must hence be (ee, yy). There must be an (ou) corresponding to the old German diphthong ei, but it is here written au, since the mutate, if written ey, could only mean (oy); the Norwegian dialects retain (ou). Long (oo) afterwards became diphthongal, and its mutate coincides with e (ee). The third long vowel wavers between gothic (uu), becoming, when softened (geschwächht) (io), and confluent (yy). Isolated remains of (ee) subsequently passed into (see) as in Selavonic; but the e which arises from reduplication need not necessarily be long. As regards the mutation of the short vowels, the change of (a) into (o), and of (o, u) into (y) is clear, but the mutation of (a) into (o) through the action of a following (u) or (o) is more obscure. We can theoretically assume an earliest period in which (a) remained pure, but it does not agree with the period of existing monuments. Hence we allow (a) to pass into (o) but entirely reject the usual assumption of the generation of (aa) from (o). The division (Brechung) of short (e) into (ia) and by mutation (io), must also be observed. As regards the consonants we assume h and s, here as elsewhere, to have been (kh, sj), though we write (s). The z was an abbreviation, generally for (ts), occasionally for (st), and by mistake for other combinations; the first alone must be retained. The f is initial as in Gothic, but medially and finally it is softened to ð; as this also happens in most cases to the modern Danish ð, both classes must be distinguished from out of the corruption of writing. This is the weakest point in northern philology. The old runic alphabet has only the aspirate p (th) and this is used medially even in the oldest manuscripts. The modern Icelandic and Danish ð (dh) is on the contrary not an aspirate but a spirant, which is more naturally developed from (d) than from (th). But since Scandianavian orthography is here irretrievably confused, nothing remains but to restore the old essential organic p in all places where it is required by Gothic, Anglosaxon, and Friesie, and in other, partially doubtful cases, to leave d, so that the modern ð is altogether eliminated. The tt, which arose from an older (kht), must certainly be sharpened, [that is, make the preceding vowel short], since reduplication can mean nothing but confluence; the prolongation of the vowel in this case is a modern corruption, which even Grimm has overlooked, and similarly before ng, nk, and l followed by a consonant, etc.”
When Icelanders first employed the Latin alphabet they had no written literature at all, and consequently no traditional orthography to transliterate, that is, no theoretical guide to mislead them. They had therefore, no means of writing except by ear, using the Latin letters in their accepted values, and modifying them for new sounds. Under such circumstances, it is scarcely possible that they should have—

1) expressed one sound in two ways, as in the modern identities i, y, i, ey.
2) made d represent (au) to the exclusion of au,
3) have used au to express a sound (ai) for which they had a form to hand, namely öi, unless indeed they had read in Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik (I, 474), that old Norse au corresponds to Gothic au, and had foreseen that the sound (au) would have been preserved in the German of the xixth century.

A comparison of the old cognates shews that the difference between a, à, e, ê, etc., was originally purely quantitative. In modern Icelandic, as in Modern German, all short vowels before single consonants have become long, but in old German the length or shortness of a vowel was quite independent of the following consonant, as is proved by the metrical laws. In the same way the non-accentuation of foðir, father, in Icelandic originally meant that the vowel was short, and the accentuation of móðir, mother, that the vowel was long, as in Latin pater, mater.1 If this view be well founded, the vowels in each pair, as a, à, e, ê, etc., must have had the same quality, but different quantities, a, e, etc., being always short, and à, ê, etc., always long; and diphthongs must have had the sounds of their elements connected by the glide. The following sounds appear then to be the only possible.

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<th>(a, a)</th>
<th>au</th>
<th>(au, au)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>(e, ê, E)</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>(ei, ei, ei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>(i, i)</td>
<td>ey</td>
<td>(ey, ei, e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>(o, ò, A, ò)</td>
<td>aë</td>
<td>(ai, ai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>(u, ù)</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>(ee, e, ee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>(y, ı, ı)</td>
<td>œ</td>
<td>(oi, oi, ò, oc, oc, oe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö</td>
<td>some modification of (o)</td>
<td>or lengthened ō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two principal criteria for selecting the correct vowel are—
1) The palatisation of k, g, and 2) the action of vowel-mutation or Umlaut, (um·laut).

1 As Icelandic still possesses really doubled consonants, the device of doubling the consonant to indicate the brevity of a preceding vowel was not likely to occur to the writer. That the length of a vowel depends in any way upon the number of following consonants is a delusion, to be classed with the notion that all vowels under the stress must be long, and deducible probably from the false statement in Latin prosodies, that a short vowel might become long “by position” before two consonants, the length of the vowel being confounded with the length of the syllable; but the Latins no doubt distinguish est, is, from est, eats, as (est, eest), and the old school joke: Mea mater est mala sus, could not have been ambiguous to a Latin, who would have probably distinguished the two meanings as (mea maa·ter est mala suus; meaa maat·er, cest maa·la suus.)—A.J.E.
1) The palatalisation of \(k, g\), from \((k, g)\) into \((kj, gj)\) naturally takes place before front vowels (p. 13), while these consonants remain unchanged before back vowels (p. 13). Existing habits as to palatalisation would hence determine
\[
e, \ i, \ y, \ y, =, \ ae, \ ei, \ ey \text{ to be front vowels, and} \quad a, \ o, \ u, =, \ o*, \ u*, \ o* =, \ u* \text{ to be back vowels,}
\]
whereas those marked * transgress this rule, \(ae=\) (a) commencing with a back vowel, and \(u, \ o, \ au=\) (a, \(\omega\), \(\omega\)) with a front vowel.\(^1\)

2) Vowel mutation is the result of the partial assimilation of two vowels, not in juxtaposition, but in consecutive syllables, whereby the first or accented vowel becomes modified in the direction of the second. This may be expressed by such a formula as \((a..i=\epsilon)\), meaning that \((a)\) in the first syllable acted on by \((i)\) in the second is converted into \((\epsilon)\). The original sounds of these mutated vowels or mutates, have been so changed in Icelandic, that it is necessary to examine the other Teutonic languages where they are better preserved.

\((a..i=\epsilon, \epsilon)\), giving \((\epsilon)\); old Ger. \(\text{hari} \) (\(\text{mar-i}\)), modern G. \(\text{heer} \) (\(\text{heer}\)) army.

\((i..a=\epsilon, \epsilon)\), giving \((\epsilon)\); Gothic \(\text{nimman} \) (\(\text{nim-\'an}\)) modern G. \(\text{nehmen} \) (\(\text{nee-men}\)) to take; the \((i, \epsilon)\) forms are confused in modern German.

\((o..i=\text{sh}, \iota, \iota)\), giving \((\text{sh})\); old Ger. \(\text{sebni} \) (\(\text{skoo-\'ni}\)), mod. G. \(\text{sch\'on} \) (\(\text{sha\'en}\)) beautiful.

\((u..a=\alpha, \Lambda)\), giving \((\alpha)\); Gothic \(\text{stulan} \) (\(\text{stul\'an}\)), mod. G. \(\text{ge-stohlen} \) (\(\text{ge-sh\'to-\'len}\)), stolen.

\((u..i=\iota, \iota)\), giving \((\iota)\); old G. \(\text{sundia} \) (\(\text{sund-\'\alpha}\)), mod. G. \(\text{s\'\iotande} \) (\(\text{zynd-o}\)) sin.

In Icelandic we find, \(\text{her}, \text{nema}, \text{stolinn}, \text{synd} \) (\(\text{heer}, \text{nee-\'ma}, \text{stool-\'n}, \text{\'s\'\iota\'nd} \)) all with mutates. The equation of the last word with modern pronunciation is \((u..i=i)\) which is not a mutation at all. The old sound must have been \((r)\) or \((y)\), as these are the only possible intermediates. The vowel mutation also proves that the modern sound of \(\alpha\) is inorganic.

\((aa..i=\text{ee})\), old Ger. \(\text{w\'ar\'i} \) (\(\text{bhaa-\'ri}\)), Icel. \(\text{var\'i}\).

\((oo..i=\text{sh})\), Gothic \(? \) \(\text{f\'\iota\'jan} \) (\(\text{loor-\'\iota-\'\alphan}\)), Icel. \(\text{f\'\iota\'ra}, \text{old f\'\iota-}\).

The genuineness of the sound \((\alpha)\) is made doubtful by the non-palatalisation of \(k\), and this doubt is confirmed by the equation \((a..u=\alpha)\), as in \(\text{d\'ogum}\) for \(\text{dagum}\). As both vowels are back, the result cannot be front. And the back sound of \(u\) is shewn 1) by the preservation of that sound in long \(u\), 2) the nonpalatalisation of \(k\) before it, 3) the vowel mutation. The \(a..u=\text{sh}\) is merely a reversal of \((u..a=\alpha)\) in \(\text{stolinn}, \text{ge-stohlen}\), and both are quite parallel with \((a..i=\epsilon, \ i..a=\epsilon)\).

The above conclusions result from the structure of the language,

\(^1\) The remarks on p. 206 show that this criterion cannot be relied on so far as \(\omega\) is concerned, and, indeed, the palatal action of \(\omega\) on \(k, g\), while \(a, a\), produced no such action, may have arisen from the anticipatory action of the second element \((\iota)\). Nor is there any organic necessity for the palatalisation of \(k, g\), before such obscure vowels, as \((\alpha, \omega)\), as we see from the fact that although both sounds are used in different parts of Germany for \(\ddot{o}\), which is also frequently called \((\ddot{e}\) or \((\ddot{e})\), yet the \(k, g\), of \(\text{k"onig}, \text{Goethe}\), are never palatalised. This criterion can therefore only furnish an à priori probability.—\(\ddot{\Lambda}\). J. E.
the following is almost positive evidence of the usages of the x1th
century. Póroddr, the grammarian, circa 1160, remarks on the
necessity of an A, B, C, and after stating that the English have
made an alphabet for themselves by adopting or modifying the
Latin letters, he proposes to perform the same service for his
countrymen—oss Þelendingum, saying:

"To the five original Latin vowels a, e, i, o, u, I have added
four: o [now o], e [now e, æ], φ [now æ, ae], γ [now y]. Of these
o has the curve of a and the ring of o, because it is blended of their
two sounds, being pronounced with a less open mouth than a, but
a more open mouth than o; e has the curve of a and the whole
figure of e, for it is composed of these two, being pronounced with
a less open mouth than a, and with a more open mouth than e; φ
is composed of e and o, being pronounced with less open mouth than
e, and with more open mouth than o; and γ is composed of i and u,
being pronounced with less open mouth than i and with more open
mouth than u."

He proceeds to give examples, shewing that e and o short cor-
respond to modern e, e long to modern è, è long to modern æ, o to
modern o, o to modern ö, and φ to æ now æ. And then he remarks
that each of these vowels begets another by being sounded in the
nose, which he marks by a point above the letter. This probably
corresponds to the palaeotypic (), not to (š). It is now quite lost.
Hence Rask’s imaginary nasality, suprà p. 550, l. 3.

Póroddr further states that each of these 18 vowels can be long
or short, and proposes to mark the long vowels with an accent. His
examples shew that he places this accent in those places where an
accent (indicating a diphthong in the case of ã, ò), now exists in
Icelandic. Then he concludes by enumerating the diphthongs,
describing accurately the nature of diphthongs in general. Among
these diphthongs appear au, ei, ey, but not å, ö.

The older MSS. follow Póroddr with some variations. Thus the
diacritic is often written as a full letter, as æo for o, œ for e whence
modern æ, and the diacritic is not unfrequently entirely omitted, so
that e, o, are confounded with e, ò.

The following examples show Póroddr’s spelling compared with
that now used, and the probable corresponding pronunciation.
Abbreviations—p. Póroddr’s spelling, M. modern spelling, OP. old
pronunciation, MP. modern pronunciation.

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<td>ë</td>
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<td>êe</td>
<td>mèr</td>
<td>õ</td>
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The sound of the various *e's is evident from the remark that *e is pronounced more openly than *e, and more like *a. The higher sound was given to the *i as *mér, German *mir. The other *e was an *a, *vënia, old German *wanian. In *ql, the anglosaxon *ealu explains the vowel mutation. In *e*n the *q is a mutate of *a, produced by the preceding *v, and the pronunciation has been preserved unchanged. The *ey is a mutate of *au, *heyra=Gothic *hausjan, thus (*au.. *i=*eï) the (*i) soon drawing up the (*e) to (*e).

Modern Changes.—The change of (*ee) to (ai) is merely the converse of the Latin *æ to *é.¹

The *a (*aa) was first rounded (*oa) and then broken up into (aau), as is shewn by the occasional MSS. spelling *q for *à.

The change from back (*o) to front (*æ) is paralleled by the English and most modern Danish pronunciation of (*æ) for (*a).

The *au changes are very complicated. First, the *a was rounded by the *u into (*o), as appears by the MSS. shewing *qu, *aou, *ou for *au. Next the resulting first element, being now identical with *q (*o) was, with it, changed from back to front, into *ö (*æ). Lastly the second element *u (*u) was changed by the action of the new front element (*æ) into some front element as (*i) which finally became (*i). Thus we have the stages (*au.. *ou.. *æu.. *æi), where (*æu, *æou), represents Rask's conjectural forms.

Póroddr counts *U, *nn, among the doubled consonants. He allows a double final consonant, which of course must have been a lengthened or 'held' consonant (supra p. 52), as in *hann=(mann), not (man). He writes *p everywhere, to the exclusion of *x, but whether this establishes a uniformity of pronunciation is very questionable.

The following few lines will give a notion of this conjectured ancient pronunciation, which is placed under the present orthography, a verbatim translation being also interlined.

Haustlöng. (Haustlo,qg.) Autumn-long (night).

EØr of-sér, er iötna ötti lét ofsöttan
(Edhr ov-seer, er iot-na oot-te leet ov-soo-ta,n)
Again thou-seast how of-the-giants the-terror let-sought

Hellisbror á hyrjar hang Grjótuna bauge;
( Hel-lesbror aa, hyri-ar hang Grioo-tun,na bau ge;)
Of-the-cave-the-dweller in of-fire the-hill of-Griötun with-ring

'Ok at isarnleiki Jar×ar surr, en dundi
(Ook at ii-sarnlike Iardh-ar su,N er e,n du,p'de)
Drove to the-iron-play Earth's sun, and resounded

MÓØr svall Meila bróØur mánavegr und hanum.
(Moo'dhr svall Meil'a, broodhur maa,n'a,wegr uu,nd uu,n'u,m.)
Rage swelled Meili's of-the-brother moon-way under him.

¹ This converse action is rare, but supra p. 294, bottom, and note 2, and we have a living English example, p. 464, note 1.
Knáttu öll en Ullar endilág fyrrir mági
(Knaat-tuöll en ullar en-delaag fy-er ma-ge)
Could all and Ulfr’s under-lying before the-kinsman
Grund vas grapi hrundin ginnánvangvé brinna;
(Gru-nd was grap’e rhu-nd’en gi-nnuu,gg-ewi bri-n’na;)
The-ground was with-storm shaken the-wide-dwellings burn;
Pá-es hofreginn hafir hógreisær fram drógu
(Dhaa-es nov’reg,nn hav’-er noog’reídhar fra,m droo’gu;)
When the-temple-god the-goats of-the-elegant-chariot forwards drew
Seðr gékk Svólñis ekkja sundr at Hrúngnis fundi.
(Sedh-r gekk Svœl’nnes ekkia su,ndr at Rhuu,gg’nes fu,n’de.)
Nearly went Svœlnir’s wife anonuder to Hrúngnir’s meeting (fnd).¹

3. Gothic.

In order properly to crown the edifice of the low German and Scandinavian dialects, it is necessary to consider the pronunciation of Ulfilas as collected from his Gothic translation of the Testament, etc. Grimm, Rapp, Gabelentz and Loebe, and Weingaertner,² are the principal authorities. From a study of these works and the grounds on which they rely, I have arrived at certain conclusions of my own, which must be understood as referring to the pronunciation of Gothic at the time of Ulfilas, considered as a comparatively modern stage of the language. There are good etymological grounds for believing that many Gothic words containing ai, au, ii had at some previous time, a different sound from that which I have assigned, as for instance (ái, áú, fu), supra, p. 236, note 1. But details are here purposely omitted. The following table contains the opinions of the writers cited, as nearly as I could appre-

¹ The title means Autumn-long, long being the fem. of the adj. lóngr; nött = night, seems to be understood; compare the similar old German phrase “den sumerlangen tac,” the summer-long day. None of the editors translate the word, and they seem not to understand it. The subject of the poem is a fight between the god Pörr and the giant Hrúngir. The poet describes the fight as depicted on a shield. The meaning of the passage, which is very obscure in the above verbatim translation following the inverted order of the poet, seems to be as follows: Again thou seest [on the shield] how the terror of the giants [meaning Pörr], let sought [let periphra- = visited] the cave-dweller in the Griótn-­^bill with a ring of fire, [Pörr’s chariot was accompanied with thunder and lightning]; Earth’s sun [that is, Pörr] drove to the iron-play [fight], anger inspired Meili’s brother [another name for Pörr], and the moon-way [= earth] resounded under him. All the wide dwellings [= the air] could burn [burned], and the ground lying beneath was shaken with the storm before the kinsman of Ulfr [Pörr again]: Svölnis wife [ekkja literally widow = earth] nearly went to pieces, when the goats drew forward the temple-god of the elegant chariot to meet Hrúngnir.

² J. Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, I, 33–74; 13, 39–71; M. Rapp, Phys. d. Spr., i 371–401; Dr. H.C. von Gabelentz und Dr. J. Loebe, Grammatik der Gothischen Sprache, 1846, pp. 22–52. Wilhelm Weingaertner, Die Aussprache des Gothischen zur Zeit Ulfilas, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 68. This last work contains complete references to all the former essays and books on this subject.
4. Their meaning, a (?) indicate the chief points of doubt. The transcription used is that employed in Gabelentz and Loebe’s well-known edition but the letters are arranged in the order of the Roman Alphabet, reckoning p as th. Leo Meyer’s work (Die Gotische Sprache, ihre Lautgestaltung u.s.w.) came to hand too late to be consulted in the construction of this table.

The Gothic Alphabet of Ulfilas.

Abbreviations.—G Grimm, G L Von Gabelentz and Loebe, E Ellis, L letters, R Rapp, W Weingaertner.

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<td>qk</td>
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In order to compare this dialect with the related Anglosaxon and Icelandic, I annex the conjectured pronunciation of the same parsable that was selected for examples in those languages. This is also the same example or Gothic as Dr. Rapp has given. The verbatim translation is, as before, intended merely to shew the grammatical signification of each word.

Gothic, Lucas 15, 11-32.

11. manne sums ahta tvans sununs.
12. jah qa'b sa juhiza ize du attin. atta, gif mis. sei undrin-nai mik. dail aiginis. jah dis-dailida im sves sein.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

11. Man’nree sums ekht’aa twans sun’uns.

Verbatim Translation.

11. Of-men certain owned two sons.
12. Eke quoth the younger of-them to dad: Dad, give to-me, which unto-runs me, deal (part) of-ownings. Eke asunder-dealed to-them property his.

14. By that then from was of all, worth (became) hunger strong against region yon, eke he began quite-needy to-worth (to-become).

15. Eke ganging joined himself to certain of-burghers of-yon region; eke in-sent him of-heath his to-hold swine.

16. Eke yearned full to-eat of-horns (husks), which meated (ate as meat or food) swine; eke man to-him not gave.

17. Keim'ands than in sis, kwath: Kecheh fil'u as'n'ee attins miin'is uf'arass'saa hab'and klaibe'e, ith ik huhrav fraqista.


19. Ju than'asiiths ni im werths ii neet'eedaa sun'us thiiins; gata'wii mik swee een'ana as'n'ee thii'eeezee.
GOTHIC PRONUNCIATION.

20. jah usstandands qam at attin seinamma. nauhṣanuh ḫan fairra visandan gasaw ṱana atta īs jah īnfeinoda jah ḫragjands draus ana hals īs jah kukida īmma.

21. jah qaḥ īmma sa sunus. atta. frayaurhṭa in himin jah in andvairฏa īeinamma. ju _BLEMS ni īm vairds īs haitaidan sunus īeins.

22. qaḥ ḫan sa atta du skalkam seinaim. spraauto briggį charismatic, ḫo frumiston jah gavasjiḥ ṱana jah gibį hànhy in handu īs jah gaskoh ḫa īa īotuns īs.

23. jah briggandans stiur ȇnana alidan ufsmeǐįįį. jah mat-jandans visam vala.

24. unte sa sunus meins dauphs vas jah gaquunoda jah fralusans vas jah digitans varǭ. jah dugun-nun visan.

25. vasuḥḥan sunus īs sa allĩza ana akra jah qimands at-iddja new razn jah gahauṣida saggyvins jah laikans.

26. jah athaitands sumana magive frahuḥ. wa vesi ḫata.

Verbatim Translation.

20. Eke out-standing came to dad his; still then far being saw him dad of-him, eke pitied, eke running fell on neck of-him, eke kissed him. 21. Eke quoth to-him the son, Dad, I-from-wrought (I-sinned) in (against) heaven eke in face thine. Now the-since (longer) not am worthy that I-may-high son thine. 22. Quoth then the dad to servants his, Quickly bring vest the from-est (first, best), eke in-vest him, eke give finger-gold in hand of-him, eke shoes on feet of-him, 23. And bringing steer the fattened up-cut, eke meeting (eating food) let-us-be well. 24. Unto-that (because) the son mine dead was, eke y-quickenched, eke lost was, eke be-gotten worth (became). Eke they-began to-be (to feast). 25. Was-then son of-him the elder on acre, eke coming to-went (approached) near house, eke heard song eke games. 26. Eke to-calling certain of-boys, asked, what were that.
27. Thar'ukh is kwath du im'ma: That-'i brooth'ar thiins kwam, jakh uf'snee'eth at-ta thiins styyr than'a al'-idan, un'tee n'ee'la ana in'a andnam.

28. Than'ukh mood'ags warth, jakh ni wil'da in'gaq'gan. Ith at'ta is us'gaq'gands ut bad in'a.

29. Thar'ukh is and'naf'jands kwath du at'tin: See, swa fil'u veer'ee skalk-inood'a thus, jakh ni kwan'nu un'an'abus'n thiin'a uf'ar'id'dra. Jakh mis ni eew at'gaft. geet'iin ii mith fri-joond'am miin'eem biwees'jaa.

30. Ith than sa sun'us thiins, sa,i'i freet thiin swees mith kalk'oom, kwam, uf'snee'st im'ma styyr than'a al'-idan.

31. Thar'ukh kwath du im'ma: Barn-iloo! thu sint'inoo mith mis wast jakh is; jakh al that'a miin thiin ist.

32. Weel'a wis'an jakh fag'inoo skuld was un'tee brooth'ar thiins daath was jakh ga-kyynn'oda, jakh fralus'anz jakh bigit'ans warth.

**Verbatim Translation.**

27. Then he quoth to him, that brother thine came, eke up-cut dad thine steer the fattened, unto-that (because) whole him received.


29. Then he to-hearing (answering) quoth to dad, Lo, so many years served to-thee, eke not whenever command thine over-went (transgressed), eke to-me not ever at-gave goat, that with friends mine might-feast.

30. But then (when) the son thine, who devoured thine possession with harlots, came, thou-up-cuttest for him steer the fattened.

31. Then quoth to him, Little-son, thou always with me wast, eke art, eke all the mine thine is.

32. Well to-be eke to rejoice due was, unto-that (because) brother thine dead was, eke y-quickened; eke lost, eke be-gotten worth (became).
CHAPTER VI.

ON THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ORTHOGRAPHY WITH PRONUNCIATION FROM THE ANGLOSAXON TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

§ 1. The Value of the Letters.

The several conclusions arrived at respecting the sounds of the letters in English orthography are necessarily very irregularly scattered through the preceding pages. The nature of the investigation which obliged us to commence with the xvi th century, then descend through the xvii th to the xviii th, and immediately jump to the xiv th, and then after a glance at the xv th, commence the consideration of the xiii th century, has not produced an order which is convenient or satisfactory to the reader. In the present section then the results will be arranged in a tabular form, in alphabetical order. A reference to the pages in which the several statements are established, is occasionally given, but as it was found impracticable to introduce it concisely into the text in all cases, the indices at the end of the book must be consulted. The outline index annexed will enable the reader to refer immediately to the principal combinations.

The construction of the Table is as follows. All the single letters or combinations of letters which have been used as parts of words in English orthography, from the Anglosaxon period to the present day, such as a, aa, æ, åœ, a-e (meaning a followed by some consonant and then by e final), af, -age (meaning age final) ah, ai, al, all, an, -ange, ao, aou, ar, as, -aste, ath, av, augh, aun, aw, aow, ay, ayo, b, etc., are placed in alphabetical order at the head of separate paragraphs, as in a dictionary, and then the history of the different sounds that each has represented is sketched in accordance with previous results, using ags., for the Anglosaxon period, 13., for the xiii th century and earlier. 14., 15., 16., 17., 18., 19., for the xiv th, xv th, xvi th, xvii th, xviii th, and xix th centuries respectively. The passages inserted in brackets at the end of some articles, signed P., are due to Mr. Payne, see infra, pp. 579–80.
### Outline Index to the Principal Combinations.

**Anglo-Saxon period:** p. 510.

**Thirteenth Century and Earlier:** pp. 423, 431, 439, 467, 471, 476, 480, 484, 487, 496, 498, 506.

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Chronological Account of the Values of Letters.

A ags. was both a short and a long sound (a, aa), but the long sound was sometimes written a. Short a in an open unaccented syllable was probably (a). After ags., a in an open accented syllable was considered as long, and in a closed syllable generally short. In 13. 14. 15. 16. a seems to have been (a, aa), although in the earlier part of this time it may have been (a, aa). Probably towards the end of 16. it passed into (ah, aah), a sound frequent in 19. In 17. it became (ae, aee), and at the latter end of 17. and beginning of 18., it seems to have fallen into (ae, ee). These changes seem to have occurred towards the close of 15. or even earlier in Scotland, p. 410, n. 3, and perhaps in the Northern and West Midland Counties, p. 460, n. 2. See references under ey. Perhaps during the latter part of 18. there came into use a distinction, thoroughly established in 19., that long a should be (ee) unless followed by r, and that then it should be (ee); compare naming, Mary (neem: iq, Meanrr). In 19. long a is frequently pronounced (eei) in place of (ee), as (neem) for (neem), pp. 234, 272, n. 3; 294, n. 2. Short a has remained (ae) from 17. to 19. These general usages have been crossed by the action of a following f, n, r, s, th, see af, an, ar, as, ath, and the other combinations which follow. An initial (w) acted in the latter part of 17. and subsequently, in many, but by no means all words, to convert (ae) into (a) or (o), as in was, what, etc. In 19. a has been variously degraded as in: hating, father, water, many, hat, want, ribend = (neetriq, faadhi, waa'ti, men'ti, hae't, want, rib'en).

AA was in 14. occasionally used for (aa) in closed syllables. Otherwise it was only employed in biblical names, as Aaron, Isaac, and then it followed the sound of long or short a. It was occasionally for German aa, and then from 17. it was (AA).

Æ ags. (e, æe), p. 510, in 13. sank to (e, ee) or (e, ee), pp. 487, 496, 498. It was rarely used in 13., and not at all afterwards, except in words borrowed from the Latin or Greek, and then it was (ee) till 18., towards the close of which it became (ii) in such cases. But scholars still occasionally say (e) as in: Paestum = (Pest'um) rather than (Pyestum), which is also heard. [In 13. æ = (ee) in Norman and English.—P.]

AE was never an English combination, but, resulting from biblical names or Latin adaptations, it seems to have been treated as a+e, or æ. In 19. we have aeric, Michael, aerial, Israel = (eeri irri, Merkel, eeriel eerriel irriel, Isreal Isrel Isrel). [In 13. æe = æ = (ee) in Norman and English. —P.]

A—E, that is a followed by some consonant and a final e, which, when pronounced, had the effect of putting a into an open syllable, and therefore making it long, so that when the final e ceased to be pronounced, it was presumed to have the same effect of lengthening the preceding vowel. Hence a— was assumed to be long a, with the sound of the time, from 16. to 19. Perhaps this feeling came in towards the close of 15. The rule is not consistently carried out in 19.; compare: hate, are, landscape, furnace, have = (heet, az, lend-skip, firys, haev). Even in 16. the vowel was not long in unaccented syllables.

AF, this combination presents nothing peculiar till 18. or 19. and then only in certain words: graff, staff, disaff, quaff, aft, after, abafi, haft, shaft, raft, craft, draft, graff, waff, and laugh, calf, half, which must be considered to have the same combination. Here usage differs. The common southern pronunciation is (aaf), and even (aat) may be heard; the fine educated northern pronunciation is (af). Ladies in the South and many educated gentlemen say (ahf) or at most (ahf). But (af) is also heard. Those who use the finer sounds, ridicule the others as vulgar, and write them larf, etc., declaring that an r is introduced, but this arises from their own omission of (r) and preservation of (aa), in: barm, starve, etc. See ar, or, and the citation under e, p. 575, col. 1.

AG in late ags. and 12. or 13. was probably equivalent to (ai).

AÆ, Ormmin's form of (al), p. 488.

-AGE. In 16. the ge = (dzh) seems to have influenced the preceding a by introducing an (i) sound, as, (aidzh), p. 120; and in 17. to 19. this a has followed the fortunes of ai, which see.
AH, as an exclamation, has probably always, represented (aa), although the corresponding exclamation was not always represented by ah. In daidria it is now pronounced (ee).

AI in 14. (=ai, aai), which sounds apparently remained to the end of 16., though the pronunciation (ee) was in use by a large number of speakers. In 17. after a passage through (ahi, ael), the sound rapidly sank to (ee), but whether the sound (eel) was not occasionally heard cannot be ascertained with certainty. In 19., (ee, eei) are both usual forms. Various degradations are heard in 19., as: demam, saii, Saint John, sael,plaid, Briten (dimim', seeel, Sïndzhem, sed, pled, Brit‘n), and dais, which was a monosyllable in Chaucer, 372 = (dais), but has become disyllabic (leeis). For 13. see pp. 431, 440, 467, 473, 506; 14. 459, 462; 15. 447. See especially p. 459, n. 1, and the passages there referred to, and also Chap. VII. § 1. The use of (ai) for (ee) seems fixed in Scotland at the beginning of 16., p. 410, n. 3. [In 13. and 14. ai = ay = (ee) in Norman and English; in 16. often, if not generally = (ai) in English, infrâ p. 582. —P.]

AL, ALL in 16. and hence probably for some time previously the had begun seriously to influence the preceding vowel, by being pronounced ('l) with a very appreciable length of murmur or being labialised into (lu); the result in either case, accepted as (ul), produced the diphthong (aul), which was firmly established in 16. See I, p. 193. This was occasionally followed by the total disappearance of the l, as in: talk, calm = (tahk, kaum). Then this al was considered tantamount to au, and followed its changes, becoming (AA) in 17. and in most words so remaining to 19.; but in some words, as (palm, calm), although occasionally called (paam, kaam) in 17., and in Irish-English, p. 76, the combination seems to have generally resisted the change to (AA), and rather to have passed from (aau, aii) to simple (aa), as we still hear (paani, qaam), refined by some to (paahm kaahm...), seem kaam, paam kaam); while others, inorganically and purely orthographically, attempt to say (palm, kalm). 'See au, aun.

AN. In 16. French words now having the nasal vowel (aa) were heard as having (aun), p. 143, and hence the writing aun much prevailed then; and as we also find this orthography in 14., probably the same effect was produced on English ears by that French sound. In 16. aun was occasionally replaced by an, as command, command, but probably the sound (aun) remained. In 17. the sound became (Aan), and during 18. and even into 19. this sound remains, although there is, and perhaps always was, a tendency to fall, on the one hand into (aoo), on the other into (an), with their various refinements; see af. Thus romance romantië have now generally (oen), but (Aan) is occasionally heard, and forty years ago I was familiar with (romaaës, remaans…). In command, demand, etc., the contest is among (an aan, an aan, an aeen, ah aahn). In daunt, gaunt, haunt, gauntlet, jauant, taut, vain, all the last named sounds may be heard, and also (Aan), but never (an). It would be convenient to use (aan) for (an) in all words where it corresponds to the modern French (as). See au.

ANGE. In 16. the sound (i) was inserted as (aindzh), p. 120, and the combination was treated in 17. as if written -aine, the a becoming (ee) and then (ee) or (edi) in 19. In unaccented syllables it drops into (-ndzh, or -mdzh) properly (-yndzh), as oranges = (or‘yndzhyz).

AO. This is never recognized as a true English combination, though it occurs in gaol now (dzheel), and by accidental attraction in extraordinary, now (ekstra‘diner,), and foreign words, as: Pharaoh, aorta, Chaos, now (Pe‘er, e‘or‘te, Ke‘er‘es). The old pronunciation of gaol is doubtful. Extraordinary was probably always treated as a compound, compare “afford no extraordinary gaze,” Henry IV. part 1, act 3, sc. 2, v. 78.

AOU. This French mode of writing (au) is only met with in co.u.t, generally called (koust‘uk), but occasionally (koot‘shuk) in 19.

AR. The vocal character of r as (‘r) seems to have acted upon the preceding vowels in all cases after 16. Probably ar, when not followed by a vowel, remained (ar) or (aai), though unacknowledged, during 17. 18. 19., with the variation (aai), which is in 19.
frequently reduced to simple (aun). But
ar was frequently called (or) or (aun) in
17. and 18., and the sound is still heard
in American English. In the present
usage of the South of England the
(a) is practically dropped, pp. 196, 245.
See o, or, r.

AS. In a few words of 19. the s
seems to react on the a, as : pass, class,
mast, fast, in which a receives all the
variety of sound noticed in of, an, as
(poes pases, pas pass, pas paas, paas paabs). In other words, as : passage
classify, (classics sometimes follows
the rule of class), gas, (mustiff is doubt-
ful), no such action takes place. It is not
noticed by older writers, and is there-
fore probably modern, but it may be
merely a remnant of the 16. and earlier
(as).

ASTE, in 16. and earlier (ast), but
in 19. we have : haste, past, taste,
waist (now distinguished from waist,
which was not the case in 16., see p. 73,
note 1) = (weest, peest, teest, weest).
Here the action of s is precisely con-
trary to that in as. No clue to this
change has been discovered, but we may
conjecture an intermediate (weest,
paeest) during 17. Could there have
been an inserted i, as indicated by the
spelling waist in one sense of waist,
analogous to that in -ange, ash, lash,
p. 120, 264 ?

ATH. In : path, bath, lath, wrath,
th seems to have acted as f, s (see af,
as) in preserving the (a) sound, or its
modern variants (a we ah), short and
long, in 19.

AU. See awne. At a very early
period in 13. and 14. au, aw were
(an), which sound remained to 16.
Either at the close of 16. or beginning
of 17. it seems to have passed through
(au, aun, aun') into (aun), in which form
it was firmly established in 17. and has
remained with little or no change, but is
occasionally (aa). See aun, aun. In
19. we have isolated degradations,
compare : gauging, aunnt, haul, hauntuer,
Jerseaux, laurel, meerschaum, Men-
loass = (geedz'-iq, aant, haaal, noot'!
Dzhaarves, laer-el, mir'-shum, Meni-
keers), where the foreign words have
received an English pronunciation. [In
13. and 14. au generally (an), but be-
fore n, especially in 14. = (aun) in Nor-
man and English, infra p. 583.—P.]

AUGH. This must be considered
as a double combination au+gh, the
first part follows au, the second gh,
hence in 14. langh = (launh, lankih,
lauwh), in 16. = (launh, laun'), in 17.
(laef) or (laf), perhaps also (laaf) as
in 19. See af'. The gh becoming
occasionally mute, augh was treated
altogether like au, as in: taught,
canght = (taat, kaat).

AUN. See an.

AW. This was precisely equivalent
to au. In 14. it was used in the
middle as well as at the end of a word.
In 16. and afterwards it was seldom
used except when final, though we still
write: awl, awning, brawl, crawl,
prawn, sprawl, etc.

AWW. Orrin's form of (au), p. 488.

AY. Precisely equivalent to ai. In
14. used in the middle as well as end of
words; in 16. and afterwards generally
final. See references under ai, ei.

AYO. In the word mayor = (mez)
in 19., Ayo may be considered as a single
combination, but it is properly ay+o;
Mayor is generally called (Mee'o).

B. Ags. to 19. = (b), but in 19. not
unfrequently written when not pro-
nounced as in debt, doubt, lamb, bdel.
lum, subtle ; in debt, doubt it was not
pronounced and generally not written
in 16., p. 211, n. 2. It was mute in 17.
in all the cases in which it remains so
in 19.

BB. Like other doubled letters, had
the sound of the single letter (b), being
only used to indicate a preceding ac-
ccented short vowel.

C. In ags. always (k) or (k), but at
a later period of ags. the (k) seems to
have become (tsh), p. 511. See ch.
In 13. it is apparently not used before
(e, i), except in the combination -see =
-sse, and then it was (s); but in 14.
when French words were freely intro-
duced it was (s) before e, i and (k)
otherwise, and so it has remained ; but
see ve-, ci.

CC. In ags. the same as e, but indi-
cating that the preceding vowel was
short and generally accented; in later-
times either (k) or (ks) as in : account,
accident = (sekount; ak'-sidunt) in 19.

CCH in 14. used for teh = (t+tsh),
and pronounced (tsh), shortening the
preceding vowel.
CE. Till 18. this seems to have been simply *e* + *e*. At the end of 17. it changed to (sh) in ocean. See ci, st, ti.

CH. Not used in ags., but in 13. found in the signification of (sh), the sound into which (k) had fallen, and as such it has remained. In words from the Greek as architect it is (k) in 19., and probably was so in 14.; in words from the modern French as chaise it is (sh) in 19., but for French words introduced before 18. as chaim, the sound (tsh) seems to have prevailed. In a few final syllables as: Greenwich, Woolwich, Norwich, it has become (dzh) in 19., but in others it remains (tsh), as Ipswich, locally (ips'vdzh), p. 512, n. 2. In fuchsia = (fiu'shia) it is mute. See si-. In 13. it was rarely used as gh = (kh), p. 441. In modern Scotch it has the three sounds (kh, kh, kch) determined generally by the preceding vowel.

CI-. Till 18. this appears to have been simply *e* + *i*, but then it fell into (sh), as special, specious, official = (spesh'ul, spii'shess, офш'ул). See si-, ti-.

CK. This means kk or (k) from 14. to 19., but in 14. kk is frequently used.

CW in ags., p. 514, probably = (kw) that is nearly (kw); replaced by qu after ags.

CZ. This is a modern combination used chiefly in Slavonic words, as Czech, Bohemian (tshekh), but English (tshek): Czar is called (zaaz) in 19., but its Russian initial is (ts).

D ags. to 19. = (d). When, however, the past participle ed dropped its *e*, the *d* changed to (t) after mutes or hisses, as: capped, sacked, quaffed, kissed, at least in 17. and probably even in 13. as bisceodd = (blist), p. 444, note 2. In 19. *d* is palatized into (dj), (da), and ultimately (dzh), in many cases, acknowledged or repudiated, as: soldier = (sool'dzha), verdure = (vrd'yu, vrd'yer, vrd'jur, vzd'zha), the last having the same sound as *verger*. It is generally mute in: ribbon, Wednesday.

DD. Whenever used = (d), except in compounds.

DG = (dzh) from 14. to 19., before a palatal vowel, as *e*, i as: judge, bridging and sometimes this sound is retained, even when an *e* has been orthographically omitted, as judgment.

D In ags. *e* was either (th) or (dh) perhaps used indifferently in the MSS. which we have, p. 515. In some more recent ags. and in 13. *e* was used as the only sign for both (th, dh), in others *p* was the only sign. After 13. *e* seems to have been discontinued, and only *p* used in 14. and part of 15. Even in 13. *th* was occasionally used for either *e* or *p*. Judging by modern Icelandic habits *e* was (dh) when medial or final in ags. See also p. 541, n. 2. p. 555, n. 1.

E = ags. (e, ee), and this sound it seems to have retained to the middle of 15. Then some of the words with *e* long had the sound of (ii), but *e* short has remained (e) to 19. The use of long *e* as (ee, ii) fluctuated much during 16. and 17., but in 18. the sound (ii) established itself and has remained. See ea, ee. In 19. it has a few anomalies, compare: be, clerk, pretty, let, resin, hidous, open = (bii, klaaik, prätî, let, rozin, híd'jas, oop'n). Final *e* seems to have been pronounced, at least in the Southern parts of England, till the beginning of the 16. with certain exceptions, pp. 318, 364. During 15. most final *e*’s lost their sounds, and in 16. *e* final was considered to indicate that the preceding vowel had its long sound. The final *e* seems to have become silent even in 14. or 13. in the northern parts of the country, p. 410. Usages differ in existing MSS.

EA. In ags. *e* seems to have been a true diphthong (eo) with the stress generally on the first but occasionally on the second syllable, indicated by (ea, ea), p. 511. Although found in 13. pp. 467, 498, we may consider that with ags. it passed out of use. It is occasionally found in 14. as (ee). It was not till the middle of 16. that it was extensively used to mark those long *e*’s which retained the sound of (ee) in contradistinction to those which had fallen into (ii), the latter being written *ee*. This distinction was however not consistently carried out even at first, some words having the (ii) sound being spelled with *ea*, and all sounds having the (ee) sound not being spelled with *ea*. In 17. still more of the words with *ea* became sounded as (ii) without any change of spelling, and by the middle of 18. the use of *ea* generally as (ii), and rarely as (ee, ee) as in: bear, great, was established and
has remained to 19. Many words in ea which had long (ee) in 14. were pronounced with short (e) at an early period, as: head, lead s. In the earlier part of 18. the sound of (ii) was applied to words such as great, break, which are now generally pronounced with (ee). The 19. varieties are seen in: head, great, heart, guinea, head, react, area, = (inei, gien, gey), red, react, earl, ur. [In 13. and 14. ea = ee = ai = (ee) in Norman and English, infra p. 582.—P.]

EAU. This form was not employed in 14., but ev was used in place of it; even Levins, 1670, has beawtye. In the earlier part of 17. eau was (ou), in the later part and since, (iu). As usual, 19. furnishes varieties, as in: Beaw-champ, beau, beaudin, beauty = (Bisht's-wm, bou, bit'-in, bit-t'). [In 14. eau = eal, iau in Norman of 13. = eu, ev, = (uu) in Norman and English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

EE. Invariably represented (ee) in 14. and was generally used in closed syllables. At beginning of 16. it was sometimes (ii) and sometimes (ee). During the latter half of 16. it was fixed as (ii), the (ee) sound being generally written ea (which see). So it has remained. In 19. breeches is (britsh'yz).

E.E. A 17. and later contraction for eee in e'er ne'er and pronounced (ee) up to 19.

E-E. The affixed mute e rendered the preceding s long, and hence in 16. the sound was generally (ee), but in some cases (ii). The spelling was then discontinued. ea, ee taking its place, thus Salesbury's chepe, chese became cheap, cheese. At the beginning of 18. the sound of (ii) prevailed and has continued; but 19. shews: these, there, allege = (dhizh, dheez, aledh').


EH, the exclamation (ee, ee).

EI. In 13. seems to have been (ei, ai). In 14. when used, which was rarely, ey being the common form, it was (ai) sometimes (aa, i) pp. 264, 476. See the references given under at. In 16. it varied as (ei, ai), and in 17. became (oi) or more usually (ee, ee). During the latter part of 18. it changed to (ii), where it generally remains, with va-

rietios of (ai, ee) as in: conceit, veil, forfeit, heifer, depnosophist = (konsit', veel, faisit, nef'ter, doipnos'ofist). In the words either, neither, ei was generally (ee) in 18.; in 19. usage fluctuates between (ii, ai), some still use (ee), p. 129, n. 1. [Precisely the same as ai, ay, infrà p. 582.—P.]

EO. In ags. this seems to have been generally (eo) but occasionally (e6). In 13. eo interchanged with e and the sound was (ee), p. 487. The combination then went out of use, although both eo and ee are found in 14. in the sense of (ee). In 17. therefore it became (ii) in people, and even in yeoman, though this has now (oo). As eo is rare and has come from many sources it is very variously pronounced in 19., as: people, Georgies, yeoman, gallceon, Theobald, leopard, dungeon, Maccloud, fond, theologian, theology = (piit'p'l, Dzha-'dzéiks, zoo'men, gel(uu), Trb'-uld, lep'ad, dan'dzh'en, maeklaud; fiud, thei'-o'dzh'en, thiol'-o'dzhi). [In 13. and 14. eo, ee = (ee) generally, but often = (uu) in Norman, and sometimes in English, infrà p. 586.—P.]

EOU, EOW, perhaps (eou) or (eu), p. 498. [In 13. and 14. eow in Eng-lish = (uu), infrà p. 586.—P.]

ER in ags. was probably always (er, eor) or (e(r, e)er) with a strongly trilled (r). It is still so in Scotland and Ireland. There is no notice of its having varied in sound till 18., when (r) was recognized as a second sound of r and then er was taken to be (ea). In 19. Mr. M. Bell takes it to be (ar). I conceive it to be properly ('r), but to be generally ('x), see p. 196. Although there is no notice of this sound in older writers, yet there is reason to believe that something approaching to it was known in 16. and that it was well marked in the latter part of 17. In 17. the practice of reading er as ar in: clerk, Derby, servant, service, Hertford, still more or less heard in 19. came into use. Confusions of er, ar, are common in 13.

EU. The oldest sound of eu seems to have been (eu). In 14. it was generally (eu), but in words of French origin (yy), p. 302. The division became confused in 15., and in 16., though both sounds were heard, the line of distinction seems arbitrary, see lists, p. 301. In the course of 17. most eu became
(iu) though some remained (eu). In 18. this distinction was swept away and all became and have remained (iu), except after r when they are generally (uu) as Reuben, reew, rheum. In modern French words in eur as: amateur, grandeur, hauuteur, usage varies, (jur, eex, uu, x) being all heard occasionally, the last being meant for the French (or). [In 13. and 14. eu, ue, ew, w, each = (uu) in Norman and English, infra p. 586.—P.]

EW was identical with (eu), but was more often used, especially in 13., and afterwards became the common final form, see eu. Some of the words in ew passed into (oo, ou), at least as early as 17., but show, sew are in 19. usually spelled show, sow, and chew, eschew, shrew, shrewd have (iu) or (uu). In Shrewsbury, present usage varies between (uu) and (oo). Shrow was used in Shakspere's time. [See eu.—P.]

EWE only occurs in the word (ewe), in 19. (iuunu) and (3oo), which is found written awe in 13. p. 428 In the middle of a word eow occurs as ew + e, and the e may be or may not be silent, as in: served, breved, jewel = (sood, brudd, dzhuel). The word sewer, a drain, was (shoa) in 18., but in the middle of 19. the pronunciation (siu) prevails. Sewer a waiter is (siu'œ), one who sews is (s00'œ). [See eu.—P.]

EWW. Orrin's form of (eu), p. 488.

EY. The same as ei, see p. 459, n. 1, and the passages there cited. See also Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning. It was common in 14. as (ai), in 16. as (ei, ai), in 17. as (eei, ee), in 18. and 19. generally (ee) sometimes (ii), as in key, they, turkey, eying = (kii, dhee, tx'kii, oi'•iq). [See ei.—P.]

EYE seems to occur only in eye = (ai), which was (aih'œ, aikh'œ, ire') in 14., (ei, ai) in 16., and generally (ai) in 17. to 19. [In 14. eye = (ee'e), in Norman and English, infra p. 582.—P.]

F. In ags. (f) and between vowels often (y). In 13. to 19. generally (f), in the middle of 17. of became (ov) but it was not generally recognized till 18. The use of (r) for (f) was common in the dialects of 14., p. 409.

FF. Formerly in MS. of 13. and later ff was written for F. Throughout, in the middle of a word ff was = (f).

G. In ags. (g, gh; g, gh, zh, j). In 13. a distinction was made between g ʒ, g being pure (g, g), and ʒ guttural or palatal. When French words were introduced more freely in 14. g became (dh), and was then (dh) or perhaps (zh) in French. The sound (zh) is comparatively modern in France, though it was certainly known in 16., p. 207, and it is used in Modern English words taken from the French as: rouging (ruuzh'-œ).

GG. Identical with g, but always (g), never (dh), as in rugged = (rag'-œ).

GH. Even in 13. occasionally used for ʒ when sounded (gh, kh), the sounds (gh, j) being occasionally written (yh, y) p. 431. In 14. the sound was (gh, gh, kh, kh), and after labial vowels (gewh, wh). In 16. it was generally called (kh) but said to be lightly pronounced, and some call it (h), others (wh), and in a few words this (wh) had passed into (f). In other words it gradually became mute, in which case the preceding vowel had generally been previously altered. In 17. nigh, height, were sometimes called (soith, draith, naith) and the town of Keighley is (Kith'œl) in 19. An unhistorical h has been inserted in: ghost, ghastly, in which gh = (g). The (kh) sound is retained in: lough, (lakh), though it has generally become (k) as (lok), and as: shough, hough = (shok, hok) but sometimes (hak) in groom's language. The change of gh into (f) prevailed more extensively in 17. than in 19., and is still heard more in the provinces. Varieties in 19. : Callaghan, biccough, Bellingham, hough, ghost, laugh, Keighley = (Keal-an, nik-kap, Bel'mudzem, hok, goost, laaf), besides being mute. Augh, ough, must be taken as au+gh, ou+gh.

GL. Generally g+t, but in the Italian word seraglio, either (l) or (l) from 17. at least.

GN. Initial, up to 16. (gn), but in 17. and afterwards, the g was dropped. Medial, in 14. it seems to have been simple (n), p. 309, and this sound has generally remained to 19., although gn is incorrectly considered to lengthen the preceding vowel, merely because an e has been omitted, as in: sign, benign, impregn, impugn, in 14. (sih'nœ, be-ni'r'œ, impe're'œ, imp'y'œ), and hence in 16. (soin, benain; impreen, impyyn'), and in 19. (sain, binain; imprin', am-
piun'). In such combination as: dignity, signify, impregnate, repugnant, it was probably always (gn). Gill, 1621, acknowledges (qn) as (bemig-n), and some MSS. of 15. spell beningne. [In 13. and 14. gn medial = (n) in Norman and English.—P.]

ζ Used extensively in 13. and 14. for the sounds of (gh, gh, kh, kh, j). The figure of ζ in the sense (j) seems derived from ι. The form ι being identical with the written form of z, then in use, z was also used for ι even in print, see nz, z. After printing came into use; ι was soon discontinued, and gh, y became the usual forms. Sometimes confused in writing with s, p. 464.

gh used for (gh) in Ormin, p. 488.

II. In ags. initially, before a vowel (n) or (nx). Before l, r, n, w it may have originally (kh), but kh, hr, hnu, hnu seem to have become (lh, rh, nh, wh) in ags. times, p. 512, as they are in Icelandic, p. 544, and in 13. only (lh, wh) remained, which were frequently, interchanged with (l, w). (Wh) remains in 19., but is uncertain in the South. In ags, h final = (kh, kh). In 13. the sound of h seems to have been very uncertain, and in 14. it was lost in those words before which a vowel was elided. In 16. it was pronounced or not, differently from the present custom. In 19. it is much more pronounced than formerly, but in the provinces and among the uneducated, it is almost always lost.

I vowel, for i consonant see j. In ags. (i, ii) or (i, i). This sound seems to have been prevalent in 14., and the short value (i) lasts in 19. During 15. many of the words having long (ii) received short (i) owing to throwing back the accent, but those long (ii) which retained the accent became (ei), and retained that sound in 16., changing to (ai) in 17. where they remain. Only a few modern French words have (ii), as invalid (invulid') also called (invulid'), in another sense.

IA. [In 13. and 14. ia, ya, (in one syllable) = ai, ay = (ee) in Norman and English, p. 582.—P.]

IE, medial. Occurs occasionally in 14. as simple (ee). In 16. it was not much used, though it seems then to have been (ii) even in friend, and in 17. it was firmly established in a few words, without any historical or etymological reason, as (ii), and has so generally remained. In final syllables it was much used in 14. as (-ie) and in 16. as representing the 14. final -ie, -e, and sometimes -i. This termination was generally called (-i) but sometimes (ei, ai). In 17. it was gradually replaced by y. In a few words as die, lie, etc., it remains with the sound (oi). [In 13. and 14. ie (in one syllable) = ei = (ee) in Norman and English, infra p. 582.—P.]

I-E is properly identical with long i, which see; but owing to a prejudice against ending words in e, and to the necessity of putting an e after g final to indicate the sound of (dzh), it sometimes represented short i (i), as in 19. give, live, bridge. In modern words from the French it is (ii), as: antique, oblique, routine, machine, pique.

IEU is a purely French combination, and in 16. interchanged with eu being probably pronounced (eu); in 17. it was (iu), and so it has generally remained, thus lieu is (liu) or (lum), but lieutenant is usually called (leften'ent), or (luten'ent), and Beaujieu is (Biu'l). [Ieu, iêu in English, hypothetically = eue, eue Norman of 13., would, if found = (uu), infra p. 586.—P.]

IEW. In the word view written both vewe and view in 16., it is a final form of ieu. [See ieu.—P.]

IO. [In 13 and 14. io (in one syllable) = oi = (uu) generally, in Norman and English, infra p. 587.—P.]

IR not before a vowel, was probably not distinctly separated from er even in 14. as we have both first and first. In 16. and later it seems to have been the same as er, and in 19. it is either (a) or (â), as in: sir, dirt, fir.

IU. [In 13. iu (in one syllable) = iuw=(uu) in Norman and English, infra p. 586. On p. 506, n. 2, for (riu'dl) read (run'dl).—P.]

J or i consonant of the 16. and 17. centuries in which the distinction i, j was not observed in writing. In 14. introduced for French words, and with the French sound (zh) which it retains, though in France j has become (zh). In the Hebrew hallelujah it was and is read (j), but not so in other Hebrew words. (Maatsh-šaqk) for
Marjoribanks, is an obviously recent corruption.

K from its earliest introduction in the latest ags. to the present day has retained the same sound (k), with perhaps occasional unacknowledged palatalisation into (c).

KK, often used in 14. where ck was afterwards employed, as (k) after a preceding short accented vowel in a closed syllable.

KN initial, in 14. to 16. and perhaps for some time in 17. was (kn), but in 18. and 19. the (k) was dropped. It is, however, still pronounced in Lowland Scot. In 17. Cooper considered kn = (nh), p. 544, n. 2.

L from ags. to 19. = (l). The 19. colonel = (k'nl) is remarkable. L is occasionally not pronounced, but in disappearing leaves an effect on the preceding vowel as in: talk, half, alms, now (taak, haaf, aamz), where t seems to have been lost generally in 16. See al.

LD. The l was omitted in 17. in could, would, should, having been erroneously introduced into the first, though heard in 16. In Guildford, the d is usually silent.

LE final, after a consonant, from 16. to 19. = ('l), as: fiddle, beadle = (fd-'l, bli-d'1).

LF. In aft, the l was omitted in 16. and a became (au), which was (AA) in 17. and has in 19. returned to (aa). See al.

LH. Occasionally used in 13., probably for (lh), a remnant of ags. hl, see k, but as it interchanges with l, this pronunciation is doubtful.

LL. Much used as a final, and after a short accented vowel in a closed syllable, as (l). In compounds sometimes l + l, as in soulless. In Welsh words initially, the Englishman says (l) in Lloyd (Loid), Welsh (Lliw), but in Llangollen he generally uses (thl) as (Thlen-goth-len), Welsh (Llihan-goith-len).

LM, alm final, omitted the l in 16. changing -a into (au) which became (AA) in 17. and in 19. has become (aa) with its variants, as in balm, see al.

LN final presenting some difficulty in speech, one or the other letter was often dropped: t was omitted in Lincoln, and probably in Colne in 17., n was omitted in kiln in 17., changes which remain.


M, from ags. to 19. = (m). In 16. probably, and later, when following any consonant but l, r, m was ('m) as in chasm = (kaz-'m) although the ('m) was not allowed to constitute a syllable in verse. Some in 19 call -im, -rm (-l'm, -r'm) and this was recognized by Bullokar in 16.

MB final, probably omitted in 16. and certainly in 17. to 19. as imb.

MM medial only, after an accented short vowel = (m), from 14. at least.

MN final = (m) probably always in column; and initial = (n) probably always in mnemonics.

MP. Omp, which was a French combination, now called (oa), was in accented syllables in 14. = (uun), in 16. (ou) and 17. 19. = (ou) as in Comptor; unaccented it was (kon) as Comptroller. In 19. Campbell is often (kem-el). Otherwise (mp) is fully sounded as: camp, limp, thump.

N. From ags. to 19. = (n). Probably before f it fell into m, as in Banff. See also nc, nk, ng.

NC. Chiefly in compounds as in-come, or in the termination -nce, and then = (nk, ns); but some in 19. and probably early, changed n into (q) before e = (k).

ND. Generally (nd), but the d is sometimes mute, as in riband, handkerchief, and in the latter case the n becomes (q) notwithstanding the composite nature of the word = (naq'ker-fsher) in 17. and (naq'krisht) in 19.

NG. The difficulty of pronouncing pure (n) before the gutturals (g, k), caused n in such cases to pass into (q) in the earliest times. It is difficult to determine before 19. whether ng was simply (q), or (qq) when final or medial. In 16. and later the 19. customs obtained, namely ng is (q) when final, and preserves that sound generally when the word is lengthened by inflection, and in a few cases ng = (gg). Thus: I long, thou longest, longer s. a long way, have all (q), but longer a, longest a, stronger, strongest have (ag). Compare linger, finger, singer. When ng occurs before th, it is usually called (qk) as length, strength (leqth,
streqkth) or (qqh), but many persons say (lenth, streth) which Walker notices as an Irishism. In French words *ng* (ndzh) from 16., some in 19. say (nzh) but it is against analogy, as change, singe, (tsheenzh, sindzh) for (tsheendzh, sindzh). Though changing is used, singeing is employed to keep the word distinct from singing. *Ng* initial = (q), is only found in foreign words.

**NH.** A Portuguese combination for (n), used in 19. in ipeacuanha as (n).

**NK.** In one syllable = (qk), or as some believe (qhk) from ags. to present day, see *ng*.

**NN.** After short accented vowels = (n) from ags.

**NZ.** In a few names, the old form of Saxon *ng*, with the sound (q) as Menzie = (Méq'-iz), or with the sound (nu) as in Denzel = (Den'-vil), see Iz, and p. 310, note 1.

O. From ags. to 16. apparently (o, oo), but during 15. many long o fell into (uu) and for some the orthography was changed in 16. to *oo*, for while others the o was retained, as in *do, who, move* (dun, whun, muuv), and in 17. *go* was occasionally pronounced (gnu). The short *o* also frequently represented (u) both in 14. and 16. In 17. the long sound of o in those words in which it had not fallen into (uu) became (oo) and the short either generally (a, i) or even (e) in case of those words where o was (u) in 16. In 19. the long sound is (oo) or as some pronounce (oou) and even (ou), while the short sound is (i). Before *r* = (a), the long sound remains (oo), as *ore* = (oox) although some say (ox, oo'x) and even (oo',i) disyllabically, the same as *oever*. The short *o* before *r* = (a) is supposed to remain (a), as fork (faik), but it frequently becomes (AA) and the (a) is then often dropped, so that *Lord laud* theoretically (laad, laad) are confused as (laad). See pp. 196, 245. In comic verse *or, ow* are allowed to rhyme as in Hood's Epicurean Reminiscences of a Sentimentalist.

We went to——, it certainly was the sea-side,

For the next, the most blessed of *morns*,

I remember how fondly I gazed at my bride,

Sitting down to a plateful of *prawns*.

O never may mem'ry lose sight of that year,

But still hallow the time as it ought,

That season the "grass" was remarkably dear,

And the peas at a guinea a quart.

—Comic Annual, 1831, p. 171.

See the remarks under (q), infra § 2.

The properly short *o* is in 19. sometimes prolonged before *s, f* as *cross off* = (kros of, kros oof) or (kroos oof), and occasionally quite (kraas aaf). Possibly in 17., whole, stone were (nel, ston) as these pronunciations exist in America, which is tinged with 17., and are still heard occasionally here, being common in Norfolk; from (ston) apparently, or else from (stum), comes the familiar (ston) as a weight. The 19. varieties: are go, do, women, better, *on, son, woman, compter, choir*, reason = (goo, duu, wim'en, bet't, *on, san, wum'un, kain't, kwoi, riiz'un*).

**OA.** This is found in 13. when it seems to have been (aa) or (aah), or simply (aa), pp. 467, 498, 506. It was hardly used afterwards, till in the latter part of 16., when it was introduced as a new sign for (oo), the form (oo) being appropriated to (uu). In 17. the sound changed to (oo) at which it has remained, with a tendency in 19. towards (ou, ou). In the three words: broad, abroad, great, it was = (AA) in 17., and still so remains, though great is often called (groat), and in groats, a farinaceous food for children, it is (grits). It was occasionally o+a as in oasis, court, coagulate. [Infra p. 586.—P.]

**E.** Used in 19. in some Latin words as *focut, fortid* = (fii-tos, fe't-id).

OE was uncertainly used as a final in 16., with the sounds of (oo) generally, and (uu) occasionally, Levins 1570 has: Doe, foe, roe, toe, sloe, goe, forgoe, moe, hoe, loe (our loe!) with (oo), and: shoe, fordoe, vnдоe (but doo), with (uu), but considers these and: blo, twoo, no, so, tho, to, vnto, as words "in o desinertia." In 17. *oe* was generally (oo), but was (uu) in *shoe*. In 19. we find doe, sho, foltue, does = (doo, shuu, fel't, dez), and *oe* = o + e in: coeval, poet (ko,jivul, puc.et). [See oe, p. 586.—P.]

**O-E.** From 16., marks o long, but in some words, when *v* is the interposed consonant, as: move, prove, the *o* was sounded (uu) from 16. to 19.; love,
flood, Buchanan chamois, of good, w. The anomaly one (wan) is recent; the time of its introduction is unknown, but it was not before 18. Jones 1701 gives (wan, wans, wanst) as curiosities, but does not name (wan); Buchanan 1766 has (wan, wans) also, as the correct sounds, but Franklin, 1788, has (wan, wans). The Scotch (sin, xen) for ane, seem to have been introduced about the same time. The old sounds were, English (oon), Scotch (aan). The 19. varieties are: horse, cove, move, Tollemache, forehead, love, Bolingbroke, one = (hors, koov, muuv, Tæl'mash, forced, lov, Bui iqbruk, wan).

OEU. A French combination, naturalized as (un) in manœuvres, in 19? [A combination not known in France until 15., represented in 13. and 14. by the, etc., co, oe (= un).—P.]

OH has perhaps always represented the exclamations (oo), although the exclamation was not always represented by it.

OI is not found often enough in 13. to determine its sound, it was apparently (ui) in 14. in French words, but occasionally (ue ?), and sometimes (oi ?); in 16. (uni, ui) and also (oi), in 17. the (ui) class became (ai) and this remains as an unrecognized vulgarism in boil, point, etc.; in other words it was (ai) or (oi) or (oi), and occasionally (oi) is heard, often (aa). Dialectically oi was originally pronounced (ii, ee) in 14., p. 460, note 2. The 19. varieties are: chamois, connaisseur, avoirdupoisé = (sham' i, shem' wa, kones' res, avvidupoiz'). Choir was also written quire in 17., and since then pronounced (kwair'), but chariot was (kweir'ister). Memoir is called (mem' war) in imitation of the French. And sometimes oi = o + i. In 13. and 14. oi, oy = io = (uu) generally, in Norman and English, but very often also = (ee), infra p. 587.—P.]

OL, OLL. In 16. the i being sounded strongly as ('i) or (iu) developed a (u), so that al became (ool) in roll, toll, etc., p. 193. In 17. this remained or became (oul), and as such passed to Ireland. Even in 18., (oul) as well as (soul) was heard. In 19. (oul) is considered inelegant, but is common, and (oul) unbearable, and (ool) is the only recognized sound.

OU. In 13. and 14. = (oo), rare in 13., frequent in 14. During 15. this sound split into (oo) and (uu) and in the latter part of 16., oo was appropriated to (uu), where it has since remained, with a few exceptions. In some words the (uu) became (u) and some of these naturally fell into (a) in 17., as: flood, bleed; others, however, resisted this tendency, but became (u) as: good, wood, stood. These changes remain in 19. Before k it is the custom in Scotland to use (u) and in the North of England to preserve (uu), as: book (buk, buuk), while in the South the sound is fully (u) as (buk). In some words oo = o + o, as zoology, zoophyte, Laocoon = (zoal'odzh, zoov'obit, Leok'oon).

OK. There is no reason to suppose that this was different from (oor, or) in accented syllables; finals were generally written our up to 17. and even later, some still remaining, originally to indicate the sound (nur, ur) p. 394. In 17. these final unaccented or, our became (ar) or probably (a2, a), and are (a) in 19. In accented syllables, in 17. it was sometimes (oer) and sometimes (Ar) or (Aar), (foarm) a bench, (faarm) a shape, and this distinction remained through 18. It has nearly disappeared in 19. The present theoretical sound of or not followed by a vowel is (ax), which passes into (AA) and (Aa) simply, see the citation in o, p. 575. Before a vowel or = (or).

OU was introduced at the close of 13. and beginning of 14. for (uu) and so remained to 16., being occasionally used for (u), and occasionally for (oun), which was generally written ou. Some writers pronounced it (un) till past the middle of 16., but about that time the general pronunciation had become (ou), some words only remaining (uu) or (u). Most of the latter became (a) in 17., but some (uu, u) remain to 19. The ags. words in asce, ou, which came to be written ou, ou, were till 17. called (oon). In 17., (oo) without an after-sound of (u), was and still is the recognized pronunciation, but as the after-sound exists still as (oou, ooe), it probably existed in 17., and its repudiation by orthoepists then arose very possibly from the same cause that it still arises,
namely, the tendency to give this after-
sound (u) even in words where there
is no historical authority for its use, see ou. Before gh the sound was ap-
parently (ou) or (ouu) in 14. In 17.
this changed to (AA), gh being dropped, and has so remained. The 19. varieties
are: ough, soul, soup, hough, double,
would, noun = (AA, soul, soop, nook,
dob-1, wed, noun), and it is sometimes
ought. [In 13. and 14. ou = (uu) in
Norman and English.—P.]

OUGH, properly = ou + gh, and its
noted varieties arise from the combina-
tion of the varieties of these two sym-
boles, which they do not exhaust. In
19. they are: though, tough, hiccough,
plough, through, lough, hough, ought =
(dhoo, taf, nik-kap, plou, thruu, lokh,
nook, AA). These are only eight; as
there are at least seven varieties of
ou and of gh, ough might have had 49
sounds. It is not the combination of
the most varied pronunciation, as is
generally supposed, for simple o has at
least 10, and eo 11 uses, see o, eo.

OW in 14. was generally used for
(oou), but sometimes was written for
ou and pronounced (uu, u). In 16.
those words which had (oou) retained
the sound. In 17. they changed (oou)
into (oo) which remains. There is a
strong tendency to say (oou) in 19., and
as this tendency is as strong for no as for
know, orthoepists disapprove of it in
both cases, p. 234. Those words in which
ou was called (uu) in 14., were pro-
nounced with (ou) in 16., and (uu) in
17., which remains as how, now. The
19. varieties are: know, Cowper, know-
ledge, bellows, now = (noo, Kuru, no,
ydzh, bel’as, nou). Cowper is some-
times called (Kuwr). [In 13. and 14.
ou generally = (uu) in Norman and
English, and sometimes (oou) in Eng-
lish.—P.]

OY can only be regarded as another
form of oi from 14. to 19. It is now
generally final. [In 13. and 14. oy =
(uu) generally, but often = (ee) in
Norman and English, infra p. 587.—P.]

P. From ags. to 19. = (p). In cup-
board it is in 19. assimilated to the
following b, or rather lost = (kab-ud).

PH was introduced at the earliest
periods for Greek φ and probably
always = (f). In nephew the ph was a
mistake, and it is called (nev’iu) in
19. In Clapham, etc., ph = p+h and
the h is dropped (Klep’um). See phth.

PHTH, properly ph+th, is only used
in Greek combinations. From the diffi-
culty of saying (fth), the following
changes arise: phthisis, phthisical, apo-
phthegm, diphthong = (tai’sis, tiz-irkp,
apothem, dip-thao). The last at any
rate was in use in 17. We find even
in ags. (ph, kth) used for φθ, ρθ in
transliterating Greek, p. 523. Some
say (dif-thao) in 19.

PN initial loses p, as in pneumatics
= (niumat’iks).

PP after short accented vowels = (p).

PPP after short accented vowels = (f).

QU from 14. to 19. had the sound
(kv) or (kw). In a few words from
the French it is (k). These were for-
ermerly spelled without qu, compare 14.
lécuor, 19. liquer = (likuur, l ik’-k).

QUH. An old Scotch orthography,
probably representing (kch), the Scotch
substitute for English (wh).

R. From ags. to 19. before a vowel
= (r), and perhaps once (r). In Scot-
land always (r) or (r) wherever occur-
rering. There is no mention of any such
sound as (r, a) till 19., but there is
reason to think (r) may have existed in
16. and still more that it existed in 17.
For its use in 19. see table on p. 197.
There are many varieties of defective
utterance. The Northumberland burr
is (r) or (grh) and sometimes (gh, g)
simply, the French r grassèy ou pro-
vençal is (r), and the Dutch q ch have
often the same sound, thus schip = (scrp).

RE final, seems to have been occasion-
ally (er) in 14., but when the e was
indefectional (re) remained. In 16. and
later it was always (er, ur) or (i) in
French words.

RII initial in Greek words and in
Rhine, Rhone = (r).

RR. Generally after a short vowe
= (r), and possibly always so before 17
In 19. it is generally (r) after a short
vowel, except there is acknowledged
inflation, and then it is (er), but after
a long vowel it is always (rr). Thus:
marry, merry, spirit, horrid, hurry =
(marr’, merv’, spirit, hor’rd, hur’r).
But occur, occurrence, occurring, infer-
ing = (okr, okar’uns, okrr’q, mfr,
infr’q). After a long vowel rr is
seldom written, the single r being then
pronounced as (rr), compare: earring,
hearing = (iır’q, niir’q). But we have:
tar, tarry = covered with tar,
star, starry = full of stars, = (taaz, taarri
staar, staarrri), and in Ireland arr
always = (aarr) or (aer) as in barrel in
England (baar-el), in Ireland (baarr-)
or (baaer-rel), which seems to imply a
similar English pronunciation in 17.

RRH, in words from the Greek
only, in 19. used precisely as r, rr, as in
cataarrh, diairr'ioae = (ktaaax, dairrii-x).

8. One sense of this letter from ags.
to 19. has always been (s). Whether
in ags. it was ever (z) is difficult to
determine. Judging from the Ice-
landic, as the representative of medieval
languages, s was always intentionally
(s) in ags.; but the sound of (z) was oc-
casionally generated. Rapp takes it to
have been always (sj). This is not
necessary. There is no (z) in Spanish,
but the Dyak languages, and
probably many others. In 14. there
seems no doubt that s was occasionally
(z). There are some traces of its being
changed into (sh) by a following pa-
latal vowel at the end of 16 and be-
ginning of 17. (p. 215), and later on
in 17. Miège, a Frenchman, notes:
sure, leisure, usual, as being (shyrr,
lee-zhar, yyzzh-yal). See sci- si. These
sounds remain. In 19. we have: see,
as, sugar, leisure = (sii, ax, shug-x,
lezh-x). In some MS. of 13., st is
used for zt = (kht), probably a mistake
arising from the confusion of z, t, z,
see p. 464. [In 13. and 14. s = (s)
in Norman and English. — P.]

SC. The initial sc before palatal
vowels was (s) in 16., and probably always.
Sceptic was often spelled skeptic. In 19.
we have: viscount, scene, discern, sceptic
= (vaarkaunt, sian, dizan, skep tick).

SCH, in Greek words, seems to have
been considered as sk (sk). The words:
schism, schedule, have always presented
difficulties. They are now generally
(siz'-m, shed-iiul). In 13. and 14.,
and even later, sch was used for the mod-
ern sh, which see. In 13. it is some-
times she. The celebrated German
name of Rothschild, properly (Root-
child) = red-shield, is generally mispro-
nounced in English as (roths'-child),
quasi Wroth's child! where the familiar
word child has evidently misled the
reader to separate the combination sch.

SCI. Treated as si = (si) till 17.,
and then often (sh), as in 19., conscious
=(kon-shus).

SH. Orrmin uses this compendious
form of sh, but it did not come into
general use till end of 15., or beginning
of 16. It represented the effect of palat-
izing (sk), and hence converting it
into (sh). The sound (sh) has re-
mained. Sh is occasionally s + h, and
the h is occasionally dropped, as 19.,
compare mislap, dishonest, dishonour,
Masham = (misshap', disson't, dizon'.
Mass'em); but many persons ignore
the composition, and call: Horsham,
Windlesham [Hashem, Wind'lishem].
The pronunciation (thresh'-woold) for
threshold, ags. presc-wald, Chaucer
threishhold, 3482, Promptorium
thresch Wolde, is a modern etymological
error for (thresh'woold).

SI. Treated as (si) till 17., and
then often (sh), and sometimes (zh), as
19., mansion, decision = (mansion
diszhen). After a short accented
vowel it is more usually (zh), and (sh)
is then kept rather for ci-, or ssi.

SS was occasionally used for (sh) in
13. and 14. (pp. 409, 448).

SSI. See si.

T from ags. to 19. = (t); but see ti-
TCH intended as double ch, and
used after a short accented vowel;
the spelling is modern, the 14. form is cch.
In both cases the sound was probably
(tsh) simply.

TH, even in ags. used as a trans-
literation of θ, p. 523, and sometimes
used for θ, θ, in 13., having both the
sounds (th, dh), which were probably
distinguished as at present in 16.,
with some doubtful cases, as with (with,
width). Sometimes = t + h, sometimes
t + th, or th + h, being obviously con-
tractions. In a few words th = (t, d) in
16. In 19. we find: thyme, burt'hen
(generally written burden), thigh, thy,
pothouse, eighth, Southampton = (toim,
bad'n, thai, dah, pot'nuus, etth,
Southhem'ten). In Havelock th is
found for zt, as knith, but the sound is
unknown; it may have even been really
(th), compare sikh, Keighley, under Gh,
or else simply (t), p. 477.

TI. In the termination -tion, prob-
ably (si) from 14. to 17., and then
generally (sh), following si-, ci-, sci-
It may, however, have been exception-
ally (sh) even at the beginning of 17.

TTH, the Greek th, probably al-
ways (th) in Matthew.

θ, (th) or (dh). It is impossible to
distinguish between θ θ in ags. and
Early English. In 13. and 14. used
for both (th, dh). In ags. it is safest
to use (th) initial, and (dh) medial and final, p. 515 and p. 541, n. 2.

U vowel, for u consonant, see v. In ags. (un, u). In 13. the long u was (uu), but may have been occasionally pronounced (yy) likewise, while short u, though generally (u), was occasionally either (y), or (i, e). This usage of short u is too general to be considered as dialectic. In 14. long u was always (yy), the (uu) sound being represented by ou, ow, which see. Short u was more uniformly (u), though this sound was occasionally written ou, as the use of short u for (i, e) had not died out. In 19. this use of short u is only retained in: burial, bury, busy, business. In 16. long u was (yy), and short u (u) almost uniformly. In the beginning of 17., and perhaps earlier (p. 227, n. 1), long u was called (yy) some, and (uu) by others, the latter sound prevailed, and has remained to 19., except after r, as in truth, rule, and after an s palatalized into (sh, zh), as: sure, leisure, when it becomes (u), or is lost in 19. as: (truth, ruul, shuua, lezh-*). There is, however, great diversity of practice, and an (i) is more or less distinctly introduced before the (u), as (iud, su), or fused with it in (yy, uv). Again, in the middle of 17. short u became generally (a), which was a new sound in our language, not mentioned by any writer before Wallis, 1653, and the extent to which it was used is very undefined; but it prevailed generally, and only a few (u) remain in 19. which are now properly (u), as: put, full = (put, ful). This uncertainty is well illustrated by the dialects of the peak of Derbyshire, chap. XI. § 4. In 16. short u was occasionally called (r), but this was reckoned an affected pronunciation. The use of u for w in persuade, etc., is modern, imitated from its use in gu. In 16. or 17. arose the practice of using gu to represent a hard g (g) before an r, as in guess, a French practice, borrowed also from gu; and to this, and the wish to indicate a long vowel by final e, must be attributed plague, vague, fatigue, rogue, etc. With usual inconsistency a long vowel is not always indicated by a final -gue, as epilogue, synagogues, or tongue. These spellings are not found before 16., and they greatly vary in 16. [In 13. and 14. u accented and long = (uu) in Norman and English; u unaccented and short = (u, e, i), and u with the secondary accent = (e, e, i), infra p. 583.—P.]

UE used in later spelling as a final u, owing to a rule made by no one knows whom, no one knows why, and no one knows when, that no English word can end in u. [In 13. and 14. uu = eu = w = (uu) in Norman and English. p. 586.—P.]

U—E from 16. indicated long u, and was so pronounced, see u.

UI. This is not properly an English form, but it is found rarely in 14. in place of ot, with, probably, the sound (ui). In some words it may have been (yy), as in them it often interchanges with simple u, p. 135 and 170. See also p. 424, note 3. Sometimes it replaced i, see p. 452, note 3. To this custom is perhaps due its present existence in build, which Gill 1621 calls (byld, bold, bild, beld), and which is spelled beeld, bild in Promptorium. After g the u was only the French method of hardening g to (g) and the combination gui must be considered as g hard + i, as: guilt, guide, guile. In more recent 17. French words, ui was treated as long. u, and this treatment remains with the sound (uu) after r as usual, and sometimes after s, as suit, 17. (suit), 18. (shuut), 19. (siut). Occasionally ui = w + i, or = u + r. Hence we get the 19. varieties: mosquito, fruit, build, guiding, suit, languid, quirk, frution, anguish = (maskiti*), fruit, built, geld-. iq, siut, lag-gwtd, kwert, flesh-wn, ce-giu, ishw.) It is continually used in Scotch for (yy) or (a) as: pur*, guilt. [In 13. and 14. ui = uy = tu = (uu) in Norman and English, infra p. 586.—P.]

UO. [In 13. and 14. wo = ou = (uu), when u is not a consonant, in Norman and English.—P.]

UOY is confined to the word buoy, called by Hart 1563, (bues) = (bwee), in 17. (boi), frequently (bwoi) and by sailors (buul) in 19.

UR, from the time that u short represented (a), ur = (ar, a, r, i), see p. 200, or and r.

UW, an unusual and hence doubtful combination, probably (yy). [In 13. and 14. uw = (uu) in Norman and English, infra p. 586.—P.]

UY, a modern spelling, found in: buyi, plaguy = (boi, ple-gri). The sound of buy, spelled: bye, belye, 14. was (bi-ere, bai-e), p. 285. [In 13. and 14.
\[ uv = wi = iu = (wu) \] in Norman and English, infra p. 586.—P.

V consonant, for \( v \) vowel see \( u \). This seems to have been invariably \( v \).

W vowel, is only used as part of a diphthong, see \( aw, ew, ow \). Several writers, however, consider \( w \) to be always a vowel. In 13. occasionally used as long \( w = (uu) \), especially where \( (uu) \) dialectically replaces \( wu, wu \); in 14. occasionally used as \( ow = (uu) \); probably double \( v \) was dialectically used as the simple \( v \) vowel, that is \( w \), with its local sound \( (uu \) or \( (yy) \).

[In 13. and 14. \( w = ew = u = (uu) \) in Norman and English, infra p. 586. —P.]

W consonant, corresponds to ags. \( p \), which was \( (w) \) p. 513. This sound has remained to 19.; and is often considered to be a vowel, but it is not so, compare \( wo = wo, wo, woman = (wu, wud, uw-ey, un), in which those who consider \( w \) as a vowel have to write \( (uu, uu, um, eu) \), as is and probably was frequently said in various parts. Mute in 19. in: geneal, boatman, answer, Chiswick, sword, two, twopence; the last word was (to-pins) in 17. In ags. p. 514, and down to 16. at least \( wv \) initial was probably a labial \( r \) or \( (ru) \) as \( wr \), (ureit) in Hart, (wriit) in Gill, but simple \( (roit) \) in 19. Ags. \( wi- \), p. 514, was probably a labial \( l \) or \( (lu) \), which changed to \( (l) \) or \( (fl) \), compare ags. \( wlu, wo, Scotch wlon, modern flunkie; is like warm a transposition of ags. \( wa=ar \) ? Orrin has \( wiue \).

WH, in ags. \( hw \), was perhaps very early \( = (kw) \), but is not likely to have been \( (khw) \). In Scotland it is assumed as \( (kwh) \) see \( quh \). Probably in later ags. times it was \( (wh) \) and it has since so remained, though there was a tendency even in 13. to call it \( (w) \) when initial, and that tendency is strong in the South in 19. In 16. \( wo \) was called \( (whu) \), which in 17. had become \( (nuu) \) where it remains, \( (woh, whu) \) being heard from elderly provincials. The final \( wh \) in 14. formed the transition from \( (khw) \) to \( (f) \), and in Aberdeen \( (fat) \) is still said for \( (kwhat) \) *what*, the same transformation occurring initially.

WL. See \( w \).

WR. See \( w \).

X was in early writings used for Greek \( \chi \) in \( Xp\sigma\tau\nu s \), whence the contractions \( Xp= Xp, Xmas, etc., for Christ, Christmas, etc., and was then \( = (k) \). Its general early use was for Latin \( x \), and it seems to have been always \( (ks) \) and never \( (gx) \). In 19. it is sometimes \( (gx) \), and being treated as \( k+x, \) or \( g+x, \) the latter letter may be palatalized to \( sh, zh \). In French words it follows the French pronunciation \( (s, z) \), and as an initial in Greek words as pronounced in English it was \( (s) \) in 17. and is \( (z) \) in 19., as Xantippe, Xenophon, Xerxes, now = (Zenit*πi, Zen-\( u^e, Zerk-\tau i u) \). Hence the 19. varieties: except, beaux, vex, axiom, example = (ekep, booz, veks, ak-shurn, egzaam p'1). [In 13. and 14. \( x = (s) \) in Norman, and often perhaps in English. —P.]

Y vowel, was in earlier ags. \( (y, yy) \), but in later ags. times it was confused with \( (i, ii) \). In 13. to 16. it was used indiscriminately with \( i \), as of precisely the same meaning. In 17. and subsequently the use of \( y \) was more limited to the end of words, where it arose from the termination \( -ig \), the \( y \) being in 14. the substitute for \( \chi \), in this sense, and the \( i \) omitted. Throughout, the Latin practice of transliterating Greek \( \upsilon \) by \( y \) was followed. The pronunciation of \( y \) vowel was the same as \( i \) vowel throughout, see \( i \). In 19. compare marry, myrrh, flying = (merr, mi, fbr-irq.)

Y consonant. This was a substitute for ags. \( \chi \), and its use probably arose from the sound of \( \chi \) as \( (x) \). It has been used for \( (x) \) from 14. at least. It was also used in contractions for \( f \), as \( ye \) \( v^2 =e \) xet.

YA. [In 13. and 14. \( ya \) (in one syllable) = \( ay = ai = (ee) \), in English and Norman, infra p. 582. —P.]

YE. [In 13. and 14. \( ye \) (in one syllable) = \( ey \) in medial, and sometimes probably in final syllables = (ee), in Norman and English, infra p. 582. —P.]

YH. This is found in 13. in place of \( \xi \) when it had the sound of \( (a) \), p. 431.

Z is not an ags. letter. In 14. it was freely used for \( (\chi) \) even in plurals, see *Alliterative Poems*, edited by R. Morris, and also for \( \chi \), and had therefore both sounds. The use of \( z \) for \( \xi \) remained into Roman type, see \( \xi \) and \( s \). In 16. its use was confined to \( (z) \), and it was abandoned in plurals. In 19 it is palatalized and a few Italian \( z \) 's are found, hence: mezotint, zeal, azure = (met-\( so\tau i t, z i l, epzhi) \). [In 13. and 14. \( z, es = (s) \), in Nor. and Eng., and sometimes perhaps \( (ts) \) in Norman. —P.]
Having learned that Mr. Payne in the course of his Norman investigations (supra p. 438, n. 1) had arrived at several results which were inconsistent with the preceding investigations, I requested him to give me that brief statement of his opinions which has been added in brackets to several of the above articles, and also to furnish an abstract of the grounds on which he relied. This he has been so kind as to do, and it seemed to me so important that the reader should be in possession of his arguments, that I have here appended them in extenso. In his Memoir, above referred to, the several points here shortly touched upon will be fully illustrated by citations and references. It would be impossible fully and satisfactorily to criticise his investigations without studying those additions. At present I can only add brief notes, pointing out the radical difference between our views, which, as respects ay, ey and long u, will be further illustrated at the beginning of Chap. VII. § 1, and state my opinion that, as far as English is concerned, sufficient weight has not been given by Mr. Payne to the dialectic peculiarities of the scribes of MSS. Thus it appears to me that the Alliterative Poems in the West Midland dialect of the xivth century, afford no proper evidence for Chaucer’s pronunciation in the South, and the late xvth century MSS. of Alisaunder used by Weber (supra p. 451, note, col. 2) is no authority at all for the pronunciation of the xiiiith century to which the original poem belonged. The assumption that so many forms were used to express the same sound, so that the vowels (uu, ee) must on this theory have been predominant in the English and Norman of the xiiiith and xivth centuries, seems also incompatible with the known tendency of all illiterate speech to diversity of pronunciation. Thus stone was ags. (staem), and is in ordinary Scotch (steen), but in Aberdeen (stiin), in Cumberland and Westmoreland is dubiously (stjaan, stiir’aan, stiie’en), in the xvinth century probably (stoan) as it now is frequently in the provinces, in the xvinth century and still theoretically (stoan), but probably often in xvinth century, as it still is in Norfolk and the United States (ston), whence the common form (stou) for the weight, and perhaps the most usual emphatic southern pronunciation is (stoun). Such diversities in olden times must have produced diversities of spelling. See also supra p. 473, note, col. 2, for (ee, ei). I take this opportunity of pointing out the necessary deficiencies of my own investigations upon English pronunciation during the xvinth century, which ought to have been based upon an extensive examination of existent English dialects, and a thorough comparison of the various MSS. of the same works written by scribes in different parts of the country, as checked by the knowledge thus gained of their local peculiarities. Had I waited until this was possible my book would probably never have been written, and the circumstances under which this part of it was unavoidably composed did not even leave time to undertake so thorough an examination as I could have wished of all existing documents and sources of information. The reader is therefore requested to consider Chap. V. rather as the commencement than
the completion of a research, which the labours of such competent investigators as Mr. Murray for the Scotch dialects, Mr. Sweet for the Northern languages, and Mr. Payne for the Norman element, will contribute to advance, but which may require many years of patient study both of existent and extinct dialectic usages, not only in England, but low Germany and Normandy, to bring to a thoroughly satisfactory conclusion.

The remainder of the text of this § is written by Mr. Payne; the footnotes are by myself, but have been signed for greater distinctness.

Brief Abstract of Some of Mr. Payne's Researches on the Value of the Letters in Norman and English, during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.

AE, EA, AI, IA (in one syllable), EI, IE (in one syllable), with the variants Ay, Ya, Ey, Ye = (ee).

Assuming the Norman long or tonic e to have been (ee), and finding it in Norman poems of 13. frequently rhyming with ei, ai, as: feel conseil, defens mains, estre maistre, nestre maistre, fere plaire, retraire manere, brut set, plein foren, reis Engles, reis pes = paix, consail vessel, reis lees = lois, jammes curteis, feiz turnez post participle, re-fait De, etc., etc., and finding also: faire fere, maistre mestre, aver aver, conrai conrei conre, trait treit tre, etc., etc., continually interchangeable with each other, we can scarcely help concluding that Norman ai, ei = (ee). We infer then that paix of the Saxon Chronicle and Layamon, pays of Robert of Gloucester, payse of Dan Michel, were (pees), and this inference is confirmed by finding the ai, ay, translated into e, ee in pes of Owl and Nightingale, pee of Pier Plowman and Chaucer, whether these be considered as literal adaptations of the Norman form (see above), or phonetic representations of the English ai. On the one hypothesis the Norman ai seems to be established as (ee), and the Norman faila, fai, crei, which are found rhyming respectively with English tale, dat, away, must have been (feel-e, fee, cree); and if so it is difficult to see how the English words could have been other than (feel-e, dee, awee). On the other hypothesis ee represents, at the will of the writer, English ai, and, therefore, the Norman and English phonetic systems being by hypothesis the same, English ay, ey, would, correspondingly, represent Norman e, ee. And this we find to have been the case. The Norman word jornoe or journe, became in Genesis and Exodus journe, which in the Alliterative Poems is journey, and in Mandeville journey, probably pronounced (dzhernee). The English ay is here obviously employed to represent the Norman ee. The word contrey in Alissaundar, contraye in Dan Michel, similarly represents Norman cuntro or contree, and in regard to both words it is difficult to see how the fact that the English ay, ey = (ee), could have been more clearly expressed. The ay, ey, being no part of the Norman word, would appear to have been chosen as suitable phonetic equivalents to the Norman ee. These words contrey, contray, jorney, rhyme in their turn with Norman fey, fay, and thus shew that the Norman ai, ei, were also = (ee). The general argument is con-

1 See cause for doubting the generality of this conclusion, supra pp. 454-459.—A.J.E.

2 This point is considered in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning.—A.J.E.

3 For evidence that day, way were not so pronounced, see the table p. 489.—A.J.E.

4 This is also Rapp's hypothesis, but to me the origin and progress of the orthography appears to have been entirely different. Supra p. 425, and infra p. 588, n. 4.—A.J.E.

5 West Midland, and hence of no authority here. See supra p. 451, n. c. 1.—A.J.E.

6 There is no contemporary MS. authority for Mandeville.—A.J.E.

7 A discredited MS. for this purpose, supra p. 451, note, col. 2.—A.J.E.

8 Dan Michel's use of ay is considered in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning. There is no reason to suppose that such an independent orthographer was guilty of such a solecism as to use ay and e indifferently.—A.J.E.

9 There is a great accumulation of evidence on the other side, already given in this work.—A.J.E.
firmed by the rhymes: maide misrede, maide grede, in Ówl and Nightingale, and: maide muchelhede in Floris and Blanchefur (E.E.T.S. ed. p. 52),1 which form a parallel to: retraire fere, maistre nestre, etc. in Norman. We conclude then that ai, ay, ei, ey, whether Norman or English was in 13. and 14. = (ee). 2 This sound may have persisted generally, therefore, to 15. also, but in 16. Mr. Ellis’s authorities and arguments (supra pp. 118–124) seem to prove that it was for the most part superseded by (ai), though the old pronunciation was probably still extensively used. 3 But the sound (ee) had other graphic representations. On the hypothesis, which there seems much reason for adopting, that both in Norman and Early English the transposition of the vowels of the digraph, made no difference in the sound, ae, ea, ai, ia (in one syllable), ei, ie (in one syllable), with their variants ay, yo, etc. would all = (ee). There is, however, no adequate space here to illustrate this position.

\[AU = (au) \text{ and } (aa) \text{ or } (aa)\],

As au in Latin was most probably pronounced (au), there seems every reason to believe that the initial and medial au was the same in Norman. This is confirmed by a remark of Beza’s (supra p. 143, note), who especially distinguishes the Norman pronunciation of au from the ordinary French, telling us that in Normandy in 16, autant was pronounced nearly—perinde penae acsi scriptum esse—a-o-tant. 4 This pronunciation is also, I believe, still heard in some parts of Normandy. The old spellings Auwst in for Austin (supra p. 489) faute faute, maugre maugre, haute haute, hanteyne, corruption of hauntain ?, patetonere pautoniere, etc. seem to confirm this notion. In the case, however, of the termination—ance, found not earlier than 14., and then taking the place of a previous -ance, there is much reason to doubt whether the rule applies. 5 The u is evidently not organic. It seems to be merely intended to lengthen out the sound of the a, and thus emphasise more strongly the accented syllable. It is most unlikely that a sound which had been established for ages as (aa), should suddenly change to one so different as (au). 6 This view is confirmed by the fact that in Anglo-Norman texts—it is found in no other—once very frequently rhymes with ances. The same remarks apply, mutatis mutandis, to such words as graunt granter, haunt hanter, command commander, etc., which were most probably pronounced (graant, haont, kommaand), 7 if indeed the u was really sounded at all.

**U Long, Tonic = (uu). U**

If the medieval Latin long u was (uu), which is generally acknowledged, 8 it is difficult to see how the Norman long u, which often rhymed with it,

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1 These are considered in Chap. VII, i, 1, near the beginning.—A.J.E.
2 The evidence here, necessarily imperfectly adduced, does not incline me to change the opinions heretofore expressed, of which corroboration is afforded by an examination of the usages in seven MSS. of Chaucer’s Prologue and Knightes Tale, in Chap. VII, i. 1. See also p. 458, n. 1.—A.J.E.
3 This hypothesis seems to me inconsistent with the general custom of the change of pronunciation. The change of (ai) into (ee) is common, p. 238, and could not but have proceeded with different velocities in different countries and parts of the same country.—A.J.E.
4 Beza, as quoted by Diez, also says p. 41, “mejores nostri—se efferebant ut a et i, raptim tamen et uno vocis tractu prohaui, quomodo offerimus interjectionem micantius hat, hoi, non dissyllabam, ut in participio havi (exsus), sed ut monosyllabam, sicut Picardi interiores hodie quoque hanc vocem aimer pronuntiant.” The histories of ay, aw are parallel.—A.J.E.
5 See the quotations from Palsgrave and Salesbury, supra pp. 143 and 190, for the reality of (au).—A.J.E.
6 There is no change of the vowel, merely the insertion of a new vowel, which did not produce a labialisation of the first element for more than 200 years.—A.J.E.
7 This agrees most agrees with Bullokar’s views.—A.J.E.
8 It is no more likely that different countries should have pronounced the Latin u alike in the middle ages, than at present. The French may then, as now, have called it (yy), supra p. 245, l. 27. It was (yy) in England in 16. See infra p. 556, n. 5, for remarks on the provincial character of the Alliterative Poems and Sir Gawayne.—A.J.E.
the answer is, that they are long as being under the accent, so that -us, -um, would be (-usu, -umum). Applying this test to English we should treat the us in English thus (C. T. v. 13384) and the -us in ignotius, which rhymes with it, as both long, and = (usu). If then the Norman u was = (uu), as most of the authorities allow, though some of them speak of exceptions which they do not cite; adventure, quoted on p. 298, would have been (adventunre) and lure, with which it rhymes, (luure), and nature (nature). (See nature written nature in Alliterative Poems, p. 59, and saule rhyming to remoue in Sir Gawayne, p. 47). There appears indeed no proof whatever that the French (yy) was known in 13. and 14., but there are many proofs that u was consistently (uu). But as it is generally allowed that the English or Anglo-Saxon long u of those times, with which the Norman is continually found rhyming, was (uu), proofs are scarcely necessary. The greater difficulty lies in proving that the short u, or unaccented u, was not (u, u), but a different sound, approaching, if not identical with the obscure sound heard in the atonic a in a main, e in the main, o in to-day, and represented generally in palaeotype by (u) or (a, e, e, i). It is highly probable that this sound scarcely, if at all, differed from the atonic o of the French le in le livre, and that, in time, it generated the proper French eu. The development of this doctrine is essentially connected with a true conception of French, or, as far as we are concerned, the Norman system of accentuation. The Norman dialect, and the remark applies equally to

the actual Norman patois,—seems to have been characterised by an extremely strong and emphatic delivery of the accented syllable. The general principle of the accentuation consisted in singling out for the tonic accent the syllable which was accented in the Latin original, so that, for instance, Norman raisum from ratisān-en was accented raisun, honor or honur from honūr-en honur, etc., with a very forcible impact of the voice upon the last syllable. The effect of this predominant influence of the accented syllable would necessarily be, the transformation of the atonic syllables. We see evidence of this result in the not unfrequent appearance of honur, enur, and annur in the place of honūr honur. An instance, however, perhaps bearing more directly on our present purpose, is afforded by the derivatives of the old French or Norman cor or our (corur). There is little doubt that this was originally pronounced (kuur). When, however, by the addition of -age, there resulted corāge, curāge, and courage, all 13. forms, both the quantity and quality of the original (uu) was affected, and almost of necessity the atonic cor, cur, cour, would become (kur), and the entire word (kuraadzhu). In the process of development corāge next receives the syllable -os or -us, and becomes coragōs, coragūs, curagōs, or curagūs, all of which are admissible Norman forms. The lately long vowel a is now changed both in quantity and quality, and has become (e, i, 3) or (o, u), it is not easy to say which, and the result may be probably considered as (koregus). Similarly it might be shown that curt cour = (kuur), becomes

the old Norman system of accentuation, and that evidently adopted by Chaucer, which agrees with classical French, supra p. 331. A.J.E.

Admitting that this obscuration of unaccented vowels often occurs, and has been especially active in many languages, I must deny it to be a necessity of pronunciation, any more than the prolongation of a vowel by the accent, witness the clear unaccented but extremely short a, and the decidedly short but accented o in the Italian amò (amo). See infra p. 585, n. 4.—A.J.E.

Not having sufficiently studied Norman orthography and pronunciation I am unable to speak on this point.—A.J.E.

If it seems to me extremely doubtful that such a sound as (a) was known to the Normans, when regard is had to its very late introduction into England, supra p. 172.
curtésis (kurteis-e), and this again curtésis (kurtesii-e), or perhaps, at least occasionally, (kurtesec). The last word became, as is well known, in English curtésis, courteisy, courteysie, all of them, by the above theory, being pronounced (kurtesi-e) or (kurtese-e), or very nearly, accenuit mutato, as the modern courteysie, that is (kor-teis). The spelling could not on this theory have affected the pronunciation, which was determined by the power of the tonic accent obscuring and transforming the independent value of the atonic syllables. It may further be observed, that the u in the former cur, being so close to the predominant accent, became positively eclipsed by it, and would therefore be exceedingly short and obscure, as (y) in English, while the u in the second cur, receiving a secondary accent, would probably have a clear and definite sound, equal to (kar). It is this sound which the English derivatives would receive when no longer under the influence of the Norman accentuation, but subjected to the entirely different system of the English. Hence the Norman: lurnée, trubler, colár, cumfort, suverain, doxaine, covért, custume, doblér, curftne, hurtér, cumpainée, turnoimènt, sjuarnér, sueår, etc., when they became respectively: journey, trouble, colour, comfort, sovereign, done, covert, custom, double, edtrain, hurt, company, tourment, sōjourn, sueour, etc. would naturally be pronounced very nearly as they now are, or very recently were.

In the present sound then of these words, we see the Norman influence still persisting. Exceptions may no doubt be taken to this general assertion, but the main principle can hardly be affected by them. It may be further remarked, that the continual interchange in early English, of u, e, i, in such instances as: werk wirk, chirche chereche churche, kirtel kartel kurtle, erth urthe, sunne sinne, sturn stern, cherl churl. segge sigge sugge = say, in bathud, etc., compared with bathe, etc., in tellus for telles, lédus and lédys for lées, and in such plurals as femdus, sydus, cúpus, (see Anturs of Arther passim,) tends to shew that the short u had the same sound both in Norman and English.

It is impossible to conceive that the unaccented us, which merely stands in these instances for -es, was pronounced (us). It must have had the same obscure sound as the u in curteysie. When, however, this obscure unemphatic sound is required to take the accent, then it assumes the clear utterance of the u in curtesie. Hence the u in churche, urthe, sunne, sugge, was not unfrequently found interchanging with e and i short. The sound then of short u seems, in words of more than one syllable, to depend on the principal accent, and when atonic to be (a), and this was also the sound in monosyllables naturally short, as church, churl, etc. The merits of the general theory, which I have here attempted to expound, can, however, hardly be fairly judged of by this brief and imperfect representation of it.

I do not feel satisfied that the above account of the successive formations of cour, courage, courageus, is historically correct.

A.J.E.

1 If this termination were ever -(ee), it was only through the West Midland confusion of i, e, and rejection of final e, certainly not from reading ije as ei, and calling that (ee). It was dialectic, not literary. A.J.E.

2 The absolute ignorance of the sound (a) shown by all the authorities of 16., makes me inclined to reject at once the hypothesis that courteysie could have been called (kar-test) in 14. With regard to the second syllable of the word, more is said in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning. A.J.E.

3 Although after the invention of printing, spelling may have affected pronunciation, in 12. 14. and 14., we have no reason to assume anything but the converse, namely, that pronunciation affected spelling. A.J.E.

4 But they were not so pronounced in 16., as we know by direct evidence, and they are not now so pronounced by the illiterate in our provinces. It was only the other day that I heard a porter at Clapham Junction shouting out many times in succession (kiap'am Dishquashun), with pure (u) and not (a), and without any obscurcation of the unaccented vowels. A.J.E.

5 The history of the introduction of (a) being now on record, and the battle between (a, u) being still undecided, I do not see how this conclusion can be admitted. A.J.E.

6 See supra p. 293, and 300, n. 2, also p. 423, p. 507 and numerous instances in Chap. V. § 1, No. 3. But there seems no reason for supposing this u to have been anything but (y, e, i). A.J.E.
MR. PAYNE ON OE, OI, UE, UI.  Chap. VI. § 1.

OE, EO (in one syllable), OI, IO (in one syllable), and the variants EOU, EOW, EOUW, EW, IEU, IW, IEW, W, UW, each = (uu).

The illustrations and arguments by which the above proposition is supported, are given at some length in my paper. A brief summary, which under- states the proof, is all that can be given here. Assuming that Norman long or tonic \( u = (uu) \), it was ascertained 1 that Norman \( ui \), and inferred 2 that the inverted \( iu \), had the same sound as \( u \) alone, that is, that \( nuit = (nuu) \), fruit = (fruit), 3 \( riule = (ruul'e) \). These conclusions depend on the light shed by Norman and English on each other. 4 Thus in English texts frute rhymes with dedute, i.e. Norman deduit, and again frut with dedut, whence \( u = u = w = (uu) \). Again Norman suir, siur to follow, becomes siw in Layamon, suwe in Ancren Riwle, suwe in the Alliterative Poems, and sewe in Chaucer, shewing ew, ui, iu, iu, uu, uuw = (uu), and therefore sewe of Chaucer = (suwe). 5 The argument thus gained, applied to triu-e (Robert of Gloucester), trewe (Chaucer), truwe (Occeleve), and trewe (Audley), gives theoretic (truwe), which is shewn to be correct by true in Alliterative Poems, p. 27, where due also rhymes with it, supported by Promptorium Parvulorum truwe. 6 Thus, in addition to the digraph above given, we and eu also appear to = (uu). If then the ags. trewe, which appears as trewe and trenewe in Layamon's earliest text, and as trewe in the later, had a sound different from trewe, truwe, or true, it could only have been for a short time, and it may probably be assumed to have been the same. 7 The supposition, then, that \( ew \) had one sound in words of Norman origin, and another in those of native growth (p. 302) is unnecessary, and indeed inconsis tent with the fact that, though it may be true that Chaucer does not rhyme together words in \( ew \) of different origin, other writers do. As a case in point we find in Alliterative Poems, p. 13, true English, blue probably Norman, grewe preterit. remove Norman, and again knewe English, (which is also found written knwe) sawe Norman due Norman, hue English, untrue English and remove Norman, all rhyming together. 8 We note also in this text Chaucer's neave always spelled nuw or nuwe. We should, therefore, perhaps read such rhymes as those found in Lyrical Poetry, p. 37, viz: reowe, newe, heowe, kneowwe; as (ruu'e, nuu'e, xuu'e, knuwe). Many confirmatory instances might be cited from various texts, but the above may suffice to show the great probability that Norman and English \( ew, ui, iu, eou \), etc. were in 13. and 14. = (uu), and hence that the modern pronunciations of: ruc, true, sue, suit, rule, pursuie, bruit, fruit, and the vulgar sound of: nuisance (nuu), duty (duu), new (nuu), beautiful (bun), are but echoes of that of 13. and 14. 9

On Layamon see p. 496, and on the Ancren Riwle, see p. 506. The orthography of these works offers so many points of difficulty that it cannot be safely appealed to for any proofs. The whole of our Western provincial pronunciation has first to be studied.  

A.J.E.

1 The proof must be sought in the paper referred to, and having not seen it, I can only express my own doubts of its correctness founded upon my own small amount of observation, see p. 438. — A.J.E.

2 Apparently from the theory that an inversion of the order of the letters in a digraph does not affect its value, which is to me extremely doubtful. — A.J.E.

3 In nuit, fruit, the i, still pronounced, is as much a representative of the lost guttural, as the y in day, may. — A.J.E.

4 Which I doubt. — A.J.E.

5 An examination of the age and locality of MSS. is necessary before judging of the value of their orthography in determining sounds. The Alliterative Poems, Sir Gawayne, and Anturs of Arthur are West Midland, in which part of the country a very peculiar pronunciation still prevails, so different from the South Eastern, that the ancient orthography of that district requires especial study. It is very probable that (uu) was unknown in those districts as a sound of \( u, w \), but that it was always replaced by (yy, y) or some cognate sound.

6 In the last note it was conjectured that the \( w \) of the Alliterative Poems may have been (yy). As regards the Promptorium the author only knew the East Anglian pronunciation (supra p. 23, note 2), and to this day the East Anglians use (yy) for (uw). The above inference is therefore in the highest degree hazardous. — A.J.E.

7 On trewe see p. 498, l. 14. No Anglo saxon scholar would be likely to admit eo to have had the same value as \( u \). See p. 511. — A.J.E.

8 Probably all these rhymed as (yy), as they still would in Devonshire. See supra n. 5. — A.J.E.

9 This conclusion is directly opposed to all I have been able to learn on the subject. — A.J.E.
It is remarkable that two sounds so remotely allied as (uu) and (ee) should frequently, both in Norman and English, be used one for the other. Nothing, however, is more probable than that oi in early French generally, must have represented the sound (uu). Nothing at the same time is clearer than that in the Norman texts the oi of Central France is very generally to be read (ee). Thus the forms moi, toi, etc., which in proper Norman would be mei, lei, etc., are by no means excluded from Norman texts, but are constantly found rhyming with the Norman ei or ee. Thus tei rhymes with moi, moi with foi, voir with veer, roi with lei, etc., and are therefore to be pronounced (mee, veer, lee), etc. The concurrence, however, of such forms as: genoil genou, genoul, gene; acoiller, acouiller, where wi = (uu); aguille; angoise, anguisse, angusse; noit, nuit; poi, pou peu; fuseyn (rhyming with corbiloun in De Bibliesworth, Wright p. 158), seems to show that ei, ui = (uu). This conjecture may be further confirmed by assuming oi = oe, and observing that oile oil of 12. becomes oele and uille in 13., and huile in 15., while bouf, boef are bouf = (buuf) in De Bibliesworth. This word he rhymes with ouf ouf, of which the variants were oef, uef. Again boe, moe, reo of 13., become later boue, move, roue. But oe also = (uu), as is seen in the numerous words of the form empessor, etc., which became emperour, etc. The most difficult case is that of io = oi = (uu). It is proved, however, by the formation of such words as mansion, which became by the loss of the n and fusion of io into u, mansun. Raised may be explained in the same way, as may also macsun mason, from low Latin macio. The word in its Normanised form machun occurs in Layamon, and is erroneously translated machine by Sir F. Madden. These views respecting Norman oi io, oe eo = (uu), are singularly confirmed by English examples of adopted Norman words. Mr. Ellis's inferences (p. 269) I should generally endorse, except that, as before stated, I should pronounce botste, for which buiste is also found (buist'e) not (buist'e), and perhaps Loi, coy, and boy (Luu, kuu, buu). Merour mirror of Chaucer, is directly taken from Norman mirour. It occurs as myroure in Poetical Songs, Wright, p. 213. Norman pouste also appears constantly in English as pouste. The case of io= (uu) is not considered by Mr. Ellis. It is, however, rendered more than probable by our word warrior written warroure by Capgrave, and referable to Norman guerreur, which by analogy = guerroure. Analysing the ou = (uu) into oi = io, we obtain the modern English warrior. Similarly we may trace carriion to Norman caroine. So the word riot, conjuncturally referred by the editor of Ancren Rivle to route, may be really a variant of that word. It must be remembered, however, that the English riot came directly from Norman riate, and the variation, if variation it be, must have belonged to the original source. Diez, Ménage, Scheler and Burguy virtually give up the etymology altogether. It is only probable then, but not proved, that Norman caroine and English carriion, might have been (keruune), and that riot might have been sometimes (ruute). The subject requires further investigation. The fluctuations of Norman orthography suggested the enquiry that has been sketched, but the results lead us on still further, and render it probable that eo, oe, etc., when found in pure English words, had also the sound (uu). Heo she, therefore, with the variants hu and hue, was probably (ruu), as it still is in Lancashire. Heore their, too, and huere, interpret each other, and so do, duere and deor, beoth and bueth, beon and buen, preost and pruest, gleo and gleo. We infer, then, that in Layamon's beorn warrior, chese, leode, leof, loose the eo = (uu). The subsequent forms burn (PierpOman), choose, lwe, loose, etc., and the contemporary form leod for leod, (Pol. Songs, p. 155), render this hypothesis very strong, while such forms as good, compared with good (Layamon, man, in his article on Glottosis Analytic Orthography, pp. 67-71. So far as I can understand them, I entirely dissent from the views expressed in the text.—A.J.E.
toen town, provee Norman provee English, doel and deol sorrow, shew that oe as well as eo = (uu). The great difficulty in assigning the phonetic values of oi, eo, oe arises from the undoubted fact that they were represented both by (uu) and by (ee). Thus we find that nearly all the Norman and English words cited above appear to have both sounds. Thus heo appears as he, hevre here as herre, dear due as dere, both bueth as beth, been buen as ben, preost pruest as prest, choose as cresse, loose as less, etc., also provee prove as prove,3 careyue careyue, puple, puelpe, people as pple, etc. This divarication in the case of Norman words, was more apparent than real, since the usual Norman sound of oi was (ee). Yet the numerous examples of oi also = (uu), as for instance in the normal termination of the third person singular of the imperfect tense of the first conjugation, which was -out = (uut), while in the other conjugations it was -eit = (-eet), render the determination of the law of divergence very difficult. This law, however, must apparently have equally dictated the interchange of the sounds as well in English as in Norman, and this fact is only one proof more of the remarkable correspondence (in spite of all orthographic variations) between the phonetic systems of the two languages, and illustrates the general position that the Norman and English pronunciations respectively help to determine each other.4

§ 2. The Expression of the Sounds.

The list in the last section suggests its counterpart, how have the sounds of the English language been expressed by letters at different times? Up till the invention of printing at least, the object of writers seems to have been to represent their pronunciation, and the possibility of using the same symbols with altered values does not appear to have occurred to them, although each sound was not uniformly represented by the same sign, and some signs had more than one value. It is also not at all improbable that very provincial writers may have been accustomed to attach values to the letters corresponding to their local pronunciations, and have then used them consistently according to their lights. From these causes arose the occasional picturesqueness of scribal orthography, which was unchecked by any acknowledged

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1 My own indicated explanation of the phenomena to which Mr. Payne refers are to be found on p. 269, and 131, note, col. 1, p. 135, note col. 1. The question seems to be one affecting the treatment of Latin e, o, in the Romance languages.—A.J.E.

2 These anomalies, occurring in MSS. not expressly named, seem readily explicable by the known interchanges of eo, e, p. 488, and of u, e, supra p. 585, n. 6.—A.J.E.

3 Oe, eo are so rare in Chaucer, see p. 262, l. 33, that I have not been able to judge of their origin or intentional use as distinct from (oo). But we must not forget the two modern forms reprove, reprise.—A.J.E.

4 The Norman was an old Norse phonetic system modifying the langue d'oïl, so that the latter had the main share in the result. The English was a pure Anglesaxon system, slightly modified by an old Norse element. There seems to be no connection between the two systems of sound. The orthographies were both derived from the Latin, but the Norman spelling came direct from Roman sources, and the Anglesaxon was only a pietist transcription of the pre-existent runic. The whole application of the orthographies was therefore diverse. The Norman accidentally came into collision with the English, but the developments seem to have proceeded independently, and the share of Norman in 13. English was scarcely more than that of English in 13. Norman. Ultimately the whole character of our language, both in idiom and sound, became English, and Norman words were ruthlessly anglicised. Hence, I am not inclined to admit Mr. PAYNE's conclusion.—A.J.E.

5 See the table on p. 407, where in col. 2, i (oo) or oo oo is a misprint for "oo oo oo;"
authority. At the present day we have nothing to guide us but the usage of printing offices, on which (and not on the manuscripts of authors) our orthographical laws and the pages of our dictionaries are founded. The most ingeniously contradictory reasons are given for preferring one spelling to another. Sometimes a man with a name, as Johnson in England and Webster in America, proclaims his own views and is considerably followed, but Johnson's favourite -ick as in musick has disappeared, and no Englishman likes to see the American orthography. During the last fifty years a habit of eye has been generated, and spelling has been dissociated in our minds from the expression of sound. But even in the xvth century this was not the case in England, although the disappearance of final e from pronunciation introduced more and more confusion as the century advanced, and the original value of the e was less understood. When printing commenced, there was a necessity for printers to introduce some degree of uniformity, and, as I have had personal experience of the difficulties thus created, I can well understand the slowness with which even tolerable uniformity was attained. It took fully two, if not three, centuries to reach the present system. During this time several experiments were made, among which I do not reckon schemes for an entire renovation of our orthography, as proposed by Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, and Butler, in the first century and a half after Caxton set up his press. The last great change was made in the xvi th century, when the orthographies ee ea, oo oa, were settled (pp. 77, 96), how, and by whom, I have not yet discovered. The introduction of ie, in place of ee, was not of the same nature, and did not take root till the xvii th century (p. 104). In the course of that century many little changes were tried, but the gradual loss of the feeling for the meaning of ea, and its perversion in the early part of the xviii th century (p. 88), undid most of the good effected in the xvi th century. No

1 Since the publication of the Dictionary of the French Academy, it has become the sole rule in France, or rather each of its six editions of 1694, 1718, 1740, 1762, 1795, 1835, has become the rule till certain points were reconsidered and changed in subsequent editions. "Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie est donc la seule loi," says the most competent authority in France, M. Ambroise Firmin Didot, in his extremely interesting Observations sur l'Orthographe ou Ortographe française, suivies d'une histoire de la réforme orthographique depuis le XV é siècle jusqu'à nos jours, 2nd ed. Paris, 1868, 8vo. pp. 485.

2 In 1848–9 I conducted a phonetic printing office with a view of trying the experiment of a phonetic orthography, and I had to drill compositors of all kinds of pronunciation to a uniform system of spelling, in order that all my books, and all parts of my books, should be consistent.
great change was effected by Johnson over Dyche and Buchanan, but he became a name, and a refuge for the printer's reader. We have not yet settled how to write between two and three thousand of the words in our language, although it must be confessed that we do not find

1 E. Jones, The common sense of English Orthography, a guide to the Spelling of doubtful and difficult words, for the use of printers, authors, examiners, teachers, and students generally, 1867. It may be observed that he puts printers first. He lays down as "the principles of English orthography," first, "the law of abbreviation or contraction," illustrated by music, blast, things, inferior, baking, entrance, wilful, letter, for musick, blessed, thynges, inferior, baking, entrance (?), willful, feeler (?), second "preference for, or aversion to, certain letters illustrated by the disuse of y in middle, and use of it at the end of words." The statement that "the desire to produce an agreeable succession of sounds, or euphony, is also an important principle in the spelling of words," is unintelligible in an orthography which does not regulate the sound. He classifies the doubtful words thus: 1. honor, honour (30 words); 2. inovable, moveable (Johnson inconsistent); 3. civilise, civilize; 4. traveler, traveling, traveled, traveller, travelling, travelled; 5. enrol, enroll; 6. pressed, dressed, prest, drest; 7. mediaval, medieval; 8. monics, monies; 9. hinderance, hindrance; 10. alcals, alkali; 11. Frederic, Frederick; 12. connection, connexion; a license, to license, advice, advise; 14. centre, center; 15. bark, barque; 16. tong in xvirth century, tonge; 17. controul, control. And he then proceeds to give rules for spelling in these doubtful cases. His arguments do not merely affect the words he cites, but large numbers of others which he does not presume to alter, because they are not considered doubtful. This is the most recent attempt at giving "principles" to regulate our orthography. The reader will find a Report on this work by Mr. Russell Martineau, in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1867, Part II., pp. 315-325. M. Didot, in the work cited on p. 589, n. 2, in anticipation of a revision of French orthography in a contemplated new edition of the dictionary of the Academy, says: "L'usage si fréquent que j'ai dû faire, et que j'ai vu faire sous mes yeux, dans ma longue carrière typographique, du Dictionnaire de l'Académie, m'a permis d'apprécier quels sont les points qui peuvent offrir le plus de difficultés. J'ai cru de mon devoir de les signaler. L'Académie rendrait donc un grand service, aussi bien au public letré qu'à la multitude et aux étrangers, en continuant en 1868 l'ouvré si hardiment commencée par elle en 1740, et qu'elle a poursuivie en 1762 et en 1835. Il suffirait, d'après le même système et dans les proportions que l'Académie jugera convenables: 1° De régulariser l'orthographe étymologique de la lettre c, ch; et de substituer aux ß, th, et ß, ph, nos lettres françaises dans les mots les plus usuels; d'ôter l' h à quelques mots où il est resté pour figurer l'esprit rude (?); 2° De supprimer, conformément à ses précédents, quelques lettres doubles qui ne se prononcent pas; 3° De simplifier l'orthographe des noms composés, en les réunissant le plus possible en un seul mot; 4° De régulariser la déinsence orthographique des mots terminés en ant et ent; 5° De distinguer, par une légère modification (la cédille placée sous le t), des mots terminés en tie et tion, qui se prononcent tantôt avec le son du t et tantôt avec le son de l's; 6° De remplacer, dans certains mots, l'y par l' i; 7° De donner une application spéciale aux deux formes g et ã, ou g et q en cas où le j, dont le son est celui du g doux, ne serait pas préférable; 8° De substituer l's à l' x, comme marque du pluriel à certains mots, comme elle l'a fait pour lois, au lieu de lotax (lex, la loi, leges, les lois). Parmi ces principales modifications généralement réclamées, l'Académie adoptera celles qu'elle jugera le plus importantes et le plus opportunes. Quant à celles qu'elle croira devoir ajourner, il suffirait, ainsi qu'elle l'a fait quelquefois dans la sixième édition, et conformément à l'avis de ses Cahiers de 1894, d'ouvrir la voie à leur adoption future.
much inconvenience from the uncertainty, and most writers select the spelling which their hand takes from habit without consideration, and do not call the compositor to order if he alters it in print. And compositors, with their authorized superiors, the printers’ readers, have habits of their own as to spelling and punctuation, regarding their author’s MS. as an orthographical exercise which it is their business to correct; so that, except in extremely rare cases where the author is opinionated and insists on the compositor “following copy,” no printed book represents the orthography and punctuation of the man of education who writes, but only of the man of routine who prints.

1 And then the compositor can easily take his revenge, and disgust his author, by copying all the careless blunders which haste and the habit of leaving such matters to the printer have engendered in our writings. The literal exhibition of the greater part of “the copy for press,” and still more of the correspondence, of even esteemed men of letters, would show that our present orthography, including the use of capitals and punctuation, is by no means so settled as printed books, and the stress laid upon “correct” spelling in Civil Service Examinations, would lead us to suppose.

2 Some months after this paragraph was written, I received a letter from Prof. F. J. Child, of Harvard, in which he says: “I wish you may make the Philological Society take some tenable ground as to orthography in their dictionary. Nothing can be more absurd than the veneration felt and paid to the actual spelling of English, as if it had been shaped by the national mind, and were not really imposed upon us by the foremen of some printing offices. In America all books printed in New York exhibit Webster’s spelling, and most books printed at Cambridge (a great place for printers), Worcester’s. Although we cannot trace the English spelling-book, so far as I know, I am fully convinced that it is largely of printing office origin.” As this sheet was passing through the press my attention was directed to the following letter from the Mr. Jones, mentioned p. 590, n. 1, in the Athe- naeum, 10 July 1869, in which he seems to be endeavouring to give effect to his views by means of an association. The “Fonetic Nuz” Spelling alluded to, is that employed by the present writer in the Phonetic News in 1849: “Spelling Reform.—Perhaps you will allow me a short space to lay before your readers a brief statement of the objects of the Spelling Reform Association. The very mention of ‘Spelling Reform’ suggests to most people something like the ‘Fonetic Nuz’ system, which has been the subject of so much ridicule. Permit me then to say, without expressing any opinion upon the phonetic method, that the Spelling Reform Association does not propose to introduce that mode of Spelling the English language, but that our recommendations are based upon the following assumptions, which most persons will readily admit:—1. No one would desire to stereotype and hand down to posterity our orthography in its present state; but there is a vague notion that at some time and by some means the thing will be rectified. 2. England is about the only country in Europe in which the orthography has not been, in some way or other, adjusted; and orthography is one of the very few subjects in England which have not been adapted to modern requirements. 3. The anomalies of the orthography cause serious obstruction to the education of the people, most of the time in Government schools.
Still there is a latent spark of that fire which warmed the original writers of our own manuscripts, and there is a notion that certain combinations have an inherent tendency to represent certain sounds, and conversely that certain sounds are naturally represented by certain combinations. The last section will have shown with what allowances the first statement must be received in the xixth century; the following table will show how varied are the combinations which have been and are employed to represent the sounds.

In drawing up the list of sounds represented, it was necessary to include all the sounds which, so far as the preceding investigation shews, previously existed in our language, and those which recent and minute examination establishes to exist at present, including those newly introduced French words which are spoken in a semi-French pronunciation. The following list is an extract from the completer list of spoken sounds in the introduction, and for convenience is arranged in the same order. The same abbreviations are used as in the last section.

being occupied in teaching reading and spelling— with arithmetic—with miserable results, as to the proportion of children turned out of these schools having the ability to read with intelligence and to spell correctly. 4. The various examinations conducted by the Government, the Universities, and other examining bodies, give a fictitious value, and virtually give the sanction of their approval, to a system which has no claim whatever to be regarded as ‘the best method of spelling words,’ a system which has been described by high authority as ‘an accidental custom, a mass of anomalies, the growth of ignorance and chance, equally repugnant to good taste and to common sense.’

5. A simplification of the orthography would do more to give the people the ability to read with intelligence and to spell correctly than any amount of Government grants or any legislation whatever. 6. No individual or society under present circumstances would have sufficient influence to introduce an improved system of orthography; if done at all, it must be by the co-operation of literary men. teachers, examiners, printers, and the public generally. 7. It is possible, by observing analogy and following precedent, without introducing any new letters or applying any new principle, to simplify the orthography so as to reduce the difficulties to a minimum, and to replace confusion and caprice by order and symmetry. The Spelling Reform Association invite the co-operation of all literary men and friends of education in this desirable object. E. Jones, Hon. Sec.” The opinions entertained by the present writer on the subject thus broached by Prof. Child, and Mr. Jones, will be developed in the subsequent sections of this chapter, and the same remarks apply mutatis mutandis to M. Didot’s French proposals. It will there appear that I do not see how any “tenable ground” can be taken by the Philological Society “as to the orthography of their dictionary,” beyond the accident of present custom in London. Much might be said on Mr. Jones’s seven points, which he believes “most persons will readily admit.” Why our present orthography should be considered so much less worthy to be handed down to posterity than one modified on Mr. Jones’s “principles,” and how any such modifications would render its use beneficial in schools to the extent anticipated, I am at a loss to conceive. To Mr. Jones’s seventh proposition, if I understand it aright, my own orthographic studies lead me to give an unqualified denial.
(A a), was always represented by a from 13. to 19., the sound went out in 17., and now only exists in rather a rare pronunciation of: ask, staff, command, pass, and similar words, and is considered to exist in: star, card, by those who believe the vowel short; it is common in the provinces in place (a).

(A a), was probably the ags. sound written a, possibly the sound meant by aa in 13.; it is now lost in English, but is heard in Scotch.

 (:A a), according to Wallis, etc., the sound into which short o fell in 17. when “fall folly, call collar, lawes losse, cause cost, aw’d odd, saw’d sod,” were considered as perfect pairs. In 19. this short o is (a). The distinction is delicate, but may be rendered appreciable by drawing odd into (od) which will be found to be different from awed (aad), or by shortening the vowel in the latter word, producing (ad) which is different from odd (od). In 19. a after a (w) sound, as what, watch, squash, (what, watch, skewash), is the sole representative of this sound, and even here most speakers use (a).

(Aa aa) was represented by a always in 13., and by a in open, and frequently by aa in closed syllables in 14. In 16. it was still written a without any indication that the syllable was long, except by an occasional mute final e. The sound was lost in 17., except perhaps before r, so that ar, er in tar, clerk, may have represented (aar), though they were acknowledged, and perhaps frequently pronounced, as (er) only. In 19. the indication of length and quality is variously made according to the origin of the word in: father, are (but not in bare, fare, etc.), sacroblo, ah, alma, Malmesbury, eflat, aunt, borque, clerk, heart, guard, but its principal indication is a before r = (a) professedly, but intended to be omitted by those persons who write larf to indicate (laaf). In London ar, when not followed by a vowel, may be regarded as the regular sign for (aa), and is so used by many writers. The ah! of the exclamation is, however, nearly as certain, and does not involve the r difficulty.

(Aa aah), this appears to have been the long a of ags. It has since disappeared from acknowledged sounds. It is, no doubt, heard in the provinces, and it is by some recognized as the common London sound meant for (aa), which see.

( :AA AA), unknown previously to 17., and then represented by au, aw, augh, ough; these sounds and notations still prevail. It replaced the sound of (au), and hence was represented by a before l, as now; or by a, with a mute l. It was identified with the German a, and is often called “German a” in pronouncing dictionaries; it was also identified with French a, and Miège could not hear the difference. See Eronnell’s remarks supra p. 226, n., col. 2.

In 17. aa represented it in broad. The following may be considered as its representatives in 19.: fall, aam, Magdalene College (MaAd’len), maidstick, walk, batman, haul, Mawde, naughty, Vaughan, awn, awful, aoe, broad, soldier (spelled sowerd in Sam Stikc), ought. The combination or is theoretically (a), practically (AA), or (AA); so that Dickens, in Pickwick, writes Smoii Tork as a name to indicate small talk. See supra, p. 575, under o. Hence, extraordinary, Georgie, George, fork, horse, may be reckoned as other examples, even by those who do not include the r in the combination.

(Aah aah). This delicate sound probably formed the transition from (aa) to (ae) in 17., and it is occasionally heard from “refined” speakers, as a variety of (aa), which they consider too “broad,” while (ae) used by others is too “mincing.” It is a mere variety of (aa), and is represented in the same way.

(Æ a) was probably the short ags. æ, but in ags. it rapidly became confused with (e, o), and was then lost. It reappears in 17. as a substitute for (a), and was represented by a and the same varieties as that sound. So it has remained, but by omitting letters, and reducing many (aa), and even other sounds, to this favourite short vowel, it is seen variously represented in 19., as: sat,
Isaac, MacKay, drachm, have, always (maav) down to 16., bagpipe (bwann), Taghmon (Tamm'm), plaid, salmon, harangue, Clapham, considered as (Klaep'm), but really (Klaip'm), Tallowache (Tal'memesh), piquant. In 17. one, once were (wam, waens). It is in 19. also used by very delicate speakers, especially educated ladies in Yorkshire, in such words as: basket, staff, path, pass, auunt, in which (ah, a) and (ae, aah, a) are also heard. This vowel is now characteristic of English, and is the despair of foreigners.

(AE) áé. The long (ae) replaced (aa) in 17., and was represented in all the ways in which (aa) had been previously pronounced. No change was acknowledged. The sound rapidly died out into the (ee) of 18., but it is now preserved in the West of England, where (Gaeth, keeæd) are pronounced for Bath, card. It is the name of the letter A in Ireland. Twenty years ago it was, and probably still is, a fashionable long sound of A in Copenhagen. It is sometimes heard in 19., especially from ladies, as a thinner utterance of (aa) than (aah) would be.

(Aa) óo. See (e).

(Ah ah). This thin sound is seldom heard in 19., except in the pronunciation of delicate speakers, in such words as: basket, staff, path, pass, auunt, and, as Mr. M. Bell believes, for the unaccented a in amount, canary, idea, and rapidly pronounced and. It is also the first element in the diphthongs: high, how, as pronounced by some (hahi, hahu) in place of (hoi, hau). It may have been the transition sound between (a) of 16., and (e) of 17. It has the same representatives as (aa, a), generally a, sometimes au.


(Ai a)T, if this diphthong occurred at all in ages, it was represented by a, and seems to be the a of Orrin. In 13. it was written ei, ey, ai, ay, and this representation continued, perhaps, through 16. After 16. the sound seems to have disappeared, but probably remained in a few words, and in 19. it is generally heard in the affirmative oy, or eye, and from many clergymen in Isaiah. In the provinces it is a common pronunciation of long i. Mr. M. Bell considers that sound, however, and the German pronunciation of ei, ai, to be (ai), and (ai) to be the general sound of English long i; in that case (ai) would then have the expressions given below for (ai).

(AA a), this French sound has only recently been introduced into English, but is firmly established in aide-de-camp (ee di kaa), the last word being called (kaa, kaq, kemp) by different orthoepists, but (kaq, kaq) would not be endured, and (kon) is more often said. In environs (a-viroa, envoir-onz), an envelope (aa vilup, en velop), custom varies. For ennui the pronunciation (awwi), or (awnwi), is common, (owwi) is passe', the old form was annoys, = (annur). Perhaps it would be more correctly written (AA) as pronounced by Englishmen, the labialisation being disapproved by Frenchmen.

(Au au), in Orrmin awwe, in 14. to 16. aw, aw. This sound was lost in 17. and has not been recovered, though some declaimers still say (aul) for (aal) all. Heard in the provinces. It is the German sound of au. Mr. M. Bell, however, considering this last to be (au), and believes (au) to be the usual sound here assumed to be (au), in which case it would really exist in the language, and be expressed as (au) is stated to be below.

(B b), always expressed by b, or bb. The mute final e, and assimilated letters, have produced the 19. varieties: be, ebb, ebbed, babe, Cockburn (Koobun), Holborn, cupboard (this was also in 17.), hauboy (hoov-boi). In 17. Jones finds deputy, cupid, etc., pronounced with (b).

(Bh bh). It is doubtful whether this sound was ever known in England, but Dr. Rapp considers it was ags. w. It is possible that the southern (London and Kent) tendency to convert (v) into (w) may arise from some original mispronunciation of v as (bh). The sound is not only not acknowledged, but is rarely understood by Englishmen. Even in parts of North Germany (bh) has been replaced by (y). See the description of the sound, p. 513, note 2.

(D d), always expressed by d, dd. The mute final e, and assimilated letters, together with foreign words, have produced the 19. varieties: sellelum,
deep, add, Buddhist, trade, Wyndham, loved, would, burthen, usually burden. In 17. they had: soulâier, would, etc., burthen, murther, etc.

(Dh dh), this sound must have existed in ags., but it is not possible to say whether ã, or ã, was meant for it. In Icelandic ã is (th), and ã (dh), but they must have been confused in ags. at an early period. See supra p. 515, p. 541. n. 2, p. 555, n. 1, col. 2. Even Orrin does not distinguish them. When ã was introduced it was used indiscriminately for (th, dh). The 19. sign is still ã, though there seems to be a feeling that ã final will ensure the sound (dh), as breath, breathe (breth, bridith). Some literary men write ãth to indicate the sound.

(D) d), an unacknowledged English sound, common in speech in 19., and represented by d before w, as: ver- dure = (vrdjû), when the speaker wishes to avoid (vrdzhî). It is palatalised (d), a transition sound between (d) and (dz), and is distinct from (dz). Vulgar speakers do not change would you î into (wadzh-î), but into (wadzh-î). Some even say (wadzhî dzî).

(Dw dw). See (dw).

(Dw dw) is perhaps the true sound heard in: diceîl, diceîrf, generally ac- cepted as (dw), with doubts as to whether it is not (du). It seems to be an unacknowledged lip modification of (d), so that (d) and (w) are heard simultaneously, rather than consecutively, the lips being rounded as for (w), while the tongue is raised for (d), and the separation of the lips and of the tongue from the palate taking place at the same time to admit the passage of the vowel. How long this sound has existed as distinct from (dw, du) cannot be said.

(Dzh dzh), does not seem to have oc- curred before 13., and arose first from palatalisation of final (g) in ags., which, after short accented vowels in closed syllables, passed through the form (g), rather than (gh), and hence generated (dz) in place of (g), as: edge, hedge, ledge, ledge, compare ags. eeg, hege hag, leegan, lîyege; and, secondly, from the French i consonant, and g before e, i, which there is good reason to sup- pose was pronounced at one time as (dz), and which is said to be (dz) in present Provençal, by a writer who confuses the Spanish ch, which is (ts), with (ts), (Mîrîo, Mireille, poème provençal de Frédéric Mistral, avec la traduction littérale en re- gard, 8vo., 1868, p. vii). Hence it is expressed by i consonant, y, ggh, dg. Subsequently only f, g, dg (the latter before e generally) were used, but not consistently. In 19. we have: Greenwich, soldier, which was also heard in 17., with omitted t, as (sardzheuer, sadzh-er), judgment, ridge, Wednesbury (Wedzh- beri), gem, college, Bellingham (Bel-indzham), just.

(E e), this, or (e) was the ags. short e, and has prevailed in one form or the other to this day. I am myself in the habit of saying (e), but this ap- pears too delicate to Mr. Melville Bell, who prefers (w), which is the Scotch sound, and is in Scot- land by many English people con- fused with (e), see p. 271. It was occasionally expressed by u from 13. to 16. Being an exceedingly com- mon sound, it easily absorbed related sounds, and hence even in 17. had numerous forms of expression, the only normal form both then and now being e, but ea was very common in 17., as in 18. and 19., and ai in 17. in unaccented syllables as cap- tain, now (kæpt-yn), nearly (kæpten) or (kæpt-ín). Before r it seems to have been the refuge of other sounds, which however may be more pro- perly (w). The following are 19, varieties: many, Pontefract (Pom- fret), Pestum, Michael, Thomas, said, Abergavenny ([ÆBæg-æn]) written Aburyany in the Shakspeere folio 1623, Hen. viii. 1, 1, speech 49, where it must be in four syllables for the metre; this is not the Welsh pro- nunciation, but is common in Eng- land.] says, let, head, debt, Wednes- day, allege, forehead, heifer, Leicester, leopârd, queâche, rendezvous, rhetoric, friend, conscience, fee- tid, connoisseur, bury, guess, paneâgyr, [this pro- nunciation is going out, as also that in spirit, syrârup, stirrup], guanâcle, Thomas’s (Tom-æsâ). If the sound is admitted in the syllable (eæ) for (æ) then we might add: sabre, virtue, Brillington, sapphire, better, Ur- quehart, answer. Most of these ex- pressions are highly exceptional, and
arise partly from assimilations and omissions, and partly from insertions. Still the spelling has remained and has to be separately memorized by those who would use it, as no rule can be assigned.

(E e). It is impossible to say whether this sound occurred in ags. or old English as distinct from (e). Whether the final unaccented e of 13. and 14. had the sound of (e) or (e), or whether it was not rather (u), is also impossible to determine. In 19. the sound only occurs as short and unaccented, in some words, as aerial, aorta (eernal, eax-ta), for which some would read (ahar-tah). It is the French e.

(A e). This is a variety of (e) and in the pronunciation of some persons uniformly replaces it, and has been therefore always expressed as (e) was, wherever it occurred. See (e).

(A o). This sound does not appear in English till the middle of 17. It is not named by Butler, 1631. It is distinctly recognised by Wallis, 1663, and Wilkins, 1668, and all subsequent writers. It replaced (u) and was expressed as (u) had been by u, o and occasionally ou, and these have remained its principal forms to 19., but numerous degradations have occurred especially in unaccented syllables, where, however, stricter analysis seems to shew that the sound is now rather (u). Thus we have the 19. varieties: riband, meerschaum, escutcheon, humble, motion, conscious, son, does, love, tortoise, Lincoln, flood, double, tongue, bellesos, twopence (in 17.),—and if we consider that (a) is properly (a) we have this vowel in: amateur, cupboard, avoidupoise, colonel, liquor, liquor. Mr. M. Bell uses (a) for (e).

(A e). This French sound should of course be used in those French words containing it, which are used in English, but it is always replaced by the familiar (a, a).

(E o). This faintly-characterised vowel is recognized by Mr. Melville Bell as the real sound in unaccented syllables, where 19. orthoepists usually assume (o, a) to exist, before r, l, r, and s: as motion ocean, principal, Tartar, facetious. It is therefore expressed by any combination denoting unaccented (o, a).

(Ee ee). In earlier English down to 18. we cannot distinguish (ee, eo). In ags. it seems to have been represented only by e or é. In 13. it was also represented by ae, and occasionally by ea, eo, at least, these forms all interchange with e. In 14. eo was almost quite dropped (though both eo, ee are occasionally found), and ea was very sparingly used, but ee was common, especially in closed syllables. In 16. the practice was introduced of representing (ee) by e, eo only, to the exclusion of ee. During 17. ai, ay, ei, ey were used as well as e, ea, but the two latter forms were less and less used as (ee), till they became exceptional expressions in 18. and 19. In the middle of 18. the usual forms were a (with any addition which showed prolongation, as a final mute e), ai, ay, occasionally ea, and ei, ey, but the two last forms were rapidly going out, and at the end of 18. and beginning of 19. few remained. In 19., if not earlier, (ee) was separated from (ee), and the sound of (ee) was only used before r (a), but it was expressed by all the same forms as (ee). This limitation of the sound of (ee) reduces the number of its forms in 19. where we find: Aaron, mare, aerie, air, Ayr, mayor, pear, ece, e't, their, eyre, heir. See (ee).

(Ee ee). This sound was not consciously separated from (ee) till the end of 18. or till 19. Even now many persons do not perceive the difference (ee, ee), or if they do hear the sounds they analyse them as (ee, ee). In some parts of England (ee) alone is said, in the South many people cannot pronounce (ee) before any letter but (a), and cannot prolong (ee) without dropping into (i), thus (ai). Some assert that (ee) is never pronounced, but only (eei), with which they would write the words: mate, champagne, dehia, pain, campaign, straight, trait, halfpenny, often (nasepen) in the North, gool, Carsehalton (kaes'haalt'n), gauge, plague, play, great, eh! veil, reign, weight, they, eyot.

(G3 a). Never a recognised sound, but one from which (ai) is with difficulty distinguished. It is therefore heard in place of (ai, ei), or rather (ai, ei), by the representatives of which it is always expressed.
(Eei eei.) In 16. Gill acknowledges (cei) and frequently writes it in the word they (dheeh). It probably existed in 17., as it is partially acknowledged by Cooper. If so it was written ei, ey, ai, ay. Most probably its use increased in 18., but there is no proper note of it.

(Eei eei.) This sound is not acknowledged before 19., and then the extent of it is disputed. Some make it coextensive with the spelling ai, ay, others make it replace the sound of (ee) under whatever form it is expressed. Some persons in the South of England seem incapable of sustaining (ee) or (ee) without rapidly falling into (i, i.) See (ee).

(gh ob.) This replaces (a) under whatever form it may be expressed, in the pronunciation of many persons. It is the form acknowledged by Mr. M. Bell.

(Ei ei.) In 16. this is acknowledged by Salesbury, and Hart as the sound of i long and of ei, ey. Smith acknowledges it in a few words, containing ei, ey, where he doubtfully distinguishes it from (ai), but he marks i long as a separate vowel, which he identifies with the English words for "ego, oculus, etiam," I, eye, eye. Gill sometimes writes (ei), sometimes (eei), in the same words, and considers long i to be very nearly the same. Wallis does not acknowledge the sound, and it seems to have expired in 17. It is, however, reviving, although unacknowledged, as a substitute for (eei) and that for (ee), as (rein) rain.

(Ei ai.) A variant of (ei), which cannot be properly distinguished from it in accounts of pronunciation, but seems to be the true sound of the modern Scotch long i in many words, see p. 290.

(gi ai), or perhaps (ai) is acknowledged by Wallis and Wilkins in 17., and was perhaps intended by Gill as the sound of long i, and has since remained that sound, though individually and provincially replaced by (ai, ahi, ei, ci), etc., see p. 108. It is expressed by any combination of sounds which indicate that i or y is to be long. Hence in 19. we have: naive, aisle, deipnosophist (and as many pronounce either, neither) height, the older sounds (heek, heeit) are occasionally heard, (heekht) is still heard in Scotland. (hekth) has been noted in the neighbourhood of Ledbury, Herefordshire, (hoith, hoith) are mistaken pronunciations— eying, eye, rhinoceros, Raine, rhyming, rhyme, bind — this mode of expressing long i is found as early as 16., — indirect, die, live, sign, sigh, sign'd, viscount, tale, beguiling, begle, buy, fly, dye, seythe.

(£a eü) is not an English sound, and no attempt to pronounce it occurs before 18. In 19. coup de main, which Feline writes (ku-d mea), is written (kuur'dimaq) by Worcester, (kuur dimäg) by Webster, (kuur'd-maagq) by Knowles, (kuur'dameq) by Smart, (kuur'dimen) by Mavor. It is generally called (ku'di mea), though some affect the complete French pronunciation.

(£a a£), this is also not an English sound and is so rare in French that it is seldom borrowed in English, except in the name of the game vingt et un, usually called (veetaa') in England, often corrupted to (veentiu'; vandzhon'), just as rouge et noir becomes Russian war, from the older pronunciation, still occasionally heard, of (Ruu'shen waar).

(£u eü) Common in 13. and 14. as the sound of eu ese, from ags. eueo, etc. Less frequent in 16., expiring in 17., and lost in 18. In 19. it is frequent as a London pronunciation of (ou), thus (dem ten) for down town, and either in this form or (eu, eu) common in Yankee speech, and in the East Anglican dialect. It is acknowledged in Italian and Spanish Europa, and in modern Provençal, both eu, and ieu (eu, ieu) are distinguished, the last word being the French je: (£u, eu). See (eu).

(gu ou). Not known before 17. In 17. and since, acknowledged as the sound heard in now hose, though some pronounce (ou, ou, ou, ou, ahu) and even (eou, eu). Expressed generally by ou, ove, with or without mute letters. In 19 we find: cavetchoune, Maclod, hour, compter, noun, douxh, renounce, bough, coe, allowed.

(F f). From ags. to present day represented by f, ph, with their duplications ff, pph. From 16., at least, occasionally expressed by gh. In 19. we find : foé, fife, stiff, stuffed, singleman—a mere corruption — often, laugh, half, sapphire, lieutenant.
(G g). From ags. to present day expressed by g. In 14. also by gg and in 15. also by gge final. Ghost is found in 16. In 19. we have blackguard, go, egg, begged, ghost, guess, plague.

(G g) or (g), palatalized (g). Probably in ags. g before a palatal vowel, subsequently (dzh). After that change (g) cannot be clearly traced before 18., but it is still found in 19., represented by g, gu, before a (aa, aI) or long i (ai), as: garden, guard, regard, guide. In 18., it seems to have been also used before short a (a).

(Gh gh). In ags. perhaps more certainly in 13., expressed by z, after a, o, u long and followed by a vowel as ozen. Possibly the sound after o, u was labialized to (gwh). Whether these sounds were entirely lost in 14., being replaced by (kh, kwh), it is difficult to say; probably not. As long as they lasted they were expressed by z, gh. It must have been lost in 16.

(Gh gh). In ags. perhaps, more certainly in 13., expressed by z after e, i long or short, and occasionally after r, l, in which case it fell into (i). In ags. perhaps the initial sound of z before palatals, which in 13. was replaced by (i). In 13. written z, zh, gh. After 13. generally replaced by (Ah, j), and written z, gh, y.

(Grh grh). Only known as a local peculiarity, the Northumbrian burl, and then expressed by r, rr as in Harriet (Hagrhiot). See (r).

(Gw gw). The labial modification of g, confused with (gw), from which it differs almost as simultaneously from succession, (gw) resulting from attempting to pronounce (g) and (w) at the same time. How long it has been known in English cannot be determined, but it is probably a very early combination in the Romance languages. In 19. it is expressed by gu in: quaiacum, guano, guava (guvaiakom, guvaa-ne, guvaa-va).

(Gwh gwh). Probably an ags. sound of z after labials, and occasionally r, l, in which case it became (u, o). In 14. probably expressed by gh after o, u. Perhaps ladh, laugh, lounch, indicated (ladh, langwh, lauwh) passing to (lauf). But the sounds may have been (lakh, laukwh, lawh).

(H w). The true aspirate consisting of a jerked emission of the following vowel without the previous intervention of the whisper, was, probably, the genuine old form of aspiration, as shown in the Sanscrit post-aspirates. It was frequently interchanged with (n', kh, gh), the last (gh) being the value of the Sanscrit usually considered as h. Represented whenever it occurred from ags. to 19., by h. See (w').

(H' w'). The jerked utterance accompanied by a whispered breath preceding the vowel. The jerk is of importance; (a-aa), is different from (a-aa=taa). Constantly occurring, and represented by h, but in 16. occasionally by gh. In 19., either (w) or (w') according to a speaker's habits of utterance, and frequently according to the momentary impulse of the speaker, is expressed by the following varieties: Callaghian —by gh in many other Irish names—hole, Colquhoun, whole. Uneducated speakers, especially when nervous, and anxious not to leave out an h, or when emphatic, introduce a marked (w') in places where it is not acknowledged in writing or in educated speech. On the other hand both (w, w') are frequently omitted, by a much more educated class than those who insert (w'), and in the provinces and among persons below the middle-class in London, the use and non-use of (w, w') varies from individual to individual, and has no apparent connection with the writing. Hence its pronunciation has become in recent times a sort of social shibboleth. The very uncertain and confused use of h in old MSS., especially of 13., serve to make it probable that there was always much uncertainty in the pronunciation of h in our provinces. The Scotch never omit or insert it, except in hns (tras), the emphatic form of us. The Germans are equally strict. But the sound (w) or (w') is unknown in French, Italian, Spanish, modern Greek, and the Slavonic languages.

(I i). Whether this sound existed in closed accented syllables before 16., is doubtful, probably not. After 16. there is reason to suppose that if it did exist, its use must have been
very limited. In Scotland it both did and does exist. In all cases it was represented by i, y. As a short sound in open syllables it was probably quite common, and was in ages to 14. represented by i. In 16. this short open (i) was e as in: beleve (bliliv). At present the distinction between (i, i) in such cases is rather doubtful, and both are apt to be merged into (u). But where the distinction is made, short (i) is always expressed by e; see (i).

(I i). This seems to have been the common sound represented by short i in close accented syllables in ages, and by short i, y, and occasionally u in this situation from 13. to 19., and with tolerable certainty from 14. to 19. In 16., as a final, it was frequently written ie. Orthoeptists, however, constantly confuse (i, i) both in closed and open syllables, so that any real separation of (i, i), is hazardous. In 19., (i) in closed syllables is expressed in a great variety of ways, owing to various degradations, but generally as i, y with some letters which have become mute, and when in final open syllables, generally by y or some variety of the same. The following forms may be noticed. In closed syllables: landscape, Saint John (Sindzhem) as a family name, Jervois (Jaarvis), pretty, guineas, beaulin, breeches, forfeit, Theobald (Tiibred) the recognized name of an editor of Shakspere and a street in London, housewife (nazif) a threadholder, exhibit (ezgibit) some say (ezcrublit) with a very marked (u'), rhythm, pit, marriages, marriage, pitted, to live, sieve, frequence, women, goats (grits), Jervois, Mistress (Mis'eis), busy, lettuce, build, business, Tyrewhitt (Tirrit), Chiswick (Tishik), physic, Wymondham (Wind'em).

In open syllables, many of the above forms and: Rothsay, money, Annie, Beaulieu (Biu'1), fellow (fol'r), chamois leather (shem-r), plaguy.

(ii). In ages. either (ii) or (ii'), which see, was always expressed by i long, and so on to 14. and part of 15. After 15. (ii) was only rarely expressed by i long, but more and more frequently by e, ee, and in 16. frequently by e ee and rarely by ea, ie. The expression by ea, ie increased slightly in 17. In 18. e, ee, ea, ie, were the rule, and ei, ey the exceptions. In 19. the two latter also became the rule. The Latin ae, o were also added to the list, and various degradations swelled the expressions of (ii) in 19. to the following extraordinary variety: minutie, demain, Carius College, be, each, head, leave, Beauchamp (Beetsnum), league, feet, e'en, complete, sleeve, impregn, Leigh, concert, conceive, seigniory, Leigh, receipt, Belvoir, people, demesne, key, Wemyss (Wiumz), keyed, diarrhœa, invalid, grief, magazine, grieve, signiour, fusil, debirs, intrigue, facet, quay, quayed, mosquito, turquoise (takiz') according to Walker, Smart, and Worcester, more commonly (tyrkwaz').

(II ii). In 14., and most probably earlier, the sound of long i and y. During 15. this sound nearly expired and was only retained by a few individuals in 16., being replaced by (ei, i) according as the syllable in which it occurred retained or lost the accent. It is heard in Scotch in 19., where a short (i) is accidentally lengthened as: gi'e, wi'. In English it is an unacknowledged sound often heard from singers who lengthen a short (i), as (stil) for (stil) still, as distinct from (stil) steal, see pp. 106, 271.

(iu iu iuu). These sounds cannot well be separated. They probably never occurred initially. When Smith wrote tkanker in 16. he meant (ruker). The sound was not recognized till 17., when it was generally expressed by long u, or eu, eu. The same combinations used initially, as in use, unite, eve, probably expressed (jiu, jiu, jiuiu). In my phonetic spelling I have seldom thought it necessary to distinguish (iu, iuu) and have frequently omitted to prefix the (i). From these sounds should be distinguished (juiu, ju) which are also confounded with them, but are usually written you. With these the sounds (jiuiu, jiuiu) often confounded with them, had best be considered. The following are the 19. varieties of expressing these sounds:

(iu) monument, document, incubate, mantuemaker.

(iuu) beauty, feed, feudal, dence,
Leveson, new, adieu, view, viewed, fragileman, amusing, luchesia (liu-shia), cue, amuse, queene, impugn, bahl, suit, puisne, (puu-ni), lute-string (liu-strig), fugue.

(jiu) write, Eugene (Jiudzhiiun)
(jiua) ough, eze, yee, yeule.

(ju) in 16. young = (juq) like present German jung.

(you) you, youth.

(hiua) human, hue, Hugh, Hughes.

(J j). The palatal consonant into which ags. initial (gh) degenerated, generally confounded with an initial unaccented (j), whence it is occasionally derived, and often confused with the palatal modification (j) from which it differs as (w) from (w). Apparently in use from 13. to 19., expressed in 13. and often in 14. by ʒ, whence the modern forms ʒ, ʒ, p. 310, and p. 298, note. The varieties in 19., are: hideous, onion, hallelujah, yard, Denzil.

(Jh jh). Orrin's ʒh in zhoe she.

The whispered (jh) differs from (j), as (kʰ) from (gʰ), but it is by Germans confounded with (kʰ), although often pronounced by them quite distinctly in ja (zhaa) for (zaa). It has probably often been pronounced in English, but it is not recognized, and even in the words cited under (iu) it is not now generally acknowledged, (jiua) being taken as (r'juu, n'iua) sounds which are not easily to utter. It has no special representative, but is implied by any combination apparently expressing (n'i+iu).

(K k). The sound has been in use from ags. to 19. In ags. expressed by c invariably. In 13. generally by c, occasionally by k. In 14. by k and occasionally by kk, ck, but frequently in words from the Latin and French by c, cc. In 16. by c, cc, k, ck, and occasionally ch. In 17. gh, gu were added to the list. All these remain, except kk, which was disused before 16. In 19. we have: can, account, Bacchanaal, school, oche, back, hacked, acquaint, hough, yale, bake, walk, quack, quay, antique, Urguitart, vicecount, hatchel (mak'l) also written hackle, heckle, except.

(K k). This is the palatalized form of (k), see g, and its existence was acknowledged, and expressed in 18. by c, k before a (an, a, w) and i (ai) as in: cart, candle, sky. This is regarded as antiquated in 19. but is still heard.

(Kh kh). In ags. expressed by h, hh; in 13. by ʒ, gh, and very rarely by ch, p. 441, from 14. to 16. by gh. After 16. lost in English, though common in Scotch, where it is usually written ch. At no time were the palatal and labial modifications (kʰ, kʰ) distinguished in writing from (kh), but there seems reason to suppose that a preceding vowel when palatal determined (kʰ = kʰ), when guttural (kh) and when labial (kʰ). See also (gwh).

(Kh) kʰ). See (kh).

(Kw kw). This sound has always been confused with (kw), but there is reason to suppose that (kw) has been the real sound from the earliest times, pp. 512, 514, 561. In ags. (kw) was expressed by cce, in 13. gu seems to have been introduced and to have remained to 19.

(Keh kʰ). See (kh).

(L l). From ags. to 19. l and from 14. to 19. ll is frequent. In 19. mute letters have occasioned the following varieties: seraphio, maistick, lace, Guildford, ale, ill, travelled, klin, isle, brisly, victualler (vit'l).

('L l'). In 16. certainly, this sound was expressed by final -le forming a syllable, and it was recognized by Bullockar after a and before another consonant, as hafm (n'a'im) where others read (ul). In 19. several phonetic writers incline to (ul), but the majority consider (l) only, to be the sound. Mr. M. Bell considers it to be (ll) that is lengthened (l). It is always represented by -le or -l.

It generally falls into (l) when a vowel follows as double doubling (dab'l dub-liq), but some persons retain the (' ) and say double-ting (dab'-'liq).

(Lh lh). Not now a recognized English sound, but it occasionally arises when instead of prolonging an (l) with the full murmur, the action of the vocal ligaments ceases, while the tongue remains in position, and the unvocalized breath escapes on both sides as (faAh). It is also recognized by Mr. M. Bell in felt (felh) or perhaps (fellht), as he would write. In Modern French it is very common for (l') as (tablh) table, and hence it has been recently imported into the English pronunciation of
French words. It was probably the sound written \( \tilde{h} \) in ags. and \( t\tilde{h} \) in 13., as it is now represented by \( \tilde{h} \) in Icelandic.

(Lhh lhh). Few Englishmen can pronounce this Welsh sound properly, but as Welsh names of places are current in English, as Llangollen (Lhhangolh\-en) it should be recognized, and not treated as (thl) or (tl), as in (Thlangoth\-len). For a description of the sound see Chap. VIII, § 1, under \( \tilde{h} \).

(Ij, \( l \)). An unrecognized English element, often generated in the passage from (l) to (\( l \)) or (i) before another vowel. Thus \( \text{million, bulbion} \) are rather (m\( l \)\-\( j \)\( n \), b\( l \)\( j \)\( m \)) than pure (m\( l \)\( j \)\( n \), b\( l \)\( j \)\( m \)) because there is no break, thus (l\( h \)), but the (l) is continued on to the (\( l \)) producing (l\# = \( l \)*). Some Englishmen pronounce seraglio, lieu, lute, as (serat\( l \)\( j \), l\( j \)\( u \), l\( j \)\( u \)) others say (serat\( l \)\( h \), l\( h \), l\( h \)).

(M m). From ags. to 19. \( m \), and from 14. often mm. In 19. we have the varieties, chiefly assimilations and degradations: dra\( h \)m, phlegm, psalm, Cholmondeley (Tsham\( l \)\( t \)), am, lamb, tame, hammer, shammed, hymn, Campbell (K\( e \)\( m \)\( c \)), Banff (\( k \)\( e \)\( m \)), Pontefract (\( p \)\( o \)\( m \)\( f \)\( r \)\( a \)).

('M \( m \')). Certainly from 16. when it was recognized by Bullokar. Not distinguished from (m) in writing, and not recognized as a syllable in poetry, as: schism, rhythm (siz\( m \), rith\( m \)).

(Mh mh). Recognized by Mr. Melville Bell in 19. before p, t, as lamp, empt (\( k \)\( e \)\( m \), \( e \)\( m \)\( h \)) or (\( k \)\( e \)\( m \)\( h \), \( e \)\( m \)\( h \)).

(N n). From ags. to 19. \( n \) and from 14. \( n \). Silent letters and assimilations, etc., have produced the 19. varieties: studdingsail (st\( o \)\( s \)\( l \)), opening, gnaw, John, know, Cohbrook (K\( o \)\( o \)\( n \)\( b \)\( r \)\( o \)k), Calne (K\( a \)\( n \)), mnemonics, compter, can, riband, cane, ipecacuanha, manner, planned, gunwale (gon\( e \)\( l \)), reasoning, pneumatics, puana (p\( i \)\( u \)\( n \)\( a \)).

('N \( n \')). Certainly since 16., represented by -\( n \), -\( n \), as in: open, reason. When a vowel follows the (\( l \)) is lost, though some say (la\( i \)\( t \)\( \tilde{n} \)) and others (la\( i \)\( t \)\( \tilde{n} \)) lightening, lightening.

(Nh nh). Recognized in 19. by Mr. M. Bell in tent, which he writes (ten\( n \)h) or (ten\( n \)h).

(NJ \( n \)). An unrecognized English sound produced by continuing the sound of (\( n \)) on to a following (\( j \)) as onion, more properly (on\( n \)\( j \)) than (on\( \tilde{n} \)\( j \)). Some call new (n\( j \)\( u \)), others (\( n \)\( u \)). Common French and Italian gn.

(O o). This seems to have been the original ags. and English short o up to 16., and to have been lost, except in the provinces, after the middle of 17. when it was replaced by (\( a \), \( o \)).

(\( o \)). It is the French hommage (omaz\( h \)) as distinguished from 19. hommage (hom\( y \)\( d \))\( dh \). It is Italian short o aperto. It is also heard in Spain, Wales, and a great part of Germany, though it is liable to fall into (o) on one side and (\( a \)) on the other. In old English invariably o.

(O O). This short sound in closed syllables is not recognised in 19., but it is heard the provinces and in America for short and sometimes long o; thus, whole stone (hol, ston), and then is scarcely distinguishable from (\( u \)) or (\( a \)), and is confounded with some with (\( o \)). In open syllables it is not uncommon, as in: oblige, memory, window (oblaid\( z \), mem\( e \i \), win\( d \)\( o \)).

It is often confused with (\( a \), \( u \)), and even, when final, with (\( a \)). It, probably, came into use with (\( o \)) in 19., but was not distinguished from it. Generally expressed by o, ow, as above, and in 19. we call Pharaoh (Feervo).

(O O). In 17. short o passed from (o) to (\( a \)) or (\( o \)). The distinction between these sounds being of the same degree of delicacy as that between (i, \( i \)) and (\( e \), \( e \)) renders it difficult to determine which sound was said. In 19. (\( a \)) prevails, though (\( a \)) is occasionally heard, and may be heard when the expression is a, am, or (\( a \)) influenced by (u) in any way. See (\( a \)). The general expression of (\( o \)) is o; but in 19. we have the varieties: resin, honour, on, groat, forehead, cognisant, John, hough, pedagogue, knowledge. In or not followed by a vowel, the theoretical sound is (\( a \)), the actual sound scarcely distinguishable from, if not identical with (\( a \), \( A \)). See supra p. 575, under o.

(\( E \) \( o \)). Is not a recognized English sound, but is heard in the provinces
and in Scotland, and written o, oo. Confused in English with (3).

(OA). Recognized in 19. by Mr. M. Bell as the vowel in: prefer, earnest, firm, myrrh, gnerved, where he writes (0a) for the italicized letters. I do not distinguish these sounds from (3), and in general find them confused with (3). See these sounds.

(EC oo). Occurs in the provinces, and probably in Scotch. It is the German long oe, as in Goethe (Geowte).

(Oi oi). With this must be taken (ai, oj, og; ai, oj, ol). It is very difficult to determine the limits of these sounds in time or place. Probably in 16. when oi, oy were not (ui), they were (0i). In 19. (ai, oj) prevail, (oi, ui) are provincial. The expression is always oi, oy, with or without some additional mute letters. In 19. we have: bourgeois (bordzhohi) noisy, noise, poignant, coigne, boy, enjoyed, Boyle, quiot; some say (kwoot), buyoy; some say (buoi), byooy.

(Oo oo). From ags. to 16. this was the recognized long sound of o, and expressed by o, oo. It is still heard in the provinces. It was apparently lost in the received dialect in 17., but revived in 19. before (3), as in: oar, ore, o'er, moor, mourn, pour, sword. Sometimes heard before f, s, th, as: off, cross, broth (ooof, cross, brooth), where it is apt to degenerate into (AA, oo, oo), or sink into (3).

(Oo oo). From 17. the recognized sound of o long, and generally represented by o, ee, oo, and occasionally by oe, ou, ow. In 19. we have the varieties: hauteur, hautboy (hoor'boor), beau, yeoman, show, now frequently written show, saved, frequently written saved, post, oats, provincially (wats), Soame, boatswain (boor'sen), Cockburn (Koo'ban), doe, bone, ogro, oh, scotiose (skroo'zor), according to Sheridan, Walker, etc., now generally (skroot'or), yolk, brooch, apropos, Groavenor, depot, soul, rogue, Yonghall (Joo'nhal), though, knew, towards, owe, Knowles, swoth (kooth); some say (kwooth). See (ou).

(Oo oo). The drawl of short (3) is only heard in drawing utterance, as (ood) for (od) odd, as distinct from awed. Preachers often say (Goo), but seldom or ever (GAA) for God.

In America some say either (dog, loog), or (doog, loog) for dog, long, etc., which the phonetic writers there recognize as (daag, laag), and the two sounds are difficult to separate.

(0A OA). This present French nasal is in older English represented by (oon), as retained in our modern balloon. In recently imported French words the (oa) is intended to be retained, together with its French expression, as bonbons, bon mot, on dit (boobaz, boa mo, oa dii). But the usual substitutes are (on, og), and occasionally (oon, on).

(Oou ou). From 13. to 16. the pronunciation of those ou, ow, which represented an ags. aw, ow. Lost in 17.

(Oou ou). From 17. to 19. the usual pronunciation of those ou, ow which represent an ags. aw, ow. This pronunciation has been, however, generally ignored, or, if recognized, reproduced by orthoepists. Some speakers distinguish no, know, as (noo, noo), orthoepists generally confuse them as (noo), compare the list of words under (o); others again confuse them as (noo). Mr. M. Bell states that every long o is (ou), meaning the same as I mean by (ou). Some Englishmen say that it is not possible to lengthen (o) without adding (u), and pronounce nearly (ou, ouu).

(Ou ou). In 16. the general sound of ou, replacing the previous (uu) which however was heard contemporaneously through the greater part of 16. In 17. the sound was recognized as (uu), and the sound (ouu) was lost.

(Ou ou). The modern provincial substitute for (ou), not recognized.

(Qu ou). In 18. orthoepists recognized ow as having the sound (ou) or (au). It was probably an erroneous analysis, which even yet occasionally prevails, owing to the usual orthography ou, ow. Provincial however (ou, au) may occur.

(P p) was from ags. to 19. represented by p, and from 14. to 19. by pp also. In 19. we have the varieties, hicough (nik'kop), pay, ape, Clapham, flapper, flap.

(Q q) was from ags. to 19. written n or ng, sometimes nz for nz. In 19. we have the varieties: finger, handkerchief, singer, winged, Birmingham, tongue, Mewd (Meq'iz), p. 310.
(Qh qh) is recognized by Mr. M. Bell in 19. as the sound of $u$ before $k$, in think (thiaghk) or thiaghk.

(R r) was from ags. to 19. represented by $r$ before a vowel; and probably from ags to 16. represented also by $r$ even when not before a vowel. Perhaps lost in the latter position in 17. Preserved pure in Scotland. In 19. we have the varieties: right, rhetoric, write, hurry, catarrhal.

('R 'r) How soon this sound came into English, cannot be precisely determined. There is reason to think it may have been used in 16. and 17., and that it generated (a). At present in: fearing, pairing, debarring, ignoring, poorer, fiery, bowery, there is a doubt whether the sound heard is best expressed by ('r) or (ar). Mr. M. Bell gives the first, I have generally preferred the second, see p. 197.

(R r). This peculiar guttural $r$ so common in France and even in Germany, but unknown in Italy, seems to be only a softer form of the Northumbrian burr. It is not recognized in writing as distinct from $r$.

(Q r). Probably recognized in 17. as well as in 18. and 19. as the peculiar English untrilled $r$, not heard before a vowel, and represented by final $r$ together with mute letters in 19., as: spare, corpse, burr, mortgage. It has always a tendency to change preceding (ee oo uu) into (ee oo uu), while short $o$, $o$ become (aa, oo), or theoretically (a, ə); and short (i, e) according to Mr. M. Bell fall into (ao), which see. Short (a) is supposed to remain, as cur (kər), for which I prefer (kər, k'ə, kər) and generally write (kə) as quite sufficient. In place of (a) provincially (əhə, əə, ahə) are heard. The physiological distinction between (ə) and (a) is very difficult to formulate. There is no doubt that in many cases where writers put er, ur, to imitate provincial utterances, there neither exists nor ever existed any sound of (r) or of (ə), but the sounds are purely (ə, ə). Thus bellows in Norfolk is not (bəl'əz) but rather (bəl'əz). There also exists a great tendency among all uneducated speakers to introduce an (r) after any (ə, ə, a, ə) sound when a vowel follows, as (dra'ətig, sa'ətig) drawing, sawing, in Norfolk, and this probably assisted in the delusion that they said (draə'mi, saa'ə wi) and not (draa mi, saa wi). In London: father father, laud lord, stalk stork, draws drawers, are reduced to (faadh'v, laa'd, staAA'k, draa'z), even in the mouths of educated speakers. I have usually written (ə) final in deference to opinion, but I feel sure that if I had been noting down an unwritten dialectic form, I should frequently write (ə, ə, ə). Careful speakers say (fa'əd'h-v, laa'd, staAA'k, draa'z) for farther, lord, stork, drawers, when they are thinking particularly of what they are saying, but (far'dher, lord, stork, draa'ez) is decidedly un-English, and has a Scotch or Irish twang with it. See p. 196.

(Q 'r). I use this (ə) to represent the sound expressed by Mr. M. Bell as (ə), see (ə). Thus, myrrh, differ = (ə, ə). But I do not find (ə, ə) generally distinguished, and consequently write (ə, ə) more frequently than (ə, ə). The physiological distinction between (ə) and (ə) is very difficult to formulate. See (ə) and p. 196.

(R 'r). This strongly trilled (r) is only known as an individual or local peculiarity. In Scotland the trilled (r) not before vowels, as firm (farm) often gives rise to a sensation of (r), as (fərm), and many Scots and Irish use (r) as work, arm = (wər, ərm). It is not recognized orthographically.

(Rh rh) is not now a recognized English sound, but is occasionally imported from the modern French final-re, asSabre (səbʁ) for (sabr), into the modern English pronunciation of anglicised French. Probably ags. hr, as it is Icelandic hr. The Welsh rh is rather ('rəν) than (rh), as generally supposed.

(S s). From ags. to 19. commonly represented by s. Rapp imagines the ags. sound to have been (ʃ). In 14. (s) was represented s, ss, and by c before e, i in words taken from the French, and occasionally by sc before e, i. In 19. we have the varieties: cell, ace, Gloucester, psalm, Cirvenester (Sis'isə), Worcester (Wəstə), see, scene, coalesce, schism, Masm, his, hised, listen, epistle, etc., since 17., mistress (məs'isə), sword, britzka (briə'ska), bellows, mezzotint.
(Sh sh). This was not an ags. sound, but it was already developed in 13., and it was generally written sch, but sometimes sh, ss, in 13. and 14. Orrmin writes sh, ssh, and this was used at the end of 15., and generally afterwards. At the latter end of 17. (sh) was expressed by s before (iu), so that siu became (shn). Traces of this found in the early part of 17. Towards end of 17. also expressed by ci-, si-, sci-, ssi-, ti-. In 19. we have the varieties: chaise, and frequently in French words, fuchsia, special, pshaw! sugar, schedule, conscious, shall, wished, Assheton (Æsh'tun), compression, motion.

(T t). From ags. to 19. the regular expression is t. In 19., however, we have the varieties: debt, yacht, indirect, sucked, sought, phthisical, receipt, toe, thyme, hater, two, mezzo-tint.

(Th th) was in use from ags. to 19. In ags. it was written either þ or ð, or both indifferently. In 13. and 14. it was sometimes ð, but generally þ, and occasionally th, which last expression has remained to 19. In 17. in sigh it was written gh, and probably in other words. In 19. we have the varieties: Kâghley (Kith-li), eighth (eetth), apophthegm (ap'o-them), Southampton (Southraem'-ten), thin, blithe (blitth), or (blidh) Matthew.

(Tj tj). An unrecognized English sound, generated by the action of a following (iu), when the speaker avoids the stiffness of (t, a), and wishes also to avoid (tsh), as: virtue, lecture (vrt'ju, lekt'ju), commonly (vrt'shu, lek'tsha). See (dj).

(Tsh tsh) was generated, at least, as early as 13. from ags. (k), and written ch, and in 14. also cch. The form ch has remained, but since 16. at least cch has become tch, very common as a final in 19., in which some importations and assimilations have produced the varieties: vermi-cellie, chain, arched, chioppine, Marjoribanks (Maatsh'-baeqks), match, matched.

(Tw tw). An unrecognized English sound, usually confounded with (tw), but it is (t* w) the action of (t) and (w) taking place simultaneously, and not successively, in twine, twain, etc. Written tw.

(U u). It is probable that (u) was used in 16. at least, and perhaps earlier, but it is not easy to distinguish (u, y) as short sounds before 19., and even then few persons acknowledge that pool, pull, have vowels of different quality, as well as length (puul, pul), and that the true short sound (u) is heard in French poule (pul). Mr. M. Bell considers that the Scotch and English pronunciation of book differ as (buk, bük). To my ears the Scotch have preserved also the original length of the vowel, and say (buuk), or at least give it a medial length. Hence, taking (u, u) together, we may say that the sound has existed and been expressed by u from ags. to 19. In 14. it was also expressed by ou, ow, and the expression ou was continued in a few words in 16., and is not yet quite lost as could (kuu). In 16. (u, u) was occasionally expressed by oo, still common in wood, book (wud, bük). In 14. and thence to 16., o was often used for (u, u), and is still found in a few words. During 17. most of the words having (u, u) lost the sound, and were pronounced generally with (a). There is still a fight between (u, a), and in some of the Midland Counties the usage is just reversed from that now accepted, thus (but, kut, rub) = dut, cut, rub, and (lot, pot, fol, bol) = foot, put, full, boll. And generally (wod, wom'-en) are not uncommon for (wod wum'-en) = wood, woman.

The key to this mystery seems to be a provincial (a) which becomes labialised after labial consonants. In the pronunciation of the Peak of Derbyshire, I have found it very difficult to choose between (a, o, uh, u) for such words. See below Chap. XI., § 4. In 19. we have the varieties: woman, Bolingbroke, wood, worsted, Worcester, caoutchou, could, bull.

(U u). See (u).

(U u). This unrecognized English sound seems to occur as a variant of (y) in Cumberland, Lancashire, and East Anglia, and is written as long u.

(Ui ui). Apparently one of the oldest forms of the diphthong oi, oy, probably the usual sound in 14., when it was also written ui, uy. Still used in many words in 16. and even 17. In the provinces it may be still heard in boy (bui), and it is the sailor's pronunciation of buoy.
(Uu uu). In ags. written ʊ in 13. ʊ, of which this is a characteristic orthography. Between 1280 and 1310 both ʊ and ow were used. In 14. ow, ou were generally written, but o alone was also employed, and has remained in many words. In 16. ow was quite discontinued, and ow sparingly used, but oo was introduced as the usual form, and has remained to the present day. How soon the (iu) of 17. became (uu) after r is not ascertained, but it is now the rule (except in the provinces), that long ʊ after r = (uu). Hence in 19. we have the varieties: galoon, Reuben, Buccleugh (Boklùch), brew, breeved, rhenem, rhubarb, do, shoe, move, manoeuvre, too, wooded, soup, house (buuz), through, Brongham, rendezvous (rondevüu), sourtout (sütuut), billedoux (bilidüu), Cowper, true, ruling, rule, brising, bruis, Hmlme (Huüm), two, who (wu).

(Uu uu). A provincial variety of (yy), expressed only as long ʊ.

(Y v). In ags. possibly and Orrmin (v) was expressed by ʃ between two vowels, otherwise it would seem not to be an ags. sound. In 13. (v) was expressed by ʊ consonant and v consonant, and so through to 17. when v consonant was exclusively applied, and ʊ consonant and v vowel discontinued; but it was seldom represented by any but a v form afterwards. In 19. we have: of, Belvoir (Biivu), halve, nephew, Grosecnor (Groömn), real, have, rendezvous.

(W w). Apparently a peculiar ags. sound, and hence expressed by a peculiar letter p when the Roman alphabet of the time was adopted, p. 513. For this in 13. w was adopted, and has remained to 19. The sound was sometimes expressed by ʊ, but persuade was often written perswade. In 19. we have: chair (kwiz), the labial modification assumed as (w), see (kw), persuade, war. In the word one the initial (w), which is not written at all, dates probably from the latter part of 17.

(W uu). Defective trill of the lips substituted for a trill of the tongue, not recognized except as a defect, and then written w, but "Lord Dundreary" distinguishes (fuend) from (fweend), which last he indignantly declared he did not say for friend.

(Wh wh) was probably expressed in ags. by hw, and was the wh of 13. to 19. It is still distinctly pronounced by most northern and careful southern speakers, but is rapidly disappearing in London.

(Y y). This was probably the sound of ags. ʏ, and possibly of short ʊ in 13. It is very doubtful whether this short sound has been used at all since 13. It seems to have been replaced by (i, e). It probably occurs, either in this or the cognate forms (v, i) in the provinces, and is recognized in Scotland.

(Y y). According to Mr. M. Bell this is the indistinct sound only used in unaccented syllables in English, and written e in: houses, goodness (hauzys, gudnys), etc., where orthoepists are doubtful whether it is (i) or (e). He also identifies it with the Welsh ʊ, ʏ having a similar sound. Not generally recognized, and not provided with any distinct form.

(Yi yi). The French ui was confused with (wii) in 16. It is kept in some recent words as suite, though persons ignorant of French say (swiit).

(Yy yy) was probably written long ʏ in ags. This sound seems to have disappeared in 13., or at any rate its traces are uncertain. In 14. it reappeared with the introduced French words, and was written u, eu. It remained into 17. written u, eu, eu, when it was still recognized by Wallis, although his contemporary Wilkins seems to have been unable to pronounce it, and it was subsequently replaced by (iu). It is, however, still common in East Anglia, in Devonshire, in Lancashire, and probably other parts of England, and in Scotland, where it appears as a substitute for (uu), as was already the case in 16. The provincial sounds vary as (n, uu, ø, yy).

(Z z). Not recognized as distinct from (s) in ags. but probably existing always, as in 14. it was not frequently written z. It has, however, been generally confused with s, except in a few words from the Greek. The sound seems to have remained with few exceptions in the same positions from 14. to 19. In 19. we have: sacrificing, sacrifice, which some pronounce as a substantive with
(s) and as a verb with (z), cezar, Windsor (Wînz'âr), Salisbury (Sâl'z'âr), as, discern, ease, dishonour, business, scissors, Keswick (kez'îk), he belloizes, beaux, real, size, whizzing, whizzed.

(Hz Hz). Hart 1669 recognized this sound in French but not in English. Its earliest recognition in English is by Midge 1688, who being a Frenchman distinguished it from (sh) with which it was long confused. It is derived generally from (zi) and hence is generally spelled s, z except in some recent words, where the Modern French sound is employed. In 19, we have: rouging, rouge, feu de mots, which Worcester writes (zhûr-dî'mô') in place of Féline's (zhô dâ'mô), pleasure, division, abscission, azure.

(*) When a mute (p, t, k) ends a word, and a pause follows, as the contact is loosened, a slight breath escapes, not marked in writing, but very apparent in (kæp', bæt', bæk'). This was probably always used in English, and its absence, which renders the consonant difficult to be heard, was probably the occasion of the suppression of such final consonants in French.

(?) If a sonant (b, d, g) end a word, many speakers force out a faint murmuring sound after removing the contact, as (eb', ed', bg') ebb, add, bagg, similar to the French indication of their e mut in such a place. In some speakers this amounts to adding (s), and then it is recognized in satirical orthography by writing a as ebba, adda, bagga.

(g). The eluck indicated by tut.

(?) The eluck indicated by c'lk.

(*) The primary accent which has never been indicated in English orthography.

(?) The secondary accent, which has never been indicated in English orthography.

§ 3. Historical Phonetic Spelling.

The great multiplicity of forms for the same sound, joined to the existing variety of sounds for the same form, 1 shewn in the preceding sections, has urged many persons to attempt correcting both by one stroke, as a matter of literature and science, and still more with a view to education and uniformity of pronunciation, and with a hope of making our language more easy to acquire by foreigners. The device has generally consisted either in the introduction of new letters, or in giving constant values to known combinations, so that the same sound should be always represented by the same letters and conversely. In the XII th or XIII th century we had Orrmin, in the XVI th Smith, Hart, Bullokar; in the XVII th Gill, Butler, Wilkins; in the XVIII th, Franklin and many others after him in the same and in the XIX th century both in England and America. The most persistent attempt is the phonotypy which grew out of Mr. Isaac Pitman's phonography or phonetic shorthand, and which in various forms

1 The strange fantastical variety of our orthography, when viewed solely from the phonetic point of view, could not fail to attract Shakspeare's attention. Hence he makes Benedick speak thus of the love-sick Claudio: "He was wont to speake plaine, & to the purpose (like an honest man & a souldier) and now is he turn'd orthography, his words are a very fantastical banquet, just so many strange dishes." Much Ado, ii. 3, speech 5, fo. 1623, p. 107, col. 2.
has been regularly used in printed periodicals from 1843 to the present day. Such schemes are different from those which aim at a universal alphabet for the purposes of science or missionary enterprise, such as the alphabets of Max Müller, Lepsius, Merkel, Melville Bell, and the palaeotype used in this volume. And neither have the slightest connection with the scheme of a universal language, or with any view of altering our language in any way, although they have been often confounded with such impossibilities.

After reviewing the two preceding sections the question naturally arises: *is it possible from the general, firmly established English uses, to construct a system of orthography which should represent our pronunciation at the present day?* If such a spelling were possible it would clearly be so suggestive that it would be legible to the mere English reader almost without instruction. It seems possible, and at least worth the trial, for numerous instances occur in which it is advisable to attempt indicating sounds to purely English readers by combinations of the letters with which they are familiar. It is also only by exhibiting such a tentative orthography that the possibility of altering our spelling so as to more or less indicate our pronunciation, but without altering our alphabet, could be properly considered. The following scheme is based upon the two preceding tables, and will be termed glossotype, as suggested on p. 13, from its main use in compiling provincial glossaries.

In the phonetic alphabet used by Mr. I. Pitman and myself, only 34 simple sounds, 4 vowel diphthongs, and 2 consonant diphthongs, were represented, giving a total of 40 letters in the following order: (ii, ee, aa, AA, oo, uu; i, e, æ, œ, o, u; œi, öi, ou, iu; j w n t d tsh dzh k g, f v th dh s z sh zh, r l m n q). The numerous texts which have been printed in this alphabet have shown that it suffices for printing our pronunciation with sufficient accuracy to satisfy such ears as have not been sharpened by a phonetic education. We may, therefore, commence our investigations by determining the best representatives of these sounds.

From the xvith century ee, oo represent (ii, uu) with certainty, from the xvith ai, au represent (ee, AA) with almost, but not

1 The writer of this treatise was much connected with this last scheme from 1843 to 1849, and in 1848-9 published two editions of the Testament, many books, and a weekly newspaper, the Phonetic News, in the alphabet settled by Mr. I. Pitman and himself in 1846, which differs in many respects from that now used by Mr. I. Pitman. If an alphabet differing entirely from the Roman is to be used, and none other can be expected to find favour for all languages, the principles upon which Mr. Melville Bell's various alphabets of Visible Speech, for printing, long and short hand writing, are formed, seem to be the best hitherto proposed.
quite, the same certainty. But there is no usual way of representing (oo). The combinations oe, oa are so unfrequent that they would occasion hesitation in unusual positions, as: hoep, hoap, for hope. Symbols for (aa) have disappeared since the xvii th century. The two exclamations oh! ah! present the only combinations to which no other value seems to have been assigned; but the combinations oh, ah, are scarcely used in other words. We have then ee, ai, ah, au, oh, oo, as the only certain representatives of the six long vowels (ii, ee, aa, AAA, oo, uu).

The short vowels (i, e) have been uniformly represented by i, e from the earliest times, and it would be impossible to obviate the ambiguity of their also representing (oi, ii) in accented syllables, without pursuing Orrin's plan and doubling the following consonant, when it is one of possible initial combination; thus, vibrait would suggest (voi-breet), rather than (vib-reet), which would require vibrait for certainty, and this notation may be adopted at the pleasure of the writer. From the xvii th century a, o, u have been in like manner the constant representatives of (æ, o, ə), although they would also require duplication of the following consonant to preserve them from the ambiguity of (ee, oo, in), as: fammin, notting, fussi = famine, knotting, fussy, compared with: famous, noting, fusee = fameus, nohtin, fiwzee, or fyoozee. The last short vowel sound (u) occasions great difficulty. In fact it is not recognised generally as distinct from (uu), except in such rare pairs, as fool full, pool pull. As oo, u have already been appropriated, and as ou, employed for this sound in would, could, should, would inevitably suggest the sound (öu) in other situations, we are driven to some modification of oo, u. The form uh is not English, and has been frequently used conventionally for (æə), so that it is excluded. The exclamation pooh! although dictionary makers seem only to recognize the orthography pugh, is yet sufficiently familiar in the other spelling to all readers,¹ and suggests the form ooh for the sound of (u). It is certainly long, but it is known, and could only mislead so far as to cause the reader to substitute (unu) for (u). The six short vowels are, therefore, i, e, a, o, u, ooh.

Of the only recognised forms for diphthongs: oy, ow, ew = (oi, eu, iu), as in boy, now, new, the first is unobjectionable, but the other two do not begin with the elements represented by o, e, (ɔ, e). The common diphthong (ai) has no representative distinct from i, y, which are already appropriated. For writing provincial dialects a careful separation of the various diphthongal forms is important. Hence a systematic mode of representing diphthongs is indispensable, and it must be founded upon the historical use of y, w, as the second element, which involves the rejection of such final forms as ay, aw, for the sounds already symbolised by ai, au. By simply prefixing any of the vowels ee, ai, ah, au, oh, oo, i, e, a, o, u, ooh, to y, w, we obtain most suggestive forms

¹ As in Prof. Max Müller's pooh-pooh theory of the origin of words, Lectures on the Science of Language, I, 344.
of diphthongs, containing those vowels run on to a final ee, oo, typified by the y, w. Thus: aiy (eai) is the usual English may,—ahy (aai), aye, or German ai,—awy (aai), a broad sound of joy,—ohy (oai), a provincial sound of boy,—ooy (uui), the Italian lui, and common sailors' buoy,—ey (ei), the Scotch bite,—ay (ei), a Cockney long i,—oy (oi) the usual boy,—uy (oi) the usual buy, Guy ;—eow (iui) an exaggerated Italian iw,—aiw (eeu), an exaggerated Italian eu,—ahu (au), the German au,—auw, a broad provincial how,—ohw (ouu) the common English know ;—iw (iu) the American and, perhaps, the common English new, for which both Wallis and Price (p. 139) used the sign iw,—eow (eu) the true Italian en,—aw (eeu) the Norfolk pound,—ow (ou) a provincial ow,—uw (ou) the common English now. The use of y, w being only a systematisation of an old extinct method of writing diphthongs may be fairly regarded as historical, and gives great power to this system of writing.

The sounds of (j, w, n) must be represented by y, w, h, having no other historic equivalents. But as y, w have been already used for diphthongs, and h is a modifying symbol in ah, oh, ooh, in which sense it must also be employed amongst the consonant combinations, whenever y, w, h occur in such situations as would occasion ambiguity, the recognised expedient of inserting a hyphen, as ai-y, oh-w, o-h, must be resorted to. The sound of (wh) must be represented by the historical symbol wh, instead of the anglosaxon hw, which is now uncouth.

The consonants and consonantal diphthongs must be p b, t d, ch j, 1 k g, f v, th dh, s z, zh sh, r l m n ng, for although dh, zh are unhistorical, they have long been generally recognised as orthoepical symbols. To these it seems best to add the historical nk for the unhistorical ngk (qk); but ngg must be used for (gg) to prevent ambiguity, as in singer, finger. Hyphens must be employed in t-h, d-h, s-h, z-h, n-g, n-k, when each letter represents a separate element. All truly doubled consonants must also be hyphenated, as boohk-kais, bookcase, distinct from bookkking, booking, and un-ohnnd, unowned, from un-nohn, unknown.

The practical writing alphabet of the English language will therefore consist of 42 symbols, which may be fairly called "historical," namely: ee, ai, ah, au, oh, oo; i, e, a, o, u, ooh; uy, oy, uw, iw; y, w wh, h; p b, t d, ch j, k g; f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, r l, m n ng nk. But the use of this alphabet would soon point out deficiencies, for example air, ohr, are no adequate representatives of the words: air, ear. The indistinct murmur which forms the conclusion of these words as generally pronounced may be written ('), as the historical representative of an omitted sound, and the full theoretical sound may be indicated by 'r. This

1 As these letters are really contractions for tsh dzh, when they are doubled to show that the preceding vowel is short, it is natural to double only the first element, and write tch, dj, meaning tsh, dzh. But it is not allowable to write th, dh, shh, zzh for thth, dhth, shsh, zhz (although in older English ssh is often used for shsh), because thh represents a really different sound, thus Matthiow would be (Maeth'iu) not (Maeth'iu), and aith= (eeth), eighth.
full sound is always heard if another vowel follows, as hee'ring, pooh'ring, poo'rer, fuy'ri, loow'ring = hearing, pouring, poorer, fiery, lowering. Such sounds as her, our, as distinct from herring, occurrence, require a means of representing the fully trilled r after a vowel, as common in Scotland and Ireland, and the examples chosen suggests the expedient commonly employed of writing rr, so that herd or he'rd is English, and he'rrd is Scotch 'heard.' The vowels in "air, ear, her" however, as distinct from those in "hale, hole, herring," have not yet been represented, and several other signs will be found indispensable in writing those dialectic sounds which are here of prime importance.

Now, on examining the long and short vowels, ee i, ai e, ah a, au o, oh u, oo ooh = (i i, ee e, aa æ, AA o, oo ə, uu u), it is readily seen that they are more distinct in quality, than in quantity. In fact Englishmen find the true short sounds of the long vowels, and the true long sounds of the short vowels difficult to distinguish from the long and short sounds respectively. This suggests the employment of the quantitative signs (') and ("), when prominence is to be given to the quantity, the unmarked sign being regarded as doubtful, just as in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Welsh, and generally. Thus ben is Scotch, ben Yorkshire for the plural of 'eye'; wault or watyt is English, wault Scotch, stöhn is Norfolk and American "stone," bōok is Scotch, bōohk southern English, bōok northern English, "book," Bath is the local, Bahth the usual pronunciation of "Bath," and the true sound of "air" is perhaps æ'r, for which ai'r is practically sufficient, and the true sound of oar is very nearly, but not quite ə'r. Another way of representing the quantity is the thoroughly English method introduced by Orrmin, to which we have already found it convenient to have occasional recourse, namely, to allow a single following consonant to indicate the length, and two following consonants the brevity, of the preceding vowel, open vowels remaining ambiguous. Thus the preceding examples may be written in order: eenm een, wait waitt, stöhn, bōok, bōohk, book, Bath, Bahth, the short sounds of the two last becoming Bahth, Bahthth. Other methods of representing quantity in connection with accent will be given presently.

Any one who tried to write down provincial or foreign sounds would still find considerable deficiencies. The following sixteen additional vowel signs are, however, all that it seems expedient to admit, the principle of ambiguous quantity applying as before.

For ordinary purposes, use:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Pronunciation and Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eh= ⟨e⟩</td>
<td>for the broader sound of e verging into a, heard in Scotland, and generally in the north of England in place of (e), French bête, Italian open e. This may also be taken as the sound of ai in air, which may be written ehr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oa= ⟨o⟩</td>
<td>for true sound of oa in oar = oar, known provincially even when not followed by r, a broad sound of oh verging to au, Italian open o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui= ⟨y⟩</td>
<td>for Scotch ui, French u, German ü, being ee or rather i pronounced with rounded lips.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
eu=(o), for close French eu, which has two sounds, close as in jeune, and open as in jeûne=(o, œ), not ordinarily distinguished by Englishmen; the first is at, the second e or oh, pronounced with rounded lips.

N=(Λ), to represent French nasality when it occurs, as in enfant, vin, bon, un, which might be written anfax, on, bon, un.

kh, gh=(kh, gh), for the Scotch and German guttural ch, but (kh) may, when desired, be distinguished as yh, and (kwh, gwh) may be written kuh, gwh.

lh=(Ihh) for the common Welch ll.

rr=(r) for the strongly trilled Scotch r not preceding a vowel, as herrd.

rh=(grh) or (r) for the French, German, and Northumbrian so called r grasse, guttural r or burr.

For still more accurate dialectic writing, use:

ae=(ah) for the fine southern ah verging to a.

aa=(aa) for a deeper sound of ah.

ao=(ah) for the broad Scotch ah verging to ou.

uh=(a), for that deeper sound of u which it is necessary to distinguish in the provincial diphthongs uhy, uhv (ai, eu), if not elsewhere.

ua=(a), for a still deeper sound of u, occasionally heard.

wo=(uh) for the oo verging to oh, or the oh verging to oo, heard in many provincial dialects, the true Italian close o.

ih, ue=(i, u) for the sound of ui verging to oe or oo respectively, as heard dialectically in English, German, and French, ih being a frequent form of the German ü, and ue being the Swedish u.

oe=(ae), for the true German ö, and open sound of French eu, described under eu above.

ë or ø=(o), for the sound of u in “eur, ” or e in herd, which may be written kër, hërd, (or ker herd, if the type ë is deficient,) when it is considered necessary to distinguish them from kur, herd.

ü or ü=(ö), for that frequent obscure unaccented a found in canary, real, tenant, which may be written kinehr, rœal, tennint, (or if the type ü is deficient, kœnehr, rœal, tennant), when it is thought necessary to distinguish it from a or u.

i or ë=(y) for the obscure sound of e goodness, which would be written goohdniss, (or, if the type i is deficient; goohdniss,) when it was thought necessary to distinguish it from e.

By thus adding from 4 to 12 vowels to the original 12, only 8 unusual, or obscure vowels, out of the 36 recognized in Palaeotype, viz., back (o), mid (y, oh, oh, oh, oh) and front (ah, ah), are left without signs, and these probably do not occur in any provincial English dialectic pronunciation, but might, in case of necessity, be represented by ö; û, ëh, uoh, oah, aoh; euh, oeh, respectively, the first two on account of their partial resemblance to the German ö, ü, and the others on account of their being liable to be confused with the sounds already represented by ê, ū, o, ao, eu, oe, respectively.

The sixteen additional vowel signs are therefore ü, aa, ae, ao, ê, oh, eu, ë, ih, oa, oe, ua, ue, uh, ui, wo, and although they are chiefly
unhistorical, they are so suggestive that they could be readily fixed on the memory. Compare aque akont = ask aunt, in southern English, ask ant in fine Yorkshire; il el English, el elch Scotch = ill ell; mào Scotch = man, unku géid shóon Scotch = unco guid shoon; nöa döa'nt góa Norfolk = no don't go; Goethe böcke German = Goethe böcke, mën Devonshire = moon, lën Cockney = learn, puir bohdi Scotch = pur body.

The system of diphthongs may now be completed by using the 16 additional vowels as prefixed to y, w; and also by using all the 28 vowels as prefixes to (') and to ui. The (') diphthongs are not uncommon provincially, the ui diphthongs are rare, but are found in Germany and the Netherlands. The easy method thus furnished for representing complicated diphthongal sounds, which are so frequently met with in provincial utterances, is one of the greatest recommendations for glossotype as a means of writing English dialects.

Any mode of marking the position of the accent is unhistorical, but it is so important in unknown words, as all written in Glossotype must be considered, that the Spanish custom of marking its position, when not furnished by some simple rule, is well worthy of imitation. This rule for English has been laid down thus by Mr. Melville Bell: The accent is to be read on the first syllable, unless otherwise expressed.

The accent mark on an ambiguous vowel or diphthong will be the acute on the first portion of the symbol, as reedém, obtúin. The accent mark on a short vowel will be the grave, and on a long vowel the circumflex, thus combining the notes of quantity and accent, as: deemáhnd, deemáhnd. When the accent falls on more than one syllable, it should always be written, as: húywái = highway, óndáhsábahi = unabsehbare, German. The evenness of French accent had also best be noted in this way for English readers, as ânsfán = enfant, or otherwise an exception to the rule must be made for French words only, which would then have to be specially named. The small number of accented letters supplied to English founts renders it advisable to have a substitute for these accent marks, and the turned period used in palaeotype will be found most convenient. A device familiar to writers of pronouncing dictionaries will enable us to indicate the long vowel by placing

1  This language seems to be the only one, except Greek, in which the necessity of marking the position of the accent has been acknowledged. In Portuguese, Italian, English, and Russian, the position of the accent is a constant source of difficulty to foreigners. The Spanish Academy in its anxiety to avoid many accent marks, and its desire to prevent ambiguity, lays down five rather lengthy rules for placing the accent mark, which are generally adopted by Spanish printers, whether they are so by writers I cannot say. When I printed phonetically I carried out a similar system, but the value of it was not sufficiently appreciated for few or no persons used accents in writing, and Mr. Isaac Pitman, and almost all other phonetic printers, have utterly ignored accents, at least for all native words. Mr. Melville Bell has however consistently carried out his one simple rule, which is here recommended to Glossotypists.

2 Visible Speech for the Million, p. 6.
the turned period immediately after it, as *reesee'd*, and the short vowel by placing it after the following consonant, as *empir'ik*. This principle may be applied to monosyllables, thus readily distinguishing: Yorkshire *boo-k*, Scotch *book*, English *book*e, without having to double the following consonant. The principle may also be applied to show the length of the first element of diphthongs, so that the true English "may know," may be written *mai'y nohw*, or *ma'i'y nohw*, while *baiyd, noaw* or *baiyd noaw* would indicate (*beid nou*), which are the Teviotdale pronunciation of "bide, knoll."

Great care has been bestowed upon this system of writing from a belief that it is not a philosophical toy or a plaything, but may prove extensively useful to writers of pronouncing vocabularies, to provincial glossarists, to travellers forming word lists, to writers of Scotch novels, and authors of provincial poems and tales, all of whom at present introduce more or less unsystematic, ambiguous, or unintelligible orthographies. It will be employed, therefore, for the representation of dialectic English and Scotch in Chap. XI. § 4. Except for the closest scientific purposes, for which palaeotype, or some system as extensive, is requisite, Glossotype as here presented, will be found sufficient.

The practical use of this system of writing has suggested some improvements in the tabular arrangement, and the preliminary table on p. 16, must therefore be considered as cancelled and replaced by those on pp. 614-5. In the first of these, the simplest form of Glossotype, which may be fairly termed historical phonetic spelling, is presented, containing only two of the additional vowels, *eu, wi*, without which no dialects could be even approximatively written. In the second, these two and the other fourteen are briefly explained, some vowel progressions are introduced which may assist the reader in forming a conception of the sounds, and the exact value of the 28 glossotype vowels, the diphthongs and consonants is fixed by a comparison with palaeotype.

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1 In Mr. Peacock's Glossaries (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1867, Supplement Part II.) a partially systematic method of writing is adopted, explained in the annexed Essay on Some Leading Characteristics of the Dialects, etc., p. 11 note; but on endeavouring to transcribe the specimens of the North and South Lonsdale dialects there given (pp. 31, 32) into glossotype, I found several combinations and signs employed which had not been previously explained, and which I had simply to guess at. Yet Mr. Peacock's writing is a gem compared to most which I have met with, for they generally leave me in a state of utter bewilderment. Few writers even condescend to give a key at all, and in Mr. Peacock's Glossaries, the editor has not considered it necessary to prefix a key conspicuously, but has left it hidden in a footnote to an appended essay, as if it were of no consequence, instead of being of prime importance. One consequence of this to myself was, that I did not discover the key till I had with great difficulty, and much uncertainty, made one for myself by examining the whole glossary. To form a system of writing requires peculiar studies. The present glossotype is the result of much thought and experience extending over a great length of time, combined with long practice in phonetic writing.

2 Oriental signs can easily be borrowed from palaeotype, or supplied by other conventions.

3 The information from my dialectic correspondents (p. 277 note 1) was chiefly collected by means of Glossotype.
### Key to Glossotype

Especially intended for writing dialectic English according to literary English analogies. Isolated letters and words in Glossotype should be in Italics. No letter or combination is ever mute; thus, final e is always pronounced as in German. Never use ay, au, etc., for ai, au, etc., even when final. C. Cockney, D. Dutch, E. English, F. French, G. German, I. Italian, P. Provincial, S. Scotch, W. Welsh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a gnat</td>
<td>i knit</td>
<td>ay S.P.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah father</td>
<td>o not'</td>
<td>ahy G. ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai wait</td>
<td>oh rose</td>
<td>aiy may aiw G. au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au all</td>
<td>oo wooed</td>
<td>ey S. bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o net</td>
<td>ooh wood</td>
<td>euy F. ayl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee meet</td>
<td>u nut</td>
<td>euw D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu F. eu</td>
<td>ui F. u</td>
<td>iw mew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(')}\) an indistinct murmur.

\(^{(.)}\) nasalized utterance.

N F. nasal n is written ñ.

Observe vowels are double dotted in her real good-\text{-}\text{ness}, for which turned letters may be used if types run short, as: hor real good\text{-}\text{ness}.

All vowel signs are ambiguous, short or long, and may have their quantity distinguished when desired, by a single or double following consonant, by the signs of quantity \(^{(')}\), or \(^{(.)}\), or a turned period \(^{'(')}\) placed immediately after a long vowel and after the consonants following a short vowel, as, Yorkshire book book book or book, S. book book book or book, E. book book book or book, E. noh-w = know, Teviotdale noaw = knoll.

When accents are not marked by \(^{'(')}\) for ambiguous vowels, or \(^{(.)}\) for long and short vowels as above, the accent must be placed in reading on the first syllable of a word.

In all these diphthongs the first element has the sound assigned in the preceding column, which is run on quickly, with a glide, to a following ce or oo written y or w. Numerous other diphthongs can be formed on the same model.

Diphthongs may also be formed by affixing \(^{'(')}\) as roh'd almost roh'd roh'd = road, and by affixing wi, as D. heuis = huis, but it is generally sufficient to treat this wi as y, thus: kweya.

In the rare cases when any of the above combinations do not form single vowels or diphthongs, introduce a hyphen, as ah-yont = ayont S. Observe that the w and y of the consonants wh, yh, never belong the preceding vowel.

Foreign and Oriental sounds must be represented by small capitals, etc., by special convention.

Really doubled consonants should be separated by a hyphen, as un-nokn = unknown.

When any of the above combinations do not form single letters introduce a hyphen, as mad-huws, Bog-hed, Mak-heeth, in-grain, in-kum, mis-hdp, pol-huws, etc.
EXPLANATION OF THE ADDITIONAL AND FOREIGN VOWELS.

ā obscure a in real, cristal.

aa deeper sound of ah, in G. and F.

ae between a and ah, fine southern E. a in staff, ask, path, pass, command.

ao between ah and au, broad S. a in man.

i the obscure sound of e in herd, when it can be distinguished from e or u.

eh between e and a, broad northern E. and S. e, I. open e, F. è.

en produced by pronouncing ai with rounded lips, F. close eu in jetée.

i obscure or e in goodness.

ih resembling ui, verging towards oo, Swedish u.

oa as heard in oar, between o and oh, P. E. broad o, I. open o.

oe produced by pronouncing e or eh with rounded lips, F. open è in jetée, G. ë.

ua very deep sound of western E. u.

ue resembling ui, verging towards oo, Swedish u.

ui produced by pronouncing ee or i with rounded lips, S. ui, D. F. u, G. ü.

uo between oh and oo, a broader ooh, I. close o in somma, Edinburgh coal.

Vowel Progressions, arranged to show approximatively how the (italic) sixteen additional and foreign vowels lie between the (roman) twelve usual English sounds.

1. palatal to guttural: ee i ai e eh a ae ah
2. guttural to labial: ah aa ao au o oo oh oo oo oo oo.
3. labial to palatal: 1) oo ue ui th ee; 2) oh oe eu ai
4. deep to high, obscure: ua uh u æ ẹ.

GLOSSOTYPE COMPARED WITH PALAEOTYPE.

When more than one palaeotypic symbol is placed after a single vowel, the first represents the sound that would be naturally given to it by an English reader, and the two may be distinguished, when required, as previously explained. Glossotype in Italics, Palaeotype in ( ). The arrangement is partially systematic.

VOCALS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical</th>
<th>Additional</th>
<th>Y series</th>
<th>W series</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Pairs</th>
<th>Single</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ee (ii i)</td>
<td>i (y)</td>
<td>aiy (eei ei)</td>
<td>aiw (eew eu)</td>
<td></td>
<td>p b (p b)</td>
<td>h (h h')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai (ee e)</td>
<td>eh (E EE)</td>
<td>ehy (ei)</td>
<td>ehw (eu)</td>
<td></td>
<td>t ã (t d)</td>
<td>r (r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah (aa a)</td>
<td>a (ah aah)</td>
<td>aey (ahi)</td>
<td>aew (ahw)</td>
<td></td>
<td>k g (k g)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au (A A a)</td>
<td>ao (ah aah)</td>
<td>aay (ai aai)</td>
<td>ahw (au aau)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ky gy (kj gj)</td>
<td>'r (r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh (oo o)</td>
<td>o (oo o)</td>
<td>ohy (ooi)</td>
<td>aaw (au)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kw gw (kwo)</td>
<td>rr (r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo (uu uu)</td>
<td>u (uu uu)</td>
<td>ooy (uui ui)</td>
<td>ohw (ou ouu)</td>
<td></td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>lh (lh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i (ii ii)</td>
<td>ih (ii i)</td>
<td>iyi (yi)</td>
<td>iwi (yui)</td>
<td></td>
<td>wh w (wh w)</td>
<td>l (l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e (ee ee)</td>
<td>eu (eo o)</td>
<td>e (eei ei)</td>
<td>ew (eu)</td>
<td></td>
<td>f v (f v)</td>
<td>'l (l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a (ae ae)</td>
<td>ì (u)</td>
<td>a (aí)</td>
<td>aw (au)</td>
<td></td>
<td>sh sh (sh zh)</td>
<td>'m (m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o (oo oo)</td>
<td>ò (oo oo)</td>
<td>o (oi)</td>
<td>ow (ou)</td>
<td></td>
<td>yh y (yh jh)</td>
<td>'n (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u (oo oo)</td>
<td>uh (aæ aæ)</td>
<td>u (oi)</td>
<td>uw (ou)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kh kh (kh gh)</td>
<td>ny (nj)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ooh (u uu)</td>
<td>uo (uh uuh)</td>
<td>uhy (ai)</td>
<td>uhw (au)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kwh kwh (kwh ng)</td>
<td>nhk (nk)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Murmur (') French Nasals—an en on un (aa ea oo o3).
The historical spelling from which Glossotype has been evolved, is, of course, not proposed for immediate adoption in literature, although there is no historical or etymological reason against its use. In order to shew the effect of adopting such an orthography in place of that now current, I have annexed the glossotypic spelling of some lists of words already given in the previous section on the pages referred to in each case, in which the reader will find the solution of their orthographical riddles. As these lists contain the principal anomalies of spelling in our language, the absurdity of propagating them will appear strongly in reading over their sounds, without having the orthography immediately present to the eye. The historical letters only are used, hence the unaccented vowels, and some shades of sound are not discriminated with perfect accuracy, and the intention has been rather to endeavour to give the letters which an average speller, acquainted with the ordinary orthography, would select when intending to write his own pronunciation glossotypically, than to aim at orthoepical accuracy, as the appearance which would be presented if such a style of spelling were adopted, could not otherwise be imitated. For this reason duplicated consonants, are freely admitted, when they would be likely to suggest themselves to the writer, but are not used systematically, and only the ambiguous accent (') is employed. The order of the sounds is that given in the last paragraph of p. 609.

ee, p. 599. miniwsheie, deeméen, Keez Kolledj, bee, eech, fleed, leev, Beechum, leeg, feet, een, kompleet, sleev, impréén, Lee, konséet, konséev, seenyuri, Lee, reeséet, Beeeur, peep'l, deeméen, kee, Weemz, keed, duyaréea, invaléed, greef, maggažéen, greev, seenyur, fiwéeé, debrée, intéeég, féetus, kee, keed, muskéetch, turkéecz.

ai, p. 596. mát, shampáin, dailia, pain, kampáin, Strait, trai, haupéni hah- peni, jail, Kaïshauté'n, gaj, plaig, plaï, grait, ai! vail, rain, wai, dhai, ait.

ah, p. 593. fahdhar, ahr, seráhiyoh, ah, ahmz, Mahnuzberi, aikláh, ahnt, bahrk, kláhrk, háhrt, gahrn.

au, p. 593. faul, aum, Maudlen Kolledj, maustik, wauk, baumun, haul, Maul, nauti, Vaun, aun, auluf, au, braud, sauder, aut, ekstraudinerl, Jaurjik, Jaurj, faurk, haurs.

oh, p. 602. hohtór, hobboy, boh, yooman, shoh, sooth, pothi, ohis wute, Sohm, bobs'n, kohburn, doh, bohn, ohlyoh, oh, skreetóhr skreetówár, yokh hroheé, aprohpóh, Grohvnur, depóh deppoh, sohí, rohgh, Yoh-haul, dhoh, noh, tohrdz, oh, Nohlz, kóht, kwohth.

oo, p. 606. galéon, Roobben, Bukléo, broo, brood, room, roebahrb, doo, shoo, moom, manóver, too, wood, soop, booz, throo, Broom, rondévoo, surtó, billidóo, Kooper, rooling, troo, rool, broozing, brooz, Hoom, too, hoo.

4, p. 599. lanskip, Sinjun, Jahrvís, pritti, ginniz, biffín, britchiz, forfit, Tibbuld, huzzif, egzíbit, rith'm, pit, marrijiz, marri, pittid, too liv', siv', fippens, wimmin, grits, Jahrvís, Missis, bizi, letts, bild, bizins, Tirrit, Chizzik, fízik, Windum, Rothsí, muuni, Anni, Biílít, felli, shamni, plaigt.

e, p. 595. menni, Pomfret, Pestum, Muykel, Temz, sed, Abbergeni, sez, let, hed, det, Wenzdi, aléjd, forred, heffer, Lester, lepperd, chek, rondévoo, rettarik, frend, konshens, fettid, konesár, berri, ges, pannijérrik, gunnel, Tommasez, saiber, verchoo, Berlingtn, saffer, better, Ûrkert, ahnsér—or saiber, vurchoo, Burlington, safft, bettur, Ûrkurt, ahnsur.

a, p. 593. sat, Uyzak, Makki, dram, hav, banyoh, Tammun, plad, sammun, haráng, Klappam, Talmash, pikant.

o, p. 601. rozzi, onnur, on, grot, forred, konnnisant konniss'n, Jon, hok, peddagog, nolledj.

4, p. 596. ribbun, meershun, eskúchtun, umbl', mooshun, konshus, sun, duz, luv, tortus, Linkun, flud, dub'l,
tung, bellus, tuppens, amatár, kubburd, avvurdipwóyz, kurnel, likúr, likkur.

**CHAP. avvurdiwpoyz, h6on, liwstwic, amiwz, fiwg'lmun, diws, pam, iw, manchiwmaikar, wun.**

HISTORICAL PHONETIC SPELLING.

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such as was adopted by the Anglosaxons, and by the best writers in the xiiith and xivth centuries, was also purely phonetic, reflecting the pronunciation of the writer to the best of his ability. We might adopt that systematised scheme of the xivth century explained above (p. 401), and illustrated in the next chapter, but we should find it extremely difficult to make any one but an Early English student see the value of it, and perhaps even he might demur to fixing the time at so recent a period, the latest during which the principle of phonetic spelling actually influenced the writer. But I know no other period which would in any respect answer the purpose. With regard to the words introduced since then, we should have to consider how they would have been probably pronounced at that time, and write them accordingly. The rehabilitation of our orthography on that ground would therefore be a work of extreme difficulty, and would find a correspondingly small number of adherents. Even those who employed it would have to re-memorize every word in the language, a discipline to which none would submit who could escape it. The attempt to introduce such a system could therefore only result in confusion worse confounded. We may adopt it for our xivth century schoolbooks, but we must not ask writers to use it in their everyday scribbling.

Dismissing, therefore, any purely historical system, we have only to consider the etymological, and the typographical, which will occupy the two next sections, while the phonetic ground will be considered in the last section.

§ 4. Etymological Spelling.

The two tables in §§ 1, 2 may serve to dissipate the phantom which haunts many brains under the name of etymological orthography. It seems that the gross departure from the original phonetic conception which pervades our alphabetic system, and which degrades alphabetical to hieroglyphical writing, has led persons to suppose that the phonetically useless and inconsistently applied letters, which they have constantly to employ, are intended to convey to the reader the history and origin of a word, whence it came, how it changed, what was its original meaning, and how that has been modified. It is true that the recent etymological labours of Wedgewood and E. Müller, might be sufficient to prove that such information could not be conveyed by any means, because it is in many cases unknown now, and was less known to those who have modelled our orthography, and also that when it is known, or tolerably certain, there is no generally understood abbreviated system for conveying the information, which often requires a considerable amount of words to explain, nor does it appear possible to conceive that any such system could be invented, much less brought into use. These matters do not strike those who are possessed with the etymological conception, for they are
generally very ill-informed respecting the real history of our language, and think rather of the recent terms borrowed from the Latin and Greek, which present no difficulty whatever, and could scarcely be made to present much difficulty by any freak of orthography, than of the old terms of Germanic, or Norman French origin, or those, not rare words, in constant use, of which the origin is unknown. Many of the troublesome additional letters, which were perhaps inserted from a supposed knowledge of the origin of a word, are mistakes, few of them are of any assistance, and none of them are consistently employed.

To take a simple example: those who know that oak corresponds to ags. òk, may be inclined to think that the ə was put in to show it was Germanic, and not Latinic or Hellenic, whereas we know that the introduction of ə was a mere habit of the xixth and xivth centuries; or, that the inserted а was meant to allude to the old a, while the prefixed o shewed the modern change; whereas, we know that the xivth century wrote simply ok, oik, that in the xvth, and the greater part of the xvirth century, oke was employed (this is the orthography of Palsgrave and Levins), and that the а was introduced towards the latter end of the xvirth century as a mere phonetic contrivance to distinguish (oo) from (u), and without any etymological reason whatever. It so happens that we still write stroke, notwithstanding the ags. stracan. There was a long fight between sope, soap, and it is not to be supposed that a was carried by Latin sapo. It is but very lately that cloak triumphed over cloke; but there can be no etymological reason, because no one is certain of the etymology, and the middle Latin clocca, generally added, would not favour the а.

Take another simple instance, which, like the former, applies to numerous cases: In the word name, the final e is supposed to allude to a former final vowel, and to indicate the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The ags. had a final а, but the preceding vowel was short. The а had become long in Orrmin's time, and he wrote name because he said (naa'me), and not (nam'a), which he would have written namma, and similarly he changed all the other vowels to accord with his own pronunciation. The meaning of the added e was lost in xvth century, and in the xvirth it was frequently, but of course inconsistently, used to indicate vowel length, and in this case the length of (aa) as (naam). It was not from a wish to preserve the a etymologically that it was not changed to naim in the xvirth century, but it was because аi became settled as (ee) before name ceased to be (nææm), so that there was a difference in sound felt nearly up to the time when our orthography crystallized in the xvirth century. Should not we suppose same to give us similar information. It would be wrong if it did, for though Orrmin has an adjective same, there is no ags. adjective sama, but only an ags. adverb same.

1 Italian: ipoteca, ipotesi, ipofisi, ipofora, filosofo, fisionomia, geroglifico, epitaffio, epitalamio, etc., present no more difficulty than our bishop, and not so much as our church.
The reason usually given for wishing to retain the u in spelling *honour, favour, error* is the French orthography -eur, on the plea that this orthography discriminates those words which were taken from the French from those where taken direct from the Latin. It is certainly not obvious that this discrimination is worth any trouble, or that any one could determine to which class every word ending in -or or -our really belongs. Nevertheless this etymological reason has been frequently advanced, and was especially insisted on by the late Archdeacon C. J. Hare.  

Our investigations, however, shew that the reason given is altogether fanciful and destitute of any foundation of historical truth. These words were spelled -our, in the xrvth century, because they were pronounced (-uur), for the same reason that *pu nu* became *thou now*. Moreover *honour* could not have been derived from *honneur*, because that French form did not exist when the English *honour* was adopted. The French used *honor, honur, honour*. The mutation of Latin o into French eu did not take place till a later period.  

If indeed the French had used eu, which they would have pronounced (eu) or (ey), there is no doubt that Chancer who used the sound (eu) and wrote it eu or ev, would have also written *honneur*. We see then that *honur* has more claim than either *honor* or *honour* if we go to the old French; though *honour* asserts its right as old English, and just as *honos* was old Latin. But such squabbles are trifling. The historical spelling of § 3, would decide in favour of *onur* or *onnur*, which no etymologist has proposed, although every orthoepist would be scandalized at the pronunciation of the "etymological" h.

"Truth and honour, freedom and curtesie," writes the Harl. MS. 7334, v. 46. What do we gain, either phonetically or etymologically by writing,

Truth and honor, freedom and courtesy.


The spellings *true, truth*, are certainly etymologically inferior to the discarded *trewe, trouth*, which represented the proper sounds of the time, and we ought, on the same principle now, to write *troo, trooth*. The termination -y, used for the threefold termination, -e, -ie, -y, the last being a contraction for -iy = ië, is a gross violation of all supposed principles of etymological spelling. It is evident that those who shaped our spelling had little or no knowledge of etymology, had no acquaintance with the customs of our ancient orthography, which many even yet regard as a chaos without law, or custom, and, except in very rare and very obvious instances, paid no attention whatever to historical affiliation, or ancient etymology.

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2 Diez, after citing *few, jew, heure, pleure*, etc., adds "in allen diesen Fällen kennt die alte Sprache auch das einfache o," Gram. der Rom. Spr. 2nd ed. 1856. vol. i. p. 426.

3 The xivth century orthography of this word is especially considered in Chap. VII. § 1, near the beginning.
The first thing which we have to do in studying a new language for comparative philology, is to determine its sounds, and only in so far as the orthography enables us to determine the sounds, is it of any etymological value. Any deviation from phonetic representation is an impediment in the way of etymology. And the only true etymological spelling which can be conceived is one that is strictly phonetic. The investigation which we have just concluded, by enabling us to restore from the changing orthography the changing sounds, that is, the changing words of our language, puts us in a far better position than ever to determine the etymological relations. We still want a similar investigation for French, at least, and for all our dialects, as well as that principal southern form which alone offered sufficient facilities for examination. All the labour and trouble of such an examination would have been saved if the writers had had a sufficient alphabet from the first, and had known how to use it. But, unfortunately, the true conditions of alphabetic writing have only just been determined, and the number of those who can use correctly even such an approximation as is furnished by the forty-two historical phonetic symbols of the last section is very small. No one has ever dreamed of writing provincial dialects etymologically. It was felt that by so doing the whole means of representing them was lost; for, until they were written their etymology could not be determined. It was forgotten that our own particular cultivated English language, is but the most fortunate among many dialects, that, therefore, its etymology, also, could not be determined till it was fixed by phonetic writing, and that, consequently, for etymological purposes we should endeavour to represent it on paper as accurately as the generality can appreciate it. Other reasons there are in abundance. But on the ground of philology alone, we can truly say, there is no etymology without phonetics.

§ 5. On Standard, or Typographical Spelling.

It is possible to write a language without any relation to phonetics. The greater part of the Chinese vocabulary is said to be of this nature. One system of writing is prevalent throughout a vast empire, is understood by each province, and is provided by each with a different set of corresponding vocables. At Pekin they cannot understand the speech of Canton, but the writing is mutually intelligible. It is like the cyphers of arithmetic, or the signs of algebra, and the diagrams of geometry, which are read in different tongues, but with the same apprehension of their meaning throughout Europe. This ideal has great fascination for many. Conceive a grand symboleum, known everywhere, and yet read by each in his own tongue. Such a conception has been nearly carried out in England, Germany, France, and Italy, and probably in other countries. A fixed system of spelling has been, either by aca-
demical authority, or through the action of printers, accepted in each country. No two men in England and Germany, at any rate, pronounce in the same manner every word which they would write alike. In Germany completely diverse systems of utterance are pursued among the educated in different districts. The high German, as distinguished from all and every of these systems, is known as "die Schriftsprache, d. h. als diejenige Sprache in der man Deutch schreibt." It is a literary, not a spoken language, and

1435, in Prussia, on the Rhine, on the Danube, by the Vistula, and the Eider, or in Switzerland, the language changes to the ear. The peasantry of Saxony are taught to write High German; their spoken Upper German dialect tries a foreigner sorely.

In the same way we have a literary language in England, a written language, having only a remote connection with the spoken tongue, and shaped by printers as an instrument intended to satisfy the eye. Indeed the great objection to any innovation is its "odd appearance." And persons naturally conceive that to change the spelling is to alter the language. We have succeeded in getting this orthography to be recognised, and there are probably many who look upon it as an institution as unalterable and natural as the musical scale (which, by-the-by, differs materially in different countries, and is thoroughly artificial in its origin), and regard any unwitting deviation from it as unfitting a person for the commonest occupation, and excluding him altogether from the ranks of the educated, and yet the only "good (!) spellers" in the country are compositors and printers' readers. A reference to the tables in the two first sections of this chapter should dissipate all idea of fixedness, every notion of a sacred character in our orthography. It is barely a hundred years old, to give it the longest life. Two hundred, three hundred, five hundred years ago our spelling was entirely different. The same letters were used, but differently collocated, for what only standard orthographers could look upon as the same word. Notwithstanding this, a standard orthography is not only a possibility, but an actuality, and as long as it is accompanied by its indispensable adjunct—a pronouncing dictionary—it will cease to be detrimental to the philologer, who can resort to the phonetic representation for what he requires. But it should remain fixed to be of value. However much the language may hereafter vary, this crystallized form should remain. No change of any kind, or from any cause should be permitted.

1 "The language of writing, i.e., that language in which we write German," as distinguished from speaking German. K. F. Becker, Schulgrammatik der deutschen Sprache, 3rd ed. 1835, § 23.

2 This is still more striking, I am informed by natives, in the Arabic language. The written symbols and the literary language are the same from Morocco to Persia, the native dialectic pronunciations are mutually unintelligible.

3 "Correctness in Spelling," that is, habitual use of typographical custom, is essential to those who intend to pass any Civil Service examination.

4 The slight variations and uncertainties pointed out on p. 590, note, may be entirely disregarded for present purposes.
Otherwise to the enormous practical evils of an orthography which has no connection with sound, which helps no one to read and no one to spell, will be added the last straw of uncertainty.

For my own part I do not see the value of a standard orthography, but I do see the value of an orthography which reflects the pronunciation of the writer. Our present standard orthography is simply typographical; but in that word lies a world of meaning. It is a tyrant in possession. It has an army of compositors who live by it, an army of pedagogues who teach by it, an army of officials who swear by it and denounce any deviation as treason, an army, yea a vast host, who having painfully learned it as children, cling to it as adults, in dread of having to go through the awful process once more, and care not for sacrificing their children to that Moloch, through whose fires themselves had to pass, and which ignorance makes the countersign of respectability. Accepting this fact, I have arranged all my vocabularies according to this typographical spelling, simply because it will be familiar to all who read this book, and they will, therefore, by its means most readily discover what they require. But I cannot do so without recording my own conviction, the result of more than a quarter of a century’s study, that our present standard typographical spelling is a monstrous misshapen changeling, a standing disgrace to our literature.

1 For the same reason in any dictionary, whether of ancient or modern English, which is published before a general revision of our orthography is effected (the Greek Kalendra?), I recommend an arrangement of the words according to the orthography in most general use at the time of publication, because the intention of such an arrangement is to find out a word with facility, and the most generally used orthography is necessarily the one best known. No individual systems such as Webster’s, or that proposed by Mr. E. Jones (p. 500, note), or peculiarities, such as Mitford’s iand, Milton’s rime, Johnson’s musick, which are not found in one book or newspaper in ten thousand, should be adopted. Where there is a concurrent use, do as Minshew did (supra, p. 104), give all spellings, the explanations under the one thought to be most usual (to the exclusion of all caprice, individual preference, and pet theories of correctness) and cross references under the others. To search a dictionary of any extent is penance enough. The searcher can’t afford to have his labour increased. Would not a beginner in Anglosaxon be driven mad by the arrangement in Ettmüller’s Dictionary, to which no index even is appended? I have often regretted the precious time it has cost me. In Dr. Stratham’s excellent Dictionary of the Old English Language “the words are entered in alphabetical order, under their oldest form, for example aven bven under øzen, øfen, even under øfen; icel, icel under icel, etc.” The consequence is the waste of hours. Such a dictionary should have the chief article, as in Coleridge’s Glossary, under the most usual existent form, as best known, and cross references under all the old forms, as being unknown. Individual Glossaries must of course follow the exact orthography of the books which they index, but even here cross references may refer to the chief article under the usual orthography. Great advantage would accrue in comparing all forms of words in all books by some such arrangement as this. Where the field is so vast and the multiplicity of detail so immeasurable, those patriotic individuals who give us the result of their labours should do their best to render them quickly accessible. The increased bulk of any glossary or dictionary is utterly unimportant, as compared with the saving of time to its consulter.

For at least a century, since Buchanan published his "Essay towards establishing a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English language throughout the British dominions, as practised by the most learned and polite speakers," in 1766, and probably for many years previously, there prevailed, and apparently there still prevails, a belief that it is possible to erect a standard of pronunciation which should be acknowledged and followed throughout the countries where English is spoken as a native tongue, and that in fact that standard already exists, and is the norm unconsciously followed by persons who, by rank or education, have most right to establish the custom of speech.

One after another, for the last century, we have had labourers in the field. Buchanan, 1766, was a Scotchman, and his dialect clung to him; Sheridan, 1780, was an Irishman, and Johnson, from the first, ridiculed the idea of an Irishman teaching Englishmen to speak.\(^1\) Sheridan was an actor, so was Walker, 1791, but the latter had the advantage of being an Englishman, and his dictionary is still in some repute, though those who study it will see his vain struggles to reconcile analogy with custom, his constant references to the habits of a class of society to which he evidently did not belong, his treatment of pronunciation as if determined by orthography (precisely in the same way as grammarians consider grammar to mould language, whereas both orthography and gram-

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1 "Boswell: It may be of use, Sir, to have a Dictionary to ascertain the pronunciation. Johnson: Why, Sir, my Dictionary shews you the accent of words, if you can but remember them. Boswell: But, Sir, we want marks to ascertain the pronunciation of the vowels. Sheridan, I believe, has finished such a work. Johnson: Why, Sir, consider how much easier it is to learn a language by the ear, than by any marks. Sheridan’s Dictionary may do very well; but you cannot always carry it about with you: and, when you want the word, you have not the Dictionary. It is like the man who has a sword that will not draw. It is an admirable sword to be sure: but while your enemy is cutting your throat, you are unable to use it. Besides, Sir, what entitles Sheridan to fix the pronunciation of English? He has, in the first place, the disadvantage of being an Irishman: and if he says he will fix it after the example of the best company, why they differ among themselves. I remember an instance: when I published the plan for my Dictionary, Lord Chesterfield told me that the word great should be pronounced to rhyme to state; and Sir William Yonge sent me word that it should be pronounced so as to rhyme to seat, and that none but Irishmen would pronounce it great. Now here were two men of the highest rank, the one the best speaker in the House of Lords, the other the best speaker in the House of Commons, differing entirely." Boswell’s Life of Johnson, anno. 1772, p. 63. Dr. Johnson, however, had his own fancies: “I perceived that he pronounced the word heard, as if spelled with a double e, hear’d, instead of sounding it herd, as is most usually done. He said, his reason was, that if it were pronounced herd, there would be a single exception from the English pronunciation of the syllable ear, and he thought it better not to have that exception.” Ibid, anno 1777, p. 68. Dr. Johnson had forgotten heart, hearten, wear, bear, to tear, swear, earl, pearl, which all orthoepists of his time pronounce differently from ear. On great, seat, see supra, p. 87.
mar are *caste*, one of speech sounds, and the other of speech combinations); in short, in almost every part of his "principles," and his "remarks" upon particular words throughout his dictionary, they will see the most evident marks of insufficient knowledge, and of that kind of pedantic self-sufficiency which is the true growth of half-enlightened ignorance, and may be termed "usherism." Walker has done good and hard work; he has laid down rules, and hence given definite assertions to be considered, and he has undoubtedly materially influenced thousands of people, who, more ignorant than himself, looked upon him as an authority. But his book has passed away, and his pronunciations are no longer accepted. Jones, 1798; Perry, 1805; Enfield, 1807; Fulton, 1821; Jameson, 1827; Knowles, 1835, need not be more than named. The last was a corrector and follower of Sheridan. Smart's *Walker Remodelled*, 1836, and Worcester's *Critical and Pronouncing Dictionary*, 1847, are those now most in vogue. Smart was a teacher of elocution in London, who enjoyed a considerable reputation; Worcester is an American. In both of these we have a distinct recognition of the vowels in unaccented syllables, but by no means a distinct representation of the same; and in Smart we have great consideration bestowed upon the final vocal *r* (*r*), and its diphthongal action on the preceding vowel.

The vocabulary of our language is so much more copious than the vocabulary of any individual, and the vocabulary of any writer is so much more copious than the vocabulary of the same man as a speaker—unless he be a public orator, a clergyman, a lecturer, a barrister, an actor,—and the orthography of our language conveys so little information upon the intended pronunciation of any word, that there will be many thousand words that even the most accomplished and varied speakers and hearers have never uttered or heard; and other thousands which they have only on the rarest occasions uttered and heard, of the sound of which they must therefore be more or less in doubt, unless they feel that confidence in themselves which will allow them to assert that their own pronunciation is correct, because it is their own.¹ By far the greater number of

¹ I do not remember ever meeting with a person of general education, or even literary habits, who could read off without hesitation, the whole of such a list of words as: bourgeois, deny, actinism, velicity, batman, beaufl, brevier, rowlock, fusil, flugleman, vase, tassel, buoy, oboe, archimandrite, etc., and give them in each case the same pronunciation as is assigned in any given pronouncing dictionary now in use. Dr. Kitto, who lost his hearing at twelve years of age, but retained his power of speech, says: (The Lost Senses, 1845, Series 1, Deafness, p. 23) "I have often calculated that above two-thirds of my vocabulary consist of words which I never heard pronounced. From this result some peculiarities not unworthy of notice. Many of the words of my old vocabulary continue to be pronounced in the provincial dialect in which they were learned, such as *tay* for *tea*, even though I know the right pronunciation, and generally recollect the error after it has been committed. I know not that I should regret this, as it seems to give to my language a *living* character, which it would necessarily want, if all framed upon unheard models. Many such words do not, however, occur, as I have exchanged many provincialisms for book words, which I am not in the same way liable
speakers, however, do not feel this confidence, and, afraid that the sounds they are accustomed to use in their own limited circles would be ridiculed in the higher walks to which they aspire, are glad to take the "authority" of a pronouncing dictionary as a guide. *Quis autem custodiet ipsos custodes?* What guide do the guides follow?

Now our previous investigation shews that at any given time there has always existed a great diversity of pronunciation, and that pronunciation has altered with different velocities and in different directions in different places, that what was considered "polite" at one time, was scouted at another, that there never has been so near an approach to a uniform pronunciation as that which now prevails, and that that uniformity itself is not likely to be so great as might have been anticipated.

Uniformity of pronunciation, necessarily depends upon the proximity of speakers. We have seen that the great changes in English were produced by the two civil wars, which mixed up the elements of our population. In more recent times a certain degree of uniformity is sustained, by 1) that communication between town and country which disseminates the habits of the metropolis throughout the provinces; 2) that system of university education which rubs together the different dialects of England in a classical mortar, and sends out the product as the utterance of young men of rank and fortune, and still more effectively, as that of young clergymen throughout the length and breadth of our land, and 3) that plan of teaching teachers which instils into them the pronunciation of the most usual words and enables them to impress it upon their pupils in the primary schools throughout the country. But that nothing approaching to real uniformity prevails is easily seen, and some striking illustrations will be furnished in Chap. XI.

When we listen to a discourse we are by natural habit carried away with the succession of ideas, and we have great difficulty in withdrawing our attention from this, and fixing it merely upon the sounds which are uttered. Any one, however, who wishes to study

to mispronounce. But even my book words, though said to be generally pronounced with much precision, are liable to erroneous utterance through my disposition to give all such words as they are written, and it is well known that the letters of which many of our words are composed, do not adequately represent the sounds with which they are pronounced. This error of pronouncing words as they are written is the converse of that so common among uneducated people, of writing words down according to their sounds. Many of such faults have, however, been corrected in the course of years, and it may not now be easy to detect me in many errors of this kind; but this arises not more from such cor-

rections, than from the curious instinct which has, in the course of time, been developed, of avoiding the use of those words about the pronunciation of which I feel myself uncertain, or which I know myself liable to mispronounce. This is particularly the case with proper names and foreign words; although, even in such, I am more in dread of erroneous quantity than of wrong vocalization." The above test words, which are not all to be found even in Worcester's dictionary, written in glos-

totype according to my pronunciation, would be: *burjōys, deemūy, āktinīz'm, velēēiti, bauman, bīflīn, breevēer, rul-
luk, fiwēée, fiwigl'man, vauz, tos'l, boy, ohboy, ūhrkimāndruluyt.*
pronunciation must be able to do this. It is entirely insufficient and misleading to ask a person to pronounce you a given word. The most you can do is to propound him a sentence, and listen to him with closed eyes as he repeats it over and over again. Then you will probably detect differences of utterance at each delivery, differences which it requires years of care and attention to discriminate and symbolize satisfactorily. Even then, too, each delivery may be false, that is, not such as the speaker would utter naturally, when he was thinking of the meaning and not of the sound of the words. Listen to a preacher, shutting out your sense to his meaning, and observe the alternations of loud, distinct, slow, and scarcely audible, obscure, rapid utterances. Listen to the same man engaged in ordinary conversation, and observe the increase of the rapid, obscure utterances, and the difference occasioned in the tolerably distinct syllables by the difference of emphasis and delivery. Then think how difficult it is to determine the real pronunciation of that one man. How much more difficult must it be to determine and then bear in mind the pronunciation of thousands of other people, whom you only hear occasionally and observe less frequently, because you wish to know what, not how, they speak. And yet this has to be done by any one who wishes to discover what is the real actual existing usage of English speech. It is needless to say that it is not done. Certain associations of childhood determine the direction of pronunciation, certain other habits and associations of youth and early maturity, serve to modify the original, and, if the speaker inclines to consider speech, he may artificially "correct," and at any rate, materially change his habits of pronunciation in after life, but this is an exception. He soon ceases to hear words, he drinks in ideas, and only glaring differences which impede this imbibition, strike him and are, more or less falsely, noted. He is in the habit of using an orthography which not only does not remind him of the sounds of words, but gives him the power of deducing great varieties of pronunciation for unknown words. What chance then have we of a uniform pronunciation?

What is the course actually pursued by those who seek to determine a standard of pronunciation? Dr. Johnson laid down as "the best general rule, to consider those as the most elegant speakers who deviate least from the written words." This was entirely theoretical, and was penned in ignorance of the historical variations of the orthoepical significance of the "written words." Walker asks whether the custom of speech to be followed is the "usage of the multitude of speakers, whether good or bad," epithets which beg the question, "the usage of the studious in schools and colleges, with those of the learned professions, or that of those who, from their elevated birth or station, give laws to the refinements and elegancies of a court?" and replies that it is "neither of these... taken singly, but a sort of compound ratio of all three," which expression, knowing what compound ratio means, I do not profess to understand. He goes on to say, "Neither a finical pronun-

1 Preface to Dictionary.
cation of the Court,”—(is then Court pronunciation necessarily
finical?)—“nor a pedantic Græcism of the schools,”—(does this
eist?)—“will be denominated respectable usage till a certain
number,”—(what proportion?) “of the general mass of common
speakers,” i.e. those who are neither courtly nor educated? “have
acknowledged them; nor will a multitude of common speakers
authorize,” (to whom?) “any pronunciation which is reprobed
by the learned and polite. As those sounds, therefore,” he concludes,
“which are the most generally received among the learned and
polite; as well as the bulk of speakers are the most legitimate,”—
i.e. according to law, but what or whose law?—“we may conclude
that a majority of two of these states ought always to concur,
in order to constitute what is called” by Mr. John Walker,
“good usage.” But how does Mr. John Walker, of Colney
Hatch, determine the usages of each of the three classes he
has named, but certainly not defined? Smart seems to take
refuge in “the mouth of a well-educated Londoner,” presumably
his own, and he talks of “vulgar speakers,” “an appearance of
pedantry,” “quite rustic,” “speakers of the old school,” “metropol-
itan usage among educated people,” “a vulgar mouth,” “an
affected speaker,” “the best speakers,” “distinct utterance,” “ob-
scure or colloquial utterance,” “irregularity,” “vulgarism,”
“current pronunciation,” “actual pronunciation,” “broad utter-
ance,” “affectation,” “the most solemn speaking,” “vague and
fluctuating,” “elegant speaker,” etc., etc., words and epithets im-
plying theories or foregone conclusions, but not greatly advancing
our knowledge. We may then repeat the question, what is the
course actually pursued by these orthoeipical oracles? It appears
that they have observed somewhat, thought out, practised and
taught more, till they have confirmed a usage in themselves, and
have then announced that usage to be the custom of the “best
speakers,” allowing occasional latitude. Worcester endeavours to
judge between past orthoeipists, and among them allots the palm to
Smart, but frequently gives several different pronunciations and
says that “the reader will feel perfectly authorized” by Mr. Wor-
cester? “to adopt such a form as he may choose.” “The com-
piler” he adds, “has not intended in any case, to give his own
sanction” to which, however, he seems to attribute considerable
weight, “to a form which is not supported by usage,” (which he
has not heard generally used?) “authority,” (which some previous
orthoeipist has not recommended?) “or analogy,” (as derived from
orthography?) He most sensibly concludes that “it would be un-
reasonable for him to make a conformity to his own taste, or to the
result of his own limited observation, a law to those who may differ
from him, and yet agree with perhaps the more common usage.”

It has not unfrequently happened that the present writer has
been appealed to respecting the pronunciation of a word. He
generally replies that he is accustomed to pronounce it in such
or such a way, and has often to add that he has heard others
pronounce it differently, but that he has no means of deciding
which pronunciation ought to be adopted, or even of saying which is the more customary. This, indeed, seems to be the present state of the case. A large number of words are pronounced with differences very perceptible to those who care to observe, even among educated London speakers, meaning those who have gone through the usual course of instruction in our superior schools for boys and girls. These differences largely increase, if educated provincial speakers, especially Scottish, Irish, and Welsh, be taken into consideration. If our American brethren are included, the diversities still further increase, though our younger colonies generally, being of more recent formation, so that few of them can count even a small number of persons whose fathers and grandfathers were born and lived in them, do not materially swell the number. But if we extend our circle to those who have only received primary education, and still more to those who have received no education at all, who, not being able to read and write, or having no knowledge of theories of language, have developed language organically, we find the diversities extremely great. The respect which the inferior pays to his superior in rank and wealth makes him generally anxious and willing to adopt the pronunciation of the superiorly educated, if he can but manage to learn it. How can he? Real communication between class and class is all but impossible. In London, where there is local proximity, the "upper ten," the court and nobles, "the middle class," the professional, the studious, "the commercial class," the retail tradesman, the "young men and young ladies" employed behind the counter, the servants, porters, draymen, artizans, mechanics, skilled and unskilled labourers, market men and women, costermongers, "the dangerous classes,"—all these are as widely separated as if they lived in different countries. But almost all read, almost all have their favourite periodicals, and all such periodicals adopt, within narrow limits, the same orthography. If that orthography only shewed some kind of pronunciation—it is really of very little importance which variety of those current among the educated be selected, or even if different systems were chosen in different newspapers—there would then be some means of comparing pronunciations, something less fleeting and more "questionable" than the utterance itself, something to which the reader would in the act of reading teach himself to conform. The educated author who has fancies of his own respecting pronunciation, could insist on his printer "following copy" and giving his opinion in his own spelling. But the printers generally, printers of journals in particular, would each soon adopt some special form, some vocabulary constructed for their office (supra, p. 591, n. 2), and in a few years the jolting of these forms together would yield to some compromise which would produce the nearest approach to an orthoepical standard we could hope to attain. Would, however, our pronunciation remain fixed? All experience is against its doing so, and consequently spelling considered as the mirror of speech, would probably have to be adjusted from generation to generation.
Is such a standard pronunciation desirable? The linguist and philologist may perhaps sigh over this unnatural and inorganic orthopædic treatment of language. For one, the present writer could not suppress a feeling of regret. But the well-being of our race points in another direction. Recognizing the extreme importance of facilitating intercourse between man and man, we should feel no doubt, and allow no sentimental regrets to interfere with the establishment of something approaching to a general system of pronouncing, by means of a general system of indicating our pronunciation in writing, as far as our own widespread language extends. Without in the least presuming to say that other and much better systems cannot be devised, the writer may point to the historical phonetic spelling, developed in § 3, as a means at hand for writing the English language without any new types, with as close an adherence to the old orthography, as much ease to old readers, and as much correctness in imitating the sounds used by the writer at any time, as we could hope to be generally possible. And as to primary confusion, what would it matter, if not greater than the scarcely observed confusion of speech? Thus if one writes, in this spelling:

_Ahy deenáñnd leev too plahnt mähy stalk mauv furmlís on dhu paðth._
_Wotsís naiym, sur? Ahy reeuuí dohnt nohw, mum, mähy memmiriz mizzurúbul:_

and another writes—

_Ey dimánd leev tooñ plant mi staf moh'r fermlí on dhe paðth. What is his naim, ser? Eey reealí dohnt noh, mam, mi memmori iz mizzurab'._

both would be intelligible, and a difference of sound not previously noticed would be forced on the attention, and probably changed; provided only that those who say _ahy plahnt_, &c., will not write _ey plant_, etc., because it is "finer," or "neater," or "shorter," or "nearer to the old orthography," or for any other irrelevant reason, which is the great danger to be apprehended—as I know by experience.

At present there is _no_ standard of pronunciation. There are many ways of pronouncing English _correctly_, that is according to the usage of large numbers of persons of either sex in different parts of the country, who have received a superior education. All attempts to found a standard of pronunciation on our approximate standard of orthography are futile. The only chance of attaining to a standard of pronunciation is by the introduction of phonetic spelling, which will therefore fulfil the conditions required by etymological spelling, standard spelling, and standard pronunciation. Our present orthography approximately fulfils only the second of these conditions, and grossly violates the other two.
And thus the present writer has been brought round, by a totally different route, to the advocacy of a principle to which he devoted many years of his life and a considerable portion of his means. It is his own conviction, founded not only upon philological grounds, but upon philanthropical, educational, social, and political considerations, that a phonetic system of spelling should be adopted for our noble language. To its introduction he finds but one real objection—the existence of another orthography. Hitherto all phonetic attempts have made shipwreck on this rock. But the enterprising spirit of the phonetic navigators is worthy of their arctic predecessors, and their aim being not merely to solve a problem in natural science, but to increase the power and happiness of the vast race which speaks the English language, is one which is not likely to die out. Even now a phonetic periodical appears regularly in London, conducted by Mr. Isaac Pitman, whose widely extended system of phonetic shorthand, has done so much to popularize the phonetic idea. Even now Mr. Melville Bell has brought out the most philosophical phonetic alphabet yet invented, and has reduced it to a system of writing far simpler and easier than that in common use. Even now the present writer is engaged in producing a new edition of his *Plea for Phonetic Spelling*, for the second and larger home of our language, the United States of America. It is true that the difficulties in the

1 It was in preparing this new edition for Mr. Benn Pitman, brother of Mr. Isaac Pitman, and now of Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S., that I was fortunate enough to discover Salesbury’s book (14 Feb., 1859), and thus commenced the special series of investigations which have developed into the present work. The printing of this third edition, after the text was complete, was interrupted by the American Civil War, and the preparation of these pages has hitherto prevented me from finishing the Appendices. It may not be out of place to annex here the headings from this forthcoming work, promising that ordinary spelling is therein for convenience termed Romanic. Romanic Spelling: (1), renders reading difficult, and writing still more difficult; (2), necessitates the memorizing of every form in the language; (3), makes learning to read and write a hateful task; (4), is one great cause of our prevailing ignorance; (6), mis-trains a child’s mind; (6), is a hindrance to missionaries, travellers, ethnologists, and philologists; (7), obscures the real history of our language; (8), conceals the present state of our language; (9), hinders the extension and universal employment of English. Phonetic Spelling: (1), renders reading very easy; (2), forms the best introduction to romanic reading; (3), is as easy as correct speaking; (4), in conjunction with phonetic reading facilitates romanic spelling; (5), renders learning to read even romanically a pleasant task; (6), by economising time, increases the efficiency of primary schools; (7), affords an excellent logical training to the child’s mind; (8), improves pronunciation and enunciation; (9), will greatly assist the missionary traveller and ethnologist; (10), would exhibit the real history of our language; (11), would exhibit the real state of our language; (12), would induce uniformity of pronunciation; (13), would favour the extension and universal employment of our language;
way are enormous, the dead weight of passive resistance to be moved is overwhelming, the ignorance of the active resisters stupendous, and the hands of the promoters weak; but the cause is good, the direction is historical, the means obvious, the end attainable by degrees, the material results of even small attempts useful, and one of the most practical men that ever spoke or printed our language, Benjamin Franklin, has left on record his own conviction that "some-time or other it must be done, or our writing will become the same with the Chinese as to the difficulty of learning and using it."¹

(14), would effect a considerable saving of printing [this does not apply to glossotype, or any system in which diagraphs are employed]; (15), would bring phonetic shorthand into general use; (16), would be of material use in facilitating etymological investigations. The objections considered are arranged in five classes; (1). Impossibilities and Errors: It is impossible to introduce new letters and a new alphabet, or to frame a true phonetic alphabet, the analysis of all so-called phonetic alphabets being faulty and insufficient, and the new letters hitherto proposed constructed upon an erroneous basis. (2). Linguistic Losses: The change from romanic to phonetic spelling would tend to obscure etymology, would confuse words having the same sound but different romanic orthography in different senses, would occasion orthography to differ from person to person, place to place, and time to time, would obscure history and geography, and unsettle title deeds by altering the appearance of names, and would introduce vulgarisms of pronunciation. (3). Material Losses: The change would occasion a great loss of literary property, and great expense in providing new types. (4). Inconveniences: The change would be bad as change, would be too great, and would amount to an alteration of the language. (5). Difficulties: Phonetic books have a strange appearance, we should have to learn two systems of spelling instead of one, the fewness of the phonetic books renders the acquisition of phonetic spelling worthless, the change is not needed, and is useless, because only partially adopted, and another system of spelling exists. The author endeavours to shew the incorrectness of all these objections, except the last.

¹ The whole of Franklin's remarks will be found in a transliteration of his own phonetic orthography, infra Chap. X., § 2.