A Grammar

OF THE

DIALECT OF WINDHILL,

IN THE

WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

Illustrated by a Series of Dialect Specimens, phonetically rendered;
with a Glossarial Index of the Words used in the
Grammar and Specimens.

BY

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'Nur das Beispiel führt zum Licht;
Vieles Reden thut es nicht.'

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HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY
To My Mother
PREFACE

My chief object in writing the following Grammar has been to furnish specialists in English philology with an accurate account of the Phonology and Accidence of one of the most interesting of the Yorkshire dialects. And in order to make the work as useful as possible to this class of scholars, I have taken special care to include in the Phonology fairly complete lists of the words which are in common use in the dialect and also exist in the literary language. This method of treatment has sometimes involved me in great difficulties; because in the case of words which seem to have had an abnormal development I could not always decide with certainty whether the seeming irregularities had arisen within the dialect itself, or whether the words in question had been introduced from the literary language at various periods, or were merely borrowings from some neighbouring dialect. These are difficulties which every writer of a scientific dialect grammar has to contend with. But it would manifestly have been dishonest on my part to have omitted any word or form which did not seem to have had a regular development. The result is that the grammar contains dozens of words the vocalism of which I have not been able to
explain satisfactorily, but I have nevertheless registered them in separate paragraphs, as being in common use in the dialect and of equal importance to the English philologist. Out of a great many such examples I will only mention a few here: *nuez* (OE. *nosu*) *nose*, *bied* (OE. *beard*) *beard*, *ut* (OE. *hāt*) *hot*, *friet* (OE. *fretan*) *to fret*, for which we should expect in the dialect *noiz* (§§ 105, 109), *bād* (§§ 61, 68), *uōt* (§§ 122, 126), *freit* (§§ 82, 87). On the other hand, the present grammar will, I trust, help to throw some light upon Old English vowel quantities, besides showing how dialects still keep apart many vowel sounds which have fallen together in the literary language. Of the latter I will only mention a few examples, although a great many may be found in the grammar: — *jād* (OE. *geard*) *yard*, *jied* (OE. *gerd*) *yard*, *three feet*. *wāk* (OE. *weore*) *work*, *wēk* (OE. *wyreån*) *to work*. *meil* (OE. *melu*) *meal, flour*, *miel* (OE. *māl*) *meal, repast*. *reit* (OE. *reohþ, reht*) *right*, *rait* (OE. *writan*) *to write*, *rit* (OE. *wyrhtan*) *wright*.

In the treatment of the native element contained in the grammar I have generally started out from Old English, which in some respects presents fewer difficulties to the writer of a modern dialect grammar than Middle English with its numerous dialects. Had I, however, been a specialist in this period of our mother tongue, I should probably have been able to settle many minor points which remain unsolved in the present grammar. But still, in spite of my shortcomings in this respect, I hope that the book will be a welcome contribution to English philology.

In the treatment of the French element in the dialect I found, after trying many experiments, that the only
satisfactory plan was to start out from the present pronunciation of literary English. The words have come into the dialect at various periods and through various channels, and it is accordingly almost impossible to treat them historically. I have therefore contented myself with registering the present dialectical pronunciation of the French element, and for this purpose I have adopted, as the standard of literary English pronunciation, the sound-system in Sweet's Primer of Spoken English, which is fairly typical of the Southern pronunciation of educated people. A comparison of the development of the French and English elements in the dialect is interesting from many points of view. I will only draw attention to §§ 61, 203 and §§ 58, 202; but many other paragraphs will be found equally interesting both to English and French philologists. Any one, who is not thoroughly acquainted with the dialect, may possibly think that I have introduced into this part of the grammar many words which are not in common use; but such is not the case. I have been particularly careful in this respect. I will only mention one instance out of many where I may seem to have erred: raiet akt riot act, which is one of the commonest expressions in the dialect, a regular household phrase. What mother has not said to her naughty child hundreds of times, if te duz sat o'gien al rid &i raiet akt en reit en oel?

In the chapter on the consonants the chief interest naturally lies in the gutturals. In this part of the grammar I have tried to give complete lists of the words which differ in their development from literary English, I mean such words as: flik flitch, reik to reach, brig bridge, flig fledge, duaf dough, etc.
It was originally my intention not to give any specimens of the dialect in this volume, but to reserve them for a second which was to contain a complete glossary of such dialect words as are not in use in the Modern literary language, together with extensive specimens of the dialect. With this end in view I have been collecting materials for a great number of years, but various circumstances prevent me from entertaining the hope of being able to publish them for some years to come. I have therefore decided to give a few specimens in the present volume, trusting that they may be found useful to those readers who may wish to make themselves familiar with the dialect. To anyone who takes the trouble to read them I venture to say that they will be found both amusing and instructive.

The Index, which has been a laborious piece of work, contains all the words occurring in the grammar.

As a guarantee for the general accuracy of the material contained in the book, I need only state that I spoke the dialect pure and simple until I was practically grown up.

In conclusion I have the pleasant task of expressing my most cordial thanks to three friends—Professor Napier, Professor Holthausen, and the Rev. A. L. Mayhew—who have given me much valuable help in the work.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

Oxford,
January 1893.
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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Angl. = Anglian.
Dan. = Danish.
dial. = dialect.
Fr. = French.
gen. = genitive.
Germ. = German, Germanic.
Goth. = Gothic.
Lat. = Latin.
lit. = literally.
lit. Engl. = literary English.
Low Germ. = Low German.
ME. = Middle English.
MHG. = Middle High German.
Mid. Du. = Middle Dutch.
M. Low Germ. = Middle Low German.
Norw. = Norwegian.
occ. = occasionally.
OE. = Old English.

O. Fr. = Old French.
O. Fris. = Old Frisian.
OHG. = Old High German.
O. Icel. = Old Icelandic.
O. Ir. = Old Irish.
O. Low Germ. = Old Low German.
O. Norm. Fr. = Old Norman French.
O.N. = Old Norse.
O. North. = Old Northumbrian.
O. Swed. = Old Swedish.
pl. = plural.
pret. = preterite.
pp. = past participle.
sing., sg. = singular.
Scot. = Scotch.
Swed. = Swedish.
W. = Windhill.
WS. = West Saxon.

> = has become.

The asterisk (*) prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form.

WORKS REFERRED TO IN THE GRAMMAR.

Cotgr. = A French and English Dictionary, composed by Mr. Randle Cotgrave; with another in English and French, edited by J. Howell.
EEPr. = Early English Pronunciation, by A. J. Ellis.
Florio = A Worldle of Wordes, or most copious and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, by John Florio, London, 1598.
Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von H. Paul.
ABBREVIATIONS.

The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, by J. A. H. Murray.
Sievers, OE. Gr. = Angelsächsische Grammatik, von E. Sievers.
Sweet, H.E.S. = History of English Sounds, by H. Sweet.
Sweet, NE. Gr. = New English Grammar, by H. Sweet.

The following list of letters may be useful to those who consult the book without first reading the chapter on pronunciation:—

\( \text{e} = \) the e in German Gabe.
\( \text{e} = \) the i in lit. Engl. bird.
\( \text{j} = \) the y you.
\( \text{ng} = \text{ng}, \text{n} \) sing, song, drink.
\( \text{sh} = \) the sh she.
\( \text{ch} = \) the ch choose.
\( \text{th} = \) the th thin.
\( \text{th} = \) the th then.
\( \text{j} = \) just.
§ 1. Windhill is a manufacturing village in the township of Idle and parish of Calverley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, three miles North of Bradford.


Of these nine varieties the Windhill dialect is most closely related to numbers 3. 4. 5.
PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I.

PRONUNCIATION.

A. The Vowels.

§ 2. The Windhill dialect contains the following vowel sounds:

Short vowels  a, e, i, o, u, e
Long        ā, ī, ū, ē
Short diphthongs ai, ei, oi, ui    eu, iu, ou    ee, ẹ, œ, ue
Long        āe
Triphthongs  aie, iue, oue

Note—To these must be added l, m, n, ð in the function of vowels. For examples see the corresponding consonants §§ 17–19.

§ 3. In the following paragraphs will be given a brief description of the Windhill vowel-system. For which purpose I have adopted the notation as given in Sweet's Primer of Phonetiscs. In the autumn of 1886 Dr. Sweet was kind enough to render me considerable help in the analysis of the W. vowel sounds; thus enabling me to fix
the sounds far more accurately than would otherwise have been the case, had it not been for his kind assistance. The late Dr. Ellis, to whom I dictated the Dialect Test (EEPv. v. pp. 389–90) and the dialect words in his Classified Word List (pp. 391–4), was also of some help to me. But a comparison of his appreciation of the W. vowels with that of Dr. Sweet and my own will show that we differ on several minor points.

All the diphthongs and triphthongs have the stress on the first element. In my transcription I have written ie, ue, &c., but the first element is really a medium long vowel, which stands in the same relation to the corresponding short vowel as the lit. Engl. vowel in feet does to fit or seek to sick.

§ 4. a (mid-back-wide) like the a in German Mann, but with the tongue slightly more advanced.

lat late, faðo(r) father, mak to make, as to ask, laðo(r) ladder, dlad glad, tšap chap, ratn rat, paste(r) pasture, apron apron, kwaloti quality, vari very.

ā (mid-back-wide) like the a in German Name and in lit. Engl. father, but with slightly more advanced position of the tongue as in short a. After our ā there is also a trace of a glide (āª), which however is not sufficiently developed to be conveniently represented in print.

rām room, fāl fowl, bān child, wām warm, wāk (noun) work, fādin farthing, sāvnt servant, pāðo(r) powder.

ai=a+i:
raiv to tear, mais mice, tais to entice.
aiœ=ai+œ:
aien iron, faie(r) fire, raiet riot.
āœ=ā+œ:
dāœ(r) dare, sāœ(r) sour, tāœ(r) tower.
§ 5. e (low-front-narrow) like the ä in Swed. lara and the first element of the diphthong in lit. Engl. care but short. Ellis identified it as mid-front-wide, but Sweet and myself agree in the above analysis.

elp to help, bed bed, brek to break, emen among, wës to wash, blog blackberry, geðeð(r) to gather, ṭen then, ñepsteð(r) starling, len to lend, gezlin gooseling, depþ depth, lek to leak, frend friend, treml to tremble, bleñkit blanket, feñ fashion, lenit linnet.

ei = e + i:
feit to fight, beid bead, eit to eat, leitš leech, reik to reach, lein to lean, ei high.

eu = e + u:
eu ewe, feu few, seu to sew.

ee = e + o:
beed to bathe, deo day, breed to resemble, bleet to beat, tlee clay, leek to play, beknô bacon, kweet quart, meosteð(r) master.

§ 6. i (high-front-wide) like the i in lit. Engl. bit:

lig to lie down, wik quick, alive, iö to hang, sitš such, fligd fledged, dwîl to dwindle, littl little, sili silly, ivô(r) ever, rik smoke, divl devil, tâimli, chimney, šimi chemise.

i (high-front-narrow) like the ie in German Biene. It is a pure long vowel, not like the ee in South. Engl. feed, which is a diphthong (ij):
mild mild, nit night, fïld field, wîl (adv.) well, frit fright, bild to build, imin evening, kil to cool, litnin lightning, ñi. sigh, ni knee, bíf beef.

ie = i + ñ:
bied beard, iep earth, swið(r) to swear, friet to fret, flieð(r) to laugh or sneer at, dried to dread, tlien clean, bried bread, bieð(r) beer, viel veal, fies fierce.
§ 6. PRONUNCIATION OF VOWELS.

\[ iu = i + u : \]

\[ \text{tliu a ball of string or worsted, spiu to vomit, tiuk took,} \]

\[ \text{lium loom, iniu (pl.) enough, briu to brew, frute(r) future,} \]

\[ \text{bliu blue, riubub rhubarb.} \]

\[ iue = iu + e : \]

\[ \text{siue(r) sure, piue(r) pure.} \]

§ 7. o (low-back-wide-round) like the o in lit. Engl.

\[ \text{not:} \]

\[ \text{frozn frozen, lop flea, bodi body, wote(r) water, solt salt,} \]

\[ \text{moni many, jole yellow, sori sorry, tof tough, fotnit fort-} \]

\[ \text{night, kotn cotton, ont aunt, rost to roast.} \]

\[ o = o + i : \]

\[ \text{boil to give ungrudgingly, boil to boil, toist toast.} \]

\[ o = o + u . \] But here the first element is low-back-narrow-

\[ \text{round like the aw in lit. Engl. law:} \]

\[ \text{koud cold, doute(r) daughter, floun flown, kouk coke,} \]

\[ \text{grou to grow, pout thought, loup to jump, out ought, tout} \]

\[ \text{taught, pouts to poach, skoud to scald.} \]

\[ ou = ou + e : \]

\[ friou(r) four. \]

\[ oe = o + e , \text{the first element of which is the same as the o} \]

\[ \text{in ou :} \]

\[ \text{koef calf, weof insipid, boek beam, boeld bald, poem} \]

\[ \text{palm, soev salve, moek maggot, boen born, noeše(r) neither,} \]

\[ \text{snoe snow, goem heed, care, goeki left handed, oeše(r) to} \]

\[ \text{order, džoenes jaundice.} \]

§ 8. u (high-back-wide-round) like the u in lit. Engl.

\[ \text{put:} \]

\[ \text{fun (pp.) found, flute(r) to flutter, tul to, fuml to fumble,} \]

\[ \text{ut hot, muše(r) mother, uše(r) udder, butše(r) butcher,} \]

\[ \text{buzed butterfly, nuvl novel.} \]

\[ ü (\text{high-back-narrow-round) like the u in Germ. gut. In} \]

\[ ü \]
the W. dialect it is a pure long vowel and not a diphthong (uw) like the oo in Southern Engl. food:

śul shovel, ebūn above, būkp bulk, size.

ui = u + i. The first element of which is not the u in put. Dr. Ellis identified the first element as mid-back-narrow-round like the o in Germ. Bote, but this is certainly not the sound. At first Dr. Sweet gave the same analysis as Dr. Ellis, but he was afterwards inclined to think that it might be mid-back-narrow-round with outer rounding like the o in Swedish sol. But this too is hardly our sound. The nearest analysis seems to me to be the tongue position of high-back-narrow-round, like the u in Germ. gut, ou in French sou, with the lip position of mid-back-narrow-round:

bluid blood, uin to harass, treat badly, gruin snout of a pig.

ue = u + e. The first element is the same as the u in ui:

nuez nose, smue(r) to smother, due(r) door, juek yolk, kuem comb, duef dough, dlue(r) to stare, kned cord, tluek cloak, pue(r) poor.

§ 9. e (mid-mixed-narrow) like the e in German Gabe, but with the tongue slightly more retracted. It is not identical with the -er in lit. Engl. better, which is mid-mixed-wide. It occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables:

jestede yesterday, størek heifer, fere furrow, wéri to worry, bed but, sperit spirit, vale value.

ō (low-mixed-narrow) like the i in lit. Engl. bird, but with the tongue rather more advanced. It only occurs in stressed syllables:

gēs grass, bēk birch, wēd word, mēde(r) murder, wēk to work, kēsmes Christmas, gēt great, kēnzen currants.
B. The Consonants.

§ 10. The W. dialect contains the following consonants:

b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, ň, p, r, ș, ț, ș, v, w, z, ž.

§ 11. b (lip-stop-voice) like lit. English b. It occurs initially, medially, and finally:

ban child, bed to bathe, bun (pp.) bound, brig bridge, bleb blister, breed to resemble, act like another person, brit bright. kubed cupboard, riubub rhubarb, uzbn husband. dub a small pool of water, nub to nudge.

§ 12. d (gum-stop-voice) like lit. English d. It occurs in all positions:

duef dough, di to die, diu to do, dwinl to dwindle, džais joist, dlas glass. bodm bottom, fadin farthing, wide widow. nobed lit. not but, only, grund ground, od to hold, snod smooth, boged ghost, apparition.

§ 13. f (lip-teeth-open-breath) like lit. Engl. f. It occurs in all positions:

feu few, foil foal, feit to fight, flig fledge, fan (pret.) found. duof cowardly, woef insipid, fift fifth, druft drought. kaf chaff, duef dough, koef calf, laif life.

§ 14. g (back-stop-voice) like lit. Engl. g. It occurs in all positions:

gleen near, direct, galek lefthand, gäl the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye, guid good, goemles foolish, silly. blegs blackberries, boged ghost, pigin small water can, flégstn flagstone. ig mood, temper, ug to carry, lig to lie down, neeg to gnaw.

§ 15. j (front-open-voice) like lit. English y in you. It only occurs initially:
PRONUNCIATION OF CONSONANTS. [§§ 15-19.

jest yeast, jestede yesterday, jole yellow, juro young. I have sometimes heard the sound medially in teelje(r), teele(r) tailor.

§ 16. k (back-stop-breath) like lit. Engl. k. It occurs in all positions:

kā cow, kest to cast, kei key, koud cold, koul to rake, kil to cool. skrat to scratch, bake tobacco, beekn bacon, oks ox. flīk flitch of bacon, reik to reach, wīk quick, alive, bēk birch.

§ 17. l (gum-side-voice) like ordinary English l. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel in unaccented syllables only:

leek to play, loin lane, len to lend, leelēk barn, luensem lonely, leelek lilac, loup to jump. olin holly, bīld to build, twilt quilt. koil coal, steil to steal, wil (adv.) well. Examples of vocalic l are: kitl to tickle, adl to earn, satl to settle, spīnl spindle, rasl to wrestle.

§ 18. m (lip-nasal-voice) like lit. Engl. m. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:

meitś to measure, mun must, muin moon, māt to moult. treml to tremble, imin evening, simin-dlas mirror. steim to bespeak, gam game, freem to make a beginning, goem heed, care. Examples of vocalic m are: bodm bottom, fadm fathom, fīpms fivepence, wiepm weapon, kindm (OE. cynedōm) kingdom.

§ 19. n (gum-nasal-voice) like lit. Engl. n. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:

nie(r) kidney, nit night, nero-neel corn on the foot, nub
to nudge, no\(\theta\)(r) neither. sno\(\theta\) snow, inif enough, moni many, sind to rinse, wash out, spinl spindle. g\(\alpha\)n to grin, bin within, f\(\ddot{a}\)din farthing, runin running.

Examples of vocalic n are: frozn frozen, brusn (pp.) burst, ratn rat, seldn seldom, getn (pp.) got, t\(\tilde{o}\)zn chosen, p\(\ddot{a}\)zn thousand.

§ 20. \(\nu\) (back-nasal-voice) like ng, n in lit. Engl. sing, song, drink, drunk. As a consonant it only occurs in accented, and as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:

blank blank, brin to bring, tenz tongs fin\(\theta\)(r) finger, in to hang, blenkit blanket, pio thing.

Examples of vocalic \(\nu\) are: broko broken, beegn bargain, druko drunk, drunken, woko to waken.

§ 21. \(p\) (lip-stop-breath) like lit. Engl. p. It occurs initially, medially, and finally:

poam palm, poez to kick, penep pennyworth. speen to wean, spitek spigot, api happy, apl apple, stapl staple. lop flea, elp to help, sweep the handle of a machine, saip to ooze or drain out slowly.

§ 22. \(r\) (gum-open-voice). Before a following vowel \(r\) is a gently trilled sound. Final \(r\) is also slightly trilled, but not so strongly as before a following vowel. This is always the case when the word containing it is used alone, or stands at the end of a sentence. In these positions it is never weakened into a mere voiced glide as in lit. Engl. fear, nor does it disappear altogether as in lit. Engl. far. In order to distinguish strong and weak \(r\) the latter is uniformly written (\(r\)) in this grammar:

raiv to tear, root to bray, roem to roam, reik to reach, r\(\ddot{a}\)m room, brek to break, rep wrong. sare to serve, mare to match, feri first turn, bare barrow. ger up to get up.
PRONUNCIATION OF CONSONANTS. [§§ 22–27.

swıə(r) to swear, pieə(r) pear, smueə(r) to smother, weeə(r) to spend money.

§ 23. s (blade-open-breath) like the s in lit. Engl. sit. It occurs in all positions:

sal shall, sud should, sit sight, seem lard, sāk to suck, snod smooth, steim to bespeak, strie straw, speik to speak, siugə(r) sugar, swiel to gutter (of a candle). koose cause-way, brusn (pp.) burst, rāst rust, o mest almost, prosl thrush. as ash, ashes, guis goose, ās house, oks ox, oes horse, ins use.

§ 24. š (blade-point-open-breath) like lit. Engl. sh in she. It occurs far more frequently initially and finally than medially:

šuin shoes, šimi chemise, šap shape, šak to shake, šuše(r) to shudder. tšons chance, tšeeme(r) chamber, tšiuz to choose, fešn fashion. woš to wash, rediš radish, fotš to fetch, bleitš to bleach, mitš much.

§ 25. t (gum-stop-breath) like lit. English t. It occurs in all positions:

tak to take, temz hop-sieve, toist toast, teu to work zealously, tinep cloth. fotn (pp.) fought, flute(r) future, wāte weekday. gōt great, foušt fourth, ut hot, lat lath.

§ 26. p (teeth-open-breath) like the th in lit. Engl. thin. It occurs initially and finally:

þak thatch, þāzn thousand, þout thought, þriēp to contradict, dispute. broþ broth, māþ mouth, dieþ death, swāþ the skin of bacon.

§ 27. ē (teeth-open-voice) like the th in lit. English then. It occurs initially only in words which had formerly the weak stress; medially between vowels; and finally after vowels:
§ 27-31. PRONUNCIATION OF CONSONANTS.

CHASE, CH thy, CHS this, CHEN then. CHDE(r) to shudder, PASH(r) powder PEDE(r) feather, SODE(r) solder. BUD booth, LEETH barn, SMUICH smooth.

§ 28. v (lip-teeth-open-voice) like the v in lit. Engl. vine. Initially it only occurs in words of French origin:

VARI very, VIEL veal, VOIS voice. AVE-MEIL oatmeal, NAVI canal. NEIV fist, RAIV to tear, PRAIV to thrive.

§ 29. w (lip-back-open-voice) like lit. Engl. w in wet. It only occurs initially and medially:

WAK (noun) work, WEN thong, WEN when, WIL wheel, WIK quick, ALIVE, WAM warm. EWEE away, DWINL to dwindle, TWAISS twice, KWEET quart, KWALI quality, SWIET to sweat, SWETSH a small sample of cloth.

§ 30. z (blade-open-voice) like the z in lit. Engl. zeal, freeze. Initially it only occurs in ZIEL zeal. It is common medially and finally:

UZBN husband, MEDE(r) measure, RIZD rancid (of bacon), FROZN frozen, FUZI soft, SPONGY, BUZED butterfly, GISZ to choke. TEMZ hop-sieve, EZ AS, SIZS scissors, TSIUZ to choose.

§ 31. £ (blade-point-open-voice) like the s in lit. Engl. measure. It only occurs after d and n:

dZoul to knock, strike, DZALS joist, DZUDZH judge, SADZEN sergeant, EEDZH age, TSEEDZH charge, INZH hinge, SINZH to singe; but in words of French origin we have INdzEN engine, MOENDZH mange.
CHAPTER II.

THE OLD ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS OF THE WINDHILL
VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

1. Short Vowels.

a.

§ 32. Windhill a corresponds to:
1. OE. œ(a) in originally closed syllables, § 57: as ashes, fan (pret.) found, gam game, lat late, sal shall, sam up, (OE. samnian) to pick up, pak thatch.
2. Rarely OE. a(œ) in open syllables, § 71: faðe(r) father, mak to make, tak to take.
bad bad, laðe(r) ladder.
5. Rarely shortening of OE. ēa, § 186: tšap chap.
§ 33. Windhill e corresponds to:

1. Germanic e, and the i-umlaut of a in originally closed syllables; and also when e was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an l, m, n, r, §§ 72–3: delf delf, elp to help, leðe(r) leather, melt to melt, weft weft.

bed bed, ketl kettle, lenp (by assimilation) length, mens neatness, set to set.

2. Rarely OE. e in open syllables, § 88: brek to break, get to get.

3. Germ. a before a following g, r, s, §§ 59, 197: beg bag, bleg blackberry, amen among, ren wrong, senk sank. eš ashtree, wes to wash.

4. Rarely OE. a(e) in other cases, § 60: elte(r) halter, geðe(r) to gather, wesp wasp.

5. Rarely OE. o, § 108: cen then, wen when.


7. Shortening of OE. æ (i-umlaut of ā), § 143: fleš flesh, len to lend, les less.

8. Shortening of OE. ē, ò (i-umlaut of ē), § 148: bled bled, gezlin gosling, met met.


10. Shortening of OE. ēa, § 186: lek leak, red (adj.) red.

12. Lit. Engl. e in French words, § 206: demek potato disease, mel to meddle, treml to tremble.


§ 34. Windhill i corresponds to:

1. OE. i, § 89: bin (OE. binnan) within, bitn bitten, find to find, lig to lie down, wik quick, alive.

2. OE. e (i-umlaut of a) before an original o (now o or nə), § 76: in (ME. hengen) to hang, sinž to singe, pik to think.

3. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 77: kil to kill, sitš such, wile willow.

4. OE. y (i-umlaut of u), § 117: brig bridge, flig (ME. fligge) fledge, ig (OE. hyge) mood, temper.

5. Shortening of OE. ï, § 160: dwinl to dwindle, fift fifth.

6. Shortening of OE. ţ (i-umlaut of ū), § 177: litl little, wiš to wish.


8. Rarely shortening of OE. ā (i-umlaut of ā), § 145: ive(r) ever, ivri every.

9. Rarely shortening of OE. ē, older ėe, § 150, note: rik to smoke (of a chimney).

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11. Lit. Engl. i in French words, § 211: konsiθe(r) to consider, live(r) to deliver, tšimli chimney.


O.

§ 35. Windhill o corresponds to:

1. West Germanic o in originally closed syllables; and also when o was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an l, m, n, r, § 100: bodm bottom, fotn (pp.) fought, lop flea, frozn frozen, olin (ME. holen) holly-tree, snod smooth, tšozn chosen, prosl thrush.

2. Rarely OE. o in open syllables, § 110: bodi body, popi poppy.

3. OE. a preceded by w and not followed by g, n, ñ, or r + consonant, § 58: swole swallow, swop to exchange, wo(r) (accented form) was, wote(r) water.

4. OE. ea(a) before ls, lt, § 58: fols false, molt malt, solt salt.

5. Rarely OE. a in other cases, § 58: onost almost, oles always, moni many.

6. Rarely OE. eo(e), § 80: jole (OE. geolu) yellow, fotš to fetch.

7. Shortening from OE. ā, § 125: sori sorry.

8. Shortening of OE. ē, § 169: foθε(r) fodder, tof tough.

9. Rarely shortening from OE. ēo, § 192: foti forty, fotnit fortnight.


§ 36. Windhill u corresponds to:
2. Rarely OE. o, § 107: *flute(r)* to flutter, *uvm* oven.
3. Rarely OE. i, § 97: *kud* (OE. *cwidu*) cud, *tul* (ME. til) to.
5. Shortening from OE. ā, § 126: *ut* hot, *wun* one.

§ 37. Windhill e corresponds to:
1. Rarely OE. e, § 81: *beri* berry, *jestđe* yesterday.
2. Rarely OE. i, § 91: *sterek* (OE. stirc, styric) heifer.
3. OE. u before a following r, § 113: *bere* borough, *fere* furrow.
4. OE. y before a following r, § 120, (2): *beri* to bury, *weri* to worry.
5. Lit. Engl. i before a following r in French words, § 213: *sperit* spirit.
2. The Long Vowels.

ä.

§ 38. Windhill ä corresponds to:

1. OE. û, § 171: ðas house, dæst dust, kā cow, rām room, rāst rust, slām slumber, pāzn thousand.
2. OE. medial -ug-, § 114: fāl fowl, kāl cowl.
3. Rarely OE. u before n + consonant, § 115: ānd hound, drānd to drown.
4. OE. a, ea before r + consonant, § 61: ād hard, bān child, wām warm.
5. OE. e, eo before r + consonant, § 74: at heart, dwāf dwarf, wāk (noun) work.
6. OE. ēo before r + consonant, § 189: dālin darling, fādin farthing.
7. O. Fr. er before a following consonant, § 207: pāsn parson, sāvnt servant.

ī.

§ 39. Windhill ĭ corresponds to:

1. OE. ĭ before lď, § 92: mīld mild, wild wild.
2. OE. ĭ before hť, § 93: břít bright, nît night, sît sight.
3. OE. medial -ig-, § 94: stīl (OE. stigel) stile, tīl tile.
4. OE. e before lď, § 78: fīld field, wild to wield.
5. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 79: bīzm besom, wīl (adv.) well.
6. OE. y before hť, § 118: fřít flight, fřít fright.
7. OE. y before lď, § 119: bild to build.
8. Germanic ē (WS. ē, O. North. ē), § 130: īmin evening, nīdl needle, přīd thread.
9. OE. ë, § 155: ë he, wi we.
10. OE. ë, ē (i-umlaut of ö), § 147: blîd to bleed, gîs
    geese, kil to cool.
11. Anglian ë, ūo (= WS. ľe), § 150: bêliv to believe,
    litnin lightning, sin seen.
12. Rarely OE. i, § 158: si to sigh.
13. OE. ēo, § 187; dip deep, nî knee, trî tree, wîl wheel.
    piece.

û.

§ 40. Windhill û corresponds to:
1. Rarely OE. o, § 106: sûl shovel, stûp (ME. stolpe)
    a post.
2. Rarely OE. u, § 112: bûkp (ME. bulke) bulk, size,
    e-bûn (OE. on-bufan) above, wûl wool.

ē.

§ 41. Windhill ē corresponds to:
1. OE. ær before a following consonant, § 69: gës (OE.
    gærs) grass.
2. OE. ir before a following consonant, § 90: bêk birch,
    þêd third.
3. Rarely OE. or before a following consonant, § 104, (3):
    wêd word, wêld world.
4. OE. ur before a following consonant, § 113, (1): dêst
    durst, snêt (ME. snurtin) to snort, snore.
5. OE. yr before a following consonant, § 120, (1): bôdn
    burden, bôp birth, mêôe(r) murder, wôk to work.
6. OE. i (?) with metathesis of r, § 161: kësmes Christ-
    mas, kësn to christen.
7. OE. ea with metathesis of r, § 185: gôt great.
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3. The Diphthongs.

ai.

§ 42. Windhill ai corresponds to:
1. OE. ī, § 156: ais ice, bait to bite, raiv to tear, sail (ME. sīlen) to strain, swaīm to climb a tree, waif wife.
2. OE. ĭ (i-umlaut of ū), § 175: aid hide, skin, mais mice.
3. Rarely OE. i, § 95: ai (accented form) I.

ei.

§ 43. Windhill ei corresponds to:
1. OE. ē (Germanic e, and the i-umlaut of a) in originally open syllables, § 87: beid bead, eit to eat, meit meat, neiv fist, steil to steal.
2. OE. ē before ht, § 86: feit to fight, reit right.
3. Rarely OE. æ (œa), § 67: eit (O. North. æhto, æhta) eight.
4. WS. æ, O. North. ē before a following k, § 132: leitš leech, speitš speech.
5. OE. æ (i-umlaut of a) before a following k, § 138: bleitš to bleach, reik to reach.
6. Rarely OE. æ in other cases, § 139: lein to lean, spreid to spread, kei key.
7. Rarely OE. ēa, § 182: ei high, nei nigh, near.
20 EQUIVALENTS OF THE WINDHILL VOWELS. §§ 44-47.

oi.

§ 44. Windhill oi corresponds to:
1. OE. o in originally open syllables, § 109: foil, foal, koil coal, oil hole, poiø to give ungrudgingly, proit throat.
2. Lit. Engl. oi in French words, § 216: boil to boil, oil oil.

ui.

§ 45. Windhill ui corresponds to:
1. OE. ë, § 163: bluid blood, duin done, uin (ME. honen) to treat badly, harass, tuip tooth.
2. Lit. Engl. uw in French words, § 221: buit boot, fuil fool, gruin a pig's snout.

eu.

§ 46. Windhill eu corresponds to:
1. OE. e, eo, + w, § 85: eu ewe, streu to strew.
2. OE. êaw, § 180: deu dew, feu few, teu (OE. têawian) to work zealously.
3. Rarely OE. êow, § 190: seu to sew, tseau to chew.

iu.

§ 47. Windhill iu corresponds to:
1. OE. iw, § 96: tliu (OE. êliwe) a ball of string or worsted.
2. Rarely OE. u, § 116: priu through.
3. OE. ëw, § 159: spiu to vomit, tiuzde Tuesday.
4. OE. ë before a following k, m, and when final, § 164: iuk hook, tiuk took.
§§ 47-49.] EQUIVALENTS OF THE WINDHILL VOWELS. 21

gium gum, lium loom.
diu to do, iniu (pl.) enough.
5. OE. ēow, § 190: bliu blew, briu to brew, niu knew.
7. Lit. Engl. uw in French words, § 239: bliu blue, friut fruit, riubub rhubarb, siu to sue.

OU.

§ 48. Windhill ou corresponds to:
1. OE. al before a following d, § 64: koud cold, oud old.
2. OE. o before ht, § 101: bout bought, doute(r) daughter.
3. OE. o, older ḍ, before ht, § 167: brout brought, pout thought.
4. ME. ow (OE. -og-), § 102: floun flown.
5. OE. ol before a following consonant, § 103: bousto(r) bolster, kouk coke, out holt.
6. OE. òw, § 166: flou to flow, grou to grow.
7. O. Norse au, § 184: loup to leap, jump.
8. Rarely OE. āw, § 123: out aught, soul soul.
9. Rarely OE. æ before a following ht, § 140: tout taught.
11. al before d in French words, § 199: skoud to scal.

EE.

§ 49. Windhill ee corresponds to:
1. OE. a in originally open syllables, § 70: beed to bathe, eeg (OE. haga) the berry of the hawthorn, neeg (OE. gnagan) to gnaw, reeðe(r) rather, speen (OE. spanan) to wean, teem tame.


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2. ME. ai, ei from OE. æg, § 65: dee day, eel hail, sneel snail.

3. ME. ei from OE. eg, O. Norse ei, § 84: breed (OE. bregdan) to resemble, reen rain, been (O. Icel. beinn) near, direct.

4. Rarely WS. æ, O. North. ǣ, § 133: bleet to bleat, ee(r) hair.

5. Rarely OE. æ (i-umlaut of ǣ), § 141: leedi lady, tlee clay.

6. O. Norse ei, § 127: leek to play, week weak.


8. O. Fr. ar before a following consonant, § 203: goed guard, kweet quart, tšeedž to charge.


iə.

§ 50. Windhill ie corresponds to:

1. Rarely OE. ea, æ, a, § 68: bied beard, ierin herring.

2. OE. e before r not followed by another consonant, § 75: bie(r) to bear, swie(r) to swear.

3. Rarely OE. er before a following consonant, § 74; iep earth, lien to learn.

4. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 82: friet to fret, riep to reap.

5. Rarely OE. i, § 98: fioe(r) (Norw. fiira) to laugh or sneer at.

6. WS. æ, O. North. ǣ, § 131: dried to dread, miel meal, repast, wioe(r) where.

7. OE. æ (i-umlaut of ǣ), § 137: diel deal. iel to heal, sie sea, tlien clean.
§§ 50-52.] EQUIVALENTS OF THE WINDHILL VOWELS. 23

8. OE. ēa, § 179: bried bread, stria straw, priėp (OE. prēapian) to contradict.

9. OE. eo before a following r, § 188: bie(r) beer, die(r) dear.

10. Lit. Engl. ij in French words, § 231: biek beak, fiėtē(r) feature, viēl veal.


Oē.

§ 51. Windhill oe corresponds to:

1. OE. eal, al in the combinations If, OE. lh, lk, ll, lm, lv, § 62: koēf calf, woēf (OE. walh) sickly to the smell, insipid to the taste, boēk balk, beam, boēld (ME. balled) bald, poēm palm, soēv salve.

2. ME. aw (of various origins), § 63: moēk (ME. mauk) maggot, soē he saw, kroēl to crawl.

3. OE. or before a following consonant, § 104: boēn born, oes horse, poēn thorn.

4. OE. āw, § 123: bloē to blow, noē to know, snoē snow.

5. O. Norse au, § 184: goēm heed, care, roēt to bray.

6. O. Fr. al before k, m, l, § 198: goēki lefthanded, boēm balm, boēl ball.

7. Lit. Engl. long open o in French words, § 225: doōb to daub, smeer, dzōēnes jaundice, poēz to kick, foētn fortune, oēōe(r) to order.

Uē.

§ 52. Windhill uē corresponds to:

1. Rarely OE. o, § 105: uēp hope, nuez nose, flust to float.

2. Rarely OE. o before a following r or r + consonant, § 104 (2): smuē(r) to smother, buēd board, uēd hoard.
3. Rarely OE. u before a following r or r+consonant, § 113, (3): muen to mourn.
4. OE. eol, § 83: juek yolk.
5. OE. a before mb, § 66: kuem comb, wuem womb.
6. OE. æ, § 122: buen bone, duef dough, nuem none, suep soap, tluep cloth, uem home, ues, uest (OE. hæs) hoarse.
7. OE. ō before a following r, § 165: dlu9(r) (ME. glören) to stare, mue(r) moor.
10. Lit. Engl. ue before a following r in French words, § 222: pue(r) poor.

\[ \text{æe.} \]

§ 53. Windhill æe corresponds to:
1. OE. a, ea before a following r, § 61: dæe(r) dare, æe(r) (accented form) are.
2. OE. e, eo before a following r, § 74: wæe(r) worse, stæe(r) star.
3. OE. ū before a following r, § 172: kæe(r) dän to bend down, sæe(r) sour.
4. Lit. Engl. aue before a following r in French words, § 236: æe(r) hour, tæe(r) tower.

4. The Triphthongs.

\[ \text{aie.} \]

§ 54. Windhill aie corresponds to:
1. OE. ı before a following r, § 157: aiən iron, spaie(r) spire.
2. OE. ŷ (i-umlaut of ū) before a following r, § 176: faie(r) fire, aie(r) to hire.
§§ 54–56.] EQUIVALENTS OF THE WINDHILL VOWELS. 25


iue.

§ 55. Windhill iue corresponds to:
1. Lit. Engl. ue before a following r in French words, § 240: siue(r) sure.
2. Lit. Engl. juę before a following r in French words, § 238: kiue(r) cure, piue(r) pure.

oue.

§ 56. Windhill ouę corresponds to:
Rarely OE. eow before a following r, § 190: fouę(r) four.
CHAPTER III.

THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY.

The Vowels of Accented Syllables.

In treating the vowels in accented syllables it is necessary to distinguish between vowels which were originally in closed syllables, e.g. OE. đæg day, helpan to help; and those which were originally in open syllables, e.g. OE. dagas days, etan to eat. In the former case OE. æ (a), o, e, usually appear in the W. dialect as a, o, e, whereas in the latter case they have generally become ee, oi, ei. When through inflexional endings the vowels æ (a), o, e were in OE. now in a closed syllable, now in an open one, the W. dial. has mostly generalised the vowel of the open syllable.

1. The Short Vowels.

a.

§ 57. West Germanic a (= West Saxon æ (a), and ə before nasals) in originally closed syllables usually appears as a in the W. dialect.

Examples are: adl (ME. adlen, O. Icel. öðla) to earn, aft(e)r after, akoen acorn, aks axe, am (Sievers, OE. Gr.
THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY. [§§ 57-59.

to pick up, gather together, sal (emphatic form, see § 391)
shall, sale, sallow, sand, sand, sap sap, pret. sat sat, satl
(OE. sahtlian to make peace, reconcile) to settle, skaftin
shafting, skab, scab, skraml scramble, skrat (ME. scattin)
to scratch, slafte(r) to slaughter, slak slack, slave(r) slaver,
spak (§ 372) spake, spoke, span to span, pret. span span,
spare, sparrow, staf staff, pret. stak stuck, stamp to stamp,
stand to stand, šade shadow, šaft shaft, šale shallow, šap
shape, tale tallow, tan to tan, tap tap, tate(r) tatter, tlam
(see N.E.D. sub clem) to famish, tlap clap, tlase(r) to clatter,
trap trap, tšavl to nibble at, gnaw, chew, pak thatch, čat
(see § 354) that, pret. prast (§ 367, 4) thrust.

§ 58. a preceded by w and not followed by r + con-
sonant (§ 61), g, r, š (§ 59), has become o. It has also
become o when followed by ls, lt:

swole swallow, swom swam, swon swan, swop to exchange,
barter, woko to waken, woks wax, wonde(r) to wander,
wont want, wo(r) (emphatic from § 396) was, wot what,
wote(r) water, wots watch.

fols false, molt malt, olt halt, solt salt.
a has also become o in omest almost, oles always, moni
many.

§ 59. a, followed by g, n, š, has become e:

ben (cp. O.Icel. banga to hammer) to throw violently,
benk bank, pret. breo brought, pret. der (§ 367) reviled,
reproached, drenk drank, pret. er (§ 367) hung, er to hang,
enk hank, enkl ancle, enke(r) anchor, emer among, pret.
ler (§ 367) threw, gen gang, gen-wee thoroughfare, passage,
kenke(r) (ME. cancren) to become rusty, krenk crank, ler
to long for, ler-setl a long bench with a high back, ler
(this form is gradually going out of use. The younger
people say long, nen to gnaw as a pain, nen-neel (see N.E.D. sub agnail) corn on the foot, prenk prank, trick, pret. ren (§ 367) rang, ren wrong, renk rank, renl (ME. wranglen) to pull the hair of the head, pret. ser sang, seo (this form is now seldom heard among the younger people. Its place is gradually being supplanted by seo) song, senk sunk, pret. slen slung, pret. slenk slunk, spenk to beat, hit, spreng sprang, pret. stenk slunk, pret. sten stung, stren (archaic, stren is now generally used) strong, pret. swen swung, wenki small beer, šenk shank, pret. šrenk shrunk, ten (cp. ME. tange, O.Icel. tangiak dagger) a sting, to sting, tenz tongs, pret. tlen slung, tlenk to beat, flog, ĺrenl busy, penk to thank, wen thong. mune(r) monger is a loan-word.

beg bag, bleg blackberry, breg to brag, deg (cp. Swed. dagga to bedew) to sprinkle with water, dreg to drag, fleg flag, geg (ME. gaggin) to gag, reg rag, seg (ME. saggin to sink down) to distend, stego(r) to stagger, šeg shag, tleg (Lowland Scot. clag) to stick to, as thick mud to the boots, tlegi sticky, dirty (of roads), stopped up with dirt, weg to wag, wegor wagon.

eš ash-tree, leš (ME. laschin) to comb, meš (cp. § 125) mash, peš (ME. paschen) to dash, strike hard, pleš (Swed. plaska) to splash, reš rash, smeš smash, weš to wash.

§ 60. In the following words we have e which in many of the examples is no doubt the i-umlaut of a: besk to bask, elte(r) (Prompt. Parv. helittir, Town. Myst. helitene, Stratmann) halter, esked (cp. ME. aske lizard) nevt, eft, espin aspin, etš (ME. hacchen) to hatch, test fast, geše(r), to gather, te-geše(r) together, kest (ME. kesten) to cast, kredl cradle, swets (OE. swæcc taste) a small sample of cloth, cotton, etc., weše(r) whether, wesp wasp, ev have, ez hast, has, ed had.
§ 61. a + medial r has become ä before consonants:
äd hard, ädn to harden, äm harm, äm arm, äp harp, ät thou art, ävis(t) harvest, bäk bark, bål barley, bän child, dän to darn, fän fern, jäd (OE. geard) yard, jän yarn, kät cart, mäk mark, pák park, spåk spark, ståk (always used in combination with some other word, as ståk mad very angry, ståk neekt quite naked, cp. OE. stearc strong, severe), ståkn (OE. stearcian) to grow stiff, stiffen, swåm swarm, swåp (OE. sweard) the skin of bacon, swåpí swarthy, šap sharp, tädz towards, wåd ward, wäf wharf, wåk (OE. wære) pain, as verb to ache, wåm warm, wän to warn, wåp warp, wät wart.

But it has become æø before medial and final r in: æø(r) are, dæø(r) dare.

§ 62. eal, al has become oe in the combinations 1f, OE. lh, lk, ll, (l), lm, lv:
1f: koef calf, koef calf (of the leg), oef half, oepni half-penny, oepøp halfpennyworth.
1h: woef, woøfl (OE. wæl h sickly taste) sickly to the smell, insipid to the taste.
1k: boøk (OE. balca) bulk, beam, stoøk stalk, stem, toøk to talk, woøk to walk, tøøk chalk.
1l, (l): boøld (ME. balled) bald, foøl to full, foøl a veil, goøl gall, koøl (cp. kal § 57) to call, oøl all, oøl hall, smoøl small, stoøl stall, woøl wall.
1m: poem palm. lv: soøv salve.

§ 63. ME. aw (of various origins) has become øe:
doøn dawn, droø to draw, kroøl crawl, loø law, moøk (ME. mauk Stratmann) maggot, oøk hawk, oøl awl, pret. soø saw, tloø claw.

§ 64. al has become ou before a following d:
boud bold, foud fold, foud to fold, koud cold, oud old.
§ 64-70. | THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY.

The regularly developed form *oud to hold* is now only used in the phrase *oud on stop!* The usual form *od to hold*, is a new formation from the past participle *odn*, where the stem vowel has been regularly shortened before the following *n*.

§ 65. ME. *ai, ei* from OE. *æg* has become *ee*:

- *breen* brain, *dee* day, *deesi* daisy, *eel* (OE. *æegl*) hail,
- *feen* (OE. *fægen*) glad, *fain*, gladly, *fee(r)* fair, *meo* (shortened in *mebi* perhaps, possibly) may, *meen* main,
- *neel* nail, *peel* pail, *slee* (a new formation from the past participle) to slay; *sleen* slain, *sneel* snail, *teel* tail.

§ 66. *a* became lengthened to *æ* before *mb* already in early ME., as is shown by the forms in the *Ormulum*. This *æ* fell together with OE. *a=Germanic ai*, and has accordingly become *ue* (see § 122) in the Windhill dialect: *kuem* comb, *wuem* womb. *lam* lamb is a new formation from the plural, where the short vowel was regularly retained, cp. *Ormulum* ace. sing. *lamb* (i. 274) beside ace. plural *lammbre* (ii. 109). The word-lists in vol. v of Ellis' *Early English Pronunciation* show that all English dialects have *a* short vowel in this word.

§ 67. *a* has become *ei* in *eit* eight, *eit’* (with suspended *t*) eighth. In *meits* to measure the *ei* seems to point to an OE. *æ* (cp. §§ 132, 138).

§ 68. *a* has become *ie* in *bied* beard, *gie(r)* gear, *ierin* herring.

§ 69. *æ (a)* has become *ã* in *gõs* (OE. *gaers*, ME. *gers*) grass; and *oi* in *loin* (OE. *lane*, *lone*) lane, which has had the same development as old *o* in open syllables. See § 109.

§ 70. Short *a* in originally open syllables has usually become *ee* But see § 71.

Examples are: *beed* to bathe, *beek* to bake, but *bak-stn* (lit.
bake-stone) the iron plate on which oat cakes are baked, bee(r) bare, pret. bee(r) bore, bleed blade, bleez to blaze, deel dale, dlee(r) (ME. glarin) to stare hard, dreeg (OE. dragan) to drawl, dreek drake, eeg (OE. haga) the berry of the hawthorn (the tree is called tsiz en bried tri lit. cheese and bread tree), eeko(r) acre, eel ale, ee(r) hare, eet to hate, be-eev to behave, fee(r) to fare, fleek flake, freem (OE. framian) to make a start or beginning, nitin-geel nightingale, geap to gape, e-geet in action, at work, geet gate, greev grave, greez to graze, keek bread of every kind, kee(r) care, keev to crave, leedl ladle, leem lame, leeo (O.Icel. hlaSa) barn, meed made, meeg (OE. maga) maw, meen mane, nit-mee(r) nightmare, meet (M. Low Germ. mate) mate, neeg (OE. gnagan) to gnaw, neekt naked, neem name, preet (cp. Swed. prata) to prate, babble, reek rake, reeDee(r) rather, seeg (OE. sage) a saw, seek sake, seel sale, seem same, skeelz scales, skreep to scrape, sneek snake, snee(r) snare, speed spade, speen (OE. spanan) to wean, spee(r) to spare, steek stake, steel (pret.) stolen, stee(r) to stare, steevz staves, sweep the handle of a machine, seed shade, seem shame, see(r) share, seev to shave, teel tale, teem tame, teen taken, weed to wade, weel whale, wewn to wane, wee(r) (ME. waren) to spend or lay out money, weeV wave, weeve(r) to waver.

§ 71. æ (a) appears as a in: gavlek (OE. gafoluc spear) crowbar, mak to make, ransak (O.Icel. rannsaka to search a house) to ransack, tak (O.Icel. taka) to take, šak to shake, šakl shackle, sadl saddle, stapl staple, faDee(r) father, laDee(r) foam, froth. On the stem-vowel in the last five words cp. the similar double development in German in such words as Schemel, Vater, nehmen, beside Semmel, Vetter, kommen. See Paul-Braune's Beiträge, vol. ix. pp. 101–135.
§ 72. West Germanic e and the OE. e which arose from the i-umlaut of a(o) have fallen together in the W. dialect as also in all other Mod. Engl. dialects, at least so far as can be ascertained from the word-lists in Ellis’ EEP. vol. v.

§ 73. e (=old e and the i-umlaut of a(o)) in originally closed syllables usually appears as e in the W. dialect; and also when e was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an l, m, n, r.

1. Old e:

beg (OE. bedecian) to beg, bele to bellow, bel bell, delf a stone quarry, delv to delve, elde(r)-trí elder, elm elm, elp help, etn eaten, enent anent, opposite, evm heaven; felt felt, fede(r) feather, frent fresh, getn (pp.) got, jel yell, jelp yelp, kres cress, lešo(r) leather, melt to melt, nest nest, neví (OE. nefa, gen. nefan) nephew, rekno to reckon, sel(sen) self, seldn (OE. seldon) seldom, sevm seven, skelp (ME. skelpen) to beat, flög, skęp (O. Icel. skëppa) a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins, etc., smel to smell, smelt to smelt, spek speck, swel to swell, swelt (OE. sweltan) to faint, be overpowered by heat, twenti twenty, prešt to thresh, prešld threshold, weft west, west west, wešo(r) (OE. weder) weather, wešo(r) (OE. wešer) the wool of a sheep which has already been shorn at least once before.

2. i-umlaut of a(o):

bed bed, bef (Germ. bäffen to bark) to cough, bek (O. Icel. bekkr) beck, beli belly, belesz bellows, belt belt, bend to bend, benk bench, best best, bete(r) better, blend to blend, dregz dregs, drenš to drench, eb ebb, edž edge, edž hedge, eft (O. Icel. hepti) haft, eg (O. Icel. eggia) to urge, incite,
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eg (O. Icel. egg) egg, el hell, els else, em hem, en hen, end
end, esp (O. Icel. hespa) hasp, evi heavy, fel to fell, kemp
(ME. kempe) short coarse white hairs in wool, ketl kettle,
leg (O. Icel. leggr) leg, lenp (by assimilation) length, men
men, mens (OE. mennisc dignity, honour) neatness, neb
bill, beak, nek neck, net net, netl nettle, pen pen, peni
penny, rest rest, retš wretch, seg sedge, sek (O. Icel. sekkr)
sack, sel to sell, send to send, sent sent, set to set, sleek
small coal, slek (OE. ge-sleccan) to extinguish a fire, etc.
with water, snek (ME. snekke) the latch of a door, spend to
spend, stem stem, step step, strenp (by assimilation) strength,
stretš to stretch, šel shell, šelf shelf, tel to tell, temz (cp. OE.
temsian to strain, pass through a sieve) a coarse hair sieve,
tletš (cp. O. Icel. klekia to hatch, bring forth) brood of
chickens, twelft twelfth, twelv twelve, web web, wed (OE.
weddiain) to wed, marry, wedž wedge, wel (noun) well,
welp whelp, oue(r)-welt (O. Icel. velta) to turn over, upset,
went went, wet-stn whet-stone.

§ 74. er in the combination er + consonant has partly
become ā and partly ie. The reasons for this twofold
development are not clear. It is probable that the words
belonging to the latter category have been influenced by
the literary language:

āt heart, bāk to bark, bākm (OE. beorg + ham N.E.D.
sub bargham) collar of a horse, bām barm, bān (OE. bern)
barn, dāk dark, dwāf dwarf, fāt (ME. fer ten) pedere, kāv
to carve, smāt smart, stāv to starve, wāk (noun) work, wāte
(lit. work-day) week-day.

Before final r we have āe: fāe(r) (OE. feorr) fur, stāe(r)
(OE. steorra) star, wāe(r) (O. Icel. verre) worse.

ienist earnest, iēp earth, jied (3 feet) yard, jien yearn,
lien learn.
The following words seem to have been borrowed from the literary language: *bēn* to burn, *gēn* (with metathesis) to *grin*, *wēp* worth, *sued* (older *swēd*) sword.

§ 75. *e* has become *iə* before *r* not followed by another consonant: *bie(r)* to bear, *pie(r)* pear, *smie(r)* to smear, *spie(r)* spear, *swie(r)* to swear, *wie(r)* to wear, *šie(r)* to shear. The only exceptions are: *tāe(r)* tar, *meo(r)* mare.


§ 78. *e* has become *i* before *ld*: *fild* field, *jild* to yield, *šild* shield, *wild* to wield.

§ 79. The following words also have *i*: *bizm* besom, *dí* (ME., Ormulum *degen*) to die, *wil* (adv.) well, but see § 399, *wizl* weasel, and *gin* given.

§ 80. *e* has become *o* in: *fotš* (OE. *feccan*, Town. Myst. fetche, foche, inf. *fott*, Sweet, HES. p. 315) to fetch, jol*le* yellow, *jon* you, *swole* (OE. *swelgan*, ME., Ormulum *swollghen*) to swallow. We have *oe* in *joen* (OE. *geonian*, also *gānian*) to yawn.

§ 81. *e* has become *e* in: *beri* berry, *(e)levm* eleven, *jest* yeast, *jestede* yesterday, *jet* yet.
§ 82. e has become ie in: estiēd instead, friet to fret, bewail, mourn over, riep to reap, but cp. Sievers, OE. Gr.

§ 83. OE. eol has become ue in: jukk yolk.

§ 84. ME. ei from OE. eg, O. Icel. ei has become ee:
- breed (OE. bregdan) to resemble, act like another person,
- geen (OE. gegn) near, direct, lee to lay, leed laid, leen lain, reen rain, see to say, seel sail, wee way, ewee away.

- been (O. Icel. beinn) near, direct, beet bait, nee nay,
- steak steak, see (accented form) they, see(r) (accented form) their.

e has also become ee in feavr(r) fever.

§ 85. e(eo) + w has become eu: eu ewe, streu to strew.

§ 86. The combination eht has become eit: feit to fight, reit right, streit straight.

§ 87. Short e in open syllables has generally become ei:
- beid bead, breits (O. Fris. breke) a breach, eit to eat,
- bred-fleik (O. Icel. fleki hurdle) a hurdle on which oat-cakes are dried, meil meal-flower, meit meat, neid to knead,
- neiv (O. Icel. knefl) fist, pei (ME. pese) pea, speik to speak,
- bed-steid bedstead, steil to steal, steil (OE. stel) the handle of a pot or jug, steim (OE. ge-stefnian, a-stemnian to give voice for, appoint) to bespeak, treid to tread, wei (OE. wegan) to weigh, weik (ME. weke) the wick of a lamp or candle, weiv to weave.

§ 88. Short e in open syllables has remained in: brek to break, get (O. Icel. geta) to get, lek (O. Icel. leka) to leak.

i.

§ 89. OE. i has generally remained:
- bid to invite to a funeral, pp. bidn, big big, large, bil
bill, bin (OE. binnan) within, bind to bind, bin (ME. bing, O. Icel. bingr) a bin, bit a bit, bite(r) bitter, bitn bitten, bitše bitch, biznes business, blind blind, blis bliss, brim (ME. brimmen, cp. O. Icel. brimi burning heat) to put the baur to the sow, brin to bring, dig to dig, dim dim, diš dish, diše(r) (ME. diderin) to tremble, shiver with cold, dlite(r) to glitter, drift drift, drink to drink, drivm driven, fidl fiddle, fık fickle, film film, fin fin, find to find, fine(r) finger, fık fish, fit ready, prepared, flick fitch, fıkıe(r) to flicker, flint flint, gidi giddy, gift gift, gilt (OE. gilte, O. Icel. gitla) a young female pig, be-gin to begin, grind to grind, grip grip, if if, ik to hitch, il ill, ilt hilt, im him, in, i in, inde(r) (occ. inše(r)) to hinder, bi-int behind, it it, to hit, iše(r) hither, iz is, iz his, kid kid, kin-kof whooping-cough, kirk (ME. kiken to pant, gasp) to cough (of whooping-cough), kist (O. Icel. kita) chest, box, kit (ME. kitte) a pail, kitl (ME. kitelen) to tickle, krisp crisp, lid lid, lig (OE. liegan) to lie down, lik to lick, lim limb, lip lip, liv to live, live(r) liver, midl middle, miks to mix, mil-deu mildew, mint mint, mis to miss, misl-tue mistletoe, mist mist, mítś much, nbl to nibble, niml nimble, nit (OE. hintu) nit, pig pig, pigin a small water-can, pitše pitch, pip pith, prik to prick, prikl prickle, rib rib, ridl (ME. ridil Prom. Parv. p. 433, Stratmann) sieve, ridn ridden, rift (ME. riften) to belch, cructate, rim rim, rind rind, rıp ring, rip to wring, rıckl wrinkle, rist wrist, rızn risen, rıt written, sft to sft, sıkı sickle, grun-sil groundsel, silk silk, sin since, sinde(r) cinder, sino to sing, sink to sink, sit to sit, siv sieve, skift to shift, remove, skin skin, skil skill, slidn (pp.) slid, slink to slink, slip to slip, slipi slippery, slıt (pp.) slit, smitl to infect, smı́n smitten, smıp smith, smů́i smithy, spıl to spill, spın to spin, spınl spindle, spit to spit, spítok spigot, sprın to spring, stık stick, stık to stick, stil still, stı́o to sting, stı́ık
to stink, stīs stitch, strikō stricken, swift swift, swil (OE. swilian) to rinse, wash out, swilinæ thin liquid food for pigs, swim to swim, swim to swing, sift chemise, šilin shilling, šin shin, šip ship, šrimp shrimp, šriŋk to shrink, tik tick, til to till, tin tin, tit, titi (OE. tit) breastmilk, tlim to climb, tlim to cling, tlip to clip, tšikin chicken, tšilde(r) (only used in the plural, for the sing. bán is always used) children, tšin chin, twig twig, twin twin, twipkl to twinkle, twist twist, pik thick, friendly, in love with, pīo thing, psil thistle, prift thrift, ċis this, wi with, wide widow, widower, wik (O. Icel. vik stirring, moving) quick, alive, wik week, wil (accented form) will, win to win, wind wind, wind to wind, winde window, wīntē(r) winter, wīnk to wink, wīspe(r) to whisper, wīsl to whistle, wit wit, wītl (ME. þwitel) large carving knife, wīts witch, wizn (OE. wisnian to dry up) to wither.

§ 90. ir + consonant has become ā + consonant:
- bēd bird, bēk birch, gēsl gristle, ād herd, tšētš (but kē-get kirkgate) church, pēd third, pēti thirty, wēl to whirl.

§ 91. i has become e in: gosıp gossip, jēs yes, stērēk (OE. stirc, styric) heifer, e(r) her, tšērēp to chirp.

§ 92. i has been lengthened before ūd: mīld mild, wild wild. But tšilde(r) (only used in the plural, for the sing. bán is used) children, owing to the following suffix.

§ 93. ME. iht has become ët: brīt bright, lit light, levis, līts the lungs of animals, mit (noun) might, nīt night, shortened in fotnīt fortnight, plīt plight, sīt sight, sīt slight, sīt tight. weit (OE. gewihte) has been influenced by wei to weigh.

§ 94. Medial OE. ig has become ĭ in: stī sty, ladder, stīl (OE. stigel) stile, til tile.
§ 95. i has become ai in: ai (accented form, see § 350) I.

§ 96. iw has become iu: tliu (OE. cliwe) a ball of string or worsted.

§ 97. i has become u in: cud (OE. cwidu) cud, ruš rush, tul to.

§ 98. i has become ie in: flie(r) (Norw. fira) to laugh or sneer at, striek streak, stripe, ñieз these.

§ 99. i has become e in: lenit (ME. lynet, probably from Fr. linotte) linnet.

0.

§ 100. OE. o (= West Germanic o) in originally closed syllables has usually remained o; and also when o was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an l, m, n, r:

blob (see N.E.D.) a bubble, bulb, bodm bottom, boks box, bore to borrow, brokno broken, broj broth, dof to undress, dog dog, dokno (OE. docce) a dock, dolt lump of dirt, don to dress, drop drop, džogl (cp. ME. joggen) to shake, flock flock, fog (ME. fogge) aftergrass, foks fox, fole to follow, fond (ME. fonné, pp. of fonnen be foolish) fond, fôt (pp.) fought, frog frog, frost frost, floj froth, frozn frozen, god god, gospl gospel, kob-web cob, kod cod, kof cough, kok cock, kokl cockle, kôlep (ME. kolop, cp. O. Swed. kollops) slice (of bacon), kope(r) copper, kroft (OE. croft) a small field, krop crop, kros cross, loft loft, lôk lock, lôks small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece, lop (OE. lopp) flea, loped (ME. lopren coagulate) clotted, covered with dirt, lopste(r) lobster, lost lost, lot lot, mos moss, mop moth, nod (ME. nodden) nap, short sleep, nok
The vowels treated historically. [§§ 100-104.]

to knock, not knot, notš notch, od odd, oť offal, oft oft, often, og (ME. hog) the first year's wool of a sheep, oťs ox, oť hollow, oťlin (OE. holen) the holly-tree, twig of the holly-tree, on (accented form) on, op to hop, otp open, őţe(r) otter, oťšed orchard, ovtl ovel, őţl plot, őţks pox, őţrod to prick, goad, rok rock, rot to rot, slop (O. Icel. sloppr) the leg of a pair of trousers, sloţt (ME. slot) bolt of a door, smok smock, snod (O. Icel. snōţinn smooth (of hair)), smooth, even, snodnt to make smooth, snot snot, sod sod, sodnd saturated, wet through, sok sock, sore sorrow, spokn spoken, spot spot, stok stock, stop to stop, šop shop, şot shot, šotn (pp.) shot, tlog a shoe with wooden soles, tloňk the common black beetle, tloťk to cluck, tlot clot, tlovn cloven, top top, topin (ME. topping) the front part of the hair of the head, topl to fall over, tot a small beer glass, troĎn trodden, troľ trough, tšoţn chosen, prośl (OE. prostle) thrush, proţ (ME. protlen) to press on the windpipe, wovm woven.

§ 101. oht has become out: bout bought, dorte(r) daughter, rout wrought. We have however o in fotn (§ 100) fought.

§ 102. ME. ow (=OE. og) has become ou: reen-bou rain-bow, floun flown.

§ 103. oţ + consonant has become ou + consonant: boul bowl, bouste(r) bolster, bout bolt, fouk folk, goud gold, kouk (see N.E.D. sub. colk) coke, cinder, kouť colt, out holt, moud-wăp a mole, stoun stolen, toul toll.

But we have o in wod (accented form) would; and u in sud (accented form) should; and oe in noep (ME. nolpen to strike) to beat, strike.

§ 104. The development of o before a following r:
(i) oe: boen born, foek fork, koen corn, te-moën to-
morrow, moen, moenin morning, noep north, oen horn, oes horse, stoem storm, swoen sworn, šoen shorn, šoet short, toen torn, poen thorn.

(2) uœ: e-fue(r) before, smue(r) (OE. smorian) to smother, suffocate.

buad board, e-fued afford, ued hoard.

(3) ŏ: spē(r) spur, wēd word, wāld world.

§ 105. o has become uœ in: buakw (ME. bolkin) to belch, retch, fluat float, kuev cove, juek yoke, uep hope, nuez nose, puek (OE. poca) sack, puani pony, puest (OE. post from Lat. postis) post, ruez a rose, stuav stove, suek to soak, suep (OE. sopa sup, small quantity (of water)) a little tea or beer, etc., tšuek to choke.

Note.—Most, if not all, of the above words are early borrowings from the literary language.

§ 106. o has become ū in: smūk to smoke, šūl shovel, stūp (ME. stolpe) a post.

§ 107. o has become u in: dul dull, foks-duv fox-glove, flutë(r) to flutter, kus (noun, also used as verb) kiss, uvm oven. It is very probable that the u in some of these words goes back to OE. y (§ 121), as has been pointed out by Prof. Napier in the Academy, May 7, 1892, p. 447.

§ 108. o has become e through loss of stress in: ŝen then, wen when.

§ 109. o in originally open syllables has generally become oi: boil (O.Icel. bolr, ME. bole) bole of a tree, foil foal, goit (ME. gote) channel, mill-stream, koil coal, pig-coit (OE. cot, cote) pig-sty, loin (OE. lone) lane, loiz (OE. losian) to lose, moit mote, oil hole, roid (mostly used in the plural roidz) a clearing (of a wood), soil (OE. sol) ground,
earth, soil (OE. sole, Lat. solea) sole, tlois (OE. close) a field, toidi very small, poil (OE. polian to endure) to give ungrudgingly, proit throat.

§ 110. Short o in open syllables has remained in: bodi (OE. bodig) body, popi (OE. popig) poppy.

§ 111. Short u has generally remained unchanged:

bluðe(r) to cry, weep, buk buck, bul bull, bulek bullock, bun (pp. of bind) bound, obliged, beholden, bute(r) butter, bual to bustle, drukø (pp.) drunk, dub a small pool of water, dum dumb, dun to urge for payment, duc dung, ful full, fulo(r) fuller, fun (pp.) found, grunsil groundsel, grunt to grunt, grumble, find fault, grund ground, grunz (pl.) sediment, be-gun begun, gust gust, guts (OE. gutt) entrails, belly, juv young, krudl (cp. ME. cruddin) to curdle, krudz (ME. crudde) curds, krum crumb, krumpl to crumple, kudl to embrace, kuf (kuft) cuff, kum to come, kunin cunning, kup cup, lug (ME. luggen, Swed. lugga to lug, drag) to pull the hair of the head, lung lung, luv love, muml to mumble, mun (accented form, O.Icel. muna will, shall) must, musl mussel, num numb, nut nut, pluk to pluck, pund a pound, rudi ruddy, ruc wrung, skuft the nape of the neck, skul skull (of the head), skute(r) to spill, sluð slung, spruð sprung, spun spun, stubi (cp. O.Icel. stubbi stock of a tree) short and stiff, stump stump, stun to stun, stucr singled, stut (cp. ME. stutten to cease, stay) to stutter, sum some, sume(r) summer, sumet (lit. somewhat) something, anything, sump a puddle or dirty pool of water, sun son, sun sun, sunde Sunday, sukø sunk, sun sung, swum (pp.) swum, swun sprung, šrukø shrunken, šun to shun,
§ 112. u has become ū in: būk, būkþ (ME. bulke, O.Icel. bulki) bulk, size, e-būn (OE. on-bufan) above, mūfín muffin, pūl to pull, šūlde(r) (this word has been influenced by the literary language. Most old people still say šūče(r)) shoulder, wūl wool (but wulzi wollen).

§ 113. u before a following r.

(1) ō: dūst durst, kūs to curse, skūf scurf, snōt (ME. snurtin, cp. Low Germ. snurten to snort, snore) to sneeze, giggle, tūn to turn, tūf turf.

(2) ə: bere borough, oři row, disturbance, noise, fėre furrow.

(3) ūe: due(r) door, mūn to mourn. It is highly probable, however, that muen has nothing to do with OE. murnan, but is simply muen to moan (§ 122).

§ 114. Medial ug has become ā: fūl (OE. fugol) fowl, kāl (OE. cugle) cowl, sā (OE. sugu) sow.

§ 115. u underwent early lengthening, and then had the same further development as old ū (§ 171) in: ānd hound, bāns (ME. bunsen) to bounce, drānd (OE. druncnian) to drown.

§ 116. u has become iu in: priu (prift) through, from, on account of.
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§ 117. y (= the i-umlaut of u) has generally become i:

bizi busy, brig bridge, brim brim, brimstn brimstone, did did, didl (cp. OE. dyderian) to cheat, din din, dip to dip, dizi dizzy, fil to fill, flig (ME. fligge, cp. OHG. flukke able to fly) to fledge, flit to remove, kiln kiln, okin akin, kinl to bring forth (of rabbits), kinlin firewood, kio king, kripl cripple, kitšn kitchen, ig (OE. hyge mind) mood, temper, il hill, inš inch, ip hip, ipin a cloth placed round the hips of children, lift to lift, lin (O.Icel. lyng) heather, lisn to listen, mig midge, miln mill, nit to knit, pile pillow, pit pit, rig (OE. hrycg) back, rigin ridge of a house, sil sill, sin sin, kā-slip cowslip, snift to sniff, scent, stint to stint, tlik (OE. clycc(e)an, see N.E.D. sub clitch) to seize, snatch, catch hold, tplip to clip, trim to trim, ņin thin.

§ 118. yht has become i: fliit flight, frit fright, ņit wright.

§ 119. y has become i before ld: bild to build, gild to gild.

§ 120. y before a following r.

(1) ō: bōdn burden, bāl āt (OE. byrlian) to draw or pour out (drink to or for anyone), bōp birth, ōdl hurdle, fōst first, gōdl girdle, kōnl kernel, mōpē(r) to murder, mēki mirky, sōt shirt, tōd (cp. OE. tyrdel, Stratmann) turd, wēk to work, wōm worm.

(2) e: beri to bury, mēri merry, sperinz (cp. OE. spyrian) banns of marriage, ste(r) to stir, wēri to worry, flg-wet figwort.

§ 121. y has become u in: bluš to blush, bruslz bristles, bunl bundle, krutš crutch, muk muck, stubl stubble, šut to shut, šutl shuttle, trunl trundle.
2. The Long Vowels.

ā.

§ 122. The normal development of OE. ā in the W. dialect is u̯e:

bru̯e̯d broad, buen bone, bu̯e(r) boar, bu̯et boat, bu̯øp both,

dru̯e̯n drone, dru̯ev (noun) drove, due̯æ doe, due̯æf dough, due̯æfl cowardly, due̯el dole, fu̯e̯m foam, guød goad, gruen to groan,
gru̯e̯p to grope, gru̯ev groove, gue̯ to go, e-gue̯ ago, guen gone,
gue(r) gore, guest ghost, guøt goat, krue̯k to croak, lue̯ed load,
burden, lu̯e̯f loaf, lu̯en loan, eluen alone, lu̯ønsm lonely, lu̯e̯p loath, lu̯øf to loathe, muen (OE. mænan, ME. mænen, mānen) to moan, mue(r) more, muøst most, nuø no, nuøn none, rued road, ruøp rope, ru̯e(r) to roar, stru̯ek to stroke, stru̯e̯k (OE. strāc) half a bushel, stuen stone, sue̯ so, su̯e̯p soap, sue(r) sore, tlu̯e̯p cloth, tlue̯f clothes, tlue̯ø to clothe, tlue̯e̯r(r) clover, tue̯e̯ toe, tu̯ed toad, tu̯e̯k token, tu̯en (lit. the one) one of two, nu who, u̯ek oak, u̯eli holy, u̯el whole, u̯em home, uenli lonely, u̯e(r) oar, u̯e(r) hoar, u̯es(t) (OE. hās) hoarse, uøts oats, u̯øp oath, wue̯ woe.

§ 123. āw has become oø:

blo̯e̯ to blow, kro̯e̯ crow, kro̯e̯ to crow, moo̯e to mow, noe̯ to know, sloe̯e̯ slow, snoe̯ snow, soo̯e to sow, pøe̯ to thaw, prøe̯ to throw, oøe̯e(r) either, noøe̯e(r) neither.

But we have ou in: out (OE. āwiht) aught, nout (OE. nāwiht) naught, soul (OE. sāwol) soul.

§ 124. ā has become ou in:

lou (O.Icel. lāgr) low, ou (OE. āgan) to ove, out (OE. āhte) ought; but oø in: oøn (OE. āgen) own.

§ 125. ā was shortened to a at an early period in: as, aks (OE. āscian, ācsian) to ask, alide (OE. hlāig-dæg)
holiday, lavrek (OE. lawerce, ME. laveroc) lark, spatl (OE. spät) spittle. To e in meš mash, cp. § 59.

And to o in sori (OE. sārig) sorry. But this word has probably been influenced by sore (OE. sorg) sorrow.

§ 126. ā has become u in ut hot, wun one, wuns once.

§ 127. O.Norse ei (=OE. ā) has become ee: feek (O.Icel. feikr) trick, deception, leek (O.Icel. leika) to play, week (O.Icel. veikr) weak. It is not absolutely necessary to assume that these words are of Norse origin; they may be regularly developed from OE. fæcæ, lācan, wāc with early shortening of the ā before the following k, cp. words like leitē leech (§ 132), leitē teach (§ 138), which cannot be of Norse origin.

§ 128. ā has become e in the unaccented particles: en an, e a, an, e(r) or, ne(r) nor, net not.

§ 129. The following words remain unclassed: poul pole, probably an early borrowing from the lit. language; the same is probably the case with rees race, swip to sweep (OE. swēpan, pret. swēop) with the vowel of the pret. transferred to the present, tú two.

Germanic ē.

§ 130. Germanic ē (=WS. ē, O.North. ē) has become i in: grīdi greedy, imin (OE. ēfmung, ME. ēfening) evening, nīdī needle, rid to read, sid seed, slīp to sleep, strīt street, šīp sheep, tāiz cheese, prīd thread.

§ 131. It has become io i in:

brei̇p breath, brei̇č to breathe, dri̇ed to dread, fie(r) fear, e-flēd afraid, iel eel, iernd errand, jie(r) year, mēl meal, repast, swiel (OE. swēlan, O.Icel. svēla) to gutter (of a candle), sie(r) there, wiēpm weapon, wie(r) where, wīez to wheeze.
§ 132. Before c(k) it became shortened to e, and then underwent the same further development as old e in open syllables (§ 87): leitš leech, speitš speech.

§ 133. It has become ee in: blett to bleat, greē gray, ee(r) hair, weēv wave.

§ 134. It underwent early shortenings to e in: bleē(r) bladder, let to let, medē meadow, red (OE. rōdē) read, sed (OE. sæde, older sægde, Sievers, OE. Gr. § 214, 3) said, setēde (OE. sæterdēg) Saturday, slept slept, sez sayest, says, šepēd shepherd, šepste(r) starling, wet wet.

§ 135. It has become a in: blast blast.

§ 136. It has become i in: ridl riddle, sili silly.

OE. ā (=i-umlaut of ā).

§ 137. The normal development of the i-umlaut of ā is iē:

briēḍp breadth, diel deal, dliēm gleam, iel to heal, iēlp health, iet heat, iēnēn heathen, liēd to lead, liēdē(r) tendon, liēn lean, liest least, liev to leave, mien mean, mien to mean, intend, rie(r) to rear, riep wreath, sie sea, siet seat, swiet to sweat, šiep sheath, tiez to tease, tliēn clean, wiet wheat.

§ 138. Before c(k) it became shortened to e, and then underwent the same further development as old e in open syllables (§ 87), cp. also § 132: bleitš to bleach, reik to reach, teitš to teach.

§ 139. āē has also become ei in:

(1) lein to lean, spreid to spread.

(2) kei key, nei neigh.

140. āht has become out: tout (OE. tēhte) taught.
§ 141. ë has become ee in: leodi lady, steez stairs, tlee clay.

§ 142. It has become oo in: noëße(r) neither, ooëße(r) either. These examples rather belong to § 123. See Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 346, 348.

§ 143. It underwent early shortening to e in: emti empty, fleś flesh, left (pret. and pp.) left, lent (pret. and pp.) lent (len to lend has its vowel from the pret.) les less, ment meant.

§ 144. It was shortened at an early period to a in: bad bad, fat fat, ladē(r) ladder, mad mad, madlin a bewildered or confused person, stupid fellow, rasil to wrestle, spat (pret.) spat.

§ 145. It has become i in ivø(r) ever, ivri every, nivø(r) never.

§ 146. oni (OE. ēnig) has been influenced by moni (OE. manig) many.

ē.

1. ū (=i-umlaut of ő).

§ 147. ē, the i-umlaut of ő, has become i: blid to bleed, brid to breed, dim to deem, fid to feed, fil to feel, fit feet, ġis geese, grin green, grat to greet, id heed, ılı heel, kil (OE. cēlan) to cool, kin keen, kip to keep, kwin queen, mit to meet, sik to seek, sim to seem, slę sly, swět sweet, tím (O. Icel. tēma) to pour out, tip teeth, wip to weep.

§ 148. It was shortened early to e before consonant combinations in: bled bled, bles to bless, bred bred, gezlin gosling, fed fed, felt (pret.) felt, kept kept, met met, tem (pret. of tim § 147) poured out, tem-ful brimful.

§ 149. The following forms are irregular: britšez (OE.
§§ 149–156.] THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY. 49

brēcē) breeches, weest (OE. wōeste) waste, wiéri (OE. wōrig) weary.

2. ō (= older ie, partly arising from the i-umlaut of ēa, ō, and partly arising from ectlhipsis).

§ 150. This ō has also generally become i: di to dye, dri dreary, litnin lightning, bo-liv to believe, nid need, sin seen, sliv sleeve, stil steel, stilpl steeple, šit sheet, ti to tie, sikst-tin sixteen.

Note.—This ō has been shortened to i in: rik reek, smoke, strip to strip.

§ 151. It has become iœ before a following r in: iœd heard, iœ(r) to hear, niœ(r) (OHG. nioro) kidney, stieœ(r) to steer.

§ 152. ō has been shortened to e at an early period in: nekst next.

§ 153. It has become œœ in: œœ hay; and ei in: eit height.


§ 154. let (pret.) let, iœ(r) here. Here may also be placed: miðlœs (cp. OE. mēd, older meord pay, reward) troublesome, tiresome, to no purpose.

4. The OE. ō which arose from lengthening in monosyllables (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 121).

§ 155. This ō has become i in the following accented forms (§ 350): i he, ji ye, mi me, ōi thee, wi we.

§ 156. OE. ī has regularly become ai: aidl idle, aim (OE. hrim ?) hoarfrost, aĩn hind, aĩs ice, aivi ivy, baid (OE. bidan) to endure, put up with, wait, stay, remain, bait to
bite, braid, bridle, daik, dike, dlaid to glide, draiv to drive, fail fill, saiv five, graip to gripe, graim (ME. grim) soot (on the kettle), kraist Christ, laif life, laik like, laim lime, lain line, e-laiv alive, mai (accented form) my, mail mile, main mine, mait mite, naif knife, paik pike, pail pile, pain to pine, paip pipe, raid to ride, raip ripe, rait to write, raiv (O. Icel. rifa to break) to tear, raiz to rise, said side, sail (ME. silen) to strain through a sieve, saip (cp. MHG. sifen) to ooze or drain out slowly, saic scythe, slaid to slide, slaim slime, slaip to take away the skin or outside covering, smait to smite, snaip snipe, straik to strike, swaim to climb up a tree or pole, swaip (cp. MHG. swifen) to sweep off, remove hastily, sain to shine, sait cacare, saiv (ME. schive) slice, taid feast time, taidin a present from the feast, taik (O. Icel. tik dog) a low fellow, taim time, tait (in the phrase: es tait as soon, comp. taite(r) sooner, rather, ME. tât, O. Icel. masc. târ, neut. titt) soon, twain twine, twais twice, sâi (accented form) thy, saïn thine, praiv to thrive, waid wide, waif wife, wail a while, time, wain wine, waip to wipe, wait white, waiz wise, fraide Friday.

§ 157. ï before a following r: aïon iron, spaïo(r) spire, waïe(r) wire.

§ 158. Old ï appears as ï in: ï to sigh (§ 318, b), skrïk (O. Low Germ. scrïcôn, Swed. skrïka) to shriek. And possibly in stï (OE. stïg, OHG. stïga) ladder, but see § 94.

§ 159. ïw has become iu: spiû (OE. spïwan) to spew, tiuzde (OE. tiwesdæg) Tuesday.

§ 160. ï underwent early shortening to i in: bi (unaccented form) by, dwîn to dwindle, fîft fifth, fîtti fifty, fîpms fivepence, linin linen, linsid linseed, stif stiff, wimin women, midif midwife, wizdm wisdom.
§ 161. ri has become ə through metathesis in: kōsmes Christmas, kōsn to christen.

§ 162. i has become u in: wumn woman; ie in: sneik to sneak; e in: sterep stirrup.

ö.

§ 163. The normal development of ö is ui: bluid blood, bruid brood, buin boon, buit to boot, buið booth, buizm bosom, duin done, fluid flood, fuid food, fuit foot, guid good, guis goose, kruidl to shrink or cower with cold, fear or pain, kuil cool, muid mood, muil d confusion, bad temper, muin moon, nuin noon, pruiv (OE. próflan from Lat. probáre) to prove, ruid rood, ruif roof, ruit root, skuil school, smuið smooth, spuin spoon, stuid stood, stuil stool, suin soon, suit soot, tuil tool, tuip tooth, šuin shoes, uid hood, uif hoof, uin (ME. hōnen) to harass, treat badly.

§ 164. ö has become in before k, m, and when the vowel has come to stand finally in the mod. dialect.

(a) Before k: briuk brook, iuk hook, kriuk crook, liuk to look, niuk nook, riuk rook, šiuk shook, tiuk took.

bük book, and kük cook have been borrowed from the literary language.

(b) Before m: blium bloom, brium broom, dlium gloom, dium doom, giùm gum, lium loom.

(c) When final in the mod. dialect: biu bough, diu to do, driu drew, iniu (plural) enough, pliu plough, sliu slew, tiu too.

šu shoe has been borrowed from the literary language, cp. the pl. form šuin § 163. ö appears as i in inif (sing.) enough.
§ 165. ö has become uə before r: dlue(r) (ME. glören) to stare, flue(r) floor, mue(r) moor.

§ 166. òw has become ou: dlou to glow, flou to flow, grou to grow, stou to stow.

§ 167. oht became oht already in OE. (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 125), and has become out in the W. dialect, cp. § 101: brout brought, sout sought, ʒout thought.

§ 168. ṑ has become ou in: skoup scoop.

§ 169. Shortenings of old ö.

(a) To o: blosm blossom, foste(r) foster, fodəe(r) fodder, kom (OE. cöm) came, soft soft, ʃod shod, tof tough.

(b) To u: brutSe(r) brother, dluv glove, duz dost, does, munde Monday, munp month, muðə(r) mother, sluf (OE. slög) slough, tuðe(r) the other, uðe(r) other.

§ 170. ö has become e in wednzde (OE. wōdnes-dæg) Wednesday.

ü.

§ 171. ü has generally become a: a how, ʃl owl, āmive(r) however, ās house, ʃt out, bän (O. Icel. büenn, lit. bound; generally used in the sense of going, as wie(r) te bän? where art thou going? am bän dân tloin I am going down the lane), brä brow, brän brown, bät (OE. būtan, be-utan) without, o-bät about, dân down, däst dust, dlämi (not the same word as gloomy which is dliumi § 164) sad, downcast, dräzi drowsy, fäl foul, ugly, kā cow, kräd crowd, lād loud, lās louse, mās mouse, män mouth, nā now, rām room, räst rust, präd proud, sāk to suck, sāp south, släm (OE. slūma) slumber, sprät (cp. ME. sprüte, M. Low Germ. sprüte) to sprout, ʃråd shroud, tän town,
tlād cloud, tlāt clout, trāst (ME. trūsten) to trust, șā (accented form) thou, țăzăn thousand.

§ 172. ū has become ăe before a following r: ăe(r) (accented form) our, kăe(r) dăn (ME. couren, Swed. kūra to cover) to bend down, sit down, săe(r) sour, šăe(r) shower.

But we have ĕ in țăzdă Thursday.

§ 173. doen down, feathers, seems to have been borrowed from the literary language.

§ 174. Ż was shortened to u at an early period in: busk (ME. busken from O. Icel. būask to get oneself ready) to go about from place to place singing and playing for money, druft drought, duv dove, fus fuss, kud (accented form) could, plum plum, ruf rough, uni-sukl honeysuckle, sup to drink, sup, šuv to shove, pum thumb, ulet owl, up up, ușe(r) udder, uz (accented form) us, ușbn husband.

It has been weakened to e in the unaccented particle bed but.

\( \ddot{y} \).

§ 175. \( \ddot{y} \), the i-umlaut of ŭ, has become ai: aid hide, skin, aiv hive, braid bride, brain brine, drai dry, draip to drip, daiv to dive, kait kite, lais lice, mais mice, praid pride, skai sky.

§ 176. It has become aie before a following r: aie(r) to hire, faie(r) fire, maie(r) mire.

§ 177. It underwent early shortening to i in: filp filth, idn (pp. from which was formed a new present id to hide), litl little, lits (retained only in the game of lits en göts lit. littles and greats, a game played by boys with brass buttons, clog clasps, or small pieces of brass of any kind. Two lits
have the value of one gēt; cp. P. B. Beitr. ix. p. 365-7).

§ 178. ņ (?) has become u in prust to thrust.

3. The Diphthongs.

ēa.

§ 179. OE. ēa has generally become ie: biem beam, bien bean, biot to beat, bribed bread, died dead, dief deaf, diep death, driem dream, e-gien again, against, ied head, iep heap, ie(r) ear, iest east, ieste(r) Easter, lied lead, lief leaf, be-lief belief, nie(r) near, pie-kok peacock, siem seam, stiem steam, stiep steep, strie (WS. stēa, O. North. strē, Sievers, OE. Gr. § 250, note 2) straw, striem stream, šief sheaf, tiem team, tšiep cheap, priep (OE. þrēapian to re-buke) to contradict, prietn to threaten.

§ 180. ēaw has become eu: deu dew, eu to hew, feu (OE. fēawe) few, šeu to show, teu (OE. tēawian) to work zealously.

But we have oo in roe (OE. hrēaw) raw; which presupposes a form hrāw (§ 123).

§ 181. It has become i in: i (plural īn) eye, tšik cheek. The latter word has probably been borrowed from the literary language.

§ 182. It has become ei in: ei (OE. hēah) high, nei (OE. nēah) nigh, near. The ME. forms heh and neh would regularly become diphthongized to ei, see § 87.

§ 183. It has become ee in: flee (OE. fēan, Skeat, Etym. Dict. p. 211) to skin, neebe(r) neighbour.
§ 184. O. Norse au has become ou in: loup (O. Icel. hlaupa) to leap, jump, lous (O. Icel. lauss) loose; and oe in: goem (O. Icel. gaum) heed, care, attention, goemles silly, stupid, roet (O. Icel. rauta to roar) to bray.

§ 185. ea has become e through absorption of r in: gōt great.

§ 186. Shortenings of ea:
(a) To e in: efe(r) heifer, lek leek, red red.
(b) To a in: laše(r) lather, tšap chap.

§ 187. OE. eo has generally become i: bi bee, bī (accented form) to be, bīn been, dip deep, dlī glee, find fiend, fī to fly, fīl fly, flīs fleece, fīrī free, fīrīz to freeze, krip to creep, li to lie, lif (OE. lōf) soon, live(r) sooner, rather, lit a light, ni knee, nīz (O. Icel. hniōsa) to sneeze, rid reed, ril reel, prīst priest, sī to see, sīč to seethe, snīz to sneeze, tīv to cleave, trí tree, be-twin between, pī thigh, pīf thief, prī three, wid weed, wil wheel.

But we have tšiuız to choose (§ 366).

§ 188. It has become ie before a following r: bie(r) beer, dië(r) dear, drieri dreary.

§ 189. Before r + consonant it became shortened to e already in ME., and then had the same further development as old e before r + consonant (§ 87): dālin (OE. dēorling, ME. derrling) darling, fādin (OE. fēordung, ME. ferthing) farthing.

§ 190. ëow has become iu: bliu blew, briu to brew, griu grew, jiup youth, kriu crew, niu new, niu knew, riu to
rue, sniu (§ 377) it snowed, tliu clew, triu true, triup truth, siu sowed, priu threw.

But in the following words we have eu which points to an old ǣaw (§ 180): eu yew, seu to sew, tšeu to chew. We have oue in: foue(r) (OE. fēower, but ME. fōwer, which would regularly become foue(r) in the dialect, § 166) four, fouet (OE. fēowerða) fourth, fouetin (OE. fēowertēne) fourteen. And æ in: jæ(r) (accented form) your. This last word has been influenced by æ(r) our, § 172.

§ 191. The following two words remain unclassed: šu (accented form) she, šuit to shoot.

§ 192. Early shortenings of ēo:
(a) To e in: brest breast, fel (pret.) fell, frend friend, step-faSe(r) step-father. Anglian ēo (=WS. ie) has been shortened to e in: depp depth, ten ten.
(b) To o in: foti forty, fotnit fortnight.
(c) To i in: divl devil, sik sick, e tūpri lit. a two (or) three, a few.
(d) To e in: se ēe lit. see thou, look! þrepms threepence.

Elision of e.

§ 193. The e is elided in the diphthongs and triphthongs eo, ie, oe, ue, ae, aie, iue, oue, when they occur finally and the next word begins with a vowel; thus gue but gu nem go home, me ai may I, but mee wi (§ 393), noe but a no im I know him, and similarly for the others.
CHAPTER IV.

THE FRENCH ELEMENT.

In the following treatment of the French element in the W. dialect, the present pronunciation of literary English has, in most cases, been taken as the starting point. The transcription of the lit. English vowel sounds is based on that given in Sweet's Primer of Spoken English, pp. 7–8, and is as follows:

- d as in just, dozen, double.
- a as in grant, art, master.
- ai as in fine, pie, try.
- au as in doubt, powder.
- æ as in value, rat.
- e as in debt, measure.
- ei as in bacon, bailiff, pay.
- ee as in pair, chair.
- ø as in furnish, journey.
- i as in dinner, pity.
- ij as in beak, secret, beef, grief.
- ie as in fierce, clear.
- o as in jolly, profit.
- oi as in boil, poison.
- ou as in roast, notice.
§ 194. Lit. Engl. æ (written a) appears as a: abit habit, aktli actually, ali aisle, alley, arend (ME. araine, O. Fr. araigne) spider, avek havoc, baril barrel, damidž damage, faks facts, galek (O. Fr. gale) lefthand, galep to gallop, gain gallon, garit garret, gran-faðø(r), gram-faðø(r) grand-father, kap cap, kapil (Fr. capel a little hat, Cotgr.) a piece of leather sewn over a hole in a boot or shoe, karit carrot, lamp lamp, mane(r) manner, map (see Skeat, Etym. Dict. sub mop) a mop, mare to match a pattern, natrel (natre-bl) natural, pantri pantry, ratn (O. Fr. raton) rat, salit salad, skafl scaffold, skaflin scaffolding, stati statue, tali to agree, be right, te liv tali to live together without being married, tšapil chapel, vali valley, vale value.

§ 195. Lit. Engl. has ā where the W. dial. has a in: basted bastard, branš branch, grant to grant, pastø(r) pasture, plant plant.
But ee in: bees bass, leerem alarum, meeste(r) master, pleeste(r) plaster.

§ 196. Lit. Engl. has ei (written a), but W. dial. a in: apren apron, stapl staple.
But we have moendž mange.

§ 197. a has become e before a following g, n, š, cp.
§ 59:
drego dragon.
bleøk blank, bleøkit blanket, kerke(r) (ME. cancren) to corrode, lenwidž language, pleøk plank, renk rank.
bešfi bashful, fešn fashion, pešn passion, seš sash.
§ 198. *a* has become *oe* in the combinations *lk*, *lm*, *ll*, cp. § 62.

goeki (but galak § 326) left handed, boem balm, oeminak almanac, oemend almond, boel ball.

§ 199. *a* in the combination *ld* has become *ou*, cp. § 64: skoud to scald.

The same sound also occurs in *fou* (ME. *faute*) fault.

§ 200. *a* has become *o* before *a* following *n* in: dons dance, ont aunt, trons trance, tšons chance, tšont chant.

§ 201. *a* has become *e* in: rediš radish.

§ 202. *a* has been retained where in the lit. language it has become *o* through the influence of the preceding *w* in: kwæleti quality, kwari stone-quarry, warænd to warrant, walep (cp. Fr. galoper to curry, use rudely, Cotgr.) to beat, flog.

§ 203. ar in the combination *r* + consonant has become *ee*, which shows that *ar* in this combination was pronounced differently in Engl. and Fr. words in the ME. period; cp. § 61.

beebe(r) barber, beedž barge, beegŋ bargain, beet(r) to barter, deet to dart, eet art, skill, geed guard, geedn garden, geeț(r) garter, keed card, keekes (Fr. carquasse, Cotgr.) body, carcase, kwet quart, kweete(r) quarter, peedn pardon, peesl parcel, peet part, peetne(r) partner, skewlet scarlet, tšeedž charge.

§ 204. Lit. Engl. eɪ (written a, ai (ay), ei) appears in the W. dial. as ee: beekŋ bacon, beel bale, beeli (bum-beeli, cp. O. Fr. baili) bailiff, beet to abate, bleem blame, bree (ME. braiın, O. Fr. breier) to beat, pound, deendž(e)r) danger, deenti dainty, deet date, deevi affidavit, eebl able, eedž age, eem to aim, intend, eenən ancient, feed fade, feel
to fail, feent to faint, fees face, fee(r) faith, feeve(r) to favour, resemble in appearance or manners, fleem flame, gee gay, ingedz to engage, greenz (pl.) malt which has been used in brewing beer, grees grace, greet grate, keedz cage, kees case, lees lace, meesn mason, nee(r) nature, pee pay, peedz page, peel pale, peen pain, peen pane of glass, peent paint, pees pace, peest (but pasti pasty) paste, pleen plain, plees place, pleet plate, pree (but pre-te (1) pray thee) to pray, preet to prate, babble, preez to praise, reedz rage, reet rate, seef safe, seekrid sacred, seem (often called swain-seem, Ancren Riwle sein, OE. seine adipe, Ps. lxii. 6, E. E. T. S. No. 92, from O. Fr. sain) lard, scent (but before names sant) saint, seev to save, skeelz scales, steebl stable, streendz strange, teebl table, teel(r), teelje(r) tailor, teest taste, bleem to claim, treel (Fr. trailler) to drag, treen train, tsee(r) to chafe, tseeem(r) chamber, tseeendz change, veen vein, woot to wait.

Note.—contrary is kontréeri.

§ 205. Before a simple r we have the same development as the lit. language: pee(r) pair, pee(r) to peel, tsee(r) chair.

e.

§ 206. e (written 'e, ee) in the lit. language has generally remained in the W. dialect: bezl to embezzle, demek (from epidemic) potato disease, demekt diseased (of potatoes), det debt, dželos jealous, dželi jelly, e-seml to assemble, fend to provide for oneself, fent remnant of a piece of cloth, fezn pheasant, ges to guess, lete(r) letter, letis lettuce, mel (Fr. mail) mallet, mel (ME. mellen, medlen, O.Fr. medler) to meddle, mend to mend, meze(r) measure, pleze(r) pleasure, prentis apprentice, sens sense, ses assessment, tax, spekteklz
spectacles, trembl to tremble, trez(e)r treasure, vent(e)r to venture, vesl vessel.

But fliem phlegm, siene senna.

§ 207. er has become ā before a following consonant: konsan concern, pāsn parson, sādžn sergeant, sāmen sermon, sāvnt servant, sāvis service, tlāk clerk, vāment vermin, vāniš varnish.

In the following two words we have a: arend (O.Fr. errant) notoriously bad, sare (rarely sāv) to serve. On sare see Behrens, Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England, p. 91. ie in: ieb herb, and e in: tšeri cherry.

§ 208. e has become a before a following r in tarie(r) (ME. terrere) terrier dog, vari very.

But pie(r) pear.

§ 209. e has become i before a following nasal in: indžói to enjoy, indžn engine, ingedž to engage, ink ink, lints lentils, simetri cemetery, šimi chemise.

tribl treble (in music) from contamination with triple, and pribl threefold from contamination with pri.

§ 210. e has become a in saleri celery, cp. sallary sub celery in N.E.D.

i.

§ 211. i has generally remained in the W. dialect: dine(r) dinner, dizml dismal, finiš to finish, gimłek (this word has now almost gone out of use, its place being taken by gimlīt) gimlet, gizn to choke, gizn (Fr. guisern, Cotgr. sub gesier) gizzard, konsiše(r) to consider, limit limit, list list, list to enlist, live(r) to deliver, ministe(r) minister, mins mince, mistšif mischief, pidžn pigeon, pik pickaxe,
pinien opinion, piti pity, rive(r) river, sinl single, siöez scissors, skripte(r) scripture, tift (cp. ME. tiffen from O. Fr. tiffer to adorn) condition, state, order, tšimli chimney, twilt quilt.

§ 212. i has become e in: lenit linnet, rebit rivet, redžeste(r) to register, rens to rinse.

§ 213. i has become e in sperit spirit; and a in krakit cricket (game).

O

§ 214. Lit. Engl. short o = W. dial. o: boni nice, pretty, džoli jolly, džosl to jostle, kolo(r) collar, kotn cotton, lodž to lodge, mot, moti (French motte, Cotgr., edit. 1673) a mark at quoits, obstakl obstacle, oke-daiik (Fr. oker Cotgr.) small stream of iron-water, one(r) honour, rok rock, poridž porridge, posnit (O. Fr. poçonet) saucepan, pot pot, profit profit, soče(r) solder.

§ 215. o has become u in: nuvľ novel, nuvis novice.

§ 216. Lit. Engl. oi = W. dial. oi: boil to boil, džoi joy, džoint joint, e-noi to annoy, koit quoit, coit, loin loin, moist moist, moiste(r) moisture, noiz noise, oil oil, ointment ointment, oiste(r) oyster, point point, poizn poison, soil soil, ground, spoil to spoil, tšois choice, vois voice, voître(r) large clothes' basket.

§ 217. Lit. Engl. ou (written oa) = W. dial. o in: gol (only used in the game of lits on gęts § 177, O. Fr. gaul) goal, rost to roast.

§ 219. Lit. Engl. ou (written o, oa) = W. dial. oi in: 
broïts to broach, doit to dote, koit coat, loïts loach, ltoiïs close, narrow, ltoiïz to close, toïst to toast.

§ 220. Lit. Engl. ou (written o, oa, ou, ow) = W. dial. ou in: boul bowl, koul (O. Fr. coïllir) to rake; moud mould, model, poutri poultry, pouïïs to poach, rouïl to roll, souïdje(r) soldier.

But we have páltis poultice.

Note.—The first element of the W. diphthong is not the o in not. See § 7.


§ 222. Lit. Engl. ue (written oor) = W. dial. uë: puë(r) poor, puëli poorly, ill.

§ 223. Lit. Engl. long open o sound (written or before a following consonant) = W. dial. ue in: fuëdëz forge, fuës force, kuëd cord, puëk pork, puësïïn portion, puëte(r) porter.

But we have foësïït to forfeit, foëm form, foëtn fortune, koësï(r) corner, oësï(r) order.

§ 224. ue occurs before single r in dlueïrï glory, stueïrï story. And e in fërin foreign.

§ 225. Lit. Engl. long open ō (written au, aw) = W. dial. oe in: doëb (M.E. daubïn, O. Fr. dauber) to daub, smear, džoëm (Fr. jaumbe, Cotgr.) the side post of a door or chimney piece, džoënes jaundice, froëd fraud, koëse cause-way, poë paw, poëz (O. Fr. poulser, posser) to kick, sos sauce.

But we have short o in be-kos, e-kos, kos because, fols false; in reference to a child, implying that it is shrewd and witty beyond its years.
u.

§ 226. Lit. Engl. u, o, ou=W. dial. u: bukit bucket, buldž to bulge, butn button, buzəd (O. Fr. busart) butterfly, dļutn glutton, dubl double, duzn dozen, džudž judge, džust just, frunt front, gruml to grumble, gulit gullet, channel for water, guto(r) gutter, guzl to swallow greedily, krust crust, kruš to crush, kule(r) colour, kumfet comfort, kumpni company, kuntri country, kupil couple, kusted custard, kustm custom, kuve(r) to cover, kuzin, kuzn cousin, muni (a commoner word is bras) money, muniřil mongrel, musted mustard, mutn mutton, muzl muzzle, nume(r) number, plume(r) plumber, pulp pulp, rikuve(r) to recover, rubiš rubbish, sudn sudden, sufe(r) to suffer, sumen to summon, supe(r) supper, stuf stuff, trubl trouble, truk trunk, tšuk to throw, pitch, tun tun, tutš to touch, uml humble, unien onion, unkl uncle.

But we have fоisti fusty.

§ 227. Lit. Engl. u (written u, and mostly occurring after labials)=W. dial. u: bušl bushel, butsə(r) butcher, bulit bullet, puli pulley, pulit pullet, puš to push, put to put.

But we have siuge(r) sugar, see § 310, 1; pulpit pulpit.

§ 228. Lit. Engl. ŏ (written ur, our before a following consonant)=W. dial. ŏ, see § 113 a: bël (ME. burle) to pick out small pieces of straw, etc. from flannel or cloth, distõb to disturb, džõni journey, fõniš to furnish, fõnite(r) furniture, kõn currant, nãs nurse, põs purse, tõn to turn, tõnep turnip, ŏt to hurt.
§ 229. Lit. Engl. ai (written i, ie, y) = W. dial. ai: ed-vais advice, ed-vaiz to advise, e-plai to apply, fain fine, frai to fry, kontráïv to contrive, kraï cry, nais nice, pai pie, paint pint, prais price, praiz to lift with a lever, rais rice, sailm asylum, sain sign, saizez assizes, straïv to strive, tais to entice, trai to try, traïfl trifle.

But tšiëne china ware.

ai also occurs in: džais (O. Fr. giste) joist, païk to pick, select.

e-blïdž (pp. e-blïtšt) to oblige, and leëlek lilac, still remain to be explained.


ij.

§ 231. Lit. Engl. ij (written ea, ei, e, ee, ie) appears in the W. dial. as ie in: biëk beak, biëst beast, but besie cows, disïet deceit, disïev to deceive, flebl feeble, flët feat, flëst feast, flote(r) feature, grisë grease, iege(r) eager, iëgl eagle, iëkwïl equal, iez ease, nies niece, niet neat, tidy, piel to appeal, pies peace, plied to plead, pliez to please, rïel real, riesn reason, risïet receipt, recipe, risïev to receive, siekrit secret, sies to cease, siezn season, tie tea, triët treat, triëtl treacle, tšïet to cheat, viël veal.

§ 232. Lit. Engl. ij = W. dial. i in: bif beef, e-gri to agree, grïf grief, pip (pp. pept) to peep, pis piece.


ai in: bastail (Fr. bastille) workhouse, union.

ee in: konseet conceit.

i in: pil to peel, pilinz the peels of potatoes, etc.

e in: mezlz measles.

au.

§ 235. Lit. Engl. au (written ou, ow) appears in the W. dial as ā: āl to howl, āns ounce, bānti bounty, dāt doubt, e-kānt account, e-lā, lā to allow, e-mānt amount, frān to frown, gān gown, gāt gout, kānsl to counsel, kānt to count, kāṭś couch, krān crown, lāns an allowance of re-

freshment or money, mānt to mount, māt (Lat. mútāro) to moulrt, pāče(r) powder, rānd round, sānd sound, noise, stāt stout, tā-īl (also tail) towel, trā-īl trowel, trāns to beat, flog,

vā vow.

au appears as ū in: trūnez trousers.

§ 236. Lit. Engl. aue=W. dial. āe: āe(r) hour, divāe(r) to devour, flāe(r) flower, flour, pāe(r) power, tāe(r) tower.

juw.

§ 237. Lit. Engl. juw (written eau, uel, ui, ew, iew) is īu in the W. dialect: biuti beauty, diu dwe, diuti duty, fluil fuel, fluote(r) future, ius use, iuneti unity, iunien union, iusfl useful, iusles useless, iuz to use, miul mule, donkey, miuzik music, piu pew, pius puce colour, rifiuu
to refuse, siut suit, stiupid stupid, viu view.

But we have ā in: kākume(r) cucumber.

jue.

§ 238. Lit. Engl. jue (written ure)=W. dial. ūue: kiue(r) cure, meniue(r) manure, piue(r) pure.
UW.
§ 239. Lit. Engl. uw (written ue, ui, u, and mostly occurring after 1, r, s) is u in the W. dialect: bliu blue, bliuz (pl.) delirium tremens, fliu flue, fluut flute, seliut to salute.

fruut fruut, griuul griuel, rikriut to recruit, riubub rhubarb, riul rule, riume(r) rumour, riuin ruin.
siu to sue, siuit suet.

UΘ.
§ 240. Lit. Engl. ue=W. dial. iue: siue(r) sure, siueli surely, unsiue(r) uncertain.
CHAPTER V.

VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

§ 241. Diphthongs and short and long vowels in unaccented syllables have regularly been weakened to e, i, or the vowel has disappeared altogether. In the latter case, when an l, m, n followed, it has become vocalic.

1. e.

§ 242. a. In initial syllables followed by the principal accent:

befue(r) before, begin to begin, and similarly in all other words containing this prefix; fegetn (pp.) forgot, ebăt (also băt) about, without, ebün above, efied afraid, efued to afford, efue(r) before, egœt in action, at work, egien again, against, egri to agree, egue ago, ekın akin, ekos (also kos) because, elaiv alive, eluen alone, emen among, enent opposite, enoi to annoy, splai to apply, eseml to assemble, estied instead, ewee away, meniu=e(r) manure, seliut salute, te-moen to-morrow.

But we have edikéet to educate, ekuédinlái accordingly, kontrééri contrary, redžéste(r) to register, siuölí surely, spektéklz spectacles.
§ 243. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

basted bastard, baleks testiculi, bulsek bullock, buzed butterfly, dželes jealous, džoënes jaundice, figwet figwort, galep to gallop, gimlek gimlet, kësës Christmas, kólep slice of bacon, koëso causeway, kused cupboard, kusted custard, lavrek lark, leelek lilac, loped clotted, covered with dirt, mare to match a pattern, musted mustard, otsëd orchard, omest almost, oles always, sakles silly, foolish, sare to serve, sione senna, simëtri cemetery, síçez scissors, spitek spigot, šeped shepherd, stërep stirrup, tênop turnip, ulet owl, undëd hundred, vale value, winde window.

are arrow, bare barrow, bore to borrow, fale fallow, folë to follow, fere furrow, jare yarrow, jole yellow, mare marrow, mede meadow, nare narrow, ole hollow, pile pillow, sale sallow, sore sorrow, spare sparrow, swole to swallow, swole swallow, šade shadow, šale shallow, tale tallow, wide widow, wile willow.

ame(r) hammer, bleše(r) bladder, bute(r) butter, fače(r) father, gane(r) gander, geše(r) to gather, kenke(r) to rust, corrode, neebe(r) neighbour, oeše(r) either, pleeste(r) plaster, skute(r) to spill, slume(r) slumber, suše(r) to shudder, tarie(r) terrier, pune(r) thunder, unsuïse(r) uncertain, uce(r) hunger, wolte(r) water.

fësite(r) furniture, flute(r) future, moiste(r) moisture, neete(r) nature, pastë(r) pasture, pikte(r) picture.

meze(r) measure, pleze(r) pleasure, treze(r) treasure.

But we have ëmëninak almanac, bástail union, workhouse, obstakl obstacle, riubub rhubarb.

In compounds, some of which have been given above:
beekës bakehouse, koïes coalhouse, wâkes union, workhouse, wëses washhouse, alide holiday, jestede yesterday, wâte (lit. work-day) week-day, sundë Sunday, and similarly
VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES. [§§ 243–245.

for the other days of the week, nek-lep neck cloth, handkerchief, baked backward, fored forward, tādz towards, forodiš rather forward, oeked awkward, oepēp halfpenny worth, penēp pennyworth, sumet something, anything.

2. i.

§ 244. a. In initial syllables followed by the principal accent:

indžoi to enjoy, ingędž to engage, disiet deceit, disiev to deceive, ministe(r) minister.

§ 245. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

āvis(t) harvest, blenkit blanket, bulit bullet, damidž damage, ienis(t) earnest, inif (sing.) enough, pl. iniu, ferin foreign, fotnit fortnight, gulit water channel, karit carrot, lenit linnet, letis lettuce, olin holly, posnit saucepan, pulpit pulpit, pültis poultice, salit salad, sperit spirit, rebit rivet, rediš radish.

bāli barley, beeli bailiff, beli belly, beri berry, beri to bury, bodi body, but nuebdi nobody, boni nice, pretty, dizi dizzy, emti empty, evi heavy, eri hurry, row, disturbance, kani knowing, intelligent, skilful, nimble, leedi lady, mori merry, moni many, nevi nephew, oepni halfpenny, but oepēp halfpenny worth, oni any, peni penny, but penēp pennyworth, popi poppy, pratli gently, softly, rudi ruddy, sili silly, slipi slippery, sori sorry, snikit a small passage, stati statue, šabi shabby, šimi chemise, tali to agree, pēti thirty, ueli holy, uenli lonely, vali valley, vari very, weri to worry.

fādin farthing, gezlin gosling, īmin evening, ipin a cloth placed round the hips of children, kunin cunning, skaftin shafting, sperinz the banns of marriage, swilinz thin liquid
food for pigs, silin shilling, topin the front part of the hair of the head, runin running, and similarly in all present participles and words ending in the lit. language in -ing.

3. Loss of Vowel or Syllable.

§ 246. a. Initial syllables followed by the principal accent:

bät without, beet to abate, kros across, levem eleven, pinien opinion, prentis apprentice, sailm asylum.

bezl to embezzle, bake tobacco, kos because, läns allowance, list to enlist, live(r) deliver, lotments allotments, piel to appeal, saeti society, saizez asizes, ses to assess, tax, tais to entice, twin between, vantidž advantage.

deevi affidavit, demek (lit. epidemic) potato disease.

§ 247. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

aktli actually, dif-rnt different, džen-rl general, kumpni company, nat-rl, nat-re-bl natural, nuebdi nobody, navi (lit. navigation?) canal, oœpep halfpenny worth, penep pennyworth, reg-le(r) regular, sumdi somebody.

Vocalic 1:

anl handle, apl apple, gnil a long narrow uncovered passage, gruml to grumble, kanl candle, ketl kettle, kredl cradle, kudl to embrace, sirl single, smitl to infect, spinl spindle, piml thimble, uml humble.

Vocalic m:

bodm bottom, buism bosom, evm heaven, fadm fathom, fipms five pence, kustm custom, luensm lonely, wizdm wisdom, wise, wiepm weapon.

Vocalic n:

ädn to harden, brimstn brimstone, eenšn ancient, fasn to
fasten, fešn fashion, frozn frozen, indžn engine, iolnd England, fotn (pp.) fought, foest fortune, mutn mutton, pidžn pigeon, ratn rat, sávnt servant, seldn seldom, slidn (pp.) slid, tšozn chosen, pāzn thousand.

Vocalic ř:
  beegø bargain, beekø bacon, broko broken, doko dock, drukø drunk, drunken, rekø to reckon, spokø spoken, sukø sunk, tuekø token, ugo hip, wegø wagon, wokø to waken.

Svarabhakti.

§ 248. A vowel has been developed between i, r, and a following consonant in: galek (O. Fr. gale) left hand, sterek (OE. stirc, also styríc) heifer, tšerеп (ME. chirpen) to chirp.

Weak Forms and Particles.

§ 249. The following is a fairly complete list, arranged alphabetically, of words which have weak forms caused by the sentence accent. Any other unaccented forms not given here will be found under the headings of pronouns, auxiliary verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions.

The auxiliary verb diu is never used in asking questions, except when it begins the sentence: dije (deje) pick il (el) diut? do you think he will do it? but wile diut, pick je? will he do it, do you think? The auxiliary verb have (ev, e; ev, e) is often omitted entirely, or perhaps rather has disappeared through assimilation; thus a dunt I have done it, we funt we have found it; here fun is the pp. and not the pret., we found it is we fant.

a=I. Chiefly used in direct assertions: a fan em I found them.
abed yes but: abed ça men ger up suin yes but thou must get up soon.
am, aim, im I am. aim, am are used in principal and im in subordinate sentences: aim or am nuen bän te stop hie(r) I am not going to stop here. if im wil inif if I am well enough.

bi=1. be: wil će bi wi em? will they be with them?
=2. by: bi nā by now.
bin been.
bed but.

d=d=1. had: čed they had, ad I had.
=2. would, wouldst: čad e te diut thou wouldst have to do it.
de, di do: deje or dije pînk al kum? do you think he will come?
duz, dus (voiceless before the t) does, dost: þa duz thou dost, but dus te? dost thou?
e, ev have: wis et we shall have it, but wis ev em we shall have them.
ez, es hast, has: cp. duz, dus.

e=1. a: e boni bän a pretty child.
=2. he (in subordinate sentences and interrogatively, in other cases it is i).
=3. her (before consonants): e fače(r) her father.
=4. have (weakest form): ast e dunt if id ed e tšons I should have done it, if I had had a chance.
=5. on: e či rig on thy back.
=6. of (may be used before a vowel or a consonant, ev only before vowels):
e pund e or ev aplz a pound of apples.

Note.—Through e being also the unaccented form of on, it often happens that on is used where we should expect ev, as toœf on em the half of them.
\text{ed}=1. \text{had}.
\begin{align*}
\text{ed}=2. \text{would}: \text{it ed or ted tak e lot it would take a lot.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{em or rather m (vocalic) them}: \text{sam em up pick them up.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{en an}: \text{en apl an apple.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{en or rather n (vocalic)}=
\begin{align*}
1. \text{and}: \text{Doed en Eels George and Alice.}
2. \text{one}: \text{it wer e guid en it was a good one.}
\end{align*}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{e(r)}=1. \text{or}.
\begin{align*}
\text{e(r)}=2. \text{are}.
\end{align*}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{et}=1. \text{at}. \text{et uem at home}.
\begin{align*}
\text{et}=2. \text{that (cj.): a si et im ren I see that I am wrong.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{et}=3. \text{who, whom (rel.): im et sed sue he who said so,}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{em et we soo dän trued those whom we saw}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{down the road.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{ev}=1. \text{have (weakest form before vowels): če med ev ed}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{it bi nā they might have had it by now.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{ev}=2. \text{of (before vowels): toef ev e keek the half of a}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{tea-cake.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{ez}=1. \text{us}: \text{giv ez e tūpri give us a few (lit. two or three).}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{ez}=2. \text{he has}: \text{wen ez west isen when he has washed}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{himself.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{ez}=3. \text{he is}: \text{wol ez bān until he is going.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{ez}=4. \text{as}.
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{fe(r) for.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{fre from.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{i}=1. \text{in}: \text{i tās in the house.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{i}=2. \text{I (in subordinate and interrogative sentences,}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{see a): sali et? shall I have it? if i ger it if I}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{get it.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{i}=3. \text{he (in direct assertions): i sez he says.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{inte into.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{iz his, but is before voiceless sounds: a mer iz muðe(r)}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{I met his mother, but is faðe(r) his father.}
\end{align*}
§ 249.] VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES. 75

je = 1. ye, you.
   = 2. your (before consonants).
   = 3. you are (before consonants) je bän, āje? you are
       going, are you?
jet = 1. yet.
   = 2. you it: al sel jet I will sell you it.
ked could.
kn (vocalic n) can: ţa kn see wot te laiks thou canst
   say what thou likest.
I will: al I'll, wil we will, etc.
me = 1. me gi(v) me e feu give me a few.
   = 2. may: ame wëk wol i drop fer out ta keez
       I may work until I drop for anything thou
       carest.
med might.
men or rather mn (with vocalic n)
   = 1. must: a men gue I must go.
   = 2. man: diu it, men do it, man.
mi my.
ne(r) = 1. nor.
   = 2. than (after a comparative).
net, nt (the form net is seldom used. The usual form is
   nt) not.
s us (after voiceless consonant): lets ev em let us have
   them.
s, sl: ţasl, ţas et thou shalt have it.
sänt shall not.
sant saint (before proper names).
še so.
sed, st should, shouldst: ţa sed or ţast e dunt thou
   shouldest have done it.
še she (in subordinate and interrogative sentences, in
   other cases ū).
t=1. the: tman the man.
    =2. it: len met lend me it.
    =3. art: sat e fuil thou art a fool.
ta, te thou (in subordinate and interrogative sentences, in other cases ŋa).
te, tev (before vowels) to.
ще there: šez there is, there has, there are.
ще=1. thee: a spak te še I spoke to thee.
    =2. they: mun še stop? must they stop?
    =3. they (are): še nuen se rits they are not so rich.
    =4. they (have): wen še funt when they have found it.
    =5. their (before consonants).
ší thy.

v have: wiv sint we have seen it.
wa why. The unaccented form of wai, cp. a beside ai I, wol beside wail while, until. It is always used when speaking in an encouraging manner to a person: wa lad, ša men trai why lad, thou must try.
we=1. we: sal we gue? shall we go?
    =2. our (before consonants) we fače buits our father's boots, but we soe wer ont we saw our aunt.
    =3. we (are): we bän te d'len we are going to the Glen.
    =4. was, were: a we liukin foje I was looking for you.
wed would.
wi=1. with.
    =2. we (in direct assertions).
    =3. wilt: wite wilt thou.
wol until, unaccented form of wail (noun) while.
z=1. is: iz he is.
    =2. has, hast: šaz thou hast, iz he has.
CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSONANTS.

The Semi-vowels.

W.

a. Initially.

§ 250. OE. initial w has remained before vowels: waip to wipe, weed to wade, wee(r) to spend money, wāk work, wiḍo(r) to hurl, throw, woef insipid, wote(r) water.

It also appears as w in words of Norse origin: weve(r) to waver, winde window, wik quick, alive, win wing, wont want.

In words of French origin we have w in some words and v in others, just as in the lit. language: warend to warrant, weedž wage, weet to wait, walep to beat, flog, vari very, viel veal, vois voice, voide(r) a large clothes' basket.

It has disappeared in the combination wr: rait to write, ren wrong. Examples for wi- are wanting.

It has also generally remained in the OE. combinations hw, dw, Ṗw, tw, sw, as wot what, wīl wheel, dwīnl to dwindle, dwāf dwarf, wītl (ME. pwitel) large carving knife, wen (OE. Ṗwang) thong, wak to beat, flog, twais twice, twot pudendum fem., swiēt to sweat, sweēlp the handle of a machine.
kw mostly occurs in French words: kweet quart, kwari quarry, kwaleti quality.

Initial w has disappeared in the weak forms of wil will, wod would, as al gue I will go, id diut, if e kud he would do it, if he could.

w has also disappeared in: kil to kill, kud cud, sued sword, sitš such, sump a puddle or dirty pool of water. tū two, ue who.

b. Medially.

Medial w + final vowel have become e after consonants: swole (OE. swalwe) swallow, spare (OE. spearwa) sparrow, jare yarrow, wide (OE. widwe) widow, widower.

aw > oe: tloe (OE. clawu) claw, § 63.
āw > oe: bloe to blow, noe to know, sloe slow, snoe snow, § 123.
eow, ew > eu: eu (OE. eowu) ewe, streu (OE. strewian) to strew, § 85.
ēaw > eu: deu (OE. dēaw) dew, feu few, eu (OE. hēawan) to hew, § 180.
ēow > iu, eu: triu true, riu to rue, briu to brew eu yew, seu to sew, § 190.
īw > iu: spiu to spew, § 159.
ōw > ou: dlou to glow, grou to grow, flou to flow, § 166.

§ 251. w has disappeared in words compounded with ward: bakedz backwards, fored forward, oeked awkward, tādz towards, § 243; as also in those compounded with worth: oepēp halfpenny worth, peneb pennyworth, sikspenēp sixpenny worth, etc.

It has also disappeared in: midif midwife, oles always, sumet (et may here however be the rel. pr.) something, anything, anse(r) answer, grunsil groundsel.
j.

§ 252. OE. initial j, mostly written g, has had the same development as in lit. Engl.: jī, je ye, you, jīe(r) year, jōn yon, juek yoke, jum young.

§ 253. French û, which has become juw in lit. Engl., appears in the W. dial. as a falling diphthong initially, medially, and finally: iūs use, iūneti unity, flūte(r) future, viū view, § 237.

The Liquids.

1.

§ 254. 1 has generally remained unchanged: lap to wrap up, lat late, lig to lie down, loin lane, lium loom.

boeld (ME. balled) bald, molt malt, fīld field, mild mild, wild wild, bīld to build, fīlik fitch of bacon, jōle yellow, tšelte(r) to clot, coagulate (of blood), twilt quilt, nozl to beat, thrash, blob bubble, galesaz braces.

džoul to knock, strike, kāl to frown, foel to fall, koil coal, teel tale, swiel to gutter (of a candle).

§ 255. al has become oe in the combinations If, OE. lh, lk, lm, ll, lv. For examples see §§ 62, 198. To these add: omest almost, oeminak almanac, oemend almond.

al has become ou before a following d. For examples see §§ 64, 199.

ol has become ou before a following consonant. For examples see §§ 103, 220.

§ 256. 1 has also disappeared before a following consonant in: wītš (OE. hwelc) which, sītš (OE. swelc) such, būk bulk, stūp (ME. stolpe) a post.

It has also disappeared in: wod, wed, -d (§ 397) would,
sud, sed, st (§ 391) should, sänt shall not, s (§ 391) shall, wite? (§ 397) wilt thou? wient will not.

In fout (ME. faute, Fr. faute) fault, mät (cp. Lat. mütäre) to moult, there probably never was an l in the dialect forms.

§ 257. Consonantal l, when it came to stand finally, has become vocalic after consonants: adl to earn, kitl to tickle, nibl to nibble, ridl sieve, satl to settle. For further examples see § 247 b.

258. r, which is a gently (not strongly as in Scotch) trilled sound, has only remained intact before a following vowel:

raiv to tear, reit right, ram to thrust, press, rizd rancid (of bacon), brin to bring, brek to break, beri to bury, fer furrow, sore sorrow, sare to serve, vari very.

r has probably been lost in aim (OE. hrim?) hoarfrost.

§ 259. Before a following consonant it has entirely disappeared: bân (§ 61) child, bied (§ 68) beard, wâk (§ 74) work, bêk (§ 90) birch, boon (§ 104, 1) born, bied (§ 104, 2) board, dêst (§ 113, 1) durst, bêp (§ 120, 1) birth, aiên (§ 157) iron, dälîn (§ 189) darling, kweet (§ 203) quart, sâvnt (§ 207) servant, oëë(r) (§ 223) order, kên (§ 228) currant, faöe(r) father, pl. faöez, swiö(r) to swear, but i swiez he swears.

Note.—The above list contains one example only of the various vowels which have been influenced through the absorption of the r; for full lists of examples, see the paragraphs enclosed in parentheses.

§ 260. r, which has come to stand finally in the modern dialect, is still slightly trilled, but not so strongly as before a following vowel. This is always the case when
the word containing it is used alone, or stands at the end of a sentence. In these positions it is never weakened into a mere voiced glide as in lit. Engl. fear, nor does it disappear altogether as in lit. Engl. far. We thus make a distinction between pee pay, and pee(r) pair, kā cow, and kāe(r) to cower.

r disappears, of course, altogether in the sentence when the next word begins with a consonant: aje bān? are you going? wi we leekin we were playing.

Examples of final r are: wāe(r) worse, dlue(r) to stare hard, smue(r) to smother, bie(r) to bear, pie(r) pear.

§ 261. In addition to the examples in which r has undergone metathesis in the lit. language as, bēd bird, bēn to burn, brīt bright, frit fright, oes horse, pēd third, we have brust to burst, gēn to grin, gēs (also OE. gēs) grass, gōsl gristle, gōt great, kōsmes Christmas, kōsn to christen.

§ 262. r has disappeared in pim-ruez primrose.

The Nasals.

m.

§ 263. m has generally remained unchanged: muml to mumble, muin moon, mistl cow-house, mizl to drizzle (of rain), mun must, mūd crowded, crammed.

gami lame, kākume(r) cucumber, niml nimble, treml to tremble, tšeome(r) chamber, tuml to tumble, uml humble.

brim to put the boar to the sow, gam to gamble, krum crumb, rām room, sam up to pick up.

§ 264. m has become vocalic after consonants: bodm bottom, fadm fathom, film film, kindm kingdom. m is also vocalic in em (=m) them.
§ 265. Initial \( n \) has remained unchanged: nate(r) to gnaw, nibble, nati neat, tidy, dexterous (of old people), navi canal, nit night, nie(r) kidney, noilz (pl.) the short hairs taken out of wool by the combing machine.

§ 266. When \( n \) has remained medial in the W. dial., it has generally undergone no change: dwinl to dwindle, kanl candle, sind to rinse, wash out, spinl spindle, pune(r) thunder.

§ 267. Medial \( n \) has disappeared before s in unaccented syllables without compensation lengthening: estied instead, Robisin Robinson, Adkisn Atkinson.

§ 268. \( n \) has remained when it has come to stand finally after vowels or was already final in OE.: ain (ME. hine) hind, bin (OE. binnan) within, bleen blain, boil, gruin a pig’s snout, don to put on one’s clothes, len (OE. lēnan) to lend, nuin noon, olin holly, speen (OE. spanan) to wean.

§ 269. \( n \) has become vocalic after dentals and sibilants: eenšn ancient, fešn fashion, fezn pheasant, frozn frozen, miln (OE. myln) mill, ratn (O. Fr. raton) rat, seldn (OE. seldom) seldom. For other examples see § 247 b.

§ 270. \( n \) has become vocalic \( m \) after labials by assimilation:

apm (lit. happen) perhaps, fipms fivepence, propms three pence, etc., opm open, wiepm weapon. For further examples see § 247 b.

evm even, imin evening, sevm seven, uvm oven, wovm woven.

§ 271. \( n \) has become vocalic \( r \) after gutturals:
beegn bargain, ugn hip, wegn wagon.
broko broken, bueko (ME. bolkin) to retch, belch, kn (weak form of kan can, akn diut I can do it), spokn spoken, stäkn to stiffen, wokn to waken.

§ 272. n generally disappears in on, i in. It has also disappeared in oepêp halfpenny worth. It has also disappeared by assimilation in amêt am not.

n.

§ 273. The guttural n, written n in OE., only occurred before the gutturals g and c.

It has generally remained in accented syllables in the W. dialect: bin (O. Icel. bingr heap) bin, bri to bring, drink to drink, in (ME. hengen) to hang, lin (O. Icel. lyng) heather, tenz tongs, pin thing, pink to think, wen thong.

finc(r) finger, never finca(r) as in lit. Engl. inliš English, minl to mingle, uno(r) hunger, sinl single.

Note.—kindm (OE. cynedôm) but lit. Engl. kingdom, through association with king.

§ 274. n has disappeared through assimilation before the following kn in the pp. of verbs ending in rk: drukn drunken, sukn sunk, slukn slunk, shrkn shrunk. But see § 368.

§ 275. n has become n before the following dental in: lenp length, strenp strength.

§ 276. n has regularly become n in unaccented syllables: fadin farthing, gezlin gosling, imin evening, iezinz the eaves of a building, midin (ME. midding) dunghill, runin running, and similarly in all present participles.

§ 277. Palatal n, written n in OE., only occurred before the palatal forms of g and c.
In the W. dial. it has become dental n as in lit. Engl.: 
drenš (OE. drencan) to drench, sinž (OE. sengan) to singe.

The Labials.

p.

§ 278. p has remained in all positions:
pei pea, pimruez primrose, piek perch, pák a kind of blain, poem palm, poez (O. Fr. poulser) to kick, poutri poultry, prog to collect wood for the bonfire on the fifth of November, preet to prate, babble, put to put.

lopste(r) (OE. loppestre) lobster, speed spade, speen to wean.
dolep lump of dirt, draip to drip, elp to help, filep to beat, flog, kep to catch (a ball), kraps the renderings of lard, lop flea, noep (ME. nolpen) to hit on the head.

§ 279. Assimilation has taken place as in lit. Engl. in emti (ME. empti, but OE. ëmet(t)ig) empty, kubed cupboard.

b.

§ 280. The voiced explosive b has generally remained in the W. dialect:
bän child, bef (ME. beffin) to cough, bek beck, ber (O. Icel. banga to hammer), to throw, hit violently, bid to invite to a funeral, boged ghost, brig bridge, bun bound.

bleb blister, bluðe(r) to weep, generally used in the phrase te bluðe(r) en rue(r) lit. to blubber and roar, gab (cp. O. N. gabba) impudence, kubed cupboard, neb beak, nub to nudge, nuebdi nobody, web web.

§ 281. b has disappeared after m: kuem comb, lam lamb, tlim to climb, wuem womb. Also in sumdi somebody.
§ 282. b never occurs between m—l or m—r, as in lit. Engl.: eseml to assemble, fuml to fumble, muml to mumble, niml nimble, raml to ramble, treml to tremble, tuml to tumble, piml thimble, uml humble.

kākumə(r) cucumber, numə(r) number, slumə(r) slumber, tšēemə(r) chamber.

f.

§ 283. OE. f was used to represent both the voiceless (= Mod. Engl. f) and the voiced (= Mod. Engl. v) spirant.

1. Initially it was voiceless and corresponds to Germanic f.

2. Medially it was voiced, except in the combinations ff, ft, fs. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 192.

3. Finally it was probably voiceless in the historic period even when it corresponded to Germanic b. But when OE. f came to stand medially through being followed by a case, or personal ending, etc., it was voiced, thus wif wife, gen. wifes, pret. sing. geaf I, he gave, pl. geafon. In this case the W. dial., like lit. Engl., has sometimes generalized the one form, sometimes the other. We shall here treat the sounds in the above order.

1. faðe(r) father, feu few, flee to frighten, flumeks to confound, cheat, foil foal, foud fold, fouk folk, fout fault, freem to make a start, fudl to confuse, fuzi soft, spongy.

2. eft haft, gift gift, rift to belch, eructate, siff to sift, weft weft, kuf cuff.

delv to delve, daiv to dive, draiv to drive, duv dove, evm heaven, ive(r) ever, kāv to carve, kuev cove, live(r) liver, neiv (O. Icel. knefl) fist, nive(r) never, raiv (O. Icel. riffa to break) to tear, siv sieve, stāv to starve, stuev stove, šeəv to shave, šuv to shove, praiv to thrive, weiv to weave.
ev, øv, ø have, and liv to live are, of course, not directly
developed from OE. habban, libban but from the forms
without gemination, as hafað he has, hæfde he had, liofað
he lives, lifde he lived.

It has disappeared as in lit. Engl. in such words as: ez
hast, has, eltær (OE. healfter) halter, ænent opposite, iæd
head, kroel to crawl, œek hawk, leedi lady, leed lord, wimin
women, wumen woman.

It has also disappeared in: ebūn above, īmin evening,
steim (ME. stefnen, OE. go-stefnian and a-stemnian to give
voice for, appoint) to bespeak a thing, šūl shovel, gin given,
one(r) beside øve(r) over, nie(r) beside nieve(r) never, and
generally also in the present gi, pret. ga and e, ø have,
when the next word begins with a consonant.

The voiced spirant has become b in rebit rivet, if the
dial. word is etymologically the same as the lit. Engl. word.

3. delf stone quarry, kaf chaff, oef half, ruif roof, tēf
turf, pif thief, uif hoof, waif wife.
  aiv hive, faiv five, greav grave, twelv twelve.
  f has disappeared in: oepni halfpenny, ø of, sel, sen self.

§ 284. te to appears as tēv when the next word begins
with a vowel: tēv ø man to a man.

The Dentals.

t.

§ 285. Initial t has remained: taid feast-time, teem
tame, temz (ME. temse) hop-sieve, teu (OE. tēawian) to
work zealously, toe a marble of any kind, tōidi small,
little, trolep a dirty, untidy person, tul (O. Icel. til) to.

§ 286. Medial t has mostly remained unchanged:
antm (OE. antefn) anthem, getn got, nati neat, tidy, dexterous (of old people), ratn rat, thuste(r) cluster.

It has become d in bodm bottom, praid pride. It has become r in poreats potatoes, has undergone metathesis in witek wicket, and disappeared before the b in nobed (lit. not but) only.

§ 287. t is dropped between s and a following l or n in:

busl bustle, bruslz bristles, gēsl gristle, kasl castle, rasl to wrestle, prosl thrush, wisl whistle, dōsnt durst not; but mistl (O. Icel. mjalta-sel shed for milking) cow-house.

brusn (pp.) burst, fasn to fasten, lisn to listen, owe-kesn overcast, gloomy (of the sky), prusn (pp.) thrust.

ts > ss > s in wisnde Whitsuntide. Whitsunday is wisnde sunde.

§ 288. The t in French words which has become tə in lit. Engl. through the influence of the following ü has remained in the W. dialect:

fleste(r) feature, fīnte(r) furniture, flute(r) future, foeten fortune, kriete(r) creature, moiste(r) moisture, neete(r) nature, natrel natural, paste(r) pasture, pikte(r) picture, vente(r) to venture.

§ 289. When t came to stand finally in the W. dial., or was final already in OE., it has generally remained:

fift (OE. fifta) fifth, sikst sixth, toist toast, twelst twelfth.

bât without, feit to fight, gōt great, goit (ME. gote) water channel, mit to meet, out holt, slät to bedabble, suit soot.

bit bit, fat fat, it it, kot staples of wool tightly entangled together, lat (OE. lætt) lath, lat late, mat mat, net net, wet wet.

§ 290. The t in all verbal forms ending in t preceded by a short vowel, appears as r when the next word begins with a vowel. We regularly say : amıt im ivri dee I meet
him every day; but **amer im ivri dee** I met him every day. Similarly with get me wun get me one, **ger up get up**, gar got, **ir to hit**, ler to let, pur to put, sar sat, ser to set, sir to sit, sur to shut, etc. Also in all the present participles, as gerin getting.

Note.—This phenomenon is widely spread in Mod. English dialects. See EEPr. vol. v. p. 420.

The same is also the case with the pronoun wot what: wotste dun? what hast thou done? but wor iz it? what is it?

§ 291. t has become d in: **abed** yes but, **bed** but, präd proud, buzèd (O. Fr. busart), butterfly, Atkinson, warend to warrant.

§ 292. It has been dropped in kēn currant, sādžn sergeant, džais (O. Fr. giste) joist. The older generation also say omes almost, āvis harvest, bīes (lit. beast) cow, cows.

§ 293. A t is never pronounced in eenśn (Fr. ancien) ancient, fezn (O. Fr. faisant) pheasant, tairēn tyrant.

§ 294. t is excrecent in vāment vermin.

**d.**

§ 295. Initial d has remained: daiv to dive, deu dew, dī to die, died dead, dof to undress, don to dress, dreet to drawl.

§ 296. Medial d has also generally remained unchanged:

fīdl fiddle, indo(r) to hinder, midin (ME. midding, Dan. mögdynge) dunghill, midl middle, nidl needle, ridn ridden, wide widow, sadl saddle, redi ready.

§ 297. Intervocalic d followed by r in the next syllable
has become ṭ: bleSe(r) bladder, bluSe(r) to cry, weep, diSe(r) (ME. diderin) to shiver, faSe(r) father, foSe(r) fodder, geSe(r) to gather, te-geSe(r) together, iSe(r) hither, konSiSe(r) to consider, laSe(r) ladder, moSe(r) to ponder, be anxious about a thing, muSe(r) mother, pāSe(r) powder, šuSe(r) to shudder, tlSe(r) to get closely together, uSe(r) udder, voiSe(r) (O. Fr. voider to void) a large clothes’ basket, weSe(r) weather.

Note.—The words thither and whither are not used in the dialect.

The law also holds good when an ı or r has disappeared before the d: soSe(r) solder, māSe(r) murder, oSe(r) to order.

Note.—The ṭ in māSe(r) is probably not the p in OE. myrpran, but ṭp became rd (§ 306, 2) and then ṭ by the above law.

§ 298. d never occurs between n—l, n—r, as in lit. English:

anl handle, dwincl to dwindle, kanl candle, kinlin firewood, spinl spindle.

ganl(r) gander, punl(r) thunder.

§ 299. d has disappeared in ansem handsome, anfl handful, grunsil groundsel, gran-faSe(r), gram-faSe(r) grandfather, lanloed landlord, unded hundred, but undet (by assimilation of dt) hundredth.

§ 300. OE. final d and the medial d which has come to stand finally in the W. dial, have generally remained: bid to invite to a funeral, find to find, grund ground, od to hold, oud old, pand pound, roid a clearing (of a wood), sind to rinse, wash out, wund a wound, blier-id bleary-eyed.

§ 301. d has disappeared after n in: bran (OE. brand) niu quite new, en and, þazn thousand, uzbn husband,
and also in the pret. and pp. of the verbs bind to bind, find to find, wind to wind, thus: ban, bun; fan, fun; wan, wun.

d has also been dropped in scaffold, scaffolding.

§ 302. Final ndz has become nz: anz hands, frenz friends, senz sends, grunz (lit. grounds) sediment. pāzn and uzbn may accordingly be new formations from the plural forms.

§ 303. A d is never pronounced in ain (ME. hīne) hind, bān (O. Icel. būenn) going, as wie te bān? where art thou going?, len (OE. lænan) to lend.

§ 304. d is excrescent in arend (ME. aranie, O. Fr. araigne) spider, drānd to drown.

§ 305. d has become t in wāte (lit. work-day), week-day, wōsit worsted, st the weak form of sud should. In be-int behind, the t is probably due to the t in frunt front; for similar examples see Paul-Braune's Beiträge, xiii. p. 590. In the phrase iust te wod or wed to be wont or willing, the t is due to assimilation with te: ċa iust te wed diu e bit e wāk thou wast formerly wont to do a bit of work.

§ 306. OE. ƿ, also written ȝ, was a voiceless spirant like the th in lit. Engl. thin, initially, finally as also medially except probably between voiced sounds. Between voiced sounds it was probably voiced like the th in lit. Engl. breathe. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 201.

We shall here adopt the following order: 1. Initially. 2. When the sound or its further development has remained medial in the W. dialect. 3. When it has become final in
the W. dialect. In this case two subdivisions are necessary according as we have now the voiceless or the voiced sound. Cp. § 283, 3.

Fifty years ago f for p and v for ȝ were quite general throughout the Township of Idle, but they have now practically disappeared except as an individualism. When I was a boy p and ȝ were regularly used among the younger Windhill people, but f and v were still generally used in Thackley and Idle, which are only about a mile distant from W. I well remember how we used to twit the Thackley and Idle people about their pronunciation of these sounds: fakle Thackley, fink think, fæd third, leev barn, smivi smithy, etc.

1. ȝ has remained voiceless except in pronouns and the adverbs derived from them:

phaik thatch, phink to think, pfoil to give ungrudgingly, pрайv to thrive, прип (OE. прїапиан to rebuke) to contradict, dispute.

In the pronouns and the adverbs derived from them there originally existed double forms: the stressed forms with p and the unstressed forms with ȝ. The W. dial., like lit. Engl., has generalised the latter, which are now used both as the stressed and unstressed forms. See the Chapter on the pronouns:

ȝа thou, ȝi thy, ȝat (only as demonstrative, the rel. pr. and ej. is ȝt which is of Norse origin) that, ȝem (mostly as demonstrative, the pers. pr. is em) those, ȝis this, etc.; ȝi(e)r there, ȝen then, etc.

The def. art. is generally t and is attached to the following word, thus tman the man, toudn the old one, tkoilz the coals. We make a clear distinction between téebl table and t’éebl the table, eit eight and eit’ eighth, the former is the ordinary Engl. t and the latter is a suspended t. ȝ has

\( \theta \) has disappeared before \( \text{w} \) in: wak to beat severely, see Skeat, Et. Dict., witl (ME. \textit{pwitel}) large carving knife, wen (OE. \textit{pwan}) thong.

Occasionally the \( \theta \) is omitted in the pres. tense of \( \text{pirk}, \) as a \( \text{ink} \) \textit{I think}.

2. Between vowels we have \( \theta : \text{fe\( \theta \)e}(r) \) feather, la\( \theta \)e(r) foam, froth, le\( \theta \)e(r) leather, re\( \theta \)e(r) rather, smi\( \theta \)i smithy, we\( \theta \)e(r) (OE. we\( \theta \)er) the wool of a sheep which has already been shorn at least once before.

It has become \( d \) medially after \( r \) in: b\( \text{\( \theta \)d} \)n burden, f\( \text{\( \theta \)d} \)in farthing, ef\( \text{\( \theta \)d} \) to afford.

It has also become \( d \) in: f\( \text{\( \theta \)d} \)m fathom, snodn to make smooth, snod (O. Icel. sno\( \text{\( \theta \)d} \)enn smooth (of hair), bald) smooth, even.

\( \theta \) has disappeared in mo\( \text{\( \theta \)k} \) (O. Icel. ma\( \text{\( \theta \)k} \)r) maggot, and besk (O. Icel. ba\( \text{\( \theta \)k} \)ask) to bask.

3. ba\( \beta \) bath, di\( \beta \) death, fro\( \beta \) froth, g\( \beta \)p girth, i\( \beta \)p health, pa\( \beta \) path, smi\( \beta \)p smith, sw\( \beta \) (O. Icel. sw\( \text{\( \beta \)r} \)r) the skin of bacon, w\( \beta \)p worth.

bri\( \text{\( \beta \)d} \) to breathe, bui\( \text{\( \beta \)d} \) booth, le\( \text{\( \beta \)d} \) (O. Icel. hla\( \text{\( \beta \)d} \)a) barn, sa\( \text{\( \beta \)d} \) scythe, smui\( \text{\( \beta \)d} \) smooth.

§ 307. It has disappeared before the \( s, z \) in muns months, tluez clothes. And also in wi with.

§ 308. The \( d \) in beed to bathe has probably been influenced by weed to wade.

§ 309. The ordinal numerals, except seknd second, \( \text{\( \beta \)d} \) third, all end in \( t \). Regular forms are f\( \text{\( \beta \)s} \)t (OE. fyresta),
first, fift (OE. fifta) fifth, sikst (OE. siexta) sixth, twelft (OE. twelfta) twelfth, after the analogy of which have been formed fouet (OE. feowerða) fourth, naint ninth, tent tenth, etc.

Sibilants.

S.

§ 310. Initially and finally as also medially (except between voiced sounds) OE. s was a voiceless spirant like the s in Mod. English sin. Medially between voiced sounds it was possibly voiced like the s in Mod. English rise. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 204.

The development of s in the W. dialect is parallel with that of f (§ 283) and p (§ 306), so that we shall here distinguish the three positions: 1. Initially. 2. When the sound has remained medial in the W. dialect. 3. When the sound was already final in OE. or has become final in the W. dialect. Here two subdivisions are necessary according as we have now the voiceless or the voiced spirant. Cp. § 283.

1. Initial s has remained both before vowels and consonants: sā a drain, sough, sāk to suck, sam up to pick up, seem lard, set to set, sī (OE. sēon = OHG. sīhan) to stretch, sin since, sind to rinse, wash out, slate(r) to spill, smuīð smooth, snod smooth, even, snikit a small passage, speik to speak, spitek spigot, steim to bespeak, stedi steady, strīe straw, swāp the skin of bacon, sweep the handle of a machine.

s (?) has become š in šū, še she.

s has also remained before ū in French words, whereas in the lit. language it has become š: siuge(r) sugar, siue(r) sure.
2. Medially between voiced sounds we have z: bizm besom, biznes business, buzед butterfly, dьazn to glaze, fezn pheasant, frozn frozen, fuzi soft, spongy, mizл to drizzle (of rain), rизд rancid (of bacon), rизн risen, pазн thousand, uzбн husband, wизн to wither.

z has also remained before ü in French words, but has become ż in the lit. language: мезе(r) measure, плезе(r) pleasure, тезе(r) treasure.

The ę in шёз scissors is difficult to explain. It is just possible that it may have been influenced by saш scythe, just as mud might (verb) has probably been influenced by kud could, sud should, and бе-int behind by фрunt front, and бед to bathe by weed to wade.

In combination with voiceless sounds s has been retained: besk to bask, blosm blossom, fасn to fasten, kист a chest, kёsn to christen, musл muscle, rasl to wrestle, rust (O.Icel. rёст) rest, repose, трёst to trust, prosl (OЕ. proste) thrush.

3. аш house, дlas glass, джais (O.Fr. giste) joist, гis geese, kёs to curse, kus kiss, лас (pl. лais) louse, маs (pl. mais) mouse, muns months, oеs horse, uеs(t) hoarse, шис this.

анз hands, бleez blaze, дуз dost, does, but дуз te? dost thou? грез to graze, iuz to use, loiz (OЕ. losian) to lose, нуз nose, раiz to rise, руз rose, тemз (ME. temse) hop-sieve, тliez clothes.

Final z is very common in originally unstressed forms, as iz, z is, ъаз thou hast, из he has, he is, ez, uz us, never us even as stressed form, ez as.

§ 311. s has disappeared in: пеi (ME. pese) pea, ридл (ME. redels) riddle, шимi chemise, тшeri (O.Fr. cerise) cherry.
The Gutturals.

§ 312. Germanic k, generally written c in OE., remained a guttural initially before the guttural vowels a, ā, o, ō, u, ū and their mutations e, ē, e (ē), y, ſ, but became a palatal before the palatal vowels æ, ā (= OHG. ā), e (= Germanic e) ea, eo, ēa, ēo, i, i and their mutations e, ie (=i-umlaut of ea, eo). ie (i-umlaut of ēa, ēo).

Medial c and cc remained a guttural before a following a, o, u, but became palatal when an i or j originally followed, as sæc(e)an = Goth. sókjan to seek, þecc(e)an from older *pakjan to cover, Bryce from older *brukiz breach. See Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 206–7.

But already at an early period the palatals became gutturals again in many cases in the Anglian dialects, e.g. sæcan to seek, þecan to think, cāld cold. See Sweet, HES. § 535, Kluge, Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, i. pp. 836–41.

1. Initial c before consonants.

c has disappeared before n: neid to knead, naif knife, ni knee.

It has remained before r: kraps the renderings of lard, kreev to crave, krinž to cringe, kriuk crook, kroε craw.

It has become t before l: tläd cloud, tlam to famish, tlät clout, tleg (Lowland Scot. clag) to clog, tlenk to flog, box on the ears, tli'e(r) clear, tliet coltsfoot, tliën clean, tlim to climb, tliö to cling, tliip to clip, tliu a ball of string or worsted, tliv to cleave, tloε claw, tloek to scratch with the fingers or claws, tlok to cluck, tlomp to tread heavily, tluεk cloak, tluεp cloth, tluøve(r) clover. k has disappeared in nek-lep neckcloth, handkerchief.
2. Initially before vowels.

ka cow, kaf chaff, kaind kind, kait kite, kanl candle, kât cart, kâv to carve, keok bread of every kind, keo(r) care, kei key, kék hemlock, kemp (ME. kempe shaggy) small coarse white hairs in wool, kep to catch (a ball, etc.), kest (ME. kesten) to cast, ketl kettle, kogot kirkgate (but tsêtsê church), kën kernel, kês to curse, kâmos Christmas, kil to cool, kil (OE. cwellan) to kill, kîln kiln, e-kîn akin, kîn keen, kindm (OE. cynedóm) kingdom, kin-kof (cp. ME. kinken to pant, gasp), whooping cough, kîp to keep, kist a chest, box, kit (ME. kitte, cp. Mid. Du. kitte) a pail, kitl to tickle, kitl to bring forth kittens, kitšn kitchen, koef calf, koel to call, kal to gossip, koen corn, koit coat, koud cold, kouk (see NED. sub colk) coke, kout colt, kubed cupboard, kud (OE. cwidu) cud, kuem comb, kûk cook, kum to come.

tšaid to châle, tšap chap, tšavl to nibble at, gnaw, chew, tšeu to chew, tšêtsê church, tšëp cheap, tšîk cheek, tšíkin chicken, tšildo(r) children, tšin chin, tšerep to chirp, tšîz cheese, tšiuz to choose, tšœk chalk, tšoul (ME. chavel, O. Low Germ. kafal) lit. jaw, only used in the phrase tšîk en tšoul said of two people walking closely together, tšuek to choke, tšuf proud, haughty.

3. Initial sc.

skab scab, skaftin shafting, skelp (ME. skelpen) to beat, flog, skep (O. Icel. skeppa) a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins, skeelz scales, skêf scurf, skai sky, skift to shift, remove, skil skill, skin skin, skoup scoop, skuft the nape of the neck, skuil school, skul skull of the head, skute(r) to spill, skraml to scramble, skreep to scrape, skrat (ME. scrrattin) to scratch, skriem to scream, skrik (O. Low Germ. scricôn) to shriek.

šak to shake, šait cacare, šaiv (ME. schîve, M. Low Germ. schîve) a slice, šakl shackle, šap shape, šol shell,
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\( \text{self} \) shelf, \( \text{seed} \) shade, \( \text{seem} \) shame, \( \text{see(r)} \) share, \( \text{sh}] \) shear, \( \text{sil} \) (ME. schellen, but Prom. Parv. p. 446 has schillin) to shell peas, \( \text{sin} \) shin, \( \text{ship} \) ship, \( \text{shuk} \) shook, \( \text{shop} \) shop, \( \text{shot} \) shot, \( \text{shut} \) shut, \( \text{shoo} \) (r) to shudder, \( \text{shuv} \) to shove, \( \text{shreik} \) shrank, \( \text{srimp} \) shrimp, \( \text{shrink} \) to shrink.

Initial \( s \)c has become \( s \) in: sal, sl, \( s \) shall, sud, \( s \)ed, \( s \)t should.

4. When medial \( c \) has not become final in the W. dialect.
\( \text{esked} \) (cp. ME. aske lizard) newt, \( \text{fkl} \) fickle, \( \text{kokl} \) cockle, \( \text{miks} \) (by metathesis from OE. miscian) to mix, \( \text{sikl} \) sickle, \( \text{twirkl} \) to twinkle.
\( \text{fliko(r)} \) to flicker, \( \text{neekt} \) naked, \( \text{snikit} \) a small passage, \( \text{wokr} \) to waken.
\( \text{kitsn} \) kitchen.
\( \text{meed} \) made, \( \text{musl} \) mussel, \( \text{teen} \) taken, \( \text{feseen} \) forsaken.

5. When \( c \) or its further development is final in the W. dialect.
\( \text{bek} \) beck, \( \text{beek} \) to bake, \( \text{breik} \) to break, \( \text{briuk} \) brook, \( \text{daiik} \) ditch, \( \text{dreek} \) drake, \( \text{fleek} \) flake (of snow), \( \text{bried-fleik} \) (O. Icel. fleki hurdle) a hurdle on which oat-cakes are dried, \( \text{flik} \) flitch of bacon, \( \text{flok} \) flock, \( \text{ik} \) (cp. Low Germ. hicken) to hitch, \( \text{iuk} \) hook, \( \text{kok} \) cock, \( \text{lavr} \) lark, \( \text{lek} \) to leak, \( \text{leek} \) to play, \( \text{lik} \) to lick, \( \text{liuk} \) to look, \( \text{lok} \) lock, \( \text{mak} \) to make, \( \text{muk} \) muck, \( \text{nek} \) neck, \( \text{niuk} \) nook, \( \text{noik} \) to knock, \( \text{pak} \) bundle, \( \text{pluk} \) pluck, \( \text{prik} \) to prick, \( \text{reik} \) rake, \( \text{reik} \) to reach, \( \text{rik} \) smoke, \( \text{sak} \) to suck, \( \text{sek} \) sack, \( \text{seek} \) sake, \( \text{sleik} \) small coal, \( \text{sleik} \) to extinguish a fire with water, \( \text{slumek} \) a dirty, untidy person, \( \text{sneek} \) snake, \( \text{snek} \) (ME. snekke) latch of a door, \( \text{spek} \) speck, \( \text{speik} \) to speak, \( \text{steek} \) stake, \( \text{suek} \) to soak, \( \text{tak} \) to take, \( \text{tik} \) tick, \( \text{tiuk} \) took, \( \text{tlik} \) (OE. clccean) to clutch, seize, catch hold, \( \text{pak} \) thatch, \( \text{pik} \) thick, \( \text{weik} \) (ME. weke) the wick of a lamp or candle, \( \text{wak} \) (noun) work, \( \text{wet} \) to work, \( \text{wik} \) (O. Icel. vik (noun) stirring, moving) quick, alive.
boek balk, beam, toek to talk, woek to walk.
benk bench, drink to drink, enk hank, speek to hit, pīnk to think.
bāk bark, bēk birch, foek fork, māk mark, moek maggot, stāk (OE. stearc strong, severe) very, quite, wāk (OE. wærc, O. Icel. verkr) ache, pain.

Palatal nc has become nē: drenē (OE. drencan) to drench.

bitē bitch, bleitē to bleach, breitē breach, britē breech, etē to hatch, fotē to fetch, krutē crutch, latē latch. leitē leech, meitē to measure, mitē much, notē a run at the game of cricket, pitē pitch, sitē such, speitē speech, stitē stitch, stretē to stretch, swetē (OE. swæcc a taste) a sample of cloth, tletē (cp. O. Icel. klekja to hatch) a brood of chickens, teitē to teach, witē which, wotē to watch.

6. Final sc.

ask (ME. harsk, cp. Dan. harsk) dry, rough, harsh, besk to bask, busk to go about from place to place singing and playing for money.
eś ash-tree, flē fish, fleē flesh, freē fresh, peś (ME. paschen, cp. Swed. paska) to knock about, smash, dash, reē rash, weē to wash, wiē to wish.

sc has become s in as (OE. æsce) ask, as-midin ask-pit, as beside aks (OE. Æscian, Æcsian) to ask, mens (OE. men-nisc dignity, honour) neatness, tidiness.

§ 313. k has disappeared through assimilation in kēget kirkgate, kīn-kof whooping cough, beside kirk (ME. kinken to pant, gasp) to cough (of whooping cough), wāte (lit. work day, kd > kt > tt > t) week day. nks > nēs in the phrase pīns te? thinkest thou? as ednt′e out te (e) dunt, pīns te? (lit. hadst not thou ought to have done it, thinkest thou?) don′t you think you ought to have done it? Many people pronounce it as if it were pīn ste?
§ 314. The relation, if any, of *bleg*, plural *blegz*, to *blackberry* is difficult to explain. It may be that *blakberi* became *blagberi* by assimilation, and that then *beri* was dropped. *blag* would regularly become *bleg* in the W. dial., see § 59.

§ 315. OE. initial *g* was a voiced spirant before both vowels and consonants. Before guttural vowels and their mutations (cp. § 312) it was a guttural spirant, as also before *æ* (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 212), but before the palatal vowels *e* (=Germanic *e*), *ea*, *eo*, *ēa*, *ēo*, *i*, *ie* it was a palatal spirant. At a later period the guttural spirant became an explosive before consonants, guttural vowels, and ū (=i-umlaut of ū), ŏ (=i-umlaut of ō); but the palatal spirant remained. On forms like Mod. Engl. *give*, *get*, *begin*, etc., see Sweet's New English Grammar §§ 817–8, and Kluge in Paul's Grundriss I. pp. 843–4.

Medially between vowels it was a voiced spirant. After *n* (=n) it was an explosive. And when geminated (written *cg*) it was also a voiced guttural or palatal explosive according as it was originally followed by a guttural or palatal vowel.

During the OE. period final *g* became *h* after long guttural vowels and *r, l*, Sievers § 214.

1. Initial *g* before consonants.

It has disappeared before *n*: *neeg* to *gnaw*, *nat* *gnat*.

It has remained before *r*: *gēsl* *gristle*, *gree* *grey*, *grin* *green*, *grund* *ground*.

Before *l* it has become *d*: *dlad* *glad*, *dlāmi* *sad*, *downcast*, *dlas* *glass*, *dlium* *gloom*, *dlue(r)* (ME. *glōren*, Swed. *glōra*) to *stare*, *dlumpi* *sulky*, *morose*. H 2
2. Initially before vowels.
Initially before vowels it has had the same development
as in lit. Engl.:

* gab (cp. O. Icel. gabba) impudence, cheek, gana(r) gander, 
gavleik (OE. gafoluc spear) crowbar, geep to gape, geet gate, 
gest guest, get to get, gilt (O. Icel. gilta) a young female 
pig, be-gin to begin, giv, gi to give, goit a water channel, 
mill-stream, guet goat, goud gold, guid good.

* jad yard, jän yarn, jel to yell, jelp to yelp, jest yeast, 
jestode yesterday, jild to yield, joen to yawn, jole yellow, 
juek yolk.

3. When g or its further development has not become
final in the W. dial.

* æg has become ee: breen brain, eel hail, feen fain, 
gladly, fee(r) fair, meen main, neel nail, peel pail, sleen 
slain, sneel snail, teel tail, see § 65. But we have sed 
(OE. sæde beside sægde) said.

* ag has become oe: doen to dawn.
* æg has become oe in een own.

* eg has become ee and has thus fallen together with ee 
from æg: breed (OE. bregdan) to resemble, act like another 
person, geen (O. Icel. ge gn) near, direct, geen gain, leed 
laid, leen lain, reel rail, re en rain, seel sail. See § 84.

* ig has become i: stil, stī stile, til tile, cp. also stī ladder.
But we have sail from sigelian to drain through a sieve, 
sailō from sigē scythe. ig cannot have become i at a very 
early period in the North, otherwise it would have become 
ai like old ī. Cp. also Easther, A Glossary of the Dialect of 
Almondbury and Huddersfield, sub sile and stigh.

* og has become ou: floun flown.

* ug has become à: fāl fowl, kāl cowl.

4. When g, eg, or their further development have become
final in the W. dialect.
a. g has combined with the preceding vowel along with which it has become a long vowel or a diphthong.

æg: deo day, mee (emphatic form) may.

æg: droe to draw, loe law.

æg: lou low, ou to owe.

æg: gree grey, tlee clay; kei key, nei to neigh.

eg: wee way, wei to weigh.

ëg: dï to dye, dri dreary, gloomy, tedious, tï to tie.

ëg: sti sty, sti ladder.

og: bou (OE. boga) bow.


œg: sli sly.

ug: sā sough, drain; but suf-oil manhole of a drain, bā to bow, sā (OE. sugu) sow.

ýg: drai dry.

ēag: ī (pl. īn) eye.

ēog: fli to fly, flī fly, lī to tell a lie.

b. After l we have e, i: bele to bellow, fole to follow, gales gallows, swole to swallow, tale tallow, beli belly.

After r we have e, i: bore to borrow, mare marrow, sore sorrow, beri berry, beri to bury, weri to worry.

c. Final ig in unaccented syllables has become i: bodi body, dizi dizzy, ovi heavy, moni many, oni any, rudi ruddy.

d. We have f in: duef dough, duef cowardly, lit. doughy, dwāf dwarf, inf (sing.) enough, sluf slough, suf-oil manhole of a drain, trof trough, uf displeasure, an offended manner, rage.

Here may conveniently be placed druft (OE. drūgap) drought, støre (OE. stīg-rāp) stirrup, bākm (OE. beorg + ham, see N.E.D. sub bargham) the collar of a horse.

Note.—sā drain, and iniu (pl.) enough, are from the inflected forms.
e. The W. dialect has g:

dreeg to drawl, eeg the berry of the hawthorn, ig (OE. hyge mind) mood, temper, meeg maw, neeg to gnaw, seeg a saw.

beg bag, big big, great, breg to brag, brig bridge, brigz a trivet, in brewing, to put across a tub to support the hop-sieve, deg (cp. Swed. dagga to bedew) to besprinkle with water, dig to dig, dog dog, dreg to drag, dregz drags, eg (ME. eggen) to incite, urge on, eg egg, flig (ME. fligge, cp. OHG. flukke able to fly) fledge, flog to flog, fog (ME. fogge rank grass) after-grass, frig coire, frog frog, geg (ME. gaggin) to gag, ie-wig earwig, leg leg, lig to lie down, lug (ME. luggen, Swed. lugga to lug, drag) to pull the hair of the head, mig midge, og the wool of a sheep which has been shorn for the first time, pig pig, prog wood collected for the fire on the fifth of November, reg rag, rig back, rigin ridge of a house, seg sedge, seg (ME. saggin) to distend, šeg shag, tug (ME. tuggen) to tug, plod. twig twig, ug to carry, weg to wag.

f. The W. dialect has dž in: edž hedge, edž edge, sledž-ame(r) sledge-hammer, wedž wedge.

g. Palatal ng has become nž: inž hinge, krinž to cringe, sinž to singe.

h. bai (OE. bycgan) to buy, lee (OE. lecgan) to lay, see (OE. secgan) to say are from the forms without gemination.

§ 316. OE. initial h was an aspirate like the h in Mod. Engl. hand. In other positions it was a spirant like the ch in German nach, ich.

§ 317. a. Initial h has disappeared in the W. dialect:
ap (ME. happen) to wrap up, eft haft, handle, oil hole, uel whole, ut hot.

loup (O.Icel. hlaupa) to jump, luaef (OE. hlæf) loaf.
nit (OE. hnutu) nit, nut (OE. hnutu) nut.
rin (OE. hring) ring, riuk (OE. hrōc) rook.
wie(r) where, wiet wheat, wāf wharf, wen when, wot what.

§ 318. b. Medial and final h have disappeared except in the examples under c, d:
eit eight, eit height, feit to fight, reit right, streit straight, weit weight.

brit bright, flit flight, frit fright, lit light, lits (ME. lihte) the lungs of animals, mit (noun) might, nit night, plit plight, rit wright, sit sight, slit slight, tit tight.
bout bought, brout brought, douto(r) daughter, out aught, out ought, nout naught, rout wrought, sout sought, tout taught, tōut thought.
ei high, but efœ(r) (OE. hēahfore) heifer, nei nigh, but neebe(r) (OE. nāah-gebūr) neighbour.
si to sigh, see Mayhew OE. Phonology, § 814, soo he saw, þī thigh.

fere (OE. furh, ME. furh, furwe) furrow, ole (OE. holh, ME. holwe) hollow.

§ 319. c. h has become f in: draft draught, draft, kof cough, laf laugh, ruf rough, tof tough, woef (OE. wālf sickly taste) insipid.

lafte(r) laughter, slafter to slaughter.
Beside priu (OE. þurh) we have also prif through.

§ 320. d. hs has become ks: nekst next, oks ox, siks six, woks to grow.
The French Element.

§ 321. The consonants of the French words occurring in the W. dialect have for the most part been already treated along with the other consonants. There therefore only remain to be added a few examples of k, g, š, tš, dž.

k.

§ 322. k has remained: koul (O. Fr. coillir) to rake. koose (O. Norm. Fr. causie) causeway, keed card, kees case, keisn (lit. occasion) need, necessity, kontréeri contrary, kreek to creak.

skaft scaffold, skaфин scaffolding, skoud to scald, skeelit scarlet, kwaleti quality, kwari stone quarry, kwaiet quiet, kwet quart, keekes body, carcase, blenkit blanket, blenk blank, ink ink, renk rank, avok havoc, biek beak, leelek lilac, paik to pick, choose, select, puok pork, fakt fact, but pl. faks.

§ 323. kl has become tl in tlak clerk, tleem claim, trietl treacle. The change of initial kl to tl is quite regular in native English words also (§ 312, 1), but trietl is the only example I know where medial or rather final kl has become tl.

§ 324. kw has become tw in: twil quill, pen, twilt quilt, twilt to beat, thrash.

§ 325. wišin cushion, seems to be the same as the literary word originally, but I cannot for the present offer a satisfactory explanation of the exact relation in which they stand to each other.
§ 326. g has remained: gal the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye (see Florio, s.v. cispa a kind of waterish matter in sore eyes, called of some Gowl. Or it is cispi waterish or gowly eyes), galek (O. Fr. gale) left hand, garit garret, geete(r) garter, gizn to choke, gol goal, only used in the game of lits en gēts (§ 177), grant grant, egrivéet to aggravate, vex, eogifái to argue, dispute.

§ 327. We regularly have š in cases where the lit. language has this sound: fešn fashion, pešn passion, rediš radish.

finiš finish, vāniš varnish, blemiš blemish.

branš branch, eenšn ancient.

dž.

§ 328. dž has generally remained in words where the lit. language has this sound. In the W. dial. dž also occurs after n: džais joist, džeselh jealous, dželi jelly, džoul to knock, strike, džoint joint, džoem the side post of a door or chimney piece, džones jaundice, eedž age, damidž damage, fuedž forge, indžoi to enjoy, leowidž language, pidžn pigeon, soudže(r) soldier.

indžn engine, moendž mang, moendži mangy, peevish, streendž strange, tšeendž change.

§ 329. dž has become d in: Dood George, Dued Joe, Duez, Duezi Joshua, doi joy, darling, a pet word applied to children. This last word gives a clue to the explanation of
the change, which is no doubt due to the imperfect pronunciation of children being imitated by grown-up persons. The proper names must originally have been used in addressing children only, just as doi still is, and then afterwards have become used for grown-up persons.

$\text{tš.}$

§ 330. We regularly have $\text{tš}$ in the same words in which the literary language has it: $\text{tšapl chapel, tšeďž to charge, tšeũm̩(r) chamber, tšerí cherry, tšimli chimney, tšois choice, tšons chance, tšont chant.}$

preitš to preach, poutš to pouch.
ACCIDENCE.

CHAPTER VII.

NOUNS.

A. Formation of the Plural.

1. Plurals in -ez, -z, -s.

§ 331. Nouns ending in s, š, z, ž add ez to form the plural, as las lass lasez, fees face feesez, but ās house has āsez; diš dish dišez, wotš watch wotšez; nuez nose, nuepez, saiz size saizez; edž hedge edžez, džudž judge džudžez.

§ 332. Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced consonant other than z, ž add z, as: lad lad ladz, gam game gamz, ratn rat ratnz, leeč barn leečz, deč day deez. But nouns ending in -nd, (-r) lose the -d, (-r) before the plural ending §§ 302, 259, as frend friend frenz, faďe(r) father faďez.

§ 333. Nouns ending in a voiceless consonant other than s, š add s, as: lat lath lats, kap kap kaps, diep death dieps, māp mouth māps, wāf wharf wāfs, ruif roof ruifs.
But nouns ending in f preceded by a vowel or diphthong (except ui) which was long in OE., and nouns originally ending in -If change the f into v and add z in the plural, as 
\textit{luef loaf lua\textit{vz}}, \textit{naif knife naivz}, \textit{koe}f \textit{calf koevz}.

2. Plurals in -n.

§ 334. There are only three nouns which have -n in the plural: \textit{i eye in, oks ox oksn, s\ddot{u} shoe suin}.

3. Plural in -r.

§ 335. The only example of this class is \textit{t\ddot{a}ilde(r)} \textit{children}. In the singular we use \textit{b\ddot{a}n}, the plural of which is \textit{b\ddot{a}nz}, and is in more general use than \textit{t\ddot{a}ilde(r)}.

4. Plurals with umlaut.

§ 336. These are: \textit{fuit foot fit}, \textit{guis goose gis}, \textit{l\ddot{a}s louse lais}, \textit{man man men}, \textit{m\ddot{a}s mouse mais}, \textit{tu\ddot{i}p tooth tip}, \textit{wumen woman wimin}.

5. Singular and Plural alike.

§ 337. as \textit{ash}, \textit{ashes}, \textit{fi\ddot{s} fish, fishes}, \textit{s\ddot{i}p sheep}.

Nouns expressing time, space, weight, measure, and number, when preceded by a cardinal numeral, as \textit{iz net bin sin fo ten jie(r)} he has not been seen for ten years, but its jiez sin e we sin it’s years since he was seen, and similarly with \textit{munp month, wik week}. \textit{pri mail pre Koevle three miles from Calverley, but mailz pre s\ddot{i}e(r) miles from there, and similarly for in\ddot{s} inch, fuit foot, jied yard, eeke(r) acre, etc. ten pund e meit ten pounds of meat, cp. lit. Engl. a ten-pound note, but \textit{\ddot{c}e we punz ont weested there were pounds of it wasted, and similarly with ans ounce, stuen stone, unded weit hundred weight, etc. t\ddot{u} kw\ddot{e}et et best two quarts of the best (ale), siks gain six gallons, nain \ddot{\ddot{e}}lin nine skillings, etc. foue skue(r) four scores, but skuez on em scores of them, etc.}
6. Miscellaneous.

§ 338. Some nouns are only used in the plural as: *kruds curds, laps a kind of woollen waste made in spinning, lits lungs of animals, loks small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece, mezlz measles, noilz the short hairs taken out of the wool by the combing machine, roidz clearings (of a wood), now only used in the phrase West Roidz West Royds, sičez scissors, sperinz banns of marriage, tenz tongs, trúez trousers. Others have a different meaning in the singular and the plural, as brig bridge pl. brigs bridges, a trivet to put across a tub to support the hop-sieve, green grain greenz malt which has been used in brewing beer, grund ground grunz sediment.

Nouns with double plural endings are rare, but we have them in: belesez bellows, galesez braces, stepsez steps.

In speaking of cows the form *bies is generally used, as *ā moni bies eje nā? how many cows (lit. beasts) have you now?

poridz porridge, always, and brop broth, frequently, require the plural form of the verb as čem poridz weren t ez guid ez če out to (e) bin, lit. them porridge were not as good as they ought to have been.

B. Formation of the Genitive Case.

§ 339. The sign of the genitive both singular and plural is generally omitted when one noun qualifies another; the two nouns thus forming a kind of compound, as čemz mi fače buits those are my father’s boots; but čem buits e mi fače those boots are my father’s, tlad fače buits the boy’s father’s boots, but t buits e tlad fače the boots of the boy’s
father, čem bänz (never bänzes) muče(r) those children’s mother.

When the genitive is not followed by another noun, the gen. singular and plural have the same form as the nom. plural. The only exceptions are that nouns which end in -vz in the plural have -fs in the gen. singular, waifs wife’s, and the two umlaut-plurals men, wimin have sing. manz, wumenz, plural menz, wiminz.
CHAPTER VIII.

ADJECTIVES.

1. The Articles.

§ 340. The indefinite article e a, en an, differs from lit. Engl. in so far that e may be used before both vowels and consonants. It is equally right to say: av etn e or en apl I have eaten an apple. In nidiet idiot and noreišn row, disturbance, the initial n has come from the indef. article, ĉis nidičt this idiot, wots tmiešin e ĉis noreišn? what is the meaning of this (lit. oration) row? Cp. lit. Engl. newt for ewt. Observe the phrase: a wer i sitš en e steet I was in such (an) a state.

§ 341. The definite article t the is generally attached to the following word, as tman the man, tkoïlz the coals, tak tguid enz take the good ones, tloed e tmane(r) the lord of the manor, a duent noe wot tman did wit I don't know what the man did with it, a no(e) ue tman wo(r) I know who the man was.

When the word following the definite article begins with t or d, the only trace of the article is that t and d become suspended or popularly expressed lengthened. We make a clear distinction between teabl table and t'eebl the table, dlium gloom and d'lium the gloom.
Cp. the similar distinction between eit eight, and eit' eighth.

We however always use  the before  when it means  as  there is nobody but the Lord and myself, know what  have had to suffer.  (never t) is also used after  in such expressions as:  who the devil did that?  what the hangment does he want?  a  i did  I don't know what the hangment he did with it.

**Note.**—In order to obtain information on this difference in the use of t and  in some other Yorkshire dialect, I wrote to Mr. Bradley, the Joint Editor of the New English Dictionary, who is thoroughly conversant with the Sheffield dialect; and from his kind communication I learn that the distinction in the Sheffield dialect is practically the same as in my own. I venture to quote the following extract from his letter, which will be found interesting and instructive.—'t' lord o' t' manor—(decidedly). When “Lord” means God, the association of liturgical and Bible reading generally cause the full pronunciation (o) to be used. But I have, though rarely, heard t' Lord, in rather off-hand, irreverent speech; and “Lord knows” without any article at all is common enough. A don't know what t' man did wi' it—(certainly not  man, nor man without article). What the hangment, What the devil, What the plague, etc.—(always  never t or omitted). A know who t' man wor—(certainly not  nor omitted).

2. Comparison of Adjectives.

§ 342. The comparative is formed by adding -er and the superlative by adding -ist to the positive. This rule also holds good for familiar adjectives of two or more syllables. But unfamiliar adjectives of more than one syllable sometimes form the comparative and superlative by prefixing mue(r), muest.

fae(r) far, fæœ(r), færïst; jun young, junœ(r), junist or junst; uelsm wholesome, uelsmœ(r), uelsm-ist; biutifl beautiful, biutifl-er, biutifl-ist.
§ 343. The following adjectives are compared irregularly as in lit. Engl.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bad</em></td>
<td>wāñ(r)</td>
<td>wāst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ill</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>guid</em></td>
<td>bete(r)</td>
<td>best</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>late</em></td>
<td>late(r)</td>
<td>last</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>little</em></td>
<td>les</td>
<td>liest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>many</em></td>
<td>mue(r)</td>
<td>muest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>much</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>near</em></td>
<td>niere(r)</td>
<td>niorest, nekst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—The use of *vari* before adjectives is the same as in lit. Engl.: *vari* *guid* *very good*. But instead of using *vari* we sometimes repeat the adjective with *ez* as: *guid ez guid very good*, *dāk ez dāk very dark*.


§ 344. a. Cardinal and ordinal numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wun</em></td>
<td>fœst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>two</em></td>
<td>seknd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>three</em></td>
<td>þēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>four</em></td>
<td>fouet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>five</em></td>
<td>fift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>six</em></td>
<td>sikst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>seven</em></td>
<td>sevnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eight</em></td>
<td>eit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nine</em></td>
<td>naint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ten</em></td>
<td>tent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(e)levm</em></td>
<td>*(e)levnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>twelv</em></td>
<td>twelft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þētīn</td>
<td>þētīnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fouetīn</td>
<td>fouetīnt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cardinal:  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>fīftīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sikstīn</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sevntīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>eītīn</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>naintīn</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>twenti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>twenti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>up-twenti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ū-twenti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ordinal:  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>fīftīnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sikstīnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sevntīnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>eītīnt</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>naintīnt</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>twenti</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>twenti</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ū-twenti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 345. The old form uen one is still retained in the phrase tuen the one of two, as tuen on em est, lit. the one of them has it, i.e. one of the two has it. The unaccented form is en or rather vocalic n, as it wer e guidn it was a good one. We may also note wun-ā somehow, wun-ā er enuče(r) somehow or other.

On the suspended t' in eit' eighth, see §§ 341, 306.

m for older n (§ 270) is regularly heard in sevm, (e)levm; but in sevnt, (e)levnt, sevntīn, etc., m for older n is seldom, if ever, heard.

All the ordinals, except seknd and ūd, end in t. Most of these are, of course, new formations made after the analogy of ēst, ūft, sikst, twelft which had t in OE. See § 309. In a similar manner the lit. Engl. ordinals fifth,
sixth, twelfth, and all those ending in -nth are new formations made after the analogy of such forms as fourth, OE. fēowerdā.

§ 346. In playing at games, e.g. marbles toez, boys have the following ordinals, denoting the order in which each is to begin the game. The boy who calls out fēri has the first turn. The order is fēri first, seki second, pōdi third, lari last.

NOTE.—toe is used for a marble of any kind. When made of marble or alabaster it is called e wait ali, if streaked with red veins e bluid ali; when of glass o glas ali; when made of powdered stone o stueni; when made of clay e pot donek.

§ 347. b. Fractional numerals: kweata(r) quarter, e fouet or wun peet at e foue(r) a fourth, e pād or wun peet at e prī a third, and similarly tū pōdz or tū peets at e prī two thirds, oef half, as e oef pund, oef pund, or oef e pund half a pound, oepni halfpenny, oepēp halfpennyworth.

§ 348. c. Multiplicatives: simpl simple, dubl double, tribl, pribl threefold, foue-foud fourfold, wuns once, twais twice, prī taimz three times.

§ 349. d. Numerals in composition: e tūpri lit. a two (or) three, a few, as ler em ev e tūpri let them have a few, tupms two pence, flpm fivepence, prepms three pence, etc.
CHAPTER IX.

PRONOUNS.

1. Personal.

§ 350.

FIRST PERSON.

*Singular.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai, (a, i)</td>
<td>mi, (me)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Plural.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wi, (wi, we)</td>
<td>uz, (ez, s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECOND PERSON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥa, tā, (ḥa, ta, tē)</td>
<td>ḥi, (ḥe)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jī, (ji, je)</td>
<td>jī, (je)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THIRD PERSON.

**Singular.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>it, (t)</td>
<td>šū, (šu, še)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj.</td>
<td>it, (t)</td>
<td>ə(r), (ə(r))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Plural.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ṣa, (ṣe, ṣe)</td>
<td>Ṣem, (em, m)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The weak forms are in parentheses. They are far more frequently employed than the strong ones; the latter are only used to express special emphasis.

The weak form i I is older than a, it arose from the shortening of i before the latter became ai, whereas a is the regular weak form of ai, cp. the weak forms abed yes but, wol until, wa why, beside the strong forms aibed, wail (noun) while, wai. Examples of the first person are:

muni gue wi je? must I go with you? sali et temoen? shall I have it to-morrow? if id nobed o bit o bras, a wodnt (or ad net) diu sitš wāk if I had only a little brass (money), I would not do such work, al kum en si je, wen i ger o bit o taim I will come and see you, when I get a bit of time, as e dun inā I shall have done presently, a fan em i tloin I found them in the lane, gi m(o) e feu give me a few, ēe teld me ēa wer ie(r) they told me (that) thou wast here. wi or we bān dān til we are going down the hill, sud we len im it? should we lend him it? ēel or ēel stop wol we kum they will stop until (while) we come. lets as im let us or me ask him, še penkt ez fe tpeenz wid teen wit she thanked us for the pains we had taken with it. The z in the strong form uz is never voiceless as it is in lit. Engl. The weak form s is only used when it is attached enclitically to a preceding voiceless consonant.

The strong form tà and the weak forms ta, te can only be used interrogatively and in subordinate sentences, as will tà weš it? wilt thou wash it? wite len met? wilt thou lend me it? wies te kum priu? (lit. where hast thou come through) where do you come from? kan te diut bi čisen? canst thou do it by thyself? wen tet redi wil send ēet when thou art ready we will send thee it. as or asl gi ēe (e) oepni if te elps me, I shall give thee a halfpenny if thou helpest me, čat nuen se wil es te wo(r) thou art not so well
as thou wast, *d*al (never *tal* or *tel*) find im *et* iz wāk thou wilt find him at his work. At first sight one might be inclined to assume that the forms *tā*, *te*. have arisen from assimilation with verbal forms ending in *-t*, e.g. *āt* (§ 396) *art*, *out* (§ 394) *oughtest*, *dāst* (frequently *dēs* § 390) *durst*; but these are the three solitary instances in which the second person singular ends in *-t* where assimilation could take place. See the personal endings (§ 385). It is far more probable that the forms have arisen from their unaccented position in the sentence. If this is right then the def. art. *t* has a similar origin. However the *t* of the article arose, I certainly do not believe that it is a clipped form of *dat* that, which is regularly used as a demonstrative (§ 354), but never as a rel. pronoun or conjunction; the latter are expressed by *et* (§§ 356, 401). am bān *te* tak *ē* wi me I am going to take thee with me. *ji* or *je* sed *et* im it reo you said that I am in the wrong, *wot* did *je* see *tul im*? what did you say to him? *wil* *je* sam *me* *cem* tluez up? will you pick up those clothes for me? *jov* etn *oel* tmeit sue jel e *te* diu bāt nā wōl setade you have eaten all the meat so you will have to do without until Saturday, if *je* (not *ji*) sī mi faē(r), as *im* *te* kum *uem* if you see my father, ask him to come home, wi *seo* *je* i tmiln we saw you in the mill. The old objective form of the second person plural has entirely died out; cp. on the other hand the disappearance in Modern English of the old nom. *ye* except in liturgical and the higher literary language. The pronoun of the second person singular is still extensively used, but it is not so general now as it was twenty years ago. When I was a lad the following was the rule: *dā* was used in every case except that *ji* was used (1) in addressing strangers, especially grown-up people, or as a mark of respect to masters and old people; (2) children in addressing their
parents; (3) people who had made each other's acquaintance after they had grown up usually employed ḳ in speaking to each other.

The masc. of the third person singular is the only pronoun which has not at least two forms for the obj. case. ḳm is no doubt used as a weak form so as to prevent confusion with the obj. case of the plural. ṛ is attached to the preceding word. The nominative of the feminine presents great difficulties. Dr. Sweet in his New English Grammar (§ 1068) gives the following explanation for the lit. Engl. form she: the old demonstrative seo became shō through the intermediate stage seo(sjoo), then shō became contaminated with the old personal pronoun hēo, which gave rise to the form shēo which would regularly become she in Mod. English. This explanation may or may not be right for the lit. language, but a form shēo could not possibly become sū, but only sī in the W. dial. as also in the other dialects round about Windhill; cp. the Dialect Tests in Ellis, EEPr. v. On the other hand, the uncontaminated form shō would not become sū but sī in the modern dialect, cp. tiu too, diu do, etc. § 164 c; unless we may assume, which I do not believe is the case, that the one solitary example (sū shoe, but pl. ūsin §§ 163-4 c) containing ū from older ō has not been borrowed from the lit. language. On the various origins of W. ū see § 40. For the present the form sū she still remains a riddle. The strong form ōem is from OE. ōem (Ūam), the dat. plural of the demonstrative pronoun só, sóo, sēt, whereas the weak forms ōm, m are from OE. heom, the dat. plural of the personal pronoun hē, hēo, hit.

Examples of the third person are: iz bīn on trant oel twik he has been on the spree all the week, eze fotšt ġat flik o beekn? has he fetched that flitch of bacon? i ied it wen e
It is hardly possible to give a very clearly defined and accurate rule for the use of the weak nominative forms:

\begin{align*}
\text{a, wi} & ; \text{ji} ; \text{i} ; \text{šu} ; \text{če} \text{ beside} \\
\text{i} & ; \text{we} ; \text{je} ; \text{e} ; \text{še} ; \text{če}.
\end{align*}

The former set is mostly used in making direct assertions, and the latter in interrogative and subordinate sentences. \(i\) and \(e\ he\) are never used in making direct assertions, but the other pairs are, and when the one form and when the other is used, seems to depend upon sentence rhythm.

The obj. case of all persons is often used reflexively, as

\begin{align*}
al \text{ weš me nā I will wash myself now}, & \text{ am džust bān te don} \\
\text{me I am just going to dress myself}, & \text{ i leed im dān i tfild} \\
\text{he lay down in the field}, & \text{ kum fored lad on sit če dān on al} \\
\text{set tketl on come forward lad and sit (thee) down and I} & \text{ will set the kettle on (and make some tea).}
\end{align*}

We always use the obj. case where in refined lit. Engl. the nom. is used:

1. After the substantive verb, as its mī, pī, s(r), im, uz, jī, čem, lit. \(it\ is \ me, \ thee, her, him, us, you, them\). Note čemz čem čet i want those are the ones that I want.
2. When the verb refers to different persons, as im en mi went he and I went, Bil en imz guen dän truod Bill and he have gone down the road, uz en ôem we tegeñer oel d'ee we and they were together all the day.

3. When the subject of the principal sentence is separated from the predicate by a subordinate sentence, as: im et did Çat out te en he who did that ought to be hanged, uz etz dun se mitš for im me gue te d'ogz fer out i keez we who have done so much for him may go to the dogs for aught he cares.

2. Possessive.

§ 351. a. Conjoint: mai, (mi) my; ñe(r), (we(r)) our; ñai, (ći) thy; jæ(r), (je(r)) your; iz, is his; it its, ñ(r), (e(r)) her, ñee(r), (ëe(r)) their.

The weak forms are in parentheses. As in the personal pronouns so also here the weak forms are far more frequently used than the strong ones. mi, cî, ñë(r) are from the Middle English weak forms mi, cî, ñer, and not Modern weakenings of the strong forms; otherwise we should have had ma, ña for our mi, cî, see § 350. we(r) has been formed from we after the analogy of je ye, je(r), thus je: je(r): : we: we(r). iz is used before vowels and voiced consonants and is before voiceless consonants, as iz às his house, iz oen his own, iz muðø(r) his mother, is koit his coat, is faðø(r) his father, este sin it faðø(r)? hast thou seen its (=the child's) father? it ied wäks its head aches.

§ 352. b. Absolute: main mine, ñz ours, cain thine, jaz yours, iz his, its its, ñz hers, ñeez theirs.
3. Reflexive.

§ 353.

FIRST PERSON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>misen</td>
<td>wesen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misel</td>
<td>wesenz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miseln</td>
<td>wesel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weseeln</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECOND PERSON.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sisen</td>
<td>jesen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisel</td>
<td>jesenz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siseln</td>
<td>jesel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weseiseln</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THIRD PERSON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Neut.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i(s)sen</td>
<td>itsen</td>
<td>øsen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i(s)sel</td>
<td>itsel</td>
<td>øsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i(s)seln</td>
<td>itseln</td>
<td>øseln</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>øsen</td>
<td>øsenz</td>
<td>øsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øseln</td>
<td></td>
<td>øseln</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stress is always on the second syllable. When these pronouns are used emphatically the stress on the second syllable is of course stronger than when they are used reflexively. All the forms -sel, -seln, -sen are often heard without any distinction in meaning.
Such a variety of forms must be quite modern, and is probably due to importation from neighbouring dialects. The -sen-forms are far more common than either of the other two. In the Eastern North Midland dialects, to which Windhill belongs (Ellis, EEPr. v. pp. 364-408), I find the following forms: -seln at Huddersfield and Halifax; -sen at Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Rotherham, Sheffield, Wakefield. In this division of dialects no -self-forms seem to be known.

In order to find out the areas of the -sel, -seln, and -sen-forms I have carefully examined all the classified word-lists and comparative dialect specimens in Ellis, EEPr. v, with the following results. -sel is the only form that occurs in all the North Northern, West Northern, and East Northern dialects, except at Holderness (S.E. Yorkshire) and South Ainsty, where we find -sen. The North North Midland, West North Midland, and South North Midland dialects have only -sel. The Border Midland dialects, which embrace the county of Lincolnshire, have only the -sen-form. The -sen-form does not seem to occur south of Lincolnshire. -self is regularly found without exception in all the Eastern dialects. The Mid Southern dialects have -self, -zelf, except at Much Cowarne (nine miles N.E. of Hereford) we find -sel and in Western Dorset -zel. The North Border Southern, Mid Border Southern, and South Border Southern dialects have only -self. In the East Southern dialects, which embrace almost the whole of Kent, with East Sussex, examples are wanting except that -saaf, pl. -saaavz occurs at Faversham (eight miles W.N.W. of Canterbury). The Northern West Southern dialects regularly have -zel. In the Southern West Southern dialects all three forms, -sel, -zel, and -self, occur. For the Western West Southern dialects examples are wanting.
The South Western dialects seem to have -self, but more examples are wanting to be certain, as only one example of the reflexive occurs in this division, viz. at Docklow (five miles E. S. E. of Leominster). For the North Western dialects there is only one example given in Ellis, viz. -sel for Pulverbach (seven miles S.W. of Shrewsbury).

wesen, etc. have been formed from the weak possessive wo(r) our, which is itself a new formation, § 351. There is no difference in meaning or usage between wesen and wesenz, jesen and desenz. jesen is used for the sing. and plural yourself, yourselves, but jesenz yourselves has always a plural meaning.

The simplex self occurs in the dialect, as a tself seem doe on the self same day.

4. Demonstrative.

§ 354.

Sing. tSis this tSat that jon yon.
Plural. tSiez these tSem those jon yon.

tSis and tSiez are often followed by ie(r) here, and tSat, tSem by tSie(r), there, as tSis ier äs wonts e lot e tlienin this house wants a lot of cleaning, dus te laik tSiez ie(r)? dost thou like these? a kánt eit tSat tSie meit I can't eat that meat, i ga me tSat tSie koit he gave me that coat, tSem tSie unplz kost tupsms those apples cost twopence, tSemz vari guid bod tSiez ez or e bete(r) those are very good but these are better.

tSem is the only word used for those, a form tSiez would be quite foreign to the dialect.
5. Interrogative.

§ 355. Interrogative pronouns.

Masc. and Fem. Neut.

Nom., Obj. ue who wot what, wits which.

Gen. uez whose.

uem whom is never used in the W. dialect. Beside wot we have also wor, on which see § 290.

6. Relative.

§ 356. The relative pronoun is expressed either by et for all genders and numbers, or by ue for the masc. and fem., wot for the neuter. et is invariably used when the antecedent is expressed; in other cases we always use ue, wot. Thus: im et sed suez reo he who said so is wrong, tman et i soo jestede the man whom I saw yesterday, tlas et i gav e pund e aplz tul eez etn em oel the lass to whom I gave a pound of apples has eaten them all, tkoilz et te bout dan i Windil e vari guid the coals which thou boughtest down in Windhill are very good, did je si efem et did it? did you see those who did it? efem men et te so(e) i trued wer on trant those men whom thou sawest in the road were on the spree.

a no(e) uez dunt I know who has done it, we no(e) uez it iz we know whose it is, a noe wot te sez I know what thou sayest, a ken or kr ges ue ñaz bin wi I can guess with whom thou hast been, a duent beliv wot e sez I don't believe what he says; but a duent beliv e wêd (et) i sez I don't believe a word (that) he says.

The obj. case of et, but never of ue, wot, is often omitted: tman i see the man (whom) I saw, tkoilz e bout the coals (which) he bought.
et is of Norse origin and was originally only used as a conjunction with the meaning of that. But already in Old Icelandic it came to be used both as a relative pronoun and conjunction just as it still is in the W. dialect: a no(e) et im i tgeet I know that I am in the way. See Noreen, Altisländische und altnordische Grammatik, § 402. et occurs as a rel. pronoun in the Northern English dialects so early as the thirteenth century, see J. A. H. Murray, The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 194.

It may be useful to note here that dat is never used in the dialect either as a rel. pronoun or as a conjunction.

7. Indefinite.

§ 357.

sum some, sumdi somebody, sumet (lit. somewhat) something, anything.

out aught, nout naught, nought.

inif, pl. iniu enough: gim(e) e feu, nee ñaz ed iniu give me a few, no thou hast had enough, eje bried inif? have you enough bread?

feu few, ivri every, oel all, els else, sitš such, unde(r) other.

oede(r) (OE. ñwðer) either, noido(r) (OE. ñwðer) neither. Cp. § 123 and see Sievers, OE. Grammar, §§ 346, 348.

oni (OE. ñnig) any, onibodi anybody, moni (OE. monig, manig) many. The o in oni is due to the influence of the o in moni. The following question would be quite unintelligible to anyone but a North countryman: ez or ez oni on je oni on je? inquired a man of a company of persons, after asking two or three of them individually for a match, lit. has any on you any on you? i.e. has any of you got one?

tuen (lit. the one) one of two or more: tuen on jez dunt
one of you has done it. Strong form wun (nom.), weak form en (obj.) one, pl. enz ones, wun enuex(r) one another, nua, weak form ne no, nueba nobody; nuen none has no weak form. Nuen is often used in the place of net: am nuen ban I am not going, tat nuen tfuil et te liuks you are not the fool you look to be.

u(e)-ive(r) whoever, wotive(r) or tsiuz-wot (lit. choose-what) whatever.
CHAPTER X.

VERBS.

§ 358. The verbs are divided into two great classes:—Strong and Weak—according to the formation of the preterite and past participle. Besides these two great classes of strong and weak verbs, there are a few others which will be treated under the general heading of Minor Groups.

§ 359. The strong verbs form their preterite by means of ablaut. In order to facilitate the use of the book for philologists I have sub-divided them into seven classes and have adopted the order given in Sievers' Old English Grammar, §§ 382–97.

A great many verbs which were strong in OE. are now weak in the dialect; on the other hand a few, which were originally weak, have become strong. The lists contain all the strong verbs in general use. When two forms of the preterite and past participle are in existence, the less usual one is enclosed in brackets. Some verbs, which now usually have a weak preterite, still retain the old strong past participle, e.g. ḵ̄seēn forsaken, fretn beside frieted fretted, mourned.

There is only one form for the singular and plural of the preterite just as in lit. Engl. The present and
the past participle of all classes have, as a rule, been regularly developed from their corresponding OE. forms. But the preterite of some classes, e.g. the whole of the first and second, are new formations made after the analogy of the pret. of the fourth and partly the fifth classes. Some few verbs have passed over from one class into another. All these points will be discussed in their proper places.

§ 360. The preterite and the past participle of weak verbs end in -œd, -d, -t. See §§ 380–3. Many verbs, originally weak, have both a strong and a weak past participle. See §§ 380–3.

### A. Strong Verbs.

#### § 361. Class I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Pret. Sg.</th>
<th>Pret. Pl.</th>
<th>P. P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OE. i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. ai</td>
<td>eo</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ied</td>
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<td>deev</td>
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<td>divm</td>
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<td>dlidn</td>
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<td></td>
<td>dreev</td>
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<td>drivm</td>
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<td>kontreev</td>
<td></td>
<td>kontrivm</td>
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<td>reed</td>
<td></td>
<td>ridn</td>
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<td>reet</td>
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<td>ritn</td>
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<td>reev</td>
<td></td>
<td>rivm</td>
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<td></td>
<td>reez</td>
<td></td>
<td>rizn</td>
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<td>slidn</td>
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<td>streed</td>
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<td>stridn</td>
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<td></td>
<td>streek</td>
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<td>strukr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>streëv</td>
<td></td>
<td>strivm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 362. The pret. of all verbs of this class is a new formation. The ee can arise neither from the OE. singular nor plural form. From the former we should have had ue (§ 122) and from the latter i (§ 89). The only classes of verbs which regularly have ee in the pret. are the fourth (§ 371) and part of the fifth (§ 372). To merely say that the pret. of Class I has been formed after the analogy of Class IV and part of Class V would be avoiding the real difficulty, which consists in giving a satisfactory reason why they should have had such an influence, seeing that they had no forms in common with Class I in OE. One might perhaps be inclined to think that the identity of the vowel in a pp. like jifenn given (Ormulum, i. 71) with that in a pp. like risenn risen (Ormulum, ii. 47) may have given rise to the new formation. But that would not do. In the dialect the pret. of gi(v) is ga(v) = Ormulum ʒaff; gaff, ii. 16. At present I cannot even suggest a satisfactory explanation.

§ 363. The pp. of sain is always weak, and I have also occasionally heard a weak pret. saind. For the pret. of straik I have often heard striuk, strak, the latter of which seems to be a shortening of the Northern ME. form sträk; the pp. of this verb corresponds to the early Mod. Engl. lit. form struken.

§ 364. aid (OE. hýdan) and daiv (OE. dýfan) were weak in OE. raiv (O. Icel. rífa) and praiv (O. Icel. þrífa) are of Norse origin. straiv (O. Fr. estriver) was already strong in ME. kontraiv must be a late borrowing from
§§ 364-367.] VERBS.

lit. Engl., the ME. form *controuen (u = v) from O. Fr. controver would not have become *kontraiv in the W. dialect.

Class II.


OE. ēo ēa u o
W. ī ee u o
iu (§ 187) ee o
ī eu ou
frīz freeze freez frozn
tlīv cleave, split tleev tlov
ṭšiuz choose tšeoz tšożn
fī fly fleu floun

§ 366. All the other verbs, which formerly belonged to this class, have become weak.

OE. cēosan would regularly have become *ṭšiz (§ 187) in the dialect. ṭšiuz seems to be an early borrowing of the ME. West Midlands form chūsen, which would regularly become ṭšiuz in the dialect.

The ee in the pret. is not regularly developed from OE. ēa, which has become ie (§ 179), but is due to the analogy of such verbs as weev wove, need kneaded. Just as we have the pp. wovm, nodn, pret. weev, need, so to the pp. frozn, tlov, tšożn there has been formed a new preterite freez, tleev, tšeoz.

Class III.

§ 367. This class had in OE. four sub-divisions:

1. Verbs having a medial nasal + a consonant.
2. " " 1 + "
3. " " r or h + K 2
4. When the stem vowel was followed by two consonants other than a nasal, \( l, r, \) or \( h + \) a consonant. Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 386–9.

All verbs originally belonging to 2. have become weak. The same also applies to sub-divisions 3. and 4. with the exception of feit fight, and brust burst.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. OE. i</td>
<td>o (a)</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e (§ 59)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begin begin</td>
<td>began</td>
<td>span</td>
<td>spun</td>
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<tr>
<td>spin spin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim swim</td>
<td>swom § 58 (swam)</td>
<td>swum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>win win</td>
<td>wan (won)</td>
<td>wun</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>bind bind</td>
<td>ban</td>
<td>bun</td>
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<tr>
<td>find find</td>
<td>fan</td>
<td>fun</td>
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<tr>
<td>wind wind</td>
<td>wan (won)</td>
<td>wun</td>
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<tr>
<td>run run</td>
<td>ran</td>
<td>run</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. bring

| in comm.     | breo      | bruo      |
| din reproach, revile | dep | duno |
| flin throw  | fleo      | fluo      |
| in hang     | eo        | uo        |
| rin wring   | rep       | run       |
| rin ring    | rep       | run       |
| sin sing    | seo       | suo       |
| slip sling  | sloo      | sloo      |
| sprin spring| sprep     | sprun     |
| stin sting  | steo      | stuo      |
| strin string| stren     | strun     |
| swim swing  | swen      | swun      |
| tlin cling  | tlen      | tluo      |
| drink drink | dreck     | drukgo    |
\[\text{§§ 367, 368.} \]

**Infin.** | **Pret. Sg.** | **Pret. Pl.** | **P.P.**
---|---|---|---
sink | sink | serk | suk\(n\)
slink | slink | slenk | sluk\(n\)
stink | stink | stenk | stuk\(n\)
šrink | shrink | šrenk | šruk\(n\)

**Infin.**  
3. W. Sax. eo  
O. North. e  
W. ei (§ 87)  
feit fight

**Pret.** | **Pret. Pl.** | **P. P.**
---|---|---
eu | u | o
æ | u | o

**Infin.**  
4. OE. e  
W. u

**Pret. Sg.** | **Pret. Pl.** | **P.P.**
---|---|---
brust | burst | brast | brusn
prust | thrust | prast | prusn

\[\text{§ 368.} \] On the present form run, see Sweet NE. Gr. § 1382. The pret. and pp. ban, fan, wan and bun, fun, wun are very widely spread in the Midland and Northern dialects, see the Word-lists in Ellis, EEPr. v. The pret. bren and pp. brun are no doubt new formations after the analogy of forms like sen, sun; the weak pret. and pp. brout is also much used, but is not so common as the strong forms. in (ME. hengen, O. Icel. hengja) and rin (OE. (h)rigan) were originally weak verbs. din (O. Icel. dengja), flin (O. Icel. flengja), slin (O. Icel. slöngva) are of Norse origin. strin seems to be quite a modern formation from the noun.

The pp. of verbs whose stem ends in \(nk\) regularly lose the medial guttural \(n\) in the W. dialect. I have assumed in the Phonology (§ 274) that \(n\) has disappeared through assimilation before the following \(kn\) in the pp. of these verbs. This is possible and not at all improbable; but we must not exclude the possibility that some of these pp. may be
of Norse origin, e.g. druko (O. Icel. drukkenn), sukor (O. Icel. sokkenn), and that the remaining drk-verbs may have followed the analogy of these. This is a point well worth investigating, but of the five verbs ending in -drk in the present and preterite, Ellis has unfortunately only the pp. of drink, and I have accordingly read through all his Word-lists, Dialect tests, and Comparative Specimens to see how far the form without medial r in the pp. extends. The following is the result: The medial r is retained in all the Eastern, Western, and Southern dialects, with the exception of South Devon (Ellis, p. 163), which is probably a mistake on the part of Dr. Ellis' informant. All the Border Midland, Southern, North Midland, Western Mid Midland, Eastern Mid Midland, East Mid Midland, Western South Midland, Eastern South Midland, Northern North Midland, and Western North Midland dialects have medial r except at Colne Valley and at Burnley, where double forms—without and with medial r—seem to occur (pp. 334 and 351). In the Eastern North Midland division to which my own dialect belongs the form without medial r is found at Huddersfield, Halifax, Dewsbury which have drufen, at Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Rotherham, Elland, and Calverley where the nasal has disappeared before the following k; but medial r occurs at Barnsley, Sheffield, and Marsden (seven miles S. W. of Huddersfield). In the East Northern division, Mid Yorkshire, North Mid Yorkshire, New Malton, Lower Nidderdale, Washam River district, South Cleveland, North East Coast, Danby and Skelton in Cleveland, and Whitby, all have the form without medial r, but Market Weighton, Holderness, Malton, Pickering, and The Moors, Sutton and Goole retain the medial guttural nasal. All the West Northern dialects—for which there are a great number of examples in Ellis—lose the
medial ə except at Upper Swaledale. The same is also the case for the North Northern dialects, except that at Newcastle-on-Tyne the medial ə seems to exist (Ellis, p. 647). For the Lowland division of English dialect districts in Scotland only forms without medial ə are registered. It is however important to note that Dr. Murray, The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, has pp. drunk beside drukken, and only slunk, stalk, sunk, schrunck (scrynkit). This would certainly seem to favour the idea that our drunkr is of Norse origin, and that the pp. of the four other verbs have been formed after the analogy of it.

In feet fought the vowel of the singular seems to have been carried over to the plural at an early period. The latter form then became generalized. The short o in the pp. is quite regular (§ 100).

On the forms brust, brast, brusn see Sweet, NE. Gr. § 1354, and on prust (ME. prusten, prusten, O. Icel. prýsta) see loc. cit. § 1348.

### Class IV

#### § 369.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Sax. ə</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. North ə</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. W. ei (§ 87)</td>
<td>eo (§ 70)</td>
<td>steel</td>
<td>ou (§ 103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steil steal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. W. ie (§ 75)</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>bee(r)</td>
<td>boen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bie(r) bear</td>
<td></td>
<td>swee(r)</td>
<td>swoen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swie(r) swear</td>
<td></td>
<td>šee(r)</td>
<td>šoen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šie(r) shear</td>
<td></td>
<td>wee(r)</td>
<td>woen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wie(r) wear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. W. e (§ 88)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>brak</td>
<td>brokə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 370. To this class also belongs *kum* (OE. *cuman*) *come*, *kom* (*kam*), *kum* (*kumd*).

§ 371. *wie(r)* (OE. *werian*) was originally a weak verb, but has become strong after the analogy of *bio(r), šie(r)*. Similarly *swie(r)* (OE. *swerian*, pret. sing. *swör*) has passed over from the sixth class into this.

The ee in the preterite is due to levelling. The vowel of the pret. singular of strong verbs was often extended to the plural already in ME. Then this a being in an open syllable became lengthened and was afterwards levelled out into the singular; so that the preterites with ee in this and the fifth class are really generalized plural stem-forms. The old pret. pl. form with ō (ō) would have become i in the dialect, § 130. On the other hand, *brak* is the old sing. form. The same is also the case with the a in the pret. of verbs of Class V.

**Class V.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Sax.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. North.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. W. ei (§ 87)</td>
<td>neid <em>knead</em></td>
<td>need</td>
<td>nōdn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speik <em>speak</em></td>
<td>speek (spak)</td>
<td></td>
<td>spokn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spreid <em>spread</em></td>
<td>spread</td>
<td></td>
<td>sprodn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treid <em>tread</em></td>
<td>treed</td>
<td></td>
<td>trodn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weiv <em>weave</em></td>
<td>weev</td>
<td></td>
<td>wovm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. W. ei (§ 87)</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eit <em>eat</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>eet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. W. e (§ 88)</td>
<td>a (§ 371)</td>
<td>gat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get <em>get</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>getn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. W. i (§ 77)</td>
<td>a (§ 371)</td>
<td>ga(v)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi(v)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gīn (§ 79)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. *spreid* was a weak verb in OE. (*sprædan*, pret. *sprædde*). The pp. of this sub-division have been formed after the analogy of verbs of the fourth class. The pret. *spak* is very often heard.

2. The pret. *eet* is a new formation made after the analogy of *weiv*, etc. The OE. form sing. *æt*, pl. *æton* would have become *ët* (§130).

4. Instead of *gëin* I have very often heard *gen*, which is no doubt due to the influence of *etn*, *getn*.

§ 373.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Prt. Sg.</th>
<th>Prt. Pl.</th>
<th>P.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Sax.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. North.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. W. i</td>
<td>a (§ 371)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. *bid* invite to a funeral  
2. *hit*  
3. *nit* knit  
4. *sit*  
5. *slit* slit  
6. *spit* spit  
7. *split* split

2. W. i  
3. W. i  
4. *stik* stick

1. *it* (O. Icel. *hittafind*), *nit*, *slit*, *spit*, *split* were originally weak verbs. I have also often heard the weak pret. and pp. *nited*; *bidn* (OE. *beden*, but already ME. *bidden* with *i* from the present), *sitn* (OE. *seten*, but already ME. *siten*).

2. *dig* was formerly weak (ME. *diggen*, *diggede*). The pp. *dug* is difficult to explain. According to Sweet, NE.
Gr. § 1370, the lit. form dug does not occur until towards the end of the Early Modern English period (1500–1650). The pp. dug is also sometimes heard.

3. stik (OE. stician) was originally a weak verb. The pp. stuk may owe its u to the influence of stur, Sweet, NE. Gr. § 1376.

§ 374. To this class also belongs sī (OE. séon) see, pret. soē (§ 63), pp. sīn = Old North. gesēn.

Class VI.

§ 375. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infin.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
<th>P.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OE. a</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. W. a (§ 71)</td>
<td>iu (§ 164)</td>
<td>ee (§ 312, 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak take</td>
<td>tiuk</td>
<td>teen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. W. oe (§ 63)</td>
<td>iu (§ 164 c)</td>
<td>oe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>droe draw</td>
<td>driu</td>
<td>droen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. W. a</td>
<td>ui (§ 163)</td>
<td>ui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand stand</td>
<td>stuid</td>
<td>stuidn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

stuidn has its vowel from the preterite. A weak pret. and pp. staned is not uncommon. I have also heard a pp. studn, the vowel of which seems to be due to the influence of the literary form stood.

§ 376. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infin.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
<th>P.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OE. ēa</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>a(ē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. oe</td>
<td>iu (§ 164 c)</td>
<td>ee (§ 65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slee slay</td>
<td>sliu</td>
<td>sleen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ee of the present is from the past participle. šak shake generally has the weak pret. and pp. šakt; but pret. šiuk (§ 164) and pp. šak are not uncommon. The pp. of fesak forsake is feseen (§ 312, 4).
§ 377.  
**CLASS VII.**  

**Infin.** | **Pret.** | **P. P.**  
---|---|---  
OE. ā | ēo | ā  
W. oe (§ 123) | iu (§ 190) | oe  
blōe blow | bliu | blōen  
kroē crow | kriu | kroēn  
moe mow | miu | moēn  
noē know | niu | noēn  
snoē snow | sniu | snoēn  
sōe sow | siu | soēn  
poē thaw | piu | poēn  
proē throw | priu | proēn  

poē was a weak verb in OE. (pāwian or pāwan); snoē (OE. snāw) is the noun used as a verb, which has formed its pret. and pp. after the analogy of the other verbs of this class.

§ 378.  
**Infin.** | **Pret.** | **P. P.**  
---|---|---  
OE. ō | ēo | ō  
W. ou (§ 166) | iu (§ 190) | ou  
grou grow | griu | groun  

§ 379.  
**Infin.** | **Pret.** | **P. P.**  
---|---|---  
OE. ea(a) | ēo | ea(a)  
W. oe (§ 62) | e (§ 192 a) | oe  
foel fall | fel | foeln  

**B. Weak Verbs.**

§ 380. The weak verbs are best classified according to their formation of the preterite and past participle. We thus distinguish three classes:—1. -ēd, 2. -d, 3. -t.
Paragraphs 381–3 contain a fairly complete list of verbs which either differ from literary English in the preterite and past participle, or are interesting from other points of view. When the pret. or pp. has two forms, the less usual one is enclosed in brackets.

**Class I.**

§ 381. The preterite and past participle generally take -ed when the present ends in -t or -d. But a few verbs with short stem-vowels, whose present ends in -t, have the same form in the pret. and past participle; and a few others with a long stem vowel in the present have a short vowel in the pret. and pp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infin.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
<th>P. P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bend</td>
<td>bended (bent)</td>
<td>bended (bent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bild</td>
<td>belt (bilded)</td>
<td>belt (bilded)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blid</td>
<td>blided (bled)</td>
<td>blided (bled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bluid</td>
<td>bluided</td>
<td>bluided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brid</td>
<td>brace (bred)</td>
<td>brace (bred)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et</td>
<td>et (etd)</td>
<td>et (etn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fid</td>
<td>fided (fed)</td>
<td>fided (fedn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grund</td>
<td>grounded</td>
<td>grounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kest</td>
<td>kested</td>
<td>kested (keth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lied</td>
<td>lied (led)</td>
<td>lied (lede)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melt</td>
<td>melted</td>
<td>melted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>od</td>
<td>obed (eld)</td>
<td>obed (edn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>send</td>
<td>sended (sent)</td>
<td>sended (sent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skrat</td>
<td>skrated</td>
<td>skrated (skratn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spend</td>
<td>spended (spent)</td>
<td>spended (spent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suit</td>
<td>suited</td>
<td>suited (sute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kost</td>
<td>kost (kosted)</td>
<td>kost (kosted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kut</td>
<td>kut</td>
<td>kut (kutn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When I was a boy pret. and pp. forms like bent, bled, led, spent, etc., were hardly ever heard, but through the spread of elementary education they are now much used, especially among the younger generation, and will no doubt in the course of time entirely supplant the other forms. In like manner the strong pp. kesn, putn, fretn, etc., were far more common twenty years ago than they are now.

Forms like let lit, lighted, belt have been formed after the analogy of such pret. as met, red, etc., where the vowel was shortened before the double consonants (e.g. pret. mette) already in ME.

### Class II.

§ 382. The preterite and past participle generally take -d when the present ends in a voiced sound other than -d.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bēn burn</td>
<td>bēnd</td>
<td>bēnd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>briu brew</td>
<td>briud</td>
<td>briud (briun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diēl deal</td>
<td>diēld (delt)</td>
<td>diēld (delt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>driēm dream</td>
<td>driēmd (dremt)</td>
<td>driēmd (dremt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eō hang</td>
<td>eōd</td>
<td>eōd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu hew</td>
<td>eud</td>
<td>eud (eun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fil feel</td>
<td>fīld (felt)</td>
<td>fīld (felt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie(r) hear</td>
<td>iēd</td>
<td>iēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee lay</td>
<td>leēd (leēn)</td>
<td>leēd (leēn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lein lean</td>
<td>leind</td>
<td>leind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>len lend</td>
<td>lend</td>
<td>lend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liēn learn</td>
<td>liēnd</td>
<td>liēnd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liēv leave</td>
<td>liēvd (left)</td>
<td>liēvd (left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lig lie down</td>
<td>ligd</td>
<td>ligd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loiz lose</td>
<td>loizd (lost)</td>
<td>loizd (lost)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miēn mean</td>
<td>miēnd (ment)</td>
<td>miēnd (ment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nīl kneel</td>
<td>nīld (nelt)</td>
<td>nīld (nelt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rīu rue</td>
<td>riūd (riun)</td>
<td>riūd (riun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see say</td>
<td>sed</td>
<td>sed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sel sell</td>
<td>seld</td>
<td>seld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seu sew</td>
<td>seud</td>
<td>seud (seun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siez seize</td>
<td>siezd (seez)</td>
<td>siezd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smel smell</td>
<td>smeld</td>
<td>smeld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spel spell</td>
<td>speld</td>
<td>speld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spil spill</td>
<td>spild</td>
<td>spild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoil spoil</td>
<td>spoild</td>
<td>spoild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>streu strew</td>
<td>streud</td>
<td>streud (streun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swel swell</td>
<td>sweld</td>
<td>sweld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šeēv shave</td>
<td>šeēvd</td>
<td>šeēvd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šeu show</td>
<td>šeud</td>
<td>šeud (šeun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šū shoe</td>
<td>šūd</td>
<td>šūd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tel tell</td>
<td>teld</td>
<td>teld</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Class III.

§ 383. The preterite and past participle generally take t when the present ends in a voiceless consonant other than t.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>help</td>
<td>elpt</td>
<td>elpt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catch</td>
<td>katšt</td>
<td>katšt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creep</td>
<td>kript</td>
<td>kript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiss</td>
<td>kust</td>
<td>kust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reach</td>
<td>reikt</td>
<td>reikt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>slipt</td>
<td>slipt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweep</td>
<td>swipt</td>
<td>swipt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Verbal Endings.**

Present: The first person singular and the whole of the plural generally have no special endings, except when the subject of the sentence is a relative pronoun. See § 395. p. 156. The second and third persons singular end in -ez, -z, -s. -ez is used after the spirants s, z, š, ž, as misez missest, misses, raizez risest, rises, wišez wishest, wishes, sinžez singest, singes; -z after voiced sounds, as weivz weavest, weaves, lenz lendest, lends, duz dost, does; -s after other voiceless sounds, as elps helpest, helps, wēks workest, works, eits eatest, eats.

On the personal endings of the verbs have and be, see §§ 395, 6.

Preterite: The singular and plural of strong verbs have no special endings. The singular and plural of weak verbs end in -ed, -d, -t for all persons. See §§ 380, 385.

Participles: The present participle ends in -in (§§ 276, 385). The past participle of strong verbs ends in vocalic -n after dentals (§ 269), -n after gutturals (§ 271), and -m after labials (§ 270). The past participle of weak verbs ends in -ed, -d, -t. See §§ 381-3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šap shape</td>
<td>šapt</td>
<td>šapt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teitš teach</td>
<td>teitšt (tout)</td>
<td>teitšt (tout)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weš wash</td>
<td>wešt</td>
<td>wešt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīp peep</td>
<td>pept (pīpt)</td>
<td>pept (pīpt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīk seek</td>
<td>sīkt (sout)</td>
<td>sīkt (sout)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĭnk think</td>
<td>ĭout</td>
<td>ĭout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēk work</td>
<td>wēkt (rout)</td>
<td>wēkt (rout)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mak make</td>
<td>meed</td>
<td>meed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Infinitive: The infinitive has no special ending just as in lit. Engl.

Paradigms.

§ 385. The conjugation of *en* hang and *brek* break will serve as models.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>en</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>enz</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><em>enz</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>en</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>en</em></td>
<td><em>en</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>en</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>en</em></td>
<td><em>en</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 386. The future, the perfect tenses, and the passive voice are formed the same as in lit. Engl. The subjunctive mood has entirely gone out of use.
§ 387. TABLE OF TENSES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Indefinite.</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a break</td>
<td>I break</td>
<td>I broke</td>
<td>I shall break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect and Continuous</td>
<td>am breakin</td>
<td>I am breaking</td>
<td>I was breaking</td>
<td>I shall be breaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect.</td>
<td>av bënn</td>
<td>I have broken</td>
<td>I had broken</td>
<td>I shall have broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect and Continuous</td>
<td>að bënn</td>
<td>I had been breaking</td>
<td>as e bënn breaking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—The full conjugation of the auxiliary verbs will be found: shall (§ 391), will (§ 397), be (§ 396), have (§ 395).
§§ 388, 389.] VERBS. 147

C. Minor Groups.

a. Preterite-Presents.

§ 388. In tenses where it has been thought advisable I have added the affirmative and interrogative forms with and without negation. On the various forms assumed by the personal pronouns, see § 350.

1. can.

§ 389. Pres. strong form kan, weak forms ken, kn. Pret. strong form kud, weak kæd. The weak form kn is mostly used in combination with the personal pronouns.

Affirmatively.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai, a, i</td>
<td>wi, we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan or kn</td>
<td>kan or kn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðä, tä, te</td>
<td>ji, je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, e</td>
<td>ðee, ðe, ðe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šü, še į</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pret.

| ai, a, i    | wi, we      |
| kud or kæd | kud or kæd |
| ðä, tä, te | ji, je      |
| i, e        | ðee, ðe, ðe |
| šü, še į    |             |

Affirmatively with not.

Pres.

ai, a, i, kanet or kænt etc.

Pret.

ai, a, i kudnt or kædnet etc.
INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

**Sing.**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kan ai, a, i?</td>
<td>kan wi, we?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; čā, tā, te?</td>
<td>&quot; jī, je?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; ĭ, ē?</td>
<td>&quot; čē, če, če?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; šū, še?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plur.**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kud ai, a, i?</td>
<td>kud wi, we?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interrogatively with **not.**

**Pres**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanet or kānt ai, a, i?</td>
<td>kudnt ai, a, i?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pret.**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kud, ked are used both as an infin. and past part., unless, as is more probable, the use of kud, ked, in such cases, is due to the contamination of two constructions, as a ius te kud or ked diut <em>I used to be able to do it</em>, ad e dunt if id kud (never ked) <em>I would have done it if I had been able.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **dare.**

§ 390. This verb presents no special peculiarities. I shall therefore only give the first person singular of each tense in use. The final t regularly disappears in the pret. before the following negative. A weak form de only occurs in the phrase a de see *I dare say.*

**Present.**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai, a, i dāΣ(r)</td>
<td>ai, a, i dāst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai, a, i dārent</td>
<td>ai, a, i, dōsnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāer ai, i?</td>
<td>dōst ai, i?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dārent ai, i?</td>
<td>dōsnt ai, i?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 391. Present strong form sal, weak sl, s. Pret. strong form sud, weak séd, st.

**AFFIRMATIVELY.**

### Present.

**Sing.**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
ai, a sal \\
aisl, asl \\
ais, as \\
ša sal \\
šasl \\
šaš \\
š sal \\
šl \\
š \\
su, še sal \\
sušl, šesl \\
suš, šes \\
\end{array}
\]

**Plur.**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
wš sal \\
wšsl, wšsl \\
wš, wš \\
ji, je sal \\
jšl, jesl \\
jš, jes \\
šš, šš, šš \\
ššl, ššsl, šššl \\
ššš, ššš, ššš \\
\end{array}
\]

### Pret.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
ai, a, i sud or séd \\
aist, ast \\
ša, tâ, te sud or séd \\
šast \\
i, e sud or séd \\
išt \\
šu, še sud or séd \\
šušt, šešt \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
wš, we sud or séd \\
wšist, wšest \\
ji, je sud or séd \\
jišt, jjest \\
šš, šš, šš \\
ššl, ššsl, šššl \\
ššš, ššš, ššš \\
\end{array}
\]
Affirmatively with not.

Present.

Sing.
ai, a salt
ai, a sânt
aisal, asl net
ais, as net

čă salt or sânt
čâsl, čâs net

i salt, sânt
išl, iš net
šă, še salt or sânt
šăsl, šesl net
šâs, šes net

Plur.
wš, we, salt
wš, we sânt
wisl, wesl net
wis, wes net
ji, je salt or sânt
jîsl, jèsl net
jîs, jès net

Pret.
ai, a sudnt
ai, a sed net
aist, ast net

etc.

wš, we sudnt
wš, we sed net
wîst, west net
e tc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

sal ai, a, i ?
šă, tă, te ?
î, ő ?
šă, še ?

sud ai, a, i ?
šă, tă, te ?
î, ő ?
šă, še ?

Pre t.
sal wi, we ?
ji, je ?
čee, če, če ?

sud wi, we ?
ji, je ?
čee, če, če ?
Interrogatively with not.

Pres.  Pret.
saint, sānt ai, a, i?  sudnt ai, a, i?
etc.      etc.

There is no difference in meaning between the weak forms s, st and sl, sed, but only in usage. The former are never used except in combination with the personal pronouns, as a set bi te-moen I shall have it by to-morrow, ēst e guen if ēd kud they should have gone if they had been able, tmen sl (never s) et the men shall have it, ēi faðe sed gim(e) e feu thy father should give me a few. But the difference in use between s and sl, st and sed in combination with pronouns seems to be due to sentence rhythm.

4. must.

§ 392. To express lit. Engl. must, we have two words which are never confounded in use:

1. Strong form mun, weak mēn which expresses a necessity dependent upon the will of a person, as a mēn get mi wāk duin bi te-nit I must get my work done by to-night, je mēn tel im wen e kumz et as bi bak inā you must tell him when he comes that I shall be back presently, mun i gue wi je? must I go with you?

mun, mēn is sometimes used to express may, can, as ēa mēn pīrk wot te laiks bed ēal e te diut you may think what you like but you will have to do it, mun te stop? may mean either must they stop? or may they stop?

The weak form med (§ 393), which generally means might, is also used as a preterite of mun, as ēu sed te med oēder eit ēat e diu bāt out she said they must either eat that or do without anything.

mun is of Norse origin, O. Icel. inf. mono, later munu
shall, will, pres. sing. mon, later mun, pl. monom, later munum, pret. munda. The verb presents no peculiarities, so that only the first person is given here.

Sing.

ai, a, i mun or men

mum ai, a, i?
munet or muent ai, a, i?

Plur.

wë, we mun or men

mun wë, we?
munet or muent wë, we?

2. For must we use must, which has no weak form, when it implies a logical or natural necessity, as āa must bi e fuli if te pïrks im bân te diut you must be (surely you are) a fool if you think I am going to do it, ŵem et sed ŵat must bi ren i ŵe ied those who said that must be wrong in their heads. In these and similar cases mun, mon is never used. Cp. ŵe mûst kum ŵis wee = Lowland Scotch thay byd cum thys way with ŵe men kum ŵis wee = Lowland Scotch thay mën cum this way; the former implying that there is no other road, the latter that they are under personal restraint to take this road. On the Scotch verbs byd, mën see The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, by Dr. Murray, pp. 217–8.

5. may.

§ 393. Present strong form mee, weak me. Preterite strong form mud, weak med. mud is a new formation made after the analogy of sud should, kud could.

Affirmatively.

Present.

Sing.

ai, a, i mee or me

Plur.

wë, we mee or me

etc.

etc.
§§ 393, 394.VERBS.

Pret.

Sing.
ai, a, i mud or med
etc.

Plur.
wĩ, we mud or med
e tc.

Affirmatively with not.

Pres.
ai, a, i meent
" " " menet
etc.

Pret.
ai a, i mudnt
" " " mudnet
e tc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

Sing.
me ai, a, i?
meen dă, tă, tē?
etc.

Plur.
mee wĩ, we?
etc.

The e of mee regularly disappears before a following vowel (§ 193). After the analogy of me i? may I? me e? may he? I have often heard me we? may we? etc.

Pret.
mud ai, a, i?
etc.

Interrogatively with not.

Pres.
meent ai, a, i?
etc.

Pret.
mudnt ai, a, i?
etc.

6. ought.

§ 394. out remains uninflected for all persons, so that it will be sufficient to give the first person only: ai, a, i out, outnt or outnet. out ai, a, i? outnt ai, a, i?
b. have.


The present forms e, e are regular only before consonants: as e dun inā I shall have done presently, a sed e guen bed fe ñi I should have gone but for thee; but we always say, ai ev em I have them, as et or ev it I shall have it. In combination with the pronouns we now use the v form before consonants, as a or av dun I have done.

The vowel disappears in the weak forms ev, ed when preceded by the nom. of the personal pronouns, av I have, wīv we have, etc. ad sin im I had seen him, but tmen ed sin im the men had seen him. And sometimes the verb disappears altogether, as a faiv on em I have five of them, ñe guen uem they have gone home, ñe stoun em they have stolen them, wi or we fant we have found it; but wi or we fant we found it. See § 249.

The final -z in the second and third persons singular becomes -s before voiceless consonants, as este? hast thou? if tes te diut if thou hast to do it.

**Affirmatively.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai, a, i ev or e</td>
<td>wī we ev or e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiv, av, iv</td>
<td>wīv wev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēa, tā, te ez</td>
<td>į, je ev or e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēaiz, tāz, tez</td>
<td>jīv, jēv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī, e, ez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īz, ez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śū, še ez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śūz, šez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 395.] VERBS. 155

Sing.
ai, a, i, ed } { wĩ, we ed
aid, ad, id } { wĩd, wed
čä, tä te ed } { jǐ, je ed
čäd, täd, tėd } { jíd, jed
ǐ, e, ed } { če, če ed
id, ed } { čeod, čed, čed
šū, še ed } { ėsë, ės ėd
šūd, šed } { ėsëd, ėsēd, ėsed

Infin. ev, e } ev, e }

Present Part. evin
Past „ ed, ed, d.

Affirmatively with not.
Pres.
ai, a, i evnt } { ai, a, i ednt
aiv, av, iv net } { aid, ad, id net
etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Sing.
ev ai, a, i ? e wĩ or we ?
ez čä, es tä or tė ? e jǐ or je ?
ez ī or e ?
es šū, es šė ? } } e čė, če or čė ?
esē ? } }

Plur.
ed ai, a, i ?
etc.
ed wĩ, we ?
etc.
### Interrogatively with *not.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>evnt ai, a, i</td>
<td>ednt ai, a, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural forms of the present, given above, are only used in combination with the personal pronouns, in other cases we use *ez, ez, z, s* (after voiceless consonants) just as in the second and third person singular, as *sem menz bin vari guid te me those men have been very good to me, tladz ez gen me sumet the boys have given me something, uz ets dun se mitš for im we who have done so much for him, ez ćem men sin čo? have those men seen thee? es taplz guen bad? have the apples gone bad?*. The same also applies to the first person, as *its mi ets dunt it is I who have done it, mi ets ed se mitš te baid I who have had so much to endure.*

The endings *-z, -s* for the whole of the singular and plural are now chiefly confined to the verbs *have* and *be* (except the second person singular).

With other verbs we now generally only use these endings in combination with the relative pronoun *et*, as *ćem men diu če wāk vari wil those men do their work very well;* but *ćems tmen et duz če wāk tbest those are the men who do their work the best.* Although this is the normal usage, I have often heard the *-z, -s* forms used under the same circumstances as they are for the verb *have.* In the older stage of the dialect the endings *-z, -s* must have been used for all verbs in the manner they are still used for *have.* Already in OE. the Northern dialects had the plural ending *-as* beside *-ač*, e.g. *bindas* beside *bindač*.

As it may possibly interest some readers to learn how far the plural endings *-z* and *-s* extend, I have examined the Comparative dialect specimens in Ellis, EEPr. v. The
second and sixth sentences contain the point in question. The sentences are: (2) 'Few men die because they are laughed at.' In the dialect specimens this is often rendered as if it were: 'there are few men who die because they are laughed at.' In the statistics given below, this sentence will be referred to as without relative and ending, without relative with ending, with relative and no ending, with relative and ending. The sixth sentence is: (6) 'And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now.'

Western Mid Southern division: at Tedbury with rel. and ending -z; at Ledbury and Much Cowarne without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and endings -s -z; at Eggleton rel. with ending -z. Eastern Mid Southern: at Hamstead Norris without rel. and ending, but (6) rel. without ending; Southampton to Winchester without rel. with ending -z and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Northern Border Southern: at Banbury without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Mid Border Southern: at Handborough rel. and endings -z, -s. Southern Border Southern: no examples. East Southern: at Faversham without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Northern West Southern: at Wellington (West Somerset) (6) with rel. and no ending. South West Southern: at Iddesleigh without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending, the same also in South Devon. Western West Southern: no examples. South and North Western divisions: no examples. West Eastern: at Aylesbury (p. 190) father and mother (= are) lame. Mid Eastern: at Ware without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending, the same also for Mid Bedfordshire and East Haddon. South and North Eastern divisions: no examples. East Eastern: in South Norfolk, East and West Suffolk without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Border Midland (the county of
Lincolnshire): no examples. Southern North Midland: at Stalybridge without rel. with ending -n, and (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Glossop with rel. and ending -n, and (6) with rel. and \( \mathfrak{s} \) along with the pres. part.; at Chapel-en-le-Frith (2 and 6) with rel. and ending -n. Western North Midland: at Skelmersdale (2 and 6) rel. and endings -z, -s; at Westhoughton without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and \( \mathfrak{z} \) along with the pres. part.; at Leyland without rel. with ending -n; at Burnley without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and -s along with the pres. part. Northern North Midland: at Poulton without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and -s; at Goosnargh without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and \( \mathfrak{z} \) along with the pres. part. Eastern North Midland: at Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Rotherham, both in (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s; but at Sheffield without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Western Mid Midland: at Middlewich both (2) and (6) with rel. and ending -n; the same at Shrigley; at Tarporley (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Burslem (6) with rel. and ending -s. Eastern Mid Midland: at Taddington rel. with ending -n, and (6) rel. with ending -s; at Ashford rel. with ending -z, and (6) rel. with \( \mathfrak{z} \) along with the pres. part.; at Winster (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s; at Ashbourne rel. with ending -z, also without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Brampton (2) and (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Repton (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z and -s. East and Western South Midland divisions: no examples. Eastern South Midland: at Cannock Chase without rel. and ending -n, but (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Dudley without rel. with ending -z; at Ashford Chase (2) and (6) with rel. and ending -n, but (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Dudley without rel. with ending -z; at Atherstone (2) and (6) with rel. and no ending, at Waltham without rel. and ending; and (6) with rel. and no
ending. East Northern: at South Ainsty and Holderness without rel. with ending, -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Mid Yorkshire, North Mid Yorkshire, New Malton, Lower Nidderdale, Washburn River, South Cleveland, North East Coast, and Market Weighton, all have (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s. West Northern: at Upper Swaledale, the Upper Mining Dales, Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale, Skipton, and Mid Craven, we have for (6) rel. with ending -s; at Hawes, Kirkby, Lonsdale, Dent, Sedburg, Kendal, Orton, Kirkby Stephen, Crosby Ravensworth, Langwathby, and Keswick, we have the form without rel. with ending -z; but at Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, Coniston, Long Sleeddale, Temple Sowerby, Clifton, Holme Cultram, Carlisle, and Knaresdale without rel. and ending; at Milburn, Ellonby, and Upper Swaledale with rel. and ending -z. All the dialects in this division have for (6) rel. with ending -s except at Coniston, where we have with rel. and no ending. North Northern: at South Shields (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Newcastle and Berwick-upon-Tweed without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. The Lowland division: at Bewcastle, Hawick, Edinburgh, Arbroath, Keith, and Dunrossness without rel. and with ending -z, but (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Stranraer and Wick without rel. and ending, but for (6) with rel. and no ending. The above are the only comparative specimens of the Lowland division given in Ellis. But Dr. Murray, The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, pp. 211–2, states that the plural and first pers. singular without -s are only used when the verb is accompanied by its proper pronoun; when the subject is a noun, adjective, interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause, the verb takes the termination -s in all persons. Dr. Murray informs me that the persons who
supplied Dr. Ellis with the comparative specimens for Stranraer and Wick have given inaccurate versions with regard to the verbal endings. The probability is that Dr. Ellis has misunderstood the versions, because in a note (p. 683) he distinctly says that he took down the two versions hurriedly, and was afraid that some of the finer shades might have escaped him.

c. be.

§ 396. The vowel disappears in the weak forms of the present, and when followed by a consonant the verb disappears altogether in the plural, as wil gue wen tet redi we will go when thou art ready, čer at it egien they are at it again; but če bän uem they are going home, we selin em et oepni e kweet we are selling them at a halfpenny a quart. The -z in the third person becomes -s before and after voiceless consonants, as tbried et te bouts nuen guid the bread which thou boughtest is not good, šes piškin e gu(e)in she is thinking of going.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai, a, i am</td>
<td>{ wi(r), we äe(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aim, am, im</td>
<td>{ wi(r), wə(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čä át, te át</td>
<td>{ jī(r), je äe(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čät, tät, tet</td>
<td>{ jī(r), je(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č iz, e iz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĭ iz, e iz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šū iz, šo iz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šūž, šez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 397.] VERBS. 161

Preter.

Sing. Plur.
ai, a, i wo(r) or wø(r) wi, we wo(r) or wø(r)
etc. etc.

Infin. bì, be
Pres. Part. bì-in
Past ēn

AFFIRMATIVELY WITH not.

Present.

Sing. Plur.
ai, a, i amet { wi, we ānt
ai, am, im net } { wi, we net
čâ, tâ, te āntnt
čät, tät, tet net
í, e iznt
žz, ez net
šû, še iznt
šûz, šez net

Pret. wî, we wornt
ai, a, i wø-net wî, we wø-net
etc. etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.
am ai, a, i? āwî, āwe?
šā, štā, šte? ājī, āje?
izi, izé?
iz šû, še? āše, āše, āše?
### VERBS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wor ai, a, i?</td>
<td>wowĩ, wowe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wosã, wotã, wote?</td>
<td>wojĩ, woje?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wor, ì, e?</td>
<td>wodee, wode, wode?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wosũ, woše?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### INTERROGATIVELY WITH not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amet ai, a, i?</td>
<td>wort ai, a, i?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âtnça, ântã?</td>
<td>wortn ai, a, i?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ânte?</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iznt ì, e?</td>
<td>wortn wĩ, we?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iznt šũ, še?</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In forms like ânt art not, wortn was, were not, the n is vocalic.

The above forms of the present are mostly used in combination with the pronouns, in other cases we generally use ìz, ëz, z, s, cp. § 395, as tkoilz iznt dun jet the coals are not done yet, čez lots on em dän trued there are lots of them down the road, čemz or čem e vari guidnz those are very good ones, tładz ëz or e bän wi je the lads are going with you, čez fouks ets or et er oles grumlin there are people who are always grumbling, mà ets se puéli I who am so poorly, čî ets nout te diu med elp me e bit thou, who hast nothing to do, mightest help me a bit.

### d. will.

§ 397. Present, strong form wil, weak əl which loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns.
Preterite, strong form *wod*, weak forms *wed, ed*, the latter loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns, as *ad len ġet, bed a kānt diu bāt it džust nā* *I would lend thee it*, but I cannot do without it just now, *tladz wed* or *ed fotš it, if je ast em* *the lads would fetch it, if you asked them*. *wod, wed* is used as an infin. in the phrase: *ius te wod* to be formerly wont or willing to do a thing, as *ċe ius te wed elp me nā en ġen* they were formerly wont or willing to help me now and then. *wod* is also in common use as a past participle, a *kud* or *ked e dunt* if *id wod* *I could have done it if I had wished*. But see the end of § 389.

**Affirmatively.**

**Sing.**

| ai, a wil | { wi, we wil |
| ail, al | { wël, wel |
| ġā, tā, te wil | { jī, je wil |
| ġāl, tāl, tēl | { jīl, jēl |
| ĵ, e wil | { ġee, ġe, ġe wil |
| ĵl, el | { ġeel, ġel, ġel |
| šū, še wil | |
| šūl, šel | |

**Plur.**

| ai, a, i wod or wed | { wi, we wod or wed |
| aid, ad, id | { wid, wed |
| ġā, tā, te wod or wed | { jī, je wod or wed |
| ġād, tād, ted | { jīd, jēd |
| ĵ, e wod or wed | { ġee, ġe, ġe wod or wed |
| ĵd, ed | { ġeed, ġed, ġed |
| šū, še wod or wed | |
| šūd, šed | |

**Pret.**

| ai, a, i wod or wed | { wi, we wod or wed |
| aid, ad, id | { wid, wed |
| ġā, tā, te wod or wed | { jī, je wod or wed |
| ġād, tād, ted | { jīd, jēd |
| ĵ, e wod or wed | { ġee, ġe, ġe wod or wed |
| ĵd, ed | { ġeed, ġed, ġed |
| šū, še wod or wed | |
| šūd, šed | |
AFFIRMATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai, a wilnt or wient</td>
<td>wi, we wilnt or wient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pret.

| ai, a, i wodnt | wi, we wodnt |
| aid, ad, id net | wid, wed net |
| etc. | etc. |

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

| wil ai, a, i? | wil wi, we? |
| wil řa, tā, te? | wil jī, jē? |
| wite, wite? | |
| wil ī, e? | wil ēe, ēe, ēe? |
| wil ŕu, ťe? | |

Pret.

| wod ai, a, i? | wod wi, we? |
| etc. | etc. |

INTERROGATIVELY WITH *not*.

Present.

| wilnt, wient ai, a, i? | wilnt, wient wi, we? |
| etc. | etc. |

Pret.

| wodnt ai, a, i? | wodnt wi, we? |
| etc. | etc. |

§ 398. As an independent verb diu has its full conjugation like any other verb. The pret. *did* is used for all
§ 398.] VERBS. 165

persons singular and plural. Present part. diu-in, which has been reformed from the inf., otherwise we should have had *du(i)in (§ 163); past part. duin, dun. Present wit not is duent, dunet, pret. didnt.

When used interrogatively as an auxiliary verb we have diu for the first person singular and for the plural strong form diu, weak forms do, di. When do is used affirmatively as an auxiliary verb it has, of course, no weak forms.

**Present.**

**Affirmatively.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai, a, i diu</td>
<td>wǐ, we diu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭā, tā, te duz</td>
<td>jǐ, je diu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī, e duz</td>
<td>㄃, ㄃, ㄃ diu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㄗā, ㄗe duz</td>
<td>ㄗe, ㄃e, ㄃e diu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interrogatively.**

| diu ai, a, i?  | de or di wǐ, we? |
| duz ㄗā, ㄗa, ㄗe? | de or di jǐ, je? |
| duz ī, e?      | de or di ㄃e, ㄃e, ㄃e? |
| duz ㄗā, ㄗe?   |                  |

The verb do is not used so frequently in asking questions as in lit. Engl.: wot  trầnste, sal we gue? lit. what thinkest thou, shall we go? wod o diut, نبيk ㄃e? would he do it, do you think? See § 249.
APPENDIX.

CHAPTER XI.

Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions.

I. ADVERBS.

§ 399. I. Adverbs of manner and degree: The adverbs of manner mostly end in -li, as adli hardly, oekedli awkwardly; but we have the stress on the suffix in siuél surely, ekuedinlái accordingly.

a how, á-invø(r) old people say ámivø(r) however which seems to have been contaminated with ásemivø(r) howsoever, with the particle sem=the O. Dan. sum, O. Icel. sem; apm (lit. happen), me bi perhaps, nobed lit. not but, only, oles always, omest almost, tiu too, also (instead of tiu we very often use en oel lit. and all, it wer e vari guidn en oel it was a very good one too, aim bän en oel I am going too), vari very, wil well. But when well begins the sentence we use wel just as in lit. Engl., as wel, a niver ied sitš en e þíp i oel mi boen deez well, I never heard such (an) a thing in all my born days; but its oel vari wil it is all very well, ñuz nuen so wil òe-dee she is not very well to-day.

sue, weak form se so. Instead of sue we often use šat, as i we šat mad he was so angry, še we šat week wol še kudnt stand she was so weak that (lit. while) she could not stand.

The adverbs also, thus, why are not used. To express
also we use tiu, en oel, thus is i ðis wee, and why, wot fo(r), wots Þ guen fo(r)? why has he gone?, a duent noe wot ez dun Þat fo(r) I don’t know why he has done that.

Adverbs of place: oniwë(r) anywhere, ie(r) here, ðëð(r), hither, jonde(r) yonder, sumwë(r) somewhere, ðëð(r) (weak forms ðë(r), ðë(r)) there, ðë(r) where.

Adverbs of time: iná bye-and-bye, presently, biná by this time, ive(r) ever, jœstëðë yesterday, jœstëñit last night, jet yet, ná now, nivë(r) never, oft often, sin since, suin soon, te-dee to-day, te-mœøn to-morrow, te-mœøn-tñit to-morrow (the) night, te-nit to-night, ðen then, wen when.

Affirmative and negative particles: ai yes (jës is also used but it is not so common as ai), nee no (nou no has been borrowed from the literary language), nœt not (instead of nœt we often use nœn); cp. § 357.

2. PREPOSITIONS.

§ 400. aftë(r) after, be-fœø(r), œ-fœø(r), œfœ(r) before, be-twin, twïn between, bi, weak be by, be-int behind, bin within, dän down, ð, ev (before vowels) of, ð-bät, bät about, without, ð-bûn, bûn above, ð-gëon, gëon against, ð-ler e along of, on account of, ð-mëø among, ð-ment opposite, ð-said, be-said besides, ð-stied e, stied e instead of, fo(r) for, fre, fre from, in, i in (i is very common before both vowels and consonants), inte, intëv (before vowels), intul into, nië(r) near, nobed except, on (weak form ð) on, of, ouë(r), œvœ(r) over, sin since, te, tev (before vowels), tul to, þru, þre through, from, unde(r) under, up up, wi with, wiðät without.

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 401. The following are the chief conjunctions in addition to those prepositions and adverbs which may be
used as conjunctions: **bed but, be-kos, kos because, en and, et that** (Sat is never used as a conjunction in the dialect), if if, *noēde(r) neither, oēde(r) either, no(r) nor* (after comparatives than, bete ner i pout better than I thought), o(r), e(r) or, *dēe although, wol until, that* (stop wol e kumz stop until he comes, še we Šat badli wol Še pout šed nive mend she was so ill that they thought she would never get better).
SPECIMENS.

It was originally my intention not to give any specimens of the dialect in this volume, but to reserve them for a second which was to contain a complete glossary of such dialect words as are not in use in the Modern literary language, together with extensive specimens of the dialect. With this end in view I have been collecting materials for a great number of years; but various circumstances prevent me from entertaining the hope of being able to publish them for some years to come. I have therefore decided to give a few specimens in the present volume, trusting that they may be found useful to those readers who may wish to make themselves familiar with the dialect. To anyone who takes the trouble to read them I venture to say that they will be found both amusing and instructive.

There is a great quantity of stories and poems printed in the dialect, but as they stand they are practically worthless for the purposes of this book. The transcription is neither accurate nor consistent. All the specimens given here are from printed sources. To number III. I have added the original in order to show the kind of transcription usually employed in such books.

The sources are:—III. (The Yorkshireman's Comic Annual, 1884, pp. 37-38), IV. (ditto, 1885, pp. 14-17), V. (ditto, 1882, pp. 24-26), VI. (Yorkshire Sketches, by William Cudworth, pp. 11-17), VII., VIII., IX. (Dialect and other Poems, by Ben Preston, pp. 31-33, 11-12, i-10).
I.

Comparative Specimen.

See Ellis, EEPr. vol. v. p. 7*. In this and the Dialect Test I have inserted the forms in parentheses in the literary English Specimens in order to facilitate the reading of the dialect versions.

1. "wel, nebo(e(r), ji en im me buo(r) laf et dis niuz e main. ne keez? ots noo'der i e ne die(r).

2. feu men di kos te laf at, wi noe, duent we? wot sed mak om ? its net vari laikli, iz it ?

3. asemive diez e tfaks e tkees, sue dzhust od je din, frend, en bi kwaiet wol iv dun. akio !

4. 'aim siuerr a ied om see—sum e dem fouks et went priu tuol pin fre tfest ezenz,—pat a did, [seef] siuerr i'nif,—

5. et tjuunist sun isen, e gat lad e nain, niu is fado voz et wuns, do(e) it 'wo se kwier en skwiakin, en ad trast im te speik tiriu p oni dee, ai, a 'wod dat.

6. en toud wumen esen l tel oni on je et laf nã, en tel je streit of, tiu, bit mit's boce(r), if jel nobed as e(r), oë ! wient ëe ?—

7. et oni rest shu teld it mi wen i ast e(r), tui e pri taimz oue(r), shu did, en 'shu outnt te bi reč i sitš [en] e point ez dis, wot pink je ?
I.

Comparative Specimen.

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. [at any rate] leastways she told it me when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and she ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think?
8. wel øz a we se(ø)-in, 'śùd tel jø, æ, wiør øn wen šø fan
d'rükø ånd øt šø koelz ør uzbn.

9. šu sweø šø so(ø) im wi ør oøn ín, ligin reit øt ful lenj,
ø tgrund, in iz guid sundø koit, tlois bi d'uør ø tás, dán øt
tkoøør ø jon loin.

10. i we ruørin ø'weø, sez šū, før øl twåld laik ø puøl
bån, ør ø litl las in ø friøt.

11. øn ðat apmd, øz ør øn ø douter-i-loe kom þriu tbak
jád frø inin twet tluez øt te drai ø tweøin déø.

12. wol tketl we boilin fe t'ie, wun faøt brøt sumør
afønuin, nobød ø wik sin kum tneøst ðæzdø.

13. øn, di jø noø? ø rive liønd ne mue ne øis ø ðat
biznes up te tø'dee, øs siuør øz mi neøm z džon øpeød, øn ø
duønt wønt tiø ooøøø(r), øie nã!

14. øn su(ø) am bån uøm te mi suøø(r). guid nìt, øn
duønt bi ø reði te kro(ø) ouø ø bødi øgiøn, wen ø toøks ø
øis ðat ø tuøøø(r).

15. its ø week fuøø øt preøts båt riøzn. øn ðats mai last
wød. guid bai.
8. Well as I was saying, she would tell you, how, where, and when she found the drunken [hound] that she calls her husband.

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

10. He was [roaring] whining away, says she, for all the world like a [poorly barn] sick child, or a little [lass] girl in a fret.

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

12. While the kettle was boiling for [the] tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week [since] ago come next Thursday.

13. And, do you know? I never learned [no] any more [nor] than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!

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

15. It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good bye.
II.

Dialect Test.

See Ellis, p. 8*, and compare the version given below with the one in Ellis (p. 389), which contains several strange mistakes both in the version and the notes to it. If his rendering of the dialect test of other dialect speakers is as inaccurate as that of the Windhill dialect, the value of these tests for phonetic and philological purposes is not very great. The classified word-list (pp. 391-4) also contains many mistakes. The only way in which I can account for these inaccuracies is partly through the hurried manner in which the dial. test and classified word-list were taken down and partly through their not having been revised.

1. su(ə) a see meəts, jə sī nā ət im reit ə'bāt ət litl las kumin frə tskuiə jondə(r).

2. ŕuz gu(ə)-in dān truəd ɕiə priu tred geət ə tleət and said ə tweə.

3. siuər ɹinif, tbān z guən streit up tə d'uer ə tren əs,

4. wiə ʃl tʃons tə find ət druŋkə diəf wiznd feə (more commonly tʃap) ə tneəm ə ʃomes.

5. wi oəl no(ə) im vari wil.

6. wıənt toud tʃap suin teəts ə nət tə diu it əgiən, pue piə!

7. liuk! iznt it triu?
II.

*Dialect Test.*

1. So I say, mates, you see now that I am right about that little [lass] girl coming from the school yonder.

2. She is going down the road there through the red gate on the left hand side of the way.

3. Sure enough, the [barn] child has gone straight up to the door of the wrong house,

4. where she will chance to find that drunken deaf [wizzened] shrivelled fellow of the name of Thomas.

5. We all know him very well.

6. Won't the old chap soon teach her not to do it again, poor thing!

7. Look! Isn't it true?
III.

**TBA T L'UEZ LAINZ.**

ai, Grees, las, it wər oəl ouər ə bit əv ə tluəs kuəd. am net wun ə tsue tə guə peilin up ən dən din ən fəuk ouə(r), əz ə riul; əna noez əsat. wot əi wənt is pləs ən kwaiətnəs, bəd if fəuk wiənt let mə ev ət [or et], al mak əm sit up fət, əz oni wunəm əwod ət əd ər əən wəə tə mak i twəld, ən ə lot ə bənz tə mak ən mend fo(r), nıve nəem ə uzbo ət nıve blakliədəd ə greeət ə weəst ə winde sin wed wə wo(r). əna noez əz wil əz əi noə wot ə ət wiəsin ai ev ivri wiək—ə lot ə muki smoks ən skəts, ət ə mə boil ən bete boil, ən ən ə bi niəli əz əd əz wən jə bə'gan. əd duənt koəl it tɡriəzi miən fə nəut. tiuədə z ələs ən əi weəsin deə fə diəz siəks jiə bak ə muə(r). a ələs put t'luəs tə stı̊p tnət əfəue(r), ən get up ət faiv ətloık i tmoə nin, əfəue Ben ən əbənz guəz tə əə wək, ən gets tsetpən əgeət, ən z əvri tˈlat åt suin afə brekfsəs taim, if əzə ə guid druft, ər if əz wən ən məu ənər ənuəør ət maks Ben liuk blak its ə lot ə tluəz irin ə'bət.

Dats bin mai we(o) ə gu(o)in on, ən suə noən it əz wil əz iv noən it miən. wol əs apmd wi wər əz guid neəbxəz əz nɪd əbi. wi mud frəts ə bit nəə ən ən əuə tbənz—fə sat ən ə əz iz ə reit təæstril əv ə las, ən əz Dzəni sum reə slaps sumtaiəmz—bəd wiv niver ed nə boəə tə miən out wol nə. ən if təl boəiv mə, las, av dun məu fe əsat əən wunən nər if əəd bin mi oən siəta(r). a neg'lektəd mi oən əm tə
III.

T'battle 0' t'tloaze lines.

Ay, Grace, lass, it wor all ovver a bit of a tloaze cord. I'm nut one o' t'soart to go peylin' up an' dahn dingin' fowk ovver, as a rule; thah knaws that. What I want is peace an' quietness, but if fowk weant let me hev it, I'll mak' 'em sit up for it, as onny woman wod 'at hed her awn 5 way to mak' i' t'world, an' a lot o' barns to mak' an' mend for, nivver name a husband 'at nivver blackleeaded a grate or weshed a winda sin' wed we wor. Thah knaws as weel as I knaw what a gurt weshin' I hev ivvery week—a lot o' mucky smocks an' skirts, 'at ye may boil an' better 10 boil, an' then be nearly as bad as when ye began. They don't call it t'greasy miln for nowt. Tuesday's awlus been my weshin' day for these six year back or more. I awlus put t'tloaze to steep t'neet afore, an' get up at five o'clock i' t'mornin', afore Ben an' t'barns goes to ther wark, an' 15 gets t'set-pan agate, an' hez ivvery claht aht sooin after brekfast time, if ther's a good druft, for if ther's one thing more nor another 'at mak's Ben lewk black it's a lot o' tloaze hingin' abaht.

That's been my way o' goin' on, an' shoo's knawn it as 20 weel as I've knawn it mysen. Whol this happen'd we wor as gooid nabors as need be. We mud fratch a bit nah an' then ovver t'barns—for that Susey o' hers is a reyt tay-strill of a lass, an' gives ahr Johnny some rare slaps sometimes—bud we've nivver hed no bother to mean owt whol 25 nah. An' if ta'll believe me, lass, I've done more for that theer woman nor if shoo'd been my awn sister. I ne-
glected my awn hoam to wait on her when shoo wor liggin' in o' t'last barn; I've swilled t'passidge dozens o' times when it's been her turn; an' I wor nivver ageean takkin' care o' t'hahse for her when shoo's wanted to go to t'meetin'. Shoo's a grand un to go to t'meetin', shoo is that; bud I awlus said, an' I'll say ageean, 'at them 'at professes to be so pure an' goooid is awlus t'warst when they come to be reyt reckoned up. I once knew a parson's dowter 'at didn't knaw hah to frame to wesh a pot up, an' shoo could feshan to go to t'chapel ivvery Sunday i' t'week. Bud ye doan't knaw who is sahnd whol ye've bottom'd 'em reyt; an' if onnybody could ha' teld me three week sin' 'at Mary Jaggles wod ha' done as shoo hez done to me, I sud ha' thrawn t'dishelaht i' ther face an' teld 'em they wor noan what they owt to be. But ther's nowt to be said for it. Ther's some fowk 'ud deceive a michaelscowp, they're so deep.

Well, as I wor tellin' tha, I've awlus weshd o' t'Tuesday this monny a year, for I like to go aht a bit of a Monday, when I've gotten 'em ther Sunda' tloaze brushed an' sided away, an' I mak' nowt o' weshin an' bakin' together at t'back end o' t'week, when ye sud be tleanin'. So Tuesday's my day, an' shoo knaws it. Well, a fortnit sin' come yesterday, I gat up at five o'clock, as ushal, an' went at it like a horse whol abaht brekfast time. Then I tewk t'tloaze cord an' thowt I'd be gettin' a toathree things aht. Bud, wod ta believe it? Mary hed goan an' putten her awn cord aht an' gotten it full o' tloaze. I could hardly believe my awn een. I nivver knew her wesh whol Weddinsday afore i' all my life, so I goes up tul her, an' I says, 'What's t'meanin' o' this like?' 'T'meanin' o' what?' shoo says, as innocent as a stuffed mule. 'Didn't ta knaw it wor my weshing mornin'?' I says. 'Happen I did,' shoo says, 'an' happen I didn't, bud I suppose I've as mitch reyt ta hing my tloaze aht as tha hez ta hing thine.' This nettled me; so I says, 'Thah knaws varry weel 'at Tues-
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vari wil et tiuzdə z mai deə, en su(ə) al ʃək əə te get əəm tlahəs əAIN ətə trəud əs suın əs te kan.' 'uə te toəkin 55 təl?' šu sez. 'Ca noez vari wil u(ə) im toəkin təl,' a sez, 'suə ətə s e nə bo÷əə(r).' ʃən su tənəz rənd en šu sez, 'av əə mitəs reit te əis grund en te əat tluəspuəst əə əə ez, en al si əə ʃə fat əəfuar al tak əm dən, suə nə əə noez.' 'al pūl əm dən if te duənt,' a sez. 'if te duəz əəl get əi tokip pūld,' šu 60 sez. 'əə uəl pūl it?' a sez; 'uəl pūl it, MeərI əʒəgləz?' en a went up təl ə te əəl əə a wə nuən fleəd on ə(r), nər oni sitəs laik. 'əəl si əə, šu sez, 'suə get intə təs wı əə.' a wə sum en mad, əa mə bi siuə(r), su(ə) a sez, 'get intə təs əiən, jə oud piə; uə stəvd tkat?' 'uə kudnt əoIl te kip 65 wən?' šu sez. 'uə boild d'ıəstlət up wi təbro?' sez ai. 'uə senz əə bənəz ət i regəz?' sez šu. 'uə z reə i əər iəd?' sez ai. 'da ət, əə oəl bo'lenin əə,' šu sez.

a wornt bən te stand sitəs lenwidəz əə əat oni lənə(r), su(ə) a priu mi kəəd dən en ran intə təs en gat tkəvən 70 naif. ʃən a fluı əət e kuəd wi it in e dəzəfi. əed ad ne suine bo'gun e seəgin wi it ne əə ruəzət at mə wi tloə bruəs en ramz it intə mi feəs, fər oəl it wə kuvəd wi wet en muk. ad sitəs en e muki feəs əə əiəv soə sin te wə boeən. əed a wə nuən bən te bi bet, su(ə) a foəst mi oen lən bruəs, en 75 aftə rubin it i tsludəz i tmidl ə trəed a went en peəntəd ivri reg ət əəd iniən ət wi it. MeərI ʃən foəst ə peəful ə sudz en priu en oùər əə duəstnəz, əed a gat əəpiən ful ə tseəm suət e stuf en let er ev it feər i təeəs. e regeə krəəd əəd getən rənd bi əis təim, en təldəz kəpt siəin ət oəl suəts e lou stuf, en 80 wət əəd e bən təpəət on it oəl a duənt no(ə) if əə Ben ednt apmd te kum uəm təv iz brekəfəs dəzət ʃən.
day is my day, an so I'll thenk tha to get them clahts o' thine aht o' t'road as soon as ta can.' 'Who're ta talkin' tul?' shoo says. 'Thah knaws varry weel who I'm talkin' tul,' I says, 'so let's hev no bother.' Then shoo turns rahnd an' shoo says, 'I've as mitch reyt to this grund an' to that tloaze-post as thah hez, an' I'll see tha fat afore I'll tak' em dahn, so nah thah knaws.' 'I'll pool 'em dahn if ta doesn't,' I says. 'If ta does thah'll get thy toppin' pooled,' shoo says. 'An' who'll pool it?' I says; 'who'll pool it, Mary Jaggles?' an' I went up tul her to show her I wor noan flayed on her, nor onny sitch like. 'Thah'll see who,' shoo says, 'so get into t'hahse wi' tha.' I wor some an' mad, thah may be suar, so I says, 'Get into t'hahse thysen, ye owd thing; who starved t'eat?' 'Who couldn't thoil ta keep one?' shoo says. 'Who boiled t'dishclaht up wi' t'broth?' says I. 'Who sends ther barns aht i regs?' says shoo. 'Who's reng i' ther heead?' says I. 'Thah art, an' all belengin' tha,' shoo says.

I warrant bahn to stand sitch langwidge as that onny longer, so I threw my cord dahn an' ran into t'hahse an' gat t'carvin' knife. Then I flew at her cord wi' it in a jiffy. Bud I'd no sooiner begun o' sawin' wi' it nor shoo rushes at me wi' t'long brush an' rams it into my face, for all it wor covered wi' wet an' muck. I'd sitch a mucky face as thah nivver saw sin' ta wor born. Bud I wor noan bahn to be bet, so I fetched my awn long brush, an' after rubbin' it i' t'sludge i' t'middle o' t'road I went an' painted ivvery reg 'at shoo hed hingin' aht wi' it. Mary then fetched a pailful o' suds an' threw 'em over ahr doorstuns, bud I gat a piggin' full o' t'same soart o' stuff an' let her hev' it fair i' t'face. A reggalar crahd hed gotten rahnd by this time, an' t'lads kept singin' aht all soarts o' low stuff, an' what 'ad ha' been t'upshot on it all I don't knaw if ahr Ben heddant happened to come hoam to his brekfast just then.

'What's up nah?' says Ben; so I at it an' tell'd him,
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'wots up nā?' sez Ben; su(ē) a at it ēn teld im, oł-ðøø še wør ekæør in əwwe laik mad ivri bit ø t'aim. fe wuns Ben tiuk mái said, ēn i tiuk ø tluęz, øn tkued, øn ivripiə džust s5 øz it wo(r), øn bend øm slap on taw ør øn duostnz. øe wør ø bit ø kwaiaetnæs øn fær ø bit, øn a gat mi øn kued ful ø tluęz øt øfue Ben went bak ø'gian tew iz wāk. in ø wail øt aftp(r), ā-ivə(r), a īd ø lafin noiz, su(ē) a popt mi īd øt ø d'uo(r), øn ðiør if toud bīzm ednt guen øn kut milain 90 dān, øn oël mi tluęz øø ligin ø tlu-chief(r). a faięd up øn a went tew ør ās, bēd ēu slamd d'uar i mi fees øn put tlatš dān su(ē) øz i kudnt get in. 'al mak ø peer ø 'dis, je treš!' a sāted priu tkei-oil. 'mak on!' su sāted bak, øn ad øt gu(ē) øn sam mi tluęz up øn weš øm ouer ø'gian. wot ød 95 ø kum ø pas if it ednt tōnd øt ø bi ø wet deze ø kānt tel; bēd it kom dān laik kats øn dogz, øn wi buęp ød ø tdrayı øø tluęz i tās.

wen nīt kom a øø fleed ūd bi ø boni rumpəs, fe Ben øø boillën wi reedż. if oni ø Mēri bānə kom niør āez šu fotšt 100 øm in wi ø tlat(e(r), øn priənt ød kil øm if ivə øə leekt wi øm īnəoz oni muə(r). 'wir œz guid œz ji!' sez ōe Dik. 'bed jəə muδəz ø bad øn; süz bān ø bi teen ø tlokup,' sez Mērir juəist las. īnəoz gat ø sitš øn ø pitš, indíd, wol øø Ben went øn ofed tuəl famli, big øn litl, øt ø feit. ā-ivə(r), 105 Mēri uzbn z ø nais kwaiaet suat øv ø tʃəp, øn øv nout ø tø se(ə) ø'gian ūm, øn i wodnt øəə ømel ø nə mak. øn ūts øt wiv getn tul, øn ø wïs kum øn tneckt tiuzdø øəlœd ønəli noez. bed øs nivə fəgiv ø(r); nivə wol ø liv; tənastı guid-øf-nout! øfter øl øt iv dun for ør øn øol, øn nivə tʃeədž 110 ør ø øəpni pis.

wornt ūst ø nok øt d'uo(r)? a pəut it wo(r). kum in. wel, if it iznt Mēri! øə sez øə pəut it woø wednzø? øn
although shoo wor hectorin' away like mad ivvery bit o' t'time. For once Ben tewk my side, an' he tewk her tloaze, an' t'cord, an' ivverything just as it wor, an' beng'd 'em slap on to her awn doorstuns. Theer wor a bit o' quietness then for a bit, an' I gat my awn cord full o' tloaze aht afore Ben went back agean to his wark. In a while at after, hahivver, I heeard a laughin' noise, so I popt my heead aht o' t'door, an' theer if t'owd besom heddant goan an' cut my line dahn, an' all my tloaze wor liggin' o' t'floor. I fired up an' I went to her hahse, but shoo slammed t'door i' my face an' put t'latch dahn so as I couldn't get in. 'I'll mak tha pay for this, ye tresh!' I sharted throw t'keyhoil. 'Mak' on!' shoo sharted back, an' I hed to go an' sam my tloaze up an' wesh 'em ovver agean. What 'ud hev come to pass if it heddant turned aht to be a wet day I can't tell; bud it com' dahn like cats an' dogs, an' we both hed to dry wer tloaze i' t'ahse.

When neet com' I wor flay'd there'd be a bonny rumpus, for Ben wor boilin' wi' rage. If onny o' Mary's barns com' near ahrs shoo fotched 'em in wi' a clatter, an' threaten'd to kill 'em if ivver they laik't wi' them things onny more. 'We're as gooid as ye!' says ahr Dick. 'Bud yahr mother's a bad un; shoo's bahn to be ta'en to t'lockup,' says Mary's youngest lass. Things gat ta sitch a pitch, indeed, whol ahr Ben went an' offered t'whoal family, big an' little, aht to feyt. Hahivver, Mary's husband's a nice, quiet sort of a chap, an' I've nowt to say agean him, an' he woddant awther mel nor mak'. An' that's what we've getten tul, an' hah we sal com' on t'next Tuesday the Lord oanly knaws. Bud I'se nivver forgive her; nivver whol I live; t'nasty gooid-for-nowt! After all 'at I've done for her an' all, an' nivver charged her a hawpney piece.

Warrant that a knock ot t'door? I thowt it wor. Come in. Well, if it isn't Mary! Thah says thah thowt it wor Weddinsday? An' thah wants to be reyt? So dew I. I don't knaw what we've hed to fall aht abaht; an' I've
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-da wonts te bi reit? sue diu ai. a duent noe wot wew ed
to foal at e-bat; en av džust bin se(e)in et if ine she wær e

115 wumen et i hout out e-bat it we ði. kum in wi ðe. av
bin evin e bit e frendli tšat wi Grees ie(r). tketl z on,
en av e fati keék i tuvm, en a dæe see dez e drop e
Džêmeekê sumwie(r). sit ðe dän, las.
just been sayin' 'at if ivver theer wor a woman 'at I thowt owt abaht it wor thee. Come in wi' tha. I've been hevin' a bit ov a friendly chat wi' Grace here. T'kettle's on, an' I've a fatty cake i' t'oven, an' I dar' say theer's a drop o' Jamaica somewheer. Sit tha dahn, lass.
IV.

TKUKU TLOK.

a we dān et Lidz tuđe wik, en bi-in ređa drai afte liukin rând tān, a apmd te pop intēv e ēēlēs nāt fāe fre tsteiśn, wie ḍe we bān te bi a rafl fēr a kukū tlok. a de see jēl noē wot e kukū tlok iz; ā-ivē(r), its a tlok ets getn 5 e oil i tʃeas ont wier e bād pops āt ivri āēr en šāts ‘kukū.’ ēstiaed e straikin, en šāts wuns ivri oof āēr ez wil. nā it we tseem et ēs rafl ez it iz āt ivri uðē(r)—de wēr oel wontin te bi twine(r). ḍe wē niāl oel jun tʃaps āt wēr ān, en et ēbāt sevm ətlok əe be-gan ē mustrin tegeđe(r). wol 10 ḍe wē wœtstin əi fēr om oel tānin up, ḍe kēd took ə nout nobēd ēs kukū tlok. ‘am siuër ai sl win it,’ sed Ned ə oud Bilz. ‘ţal nēt win ēs,’ sed Kraka(r). ‘av nēt bîn in ə rafl jēt bōd wot iv wun.’ ‘ţat tlok l bi ‘main tēnēt, ēr ēls am tʃet,’ sed Dżim Tanə(r). ‘ə dîel on jēl ēnd jōsenz 15 mis-teen,’ sed jūn Stroēberi, kos av kum pri mail ə pēpēs te fotš it.’ t‘aim kom āt last for om tē sak, ēn if jêd nobēd sin om ēnīn on tʃebl te si wot numez wē tānd up, jēd aktli ə jōut ḍe wē bān tə swol-ə tbeesin. trafl wēr ouär āt last, ən Bili Mušrēm wē di-kleed te bi twine(r). wēn (ə)levm 20 ņtlok kom, tlanloēd teld om it wē taim te bi skiftn, sē Bili gat is tlok om went uam. nā Bili didn’t no(ə) āt it wēr ə kukū tlok, ən id nīo sin wun əfue(r), su(ə) it koedz im ə dîel ə trubl, az al tel ja ān a bit ‘sə ə, Dżin wot iv brout sə,’ i sed te twaif, az i tlapit t’lok on tʃebl wen ə gat uam. 25 ‘wîer es ā te getn ņat priu, Bili?’ šu sed. ‘av wun it,’ sed Bili. ‘ai, its ə boni en. av nīo sin wun laik ņat əfue(r). bōd let s bi šapin ə bed, Bili, fēr its getin lat.’ ‘al in t’lok
up o'fuor i gua,' sed Bili, az a went for a neal on tamo(r).
after ad un it up o'gian tweeal, en set tpendlem wegin, de
gent te bed; bed sed nuan bin in moni minits o'fuo de ied 30
sumet sät 'kukü!' 'wot de eement s dat?' sed Bili.
'nee, ai känt tel,' sed Džini. 'am siuær a ied sumdi sät
kukü,' sed Bili. 'suè did ai, Bili,' sed twaif. Bili gat up,
strak a lit, ën went dän-tsteex. i liukt eel up en dän,
be'iant d'uez, inte tkubed ën tkoil oil, bed ked find nout, 35
su(e) i went en into bed o'gian. in a bit i ied 'kukü'
twelv taimz. 'io te, Džini,' i sed, 'sats pleen inif, bi
gum!' on dzumpt ët ë bed, strak a lit, ran dän-tsteex, gat
od a truækær en bøgan te unt up en dän o'gian. 'a koo sì
nout dän i(e(r), Džini,' i sed, afor liukin up en dän fer o'bát 40
ten minits, 'dżust fil if ëoz onibodi unde tbed.' 'nees, bi
gum, Bili; brin tlit on kum on liuk fe ëisen.' 'sät nuen
fleed, ë to?' sed Bili, be'iginin te bi fritnd isen, en di'dGINin
wol ë këd adli od tkani i tistik. 'nees, am not ë bit fleed,
'ë sed, 'bed av ied fouk se(e) ët twelv ë'tloek ët nît s t'ai'm 45
et bogadz be'gin te nok o'bát, en its dżust o'bát twelv nà.'
sät wer inif ë Bili. tkani flopt ët ë tistik, ën i rušt upsteex
en tumld into bed ëz if sumdi wer afer im. 'oo, mëda(r)!' skriëmd Džini, jënkín Bili od sin sumet. Bili kuvæd iseln
oue tiëd wi t'luëz en krept dàn te tbodm a tbed, id getn 50
so fæe dàn ët wun ëv is fit un ë bit oue tbodm, ën ktitlin
bi-in upsteex en wontin sumet te leek wi, gat od ë Bili tueâ
wi it tloez. 'mëda(r)!' Bili šatëd, ëz i dregd iz leg up.
'jîvz!' skriëmd Džini, ës ëu kuvæd ësen oue tiëd. nøoGë
en am dæst tø for o'bát ten minits. ët last Džini sed, 55
'Bili! Bili!' 'od ëi din las.' 'dus te jënk ñis ës ëz
oëntëd, Bili?' 'am siuær it iz,' sed Bili, 'ën al fitit tfaet jënk
ë munde moonin. a nie bo-lïvëd i bogadz o'fuo(r), bed a koo
be'liv it nà, bo-kos av felt wun.' 'fëlt wun?' sed Džini.
'ai e ëu siuær(r), las.' 'ën wot wor it laik?' ëu sed. 'a känt ëo
tel. it kom ën gat od ë mi tu eo ë bit sin.' Džini flopt oue
tiëd o'gian, ën Bili jënkín ëd sin sumet, flopt oue tiëd tiu.
in a bit, ivrijën bi-in kwaët, Džini popt oë ied ët ë bed
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ẻ'gien. 'Bili, a wiś it we moenin,' şu sed. 'sue diu ai,' 65 sed Bili, az o flopt iz ied ăt. 'am feen ča ied it az wil az mi, oder els ča med apm ĕ pout ad bin driimin.' 'it we nun driimin, Bili, fe noođer on az ođ ad bin o'slip.' če buaj leed lisnin, on ivripin we se kwaįet če kăd ĕt t'lok tikin dănt-steez. 'kukū!' we šatęd ẻgien. 'jonz tseem din ęgien,' 7ć şu sed; 'am sīner its dăn-tsteez. gu(e) on ev o'nuđe liuk.' 'a duent noće wię tkanl iz,' i sed; 'it tumld āt ĕ tșik sumwia(r).' 'wel, itl nuan bi faer of; get up on liuk fot.' Bili gat up, went on iz anų niz, en bęğan grupin o'bāt tľuľ fe tkanl. nā Džini ođ un o' frok on skāts on ĕ neol ĕt 75 t'ōp o tsteez, on Bili apmd ad tūtš ēm wēn on wēr untič fe tkanl, on o' kōm tumlin on im. i džumpt ēt ēd wē sītš fues ēt ē i nokt iz waif āt o tűde said. 'mǭča(r)! āivz!' skriamd Džini, on šu opmd twinde on šatęd 'elp!' o plismen ēt we dzŭst pasin, źińkin sumoć we reć ē tās, 8ć brast d'uer opm ēn went ēn. 'wot s ŕ e diu iǝ(r)?' i sed. 'kan je iś onibodi ɕi(e(r)?' Džini šatęd. 'ă kan i si ē d'āk?' i sed, ez i šuł d'űe ē tśip onibodi freb gu-in āt. 'stop ɕio wol Bili ēt get ē lit,' şu sed, 'kos o'ez o'ez ēivz o' bōgēdi ē tās.' Bili gat o lit, on im on tlismen sietśt buaj upsteez 85 ēn ēn, ēd ēd find nout. 'je ře'gat ē liuk undė ē ëbd, ēn Bili. ë'vee tlismen ēnt upsteez, ēn Bili ēn waif kret contempt ēm. nout wē fun undė ībd, sūa tlismen ēn ēt o' must ē bin mis'teen. wol o' wēr upsteez źhōd šatęd 'kuku' o'gien. ēn ēm kom tlismen, ēt ē steps ēt wuns, ēn 90 Bili ēn waif kret contempt ēm. o sietśw we ěn mēed ē i vrinićく ēn koën(e(r), īvm undė t'įapot ēn tsōltse(en(r), bēd nout wē fun. 'šes sumoć kwįer o'bāt ɕis,' sed tlismen. 'šes sumoć vari kwie(r), Džini sed. 'ē je īvor ied sítś dinz o'zem ēn ītās ęfuo(r)?' tlismen ēst. 'nivər ęfuo 95 tō'nit,' Džini sed. 'wel,' sed tlismen, bōginin ēt bi ēs fleed o'ooē Bili ē twaiť, ēn gu-in ēz ēit ē sīt, 'as bi rānd ēgien ēn o'bāt ēn āe(r), ēn al liuk īn,' ēd i we ēen ēt get āt, on ēvē nēt sīn ēn ēn. Bili ēn waif kret upsteez ēgien, ēn dzŭst o'čed getn ēn ēd ēt 'kukū' wuns
wel, dis kaps oel et i iwer iad tel on,' sed Bili. 100
its tlast nit i dis as fo mi,' sed Dzini. 'a wodnt stop ier
if deth let me liv rent-fri.' 'its nu(e) ius gu-in dan-tsteez
aqian, iz it, las, wi kn find nout?' 'neo, wi med djust aq
wil stop wie we aer en kip wok wol moenin.' se wisped
to wun en'udu wol tu etlok, en den se ied 'kuku' twais. 105
bi gum, its jonder aqian!' Bili sed, en it oles sanz i tseem
pleas. av e guid maind te sit dan-tstees e bit en si if i kn
find it at.' 'diu, Bili,' su sed. Bili let tknil, krept pratli
dan-tsteoz, en piikt isen i trokin tsea(r), ged i suin fel
eslip. i didnt te thad sat wen it wwr oef past tu, no Dzini 110
noe(r), fe sed guen te slip tiu. Bili woknd djust efte
pr e-tlok, en findin id bin eslip, i dlanst rind tas, ged i soe
nout. in e bit thad ko0 at en sated 'kuku' pr i taimz.
Bili kest iz in up et t'lok wen e ied it fust taim, en den i
gat up tul it wen it sated tsekd taim, en wen it sated 115
thad taim id e guid liuk at it wol it popt in en we sut up.
'oe, av fun de at et last, ev i?' i sed. 'Dzini! Dzini! av
fun tboged at; kum dan en liuk at it.' 'wot iz it, Bili?'
'ne sed. 'its e b0d getn into t'lok,' sed Bili. Dzini kom
dan-tsteoz, en den Bili went te t'lok en traid te opm d'ue 120
wie thad wo(r), ged i kudnt manidz it. 'a de enments ez
it getn dea(r)l?' Dzini sed. 'neo, a kan net tel,' sed Bili.
de bueh traid te get et thad wol oef past pr i, wen it popt at
en sated 'kuku,' en den went in aqian. Bili traid te get
od ont, ged it we te sap for im. 'dat en oud fe8nd raskl, 125
bi gum!' sed Bili, 'b0d sal apm net bi se fleed wen tez bin
ier o de(o) e tu.' 'wel, Bili,' sed twaif, 'a nive niu sit0 en
en fin i mi laif. av ome0 e guid maind te nok it nek at fo
fritin az en kipin az wok w0li oel tna. kil it f0st pin,
en let s e no mue boda w0 wi it.' tlast et i ied e'b0t Bili en is 130
kuku tlok, i we fiksin e f0nt0 for it te drink at on, en e
boks for it te eit at on, esaid e toil wier it kept popin it ied
at.
V.

UA Z TÉ BI TME3ST(R) ?

Dis oz e kwešn et oft kumz up fo dis'kušn, en wen e niuli wed kupl es te dis aid it se sumtainz a loq wail o'báit it. i mi jup deez, wen a we wōkin et tmiln, niuz we brout inte tmekanik šop et Sam Wilman en An Aris wo bān te bi wed es 5 tnekst sunde. Dis niuz we brout in džust o'fue tindzn stopt et brokšes taim, en sue wen wed getn naisli set dān te we moenin miel oud Dik Tsōri sen åt te Sam—'wot, a ges dat bān te bi wed tnekst sunde.' 'wa,' sed Sam, 'am piškin o sumet o tsuet.' 'wel, nā,' sez oud Dik, 'if te mienz te gu(e) on smuidli en bi e api man, duent spoil di waif wi pamprin e(r), az if še wər e slik bān, bēd bōgin te mienz te kari on; if te duznt, šal e te riu. et tvari taim et oud Dik wo givin dis ad'vais te Sam, ø lot ø wed wimin ød gešed rānd An Aris i tweivin šeød, en ŋe sed tev ø(r), 'nā, An, las, 10 wotive te duz, ši øt te stanz up fo di reits; duant gi we e tul im en inš. if te wuns bōginz te nukl unter il mak e kumpliät sleev en drudž on še; its olës thbest wea te bōgin øz we in'tend te kari on.' its oft bin sed øt fouk rekñz nout ø ad'vais unles še gue tev ø loejør en peo siks øn eitpms fot; bēd buęp Sam en An pout tād'vais šed getn we wēp aktin on. rent deez øn wedin deez wil kum øt last, šo lanloedd en braidgriumz pišks še kum on øt ø sneal galėp, en wen tnekst munde moenin kom rānd Sam en An wo man øn waif. 'its siks øtlok bi šis wotš ø šain,' sed 15 Sam, 'a pišk its o'bāit taim te gat up øn let tfaie(r).'</a we džust piškin,' sed An, 'et tād leed reeʃə te loq, get up wi še, šal find sum kinlin i tuvm. 'a mën e źi te get up,' sed Sam; 'es te fo'getn wot te sed jœstəde—didnt te promis
te luv, oner on o'bee? 'am propeed te diu oel i promist,' sed An, 'bed o bodi kant diu ivripin et wuns, al luv on so one se naa, if tl get up on lit tsai(r), on wen tketl boilz sa men koel me dan-tseez on al o'bee de. 'kum, kum,' sed Sam, 'if te jinks te ko traifl wi me i dis wee sal find at di mistak. a as do te diu nout at i kant bak up wi skripte(r), fe sant Pite sez—"waivz, nukl unde te jor uzbnz."' 'duz 35 o?' sed An. 'al be'lliv it wen i si it.' 'den do sl suin si it,' sed Sam, on i banst at o bed on ran dan-tseez in is set. wol e we rumidzin o'bat fe t'-esteem, wont dus Az diu bed nip inte t'lozit, sam up oel iz wate tluez, din oem dan te tbodm at tsteps, bout t'seeme duer i tinsaid, on den krip bak o'egian inte bed. in a bit, Sam in iz seri te get bak, gat wun ov is fit felted in iz dudz, oen fel fored, bumpin iz nuoz o'egian tsap edz o wun at tsteps. dis put im intev o bit ev e pe'un, on wen o gat te tseez ied, on fan d'ue fest, i sweer o gat uap, oeo id bin et t'sapil tnit o'fue(r). 'die lad,' sed 45 An, 'if tes swoen wi t'esteem i di and, a wont bi di for oel tbras i tbeok, dez nuobdi se adnd es te diu bat nobed trif-raf et gets inte tkuet-âs.' 'a te bân te opm d'ue on liuk et dis tekst?' sed Sam. 'al liuk at it, wen te lets me no(e) at tketl z boillin, its nu(e) ius getin up o'fue(r), on An so kuved or iad up i thed tluez on fee kinkt o'gian wi lafin, te jink a sed bafld im; bad wen so ied tâs due gue tul wi o gat ben, it put a bit ev o damper on o moriment. wiorive kan tmadlin bi of tul?' sed su, 'a omost wiis id getn up misen on let tsai(r), its nuo gat dzob, on if id jilded 55 oe wod o bin piess bo'twin ez. wist! a jink a ier is fuit kumin up tsteps. if o pips prin tloek-oil il bi eabl te si me. al rekno te bi o'slip.' seu su lead wi o fees te d'uer on stâted o smuorin laik o peer o blaksmip belosez et od getn o bad koud. in a bit su stâted up on leind on er elbow on o aknd. su ied o soft, perin noiz on nà on den o sând ez if sumat we skratin wud. 'oo die(r),' su sed, 'its nuen im, its nobed tkat et s midles for o drop o milk.' it wo nu(e) ius An trai-in te foel o'slip, su kudnt, sue so ond o'sen on krepid
reit pratli dān tsteaz. oel wər əs koud ən sailnt əz ə tšats əv ə wikdeə. Sam wə nuwəwə te bi sīn, bəd iz wāte dudz wə guən, suə se niu id set of sumwio(r)—bəd wiə(r)? əz samd up tfaio šūl, ʃənkən ʃuə təbəm ə tjād tə tkoil- əil ən fots ə Šūlə ə koilz, net et ə ʃə ʃəut ə lịtin tfaio(r), əə, əu nou, ʃuə cet it suinə(r), bəd ʃuə get oel redi fer im, suə(ə) az ə kəd ev ə bleex in ə minit. bəd, bə-oud! wən ʃə wəntəd tə guə(ə) ət šu ʃuən tə d'uvə wə fest, ən šu kudnt opm it. šu wər ə priznə lοkt up i tās. wən ʃə bουtəd ə bed-rām duerdoən bafld ər uzbn, ʃənkən it wər ə vari guid 75 džuək; bəd wən ʃə wə bafld ən bestəd ə'sen šu kudnt ləf, uhe ʃouk məd apm ə sīn tʃun ont, bəd An didn't—bəd bərəst ət ə ruərin. if ʃəd ed oni wāk tə guə təl ʃuən tə tmln, if ʃə kəd ə getn ət ə tās; bəd šu ed ən wāk, šuə gin up ə liumz, fe Sam əb sed, ʻdəsl nīve guə te tmln ə'gian, əs əs, əz lənə az ə kən kip ə ə. wen ʃə beəpəut ər ə əm wədəz šu rued əde nər ivər ən pūld sum eər of ər ied ən fleə tən tʃuə(r), əz if ʃat, sumə, əd mend məteə. əl ət wuns ʃə beəpəut ər et tnekst due ənəber əəd ə kei at əd opm ənə duə(r), sue wən ʃəd bəpət ər in wi koud wəto(r), šu stətəd ə 85 pundin tfaio bak wi tpuəkə(r). In ə bit tseəbə wumen kom ət ən steed in et twindo te sī wət wər up. ʻam lοkt in,' sed An, ʻə wənt jə tə opm d'uvə ʃi jəo kei.ʻ tseəbə ran uəm fo tkei ən opmd d'uer in ə krək. ʻwotive jər uzbn lok jə in fo(r)?ʻ sed tseəbə(r). ʻwa,ʻ sed An, trai-in te ləf, it 90 simz id fəgetn ma, it iznt twenti fouer əsə jət sīn wi wə tīd te'geə(r), ən ə man kānt get inu niu wէəq oel at wuns. a de se(ə) it əd tliən slipt iz maind ət i əd ə waif, suə(ə) iz lokt d'uer ən teen tkei in is pokit əz iuzl. Samə ə ʃəp ət bodəz iz ied ə guid bit wi tšepetiuəl muəsən. ən əv əm nən im 95 set of te trump wi tfaio šūl in iz ənd ən ən kum sliŋkin bak fo twota kit. puər An sed oel əs in ə məri of-and wər ət əd ə disəved tvari oud lad isen, bəd it didn't blind twuəmət et livd tnekst due(r). əs še went bak tev ər oen əs šu sed, lou dān, ʻʃat wumen z bin ruərin, ʃəz ə frats ən bi 100 nə.ʼ wəl, a diu ʃipək ət ʃat ədə wə tloəist, dri-ist, ən muest
SPECIMENS.

o'bak o tkitšin duə(r). in o bit Sam kom in, bəd nat drukə, i we souber i'niʃ en soəfl i'niʃ. i sat im dən i təm tʃeər en liukt rənd. tʃaiəsaid we wəm en bɾit en təidi, e nais suə 140 we redi, is slıpəz leen bi tʃɛnda(r), ivriʃə dun fər is kumfət et wəmən kud diu. i leind bak in is tʃeər en ʃu kəd si t'ıez wun aftə ənuəə run sloəli dən is feəs. in o bit An ventəd te kum ət en sed pitiʃəl, 'Sam!' i tənd iz iəd, iz legz pəsəd, en i eld ət iz əməz. i les nəə ə tik-tak še we 145 siotəd on iz ni, wi ər əməz rənd iz nek, sobin əz if ər ət əd brek. aftə ʃət əə we nıve nout sed es te 'uə z te bi tmeəstə(r)'; buəp sed 'luv sl bi tmeəstə(r)', en ʃat satld it.
VI.

AN OUD BOIZ REKALEKŠNZ.

‘tänd fiti!’ bi tmeżg, béd its taim te bi liukin ränd tkœnez nã, en nue mis’tak. džust ø bit loxor en as bi wun ø ñem lenki tšaps bāt suin, øn stokinz iøv se mitš te big, øt Wiliem toëks e’bat i tplee. béd a nuen laik it, øn ñat s flat. wen ø tšap kumz te ñat, wot kumz tev im? wa, iz 5 nokt ø’bat ñriu pile te puëst, en tmuëst øt fouk se(e) on im iz—‘ai, puø oud tšap, is sin iz best deëz.’ its tšiefl, kum-fetin took iz ñat for ø tšap øt s muîld en broïld, øn duïn iz best te kïp bodi en soul te’geðø(r), en apm ried ø lot ø juc ønz te elp te kari on twëlïg biznes ø twâld. after øl its 10 laik stopin øt ø guid beotin şop wen ø tšap s reikt iz øf sentri, øz it giz im ø tšons ø samin isen te’geðø laik, øn makín ø dženrol balens up ø øl iz dun øn left undun. a wunder ø moni on øz 1 bi øebl te stand it en kum of wi ø balens ø treït said! am fit te pink øez nobød iør øn Øie wun. 15 øs fe misen, al tak tult en mak ø buënø ø’bât it—av bin ø reglo raskl Øriu tʃøst wik a ø boen. mi muøø ø sed sue moni ø taim, su(e) it mun bi triu. a-iver a këd feñ te liuk ør it fees afte t’aimz ñes told me ñat, a kanet imadžin, øn am nuen bán te dis’piut it, net ai. Øez moni jätzn mue bin 20 teld tseêm teel. su(e) as nuen bi bát kumpni. béd lievin džuœkin ø’said, a riøli øn onistli be’liv a wer ø raskl i mi jur deëz. tnumør ø kitlinz iv protld, dukis iv traid te mak piek, donkiz teelz iv prikt, prøsâvz iv stoun, tluës-kuëdz iv snikt, windez iv brokø, fati-keeks iv etn, øn miseñmiønez 25 bät numør øt ød ø bin ø enin džob i toud feñnd taimz wen enin we feñnebl. øl Øiez kraimz øn moni mue raiz up

O 2
SPECIMENS.

laiq guests kundød bi ðem tū wød—'tənd fiti.' a mēe bi pout ə braznt ənd, bēd ðes sum mē mi triks al bi end if əm sori fo nā! a wodnt giv ə tos fər ə junčsər ət etzn ə spāk ə divlri ə-bāt im. wot if ə duz galəp ərju ə siut ə tū ə tluəz ə jia(r). ad reaðə peə fər ə siut ə kuaedroi nor ə wudn ən oni taim. əe wər ə trik a wuns pleəd toud skuil misis, oud Mali Begstə wi koasley ə(r). ə reər oud las we Mali i d'eez be-fue skuil buedz ən bued skuilz we pout on. əu wər ə'bāt təap əv ə beəl ə botni, wi ə fees laik ə raizin sun stikin ət ə t'op; litl fat ämz, ən anz əz big əz ə sūldər ə mutn. əu ked noədə ríd no rait, bēd ət didnt mətər i ðem deez. əu 'wor eəbl tə beək avə-keek, ā-ɪvə(r), ən əat wər ə mue konśikwens tə Mali. wel, wot bətwin beəkən avə-keek ən liukin after ə'bāt twentι bānz, Mali əd ə wāk set. a duənt no(e) ə ʃəd ə getn on, if əe ednt ə ed tə iuz ə pibl i tava-keek biznes. it kom in əndi tə wokn uz jun anz up wi, ən kip əs ərju fratsin. it wər ə bit oəkəd sumtaimz wən Mali əd bin stōrən təpn uət-meil, ən sudnli snigd tpibl ət tə gi sum on əz ə swiləker on tsaid ə tfeəs. tend las we reaðə fond ə wopin mi, bēd a di-təmind tə e mi rə'vendəz, ən wun de(e) ad ə fain təsons. Mali we dàn ə wun fuit, et reaðə spoild ə woəkin. əe wər ə peər ə kats et toud las we vari fond on, sue wot did in diu bēd tī buęp əə teəlz tə'geər ən in əm oue təbənd wi Mali unər avə-keek. a ənii ʃəd fleər up di-rektli əə soe tkats i əə kwə pə'ziʃn. a ənii tiu et əəd mak streit fe mī wi tpibl, sue di-rektli a so(e) ə kumin a wopt ə sof tətə-keek on tə tʃuə reit i toud las wee, ən dàn 55 əe kom əs flat əz ə flāndə(r). bai gou, wortn əər ə məələk i tmiul-oil oəl in ə mənit. tend wəmən fiuənd ən rould ə-bāt, wi ə ʃət leg stikin up i təə(r); tkats spluted ən əet; təldəz ən ləsəz ran skamperin ət tət ətrit; ən ai wər ə'bāt təfəst on əm, fər a niu wot əd apm if i diint kʊt mi stiks. əe diə(r), əəm oue feənd taimz! əəz nəu ʃiš əsəələkin i əiəz deez! ast laik tə əi təld wi tpluk tə sə̆v sitəs ən ə trik on ə skuil bued misis! wa, id bi əəp iz weit i Dʒiudi Barit umb uz. wel, after id ed ə fəst-reət skuilin, sitəs əz ladz
gat i ñem deez, a wé put prentis tév a gruñes(r). ná, a duent no(e) e mue trai-in sitiweešn fer e lad wi e weeknes fe swit é sig stuf nér evin trun év a gruñes šop—šat iz, wol e gets e regle siknor en ñen il wiš isen et tnoj9 pouł, a sum sitš spot wie ñe sák ais-šaklz fe ñe foënuin drinkin. litl Nati Belše we mi meëste(r), en a wé wot ñe kool e induce prentis, wíts ment nout bed wák, de(e) in on de(e) ät, a sleëvën ñwee tü ; ø ëri nits be-said, wen ñe wer out te diu i wei-in punz ø siuger en penëps ø suëp, en sitš laik. a didnt sé mitš kee fe šat et fest, kos ad e fain tšons e pitšin inte figz en reezinz, en siuge kandi, en trafíz ø šat suet, bed, bi gou, šat suet ø pïn duzt last fer ivø(r). its kapin a suìn swit stuf gets æz 75 biter æz goel wen ø tšap ez is ful swic at it. aï imadžin its ø-bát tseem wi wot ñë kool tplezęz ø ñis wäld i dženrel. a-ìver it tiuk ø bit ø taim te brin me te tstoëleisn point, apm ø bit Lone nor it ød ø dun sum ladz, en bèfuer it did ad reësør ø kwïer ød'-vento(r). mi misis wer ø bit øv ø ño skriu, en këd ødli poi me irnif te eit, su(e) a tiuk it ät i siuge kandi ør out øt i laikt i tšop, en nout bed reit, noøšø(r). a iz ø grou-in lad te praiw bát džok wel, it apmd wun sunde tmœnin øt i felt øøl pekiš afe mi brekšës, en ad etn ivri moøl up øt tout las put øt. a æs dësnt as fe ne muer ør elts ast ø getn ø fli i mi ier-oil. ad getn dönd redi fe tšapil, fe tout las we vari petikler ø-bát me bi-in reit brout up, ŋu sed, if še did pinš me i vitlz. i ñem deez ladz laik mi wee beës-kaps wi taslz on, on rând krimp koløj, en al stand it a wer æs fain æz onibodi mi saiz, ø bed wit s šat wen ø tšap s pinšt in iz džok. wel, it ø we getin vari niø tšapil taim, ø a niu ø sed ø te meetš i tfrunt ø Nati øn twaif, bed if jël bèlîv me, ad šat kreevin i mi insaid a këd øv etn ø bit ø rainosøres, aid øn oel. sue Wort did i diu bed nip inte tšop te get sumet te lain mi stumek øs wol dine taim. a niu ad ñe biznes ñier ø sundëz, bed unø(r), ñe see, iz ø tšap ñoen, en bi gou its triu. wel, a ednt bin i tšop ø mïnit wen i ied tmsis siçin øt—’Džosiue! Džosiue!’ šat øv mi neem, en tout las ø sikin me. bed
100 a we nuen ban te liw bat sumet, su(e) a seez od ev e saiv e unikeek et toud las ius te mak up te sel—reit swit stuf it wo(r)—slapt it inte mi beles-kap at e tsit, en gat te d'ue dzhust es tmisis we b'ginin te bel at 'D'zosiue!' o'gi'en. su(e) of wi set te t'sapil. ee, die(r)!

105 we d'at. it we reed'ar e w'am moenin en a we swi'etin laik e brok fe fie toud las sed so'pekt sumet. a dents tak mi kap of, kos a we woekin dzhust i tfrunt e buetk tmeester en tmisis, bed it wer e roki rued te Dzoedn, we d'at woek! ez a w'am up a ked fil tunikeek ste'rin e mi iad ez if it we wik, bed on a med gue. et last wi gat te tpri'tiv sop, en ef kues a ed te dof mi beles-kap. wel, wot wi twam moenin en mi swi'etin, tunikeek we stuk fest on t'op e mi ied, en we b'ginin te swiel d'an tsaidz e mi fees te d'at de'gr'ii wol ad e unikeek wig en nue mistak. a wient tel

110 oel id te undegue priu d'at d'zob, bed a bleem tmisis fer it oel i net findin me d'zok i'nf. av stoun moni e anfi e figz, en reezinz, en pinz e d'at suet, if de koel it ste'lin, bed ai due'nt wen e grou-in lad eznt i'nf grub gin im, after iz adld it ez ai did wi Nati Bel'se(r). ee wel; a diez la'dis teelz kum
tev e bodiz maind; en a nobed men'sn em te seu et ladz—rasklz ez de ae(r)—ant sue wi'dat koez sum'taimz. deu nue t'u weez e'bat it; moni on em ed bi vari difrnt if de we reit duin tul. am pin'kin deu sum ev uz oud boiz ev e lot te anse for i d'at biznes. bed a daren't gu(e) on e bit lone(r),

115 deu its kapin wot e lot e pinz duz kum in'tev e t'saps ied wol is smukin e paip en pin'kin e'bat bi-in tand fifti.
VII.

TOUD SĀM TIUN.

sum kouks wāmd mi nīz wi ōe dul red iēt
wen id swoled mi milk en pobz,
sue tlois up tē tfender a pūld mi iet
en a plantēd mi fit ə tobz.

ën litin mi šōt blak paip, a swuṛ
reit bak i mi oud ām tšē(r),
en a sat wotšin trik əz it reez en un
laik ə spērit i tmīdnīt e(r).

siste Mali en tbānz wēr ə’slip upsteez—
ə ə ōe pīes wi ōat bleešin kriu—
su(ə) a smūkt en a ūbout ū mi wēštēd jiēz,
en ū twāk ət wē jēt tē diu.

əz a liukt ət ūis laif en ət tlaif tē bi,
a sed tē misen, “ōa as!
wi kumfet ūa noeœ ə ken liv ne di,
£e ūas seëvd noeœ soul ne bras.”

ën spai-in oud Seētn ə’straid ə t’lād
ət wēr un ə nder t’sēmē flue(r),
a dubld mi neiv en sed, “āk ə, lad,
al bi didlēd wi ūi ne muœ(r);

if mi sinz bi laik lied, en laik koek mi pēs,
wa ūən nuebdī beđ ət ə ūpeək;
beđ wen twōldz ə wîk oude(r), ūā gənīn kōs,
as e bīn buş̓ tē t’šōt̓ ən tē beək.”
SPECIMENS.

Sen sum minits past oue më, sad en dri, en mi ꜜouts griu ez dàk ez tnît, wen sum drukò oud alz øt ød bin on tspré kom sinin laik mad up tsrif.

wi ñer anz en ñe fit ñe kept bietin t‘aim ez ñer āmz inte tee we flun, ee! en twàdz øv ø godlës øn sili raim tøv øn oud sâm tiun ñe sun.

ai! t‘aimz øt iv dżoind i ñat grand oud ø(r), wen oud frenz øt mi said øe sin, wen mi laif wør ø sunšaini alide, øn ñis wiznd oud wøld øe grin.

i tlít øv ø sun øts loø sin set a si t‘sapil ø P(r)imruøz Brà, en wot frenz øn ø saøøp deø ñier øz met øt fër ivør øø peetød nà.

øe kum øn øe smail øn øwøø øe pas, bed øe olës liev wun i viu— ø puø litl façøløs kuntri las, øt wuns sat i tsincøz piu.

wun kàm sumø nit øz øø senø tståst im ñu liuøt i mi fees reit ād; øø ø lips øø wait øø øør in œø dim wen i dżoind øør i t‘sapil jàd.

øø suø sed tø øø, “Ben, a fil feønt œø il, ña mën gi øø ñi ñm, oud lad;” øø suøwispod sum wàdz øt i þïnk øøn stil, fe øø meœd møø reit pràd øøn dlàd.

su(ø) ø elpt ø øi keø ouø reøl øøn stail, wol œø gat tøv ø geødìn due(r), ñen suø eld møø bi tánd sitø ø loøø, loøø wail— øø a so(ø) øø øløøøv øø müø(r).
wel, cis wald gets as koud en az ad as stil,
en et taimz a fil feen sez died,
fe sed ad te sleev et e lium en wil
fer e moesil e onist bried.

mue ne twenty jie suz bin died en guen,
bet wierive mi lot me bi,
wen tas ez oel wiist en im left eluan,
shu olus kumz bak te mi.

av wiist et id teld e bi tgeedin duer(r)
65
a dip we mi luv en triu,
fer e frenz, pue las, de we feu en puer(r)—
bed nue mate(r), a piyk se niu.

a! if ivor i get te jond pleas ebun,
70
wier i lew i mi ait te bi,
dzust te ier e wuns mue sim sat oud sám tiun
el bi evm eav itseln te mi.
VIII.

TŠOET TAIMER(R).

it we misti en frosti en dák ëz ë buit,
en ën koud jëd ë pitid ë tuëd,
wen i iad të mi ñënkë ën lit litl fuit
pit-patin bë-int më ë truëd.

nä, at faiv ër oëf past, ëv ë koud winte moën,
ad nuë pouts ëv ë kumreëd at ëël,
su(ë) a stuid wol ëë kom up ë bit ëv ë bën,
laik ë pegi-stik eërin ë ñëël.

‘olou, las,’ a sed, ëz a tapt ër ë tkrân,
‘šal bi duin for i trëver ë tkiën;
wot âte, je munki, ën wier âte bën?’
sez ūë, ‘ë šëet taimëë tø miln.’

‘if ñat moëster ë ñain z oni tšilde(r)’ a sed,
‘a sed laik ëm te moëts ët ë ëi bëk;
bed, a ges, if tod leed ën ëë lomëë i bed
ät treëd ëd bëgëën te bi slak.’

‘ai! moëstë,’ ūë sed, ‘av iëd tguvë swër
ät iz meëd nout bi t’rëed fë ëis eëdëz,
en iz oësëz ën karidzëz nips im ëë bee
wol ë ëdli ken ëoil te gi weëdëz.

‘Sen iz bout ën i’stet, ën iz bildin ë ës,
ëë! ën ëkost ont ën moëtl noëz jet;
if ëë pinëi wol ëk wedz wëint peëster ë mës
i ken nobëd dëlust stand on is fit.'
‘i sez férinez latli œ meéd œ gët sprin, 25
en ëe liv on tšopt kabidž en seëm;
su(e) it uinz im, je sí, te šut bras laik œ këm,
en ëen sel i tseëm meëkits wi ëem.

‘if wë duënt wëk fe lëtl, wi muënt wëk et œl,
en mi granfaë sed jëstënët
if it wornt fe tšoët taimëz et tsism œd foël,
en t♣liusëe kum bak inte tstrëit.’

a liukt of ti end et ñat wiznd oud bân,
en a sed, ‘it œpees laik te ëi
et tfaktrë en tmanšn en tmeen œ tkonsän
æz upodn bi midzëz laik ëi.

ier a peëted wi tbân, en a kudnt bëd laf,
ëo(e) a felt nuën ñe mitš et mi ëëz,
fer a pout te misën—its ñ boni kum of
if wë propt bi sitš pilëz œz ëëz.

TŠQET TAIMÈF(R).
IX.

NATERIN NAN.

nue dät jel oel øv iød ø'buat
tepole Belvëdio(r),
ø stati þout bi sum te bi
fre ivri feelin tliø(r).

oel reit øn streit i mak øn şap,
ø moud fe trees ø men:
ø dänreit, upreit, bemup tšap,
øt mitš unlaik misen.

nā, òøe je no(ø) iz nout bød stuan,
i liuks øe grand øn big,
et litti døst je pül iz nuez,
ø lug is twisted wig.

pratli, reit pratli œue tflue(r)
ø tip-ø-tuez je woeøk,
øn od je briøp fe vari øø,
øn wispo wen je toøk.

ëiez ñat ø'bøat im—bøed ø noønt
øt reitli æ te see t—
et maks je ñil øø smool øø þiøz
ø'øønt ø madzistreøt.

jev sin ñat doøt ø muki tlee
ø tñæøs ø Pudence Dueø;
toud madlin z woøn it oel iz laif,
øn fansid it ø nuez.
NATÆRIN NAN.

jond props æz laik æ peer æ teræ
æ Saiksæz, jet, bi tmegz,
wen i we soubær æz æ džudæ
av iæd im koæl æm legs.

su(æ) evm bi preæzd æfæ self konseæt;
wiðæt æt, æ sœød ææ,
wist æet wœøsen wi œel we mit
fœr iœær æn æ deæ.

wen weæsteæz liuks æt tmæbl god,
igoi! æ waid ðæ geæp,
æn wunde wits ðæ feøæu tmœœst—
æ bogœœ ær æn æœp.

æn sum wi envi æn wi spait
get fild æt ðæ at deægrœi
œœd nok iæ nuææ of, if ðæ dœææ,
æ giv im æ blœk ði.

ï sumæ æœææ æ ðæ æ ðænæz
æt fouk æœææ ænuææ ææ ðæ si;
ðæz feæ æœ æœ æœ æœ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ ææ
en tbesta e t∫aps l fínd ðesen
et taimz i tfouti tlas ;
av dubld neiv e'fue tê-dee
et tfuíl i tsimín dlas.

bed twäst e fOUTS et aiv sin jé, 
i wumën ër i man, 
is twëri, neögin, nemin tën 
et pleögd pue naterin Nan.

a went wun sumër àftenuin 
ë sî o puer oud man. 
en ädli ed i däkrd d'ue(r), 
wen twërit ðus bëgan:

'œo! wa! did iv(r)! wot ë triët 
të sî ði fañoz sun ;
kum fôrëd, lad, ën sit ðë dàñ, 
ën al set tketl on.'

'neë, neë, ' a sez, 'am nuen ë ðëm 
et koölz et t'aim bi t'lok, 
en bumps ëm dàñ i tkônë têsë(r), 
en ñluez reit ñd et tâjok.'

çë nuankeët, wi tø od ñi tunë?
il suin bi ior a piñk,
sue, if tø l sit ën lit ñi paip,
al fotës ë suep ë drink.

'oud las,' sez ai, 'ëat ei i buen, 
en reëëë lou i bïf.'
'ai, bân,' sez ñë, 'ëis jër ë tù 
av ed ë diël ë grif.

'am nêt ë wumën ët oft speiks, 
ë sinz fouk duëfl senz,
bëd ai krê tel mi maind te ñi, 
ða noez wot piñz bê-lenz.
NATHRIN NAN.

'øaz nuetist ai nuen liukt se stät,
on ai kør triuli see,
fre tlast bak end ø tjia te nä
av net bin wil ø dea.

'en wot wi siknès, wot wi grif,
am duin øa mee dør-pend—
its bin ø wiëri muïld øn teu,
bød nä it gets nie tend.

'av bout oël tsister øt i ev
ø blak møraine gän;
fouks pînks am reæli of, bød, lad,
am pønkl øt im bân.

wi twäld, øn ivriñin øt s int,
am krost te øat deøgré
øt moni ø taim i d'ee av preød
tø lig me dän øn di.

'wot aiv te tak fre tliøst i täs
øz mue ne fleš køn bie(r);
it iznt dżust ø taim bi tšons,
bød ivri de(ø) i tjia(r).

nuø livin soul øtop ø tiøø
øø traid øz aiv bin traid;
øez nuëbdì bød øø Łœød øn mî
øt noøz wot iv ød te baid.

fre twind i tstmøk, triumetizm,
en teøin peenz i tgiøm,
fre kofs en kouds øn tspain i tbak,
av sufød mætødiøm.

bød nuëbdì pitiz mø ø pînks
am eølin out øt øøl;
tpue sleøv møn tug øn teu wi twäk
wol ivø ñû køø kroøl.
specimens.

'ên Dżoni z tmuoest unfilin briut et ive weer o ied:
i wodnt weg o and o fuit
if ai wer oel bed died.

'î tmidst o oel iv ed te diu
sat rueg we nivë tman
të fotz o koil, o skäer o fleg,
o weš o pot o pan.

'fouk sez äë Sal Î suin bi wed,
bëd tîouts ont tänz mê sik;
ad reëöër in ër up bi tnek,
o si o bërid wik.

'ên if i ūbout o bän o main
we boën te lied mai laif,
a sudnt ënk it wor o sin
të stik o wi mi naïf.

'av ast äë Dżoni twenti taimz
të brim o swip të d'ë(r);
bëd nà ëfuër il speik ëgiëë
al sit i täs en smuë(r):

'ên ën—guid greiëës, wot o wind
kumz wiuwinþriu d'ë snek;
a felt it oel tlast wintë(r), laik
ë witl ët mi nek.

'ëat sinkë paip, tiu, gat stopt wi muk
ë'bën o fotnit sin,
su(o) ivri ëër i d'ëë wi tslops
am treësn ët ën in.

'œë! wen i ënk â aiv bin tret,
en â i teu ën straëv—
të tel ëë tonist triuë, am kapt
të find misëln ë'laiv.
'wen iz bin reakin åt ø tnit,
øt tmeøkit ør øt tfø(r),
sits ñouts øs kum inte mi ied
øz lifød up mi ø(r).

'av ñout, "ai, lad, wen tå kumz uøm,
cål find mø wø bi tnek;"
en øn av mø bi ñout øgïen
øt kued ød apm brek.

'ør els av mutød, "if it wornt
øe dák, øn koud, øn wet,
ad guø tø tnavi ø tø d'am
øn drænd misñøn tø-nít."

'its grïf, lad, nout øt øel bød grïf,
øt weøstøs mø deø bi deø;
søø Søtøn temps mø, køs im week,
tø put misñøn ø-weø.'

toud tøøp ied peet ø wot øø sed
øz i kom tloøpin in,
en ñøtød in ø red feøst reødž,
'od, rot it! od òi diø.'

øn Nan bø-gøn te frop øn fium,
øn fìz laìk botød dënøk;

'wot, øn, òaz entød tåø øgïøn,
øø ofd liuøkin sløøk!

'øø nìvø kumø òëz duøz wiødin
bød øø møøn køø øøn swìø(r),
en strøøv tø brìn møøø teø mi greek
wi brìðin øriz io(r).

'fìø òi øø òain sin wed we wø(r)
av tøøøn nuø(ø) end ø grïf,
en nà øø øøø stamps me unde tfoøt,
øø møøøørøn ruøøø øøn òìf.

P
'dā viln, gi mē wot i brout
Sat de(o) et wi wē wed,
ēn nive muē wi wun laik ści
wil ai set fuit i bed.'

iē d'oudi liftēd tēv ēr īn
ē jīēd ē linin tšek,
ēn sobd ēn ruēd ēn rokt ēsēn,
ēz if ēr āt ēd brek.

ēn ēn śu reēv reit up bi fruits
ē anfl ēv ēr ēθ(r),
ēn fitēd laik ē dī in duk,
ēn śutēd āt ē t'sēθ(r).

'āē! Džoni, run fē d'ōktēθ(r), lad,
a fil a kānt tel ā;'
sez Džoni, 'lit ści paip ə'gīēn
śul kum ə'bāt i-nā.'

bēd betēr ed it bīn fōr im
if id nīē stād ē peg;
mai geētēz! wōt ē poēz i gat
frē Nanz riumatik ēg.

suin, vari suin, śu kom ə'bāt
ēn flun ēn teēr ēn reēv,
i sitś ē we(a) ēs feu kād diu
wi wun fuit i ōē greēv.

ēn at īt went ē tuw ə'gīēn
śat mīnīt śu gat ēz,
'dā viln, ća, ća noez ści weez
brinζ on sitś gōdz az ćiez.

'āē! if tēd straiķ mē stīf ēt wuns,
ō stab mē to mi āt,
ā ēn kād di kontent, fē souk
wēd noo reit wot te āt.
'unfilin briut! unfilin briut!
a nie wæ wil æn stroÆ;
ðez nobæd wun ðɪn tswire mæ ná—
a kan nêt last sê long.

'te stand up fôr ð ɪn ðet s reit
it iznt i mi nêste(r);
ðez fôuk ðet noez i oles wo(r)
ð puð(r), soft, kwaiet kriete(r).

'wun ðɪn ai kñ see, ðf te-nût
mi laif sêd end ðt lies,
av duin mi dêuti ên ðæ noez
av oles strivm fô pës.

'a no(ð), a no(ð), ðet im i tgeist—
ðaz uðer uets te ðreš,
sue, wen im duin fo(r), ðã ñæ wed
jond guid fô nout juñ tres.'

ðen Nan pûld sumêt ât ð d'roo(ð),
wait ðz ð suma tîåd,
sez ai te Džoni, 'wot s ðât ðio(ð)?'
sez Džoni, 'its ð shràd.

'øn kofin kom tiu, bêd a sweð(r)
a wodnt et i tås;
sue wen ñez miuld ðo seuz ðet ðat,
øs kwaiet ðz ð ñãs.'

puð Nan liukt at më wi a liuk
so jondëli ên sad:
'ðal kum te ðberin?' 'jës,' a sed,
'a sal bi vari dlad.'

'ðen bid ði muðð(r), Džoni kraid,
'oñ as ði unkł Ben;
oñ œol ð prëez fë sudn diêp
sl e mibest "ëmen."'

P 2
NOTES.

The (·) denotes that the following syllable has the strong stress, thus asem·ive (I. 3), aim (I. 4). Before beginning the Specimens the reader is advised to read over §§ 249, 260, 341, 350 in the Grammar. In order to facilitate the reading of the Specimens, I have written get up instead of ger up, wot iz it? instead of wor iz it? etc. See § 290.

III.

Line 4, fot for it. 11, jie (§ 337). 17, on forms like we(e) see § 193. 22, die see § 354. 26, tmıtín class meeting, prayer meeting. 34, nuen ( §§ 357, 399). 37, on wel beside will see § 399. 63, sum en mad (lit. some and mad, a very common phrase) very angry. 73, sitš en e (§ 340). 80, on (see page 73 note). 89, bizm (lit. besom) good-for-nothing. 99, øez read æz ours. 100, wi e tlate(r) and at the same time inflicted blows upon them. 101, pipz here used contemptuously of Grace’s children. 106, mel ne mak pleonastic for meddle. 107, ñe (see page 112). 109, on øel (§ 399). 118, Džemeeko Jamaica rum.

IV.

NOTES.

V.

Line 14, tweivin seed the weaving shed. 25, te thou (§ 350). 46, tes thou hast. 56, wist hush! 104, tentri end the end of the passage. 136, like(r) (lit. liquour) drink.

VI.

Line 8, muild en broild struggled hard. 25, snikt cut. 32, wudn on (lit. wooden one) coffin. 42, if se ednt e ed (lit. if she had not have had) if she had not had. This construction only occurs in subordinate sentences, and has probably arisen from contamination with such phrases as, şud or şed e dunt she would have done it; tladz ed e guen the boys would have gone. We generally say ad e lend jet if jed nobed e ast me I would have lent you it, if you had only (have) asked me. Cp. the end of §§ 389, 397. 48, we dàn e wun fuit was down of one foot, i. e. one of her legs was longer than the other. 59, kut mi stiks make myself scarce. 86, e fli i mi ier-oil a box on the ears. 93, ġat, see § 399. 100, seez (§ 382). med (§ 392).

VII.

Line 53, stail is the lit. Engl. form, see § 315. The same is also the case with midżez (VIII. 36).

IX.

After line 200 the following four lines have been inadvertently omitted in our Specimen:—

sez ai, 'a nivē so(ə) e tšap
sə iezifl on fat;
čal siuēlē len e elpin and
tə lift er of e tplat.'
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[The alphabetical order in the Index is:—a, b, d, e, e, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, ś, t, p, š, u, v, w, z, ż.
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aiv hive, 175, 283.
ä-ivø(r) however, 399.
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beli belly, 73.
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