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THE DIALECT OF HACKNESS
(NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE)
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(NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE)

WITH ORIGINAL SPECIMENS, AND A WORD-LIST

BY

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£
THE following Grammar is an attempt to investigate a modern Yorkshire dialect on a scientific plan. It has been a huge task and has presented many difficulties, all of which I do not pretend to have solved. The basis for my investigation has been the Yorkshire dialect of the fourteenth century, not Old English; for in spite of many modern dialect grammarians, no Northern English dialect is derived from Old West Saxon. I have been able to illustrate its development phonetically by Brokesby's *Letter to Ray* (pub. 1691), and by Marshall's *Provincialisms of East Yorkshire* (*Rural Economy*, p. 303 et seq., pub. 1788); and diplomatically by the Yorkshire Dialogues of 1673 and 1684, George Newton Brown's *York Minster Screen* (1833), reprinted by W. W. Skeat in his *Nine Specimens of English Dialects* (1895), and by the dialect poems of John Castillo (1792–1845). The result is, I think, a clear proof of the antiquity of the bulk of the dialect, although, as in all modern English dialects, the vocabulary is blended with words borrowed both from the fashionable spoken language ("Standard English") at various periods, and from adjacent dialects.

The dialect offers many interesting instances of local sound-changes, and I believe the phonology will be of value to all who are interested in the development of the English language.

My chief difficulty in the work was to bridge the gap between Rolle's phonology and the dialect of the eighteenth century. Rolle and Marshall are fairly clear, but there is no exact guide
to the sound-values of the vowels in the seventeenth century dialogues. Harder still is it to fix the changes which the dialect underwent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the absence of dialect grammarians—and it is obvious that the old-time schoolmaster lacked both the will and the need to teach the correct pronunciation of dialects—all description of vowel-development must be largely hypothetical.

When the phonology of modern English dialects has been sufficiently well worked for a comparative grammar of the various groups to be made, our knowledge of the pronunciation of early Modern English, and its dialects, will necessarily be immensely increased. But I do not think this the be-all and end-all of a philological work on an English dialect. A dialect is interesting in itself, and for its peculiar word-forms. An Englishman need not despise the "purer and more historical" dialects of his tongue, "any more than the Greeks despised their own various dialects." I quote from an article on "Classical Education in Modern Yorkshire" by Professor Rhys Roberts (Times Educ. Supt., 7 Jan. 1913). To present an interesting living English dialect, to reveal some of its philological riddles, to trace its ancestry, and, if possible, to create an interest in dialect literature, is the aim of this book.

In conclusion the author gratefully records his debt to his teacher Professor Moorman, to Professor Dibelius of the Kolonial Institut at Hamburg for his friendly inculcation of German thoroughness, and last but not least to Professor Wyld of Liverpool, who, as External Examiner to the University of Leeds, read the original MS., and has since read the proofs of Part I, and made several valuable corrections.

G. H. C.

October 1915.
TO

FREDERICK W. MOORMAN

POET, PHILOLOGIST, AND FRIEND OF YORKSHIRE DIALECTS, THIS WORK IS THANKFULLY DEDICATED BY HIS PUPIL
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E.E.T.S. Early English Text Society's publication.
Prose. Rolle's *Prose Treatises* (ca. 1375).
Rolle. *The Prize of Conscience* (ca. 1350).
Rolle Ps. Rolle's *Psalter* (ca. 1350).
ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

adj. = adjective
adv. = adverb
Angl. = Anglian
Dan. = Danish
dial. = dialect
Fr. = French
gen. = genitive
Germ. = German, Germanic
int. = interjection
It. = Italian
Lat. = Latin
lit. = literally
lit. Eng. = literary English
L.L. = Low Latin
Low G. = Low German
M.Du. = Middle Dutch
M.E. = Middle English
Mod. Eng. = Modern English
N.Fr. = Norman French
N.M.E. = Northern Middle English
O.E. = Old English
O.Fr. = Old French
O.H.G. = Old High German
O.I. = Old Icelandic
O.N. = Old Norse
O.North. = Old Northumbrian
pl. = plural
p.p. = past participle
pret. = preterite
s., subs. = substantive
Scot. = Scotch
sg., sing. = singular
Span. = Spanish
str. = strong verb
Swed. = Swedish
vb. = verb
W.Germ. = West Germanic
wk. = weak verb
W.S. = West Saxon
> = became
< = derived from
*

* denotes a theoretical form
PHONETIC SYMBOLS

The following list of phonetic symbols may be useful:—

\( \cdot \) = the vowel heard in the following words, when in an unemphatic position in a sentence: \( a, \) the, of, and, or in the first syllable of \( \text{alone, aright, across.} \)

\( \cdot \) = 'open' \( o \) in 'broad,' 'fall,' 'corn.'

\( \circ \) = 'close' \( o \) in 'road,' 'foal,' 'cone.'

\( \varepsilon \) = 'open' \( e \) in 'where,' 'hair,' 'their.'

\( \otimes \) = 'close' \( e \) in 'wain,' 'hate,' 'thane.'

\( j \) = \( y \) in literary English 'youth,' 'young,' etc.

\( \eta \) = \( ng \) in 'sing,' 'ring,' etc., or \( n \) before \( k \) in 'drink,' 'sink.'

\( \phi \) = \( sh \) in 'shall,' 'ship,' 'wash,' 'lash,' etc.

\( \psi \) = \( ch \) in 'cheap,' 'choose,' or \( tch \) in 'watch,' 'match.'

\( \theta \) = \( th \) in 'thin,' 'through,' 'lath,' 'with.'

\( \varsigma \) = \( th \) in 'thou,' 'then,' 'this,' 'father.'

\( \chi \) = \( s \) in 'pleasure,' 'measure.'

\( \alpha \) = \( j \) in 'just,' 'judge.'

\((r)\) indicates that \( r \) is silent before a following consonant.

\( : \) after a vowel or consonant denotes length.

\( \cdot \) after a vowel or consonant denotes half-length.

\( ' \) indicates that the following syllable bears the chief stress.

\( \cdot \) under a consonant indicates that the consonant is syllabic.
INTRODUCTION

The dialect which is here set down is that spoken by agriculturists and their labourers on the Wolds and in the Dales of North-Eastern and Eastern Yorkshire. The district where I have heard the dialect lies within the triangular strip between Whitby, Pickering and Filey. Most of my dialect comes from the neighbourhood of Hackness, a small village on the upper reaches of the Derwent, six miles from Scarborough, and agrees, as far as my ear is a judge, with that which I have heard in Staintondale, Fylingdales, Goathland, and Brompton. The fact that this dialect is widespread proves that we have a genuine dialect to consider, and not a local patois.

The growing subdivision of English dialects is to be regretted in the interests of the dialects themselves. For no local patois can survive in literary dress, without the stimulating influence of a standard dialect which is not only spoken, but read by those who speak it. In order to have a living dialect there must be standard ways of writing and speaking it, and not innumerable deviations. East Yorkshire is luckier than the West Riding in this respect, though it is not owing to dialect literature but to this, that it is a land of grass and tilth where the labouring population changes from farm to farm every Martinmas. A Sherburn lad may find himself at Ayton, a man from Hunmanby may hire himself into Harwood Dale. Nearly the whole male labouring population shifts yearly. On any farmstead the half-dozen labourers come from different heaths, and speak the dialect together. This annual out-wandering has happily tended to keep the dialect fairly uniform over large stretches of the North and East Ridings.
The tillers of the soil who speak this dialect dwell in a pleasant upland country broken by woodland and mere, dale and moorland. On such a countryside one would expect peasants as merry as the Bavarians, or as artistic as the Swiss. Far from this, they are to all outward seeming dull and uncreative. They have no music save the melodion or its modern substitute, the gramophone; and little literature beyond the newspaper. Their houses are severely plain—four square walls of avelong stone on which the old-fashioned 'thack' upheld by wooden 'forks' is now replaced by pleasant red tiles. No carved wood nor decorative colour delights the eye. Whitewash is the only ornamentation. Rough, clean and simple like their indwellers, they stand in a land where every prospect pleases, but where scarcely any manifestation of art exists except plaited horses' manes and tails, artificial flowers and flycatchers made of 'seaves,' or of wheatstraws, and wooden picture-frames for texts or lithographs ornamented with 'chats' and acorns. Even their religion has produced no hymnus nor tunes like the melodious harmonies of the Welsh Methodists, or the Manx fishermen, or like the curly Handelian imitations so dear to the chapel-choirs of the West Riding.

Their dialect is like themselves, frosty but kindly. Kindly in its music, its 'ahs' and 'oos,' its 'eas' and 'ows'; kindly in its use of 'lass,' 'missus,' and 'bairn,' and in such hospitality as is expressed by 'lowance' and 'drinkings,' and 'come thy ways in!' and 'Tak hod and sup, lad!' Frosty is it in its naked directness. "Why do you smoke so much? Don't you know that tobacco is merely a deodoriser and not a disinfectant?" said a pious old maid to a labourer engaged in cleansing a cow-house. "Happen thou's reet, missus," was the reply, "but if thou had to grave amang this cow-cazan and muckment, I lay thou wad want a bit o' bacca to slek t' stour, and all." Frosty is its extreme sobriety of expression. The dialect-speaking Yorkshireman has a horror of committing himself. Perhaps some forgotten Puritan teaching lurks here, the spirit which prefers understatement to even a shade more than truth. The dialect has nothing corresponding to the French épouvantable, or ravissant, to the German kolossal, or to the fashionable English dreadful, perfectly sweet, and the
like. Its nay is nay, but its yea is all being well, happen, or may be. Nothing is 'good' or 'smart,' or even 'fair.' It is goodish, smartish, or middling. Swearing is rarely heard. Bon! Bonnel it on't! Deng! are the limits of profanity, but such spadelike words as belly, bitch, stallion, and the like, are used without a blush. Every labourer knows which is t'arse-end of a cart. Frosty too its hatred of diminutives. Although so like lowland Scotch in some respects, it reveals no affection such as is expressed by lassie, mannie, bairnie, or bithe. A lass is a lass, and no more. Except in familiar names such as Billie, Allie, and the like, this the only living diminutive suffix is never used.

Curious is the multiplicity of words denoting rustic qualities and actions. And each word has its own fine shade of meaning which distinguishes it from its fellows. A fool may be sackless, or gaumless, or gawky, or fond, or soft, or daft, or dased. He is a naffhead, a calfhead, a fondhead, a gawvison, a gaupsimon, a lubber, or a fuzock. Is he conceited, he is cruse, chuff, set-up, or trimmed; is he clumsy, he splauders, bawters, stackers, claims, lumbers, or merely lolls about. There is an immense number of verbs denoting 'to chastise.' Here are some of them—bang, bash, bazock, baste, bat, bencil, bounce, bray, bunch, clout, crack, dab, daub, esh, fillip, hammer, hezle, jowl, nail, naup, nevil, pash, plate; plug, punch, skelp, slug, swipe, tan, thresh, trounce, twilt, welt, wallop, whack—and doubtless others. Perhaps they owe their rise to the flytings which usually take place before a fistic battle. "I'll plate thee" must be countered by "And I'll tan thee," and so on, till the limit of vocabulary is reached when, either the parties close, or the interest is felt to be exhausted, and the rivals hie them home in different directions. Almost equally numerous are the verbs which convey the idea of noisy shouting, though roar, bellow, and blubber are nearer tears than beil, steven, mal, youl, and skriek.

It is this power to reveal rustic character which makes dialects worth study. More than all the points of linguistic interest, fascinating as many are—the mutations and variations of vowel sound, the fossilised words of dead and gone generations—it is this illustrative strength which caused great writers like
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Burns and Scott, Barnes and Hardy, Tennyson and George Eliot, to introduce dialect in order to portray the intense realism of local character. If a race is worthy of literary consideration, its characteristics are revealed in its folk-speech. Actions may speak louder than words, but speech defines character surer than action, for action is common to all men, but dialect is the property of the tribe. Hence a study of dialect becomes a study of human nature.

The scientific interest need not be overlooked. When we read old texts and compare with modern English, we find marked differences in vocabulary, pronunciation and syntax. Dialects often contain missing links in the chain of development from the old language to the new, vowels which have become diphthongs or have otherwise changed in quality and quantity, words which once were fashionable but which are now dead in the literary language. When once the development of a dialect's vowel sounds has been traced, it affords great help in estimating the pronunciation of its ancestral Middle English dialect. But after all, these are trivialities. It is the dialect, as vowel-music, as a rich vocabulary of suggestive and forceful words, which matters. And pity 'tis that it is slowly dying. The causes are obvious—school, snobbishness, the rush to the towns, the lack of dialect literature. It is idle to bewail them.

But, however it may stand with other dialects, the East Yorkshire dialect of the Wolds and Dales will not die immediately. It is too firmly rooted in the soil and its tillers. It may alter in character. It will lose some of its northern characteristics and become more like Tennyson's Lincolnshire dialect, but it will still live on, perhaps eventually merely as a broadened form of Northern English with its long vowels ending in an obscure glide. The dialect has developed beside the standard English of parson and squire; and it is evident that when a dialect word falls into oblivion, it will be replaced by one drawn from standard English. This case needs no proof. If proof were needed, one might instance such vowel developments as are seen in [miːn] moon; or [briːd] broad. These words are now felt to be either too uncouth, or to cause confusion with the similar words mean and bread; and are therefore superseded by the literary forms in
their broad provincial dress. Rolle's *wilk* (1340) has fallen and is superseded by the standard *which*; *sike* (such) will share its fate; *weud* (Chaucer's wode) has gone, and *mad* has taken its place; *owther* and *nowther* are retiring in favour of *either* and *neither*. The possessive case is coming back into use, and in time *broth* and *podish* will cease to be grammatical plurals requiring the plural pronoun 'they,' instead of 'it.'

The good old Northern words are dying. The only hope for the dialect now is that it shall live beside the English of the educated, or rather that the educated will condescend to be bilingual. The English of the village school must live and let live. As separate languages the dialects are dead already. The only way to revive interest in dialect, at least so it seems to the writer, is to encourage dialect literature. Only literature, and the word is used wittingly to mean the work of men who can write with "finesse and force," can preserve the beauty and just meanings of the rich and powerful dialect words which the present age is forgetting. A knowledge of etymology and root-meaning is needful, not only to enable one to write a terse and rich dialect diction, but to keep dialect pure from the host of unwarranted colloquialisms, misnamed dialect by the uneducated. Colloquialisms are not dialect, though local glossaries and books on dialect teem with them. Vulgarity is not dialect, though this is a truth which modern writers in dialect do not appear to have grasped. Local familiarity and slang bear the same relation to dialect English as does the dialogue of two patter comedians to literary English. Vulgar idiom is not dialect, it is the debasement of dialect. Dialect exists only where speakers or writers used their native words with deliberate intention and direct meaning. If dialect is not to sink to the banality of local familiar speech, it must be raised by a literature in which dialect is used with truth, vigour, and realism in the representation of homely and domestic scenes.

And now to examine the dialect of Eastern Yorkshire more closely. After an examination of its peculiarities there can be no doubt that it is the descendant of Northumbrian Middle English. The present indicative plural of verbs always ends in *-s*, when the subject is a noun, as in such a sentence as
The present vowel representing Old English ā shows that it was retained into the Middle English period as aː, and not lowered and rounded to the open oː as in midland and southern English. The equivalent of Old English ɔ shows a Middle English variation characteristic of the northern dialects. Northern are sal, sud, wad, and mun for shall, should, would, and must; and the use of at as a relative pronoun. Northern are k and g in such words as sike (such), pik (pitch), kist (chest), kaff (chaff), brig (bridge), rig (ridge), and the like. Minor characteristics are the dialect’s lack of an adjectival possessive case, except that of the possessive pronouns. Its lack of close long ɛ and ɔ, and its love of an obscure glide after long vowels, have given it that rough quality which has won for it the title of “Broad Yorkshire.” The peculiarity that it has no close, or diphthongal, ē or ɔ causes substitution of the open sounds in borrowed words; rotation for instance becomes roːteːəfn, commotion becomes ke’moːfn. Another point of interest is that when a word began with a diphthong, whose first constituent was i or u, the stress shifted from the first constituent to the second, and the first became consonantal. Thus from iabl came jabl (able); læk (O.E. āc) became jak (oak); uːst (M.E. ɔtēs, O.E. ātās) became wuts (oats); and iuk (O.E. hōc) became juk (hook), with a derivative verb, meaning to hook, to pull with a jerk. Perhaps the most curious of its vowel developments is the frequency of iː This sound represents not only M.E. open ē (derived from O.E. ā, ēa, and lengthened ɛ), but also M.E. ā (from O.E. ā and lengthened a), and M.E. close ɔ from O.E. ɔ. This coalescing of six Old English sounds must cause confusion, and is probably one of the reasons for the dialect’s decay. Another Northern idiosyncrasy is that O.E. a, e, and o have not become long in open syllables, as in English, when a suffix containing l, m, n, or r followed. This accounts for the short accented vowel in dialect words like water, ladle, fader, brazen, wesel, hesel, broken, and proven. This independent development of vowel sound, has caused many words to differ which in English are pronounced alike. The dialect distinguishes yard (O.E. geard) from yed (O.E. gerd), three feet; mon (O.E. murnan) mourn, from morn; reet (O.E. riht) right,
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from reit (O.E. writan) to write; steel from steal, tail from tale, wark (O.E. weorc) work (subs.), from work (O.E. wyrcan), to work.

The basis of the dialect is Old English with a strong blend of Scandinavian words. Romance words of more than two syllables are felt to be foreign. The labourer who imagined that felicity was "summut oot o' t' inside of a pig" may be a fiction, but Saxon simplicity and bluntness is still preferred to the polished diction of "book-learning." Like English, the dialect has lost its power of compounding words—Rolle's wanhope (despair) and umlap (envelop) are dead—partly because of a rooted objection to all prefixes whether English or foreign. The modern shortenings 'bacca, 'taty, 'lotment, 'lowance, are perhaps due to the analogy of such old forms as Rolle's liver (deliver), pistel (epistle), pleyn (complain). English is its love of stock comparisons, like "As breet as a bullace," "As fast as a thief in a mill," "As ram as a fox," "As sour as verjuice," "As brant as a hounside," "As croose as Kit's wife"—whoever that husy was? English too is its love of letter-rime in such pairs "rack and ruin," "bold as brass," "thick (friendly) as thieves," "top to toe," "chopping and changing," and the innumerable rest.

The bulk of its vocabulary is English, and many words which the literary language has forgotten still live on. In literary English, the Old English word mōd (mind) has become 'mood'; a similar change in meaning has taken place in the dialect in the synonym hyge, which remains as hig, meaning 'sulks,' bad-temper. Contrarywise, the dialect has preserved the meaning of rig (O.E. hrycgr), our 'ridge,' as back—probably because of the influence of the Scandinavian form hryggr. Old English verbs which survive are remen to remove; steven to shout; chavel to chew; sam to gather; braid to resemble; sweal to gutter; threap to contradict. English are the adjectives dwiny delicate; wankle tottering; brant steep; and the nouns balk a beam; hollin holly; ivin ivy; lop a fleas; neb a beak; trod a path. English too is the use of the verbal infinitive with passive meaning, as t' job's to do for "the work is to be done," and the dialect shows the same freedom as familiar English in its weak forms for the pronouns and prepositions, and the enclitic not, in an unemphatic position in a sentence.
INTRODUCTION

The Scandinavian element is somewhat difficult to distinguish. When the Danes settled in the -bys and -thorpes of East Yorkshire at the end of the ninth century, they found a speech in the Anglian -tons and -hams which differed but little from their own. It is certain that neither race had much difficulty in understanding the other. An enormous number of words were practically identical, and their idiom and syntax were very much alike. Words differed where Scandinavian had ei and au, corresponding to the English long å and é—O.E. stān against steinn (stone); O.E. læs against lauss (loose)—or where Scandinavian had th where English had ð, as in swarth for sward, or a stopped (hard) g where English had a spirant (soft) ĝ, as in drag for draw, egg for ey, give for yive; or sk against English sǣ, as in harsk for harsh, skuttle for shuttle; or a stopped (hard) k instead of a spirant (palatal) ĉ as in kirk for church. Practically the only certain signs of Scandinavian origin in the dialect are the ou (from an earlier au) in loup (leap), lous (loose), etc., and the th in words like garth (yard), swarth (sward).

But though not always apparent, Scandinavian exerted an influence in keeping alive English words; dale and bairn for example might have been ousted by the French valley, and infant, or at least by the English child, had not the Scandinavian cognate and similar words given new life to them in the North of England. The Scandinavian pronunciation superseded the English in word-pairs such as smile snail, give yive, slike such, get yete, skrike shriek, gaum yeme. Doubtless both forms existed side by side for generations, and who shall say what subtle choosing preferred the form now in use in the dialect? Sometimes the English word remains, but with its meaning altered by the corresponding Scandinavian word. The word gift, for instance, as Professor Jespersen points out1, meant a marriage settlement, or a wedding, in Old English; its present meaning, "something given," is due to Scandinavian influence. Plough in Old English meant a measure of land, as the name of an implement pleāf corresponds to the Old Icelandic plögr. Bread was a fragment, dream was joy in Old English, their present meaning is Scandinavian.

1 Growth and Structure of the English Language, p. 69.
The Norsemen appear to have practised agriculture in North East Yorkshire. A great number of nouns denoting objects connected with the farm are Scandinavian, such as the following names of implements: *hesp* (a fastening), *heck* (a hayrack), *skuttle* and *skep* (trenchers), *poke* (sack), *stang* (shaft), and perhaps *wagon* too, *stee* (a ladder); and names of outhouses such as *lathe* (a barn) and *dairy*, with its *sile* for filtering milk, and *ken* for churning its cream. Connected with sheep-breeding are *gavelock* (bar used in making folds), *gimmer* and *hog*, *rig-welte* (lying on the back—of a sheep), and *clip* (to shear); relating to tillage are *mig* (manure), *skuffle* (to harrow); and the plant names, *awn* (of barley) and *kale*. From the Scandinavian, too, come *gilt* (a sow), *whye* (a heifer), *gelding*, and *steg* (a gander). The Danes have left their mark too on the place-names of East Yorkshire, *slack* (valley), *swang*, *ing* (meadow), *keld* (spring), *beck* (brook), *how* (hill), *foss* (waterfall), are Scandinavian words, and will last longer than the rest of the Scandinavian element, for literary English is driving unwritten provincialisms out of the field.

Of the Romance element, there is little to be said. Words like *natur*, *pictur*, *cabbish*, *manish* (manage), *pleashur* (pleasure), *'liver* (deliver), *'plean* (complain), *seär* (sure) are now genuine dialect forms, even though they may represent archaic pronunciations; but for the most part the Romance element in all dialects is borrowed from modern literary English, and needs little consideration in a work on dialects. French and Latin words in English owe their introduction to educated people, and dialect is the speech of the uneducated. Learned words and technical terms must be ruled out at once. At the same time some distinction must be made. It would be absurd, for example, to pretend that words like ‘air,’ or ‘mountain,’ or ‘bacon’ were foreign to the English dialects. And it would be equally absurd to pretend that ‘atmosphere,’ or ‘volcano,’ or ‘caviare’ were native. One general rule is obvious. The speech-feeling of the English calls for words of one or two syllables. It dislikes polysyllabic words. Hence *bus*, *cab*, *lift* (for elevator), *wire* (for telegram). It is not patriotic like the German. It does not deliberately choose English rather than foreign words. It has lost the will to make compound words of native origin for modern things and thoughts. So of our dialect
we can say that it has readily assimilated French words of one or two syllables, when the literary or 'standard' language has made them popular. It still prefers back-end to autumn, dale to valley, sweat to perspiration; but it has perpetuated no Germanisms like meal for flour, swine-flesh for pork, or kinsman for relative; and, because it lost its power of forming verbs with adverbial prefixes such as for-, to-, or-, um-, with-, etc., it has accepted without question the numerous French verbs which superseded English compound verbs in the 'standard' language. To give a complete list would be too long a task. My meaning will be clear from such pairs as escape (O.E. ét-wídan, to 'atwind'), destroy (O.E. for-dó, to 'fordo'), conquer (O.E. ge-wínan, to 'ywin'), pervert (O.E. mis-wídan, to 'miswínd'), obey (O.E. gehiersumian, to be 'hearsome'). We must rule out of the dialect all technical and scientific terms, legal and political jargon, and philosophical abstractions. What remain are divisions of time, such as season, hour, minute; names of plants and their properties, such as salery (celery), carrot, cabbish, pansy, lily, violet, orange, fruit, flower, branch, juice; names of birds and fishes (beast = animal, must be included here), such as heronsew, cock, pigeon, salmon, trout; food, like vittles, flour, pork, beef, bacon, pie, pastry; names of parts of the house, such as table, chair, carpet, chamber; of dress, such as pocket, cap, beat (boot), trousers, front; of kinship, like niece, cousin, parents, uncle, aunt, family; of trade, like 'prentice, clerk, mason, joiner, labourer, partner, hostler; simple medical terms, such as stumak. (vice belly), vein, nerve, digest; many theological terms, such as sanctify, sperit, save, redeem, salvation; and names of qualities, the introduction of which is perhaps partly due to the pulpit, such as passion, temper, power, conscience, remorse, etc. To these must be added a number of verbs of French origin denoting common actions which superseded more cumbersome English verbs in the Middle English period, e.g. bate, beat, catch, chass (chace), claim, close, cover, create, count, deny, depend, fend, form, grant, join, measure, move, nourish, offer, proffer, pay, part, pass, paint, please, press, purge, rule, strain, tend, trace, vex, etc. Such words as these are felt to be English. They come to the lips as naturally as the most commonplace Teutonic word. They are natural to all modern
English dialects. But the literary English language is exceedingly rich. It possesses a large number of dictionary words, only used in writing. The speech-feeling of our dialect, as I believe of all regional English dialects, is to bar out learned words in favour of the simplest term. It is difficult to set limits. Acquaintance with the living dialect is the only true guide. It is better to undervalue the Romance element in the dialect than to overvalue it. We must not be lured into the Serbonian bog of the development of the Romance element in literary English. Simple colloquial talk must be our guide, and will provide enough examples to reveal the phonology of the dialect.
CHAPTER I

THE PHONOLOGY OF THE MODERN DIALECT

The Vowels.

1. The Hackness dialect uses the following vowel sounds:
   
   Short a e i o u e,
   
   Long a: i: o: u:,
   
   Half-Long e: i: u:,
   
   These half-long vowels only occur in combination with an obscure glide as diphthongs: e:ə, i:ə, u:ə.
   
   Diphthongs ai, ei, oi, ou, iu,
   
   Triphthongs sie, iue, oie, cue.
   
   All diphthongs and triphthongs, with the exception of iu [ju:], are ‘falling,’ that is to say the main stress falls on the first component.

2. The customary tone of the dialect is monotonous and dull. The speed of conversation is drawling, but with strong stress on emphatic words, as in standard English. The ‘colour’ of dialect-speakers’ voices is usually harsh and rough. Intonation follows the Midland rather than the Northern fashion. There is no trace of the characteristic final ‘lift’ of the Lowlands of Scotland, or the sing-song of Tyneside. The pitch of intonation does not rise and fall so much as in standard English. Long vowels are very long, and are not so tense as the long vowels of standard English. aː and oː are followed by a very short obscure glide, which is not sufficiently marked to call for representation in phonetic spelling. The short vowels are pure and have relatively the same length as their cognates in standard English. Both long and short vowels are longer before voiced than before voiceless consonants. The

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diphthongs eə, iə, and uə are peculiar. Their first constituents are half long and tense. They represent older and presumably 'pure' long vowels α:, ε:, and ο:, which have been partly shortened owing to the development of a following glide.

**Short.**

3. a mid back lax, like the a in German Mann. Some speakers front this sound to a low front lax retracted, but this is probably due to the influence of standard English. Even in educated speakers the sound is very far from the low front lax ae of standard English, e.g. kæb cab, which sound a Northern Englishman always finds difficult to produce satisfactorily.

bras money; las girl; nasti nasty; jam home; jat gate; tfap chap; tfas chase; vari very; wad would.

4. e mid front lax, like the e in German Fett.

elp to help; efte(r) after; ket carrion; mebi perhaps; skelp to flog; əref to thrash; wef to wash.

5. i high front lax, like the i in English bit. The two vowels in piti pity are alike, except that the former is stressed.

britfiz breeches; find to find; flgd fledged; in to hang; kitlin kitten; stidi steady; wik alive.

6. o mid back lax rounded, like the o in Scotch top, hot, nod, etc. The lips are only slightly rounded. The tongue position is slightly lower than for the o in standard English kout coat, but higher than for the o in hot hot. The muscles are lax.

bon to burn; fotnĩθ fortnight; frozen; moni many; nobet only; sorį sorry; wold world; work to work.

7. u high back lax rounded, like u in German und; but without lip protrusion as in standard English put, butcher. This sound is a pure u. It is never unrounded to e or a.

bud but; muðe(r) mother; mun must; nut not; sud should; sum some; əruf through; uni honey; wud wood.

8. a mid mixed lax unrounded, as in standard English bata butter; or əwei away. It occurs in unaccented syllables, or as a glide vowel in stressed syllables.

jisteda yesterday; ə’li’en alone; ə’wɛ’e away; sakles silly; əme(r) hammer.
Long.

9. \(\text{a:}\) mid back tense unrounded, like the \(\text{a}\) in German \textit{Vater}, or in standard English \textit{father}, but somewhat longer. After this vowel there is a short glide \(\text{a:}'\) which need not be represented in spelling.

\(\text{a:dn}\) to embolden; \(\text{ba:zd}\) to endure; \(\text{ba:li}\) barley; \(\text{ga:θ}\) yard; \(\text{ma:1}\) mile; \(\text{wa:zd}\) wide; \(\text{wa:k}\) (subst.) work.

10. \(\text{i:}\) high front tense, as in standard English \textit{meet} or \textit{meat}. It is usually a diphthong beginning with lax \(\text{i}\) and ending in tense \(\text{j}\), e.g. \textit{mijt} meet, might. The representation \(\text{i:}\) is faithful enough for philological purposes.

\(\text{di:}\) to die; \(\text{fi:ld}\) field; \(\text{id}\) to heed; \(\text{ni:t}\) night; \(\text{ri:t}\) right; \(\text{sti:pl}\) steeple; \(\text{wi:l}\) (adv.) well.

11. \(\text{o:}\) low back tense, slightly rounded, like the long 'open' \(\text{o:}\) in standard English \textit{law}, \textit{sore}. It is followed by a short glide \(\text{o:}'\), which is not sufficiently prominent to require representation in spelling. In emphatic syllables the tongue-position is somewhat higher, but the vowel is always 'open'; never the 'close' sound of German \textit{Not}.

\(\text{bi:ɔ}:\) to own; \(\text{fo:t}\) fault; \(\text{fo:d}\) fold; \(\text{lo:}\) low; \(\text{no:}\) to know; \(\text{ɔ:les}\) always; \(\text{ɔ:d}\) old; \(\text{ɔ:l}\) all; \(\text{so:t}\) salt.

12. \(\text{u:}\) high back tense rounded, as in standard English \textit{brood}. It is usually a diphthong beginning with lax \(\text{u}\) and ending in tense \(\text{w}\), e.g. \textit{duwt} doubt. For philological purposes it is better to write this sound as \(\text{u:}\).

\(\text{bru:}\) hill; \(\text{buns}\) conceit; \(\text{nu:}\) now; \(\text{ʃu:t}\) to shout; \(\text{tu:n}\) town; \(\text{ɔu:}\) thou; \(\text{u:t}\) out.

Diphthongs.

13. \(\text{e·a = e}\), low front half-tense, followed by a mixed lax glide. In emphatic syllables, the tongue is often raised, but never so high as to produce the \(\text{e}\) in standard English \textit{eim} aim. This \(\text{e}\) is always an 'open' sound.

\(\text{drɛ:ən}\) drain; \(\text{e·am}\) aim; \(\text{e·at}\) to hate; \(\text{fɛ·əθ}\) faith; \(\text{ɡrɛ·əz}\) to graze; \(\text{me·ɛstə(r)}\) master; \(\text{rɛ·ən}\) rain; \(\text{sle·ɛstə(r)}\) to dawdle.
14. i·e = half-tense i followed by a mixed lax glide. The i is almost as tense as the i in Scotch feet.
  di·e to do; a·gi·en again; kli·ez clothes; mi·e(r) mare; mi·el meal; ni·ebo·di nobody; pi·e(r) pear; si·en soon; ti·el tale.
15. u·e = half-tense u followed by a mixed lax glide.
  bru·etj brooch; fu·el foal; ku·en corn; nu·etj notice; pu·e(r) poor; pu·etj poach; θru·et throat; u·el hole.
16. ai = a + i. This diphthong only occurs finally.
  drai dry; kai cows; skai sky; wai to weigh.
17. ei = short e + i. The first element is lower than the e in standard English dei day, and fronted further than the a in tai tie. For practical purposes it may be identified with the e in Northern English or Scotch pen, bed, pet, etc.
  ksei key; neibe(r) neighbour; nesis particular; seip to ooze; swsip to strike; reit to write.
18. oi = o + i. The first element is produced with a higher tongue position than the o in standard English oi, as in point point.
  boil to boil; dʒoint joint; koit quoit; oil oil; point point.
19. ou = short o + u. Here the first element is an ‘open’ back o, as in standard English not not. The lips are slightly rounded. The diphthong differs from the standard English au in haus house in that the initial sound is produced lower and further back than that a, and is in addition slightly rounded.
  dəut(e)r daughter; jou ewe; lous loose; nout nought; poul pole.
20. iu = i + half-tense u, a ‘rising’ diphthong, ju·.
  biuk book; biuti beauty; kliu a ball of wool; niu new; riu to regret; tiuk took.
  Initially, it is here written juː.
  jusu (subst.) use; juːθ youth; juːz to use.

Triphthongs.
21. eia = ei + a. This sound only occurs before r.
  sie(r) hire; fsi(e)r fire; siəren iron; wsi(e)r wire.
22. iue = iu + a. It occurs only before r.
  kiua(r) cure; piuə(r) pure.
23. \( \text{oia} = \text{oi} + \text{a} \).
\( \text{loial} \) loyal; \( \text{roial} \) royal.

24. \( \text{ous} = \text{ou} + \text{a} \). The sound only occurs before \( r \).
\( \text{fous(r)} \) four.

The Consonants.

25. The Hackness dialect employs the following consonants:
\( b, d, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, \eta, p, r, s, t, \theta, \delta, v, w, z, \zeta \).

The following scheme may be found useful. From side to side the rows contain sounds produced by the same method of articulation. From top to bottom, the columns contain sounds produced by the same organs of speech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bi-Labial</th>
<th>Labio-Dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palato-Linguai</th>
<th>Velar-Linguai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stopped</td>
<td>( \text{pb} )</td>
<td>( \text{td}, \text{t}\delta )</td>
<td>( \text{kg} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>( \text{m} )</td>
<td>( \text{n} )</td>
<td>( \eta )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>( \text{w} )</td>
<td>( \text{fv} )</td>
<td>( \text{s}, \omega \text{z} )</td>
<td>( \text{f}, \text{r} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. \( p \) (breathed bi-labial stop) like English \( p \). It occurs initially, medially, and finally: slight aspiration usually occurs (\( p^h \)) before accented vowels and finally.
\( \text{poul} \) pole; \( \text{plæt} \) to strike; \( \text{prod} \) spike; \( \text{stap} \) staple; \( \text{lup} \) flea.

27. \( b \) (voiced bi-labial stop) like English \( b \). It occurs initially, medially, and finally. After an end \( b \), a slight plosive glide \( b^o \) is heard.
\( \text{bok} \) beam; \( \text{blesak} \) yellow; \( \text{brig} \) bridge; \( \text{riubub} \) rhubarb; \( \text{stub} \) to uproot.

28. \( t \) (breathed alveolar stop) like English \( t \). It occurs in all positions, except before \( r \). Slight aspiration usually is heard before accented vowels, and finally.
\( \text{tan} \) to beat; \( \text{tiu} \) to tire; \( \text{mirin} \) meeting; \( \text{botl} \) bottle; \( \text{lat} \) lath.

\(^1\) Strictly speaking this is not a true triphthong but the combination of \( \text{oi} \) with the vowel in a following unstressed syllable; but since \( \text{feier} \) and \( \text{fouer} \), although originally one-syllabled, are now as disyllabled as \( \text{loial} \) and \( \text{roial} \), \( \text{ois} \) is here classed as a triphthong.
Before \( r \) and \( -\text{ar} \), \( t \) is articulated against the upper teeth, not against the gums as in standard English; and sounds almost like \( \theta \).

This sound may be described as a short double consonant. The first element, applosive, closing the breath, is \( t \), but the final sound heard on releasing the breath is \( \theta \). I have thought it best to write it \( t \).

\( \text{trust} \) trust; \( \text{triu} \) true; \( \text{wata}(r) \) water; \( \text{Setade} \) Saturday.

But 'truth' is always pronounced \( \text{triu}\theta \).

\( t \) is long, and tense, when it represents the definite article before \( t \), also where in a like capacity it represents a final \( t \) or \( d \) by assimilation. This long tense \( t \) is here written \( tt \).

\( \text{ttun} \) the town; \( \text{A senttlad} \) I sent the boy; \( \text{A sitttdi'-e we snekt} \) I saw that the door was fastened. Also in \( \theta \text{otti} \) thirty; \( \theta \text{ottin} \) thirteen; \( \theta \text{otti} \) forty.

29. \( d \) (voiced alveolar stop) like English \( d \). It occurs in all positions, except before \( r \). A final \( d \) is followed by a slight plosive glide.

\( \text{di:} \) to die; \( \text{douli} \) poorly; \( \text{bodm} \) bottom; \( \text{bud} \) but; \( \text{pudin} \) pudding.

Before \( r \) and \( \text{ar} \), \( d \) is articulated against the upper teeth, not against the gums, and a short double consonant is produced, namely the voiced sound corresponding to \( t \), which is here written \( d \).

\( \text{drunk} \) drunk; \( \text{dru:p} \) to droop; \( \text{foqe}(r) \) fodder; \( \text{soqe}(r) \) solder.

30. \( k \) (breathed velar stop) occurs in all positions, and is like English \( k \). Usually there is slight aspiration before accented vowels, and finally.

\( \text{ku:} \) cow; \( \text{ksi} \) key; \( \text{klag} \) to stick; \( \text{krop} \) crop; \( \text{aks} \) to ask; \( \text{akl} \) to mar in carving; \( \text{ssik} \) such; \( \text{wik} \) living, lively; \( \text{pankin} \) pipkin.


2 There is a distinct difference between the initial sound of \( \text{trust} \) to thrust, and \( \text{trust} \) trust. Yet the partial similarity is a stumbling-block to many dialect-speaking people when they cast aside the dialect in favour of the standard spoken English of the North. If they acquire the normal pronunciation of \( t \), frequently they pronounce standard \( \theta \) as \( t \); e.g. \( \text{tri} \) for three, \( \text{tred} \) for thread.
31. **g** (voiced velar stop) like *g, gu* in lit. English *gay, guest*. It occurs in all positions. After a final *g*, a slight plosive glide is apparent.

   **gud** good; **glad** glad; **flagstn** flagstone; **lig** to lie; **ug** to carry.

32. **m** (voiced bi-labial nasal) like English *m*. It occurs in all positions, and is syllabic in unaccented syllables after a consonant.

   **man** man; **ma:ld** mild; **gimar** a young ewe; **fre-om** to apply oneself; **gam** game; **bodm** bottom; **bizm** besom.

33. **n** (voiced alveolar nasal) like English *n*. It occurs in all positions, and is syllabic in unaccented syllables after a consonant.

   **nht** night; **snig** to drag wood; **oni** any; **gen** to grin; **ten** ten; **frozn** frozen; **setn** (pp.) set; **fakn** (pp.) shaken.

34. **ŋ** (voiced velar nasal) like *ng, n* in lit. English *sing, think*. It occurs medially, and finally, but only in accented syllables.

   **tenŋ** to sting; **lanŋ** long; **strəŋ** strong; **ə′manŋ** among; **fina(r)** finger; **an:ke(r)** anchor; **onkot:se(r)** handkerchief.

35. **l** (voiced dental lateral) never a 'clear' *l*, usually (ˈl) before *i*, otherwise (ˈl). It occurs in all positions, and is syllabic after a consonant.

   **laf** laugh; **le-ak** to play; **lit** light; **'olin** holly; **wil** will; **botl** bottle; **kitl** to tickle.

36. **w** (voiced bi-labial spirant) like English *w* in *wing*. It only occurs at the beginning of a syllable, or medially preceded by a consonant, and represents the vowel *u* in the function of a consonant. The corresponding breathed sound, Scotch and Northern English *wh* in *what*, is never used in the Hackness dialect, *w* takes its place.

   **wa:m** warm; **wik** living, lively; **twilt** to beat; **kwilt** quilt; **swi-et** sweat; **wen** when; **wat** what; **wip** whip.

37. **f** (breathed labio-dental spirant) like English *f*. It occurs in all positions.

   **fan** (pret.) found; **fi-el** fool; **ofnz** often; **fift** fifth; **kaf** chaff; **ti′ef** tough; **lsif** life.
38. \textit{v} (voiced labio-dental spirant) like English \textit{v} in \textit{very}. It occurs in all positions.

\textit{vari} very; \textit{van} van; \textit{nevi} nephew; \textit{tsavr}l to champ; \textit{ni\textsuperscript{-e}f} fist; \textit{ov} of; \textit{iv} in; \textit{tiv} to; \textit{ra\textsuperscript{v}} tear; \textit{twelv} twelve.

39. \textit{\theta} (breathed dental spirant) like \textit{th} in English \textit{thin}. It occurs initially and finally, and rarely in a medial position.

\textit{\theta}in thin; \textit{\theta}ruf through; \textit{Ethil} Ethel; \textit{bro\theta} broth; \textit{m\theta}n\theta} month; \textit{swa\theta} grass.

40. \textit{\delta} (voiced dental spirant) like \textit{th} in English \textit{then}, is the voiced form of \textit{\theta}. It occurs in all positions.

\textit{\delta}is this; \textit{\delta}en then; \textit{\delta}\textsuperscript{\text{e}o(r)} further; \textit{bri\textsuperscript{-e}\delta} to breathe; \textit{le\textsuperscript{-e}\delta} barn.

41. \textit{s} (breathed dental spirant) like \textit{c} or \textit{s} in English \textit{cease}. It occurs in all positions.

\textit{ss\textsuperscript{-e}m} lard; \textit{sin} sin; \textit{si\textsuperscript{\text{e}o(r)}} sugar; \textit{stevn} to shout; \textit{slak} a dell; \textit{spil} a pipe-lighter; \textit{sti}: a ladder; \textit{swi\textsuperscript{-e}l} to gutter; \textit{ke\textsuperscript{\text{e}n}} to christen; \textit{kist} chest; \textit{brusn} (pp.) burst; \textit{\theta}ross\textsuperscript{\text{e}l} a thrush; \textit{pos} purse; \textit{as} ashes; \textit{aks} to ask; \textit{gi\textsuperscript{-e}\text{as}} goose; \textit{os} horse.

42. \textit{z} (voiced dental spirant) like \textit{z} and \textit{s} in English \textit{zone}, \textit{his}, is the voiced form of \textit{\delta}. It occurs medially and finally.

\textit{iz} his; \textit{\varepsilon} as; \textit{muzl} muzzle; \textit{ri\textsuperscript{-e}\text{zn}} reason; \textit{fuz\textsuperscript{-e}l} fungus; \textit{fu\textsuperscript{-e}z} soft; \textit{frozn} frozen; \textit{wizn} windpipe.

43. \textit{f} (breathed alveolar spirant) like \textit{sh} in English \textit{ship}. It occurs in all positions.

\textit{\text{f}ap} shape; \textit{\text{f}ak} to shake; \textit{\text{f}\text{e\textsuperscript{-e}d}} shed; \textit{\text{n}e\textsuperscript{-e}f\text{n}} nation; \textit{ej} ash-tree; \textit{\text{kabif}} cabbage; \textit{\text{ma\text{n}if\text{e}m\text{e}nt}} manure.

Preceded by \textit{t}, this sound forms a consonantal diphthong \textit{tf}, like \textit{ch} in English \textit{cheese}.

\textit{tf\textsuperscript{-e}\text{ma(r)}} bedroom; \textit{tfukl} to chuckle; \textit{ri\textsuperscript{-e}tf} to reach; \textit{watf} watch.

44. \textit{\text{g}} (voiced alveolar spirant) like \textit{s} in English \textit{vision}, is the voiced form of \textit{f}. It occurs medially, and finally after \textit{d} and \textit{n}.

\textit{pli\textsuperscript{e}(r)} pleasure; \textit{mi\textsuperscript{e}(r)} measure; \textit{ke\textsuperscript{-e}zn} occasion; \textit{mo\textsuperscript{-e}n\text{g\text{e}}} mange; \textit{ke\textsuperscript{-e}d\text{g\text{e}}} cage; \textit{en\text{g\text{e}}} hinge; \textit{kri\text{ng\text{e}}} to cringe; \textit{in\text{g\text{e}}} engine.

Preceded by \textit{d}, this sound forms a consonantal diphthong \textit{d\text{g}}, like \textit{j} in English \textit{jam}. 
dʒes joist; dʒin gin; inˈdʒɔi to enjoy; edʒ edge, hedge; eˈadʒ age.

45. r (voiced alveolar spirant) like r in English try, Henry. It is not trilled. Initially and medially it is fricative, produced by a single push of the point of the tongue against the upper gums. Finally, r occurs only before a word beginning with a vowel, or if the final r ends a period. Hence I have thought it best to write r-final as (r). Before consonants, r is fricative, produced by rolling back the tip of the tongue slightly towards the hard palate. This gives the effect of a ‘burr.’

ram stinking; riˈæt root; brokn (pp.) broken; praːd pride; ˈtru true; marə marrow; are harrow; piˈæ(r) pear; waˈte(r) water; war worse; pork pork; work to work; bork birch; fork fork; fore furrow; borli burly.

46. j (voiced palatal spirant) like English y in young. It only occurs at the beginning of a syllable, or medially preceded by a consonant, and represents the vowel i in the function of a consonant.

juːŋ young; juːk to pull with a jerk; juːz to use; juːs use; biˈjint behind; biˈjont beyond; jon that (dem.).

bjuˈk book; tjuˈk took; sjuˈɡæ(r) sugar, and like forms are here written biuk, tiuk, siuga(r).

47. h (glottal breathing) has disappeared from the dialect of Hackness.

Under the influence of elementary education, dialect-speaking people sometimes use it, but in the dialect proper it is never used.

48. The relative length of consonants differs little from the English usage. Initial and end-consonants are longer than medial consonants. End consonants are longer after short vowels than after long vowels or diphthongs. The liquid consonants are longer before voiced sounds than before voiceless consonants, e.g. l is longer in slid (held) than in elp (help). But all these length-differences are so slight that they are only apparent to the trained ear, and the production of them comes naturally to every Englishman. Normally the voiced stops b, d, and g are fully voiced both initially
and finally, but after the prefixed definite article \textit{t}, as in such combinations as \textit{tbed} the bed; \textit{tdog} the dog; and \textit{tgun} the gun, they are partly devocalised, owing to the influence of the preceding voiceless consonant. In this case there is no 'explosion' of the \textit{t}, only the stop is heard. Double consonants are rare, except \textit{tt}, which represents the definite article \textit{t} before a word beginning with \textit{t}, or after a word ending in \textit{t} or \textit{d}. Any end-consonant may become long by assimilation with a similar onsound, e.g. \textit{awuddi:el} Harwood Dale, but the resulting long consonant is shortened, if it occurs in a compound word which is frequently used, e.g. \textit{kubed} cupboard; \textit{stawd} stackyard; \textit{weskit} waistcoat.
CHAPTER II

THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DIALECT IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

49. The following description is based on an examination of Yorkshire Middle English, including *The Pricke of Conscience*, Rolle's *Prose Tracts*, Rolle's *Psalter*, and the older *Metrical Psalter*. These works are all remarkably alike in phonology, spelling, and grammatical forms; though Rolle's prose is almost modern in style, and the *Metrical Psalter* curiously archaic in word and phrase. The authorship of *The Pricke of Conscience* is a question which does not lie within the field of this research. My task in this section of the work was not to fix the canon of Rolle's works, but to investigate his dialect; and the use of 'Rolle' to indicate words from *The Pricke of Conscience* in the chapters dealing with the phonology of the modern dialect in no wise pledges my belief either for or against his authorship. Following the late Rev. R. Morris, I had used the key-word *Rolle* to denote the language of this poem before I heard of Miss Hope Allen's monograph *The Authorship of the Pricke of Conscience*. I was content to use the poem as the Middle English text which, excepting the *Metrical Psalter*, approaches most nearly the modern dialect here under consideration.

Yorkshire Middle English was a variety of the Northumbrian dialect. Its phonology is remarkably like that of Middle Scots, but the system of spelling used by the Yorkshire scribes was quite different. It remains to indicate some of the peculiarities of Middle Yorkshire spelling, as exemplified in the *Metrical Psalter* and *The Pricke of Conscience*. Characteristic are:

1. Absence of the symbol ȝ (yogh). Initially, where Modern
English has \( y \), \( yh \) was used. Medially, the spirant \( ʒ \) was written \( gh \), as in literary English; and \( e \) and \( o \) were written ‘pure’ before it, that is to say, \( ogh \) is never \( ough \), and very rarely is \( egh \) written \( eigh \). The spellings \( eighth \), \( hey \), and \( height \) occur in \textit{The Pricke of Conscience} beside the usual \( e\text{ight} \) (eight), \( h\text{eigh} \) (high), and \( \text{heght} \) (height), but these spellings are exceptional, and are due to the influence of the Midland dialect.

(2) The northern \( qu- \) (O.E. \( hw \)) is always spelled \( wh- \).

(3) The northern \( sc- \text{ sch-} \) (O.E. \( sc \)) is always spelled \( sh- \).

(4) Long vowels are put in an open syllable by the addition of a mute \( e \), rather than indicated by a diphthongal \( e \) or \( i \) as in Scots, e.g. \( fode \) (food) was preferred to \( foed \); \( sone \) (soon) to \( soyn \); \( wele \) (well, adv.) to \( weill \); though sometimes double vowels were used, as \( faa \) foe; \( leef \) leaf.

Rolle’s \textit{Prose Tracts} and his \textit{Psalter} differ slightly. The most obvious differences are the use in the \textit{Psalter} of the symbol \( ʒ \) for initial \( yh \), and an occasional \( qu \) for \( wh \); \( agh \) is written (as in the \textit{Metrical Psalter}) for O.E. \( æg \), where \textit{The Pricke of Conscience} regularly has the more modern \( aw \).

Although the phonology of Yorkshire Middle English strongly resembled Middle Scots, there were differences. Dr Murray’s statement, made in \textit{The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland} (p. 29), that ‘Barbour at Aberdeen, and Richard Rolle de Hampole near Doncaster, wrote for their several countrymen \textit{in the same identical dialect}’ is not quite exact. This is not the place to make a detailed comparison, but it is certain that there were marked differences. To mention the most obvious: (1) The guttural spirant was falling in Yorkshire ca. 1400. In Scotland it remains still. (2) Anglian \( ǣ \) remained in Scotland. In Yorkshire, as in the Midlands, M.E. \( ǣ \), from O.E. \( æ \), took its place. (3) In Scotland, M.E. \( ǣ \) was pronounced \( ð [\text{y}] \), in Yorkshire it was probably \( ëû \). These divergencies alone are sufficient to show that Middle Yorkshire was far from being ‘the same identical dialect’ as Middle Scots, and a detailed comparison of modern dialects of Scotland with the dialects of North and East Yorkshire would doubtless reveal other points of difference.
1. Vowels in stressed syllables.

50. The Northern Middle English (ca. 1350) of the dialect had the following vowel-system:

Short $a \varepsilon e i o u$

Long $a \varepsilon e i o u$

Diphthongs $ai au eu pi ou$.

Short.

51. $a$ represented:

(1) Anglian $a$, $e$, $ea$ (West Germanic $a$) in closed syllables, or in open syllables before a suffix containing $l$, $m$, $n$, or $r$, as: barn child; cafe chaff; hard hard; man man; shap shape; strang strong; fader father; hasel hazel; ladel ladle; watter water.

(2) Scandinavian $a$ in closed syllables: bun to curse; tak to take.

(3) French $a$ in closed syllables, or in open unstressed syllables: partes parts; salme psalm; maners manners; pastur pasture.

52. $e$, written $e$, and pronounced with the 'open' sound, like Scottish short $e$ in men, pet, etc., represented:

(1) Anglian $e$ (West Germanic $e$) in closed syllables, or in open syllables before a suffix containing $l$, $m$, $n$, or $r$; as, bren to burn; felle skin; hert heart; werk work; heven heaven; wedir weather; wesel weasel; or $e$ the I Mutation of $a$, as ending ending; helle hell; hende hands; men men; nek neck; strenth strength; or $e$, the equivalent of O.E. $ie$, the I Mutation of $ea$ or eo; elde age; eldere older; derne secret; wers worse.

(2) Scandinavian $e$ in closed syllables, or in open syllables before a suffix containing $l$, $m$, $n$, or $r$: bek brook; efter after; kevel to muzzle; herber harbour.

(3) French $e$ in closed syllables, or in open unstressed syllables: ensample example; dette debt; letter letter; emperor emperor; certdyyn certain.

53. $e$ 'close' was spelled $e$ or $i$ by the Northern M.E. scribes. It represented:

(1) M.E. $e$ before dental consonants as: togider together; ette to eat; es is.
(2) M.E. ️, before -ght, from Anglian ️ht, eht, as: might; feghtand fighting; right; weght weight.

(3) The lowering of M.E. ️, from O.E. y, in a few words as: bery to bury; threst, to thirst.

(4) The lowering of French ️ occasionally as: cete city; pete pity; preson prison.

54. ️, spelled ️ or y, represented:

(1) Anglian ️, y; as bysy busy; bisen example; ilk same; lym limb; thynng thing; yvel evil; or ️, the equivalent of O.E. ie, the I Mutation of eo (Anglian io): shephirde shepherd.

(2) Scandinavian ️, y; as bigg big; gilders snares; bigg to lie; myrk dark; til to.

(3) French ️, y; as condicioun condition; firmament; pistol epistle; tyrdunt tyrant.

55. ️ represented:

(1) Anglian ️ in closed syllables, or in open syllables before a suffix containing l, m, n, or r, as: ofte oft; stok stock; word word; broken broken; holin holly; open open.

(2) Scandinavian ️ in closed syllables, or in open syllables before suffixes containing l, m, n, or r: froske frog; sloken to quench.

(3) French ️ in closed syllables, or in open unstressed syllables: fors force; groche to grudge; honbour honour; fortőne fortune; prophete prophet.

56. ️, spelled ️ or o, represented:

(1) Anglian ️: son sun; sum some; somer summer; shulder shoulder; tung tongue; thurgh through; wolwes wolves.

(2) Scandinavian ️: mun must.

(3) French ️ in closed syllables: turn to turn; cuntre country. Or in open unaccented syllables: puniss to punish.

Long.

57. ️, spelled a in an open syllable, a or aa, may have been already in Northern M.E. (ca. 1350) partly fronted to ️ː; for in the modern dialect it has two developments: (1) ️ː from M.E. ️, and (2) ️ː, which indicates that the sound fell together with M.E. ️, in the majority of words containing this sound.
M.E. ā was derived from:

(1) Anglian ā (Germanic ai): allane alone; brade broad; clath cloth; lade load; mare more; nane none; sare sore; stane stone.

(2) The lengthening of Anglian ā in open syllables: bale misery; shape to shape; spane to wean, persuade; wake to wake; and before -mb: wambe womb.

(3) Scandinavian ā: bathè both; bla livid; kale cabbage; krake crow, rook.

(4) The lengthening of Scandinavian ā in open syllables: dased dazed; tane taken.

(5) French a in open syllables: abate to abate; chace to chase; dam dame; stable firm; state state; variant variant; and before -st: chaste chaste; taste taste.

58. ē, spelled e in an open syllable, e or ee, was derived from:

(1) Anglian ē, the I Mutation of ā: brede breadth; fere fear; hete heat; lestè least.

(2) Anglian ēa (ēo), (Germanic au): ded death; ere ear; grete great; heved or hed, head; leaf leaf.

(3) Anglian ē (O.E. ē, ē, ē) before r\(^1\): here here; here to hear; nere nearer; yhere year.

(4) The lengthening of Anglian ē in open syllables: dere to injure; bere to bear; breke to break; speke to speak.

(5) Scandinavian ē, the I Mutation of ā: sete seat; or Scandinavian ē before r; sere (adj.) separate.

(6) The lengthening of Scandinavian ē in open syllables: nese nose.

(7) Anglo-French open ē (French e, ai, et): ese, ease; mesur measure; clere clear; pees peace; seson season; tresor treasure; or from the lengthening of French e before -st: beste beast.

(8) Anglo-French close ē\(^1\) (French e, ie, eu, ue) before r: chere face; manère manner; were war.

59. ë, spelled e in an open syllable, e or ee, was derived from:

(1) Anglian ë (O.E. ė), West Germanic ā: grete to weep;

\(\text{1 Rolle's rimes indicate that M.E. ë was always 'open' before r in an open syllable, cf. here (O.E. hér) and yhere (O.E. geár); here (Angl. hér(n)) and A.Fr. clère; dere (O.E. derian) and were (war); here (O.E. heran) and daungère.}\)
shepe sheep; speche speech; wrpe wrath. In most words containing this vowel in the modern dialect the present sound indicates a M.E. e, as if from O.E. æ (§ 137).

(2) Anglian æ (O.E. æ) the I Mutation of ea, eo: nede, need; nest next.

(3) Anglian ë (O.E. æ, eo, æ) before the palatal spirant [ç]: drege to endure; eghe eye; flegh to fly; heghe high; neghe nigh; deghe to die.

(4) Anglian oe, e (O.E. æ), the I Mutation of o: fete feet; seke to seek; tethe teeth.

(5) Anglian ó (ea), (Germanic iu): bede to bid; brest breast; devel devil; free free; frende friend; tre tree.

(6) The lengthening of Anglian é before -ld: feld field; yheld to yield.

(7) The lengthening of Anglian ë in open syllables: stere to stir; weke week; neghen nine.

(8) Scandinavian ë, as: felaghe fellow.

(9) Anglo-French close ë (French e, ie, eu, ue): cheef chief; feble feeble; degré degree; prophète prophet.

60. ë, spelled i or y, represented:

(1) Anglian ï, ÿ, as: dry; dwyne to dwindle; fyr fire; life; pyn or pine torment; whilles whilst.

(2) Scandinavian ı, ſ: ryve to tear; slike such; tite quickly.

(3) French ı: stryf strife; jaunys jaundice; vice vice.

(4) It was also derived from the lengthening of O.E. y, before -nd, as: kynde nature; mynde memory.

61. ë, spelled o in an open syllable, or simply o, was derived from:

(1) The lengthening of Anglian ë in open syllables: hope to expect; thole to endure; throte throat; rote to rot; wanhope despair.

(2) Scandinavian å as: hordom adultery; more moor.

(3) The lengthening of French o in open syllables: rose rose; suppose suppose (but not before -er, e.g. proper; povert, poverty; cover to recover), and the lengthening of o before -st: roste to roast.
62. ð, spelled ə in an open syllable, oo or u, had probably
developed the out-glide u in Northern M.E. and was fronted to
the mixed lax position, with rounding [ðu]. The first element
of the diphthong may, even ca. 1350, have been unrounded, and
the sound then would resemble the ðu sometimes heard in such
modern affected pronunciations as nuth ai dëunt ŋink seu. No
I don’t think so, cf. § 159. The sound represented:

(1) Anglian ð: boke or buke book; foode food; rote root;
wode mad. Also M.E. ə before the velar spirant [x] from Anglian
ogy, as ynogh enough; drogh (pret. of draw) drew; but əg, əh
became ou [ou]. § 68 (2).

(2) The lengthening of Anglian ə in open syllables, as foheil
fowl; won to dwell.

(3) Scandinavian ə before k: croked crooked.

(4) French ə, oe: doeleful doeleful; fool fool; pure poor.

(5) French ü: fortone fortune; mestre measure; use to
use; vertue virtue.

63. ð, spelled ou, ow, represented:

(1) Anglian ð: doun down; lowt to reverence; moute to
moutl; mouthe mouth; now now; outlawes outlaws.

(2) Scandinavian ð: boun ready.

(3) French ou, or ð before n and r: dout doubt; flour flower;
powere power; tribulacioun tribulation; colour colour; emperour
emperor.

64. ai, spelled ay, was derived from:

(1) Anglian æg: day day; fayn glad; fayre fair.

(2) Anglian eg: agayn again; rayn rain.

(3) Anglian œg (O.E. æg): ayther either; cay key.

(4) Scand. ei (Germanic ai): layk to play; layt to seek;
rayke to wander; wayk weak.

(5) Scand. ey, the I Mutation of au: flay to frighten.

(6) French accented ai, ei, as: assayle to assail; desayve to
deceive; fayle to fail; mayster master; payne pain; prayse
praise; but unaccented ai became open e, as: seson season;
tresore treasure.
65. *au*, spelled *au, aw, a(l) or a(gh)*, was derived from:
(1) Anglian *ag, āg*, as: *agh*en or *awn* own; *draw* to draw; *gnaghe* to gnaw.
(2) Anglian *aw, āw*, as: *blawe* to blow; *knawe* to know; *sna\\n\\naw* snow; *saule* soul; *sprawel* to sprawl.
(3) Anglian *al*, as: *manyfauld\n\\n\n\ne* manifold; *alde* old; *talde* told; *cald* cold (§ 96).
(4) Scand. *og, ag*, as: *agh* law; *gnaghe* to gnaw. 
(5) French *au*, as: *ftawm* balsam; *faute* fault.
(6) French *ā* before nasals, as: *chaunge* to change; *chauniber* chamber.

Note:—*gh* was a velar spirant, and the pronunciation of *agh* was most probably \( a^x \rightarrow a k^x \rightarrow a u \). The sound *x* disappeared from the dialect before the early Modern English period, or became *f* (see § 408) in the case of *laghter* laughter, and *slaughter* etc. without the development of the diphthong *au*.

66. *eu*, spelled *eu, ew*, was a rising diphthong, that is to say, the stress fell on the second component. It probably had the value *eui*—close *e* (mid front lax) followed by *u* (high back tense rounded). It was derived from:
(1) Anglian *ēaw, ēow*: *shewe* to show; *hew* hue; *new* new; *treuth, truth*.
(2) French *eu, eau*: *beute* beauty; *rewle* rule.

67. *oi*, spelled *oy, uy*, represented French *oi, ui*: *ioy* joy; *oyele* oil; *poynt* point; *nuye* to annoy.

68. *ou*, spelled *ou, ow*, or *o(gh)*, had the sound *ou*, and was derived from:
(1) Anglian *āh*, as: *outher* either; *nowther* neither; *noght*, naught.
(2) Anglian *ōh*, *ōg*: *boght* bought; *broght* brought; but *ōg* became *ō* [öö]. § 62 (1).
(3) Anglian *ēow, ēow*: *fou* few; *four* four; *trowth* truth.
(4) Scandinavian *au*: *goule* to yell; *how* hill; *rowt* to roar.

Note:—*gh* was a velar spirant, and the pronunciation of *ogh* was probably \( o^x \rightarrow o u^x \rightarrow ou \). The sound *x* disappeared from the dialect before the early Modern English period, or became *f* (see § 408). Where *gh* has become *f*, the diphthong *ou* is not found, but a modern vowel *œ* which represents North. M. E. long close *ū*, e.g. *ynogh* has become *ɪnˈɪr*. 


2. Vowels in unstressed syllables.

69. In unaccented syllables, a weakening of the Older English vowels was apparent in Northern Middle English. The Northern infinitive ending, -a, had fallen. A final e was sometimes written, but was not pronounced, except perhaps in poetry, e.g. brest to burst; fle to flee; deme to deem. The present participle ended in -and; e.g. byfand living; shynnand shining; but it is doubtful whether the final -d was pronounced. The past participle ending -en, also an adjectival suffix, remained as -en, or was reduced to -n; e.g. awen own; fayn glad. The inflection of the present tense of the verb, -es, was probably pronounced [æ]. The past tenses of weak verbs, which in Old Anglian ended in -ide and -ade, ended regularly in -ed [æd] with loss of the final -æ. Others ended in -t or -d, like taght taught, or said sold.

70. The prefix ge-, Southern M.E. y, was lost entirely in Northern English; bi- remained as by [bi]; e.g. byfaffing beginning; byhove to behave; bylyke quickly; bytwene between. Anglian å (West Saxon on-) remained as a- or o-, as abouen above; agayn again; olyke alike; about about; but un- survived, e.g. unnethes scarcely; unstable unstable. The dialect already bewrayed a tendency to dispense with prefixes, e.g. pistol epistle; pleyn complain, etc., but it had borrowed the convenient Scandinavian prefix um- (O.E. ymbe) around, and made frequent use of it, e.g. umgang circuit; umlap to envelop; umset to surround.

71. The usual plural suffix was -es [ez], but eghen eyes; oxen oxen; and shoen shoes formed their plurals with -en [en]. The suffix -er (a sign of the plural in childer children) appeared sometimes as -ir, e.g. efir after; wedir weather.

Anglian -læs had become -ly [li]: only only; openly openly; -ig appeared as -y [i], e.g. hevy heavy; bisy busy; and the suffixes -on, -ol, -ur, and -ud had been weakened to -en, -el, -er and -ed, as: heven (Caedmon’s Hymn, hefan, heben) heaven; devel devil; fader (Caedmon’s Hymn fadur) father; heved head. The suffix -uð fell, like -ið, to simple -th, e.g. yhowthe youth.
3. The Consonants.

72. The Consonant System of the Dialect was as follows:
Stops p b; t d; k (c) g.
Spirants f v; th (p); s (c); sh; gh; h.
Liquids l, m, n, ng, r.
Semivowels yh (3); w, wh (qu).
Diphthongs ch; j (ge); qu.

73. p, b, t and d represented their Old English, Scandinavian, or Romance originals, and were probably pronounced as in modern English.

74. Initially k, the breathed velar stop [k], represented O.E. c before front vowels which were the result of mutation, as: ken keen; kyng king; kye cows; kynd nature; and also Scand. k before all front vowels, e.g. kevel to muzzle; kirk church. Written c, it represented O.E. c, Scand. k, or French c before all consonants except n, and before back-vowels, e.g. caffe chaff; Cadillac cold; clote clout; colour colour; cover to recover. k was probably not silent in the combination kn (O.E. cn), e.g. knaw to know. It may have been pronounced tn in this position. Scandinavian sk remained, e.g. skoule to scowl; skilles reasons; skyne to shine.
Medially and finally k, or c, represented O.E. 'palatal' ċ, as mykil much; swylc such; askes ashes; whilk which; rike kingdom; or O.E. final c, as lok a curl; dike dike.

75. g, a voiced velar stop [g] as in modern English, represented O.E. or French initial g before consonants, e.g. gres grass; gnaghe to gnaw; groche to grudge; and before back-vowels as gadir to gather; gudes goods. Finally g represented O.E. 'palatal' ġg, as brig bridge; ligg to lie; rig ridge. Scandinavian g remained in all positions, whereas O.E. medial g had become vocalised, e.g. get to get, beget; swelge (O.I. swelga) to swallow; goule to howl; rogg to tear.

76. f was probably always the breathed labio-dental spirant, and not voiced as in Southern English. It represented O.E., Scand., or Romance f. Probably it remained voiceless in a final
position in infinitives, where the characteristic inflexion -a (-an) had fallen, e.g. lefe to leave; shrife to shrieve. Here the final e was only a device to indicate the length of the root-vowel, and was probably not pronounced.

77.  v was the corresponding voiced sound, and represented O.E. f between vowels, as heven heaven; hevy heavy; even even; or French v, e.g. vayne vein; variand, varying.

78.  th represented O.E. ħ, ś, or Scand. š. It was usually written þ at the beginning of a word, and th in other positions. Initially and finally it was a voiceless (breathed) sound [θ], e.g. þir these; þurch through; þrete to threaten; þeþe teeth; bathe both. Between vowels it was voiced [ð], e.g. wethir whether; (þe)þotther the other; ouþer either.

79.  s [s] represented O.E., Scand., or French s, also French medial -ce, e.g. sære sore; sere various; chace [tʃæs] to chase. It was voiced to z: (1) in inflexions, as rotes [rʊtæz] roots; fyngers [fɪŋərz] fingers; partes [pɑrtez] parts; hynges [hɪŋəz] it hangs; welkes [welkæz] withers; and probably in us [əz] us; es [əz] is; and has [əz] in unemphatic positions; (2) between vowels, as mesur [mezəu(r)] measure; dased dazed; ese (O.Fr. aise) pleasure. Romance c before front vowels was pronounced s, as certayn [sərtain] certain.

80.  sh, sometimes also spelled sch [ʃ], represented O.E. š-, as shap shape; shote to shoot; shrife to shrive; sho she; bischop bishop; fisch fish; wesch to wash, except in sal shall, and suld should. It also represented O.Fr. medial ss, -iss, e.g. ravissche to ravish.

81.  gh was the regular spelling of O.E. medial and final h, as light light; weght weight; neghe nigh. But it also represented the O.E. voiced spirant postvocalic g, as neghen nine; foghil fowl. After back vowels it was evidently the breathed velar spirant [χ] (probably articulated very slightly), for it had induced an u-glide before it, and was in process of being absorbed by it, as is shown by the alternative spellings aghen or awn own; laghe or law low; boghe or bow to bend; foghil or foul fowl. The scribe of Rolle's Psalter preferred the gh spellings, but the writer of The Pricke of
Conscience used mainly w. We may suppose the change to have been as follows: laghe $[\lambda\alpha\chi] > [\lambda\alpha\nu\chi] > [\lambda\alpha\nu\chi] > \lambdaaw $[\lambdaau]$; or, foghil $[\foghil] > [\foghil] > [\foghil] > [\foghil] > [foul] [foul]$. 

After front vowels we may suppose that the sound was fronted to become the breathed palatal spirant $[\xi]$. An $i$-glide was developed after the open $e$ in Midland forms as is shown by the rare spellings height (Pricke of Conscience) and hey (Psalter) for 'height' and 'high' (O.E. héah). The development would be O.E. héah $>[\he:q] > [\he:q] > [\he:q] > [\he:q] > [\he:q]$.

After the close $\epsilon$, which was regular in Northern M.E. before $gh$, and after short $i$, the sound fell, and the preceding vowels became lengthened to the long close $\epsilon$. Rolle's neghen was probably necsan. His light was probably [lecht]. But the spirant sounds indicated by $gh$ were falling as early as the fourteenth century, as Rolle's spellings, did died; hey high; nest (superlative of neghe nigh) next; and awn, bow, and law, mentioned above, indicate. Minot (ca. 1350) has once in (eyes) rimming with 'pine,' instead of the usual 'eghen.' He rimes dy (North M.E. deghe), to die, with 'company.'

82. The glottal breathing, $h$, was probably sounded, though there is no clear evidence. In the modern dialects of Lowland Scotland and Northumberland it remains, but it is not heard in the dialects of North and East Yorkshire.

83. The liquids $l, m, n, r$ and $ng$ $[\eta]$ represented their O.E., Scand., or French originals, and were voiced as in Modern English. $l, r$, and $n$ also represented the O.E. and Scand. initial breathed sounds spelled $hl, hr, and hn$, which had become voiced, e.g. laughter; rout to shout; nit louse. $n$ before $k$ or $g$ was pronounced $\eta$ as in Modern English.

$r$ was probably trilled as in Modern Scotch dialects. There was no metathesis of O.E. $r$ in bren to burn; bridde bird; crud curd; thrid third; and thurgh through.

84. $yh$, spelled also $3$ sometimes in Rolle's Psalter, was probably the voiced palatal spirant $[\j]$, Mod. Eng. $y$, as in 'you.' It represented: (1) O.E. ge, gi (= Germanic $j$) as yhowthe youth;

1 Cf. § 177.
2 Wright, English Dialect Grammar, p. 254, § 357.
85. *w* was voiced as in Modern English, but the voiceless sound (O.E. *hw*) remained, and was written *wh* or sometimes *qu*, as *whel* wheel; *whilk* or *quilk* which. Probably this voiceless sound was becoming voiced (as in the modern dialect) as early as the fourteenth century. The spellings *wethir* whether; *warso* whereasever, indicate this. It may have been pronounced before consonants, as *wlatsome* loathsome; *wrepe* wrath (subs.), but the spelling *latsome* occurs, indicating that *w* was not always sounded in this position.

86. *ch* [tʃ], as in Modern English, represented O.E. 'palatal' *c* before front vowels, as *chyn* chin; *cheese* to choose. It is necessary to remember that O.E. *c* before front vowels which resulted from the mutation of back vowels was preserved as *k*, e.g. *kyng* king; *ken* keen; *ch* also stood for O.Fr. *ch* as *chace* to chase; *chaunge* to change; *riche* rich.

87. *j* [dʒ] represented O.French *j* initially, as *jaunys* jaundice; *joy* joy. Medially and finally the same sound was written -*ge*, e.g. *chaunge* change; *age* age.

88. *qu* was pronounced *kw* and represented Romance *qu*, O.E. *cw* or Scand. *kv*, e.g. *quite* to requite; *quakand* quaking. This *qu* [kW] must be differentiated from the voiceless *w* (§ 85), which was sometimes spelled with *qu* in Hampole's *Psalter*, in imitation of the Scotch scribes who regularly wrote *qu* for *wh*, cf. Barbour's *quhen* when; *quhile* while; *quhethir* whether. The English spelling was *wh*. 
CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VOWELS
IN STRESSED SYLLABLES

The English Element

89. The object of the following chapter is to trace the development of the present vowel system of the dialect. I begin from Middle English because, after working out the development from Old English, Scandinavian, and Anglo-French, I found such confusion and repetition in the huge mass of material I had collected, that I felt I must resort to a basis which would afford some regular system for the classification of the multitude of vowel sounds which it was necessary to work out in a speech compounded of at least three national elements. This unity I found in Middle English. After consideration, I decided to leave out, as far as practicable, all dialect forms which agree with the 'standard' English of the nineteenth century, for we can never definitely say that they have not been borrowed from the educated speech, if not of this generation, of the generations which influenced the dialect during the late eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth century. Their value is doubtful, and such forms are only included, either where genuine dialect words could not be brought forward to illustrate, or where it was necessary to state that the dialect development of a given Middle English sound agrees with the standard development.

1. Short Vowels.

M.E. a.

90. M.E. a remains in the dialect as a, except that in some instances it has become e before dental consonants. There has
been no lengthening before the voiceless spirants r, s, th, no nasalisation of a to o before η, and no rounding to e after w as in standard English. Even before r, the seventeenth-century lengthening of a to e: in the fashionable language is only partially exemplified.

91. M.E. a, from Anglian æ, ea (W. Germ. a) in closed syllables, or in open syllables followed by a suffix containing l, m, n, or r, appears as a:

aft (O.E. hæft) a handle; anl handle; as ashes; band twine; bas bast, mat; baθ bath; brant (O.E. brant) steep; bran niu (O.E. brand, burning) brand new; bras money; brazek wild mustard; brazn impudent; daft (O.E. gedæfte, meek) foolish; glas glass; fad(e)(r) (Rolle fader) father; faθm fathom; flake(r) (cf. O.E. flacor (adj.) flying) to flutter; galesiz (a double pl. form, O.E. galga, M.E. galwes + es) braces; gam (O.E. gamen) a game; jars milfoil; kaf (Rolle caffe) chaff; klam (O.E. clam) a clamp, claw-grip of a crane; klamd thirsty (cf. O.E. clam sticky); kani wise, skilful; kanl candle; kasl castle; ladl ladle; lat (O.E. lætt) lath; pankin a pipkin; paθ path; sakles (O.E. sacleas) foolish, simple; sam (O.E. sañnian) to collect; sal shall; satl (O.E. sahtlian, Rolle sahttel) to settle; stapl a staple; jap (O.E. gesceap, Rolle, Yorks. Mys. shappe) shape; tjavl (cf. O.E. céaflas, jaws) to gnaw; tjat (cf. Swed. kötte) a pine-cone; blaj (cf. Low G. plasken) to splash; θak thatch.

A short vowel occurs also in jak (O.E. scecan) to shake, probably by analogy with mak to make; tak to take; and in jam (O.E. sceam) shame which appears to have been influenced by O.I. skamm.

92. M.E. a from shortening of O.E. å remains: aks to ask; ask (O.E. æxexe) a newt; also M.E. a due to the shortening of O.E. æ to a before dental consonants, in blade(r) bladder; blast blast; 'bad,' 'fat,' 'mad,' etc.; and M.E. a from the shortening of O.E. ea in saf (O.E. sceaf) a sheaf.

93. M.E. a preceded by w, which became o in standard English towards the end of the seventeenth century, appears as æ in the dialect:
swan a swan; swap to exchange; wakn to awake (int.), to waken (tr.); war (Rolle war) was; wat what; watæ(r) (Rolle watter) water; watf watch.

94. N.M.E. a, before -ng, regularly remains as a:
  ñmanţ (Psalms amang) among; straţ (Rolle strang) strong;
  ñraţ (O.E. ñrang) a crowd; lanţ (Rolle lang) long; warjkl (O.E. wancol) unstable.

But a has become e in tenz (O.E. tange, Clavis tengs) pl. tongs, and in ten to nip, sting, which appears to be a derivative (O.E. *tangian, M.E. *tengen); it cannot be derived from O.E. stingan to sting. Possibly the verb has been influenced by the Scandinavian form, cf. O.I. tengja to tie.

And a appears as o before n in moni (O.E. manig, M.E. moni) many, and its associate oni (O.E. òëñig, M.E. ani) any.

95. N.M.E. agh, O.E. ah, appears as af in: lafte(r) (Rolle laighter) laughter; and slaftæ(r) (Cath. slaughter) slaughter.

96. M.E. al, auļ (Anglian al, O.E. eal), followed by another consonant, has become ñ. Probably the introduction of the u-glide between a and l took place before the same change in standard English; certainly the l had fallen by the end of the seventeenth century, for the authors of the ‘Dialogues’ of 1673 and 1684 wrote aw in words of this class. Brokesby (1691) says: ‘In many words we change ol and ouļ, into auļ, as for “cold” they say caud; for “old,” aud;......for “Woulds,” wauds1.‘ The change may have been beginning in Rolle’s generation; I have found manyfaulde for ‘manifold.’ This is probable, for the auļ, from M.E. a before l, fell together with M.E. au. The development was [al > ñl > au >a: >o:]. Examples are:
  bok (O.E. balca) a rafter; f½: fold; fo:Ð to fold; fo:ð (Cath. falghe) fallow land; kɔf calf; kɔd (Rolle cald) cold; ɔ:Ð (Rolle alde, Clavis awd) old; ɔf half; ɔ:les always; ɔl all; mo:t malt; pɔ:mez (O.E. palm) willow catkins; so:vr salve; so:tt (Clavis sawt) salt; wɔ:dz Wolds; no:p (Clavis naue) to knock on the head.

But e:af half also occurs. Here the ñ: which developed has been fronted, like Northern M.E. ñ to ñ: > ñ:ə.

(a) The pret. and past-participles seld sold; teld told; which occur in Rolle as sold and tald (Clavis teld), show the mutated vowel of the present and infinitive stems, and agree with Wycliffe’s forms.

(b) Also a short vowel is found in omest (Clavis ommust) almost, and in od (Rolle hald) to hold. The vowel in hold was probably first shortened in the past participle, before the double consonant (e.g. odn pp. held). Clavis (1684) has the regular and to be expected form haud, but Marshall (1788) gives hod1, indicating that the vowel became short in the eighteenth century.

97. M.E. ar (Angl. ær, O.E. ear) before a following consonant usually appears as a:, and r has been assimilated to the second consonant:

a:dlinz hardly; a:dn to embolden, harden; a:f (O.E. earg, Clavis arfe) afraid, mean (heard in the phrase e a:fi suæt æv e feæ a listless, spiritless creature); a:li (O.E. ærlice, Rolle arly) early2; da:(r) vb. dare; ta:t (O.E. teart) sour; wa:d ward; wa:m warm; wa:t wart.

In these words the lengthening and fronting of a before r to e:r, current in the fashionable English of the seventeenth century4, does not appear to have taken place, or we should expect to find e:æ in the dialect to-day. There is no indication of such a change in the Yorkshire Dialogues of 1673 or 1684.

But in a few words a relic of this fronting remains, r has been assimilated as above, and the vowel appears as e:æ. The dialect here appears to have followed the standard language. In the nineteenth century for the first time, Castillo (ca. 1830) indicates this change by such spellings as ame arm, bain bairn, though most of his words containing M.E. ar are spelled either with ar, or ah. Examples are: e:em arm; be:en (Rolle barn) bairn; spe:ak spark.

The development might be indicated as follows:

M.E. ar + consonant > (1) early mod. Eng. ar > ar > a:, with lengthened vowel due to assimilation of r to following consonant;

2 Brokesby, 1691, gives the pronunciation of this word as ‘yarely.’
3 Horn, Historische neuenglische Grammatik, i. § 45. Wyld, Short History of English, § 222.
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or more rarely became (2) early mod. Eng. ār, and fell with M.E. ār to ē, in few English words, but in most French words (§ 254).

98. M.E. a has been raised before f to e in:

es ashtree; efin a beating; and wef (Cath. wescbe) to wash.

99. These are the only examples of f-breaking found in the dialect, but the phenomenon appears to be only part of a general lifting of a to e before dental consonants, e.g.

geqa(r) (Prose geder) to gather; kredl cradle; preti or prati (O.E. prætig, Cath. praty) pretty; weða(r) which of two; wen when; ed had; ez has; ezl hazel.

Also before -l in elța(r) halter.

For this latter raising of a to e before dentals and l, cf. the raising of e to i under similar conditions (§ 106).

M.E. e.

100. M.E. e generally appears in the dialect as e, save that before η, and in some cases before dental consonants, it has become i.

101. M.E. e from Anglian e, eo (W. Germanic e) and also from e, the I Mutation of a, in closed syllables, or in open syllables followed by a suffix containing l, m, n, or r, appears as e:

bela to bellow; beli belly; belas bellows; (vb.) to exhaust, to condition; bleb a blister; beriz gooseberries; ek (O.E. hecc, Cath. heke, Scots haik) a hay rack, or grating above a manger; eldæs parents; en3 (M.E. henge) hinge; evn (Rolle heven) heaven; jest (Cath. ȝeste) yeast; lenð (Rolle lenȝe) length; neb (O.E. nebb) beak; meldin (O.E. meledéaw, M.E. meldew) mildew; rezl weasel; seq (O.E. sece, Cath. segg) sedge; senz selves; senʒ (O.E. sengan, M.E. sengen) to singe; slek (O.E. sleccan, to slacken) to slake; snek (Cath. sneakke) sneak, latch; spel (O.E. speld, a torch) a taper; stevn (O.E. stefnian) to shout; stevn (Psalms steven) voice; thef (O.E. ðerscan, Cath. threshe) to thrash; θrefwud (Cath. threslewralde) threshold; wed to marry; wen (O.E. wenne) tumour; wet (O.E. hwettan) to sharpen; wetstn whetstone; weða(r) (O.E. weðer) a castrated ram; weqa(r) (O.E. weder, Rolle wedir) weather; benslin (cf. Low G. benseln, to beat) a beating.

M.E. e from the shortening of O.E. ē, Anglian ē, remains in:
debó depth; from O.E. e inapel slept; feÁœful (O.E. feferfuge) feverfew; from O.E. y in reman (O.E. *rýmnian) to remove.

A short vowel occurs in nevi (O.E. nefa) nephew, but this has probably been influenced by O. Fr. neveu.

M.E. e, O.E. eo has become a in jala (Cath. galowe) yellow, probably by analogy with ‘sallow,’ ‘tallow,’ ‘fallow,’ etc.

102. M.E. e before i, has become i, as in the standard pronunciation: liŋə(r) to linger; miŋl to mingle, etc.

103. M.E. e before lđ became lengthened early in the history of the language, and words of this class are dealt with under M.E. ě, but another lengthening took place in the eighteenth century. It is alluded to by Marshall in his Rural Economy of Yorkshire 1788, vol. II., p. 310: ‘The e short before l and n,’ he says, ‘is lengthened by the y consonant...thus: well (a fountain) becomes weyl; to fell to feyl; men meyn; ten teyn.’

The only relics of this change appear to be beał (O.E. bellan) to roar; and jeał (O.E. ĝellan) to yell.

104. M.E. er (Angl. er, ěar; O.E. eor) before a following consonant often appears as a:, which is also the usual development of M.E. ar + consonant. The two sounds appear to have fallen together in the fifteenth century. The Catholicicon has sometimes -er and sometimes -ar. The authors of the Yorkshire Dialogues spelled with -ar words which the Middle English scribes had written with -er. We might indicate the development as follows:

M.E. ar + cons. > ar > (1) usually ar > a:, with lengthened vowel due to loss of r.

M.E. er + cons. < ar < (2) rarely ěr, and fell with M.E. ěr to e:ə, in arm, bairn, spark, and perhaps in earth and earnest.

It is necessary to emphasise the difference made by a second

1 Possibly debó depth was formed from M.E. depe by the addition of the -th suffix after the analogy of M.E. highth, length, strength etc. In this case the vowel merely became short before the double consonant.

2 This is a case of the shortening of the long vowel in the first syllable of a trisyllabic word. See Luick, QuantitÁEteveränderungen im Laufe der englischen Sprachentwicklung. Anglia 20, p. 335 et seq. For O.E. feferfuge must have become feffew, or confusion with feather-feuille could not have taken place.
consonant following the r, for M.E. er in an open syllable was pronounced e:r in M.E. and appears in the modern dialect as i-ə(r).

(a) Most words containing M.E. er followed by a consonant suggest early mod. English ar:

*a:b* herb; *a:n* to earn; *a:nist* earnest; *a:s* (Cath. erse) rump; *a:θ* (Cath. harthe) hearth; *a:t* (Rolle hert) heart; *da:lin* (O.E. déorling, Rolle derlyng) darling; *fa:din* (O.E. feorðung) farthing; *fa:m* (Cath. ferme) farm; *la:n* to learn; *wa:k* (O.E. weorc, Rolle wers, Clavis worse) adj. worse; *wa:ld* (Rolle wold) world.

To these must be added words containing M.E. er, which are now spelled with -ar in the literary language, such as ‘far,’ ‘starve,’ ‘tar’ (Cath. ter), etc.; and perhaps *ba:fn* (Cath. bargham) a horse-collar. All the words of French origin containing M.E. ër (§ 257) have had this, the regular, development.

(b) The only words which indicate the lengthening of M.E. er to e:r are *jenist* earnest, and *jeθ* (Prose erth), in which the vowel may have had the following development, [er > e:r > iə > je].

105. But M.E. er followed by a consonant occasionally became confused with M.E. ir.

(a) The pronunciations *oθ* earth, and *wold* world, are often heard, and point to earlier forms containing M.E. -ir (cf. § 114). *bon* (Rolle bren) to burn is derived from M.E. birne, recorded in the *Catholicon Anglicum*.

(b) The following words probably represent late M.E. forms containing -ir, lowered in Early Mod. Eng. to er (cf. § 107), and r has been assimilated to the following dental consonant:

*jeθ* (Angl. ğerd) yard, 3 feet; *jet* (Angl. scerte) shirt; with metathesis in *ges* (O.E. ġær, græs, Rolle gres, Clavis girse) grass; *gen* to grin; *geni* peevish.

106. M.E. e has become i before dentals in the following words:

*friʃ* fresh; *it* (Rolle ette) pp. itn, to eat; *jistade* (Cath. ğister-day) yesterday; *rist* rest; *stritʃ* to stretch; *tiɡidə(r)* (O.E. æt-gædere, Rolle togidere) together; *wizn* (O.E. wæsend, Early Mod. Eng. wesand) weasand, gullet.
Also before i in: *jil* to shell (peas); *wilk* a welk; *wile* (O.E. welig) willow.

**M.E. i.**

107. M.E. i regularly appears as i in the present dialect, but there is evidence that it was not always so. We have the word *plet* (M. Du. splitted) to split, and such forms as *krekit* cricket, *renʃ* to rinse. But above all, the evidence of the following rimes from *A Yorkshire Dialogue of 1684*—

*finnd*, *end*; *whickens*, *breckins*; *Pegg*, *whig*; *ill*, *tell*; *rest*, *wist*; *will*, *sell*; *Tib*, *web*, etc.—shows that late in the seventeenth century, short i was a very lax i¹, such as is now heard in many Scottish dialects. Whether this change began in the Middle English period, for the Yorkshire scribes wrote *cete* for city; *pete* for pity; *preson* for prison, etc., is more difficult to establish.

What is important is that M.E. i, from O.E. ē, sank to e and has been raised, probably before 1788, for Marshall has nothing to say upon the subject, back again to i:

*bid* to offer a price, to invite to a funeral; *bizi* (*Rolle* bisy) busy; *biznas* business; *bitʃ* bitch; *drinkinz* nunchon; *fiŋa(r)* finger; *flik* (Cath. flyke) fitch; *gidi* fickle; *grizl* gristle; *inja(r)* to hinder; *jis* (O.E. ēse) yes; *jit* (O.E. ēet, *Rolle* yhit) yet; *krïk* a twist, spasm; *krïŋklu* to wrinkle; *mitʃ* (O.E. micel) much; *nit* (O.E. hnitu) a louse's egg; *pik* (Cath. pikke) tar; *pik* (vb. tr.) to give birth prematurely; *pik-fork* pitchfork; *rig* ridge, back; *sin* (O.E. sītan, *Rolle* sythen, *Clavis* sine, *Cast.* sahn) since; *sinə(r)* (O.E. sinder, cf. O.I. sindr) cinder; *siv* (O.E. sife) sieve; *spinl* axle; *stïŋʒi* stingy; *swimi* dizzy; *jitʃ* to move, to remove; *jitʃ* chemise; *tik* a sheep-louse; *tit* (O.E. tit) a teat; *titi* breastmilk; *twïŋʒ* to nip, to ache; *twïŋklin* an instant; *twïtʃ* to tighten a cord; *wïntə(r)* winter; *wispa(r)* to whisper; *wïsp* a bunch of hay; *wïʃt* (int.) silence!; *wizn* (O.E. wisnian) to wither; *kïŋkof* chincough, whooping-cough².

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² If this word was borrowed from the Scandinavian, it must have been taken over before n became assimilated to kk, cf. Swed. kikhosta.
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108. M.E. \(i\) from O.E. \(y\) appears as \(i\), as a rule; although a few \(e\) and \(u\) forms occur in the dialect.

\(i\) forms; \(brig\) bridge; \(didl\) to cheat; \(dip\) sheepwash; \(dizi\) giddy; \(figd\) fledged; \(kil\) a kiln; \(e'kin\) related; \(klik\) (O.E. clyccan) to clutch; \(ig\) (O.E. hyge, mind, mood, pride) ill temper; \(pile\) pillow; \(pitid\) (adj.) blemished with rust spots; \(rig\) (O.E. hrycg) ridge, back; \(trimd\) (adj.) pleased.

M.E. \(i\) from shortening of O.E. \(y\) remains in \(thiml\) (O.E. \(tyymel\)) thimble.

109. \(e\) forms: \(beri\) (Rolle bery) to bury; \(mena\) (O.E. myne, Cath. menowe) a minnow; and, of course, the standard ‘left’ and ‘merry.’

Also, with assimilation of \(r\) to a following dental, in: \(waks-kenl\) (O.E. cyrnel) a cyst; and \(sket\) (O.E. scyrte, a skirt) skirt; but the latter may come from Scand. \(skypta\) § 207. Rolle has also \(threst\) (to thirst), \(bren\) (to burn). Marshall (1788) cites ‘rush’ as \(ref\), but the usual dialect word is \(si'af\) (O.I. sef).

110. \(u\) forms: \(brunst\) (O.E. bryne, flame, Psalms brunstan) brimstone, sulphur; \(runl\) (O.E. rynel) a spring (in place-names); \(stub\) to uproot (O.E. stybb, a stump); \(umlak\) (O.E. hymlice) hembrook; in \(wutfet\) (O.E. wyrtgeard) orchard, \(r\) has, in each syllable, been assimilated to the following dental consonant. To these words must be added the standard ‘blush,’ ‘crutch,’ ‘comely,’ and ‘shut.’

111. This triple appearance of O.E. \(y\) as \(i\), \(e\), and \(u\), in a Northern dialect, as far asunder from Kent and the South-West Midlands in the late Middle Ages as England is from New York to-day, indicates that \(e\) and \(u\) are not developments peculiar to Kent and the South-West respectively. The above \(e\) and \(u\) forms can hardly be borrowings; it is likely that they developed in Northern English directly from O.E. \(y\). The orthodox opinion is that O.E. \(y\), and the \(y\) from Scandinavian sources, were always unrounded to \(i\) in Northern Middle English. I believe the \(e\)-forms to be relics of a M.E. lowering of \(y\) to \(e\), and possibly the \(u\) forms are derived from an O.E. \(u\) unmutated to \(y\).

112. M.E. \(i\) usually remained short before \(-nd\), e.g. \(bind\) to bind; \(blind\) blind; \(find\) to find; \(grind\) to grind; \(bijjint\) behind; \(rind\) rind; \(wind\) wind; \(wind\) to wind.
But it lengthened to M.E. \(\ddot{a}\), and became \(\ddot{a}\); in the eighteenth century (§ 151) before -ld: wa:\(\ddot{a}\)ld wild; ta:\(\ddot{a}\)n (O.E. tind) a spike. M.E. \(\ddot{a}\) is also short before -mb, e.g. klim to climb.

113. On the contrary, M.E. \(\ddot{a}\) from O.E. \(\acute{y}\) became long before -nd, and developed like M.E. \(\ddot{a}\) before voiced consonants to \(\ddot{a}\): in:

k\(\acute{a}\)nd kind; m\(\acute{a}\)nd mind.

114. M.E. \(\ddot{a}\), before \(r\) followed by a consonant, has regularly become o, and \(r\) has been assimilated where a dental consonant followed: the development was probably [\(\ddot{a}r>\ddot{a}r>o(r)\)]. Examples are:

- bod bird; bork birch; or (O. and M.E. hire) her; storep stirrup; tforep to chirp; tfotf church; \(\acute{\theta}\)od (Rolle thred) third; \(\acute{\theta}\)otti (O.E. \(\acute{\theta}\)ritig, Rolle thretty) thirty; \(\acute{\theta}\)ot\(\acute{t}\)im thirteen; wo\(\acute{\theta}\) (O.E. wier\(\acute{e}\)) worth.

The Early Mod. Eng. lowering of \(i\) to \(e\) remains in kesm\(\acute{e}\)s (M.E. cristenmas) Christmas, and in kesn (O.E. cristnian) to christen, where metathesis of \(r\) has been followed by its assimilation to the following s.

115. M.E. \(\ddot{a}\) from O.E. \(\acute{y}\) also became o before \(r\), with loss of \(r\) before dentals:

- bodn burden; bo\(\acute{\theta}\) birth; fost first; stor to stir; worm worm; \(\acute{\theta}\)ost (O.E. \(\acute{\theta}\)yrst, Rolle threst) thirst; wori to worry; work (O.E. wyr\(\acute{e}\)can, Prose wyrke) to work.

M.E. o.

116. M.E. o from O.E. o in closed syllables, including o followed by a single consonant and a suffix containing an l, m, n, or r, regularly appears as o.

- bodm bottom; bore to borrow; bo\(\ddot{a}\)e(r) to bother; brokn (pp.) broken; don to dress; dof to undress; dokin dock (plant name); fond (pp. of M.E. fonnen, to be foolish) (adj.) silly; frozn (pp.) frozen; kod (O.E. codd) husk of peas and beans; ku\(\acute{e}\)-\(\acute{n}\)-kokl (O.E. coccel, tares) cornflower; kolap a slice; kroft a field (in place names); krop craw (of a fowl); los (O.E. los, destruction) loss; hence los (v.) to lose; jon yon; nodl head; ofnz often; olin (O.E. holegn, M.E. holin) holly; opn open; o\(\ddot{a}\)e(r)
otter; pok a pustule; post post; prod, a spike, vb. to prick; snot nose-mucus; sodn saturated; spoken (pp.) spoken; spot situation; topin front hair of the head; trod a footpath; trof (Cath. A, throghe) trough; trost a thrush; troth to strangle; Sof (N.M.E. thof, poft) though; and with metathesis of o and l in golsp (M.E. gloppen) to gulp, and its derivative, gol a fledgeling bird.

Short vowels are found in bodi (O.E. bodig) body; and in popi (O.E. popig) poppy, where a lengthened vowel in the open syllable would be regular.

English g has remained through the M.E. period in og (O.E. hogge) a yearling sheep; and also in ‘dog’ and ‘frog.’

117. M.E. ol, O.E. ol, followed by a second consonant appears as ou. The development was [ol > ɔl > ou]. In the dialect, l fell before 1680. The Clavis has ow in words of this class. Examples are:

bousta(r) bolster; boul (O.E. bolla) a bowl; bout bolt; kouta(r) (M.E. colter < L. culter) coulter (of a plough); kout colt; goud (Clavis gowd) gold; moudiwa:p (O.E. molde, earth + weorpan to cast) a mole; stoun (Clavis stown) (pp.) stolen; toul toll, vb. to toll.

But usworth occurs in fowkes (Clavis fowkes) folks, which appears to be borrowed. The vowel implies a M.E. ə.

118. M.E. o before -rn and -rd became lengthened to ɔi in some words. The change probably took place before 1673, for the Yorkshire Dialogue of that date spells ‘morn’ as moarne. This Early Mod. ə has developed, like M.E. ɔ, to ə:

bued board; ku-en corn; mu-en morning; ti-mu-en tomorrow; ti mu-en tni:t tomorrow evening; ṭu-en thorn; u-ed hoard; u-en horn; and in the past participles, bu-en born; swu-en sworn; tu-en torn; fu-en shorn; wu-en worn.

119. There is no evidence to show that M.E. o was ever lengthened before r in the following words, where r has been assimilated to a following dental consonant:

(wat) for? (int. adv.) why; fork fork; storm storm.

əfod to afford; moðe(r) (O.E. morðor) murder; noθ north; noðren northern; os horse; jof short; wod word.
120. M.E. *u* from O.E. *u* has regularly remained:

- *bluba(r)* to weep; *buta(r)* butter; *drunkn* drunken; *dum* dumb; *dul* dull; *fulak* (O.E. full + suffix -ok) speed, rushing movement; *guts* entrails; *junγ* young; *krudz* (M.E. crud) curds; *klusta(r)* a bunch, cluster; *kud* (O.E. cudu) cud; *kudl* to embrace; *kum* to come; *lur* love; *rud* red ochre; *stunt* (O.E. stunt) obstinate; *sum* some; *sumat* something; *sun* sun; *tuml* to tumble; *unqad* hundred; *unγa(r)* hunger; *unγed* hungry; *θunγa(r)* thunder; *wur* wood; *tunγ* (O.E. tunge, Rolle tung) tongue.

Metathesis of *u* and *r* is seen in *θurγ* (O.E. surh, Rolle thurgh) through.

121. *u* has usually remained short before -nd: *bun* (pp. of bind) bound; *fun* (pp.) found; *grand* ground; *grunγ* groundsel; *grunz* (pl.) sediment; *grunγtn* grindstone; *pund* pound; and of course in *wunqα(r)* wonder.

But it appears long in *sund* healthy; *unγd* hound; and in *wunγnd* wound, which therefore fall under suspicion of being borrowings from literary English, with dialect substitution of *ʊ:*

for lit. Eng. *ou.*

An early modern English lowering of *ʊ: to ɔu* remains in *pound* (O.E. pund, an enclosure) (1) pond, (2) pound (for cattle).

122. Before -ld, M.E. *u* has become long, and *l* has been assimilated in:

- *fuγa(r)* (O.E. sculder, Rolle shulder) shoulder.

123. Medial M.E. *u* has become vocalised to *ʊ* in:

- *aγuν* (Rolle abouen, Clavis aboon) above.

124. Before *r*, M.E. *u* has regularly become *o*, and *r* has usually been assimilated when a dental consonant followed. The change was probably developed as follows [ur > ər > o(r)].

- *bor* burr; *bordok* burdock; *bore* borough; *borli* (O.E. būrlic) burly; *dost* (v.) durst; *fore* furrow; *kor* cur; *kos* to curse; *mon* (O.E. murnan, Cast. mon) to mourn; *monin* mourning; *ori* to hurry; *orl* to hurl; *spor* spur; *tod* (Cath. turde) dung; *ton* to turn; *torf* turf.
125. In *su·ed* (O.E. *sweord*, M.E. *swurd*) sword¹, M.E. *u* was
lengthened before -rd in the early Modern English period to ə²,
which has developed like M.E. ɔ in the dialect to u·ə, r being
assimilated to the following dental consonant.

2. *Long Vowels.*

M.E. ə.

126. M.E. ə has a double development in the Hackness
dialect. In a few words it appears as ə·ə, usually it has become
i·ə. A similar double development occurs in the Cumberland
dialect of Lorton, where M.E. ə appears either as ə: or as əə.³
This indicates that M.E. ə, which normally yielded ə·ə in
the dialect of Hackness, was usually fronted in M.E. to ə and
fell, together with M.E. ə, in the greater number of words to i·ə.
The *Yorkshire Dialogues* of 1673 and 1684 have ə, rarely əə,
for this vowel. Brokesby (1691) tells us: 'Many words are varied by
changing o into ə,...so for "both" we pronounce bath, for "bone"
bane...for "home" hame...for "stone" stane⁴,' by which he probably indicated ə.
Marshall (1788) says: 'the a long is generally,
but not invariably, changed into eea;' by which he indicates either
ia or i·ə. The line of development then would be [ə: > ə: > ə·ə
(> ə·ə) > i·ə], but words such as əal ale, əak oak, əan one, etc.
almost force one to believe that when M.E. ə became diphthongised,
a remained as the outglide in some such development as the follow-
ing: [ə: > əa > əə > ia]; for these words, if derived from forms
containing early modern English i·ə, would normally appear as
jel, jen, etc. (§ 104 b). Borrowings from literary English, which
have ou in the standard pronunciation, appear in the dialect with
ɔ; as ɔ:li holy, əəkn token.

¹ For loss of w before a rounded vowel, see Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar.*
Vol. 1., p. 211, and Horn, *Historische neuenglische Grammatik,* 1., p. 141, § 175.
⁴ Postscript to John Ray's Preface to *A Collection of English Words,* etc., B.D.S.
⁵ *Rural Economy of Yorkshire,* Vol. ii., p. 310.
127. M.E. ā, caused by the lengthening of O.E. a in open syllables, has become eə in all borrowed words having ei in standard English; and in: bi'eəv to behave; fsēðə(r) father; fre-am (O.E. framian) to show ability; re-am (O.E. sceadu, M.E. *schade) a shed.

(a) It has developed a stage further to iə, indicating M.E. fronting of ā to ê in:

bli'ed blade; di'el dale; gri'ek drake; gri'ep (Clavis drape) a barren cow; gri'ev (O.E. grafan) to dig; i'am (Cath., Clavis hame) the iron rod on a horse-collar; li'em lame; li'et late; mi'an mane; mi'ed made; ni'ekt naked; ni'am name; si'ak sake; si'al sale; si'am same; spi'ed spade; spi'and (O.E. spanan, to allure, Rolle spaned pp.) weaned; ti'el tale.

The occasional form ni'ez (O.E. nasu, Rolle, Cath. nese) nose, appears to belong to this class.

(b) Traces of a former ia, still found in the Lakeland dialects, occur in the following words, which bewray a shifting of accent from ia to id, and the resulting change of i into a consonant: jak(r) acre; jakran acorn; jak (O.E. ealu) ale; jak (O.E. geat, Psalms yate, Clavis yate) gate.

128. M.E. ā, the Northern survival of O.E. ā, has become eə in the strong preterites: dre'ev drove; re'ed rode; re'et wrote; re'ez rose; re'ev rived; stre'ed strode; tsē'ez (O.E. ēæs) chose, and in me'est (Rolle mast) most.

(a) But otherwise it regularly appears as iə, indicating M.E. fronting of ā to ê in:

bri'ed (Rolle brad) broad; bi'an bone; bi'æth both; gri'ev (sub.) drōve; gi'est ghost; gri'ep to grope; gri'æn to groan; gi'an gone; i'el (O.E. hāl, N.M.E. hale) whole; i'am (Yorks. Dial. heame, Clavis hame) home; i'et (adj.) hot; kli'æth (Rolle clath) cloth; kli'az clothes; li'ad (Rolle lade) load; li'æf loaf; eli'æn (Rolle allane) alone; ni'æ (Clavis neay) no; ni'æn (Rolle, Clavis nane) none; ri'ad road; sti'æn (Rolle, Clavis stane) stone; si'æ (Rolle swa, Yorks. Dial. seay) so; si'æp soap; swi'æt sweat; twi'æ (Rolle twa, Clavis tweay) two; ti'æ toe; ti'æd (Cath. tade) toad; wi'æ who; also before M.E. gh in di'æf (O.E. dāg, Cath. daghe, Yorks. Dial. deaug) dough.
(b) Initial i is consonantal in: *jak* (Cath. ake) oak; *jal* (Rolle hale) whole; *jam* home; *jan* (Rolle an) one; *jans* (Brokesby yance) once.

129. (a) M.E. ār from O.E. ār regularly appears as *e·e*. Brokesby (1691) indicates the pronunciation of ‘more’ as *mare*¹, but the fronting of ā took place at an earlier date, for Rolle, in the fourteenth century, had rime of *mare* (more) with *ware* [O.E. were (subj.)]. But ‘*ware*’ is influenced by the indicative ‘*war*.’ The regular form was *were* [wεr]. Examples of M.E. ār are: *mē·e(r)* (Rolle mare, Clavis mare) more; *sē·e(r)* (Rolle sare) sore.

(b) M.E. ār also appears as *e·e* in words which had long ār in Middle English, owing to the lengthening of O.E. a in an open syllable—‘bare,’ ‘hare,’ ‘care,’ etc.

130. M.E. ā from the lengthening of O.E. a before -mb and -st, appears as *i·e*: *ki·em* comb; *wi·em* (Yorks. Dial. wayem) belly; *wi·e·st* (?O.E. *waest*, cf. wæstm, growth) waist; but *lām*, lamb, has retained its short vowel, and the a in *blast* (O.E. bлаst), blast, indicates the shortening of the vowel in the Middle English period.

M.E. ē.

131. The open ē-sound, written e, ee by Rolle, and ea by the authors of the *Yorkshire Dialogues*, appears to have survived in the dialect until the end of the eighteenth century. Marshall (1788) wrote: ‘the diphthong *ea*...is still in common use in the dialect under notice. In the established pronunciation break is become *brake*; *tea* *tee*; *sea* *see*; but in this they are pronounced alike by a vocal sound between the e and the a long.’ Castillo (ca. 1830) wrote it *e·a*, indicating *i·a* or *i·e*. The author of the *York Minster Screen* (1833) wrote it *e·a*, where probably the comma denotes a falling diphthong. It appears in the dialect to-day as *i·e*, the line of development being [e > e·e > (e·e) > i·e].

132. (1) From O.E. \( e \) in open syllables:

- \( \text{bi-a(r)} \) to bear; \( \text{bri-æk} \) to break; \( \text{fri-æt} \) to fret; \( \text{æli-ævn} \) eleven;
- \( \text{mi-æ(r)} \) mare; \( \text{si-ævn} \) seven; \( \text{sti-æd} \) stead; \( \text{æst-æd} \) instead; \( \text{pi-æ(r)} \) pear;
- \( \text{swi-æ(r)} \) to swear; \( \text{ji-ælin} \) a once-shorn sheep; \( \text{ti-æ(r)} \) to tear; \( \text{tri-æd} \) to tread; \( \text{wi-æ(r)} \) to wear.

133. (2) From O.E. \( \tilde{a} \) (Anglian \( \tilde{a} \)), the I Mutation of a:

- \( \text{bli-etf} \) to bleach; \( \text{di-æl} \) deal; \( \text{i-æt} \) (Rolle hete) heat; \( \text{i-ærænd} \) errand; \( \text{i-etf} \) each; \( \text{kli-æn} \) clean; \( \text{li-æd} \) to lead; \( \text{li-æn} \) lean; \( \text{li-ædi} \) lady;
- \( \text{li-at} \) (Rolle heste) least; \( \text{li-ævnin} \) evening; \( \text{mi-æn} \) to mean;
- \( \text{ri-æd} \) to read; \( \text{os-ri-æs} \) horse-race; \( \text{ri-etf} \) (O.E. hræcan) to retch;
- \( \text{ri-æf} \) (O.E. raecan) to reach; \( \text{ri-æθ} \) wreath; \( \text{swi-æt} \) (s.) sweat; \( \text{swi-æt} \) to sweat; \( \text{spri-æd} \) to spread; \( \text{ti-æz} \) to tease; \( \text{ti-ætf} \) to teach; \( \text{wi-æt} \) wheat.

134. (3) From O.E. \( e \) (Anglian \( e \), W. Germ. \( a \)):

- \( \text{bri-æθ} \) breath; \( \text{bri-æð} \) to breathe; \( \text{bri-a(r)} \) (O.E. bræðr) briar;
- \( \text{gri-æt} \) (O.E. grætan, Rolle grete) to weep; \( \text{dri-æd} \) to dread;
- \( \text{fi-æ(r)} \) fear; \( \text{i-ævnin} \) evening; \( \text{ji-æ(r)} \) year; \( \text{li-æn} \) a loan; \( \text{li-ætf} \) leech;
- \( \text{mi-æl} \) meal; \( \text{spi-ætf} \) (Rolle speche) speech; \( \text{swi-æl} \) (O.E. swælan to burn) to gutter; \( \tilde{b}i-æ(r) \) there; \( \text{θri-æd} \) thread; \( \text{wi-æ(r)} \) where.

In Northern M.E., Anglian \( e \), the equivalent of Germanic \( \\tilde{a} \), remained; and the close sound is still heard in modern Scotch dialects in words of this class. The above are non-Anglian forms, Anglian \( e \) would have given i: in the Hackness dialect, except before r, when i:æ would be regular. Unless all the above words are recent borrowings, they indicate that Anglian \( e \) (O.E. \( \tilde{a} \)) usually became the 'open' sound M.E. \( e \) in Yorkshire, as in the Midland dialect. But a few forms with i: occur, cf. § 141.

135. (4) From O.E. \( e \) before r:

- \( \text{wi-æri} \) (O.E. wærig) weary\(^1\); \( \text{i-æ(r)} \) (Rolle here\(^3\)) here; \( \text{i-æ(r)} \) (Angl. hêran, Rolle here\(^3\)) to hear; \( \text{i-æd} \) heard.

136. (5) From O.E. \( é \) before r:

- \( \text{bi-æ(r)} \) beer; \( \text{di-æ(r)} \) dear; \( \text{dri-æri} \) dreary; \( \text{sti-æ(r)} \) steer, a young ox.

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1 Luick, Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte, p. 180, § 331.
2 The sound was long 'open' e: in The Pricke of Conscience; here (here) rimes with 'manere,' here (to hear) rimes with 'alere.'
137. (6) From O.E. ēa:

biːan bean; briːed bread; diːad (Rolle ded, Y. M. Screen de’ad) death; diːad (adj.) dead; diːef (Rolle deef) deaf; ə’giːən again; griːat great; iːad (O.E. hēafod, Rolle heved, hed) head; iːor (Rolle ere) ear; iːap heap; iːast east; liːad lead (metal); liːef (Rolle leef) leaf; biliːef belief; niːa(r) (O.E. hneaw) stingy, mean; by analogy with niːa(r) near; niːrand (Rolle nera) nigh; riːad red; stiːem steam; striːem stream; tiːem a team (of horses); tfiːap cheap; əriːap (O.E. ðreapian, to rebuke) to contradict; əriːetn (Psalms, Rolle threte) to threaten.

Also in: riːə (O.E. hrēa) raw, and striːə (O.E. strēa, Brokesby strea) straw.

138. M.E. ē has been shortened to e in:

bet (Angl. bēat for bēot, pret.) beat; elθ health; len (O.E. lēnan, Yorks. Dial. len) to lend; in efa(r) (O.E. ēahfore) heifer; in ‘less,’ ‘meadow,’ ‘wet’; and in the preterites ‘left,’ ‘lent,’ ‘meant,’ ‘read,’ and ‘slept.’

M.E. ē.

139. The close ē sound, also written e or ee by Rolle, and ee by the authors of the Yorkshire Dialogues of 1673 and 1684, has become i: in the dialect, as in standard English. Hence, only dialect words are here adduced as examples. The close ē arose in M.E. from various O.E. vowels, viz.:

140. (1) From Anglian ē for ē, I Mutn. of ā:

briːd (Rolle brede) breadth; shortened to i in: tfiz-kiːək (O. Merc. ēese) cheese-cake; iːə(r) (Rolle ever) ever; ivri every; niːə(r) never; and riːdi ready.

141. (2) From Anglian ë (O.E. ē, West Germanic ā):

diːd (Rolle deede) deed; tiːl eel; niːdiː needle; jìp (Psalms schepe) sheep; sìd seed; slìp to sleep; shortened to i in: jìpsta(r) (and in its vulgarised forms dʒìp, dʒìp-stuːlin) a starling; and jìpat (Cath. scheperde) shepherd. But this sound usually appears in the dialect as iːə, as if from M.E. ē, cf. § 134.

1 For the explanation of O.E. ēa in these words, see Wright, Old English Grammar, p. 48, § 75.
142. (3) From Anglian ē (I Mutn. of ēa, ēo):
risk to smoke; strip to strip; stri:pinz the last milk drawn from a cow after milking; nird (Rolle nede) need.

143. (4) From Anglian oe, ē (I Mutn. of ē):
briks breeches; fittinz footprints, spoor; fitt (Rolle fete) feet; sik (Rolle seke) to seek; shortened to i in: blis to bless; blisin blessing; and in diz do, dost, does.

144. (5) From Anglian ea, eo (Germanic iu):
brist (Rolle brest) breast; 4rip (O.E. dreopan) to drip; lif (O.E. leof) adv. soon, in such phrases as: ad ez lif gan ez nut = I would as soon go as not; tri: (Rolle tre) tree.

145. M.E. ē from O.E. ē which arose in stressed monosyllables\(^1\) appears as i: in the emphatic forms: i: he; ji: ye; mi: me; òi: thee; wi: we. In unemphatic forms, it occurs as i in: i he; wi we; and as ò in: je ye; me me; òe thee.

146. O.E. e before -ld lengthened to M.E. 'close' ē and appears as i:, as in standard English, in 'field,' 'yield,' and 'shield.' O.E. e also became long before simple l in wiil (Rolle wele) adv. well\(^2\). M.E. ē, due to the lengthening before -ld of e, lowered from i, the Northern development of O.E. y (§ 107), is indicated by the dialect forms: bi:ld to build; bi:ldin building. These forms cannot be derived from M.E. bilde, the normal Northern development of O.E. byldan. M.E. bilde would have given modern Hackness *ba:ld. The vowel is shortened before -lt in the pret. and pp. belt.

147. M.E. i often became lengthened in Northern M.E. to ē in open syllables\(^3\). The only evidences of this change which remain in the modern dialect are ívil (O.E. yfel, Rolle yvel) evil; nim (O.E. nigon) nine; stíl (O.E. stigol) stile; and, as in standard English, 'beetle' and 'week'; but this is not an argument against the likelihood of this sound-change, for M.E. e lengthened before l and n in the eighteenth century (§ 103), and yet scarcely an example of this sound-change remains.

\(^{1}\) Sievers, Anglosächsische Grammatik, p. 59, § 121; Wright, Old English Grammar, p. 50, § 95.

\(^{2}\) Büllring, Altenenglisches Elementarbuch, § 284.

\(^{3}\) Lüick, Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte, II., p. 209 et seq.
148. M.E. i also lengthened to ē in late M.E. when the palatal spirant, spelled gh, fell; and this late M.E. ē became i: in the early modern English period. The change was accomplished before 1684, for the spellings in the Yorkshire Dialogue, viz. neet (night), reet (right), etc., represent the present pronunciation. It is evident that before ñ, M.E. i was very lax; for had it been a pure i, its lengthening would have developed to si in the modern dialect before the following t, which occurs in words of this class. We may assume its development as follows: [iːt > eːt > eːt > iːt].

This M.E. eːt, spelled ight, arose from various O.E. combinations:

(1) From O.E. iht: breet bright; fīt (Prose fyght, Cath. feghtte) to fight; mīt (Rolle might) might; nīt night; plīt plight; rīt (Rolle right) right; sīt sight; sliit (Cast. sleeght) slight.

(2) From O.E. yht: fīt flight; fri:t to frighten; frīt fright; rīt (O.E. wyrhta) a wright.

(3) From O.E. ūht: līt (O.E. lihtan) to alight; līt (O.E. leoh for liht) adj. light; līts lungs.

(4) From Anglian ēht: līt (O. Merc. lēht, Rolle light) subs. light; lītnīt lightning.

This M.E. ē has been shortened to i in: fotniθ fortnight; and in lit (pret.) alighted.

149. M.E. ē from various sources, occurring before the palatal spirant, has had a like development, and has become i:. The Yorkshire M.E. spelling for words belonging to this class was -egh, but the spellings lee lie, to lie; ste: ladder; and thee thigh, in the Catholicon Anglicum show that the spirant was disappearing from the dialect as early as 1483. It was completely lost in the dialect before 1684, for the Clavis spelled words of this class with ee. The development would be [eː: > iː > iː]. Examples are:

(1) From O.E. ig, Northern M.E. ēgh: nim (Rolle neghen, Cath. neen, Castillo neen) nine; stīl (Clavis steel) stile1. In

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1 Words of this class are oftener heard to-day as nam, nine; stəl, stile; tad, tile; Fræde, Friday; where the dialect forms are borrowed from the literary English forms, with substitution of a: for ai before voiced consonants.
these words the M.E. ë was due to the lengthening of i in an open syllable. For this lengthening cf. § 147.

(2) From Anglian ëg (O.E. ëeg): ti: (O.E. tiegan < tēag, rope) to tie; di: (Rolle deghe) to die.

(3) From Anglian ëg (O.E. ëag): i:, pl. i:ın (Rolle eghe, eghen) eye; di: (O.E. déagian) to dye.

(4) From Anglian ëh (O.E. ëah): i: (Rolle hegh, Cast. heegh) high; ni: (Rolle negb, Cast. neegh) nigh.

(5) From O.E. ëog: ërí: (O.E. gedréog sober) tedious, weary; fíi: (Rolle fleghe) to fly; fíi: (sub.) a fly; líi: (O.E. léogan, Cath. lee) to tell a lie; ñrí: (O.E. dréogan, Rolle dreghe) to endure.


Irregular is wai (O.E. wegan, M.E. weghen) to weigh, which appears to be influenced by wéit weight (see § 177).

150. M.E. ë has been shortened to i in:

bid (O.E. bëadan, Rolle bede) to offer, invite; divl (Rolle devel) devil: frínd (Rolle frende) friend; bísílnz (cp. O.E. biest, thick milk) beasings, the first milk after calving; óripns threepence; íps (O.E. hëope) wild-rose berries; ít (Rolle ete) pret. ate.

M.E. ë.

151. M.E. ë from O.E. i or ë has three developments. Before voiceless consonants, and before r, it appears as ei; at the end of a word it has become ai; but before voiced consonants it appears as au, indicating a development to di with subsequent loss of the unstressed constituent of the falling diphthong. The change took place during the eighteenth century. The authors of the Yorkshire Dialogues of 1673 and 1684 spelt M.E. ë as i or y in all positions, indicating ei or ai. Marshall in 1788 first indicated that 'before i' long ë had the sound of 'a broad (as in father, half, and before the letter r) as: mile, maal; stile, staal; and does not in any case take, in strictness, the modern sound, which is a diphthong composed of a broad and e' [ai], whereas its provincial sound

1 Luick, Studien zur englischen Lautgeschichte, p. 162.

2 Oftener to-day heard as ai and naí, borrowed from standard English.

3 Horn, Historische neuenglische Grammatik, i., p. 56. Spira, Englische Lautentwicklung, p. 238, § 706.
here’ (Pickering vale) ‘is the accepted sound of e short lengthened by the y consonant’ [ei]; ‘as white, wheyt; to write, to wreyt: a mode of pronunciation which perhaps formerly was in general use, but which now seems to be confined to provincial dialects.’

After the turn of the century, the author of the York Minster Screen and Castillo wrote M.E. ï before voiceless consonants and r, as ï (or y); and as ah (sometimes wrongly spelled ar) before voiced consonants. Marshall’s statement appears to imply that the lowering of M.E. ï to a: first took place before l. The dialect development would then be:

\[
i: > \text{ei} > \{\text{ei}, \text{and remains before r, and voiceless cons.} \} > \text{ai} > \text{a: before l, and voiced cons.}
\]

Borrowings from standard English often appear with ai, e.g. ailenand island, etc.

152. From O.E. ï, ei occurs before r and voiceless consonants in:

beit to bite; deik dike; eieren (O. and M.E. iren) iron; eis ice; gresip to gripe; leiif life; leik to like; meit mite; neif knife; peik (O.E. pican) to pick; peik (O.E. pic) a pointed round corn-stack; pep pipe; reip ripe; reit to write; seip (O.E. sipian) to ooze; f eit cacare; smeit to smite; twesis twice; weif wife; weip to wipe; weit white; weia(r) wire; and seik (Rolle swilk, slike) such.

O.E. ï has been shortened to i in fift fifth.

153. From O.E. ĕ, ei occurs before r and voiceless consonants in:

eis(r) hire; f eis(r) fire; keit (O.E. cîta) a kite; lsis lice; meis mice.

154. And ai is heard, finally, in kaï (O.E. kî) kine; draï (O.E. drîge, Rolle dry) dry.

155. From O.E. ñ, a: occurs before voiced consonants in:

a:vin (O.E. ifegn) ivy; baxd to bide; bra:dl bridle; dra:xv to drive; dwa:n (O.E. dwîn, Rolle dwayne) to dwindle; dwami

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1 The Rural Economy of Yorkshire, Vol. ii., p. 310.

2 The long vowel in North. M.E. piken is perhaps not due to the ‘vocalisation’ of k in Scan. pikka, as Dr Mutschmann suggests in his Phonology of the N.E. Scotch Dialect, p. 8, § 15. It may be merely the regular development of O.E. long i.
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languishing; fa:1 file; fa:v five; la:m lime; e'la:v alive; la:n flax; ma:l mile; ma:n mine; ra:d to ride; ra:ndi-(frost) (cf. Beowulf 1363, hrinde bearwas) hoar-(frost); ra:z to rise; sa:d side; stra:d to stride; swa:m (cf. Windhill swaim, p. 50, § 156) to climb a tree or pole; fa:n to shine; witsn-taid Whitsun-tide; ta:m time; twa:n twine; thain thine; wa:d wide; wa:l while.

156. From O.E. ɣ, a: occurs before voiced consonants in:
    a:v hive; ba:l (O.E. byl) a boil; bra:d bride; da:v to dive; pra:d pride.

    a: also occurs in la:tl (O.E. lytel) little, which is probably derived from an older contracted form *læl, with re-insertion of the t under the influence of literary English.

M.E. Ʒ.

157. M.E. open Ʒ has regularly become raised to u::e. In Northern Middle English this vowel arose from the lengthening of O.E. ȝ in open syllables:

    du::e(r) (O.E. dor) door; flu::et to float; fu::el foal; e'fu::e(r) before; ju::ek a yoke; ku::elz (Psalms koles) coals; klü::es (O.E. close) a close; nu::ez (O.E. nosu) nose; ru::ez rose; stu::ev stove; su::ek to soak; tjü::ek (M.E. choken) to choke; thru::et throat; u::el hole; u::ep hope.

    Also lu::en (O.E. lone, nasalised form of lane) a lane.

158. O.E. ǣ remained in Northern M.E., and was usually fronted to e: (§ 126). In the Midlands, however, as in the South, O.E. ǣ was rounded in early M.E. (1150—1250) to æ. The following words are borrowings from the Midland dialects. The regular development of O.E. ǣ in the Hackness dialect would be iːə, but this Northern vowel is gradually being displaced by uːə, the representative of the Midland development of O.E. ǣ. Many words have two forms, e.g. tiːed and tuːed toad, drieːv and druːev a drove, etc. The following are Midland forms:

    bruːed (Rolle brad) broad (§ 128); buːet boat; fuːam foam; gruːev groove; guːet goat; muːen moan; ruːed road (§ 128);
ru:ɔ(r) to roar; stru:ɔk to stroke; u:ər] hoary; u:əs (O.E. hás, Rolle Ps. hase) hoarse; u:əθ oath.

u is consonantal in wuits (O.E. ãtas) oats, by shifting of stress in an initial diphthong, from an earlier *u:ets. M.E. ã is shortened in onli (Rolle anly), which appears to be a spelling-pronunciation of literary English only.

The form poul (O.E. pâl) pole appears to be derived from M.E. pole, affected by the development of an u-glide before the 1; cf. soul (§ 175) soul.

M.E. õ.

159. The development of this sound to its present dialect equivalents i:e and ju is exceedingly difficult to deduce. It is generally supposed that long close õ in Northern M.E. became raised and fronted to a sound something like French u'. Certain rimes in The Pricke of Conscience suggest this; doos (pres. indic. of 'do') rimes with use (to use); fordoos (destroys) with vertues; some with fortone. But the present equivalents of M.E. õ in the dialect point to an Early Mod. Eng. su. I believe M.E. õ in North and East Yorkshire to have been a rounded diphthong, like the sound ëi sometimes heard in affected pronunciations of the modern ou in 'no,' neï. Starting from or, the development of an u-glide would give ou as in Modern English. This ou was fronted, and the diphthong became the mixed lax rounded ëi, afterwards partially un-rounded to ëi.

The later evidence confirms this. The Yorkshire Dialogue of 1673, which appears to record a North-West Yorkshire Dialect (Swaledale or Wensleydale), contains the following words: blood blude, fool fule, took teuk and tuke, also door deer. The u or eu indicates iu, the ee i:e before r². These sounds still remain in that dialect.

The Glavis to the Yorkshire Dialogue of 1684, which was written in the dialect of North-East or East Yorkshire, has eau

1 Lüöck, Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte, p. 67, § 119 et seq. Wright, English Dialect Grammar, p. 132.
2 Theo. Spira, Englische Lautentwicklung, etc., p. 55; p. 249.
very consistently in words containing M.E. ə. For example, 
cœaul (cool), deau (do), feaul (fool); feaut (foot), geause (goose),
neaun (noon), preauf (proof), reaut (root), seaun (soon), weaud
(wood, mad); also before r, deaur (door), seaur (sure), and k,
ceauke (cook), neauke (nook). This eau represents either eu or
e·ə, most probably the former. Brokesby (1691), writing on the
Dialect of Rowley (East Riding), says: 'In some words, for oo, we
pronounce eu, as œul, feul, eneuf, for cool, fool, enough. In some
words, instead of oo, or o, or oa, we pronounce ee, as deer for
door,...fleer for floor'. His eu represents eu or iu as the dialect
development of M.E. ə, and his ee shows a new change before r
to i·ə.

Marsball, writing of the Dialect of Pickering Vale in 1788,
describes the sound of M.E. ə (oo in the literary language) as 'ea
long'...'before t, l, m, th,' by which he means all consonants
except r and k. He instances 'boots beats, fool feal, broom bream,
and tooth teath3.' Having already defined 'ea' as 'a vocal sound
between the e and a long' (p. 309), and having differentiated it
from 'eea' [ia] (p. 310), the dialect development of 'a long' (M.E. ə),
he must mean that in his day M.E. ə had the sound e·ə, except
before r and k. He next speaks of the development before r
and k. The sound oo changes, he says, 'before r mostly into ee:
as floor fleer, door deer3,' which indicates a development to i·ə
before r. But 'the oo before k changes into u long; as book
buke, to look luke3,' by which he means that M.E. ə had become
iu before k.

In the modern Dialect of Hackness (1900), M.E. ə appears as
i·ə, with weakening and unrounding of the second element of the
diphthong, before all consonants, except gutturals. Before k, or
in a final position owing to the loss of a former guttural, M.E. ə
appears as ju3, owing to the retention of the outglide u before
velar consonants, and subsequent shifting of stress to the second
element of the diphthong.

1 Spira, Englische Lautentwicklung, p. 289.
2 Postscript to Ray's Preface to A Collection of English Words not generally used,
Tabulation of these records suggests the following line of development:

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) & > \text{eu} > \text{iu} \text{ in N.W. Yorks. (except before } r), \text{ and in N.E. Yorks. before gutturals.} \\
(2) & > e \cdot e > l \cdot e, \text{ first before } r \text{ in N.W. and N.E. Yorks., later in N.E. Yorks. before other consonants (except gutturals).}
\end{align*}
\]

O.E. \(\ddot{o} \) > M.E. ou > \(\ddot{o}\ddot{u} \) > \(\ddot{u}\ddot{u} \) > eu

The view that North. M.E. \(\ddot{o} \) was fronted to the sound of French \(u\), and that this \(y\) remained until the seventeenth century is incorrect for Yorkshire. Diphthongisation of M.E. \(\ddot{o} \) must have begun in the M.E. period, or we cannot account for the M.E. rimes like sone and fortone, or late M.E. forms like fewle (Cath.) from an earlier föghel fowl, and the well-marked diphthongisation of M.E. \(\ddot{o} \) in the seventeenth century Yorkshire Dialogues.

The unrounding and weakening of the second element of the diphthong eu first took place before \(r\) in Early Modern English (cf. Yorks. Dial., 1673) deer door, Brokesby (1691) fleer floor. For a similar unrounding before \(r\), compare also si-a(r) sure, § 297 b, and popular German Tier (Tür), natierlich (naturlich).

Borrowings from standard English appear in the dialect with u:, e.g. tu:l tool; u:f hoof; blu:m bloom.

160. M.E. \(\ddot{o} \) generally appears as i-a:

bli:ad blood; bri:am broom; di:a to do; di:en done; fli:a(r) floor; fi:st foot; gi:es goose; ki:el cool; gi:ev glove; mi:en (Psalms mone) moon; ni:en noon; ri:ef roof; ri:et (Rolle rote) root; ski:el (O.E. scöl) school¹; smi:ech smooth; spi:en spoon; sti:el stool; si:et soot; si:en soon; ti:et tooth; ti:to, too; fi:a (Rolle sho) she; fi:a (Cath. scho), pl. fi:en (Clavis sheaun) shoes; sti:ed (pret.) stood: wi:ed (Rolle wode, Clavis weaud) mad.

Shortened in fbin (lit. shoe-bind) bootlace, and in the unaccented forms di do, ti to, fi she.

¹ The vowel in school is not derived from O.Fr. escole, which would have yielded sku:el, but direct from Lat. scola, pronounced scôla, cf. O.H.G. and Ital. scuola.
(a) From M.E. lengthenings of O.E. ə, ə in open syllables to the long close ə, ə appears in: siəl (O.E. sole) sole, and diə(r) (O.E. duru, N.M.E. dore) door.

(b) Also from M.E. ə before gh (χ), when the spirant has become labialised to f: biəf (Rolle bughe) bough; tiəf (Rolle ynogh) enough; piəf (Cath. ploghe, Yorks. Dial. plewgh) plough; tiəf (O.E. tōh, Cath. toghe) tough.

161. But before k, and M.E. gh (χ), when it has fallen, M.E. ə has become iə.

(a) Before k, iə occurs in: biək (Rolle buke, boke) book; kiək to cook; liək (Rolle loke) to look; niək nook; fiək shook (pret.); tiək took (pret.). Also in juk (O.E. hōc) a hook, and its derivative verb juk to pull with a jerk.

And, from M.E. lengthening of O.E. ə in open syllables, before k, in: smiuk (O.E. smoca) smoke; smiuk (O.E. smocian, Skeat) to smoke.

(b) iə occurs in a final position, owing to the loss of a former velar spirant (M.E. gh), in: driək (O.E. drōg-on, Rolle drogh) drew; sliək (O.E. slōg-on, Rolle slogh) slew; fliək (Rolle flogh) flew.

And from the M.E. lengthening of O.E. ə in an open syllable to long close ə in: siəu (O.E. sugu, North. M.E. *sōghe) sow, pig; and medially in the rare word fiul (O.E. fugol, Rolle fōghel, Cath. fewle) fowl.

(c) M.E. ə occurs as juː: (from iəu, by stress-shifting in an initial diphthong) in ju:n (O.E. ofen, Rolle oven, Clāvis yune) oven, where medial u became o after a back vowel [oven → ōuen < ēuen > iu:n].

162. M.E. ə has become uə before r in: muə(r) moor².

163. M.E. ə has been shortened to u before dentals in:
bruðe(r) brother; muðe(r) mother; uðe(r) other; fud flood; fud (Yorks. Mys. p. 83, l. 262, fudde) food; gud (Rolle gudes = goods, Yorks. Mys. p. 215, l. 450, gud = goods) good; ud hood;

¹ Luick, Untersuchung en zur englischen Lautgeschichte, ii., p. 209 et seq.
² Probably due to the influence of the labial m, cf. fiə(r) floor; see Anglia, Beiblatt, June 1908, p. 179. Dr Mutenschmann suggests that the [uə] in puə(r) poor; and muə(r) moor is due to the initial lip-consonants.

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\( \text{fut} \) (O.E. sceótan, N.M.E. schut) to shoot; \( \text{munθ} \) month; \( \text{mundæ} \) Monday.

**M.E. \( \ddot{a} \).**

164. M.E. \( \ddot{u} \), spelled \( \text{ou} \), \( \text{ow} \) (from O.E. \( \ddot{u} \)), remains as \( \text{u} \):

- **bru:** brow; **brun** brown; **buns** to bounce; **æburt** about;
- **dun** (Rolle doun) down; **druzzi** drowsy; **glumi** gloomy; **ku:** cow;
- **klud** cloud; **klut** (O.E. clūt, Rolle clote) clout; **fumæt** (O.E. fælmeæt) a stoat;
- **lud** loud; **lus** louse; **mus** mouse; **muθ** mouth;
- **nu:** (Rolle now) now; **ınu:** (lit. e’en now) soon, presently;
- **mut** (O.E. bimütian, Rolle moute) to moult;
- **sput** to spout; **sput** to spout; **frud** shroud;
- **tun** town;
- **ðu:** thou; **æðut** without;
- **θu:zn** thousand;
- **u:** how; **us** house;
- **ur:va(r)** however;
- **u:let** owl;
- **ut** (Psalms őute) out.

Shortened in: **bud** but; **ruf** (O.E. rūh) rough;
- **rum** room;
- **sup** (O.E. sūpan) to sup;
- **usi** hussif;
- **θum** thumb.

165. Before \( r \), M.E. \( \ddot{u} \) has become \( \text{u·e}: \) **su·e(r)** sour; **fu·e(r)** (O.E. scūr, M.E. schour) shower;
- **u·e(r)** our.

The introduction of a glide between \( u \): and \( r \) appears to be of modern origin. Marshall (Rural Economy of Yorkshire, vol. II., p. 312) wrote in 1788: ‘The \( \text{ou} \) changes almost invariably into \( oo \); as flour floor; our oor; house hoose; mouse moose.’ ‘The \( ow \) is subject to a similar deviation; as bowls boots; power poor; flower floor; bow boo; cow coo.’ His transcription of \( u: \) before \( r \) as simple ‘\( oo \)’ implies no glide, but the same pure sound as in hoose and coo. The pure \( u: \) is still kept before \( r \) in the Sheffield dialect.

### 3. Diphthongs.

**M.E. ai.**

166. M.E. \( ai \), and Northern M.E. \( ai \), the equivalent of Southern M.E. \( ei \), regularly appear as \( e·e \), the development having been \( [ai > e: > e·e] \). The earlier stage, \( e: \), is still preserved in the Cumberland dialect.

This M.E. diphthong arose from various sources, viz.:

167. (1) From O.E. æg:

breæn brain; deæ (Rolle day) day; deæzi daisy; tæel hail;
faæ(r) (Rolle fayre) fair; meæ may; meæn main; neæl nail;
pæel pail; slean slain; tæel tail.

Shortened in: sed said, and in mebi (lit. may be) perhaps.

168. (2) From O.E. Æg, N.M.E. ay:

eæ (O.E. eglan) to ail; breæd (O.E. bregdan, to pull) to resemble;
aægan (Rolle agayn) again; leæ to lay; reæl rail;
reæn (Rolle rayn) rain; seæ to say; seæl sail; weæ way;
aæ away; tweeæn twain.

Here must be added also dreæn to drain, which postulates an
Anglian form *drægnian from Teutonic vdraug, dry; the vowel in
*drægnian would become short in M.E. giving dreænen, dreine.

169. (3) From O.E. æg, N.M.E. ay:

sæðær (O.E. ægær, Rolle ayær) either; grææ gray; klææ clay;
meæðær (O.E. stæger) neither: steæ (O.E. stæger) stairs.

170. (4) From Anglian æg, West Saxon Æg:

eæ (O.Merc. hæg, O.E. hieg) hay.

M.E. au.

171. M.E. au has regularly become [ɔ:], having passed
through the stages [au] > [ɔ:] > [ɔ]. The earlier stage, [ɔ:], is still
preserved in many Northumbrian and N.E. Scots dialects. M.E.
au arose from various sources, indicated below; and with it fell
M.E. al followed by a consonant (§ 96).

172. (1) From O.E. æg, N.M.E. agh, aw²:

acrœ (Rolle draw) to draw; æz (cf. O.E. haga, hedge) hawthorn
berries; so: (O.E. sagu, Psalms sagh) a saying, 'saw'; no: (O.E.
gnagan, Rolle Ps. gnaghe) to gnaw; so: (O.E. sagu, Cath. saghe)
a saw.

173. (2) From O.E. aw:

klo: (O.E. clæwu) claw³; ðœ: (O.E. thawian) to thaw; sproæl
(O.E. spreawlian, Rolle sprawel) to sprawl.

1 M.E. au could not have passed through the stage on, as Wyld suggests for
Standard English (Short History of English, § 259), or it would have fallen together
with M.E. ou, to on. For M.E. ou remains unchanged in the dialect (§ 182).

2 The Pricke of Conscience has ave, the Psalter agh for this sound.

3 Brokesy (1691) indicates the pronunciation of this word as 'clea.' 'In the
same country...they use...for claws cleas.' By this he appears to denote kis: or
174. (3) From O.E. āg; N.M.E. agh, aw; ō: (Prose, Cath. awe) to owe; bīō: to own; o:n (adj.) (Rolle awn, Ps. aghen) own.

175. (4) From O.E. āw, N.M.E. aw:
blo: (Rolle blawe) to blow; kro: to crow; mō: to mow; no: (Rolle knawe) to know; slo: (Rolle slaw) slow; sno: (Rolle sawn) snow; so: (O.E. sawan) to sow; əro: to throw.

But a u-glide has developed before 1 in: soul (O.E. sāwol, Rolle saul) soul.

176. (5) From M.E. au, where u is due to vocalisation of v after a back vowel, in: lord (O.E. hlaford, Psalms laverd, >[lauerd]) lord; and in ə:k (O.E. hafoc, M.E. havek, hauk) hawk.

M.E. ei.

177. In Northern Middle English there was no diphthong ei. With the exception of kei key, which should appear as kee from N.M.E. cay, all the forms given below would normally appear in the Hackness dialects with the vowel i; the development of M.E. ē after the loss of palatal spirant (gh), §§ 148, 149. The forms below are borrowings from the Midland dialect. That this borrowing dates from the Middle English period is apparent from the Midland forms eighth and height in The Pricke of Conscience, but we may suppose the majority of these words to be spelling-pronunciations based on the lit. Eng. form.

eit (Angl. æhta, Cath. aght, but Rolle eght) eight; eitt (Rolle eighth) eighth; eitt’i:n eighteen; eit (Angl. hēhōu, Rolle heght, height) height; neiβer (Angl. nëhbūr, Rolle neghebur, Cast. nighber) neighbour; neiβerud (Cast. negheburhud) neighbourhood; streit (O.E. striht, Cast. stright) straight; weit (O.E. gewiht, Rolle weught) weight.

kle-o, which must come from a M.E. cleo, O.E. clēa, shortened form of clawn. Wright gives klo as a modern Midland form, and cites klo from Westmorland (Dialect Grammar, claw), but klo is not a common pronunciation in the modern dialect of Eastern Yorkshire.

The Pricke of Conscience has aw, the Psalter agh for this sound.
ksi key is abnormal, and appears to be a survival of Angl. cēg, M.E. key, but it may be merely a spelling-pronunciation, cf. nsei (O.E. hnǣgan) to neigh (of a horse).

M.E. eu.

178. M.E. eu, eu regularly appears in the dialect as iu. It arose from various combinations, viz.:—

179. (1) From O.E. āaw:
īu (O.E. teawian) to work laboriously, to become weary.

180. (2) From O.E. āow:
bru to brew; kliu (O.E. clēowe) a ball of wool, clew; riu
(York. Mys. rewe) to rue, repent; tríu (Cath. trewe) true; trìuθ
(Rolle treuth) truth.

iu is found also in the preterites, bliu blew; griu grew; kriu
crew; miu mowed; niu knew; sniu snowed; siu sowed; θriu
threw.

181. (3) From O.E. āw:
ju: (O.E. āw) yew (tree); spiu (O.E. spīwan) to spew.

M.E. ou.

182. M.E. ou remains as ou in the dialect. It arose from various sources as enumerated below, and with it fell ol followed by a consonant (§ 117).

183. (1) From O.E. eah, Anglian eāh:
fout (Anglian faht) fought. This appears to be a genuine
development, and not a byform from O.E. pp. fohten, cf. tout
below.

184. (2) From O.E. ãh, N.M.E. ògh, ou:
ouðæ(r) (O.E. ãhwæser, Rolle outher) either; nouðæ(r) (O.E.
nãhwæser, Rolle nouther) neither; out (O.E. ãht, Rolle oght)
anything; out (O.E. ãhte) ought; nout (O.E. nãht, Rolle noght)
aught; tout (Anglian tãhte, Ormulum 18741 tahht) taught.
Shortened in nobet (lit. naught but) only, if; and in nut
(Rolle noght, > nout > nut) not.
185. (3) From O.E. og, oh, N.M.E. ògh:

bout (O.E. bohte, Rolle boght) bought; douthe(r) (Rolle doghter) daughter; ræ-æn-bou rainbow; floun flown.

186. (4) From O.E. òh, N.M.E. ògh:

brout (O.E. bróhte, Rolle broght) brought; sout sought; òout (Prose thoghte) thought.

In the above words, the diphthong ou is derived from a late M.E., or Early Mod. E. ou [ou], in which the u originally began as a glide before the M.E. gh (x), and ended by absorbing it. The development would be òght > ouxt > outrt > out.

187. (5) From O.E. eàw:

jou (O.E. sceawian¹) to show, where O.E. éa has presumably become ea, and the surviving æ has coalesced with the medial w to form the M.E. diphthong ou. The usual North. M.E. form was schewe. The dialect word therefore falls under suspicion of being a spelling-pronunciation. But cf. § 189.

188. (6) From O.E. eow:

jou (Cath. gowe) ewe; strou to strew.

189. (7) From O.E. eòw:

fouer (O.E. feówer, Rolle foure) four; fouet fourth; fouetim fourteen; sou (O.E. seówian²) to sew; tfou (O.E. cèowan) to chew; where O.E. eo has become éo, and the surviving ò has coalesced with the medial w to form the M.E. diphthong ou.

Shortened in fotti (Rolle fourty) forty; fotnið fortnight.

190. (8) From O.E. òw:

bi'stou to bestow; flou (Rolle flowe) to flow; glou-worm glow-worm; glou to glow; grou (Rolle grow) to grow.

¹ Wright, Old English Grammar, p. 44, § 76. ² Ibid. p. 266.
CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES (continued)

The Scandinavian Element.

191. The words which are classified in the following chapter are scarcely borrowings, at least in the sense in which 'borrowing' is used when the Romance element is spoken of. Rather are they relics of a time when, in East Yorkshire, Angle and Dane lived in adjacent villages and developed a mixed Anglo-Norse speech for their mutual traffic. This settlement dates from A.D. 876, the year when Halfden shared out (gedælde) the lands of Northumbria, and the Danes became their ploughers and harrowers. The ninth and tenth centuries, especially the latter, would be the time when these words were Anglicised. Certainly many words were borrowed before the sound-changes known as breaking (or Guttural mutation) and Labialisation began in the Old Norse speech, which Mr Arnold Wall dates from the tenth century\(^1\). It is highly probable, therefore, that English and Norse mingled and blended almost immediately, in spite of the harrying in the south and midlands. The word Dane has been used, but it must not be implied that these borrowed words come from the Danish. They come from the parent speech of Dane and Norseman alike, from which also Icelandic was derived. It was not Old Icelandic, and it is perhaps misleading to give Old Icelandic forms as the sources of the Scandinavian element in the dialect; but Old Icelandic, with its rich vocabulary, is the most convenient for illustration, and its nearness to the parent speech obviously fits it for this purpose.

\(^1\) The Scandinavian Element in the English Dialects, Anglia xx.
1. Short Vowels.

M.E. a.

192. M.E. a appears in the dialect as a, not only after w, but before ñ; and, here differing from English words, before g.

The fact that a is found in many of the following words corresponding to an Old Norse, or Old Icelandic, rounded vowel written ð, indicates that the words were taken into the dialect before 'Labialisation' in Scandinavian began to affect the Norse a.

adl (O.I. öðla, Cath. addyl) to earn; asl-tri (O.I. öxultré) axle; asl-ti-ðð molar tooth; blaðe(r) (O.I. blaðra) to prate; blaðe(r) nonsense; brakn bracken, fern; gab (O.I. gabb) impudence; gad to gossip, to visit (usually in the phrase ti gad sbut); gavelæk (O.I. gaflek) a gavelock; kap (cf. O.I. kapp, a contest) to beat in a contest; kapin surprising; kam (O.I. kambr) a bank, ridge; kazen (O.I. kös heap, pile, cf. Swed. dial. kokase cow dung) cow dung; naf (O.I. nóf) the nave of a wheel; naf-i-ed a simpleton; nate(r) (O.I. gnötra) to grumble; ram (O.I. ramr) pungent; skrag to choke; skragi thin; skråt (Rolle scratte) to scratch; stak (O.I. stakkr) rick; skraft to scramble; slak (O.I. slakki) a dell; slave(r) (O.I. slafr) spittle; slaps (O.I. slöp = offal) sink-refuse; slapstn a sink; staka(r) (O.I. stakra) to stagger; fåk (O.I. ðák, Cath. thakke) thatch.

193. Northern M.E. a remains in mak (O.I. maka, N.M.E. mak) to make; and tak (O.I. taka, Rolle tak) to take, where lengthening in the open syllable would have been regular. Also in the derivative uptak, the climax, the 'limit'; as in the phrase ðatst 'uptak av out a:v i:ed = that beats anything I've heard; and in ransak (O.I. ransaka) to ransack. mål to shout, presupposes M.E. å, the shortening of Scandinavian æ (cf. O.I. måla).

194. M.E. a preceded by w remains as a:

swan (O. Norse swange) a meadow (in place names); want (O.I. wanta) to want; as does M.E. a before ñ: ank skein of yarn; ank to entangle; gan (O.I. ganga, Clavis gang) to go; ran wrong; stan (O.I. stöngrr) a shaft, pole; ðran (O.I. ðrøngrr) busy.
195. Scandinavian ‘stopped’ *g* has usually remained after *a*, whereas O.E. ‘open’ *g* became vocalised:

- *agl* to cut with a blunt knife; *agworm* (O.I. höggormr, Cath. hagworme) lit. hedge-worm, viper; *flag* a flat stone; *klang* to stick; *nag* (O.I. gnaga) to tease, nag.

But in *ōm* (O.I. ōgn) husk of barley, and in *lo:*, law, Scandinavian *ag*, borrowed before its Labialisation to *ōg*, became the M.E. diphthong *au*.

196. M.E. *a*, followed by *l* and another consonant, has become *ɔ:,* by passing through the same changes as M.E. *al* from English sources, namely [al > a:ul > au > a: > ɔ:].

- *sko:p* (O.I. skálpr, M.E. skalp) scalp; *ōm* (O.I. almr) elm tree; *fōm* (O. Norse skálma) to spread the legs before the fire; *mommi* (cf. O.I. målmr, ore) rotten, soft.

197. M.E. *ar* before a following consonant appears regularly as *a:*, through assimilation of *r*. In words of this class from Scandinavian sources there appears to have been no fronting such as gave *e:e* in many Romance words containing *ar* and consonant (§ 254).

- *a:sk* (M.E. harsk) harsh; *ga:θ* (O.I. garðr) yard; *ka:tt* (O.I. kartr) cart; *spa:k* (O.I. sparkr, lively) a gay fellow; *wā:p* to warp; *na:kt* (cf. Dan. knarke, to creak) to annoy. This *a:* has been shortened before final *θ* in *swa:θ* (O.I. swarð) grass land, rind of bacon.

M.E. *e*.

198. M.E. *e* usually remains (even before *g*), when derived from Scandinavian *e* in closed syllables, including *jō* the *u*-mutation (breaking) of *e*. The fact that some dialect forms with *e* correspond to Scandinavian forms with *jō* indicates that these words were borrowed before this sound change took place in Norse.

- *bek* (O.I. bekkr, Cath. bek) brook; *efta(r)* (O.I. epter, Rolle after) after; *esp* (O.E. hæps, O.I. hespa) a hasp; *fes* (O.I. festa, a pledge) a hiring fee; *getn* (O.I. getinn pp.) gotten; *felt* (a weak pp. < O.I. fela, str. to hide) adj. hidden; *ket* (O.I. kjöt) carrion; *kеп* (O.I. keppa, to strive) to catch; *kletf* (cf. O.I. klekja,

1 This *may* be English (< O.E. *bece*), see Arnold Wall, *The Scandinavian Element in the English Dialects in Anglia* xx.
the dialect of Hackness

...to hatch) a brood; mens (O.I. menska, Psalms mensk) honour, decency; reklín (O.I. reklingr, an outcast) the smallest animal of a litter; rekn (O.I. rekendr, chain) a pot-hook or chain; sek (O.I. sekkr) sack; skel (O.I. skella) to upset; skep (O.I. skeppa) a basket; skelp to flog; rig-weltid (a weak p.p. < O.I. welta, str. to turn) adj. overturned (of sheep); renđa(r) (cf. O.I. renna, wk. to make run) to melt fat; sled (O.I. sleSi) sledge.

199. A short vowel remains in git (O.I. geta) to get; and in gi, giv (O.I. gefa) to give, where a long vowel in the open syllable would be regular. Probably the vowel is derived from the Anglian 2nd and 3rd pers. Present Indic. ġifes, -eS; ġites, -eZ; though giv may have been borrowed from standard English in the Early Modern period. In the form git, the i may be due to t. Cf. § 106.

200. Scandinavian ‘stopped’ g has remained after e, whereas O.E. ‘open’ ġ usually became vocalised:

díjz (O.I. dreg) lees; eg (O.I. eggja) to incite; kleg (O.I. kleggi) a gad-fly; steg (O.I. steggr, Cath. stegge) a gander.

But in ge-en (O.I. gegn) near, convenient, Scandinavian eg fell, like O.E. ěg, to Northern M.E. ai.

201. Differing from O.E. e followed by ld, Scandinavian e did not become long in M.E before this consonant-group (see § 146), and there appears to have been no lengthening in the eighteenth century (§ 103). Short e remains:

eldin (O.I. elding) fuel; geld (O.I. gelda) to castrate; geldin (O.I. geldingr) a castrated horse; keld (O.I. kelda) a spring (in place names).

202. Before ě, Scandinavian e has been raised to i: dič (O.I. dengja) to beat; ěn (O.I. hengja) to hang (tr.); ěnz (O.I. eng) meadows (in place names), węń (Psalms weng) wing.

Except in the interjection deń! = hang!

203. M.E. er from Scandinavian sources, before a following consonant, regularly appears as ãr, indicating early Mod. Eng. ar with subsequent assimilation of r to a following consonant. The change to ar was certainly completed by 1680, though the r may then still have had some consonantal value, which it has now lost. a:be(r) (Prose herber) harbour, shelter; ka:x(r) (M.E. ker) marshy
ground; *ka:l* (O.I. karl) a man, fellow; *ka:linz* (cf. O.I. kerling, an old woman) buttered peas (prepared for 'Carling Sunday,' the Sunday before Palm Sunday); *sa:k* (O.I. serkr) shirt; *wa:k* (O.I. werkja, Clavis wark) to ache; *wa:k* (O.I. werkr) pain, ache; *wa:r* (O.I. werr) adv. worse; *upsta:t* (O.I. uppsterte) an upset.

204. Before *t*, M.E. *e* appears as *i* in: *kitlin* (O.I. ketlingr) a kitten, and in *git* (O.I. geta) to get.

**M.E. *i***.

205. M.E. *i* from Scandinavian sources regularly remains: *dil-waːt3(r)* (cf. O.N. dilla, to lull) soothing-syrup; *fik* (O.I. fika) to struggle; *fit* (O.I. fitja) adj. ready; *gil* (O.I. gil) a ravine; *gild3(r)* (O.I. gildra, Rolle Ps. gilder) a horsehair snare for small birds; *grip* a gutter; *kinl* to kindle; *kinlin* firewood; *kist* (O.I. kista) chest; *kitl* (O.I. kitla) to tickle; *klip* (O.I. kippa) to shear wool; *nigl* (cf. Swed. dial. nigglà, to be stingy) adj. stingy; *skil* (cf. O.I. skilja, to separate) to understand; *skitaz* diarrhoea; *swizn* (cf. O.I. swiðna) to be singed; *snikl* a snare; *wik* (O.I. kwikr) adj. alive, lively\(^1\); *wiks* quitch, couchgrass; *win* gorse; *smit* (cf. Dan. smitte) to infect; *smitl* infectious; *smit* infection.

206. M.E. *i* from Scandinavian *y* usually appears as *i*, although there are examples of *e* and *u* forms from Scandinavian *y*, as well as from O.E. *y*. See § 111.

*i* forms: *flit* (O.I. flytja) to remove (intr.); *gim3e(r)* (O.I. gymbr) a young ewe; *gilt* (O.I. gyltr) a young sow; *kinl* to kindle; *liŋ* (O.I. lyng) heather; *midin* dunghill, ashpit; *rift* (O.I. rypta, Cath. ryfte) to belch; *θik* (O.I. θykkr) friendly, thick.

207. *e* form: *sket* (O.I. skyrta) a skirt, which presupposes a M.E. *skerte* (with *e* lowered from *i*) in which *r* became assimilated to the dental consonant that followed.

208. *u* forms: *muk* (O.I. myki, Cath. mukke) earth, manure, filth; *θrust* (O.I. θrysta) to push, and by analogy *brust* (O.I. bresta, Cath. bryst) to burst.

\(^1\) This probably not O.E. *swic*. Compare *wai* (O.I. kwīga) a heifer.
209. Scandinavian *ig* remains in: **big** (*Rolle* bigg) big; **lig** (O.I. liggja, *Rolle* ligge) to lie, and perhaps in **mig** (cf. O. Norse kū miga, cows' urine) liquid manure.

Similarly M.E. *ig* from Scandinavian *yg* remains in: **trig** (O.I. tryggr) trim, neat.

210. Scandinavian *ir* has become *e* in: **ken** (O.I. kirna) a churn; **kenmilk** buttermilk. This vowel change is comparatively recent. In the *Clavis* to the *Yorkshire Dialogue* of 1684, the spelling *kirne* is given. In the form **ken**, early Mod. Eng. *i* was lowered to *e*, and *r* became assimilated to *n.

M.E. *o*.

211. M.E. *o*, from Scandinavian sources, in closed syllables, has regularly remained:

**bos** (O.I. bossi) master; **kok** (cf. Dan. kok, a heap) a heap of hay; **eκros** across; **lop** (cf. Dan. loppe) flea; **loft** (O.I. lopt) an upper chamber; **oksεr** (O.I. hokra) to stoop, walk awkwardly; **skopεr** (cf. O.I. skapt-kringla, a top) a skipjack, or teetotum (lit. shaft-reel); **slokn** (O.I. slokna, *Rolle* Ps. sloken) to quench; **slop** (O.I. sloppr) leg of trousers.

Scandinavian *g* remains after *o* in: **fog** aftergrass; and in *cog*.  

212. M.E. *ol* appears as **ou** (cf. § 117) in: **stoup** (O.I. stōlpi, M.E. stolpe) a post.

213. M.E. *o* remains before *r* as a short vowel: **skorf** scurf.

This *o* does not appear to have been lengthened before *r*, as in Lakeland **fwo:j, fo:j**, in: **fos** (O.I. fors) a waterfall, where *r* has become assimilated to *s.

M.E. *u*.

214. M.E. *u*, from Scandinavian *u*, and sometimes *o*, remains. **busl** to bustle; **luba(r)** (cf. Swed. dial. lubber) a clumsy or lazy man; **skufi** (cf. Swed. skuffa, to push) to hoe, with a machine called a **skufεr**; **skuf** (cf. O.I. skopt, hair) the nape of the neck; **numskul** (cf. O.I. numinn (pp. nema) bereft, palsied, + skull)

1 But see *N.E.D.* on this word.
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a simpleton; klubs\textsuperscript{a}(r) (cf. O.I. klubba, a club, and O.E. steort, a tail) a stoat; mun (Rolle mun) vb. must; stub (O.I. stubbi) subs. stump; vb. to uproot; tup ram; kuf (cf. O. Norse kussa) a call for cows; skrutl (O.I. skutill, a trencher) a metal vessel used in foddering cattle; skrub underwood.

215. Scandinavian ug has remained intact:

lug to pull; lug ear; mugi damp and close (of weather); ug to carry.

2. Long Vowels.

M.E. \textae.

216. As in the case of English words of this class there have been two developments, namely to e\textae, and to i\textae. The latter sound suggests fronting of M.E. \textae to \texte, so that it fell together with M.E. \texte.

217. M.E. \textae, caused by the lengthening of Scandinavian \textael in open syllables, has become e\textae in:

\textdh\textet to drawl; e\textael (cf. O.I. hala, to drag) to originate (from); le\textael (O.I. hlæ\texta) barn; sk\textael to scatter; sle\texte (O.I. slâ, Cath. slaa) to slay; te\texten (Rolle tane) pp. taken.

218. But M.E. \textae appears as i\textae, suggesting fronting of the sound to \texte, in:

di\textael (O.I. dasa\texta, faint, Rolle dased) adj. dazed, addled (of eggs); gi\textap to gape; gi\textet (Psalms gate) gait; a\textgiet in motion; gi\textawl (O.I. gafl) gable; i\textawl\texten oblong; ki\texte cake; si\textem same; skri\textap to scrape.

219. M.E. \textae, the northern survival of Scandinavian \textael, has become i\textae:

bi\textael (Rolle bathe) both; bli\textaberiberi bilberry; ki\textael (O.I. kâl, Rolle Ps. kale) cabbage; ski\texte\textalz scales; kri\textek (O.I. krâkr, Rolle krake) crow, rook; sli\texte\textaworm (cf. O.I. slâ, to strike, Cath. slaworme) slow-worm.

M.E. \texte.

220. As in the case of the English element, M.E. \texte has become i\textae, through the stages \texte > e\textae > (e\textae) > i\textae.

M.E. \texte developed from various sources:
221. (1) From Scandinavian æ, the I Mutation of æ: skri·eøk (O.I. skrækja) to shriek; skri·em (O.I. skræma) to scream; si·et (O.I. sæti, Psalms sete) seat. But shortened in: geslin (O.I. gæs-lingr) gosling.

222. (2) From Scandinavian æ, the I Mutation of ø: ti·am (O.I. toema, Clavis team) to empty.

223. (3) From the lengthening of Scandinavian short e in open syllables: li·ek (O.I. leka) to leak; ni·ef (O.I. hnefi, Cath. nefe, Clavis pl. neaves) fist; ði·eøk (O.I. ðekja, O.E. ðeccan) to thatch; ði·eøke(r) (Cath. theker) thatcher; spi·øen: (cf. O.I. speni, a teat) to wean lambs; si·øef (O.I. sef) rush. Shortened in nevil to beat (with the fist).

M.E. ë.

224. As in the case of original English words containing this vowel, M.E. ë from Scandinavian sources has become iː,—the same development as in standard English.

225. M.E. ë from Scandinavian e appears as iː: ðiːt (O.I. ðeːtr) water-tight. But the vowel was shortened in M.E., before the change from M.E. ë to iː, in: fela (O.I. felagi, Rolle felaghe) fellow.

226. M.E. ëgh [eːh] derived from Scandinavian i, e, before the palatal spirant occurs as iː, as in the case of English words (§ 149):

sti: (O.I. stigi, Rolle stegh, Cath., Clavis stee) a ladder;
diː: (O.I. deyja, Rolle deghe) to die.

M.E. ï.

227. As in the case of English words containing this vowel, M.E. ï has had three developments. Before voiceless consonants and r it occurs as ei; at the end of a word it has developed to ai; and before voiced consonants it appears as ai, indicating a development to ai, with subsequent loss of the second element of the diphthong.

1 This word may be derived from O.E. spanan to allure, persuade; or from O.I. spenja with the same meaning.
228. *si* occurs before *r*, and breathed consonants in:

- **sleip** (cf. O.I. *slipa*, to whet) to strip off; **sniwp** (O.I. *snipa*) a snipe; **sweip** (O.I. *swipa*) to sweep, to strike; **teik** (O.I. *tik*) a tyke; **meir** (O.I. *myrr*) mire; **sik** (O.I. *slikr*, Rolle slike, Clavis sike) such, probably owes its loss of *l* to confusion with the N.M.E. form *swilk* (O.E. *swylic*).

229. *a*: occurs before voiced consonants in:

- **gra:m** (cf. O.I. *krim*) grime; **ra:v** (O.I. *rifa*, Rolle *ryve*) to rive;
- **sa:l** (O.I. *sila*) to filter (milk); **sa:l** (O.I. *sili*, Cath. *syle*) a milk sieve;
- **ta:dnz** (O.I. *tiðindi*) news; **θra:v** (O.I. *ərifa*) to thrive;
- **twan** (cf. Dan. *tvine*) to whine, to complain.

**sna:l** (O.I. *snigill*) snail, has a lengthened vowel due to loss of *g*, M.E. *snile*, Mod. Lakeland *snil*. O.E. *snægl*, snegel, would have given N.M.E. *snayl*, Mod. *snæl*.


**M.E. ə.**

231. M.E. ə, from the lengthening of Scandinavian *ō* in open syllables, appears as **u:e**:

- **bu:el** (O.I. *bolr*) the trunk of a tree; **pu:ek** (O.I. *poki*) bag, sack; **ru:ek** (O.I. *roka*) mist.

232. Scandinavian *ō*, except before *k* (§ 233), appears as **u:e**, indicating a M.E. ə in:

- **glu:e(r)** (O.I. *glòra*) to stare; **mu:e(r)** (O.I. *mòr*) moor; **u:e(r)** (O.I. *hòra*) whore; **u:est** (O.I. *höstæ*) to cough; **u:est** (O.I. *hösti*) a cough.

Shortened in **θozde** (O.I. *ðòrs dagr*, O.E. *ðures dæg*), where *r* has been assimilated to the following *s*.

**M.E. ɔ.**

233. Before *k*, Scandinavian long *ō* appears as **iu**, like M.E. long close *ō* in this position:

- **kriuk** (O.I. *krókr*) crook; **kriukt** (Rolle *croked*) crooked; **liuk** (cf. O.I. *lok*, weed) to weed corn.

In the last case, the M.E. long vowel appears to be due to lengthening in the open syllable (M.E. *loken*); though the analogy
of O.E. lócian, M.E. loken, to look, must have had some influence upon this verb. The word occurs in the Catholicon Anglicum (1483) as lowke.

M.E. ã.

234. M.E. ã remains in the dialect as u:;

bum (O.I. bünn) ready, forced to; drup (O.I. drūpa) to droop; drund (M.E. drouen, the d is from the pp.) to drown\(^1\); ku:1 (O.I. kūla, a knob, boss) a swelling on the head; prud (O.I. prūdr < O.E. prūt, or O.Fr. prud) proud; shortened in: busk (O.I. büask) to busk.

235. Scandinavian g has fallen, and M.E. ã has become u:ə before r in: ju:ə(r) (O.I. jūgr, Cath. ʒowre) udder.

236. But o: occurs in: dom (O.I. dünn) down, soft plumage.

3. Diphthongs.

M.E. ai.

237. Northern M.E. ai appears as e:ə, its regular development, in the following classes of words, derived:

238. (1) From Scandinavian eg:

gsen (O.I. gegn) near, convenient.

239. (2) From Scandinavian ei (Germanic ai) the equivalent of O.E. ā.

be:at (O.I. beita) to bait (a horse); ble:ak (O.I. bleikr) yellow (of eggs); e:al (O.I. heill) hale; de:ari dairy; fe:ak (O.I. feikr) fake; kle:am (O.I. kleima) to daub, smear; le:ak (O.I. leika, Rolle layk) to play; le:ak (O.I. leikr) game, play; le:at (O.I. leita, Rolle layt) to seek; re:ak (O.I. reika, Rolle rayke) to wander; swe:a (O.I. sweigja) to sway; sle:ap (O.I. sleipr) slippery; ste:ak (O.I. steik) steak; ðe:ə they; ðe:ə(r) their; we:ak (O.I. weikr, Rolle wayk) weak.

240. (3) From Scandinavian ey, the I Mutation of au, the equivalent of O.E. æ (< eə):

be:ast (O.I. beysta) to baste, beat; fie:ə (O.I. fleyja, Rolle flay) to frighten; sne:ap (O.I. sneypa) to snub, chastise.

\(^1\) The O.I. form is drukna. Dr Björkman, Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English, pp. 158, 176, assumes an original Scand. form *druγna.
M.E. au.

241. M.E. au has regularly become ɔ; through the stages au > aː > ɔ. The diphthong was derived in Middle English:


243. (2) From Scandinavian ɔg; Northern M.E. agh, aw: lo: (O.I. lägr, Rolle Ps. laghe, law) low.

244. (3) From M.E. au, which arose from the loss of a spirant after a, and before a velar consonant: okad (O.I. öfugr, contrary, + suffix -ward, Rolle awkward) awkward; mo:k (O.I. maʊkr, Cath. mawke) a maggot.

M.E. ou.

245. Scandinavian au regularly became ou in Northern M.E., and the diphthong remains in the present dialect as ou:

douli (O.I. daufligr) lonely, dull; joul (O.I. gaula, Rolle goule) to howl, yell; with j by analogy with 'yell' (Cath. gowle); loup (O.I. hlaupa) to leap; lous (O.I. lauss) loose; louz (Cath. lowse) to loosen; rout (O.I. rauta, Rolle Ps. rowt) to roar, bellow; rountri mountain ash; ou (O.I. haugr, Rolle how) hill (in place-names); noutat (O.I. naut-hirSir) lit. neatherd, a simpleton; skoup (cf. Lakeland skaup) scoop.

246. But ɔː is found in: go:ki (cf. O.I. gaukr, cuckoo) a simpleton, (adj.) awkward; and in go:mlæs (cf. O.I. gaumr, heed) stupid.

247. M.E. ou is shortened to u in: gumfn (Scand. gaumr + -tion) gumption, understanding; and in trust (O.I. traut, Rolle trayste) trust.

248. M.E. ou, from Scandinavian og, occurs also as ou in: lou, usually (lili)lou (O.I. log, logi, flame, Rolle low) a bright flame.
CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES (continued)

The French Element

249. Dialect borrowings from French present considerable difficulty. The lengthening of the Old English and Scandinavian short vowels in open stressed syllables was already accomplished when the bulk of the French element was taken into the language between 1250 and 1400; nevertheless when Norman-French words were anglicised in the Middle English period, a, e and o became or remained long when they occurred in open stressed syllables. In unstressed syllables short vowels remained short, even if afterwards the Germanic accent was given to such a syllable. For example, be-akn bacon and pe-epa(r) paper had the long ā in M.E. because the French a lengthened in the open syllable in the same way as O.E. ā, but baril barrel and damij damage retain their short vowel, because it was unstressed when the words were taken into the language, and when the stress was shifted to the first syllable by analogy with original English nouns, the law of lengthening in open stressed syllables had ceased to operate. So that the development of French vowels in English depends partly on stress, and partly upon original quantity. Classification is therefore rather a complex task. The system here followed is to use the Middle English vowel system as a basis,—for all French vowels, even the nasals (except ā, which sometimes became au), were anglicised. As it would be absurd to include every Romance word which agrees with the standard pronunciation, since one can
never be certain that such a word is not a recent borrowing, only those dialect words are included which differ from standard English, in form or meaning, or words common to both which illustrate a particular sound-change.

1. Short Vowels.

M.E. a.

250. Short a is found in the dialect in the following words, indicating M.E. short a in closed syllables, or in open syllables which originally were unaccented:

apren (O.Fr. naperon) apron; april April; bas bass (in music); bastet bastard; dani to dandle; galek left-(handed); gafe(r) (Fr. grand + fader) master; ga'mafiz (Fr. gamaches < Prov. garamacha, leather from Ghadamas, Tripoli) gaiters; gantri (Fr. chantier) a gantry; glandez glanders; granmuqe(r) grandmother; kalit (cf. Fr. caillette, quail) a gossip; kal to gossip; kabif cabbage; manij to manage; manifment (lit. management) manure; ma'tloes immaterial; mari (intj.) verily; faf (Fr. facher) to vex, to trouble; of'dafend precocious; paste(r) (Rolle pastur) pasture; ratn (O.F. raton) rat; satn Satan; stati statue, statute; statis a hiring-fair; jamli chamois (in the word jamli-le3(e)) sa(r) (Fr. chassis) a window frame; talit (Fr. tailler) to agree (in number); talit-stik a stick on which reckonings are cut; tap (Mid. Fr. tapper) to hit; travil to go with speed; vast a great deal, many; vali value; and, of course in such borrowed words as have a short ae in standard English.

251. After w, as in the case of Teutonic words, a remains:

kwalstic gentry; kwari quarry; warant to guarantee; walep (O.Fr. walop (subs.), M.E. walopen, to gallop) to flog, etc.

252. Before l, M.E. a became au in the late M.E. period, and appears in the dialects as or, with assimilation of l to a following consonant: e.g. skod to scald; som (Psalms salme) psalm.

253. Before nasal consonants, M.E. â became au and appears as or, the regular development of M.E. au in:

do:em (door)-jamb; ont (O.Fr. hanter) to haunt; mo:ng 5—2
mange; \textit{moŋgi} (O.Fr. mangie) mangy, ill-tempered; \textit{tfɔmə(r)} (Fr. chambre, \textit{Clavis} chamber) chamber; \textit{ko:məril} (Yorks. Dial. cameril) a gambrel, a wooden bar for hanging butchers' carcases by the hind legs.

The words \textit{ant} aunt; \textit{dans} dance; \textit{tʃans} chance; and words in which \textit{ā} became M.E. \textit{ā} (§ 271) are exceptions to this rule.

254. M.E. \textit{ar} followed by a second consonant has had a double development. It appears as \textit{aː}, and \textit{r} has been assimilated to the following consonant in: \textit{ga:ðin} (N.Fr. gardin) garden; \textit{ga:tə(r)} garter; \textit{kwa:tə(r)} (Cast. quahter) quarter; \textit{pə:zl} (O.Fr. parceler, to measure) to cover ground, to walk briskly.

But in the following words M.E. \textit{a} was fronted and lengthened in the early Modern English period\(^1\). The change is first apparent in the spelling of Castillo's dialect rimes (ca. 1830), so that probably the dialect copied fashionable English in this respect.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{e-ami} (Cast. pl. aimies) army;
  \item \textit{ke:əd} (Cast. kade) card;
  \item \textit{kwe:st} quart;
  \item \textit{pe:ət} (Cast. pait) part;
  \item \textit{psə:tənə(r)} partner;
  \item \textit{tʃədʒ} (Cast. chaige) to charge.
\end{itemize}

M.E. \textit{e}.

255. Short \textit{e} is found in the dialect in the following words, indicating M.E. short \textit{e} in closed syllables, or in open syllables which originally were unaccented:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{demikt} diseased (of vegetables);
  \item \textit{det} (Rolle dette) debt;
  \item \textit{fend} (O.Fr. defendre) to provide;
  \item \textit{letis} lettuce;
  \item \textit{medl} (A.Fr. medler, to mix) to interfere;
  \item \textit{mend} to recover health;
  \item \textit{merilz} (Fr. merelles) merrils;
  \item \textit{mes} disorder;
  \item \textit{mezəl} (Cath. meselle) meases;
  \item \textit{prentis} apprentice;
  \item \textit{speks} spectacles;
  \item \textit{'erænsiu} (O.Fr. herounceau) a heron;
  \item \textit{in’sens} to explain;
  \item \textit{mel} (O.Fr. mail, \textit{Rolle}, Cath. melle) a large wooden mallet\(^2\);
  \item \textit{nevəl} (Fr. neveu) nephew;
  \item \textit{wesp} wasp.
\end{itemize}


\(^2\) Marshall (1788) indicates the pronunciation of this word as \textit{mell}, with \textit{e} lengthened before \textit{l}, § 103.
256. M.E. *e* is raised to *i* before nasals in: *ingn* engine; *kimist* chemist; *ji'ni* chemise; *trimi* to tremble; also in *dris* dress (subs. and vb.).

But *a* occurs before *l* in: *saleri* celery.

257. M.E. *er* from French sources, followed by a second consonant, regularly became *ar* in Early Modern English, and appears in the modern dialect as *aː*, with assimilation of *r* to the following consonant:

- *aːb* herb; *kon'saːn* to concern; *paːles* (lit. perilous) very, Scots *unco'*; *saːmn* sermon; *saːtf* (O.Fr. cercher, M.E. serchen) to search; *saːv* to serve; *saːvis* service; *vaːmin* vermin; *vaːdges* verjuice; *waː(r)* (Rolle were') war.

258. In open accented syllables, M.E. *e* before *r* has become *iː*, indicating M.E. *e* (§ 276), but in open unaccented syllables the *e* remained short, even after the syllable acquired Germanic accent, in the following words, where M.E. *e* became *a* before *r*. The consonant *r* has been retained before a following vowel.

- *taria(r)* terrier; *vari* (O.Fr. verai, Clavis varra) very.

259. Short *i* is found in the following words, and in all borrowed words which have *i* in standard English:

- *istri* a tale; *list* to enlist; *live(r)* to deliver; *minj* mince; *misis* mistress, wife; *mis'tʃi'vēs* mischievous; *pipin* seed of fruit; *twilt* (lit. to quilt) to flog; *spikit* (probably a confusion of "spike" with O.Fr. espigot) spigot.

260. But some dialect words point to M.E. close *ɛ*, or at least a very lax *r* in borrowings containing Fr. *i*. Professor Luick cites from The Prick of Conscience the following *e*-spellings: *cete* city; *pete* pity; *preson* prison; and *suspecion* suspicion\(^1\), though one must add that these spellings rarely occur. Whether *i* became *ɛ* in French borrowings in the fourteenth and fifteenth

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1 In The Prick of Conscience, l. 1468, this word rimes with *dere* (O.E. derian) to injure. This vowel must have been M.E. *ɛ*, and the word should appear in the present dialect as *wiː(r)*, § 276. The form *waː(r)* is derived from O.Fr. *warre* through M.E. *werre*, with short *ɛ*.

2 Studien zur englischen Lautgeschichte, Wien, 1903, p. 54.
centuries is more doubtful than the fact that, in the late seventeenth century, short i in the dialect was so like e, that the writer of the *Yorkshire Dialogue* of 1684 regularly rimed short e and i together. The following e-forms still are heard: *krekit* cricket; *lenit* linnet; *redgestæ(r)* to register; *renf* to rinse; *ravit* to rivet (of shoes).

261. This e from M.E. i remains before r in: *seræp* syrup; *sperit* spirit.

M.E. o.

262. Short o is found, indicating M.E. short o in closed syllables, or in originally unaccented open syllables, in: *boni* pretty; *kodl* to pamper; *podif* broth; *forin* foreign; *jog* to jog, jolt.

Also before -er (Fr. -re) in: *prope(r)* proper; *povæti* (*Rolle* poverty); and, of course, in all borrowed words which have o in standard English.

263. Before l, M.E. o has become ou, with loss of l before a consonant, e.g. *boul* to bowl; *koul* to rake mud; *kouæ(r)* a road scraper; *roul* to roll; *soudæ(r)* soldier; *troul* (M.Fr. troller) to roll.

But o remains in *soæ(r)* which is derived from a French form without l (M.E. soder, M.Fr. souder), and æ is found in *poæz* to kick, beat, which Wright derives from an O.Fr. *poulser*, or *posser* (*Windhill Dialect*, p. 63, § 225).

264. Before r followed by a consonant, accented M.E. o usually lengthened to æ, and appears as uæ in *fæadʒ* forge; *fæas* force; *fææst* forced; *kuæd* cord; *kuæt* to woo; *kuætin* wooing; *kuæn* corn; *tuætʃ* torch.

Unaccented M.E. o appears to have remained short in the following words, where r has been assimilated whenever a dental consonant followed it: *fotn* (*Rolle* fortone) fortune; *misfotn* misfortune; *kotn* (O.Fr. cortine) curtain; *motæ(r)* mortar.

265. Short u occurs, from O.Fr. ə, Fr. ou, or from Fr. u [y], in:

bukit (O.Fr. boket) bucket, pail; bulas (Cath. bulas) the wild plum; guli a knife; guzl to eat greedily; kusțat custard; kuzn cousin: kuвар to cover; stubl stubble; super supper; țrubl trouble; tfuk (Fr. choquer) to throw; bi'грутf (O.Fr. groucher, to grumble) to envy.

u appears, as in literary English, after j in: djudʒ judge; djust just; and also without lengthening before l in: pulit (Fr. poulet) a young hen; pulтis poulitce; and pulтri poultry.

266. Short u followed by r has regularly become o, with assimilation of r to a following dental consonant:

ab'zod absurd; d3oni journey; fonif to furnish; fonиțe(r) furniture: korb curb; koreнz currants; nos nurse; ot to hurt; pos purse; tonап turnip; otпn (O.Fr. irecon, Rolle Ps. vrчun) hedgehog.

2. Long Vowels.

M.E. ā.

267. M.E. ā from French sources appears either as e·a or as i·a, like M.E. ā of Old English and Scandinavian origin. The sound i·a denotes fronting in Middle English to the open ā position.

268. M.E. ā due to lengthening of French ā before -st appears as i·e:

pi·est paste; ti·est (O.Fr. taster, Rolle taste) to taste; wi·est (O.Fr. wast) waste.

269. M.E. ā due to French a in open accented syllables (standard English ei) appears as i·a in:

bli·em blame; fi·as face; fli·em flame; li·as lace; pli·et plate; si·af (N.Fr. sauf) safe; si·av to save; sti·abl stable; ti·abl table; with initial í consonantal, in jабl able.

270. Otherwise it appears as s·a in words of this class:

be·at (Rolle abate) to abate, to reduce in price; be·agn
bacon; ne·at·e(r) nature; re·et (O.Fr. rateir, M.E. raten) to scold; te·eti (Span. patata) potato; etc.

e·a, not i·a, occurs before r, e.g. di·kle·a(r) to declare; kon·tre·rri contrary; re·a(r) rare; pe·a(r) (Fr. parer) to peel.

271. M.E. ā, from French nasalised ā (standard English ein), appears as e·en in:
de·en·a(r) danger; gre·en grange; stre·en strange; tfje·en (Rolle chaunge) to change; e·en·il angel. But French nasalised ā also became M.E. au, modern o:

M.E. ā.

272. M.E. open ē from French sources regularly appears in the dialect as i·a, like M.E. ē of Old English and Scandinavian origin. This vowel sound arose in Middle English from various sources.

273. (1) From Romance e in open accented syllables: fi·abl (Rolle feble) feeble; pi·al (Cotgrave peler) to strip off skin; pri·atf (O.Fr. precher) to preach; tfi·at (cf. O.Fr. eschete, rent) to cheat; si·ene (It. sena) senna.

274. (2) From Anglo-French open e (O.Fr. e, ai, ei, ia): diz·i·ez disease; i·ez (Rolle eese) ease; pi·es (Rolle peas) peace; pli·ez to please; tri·et to treat; pli·ed to plead; fi·ate(r) feature; pli·e·e(r) pleasure; gri·ez to grease, flatter; kri·em (O.Fr. cresme) cream; kri·e·a(r) creature; ri·el (O.Fr. reël) real; li·e·e(r) leisure; pli·en (Rolle pleyn) to complain; ri·een reason; si·en·n (Rolle seson) season; tri·ekl (O.Fr. triacle) treacle; vi·el (O.Fr. veil) veal.

In the early modern English period, the vowel has been shortened to i in: mi·e·a(r) (O.Fr. mesure, Rolle mesur) measure; tri·e·a(r) (Rolle tresor) treasure; and sometimes in pli·e·a(r) pleasure. The vowel was shortened to e in fezn (O.Fr. faisanz) pheasant, in Middle English.

275. (3) From French e before -st in: bi·est (Rolle best) beast, pl. bi·es horned cattle, and its derivative skel·bi·es (cf. O.I. skilja, for *skelja to separate, divide, + O.Fr. beste) a partition in a cattle stall; fi·est (O.Fr. feste) feast.
276. (4) From French open e (ai), or close e (ie), before r in an open accented syllable: kli·e(r) (Rolle clere) clear; tfi·e(r) (O.Fr. chiere, Rolle chere, face) in the phrase wat tfi·er, a salutation; mi·e(r) mere; pi·e(r) peer.

In an open unaccented syllable M.E. er became ar, § 258.

M.E. ē.

277. M.E. ē from Anglo-French close e (O.Fr. e, ei, ie, æ, ue) appears as i: in the Hackness dialect, as in standard English:

bi·f (O.Fr. boef) beef; di·gri: (Rolle degree) degree; di·si:v (A.Fr. deceivre) to deceive; pl::pl (O.Fr. pueple) people; pl::s (O.Fr. piece) piece; si: (A.Fr. fee) fee; kri:l (O.Fr. creil) a butcher's hurdle; tfi::f (Rolle cheef) chief; ri·tri:ve(r) retriever (dog).

M.E. i.

278. M.E. i from French sources has developed like M.E. ē of Old English and Scandinavian origin to ei, ai, or a:. It appears:

279. Before voiceless consonants and r as si: dgei:s (O.Fr. giste) joist; leisens license; prei:s price; teis to entice; ad'veis advice; umpeis(r) umpire.

280. Finally as ai: trai (O.Fr. trier) to try.

281. Before voiced consonants as a:: fai:n fine; pra:z (Fr. prise, p.p. of prendre) to open with a lever; stra:v to strive; kon'tra:v to contrive.

282. In fi·mi: chemise, a modern borrowing, which has been mistaken for a plural form and consequently shorn of its final s, we have an attempt to imitate the French pronunciation preserved.

M.E. ɔ.

283. M.E. open ɔ has become raised to u·e in French, as in English and Scandinavian words.

284. French ë in open accented syllables appears as u·e, corresponding to standard English ou in:
bru·atf brooch; (vb.) to tap a cask; glu·ari glory; klu·ak cloak; klu·as (adj.) close; klu·az to close; ku·at coat; ku·atf coach; nu·atf notice; pu·ani pony; pu·atf to poach; pu·atfæ(r) poacher; ru·eb robe; ru·eg rogue; stu·ari story; sku·æ(r) (O.Fr. escorrer, L. excurrere) to have diarrhoea.

285. French o before -st also appears as u·æ: ru·ast to roast; tu·ast toast.

M.E. ə.

286. French o in open accented syllables appears as i·æ, the regular development of M.E. close ə, corresponding to standard English u: in:

bi·at (O.Fr. bote) boot; fi·æl (O.Fr. fol) fool; mi·æv (O.Fr. movoir) to move; pri·æf proof; pri·æv (O.Fr. prover) to prove; im·pri·æv (O.Fr. aprover) to improve.

M.E. ã.

287. M.E. ou from Old French ou, oë, eu, on appears as u: in the dialect:

bunte bounty; durt (Rolle dout) doubt; durt (v.) to fear, e.g. a'durt itl bi ə'wet de·æ ti'ðes·æ I am afraid it will rain to-day; gun gown; güt gout; ku:kumæ(r) cucumber; kuent (Fr. conter) to count; ə'kuent account; ku·atf couch; krun crown; əlu: to allow; muent to mount; ə'muent amount; pur·de(r) powder; rund (O.Fr. roïnd) round; sund (Fr. son) sound; sturt stout; tru·ziz (Fr. trouses, late M.E. trowses) trousers; u:nse ounce; vu: (O.Fr. veu) vow.

But ò: occurs in: ò (Fr. houe, late M.E. howe) hoe.

288. Before r, u·æ occurs: flu·æ(r) (Rolle flour) flour, flower; di'vu·æ(r) to devour; ku·at to woo; ku·æs course, coarse; pu·æ(r)

1 Dr H. Mutschmann in his North Eastern Scotch Dialect, § 187, suggests that the development of M.E. ə in these words was due to the influence of the initial labial consonants. I agree. The above dialect words are not derived from M.E. forms containing ë, e.g. meve move, preve prove. These were derived from N.Fr. forms with ë, corresponding to O.Fr. uë, from stressed Latin o, whereas move and prove go back to the unstressed o (Jespersen, New English Grammar, i., pp. 105, 106). meve and preve would appear to-day as mi·v and pri·v (§ 277).
poor; pu-ali poorly, in ill-health; sku-ə(r) (M.E. *scoure, O.Fr. esurer, L.L. excūrare) to scour; su-əs source; pu-ə(r) (O.Fr. poer, Rolle powere) power; tu-ə(r) tower; u-ə(r) hour.

And also before an unaccented syllable containing a back vowel in: lu-əns allowance.

M.E. ai.

289. Northern M.E. ai, from French ai, ei, appears as ə-ə, the regular development of M.E. ai from all sources. It passed through the stages [ai > ə : > ə-ə].

290. From French ai:
bre-ə (O.Fr. braier) to bray; e-ə(r) (O.Fr. haire) hair; fe-əl (Rolle foyle) to fail; fe-əθ faith; ge-ə gay; gre-ənz brewers’ grains; klə-əm to claim; me-əstə(r) (O.Fr. maistre, Rolle mayster) master; pe-ə to pay; plə-ən plain; se-əm (O.Fr. sain) lard; ple-əstə(r) (O.Fr. plaistre) plaster; te-əla(r) tailor; tre-əl to drag; tre-ən to train; tʃe-ən chain; tʃe-ə(r) chair; we-ət to wait; ve-ən vain.

291. From French ei:
kon'se-ət to imagine; pre-ə to pray (but pri-əi, prithee, please); pe-ən (Rolle payne) pain; pe-ənt paint; pre-əz (Rolle prayse) to praise; re-ən rein.
Short in renʃ (O.Fr. reincier) to rinse.

M.E. au.

292. M.E. au has regularly become ər, as in the case of the standard English development [au > ə : > ər], e.g.:
bra:n (O.Fr. braon) brawn; dʒə:nis (Rolle jaunys) jaundice; fə:n (O.Fr. faon) fawn; fə:t (O.Fr. faute) fault; ko:zə (N.Fr. caucie) causeway; po:m (Fr. paume) palm (of the hand).
Shortened in ə'kəs, koz, because.

M.E. oi, ui.

293. M.E. oi from French ui, oi, appears as oi in the dialect1:

1 Brokesby (1691) gives the pronunciation of ‘poison’ as peuson, indicating probably the East Riding dialect pronunciation of Early Mod. Eng. puison (Horn, Hist. neuengl. Grammatik, p. 101).
kōit quoit; moiqē(r) to confuse; moistē(r) moisture; boil to boil; oil (Psalms oyle) oil.

294. oi appears too in foisti (O.Fr. fusté) dusty.

295. But u appears before j in: bujil (O.Fr. boissel) bushel; kujin (O.Fr. coissin) cushion.

296. Those words which in Modern English have assumed the vowel-sound oi retain their original vowel, or its development, in the dialect: e.g. baul (O.E. byl, M.E. bile) a boil (on the neck); eist (M.Du. hyssen) to hoist; djeis (O.Fr. giste) joist.

M.E. ū, eu.

297. M.E. eu from French eu, eau appears as iu (initially ju:) even after r and l, and with it has fallen M.E. u [eu], from Fr. û: biuti (O.Fr. beaute, Rolle beute, York. Mys. bewte) beauty; bliu blue; briut brute; fœœfiul (Fr. feuille) feverfew; fliu flue; friut fruit; flurias furious; juis use; juz (Rolle use) to use; kriuil cruel; griuil gruel; pius puce; piuœ(r) pewter; piœ(r) pure; riul (York. Mys. rewlle) rule; riuin ruin; siugœ(r) sugar; viuli pleasant to the eye.

(a) But ou is found in: pouœ(r) (O.Fr. purer, to clarify) to pour.

(b) And iœ in: siœ(r) (O.Fr. seîr, Clavis seaure) sure.

Here the second element of the diphthong was unrounded and weakened before r, in the eighteenth century, exactly as ēu from M.E. ō was weakened in door and floor, § 159.

(c) M.E. eu, (ue) from French û, eu, weakened to i in: a:gi to argue; nevi nephew; stati statue, statute; and vali value; after the first syllable acquired Germanic stress.

(d) M.E. eur, (ure) from French ûre, weakened to er in: mixê(r) (Rolle mesur) measure; neœta(r) nature; pasê(r) pasture; pikœ(r) picture; trize(r) (Rolle tresor) treasure; after the first syllable acquired Germanic stress.

(e) M.E. eun, (one) from French ûne, has become syllabic in fotn (Rolle fortone) fortune.
CHAPTER VI

THE VOWELS IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

298. Vowels in weak or unstressed syllables have lost their original tone, as in standard English, and are degraded, through slack habits of articulation to i, a, or are even dropped altogether. The general rule, which is subject to many exceptions, is that front vowels become i, and back vowels become a, in an unstressed syllable.

299. The stressed syllable in the following words differs from the ‘standard’ pronunciation:

 ediˈke·et to educate; ekuˈedinˈlai accordingly; konˈtre·əri contrary; enˈveləp envelope; ˈpolisəmən policeman.

300. a is found in prefixes, containing back vowels:

a- əˈluːv alive; əˈbut about; əˈlæŋ along; əliˈən alone;
   əˈwəkən awake; əˈbəm above; əˈgίˈən again; əˈwe·ə away.

com- kəˈmit to commit; kəˈmiti committee; kəˈlekt to collect.
for- ˈfəˈgit to forget.
pro- prəˈsaɪd to proceed; prəˈdiəs to produce.

301. But a is also found in:

əˈbʊt without; əˈfu·ə(r) before; əˈkos because; əˈstɪ·əd instead.

302. a is also heard in suffixes containing back vowels:

-ow wɪdə widow; medə meadow; bɑrə barrow; mɑrə marrow; wɪndə window.

-ock ədək haddock; pɑdək paddock; fʊlək great speed;
   bɾəzək charlock; bulək bullock; mʊlək muddle.
-ture kri'eta(r) creature; ne'eta(r) nature; pasta(r) pasture; pikta(r) picture.
-ous rsitjes righteous; pailes parlous.
-mas kesmas Christmas; ma:tnmes Martinmas.
-most omest almost.
-ward forad forward; okad awkward.
-able ri'spektabl respectable; ju:zebl useable; git'atabl accessible.
-worth pen@θ pennyworth; o:pe@θ halfpennyworth.

303. And also in:
kolep a slice; wai@p to beat; galap to gallop; kubed cupboard; kustat custard; mustat mustard; o:les always; storep stirrup; tonap turnip; u:let owl; unded hundred; sumet something; olide holiday; jistade yesterday; sunde Sunday; munde Monday; karet carrot; stageθ stackyard.

304. a is also the pronunciation of the suffix -er (North. M.E. -er, -ir) before consonants; -er before vowels: fa@θ(r) father; buta(r) butter; nie(r) never; sluta(r) to slide.

305. a appears in -less, as: ma@le¥s immaterial; saklæs foolish; and in -herd as jipet shepherd; nou@t (neatherd) simpleton.

306. i is found in prefixes containing front vowels:
be- bi'set beset; bi'6i:nk to bethink; bi'o: to own; bi'jont beyond.
e- i'ni:ef enough.
mis- mistak mistake; mis'durt to suspect; misle@e to mislay.
to- ti'di:e ado; ti'de:e to-day.
with- wi@d@ro: to withdraw; wi@od to withhold; not-wi@sd@ndin notwithstanding.
de- di'ke:e decay; di'pend to depend; di'fai to defy; di'si:t deceit.
dis- dis'gust disgust.
re- ri'di:m to redeem; ri'zolv to resolve.
se- si'lekt select; si'kiue(r) secure.
en- in'd@oi to enjoy; in'ge-edg to engage.
307. i is heard in suffixes containing front vowels:

-\textit{et} \quad \text{blank} \text{kit} \quad \text{blanket} ; \quad \text{bul} \text{it} \quad \text{bullet} ; \quad \text{rev} \text{it} \quad \text{rivet} ; \quad \text{len} \text{it} \quad \text{linnet} ; \quad \text{pul} \text{it} \quad \text{pullet}.

-\textit{ed} \quad \text{krabi} \quad \text{crabbed} ; \quad \text{ragi} \quad \text{ragged} ; \quad \text{ns} \text{-\text{\`a}ki} \quad \text{naked} ; \quad \text{but la} \text{-\text{\`a}ni} \text{d} \quad \text{learned} , \quad \text{and \ others \ have \ [id]}.

-\textit{ing} \quad \text{herin} \quad \text{herring} ; \quad \text{filin} \quad \text{shilling} ; \quad \text{fi} \text{-\text{\`a}lin} \quad \text{shearling (adj)} , \quad \text{and} \quad \text{in \ all \ words \ ending \ in \ lit. \ Eng. \ -\text{ing}, \ -\text{ling}}.

-\textit{-ship} \quad \text{frind} \text{\`a} \text{fip} \quad \text{friendship}.

-\textit{ish} \quad \text{gudi} \quad \text{good} ; \quad \text{fe} \text{-\text{\`a}rif} \quad \text{fair} ; \quad \text{a} \text{-\text{\`a}flj} \quad \text{cowardly, afraid}.

-\textit{y} \quad \text{bodi} \quad \text{body} ; \quad \text{boni} \quad \text{bonny} ; \quad \text{emti} \quad \text{empty} ; \quad \text{evi} \quad \text{heavy} ; \quad \text{moni} \quad \text{many} ; \quad \text{slipi} \quad \text{slippery}.

308. i also occurs in the dialect pronunciation of the suffix

-\textit{-age} \quad \text{dami} \text{f} \quad \text{damage} ; \quad \text{mani} \text{f} \text{ment} \quad \text{manure} ; \quad \text{pod} \text{if} \quad \text{porridge} ; \quad \text{kabij} \quad \text{cabbage}.

309. And also in: \text{a} \text{-\text{\`a}vi} \text{st} \quad \text{harvest} ; \quad \text{forin} \quad \text{foreign} ; \quad \text{fotni} \text{\`e} \quad \text{fortnight} ; \quad \text{letis} \quad \text{lettuce} ; \quad \text{av} \text{in} \quad \text{(O.E. \ ifegn)} \quad \text{ivy} ; \quad \text{olin} \quad \text{(O.E. \ holegn)} \quad \text{holly} ; \quad \text{dokin} \quad \text{dock (plant)} ; \quad \text{pultis} \quad \text{poulitice} ; \quad \text{weskit} \quad \text{waistcoat} ; \quad \text{a} \text{-\text{\`a}gi} \quad \text{to \ argue} ; \quad \text{af} \text{-\text{\`a}de} \text{-\text{\`a}vi} \quad \text{affidavit} ; \quad \text{nevi} \quad \text{nephew} ; \quad \text{opni} \quad \text{halfpenny} ; \quad \text{stati} \quad \text{statue} ; \quad \text{statisis} \quad \text{statute \ hirings} ; \quad \text{vali} \quad \text{value} ; \quad \text{wa} \text{gin} \quad \text{(Du. \ wagen)} \quad \text{waggon}.

310. But e remains in the suffix -\textit{ment}: \text{a} \text{-\text{\`a}gi} \text{ment} \quad \text{hangment} ! \quad \text{(an \ interjection \ of \ annoyance)} ; \quad \text{a} \text{-\text{\`a}gi} \text{ment} \quad \text{argument} ; \quad \text{d} \text{-\text{\`a}judgment} \quad \text{judgment} ; \quad \text{lotment} \quad \text{an \ allotment-garden}.

311. u remains in the suffix -\textit{ful}: \text{pe} \text{-\text{\`a}lful} \quad \text{pailful} ; \quad \text{anful} \quad \text{handful}.

312. And o remains in: \text{ni} \text{-\text{\`a}bodi} \quad \text{nobody} ; \quad \text{sumbodi} \quad \text{somebody}.

313. Vowels in unaccented syllables have fallen altogether where l, m, or n are the final sounds in a suffix following a consonant:

-\textit{le} \quad \text{anl} \quad \text{handle} ; \quad \text{kanl} \quad \text{candle} ; \quad \text{kredl} \quad \text{cradle} ; \quad \text{kudl} \quad \text{to \ embrace} ; \quad \text{britl} \quad \text{brittle} ; \quad \text{smitl} \quad \text{infectious} ; \quad \text{\`o} \text{ml} \quad \text{thimble}.

-\textit{-om} \quad \text{bodm} \quad \text{bottom} ; \quad \text{fadm} \quad \text{fathom} ; \quad \text{bizm} \quad \text{besom}.

-\textit{-dom} \quad \text{fridm} \quad \text{freedom} ; \quad \text{kindm} \quad \text{kingdom} ; \quad \text{wizdm} \quad \text{wisdom}.
-en  a:dn to incite; frozn frozen; tfjozn chosen; but the
adjectival suffix -en = made ef, is obsolete, e.g.: a
wud anl a wooden handle, a goud kru:n a golden
crown.
-stone  brunstn brimstone; grunstn grindstone; wetstn whet-
stone.
-on  bu:ekn bacon; mutn mutton.
Also in in5n engine.

314. Prefixes have disappeared initially in: bake tobacco;
bé'et to abate; demik epidemic, disease (of vegetables); koz
because; lu:ans allowance, lunch; lotment allotment; list to
enlist; live(r) to deliver; prentis apprentice; teis to entice;
téati potato; ké-a3n occasion; pli-an to complain; pistil epistle;
fend to provide.

315. Unaccented vowels have disappeared medially in:
dženrelli generally; kumpni company; regle(r) regular.

316. The vowel a has developed between consonants in:
galak-andid (O.Fr. gale) left-handed; tfjorap (M.E. chirpen,
chirken) to chirp; and medially in: je'rimp (M.E. shrimp)
shrimp.

There is a tendency to insert e between r and k in such
words as ‘fork,’ ‘York’; also before m in ‘worm.’

317. The same phenomenon, namely degradation of the
original vowel owing to careless articulation, is seen in one-
syllabled words, which are used frequently in the unemphatic,
unstressed part of a sentence. The following words have weak
(unstressed) forms when no emphasis is put upon the word.

Weak forms of particles.

a, I.  av, I have; emphatic form a e before consonants, a ev
before vowels, e.g. av'flin a peni, I have found a penny; accented:
a 'e fun a peni.

az, I am; emphatic form a:z, e.g. 'az'gain gif az'wi:l i'ní-ef,
I am going, if I am well enough.
bi be, by; bin been; bed but.
di do; diz dost, does.
d, ed (1) had.
(2) would. d is used after vowels, ad after consonants, e.g.

gif ad ënɔ:n, ad ëgɔ:n If I had known, I would have gone; but
it ad ëkild im, if it ad ëfɔ:ln It would have killed him, if it had
fallen.

e ev, have; e is used for the infinitive, and in conjugation, before
consonants; ev before vowels, e.g. istə 'gain ti 'e jan, are you
going to have one; but az'gain ti ev a 'liuk, I am going to have
a look.

ez hast, has.

ə (1) a, a boni be·ən a pretty child.
(2) her, before consonants, e.g. a faɗə(r) her father.
(3) have, weakest form, e.g. aste 'di·ənt, gif ad ënɔ:n, I
should have done it, if I had known.

The ə, prefixed to ënɔ:n in the if-clause, is either a relic of
O.E. ge, M.E. y; or a repetition of ‘have’ from the main
clause, by analogy.

(4) on, of. Since ə is the unaccented form of both ‘on’ and
‘of’ before consonants, on is used where we should expect ə,
before vowels, e.g. 'ɔ:l on ëm, all of them; asl 'tel on im, I shall
tell of him. Before vowels, ‘of’ appears as ev, and in confusion
is sometimes used for ‘on,’ e.g. 'ɔ:l ev ə 'i·əp all on a heap.

əm, m them; ën, n an, a, one; ë(r) or, are; at at, that; əz as, us.

fa(r) for; fri from.

i (1) he.

(2) ‘in’ before consonants; before vowels iv is used, e.g.

ə ə̱kərid əə r i 'tus iv a 'fɪt They carried her into the house, in
a fit; i'tum in time; but, iv a 'ig in a bad temper.

intə into.

jə (1) ye, you.
(2) your, before consonants; otherwise jər.
(3) you are, before consonants; otherwise jər.

kəd could; kən can.

l will; e.g. it l di·ə = it will suit; əl, il, wir = I, he, we, will.

mi me, my; mə may; məd might; mən must.

nə(r) nor, than (after a comparative).

nt not, is attached to the auxiliary verb: ş·ənt have not;
esnt has not; wi·ənt will not; wudnt would not; sənt shall

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not; *sudnt* should not; *dosnt* durst not; *ka:nt* cannot; *kudnt* could not.

as us, after voiceless consonants, e.g. *lets bi 'of* let us go.

ai shalt, shall; *sed* should; si (1) so; (2) see (Imperative)

e.g. *siðe* look!

∫e she.

t (1) the; (2) it.

ti to, *tiv* before vowels, e.g. *az'gain tit't jotj tiv 'wedìn* I am going to church to a wedding.

∅az there's, there is.

∅e (1) thee, e.g. a *'tel'd ∅e 'si:e* I told you so.

(2) they, e.g. ∅e *mun 'di øz 'best ∅e kan* They must struggle on as well as they can.

(3) they are, ∅ar before a vowel.

(4) their, ∅ar before vowels, e.g. ∅ar *up ti ∅e 'triiks øgi'en* They are trying their cunning again.

∅e, ∅e thou, in interrogative forms, e.g. *'siðe, 'liukstә, Sam!*

∅u'no:x au ø *'tjap øt ìiks øsens* Look here Sam! you know I am a man who likes reason; *'wil'te jut up* will you be quiet?

∅i thy, thee, e.g. a *'tel ∅i, Sam, si'em øz a *'teld ∅i ød 'fe-øðe(r)*... I tell you, Sam, just as I told your old father....

∅ have.

∅e(r) (1) our, accented form u*·a(r)*; (2) was, were.

wi(r) we are; wi we, with.

z (1) is, e.g. *az I am, ðuz thou art, iz he is.*

(2) has, e.g. *az I have, ðuz thou hast, iz he has.*
CHAPTER VII

THE CONSONANTS

The consonants are here considered in the following order:
Semivowels w, yh; Liquids l, r; Nasals m, n, ng; Labials p, b, f, v; Dentals t, d, th; Sibilants s, sh, ch, j (ge); Palatals gh; Gutturals c(k), g, gh, h.

1. Semivowels.

M.E. w.

318. Initially, M.E. w has remained before vowels:
\textit{wæŋkl} (O.E. wancol) tottering; \textit{waθe(r)} water; \textit{win} furze; \textit{witi} chaffinch; \textit{weml} to overturn; \textit{warant} to guarantee; \textit{waləp} (cf. O.Fr. galoper, to gallop) to beat; \textit{winde} window; \textit{winj} wing.

M.E. w has remained in the groups \textit{dw}, \textit{hw}, \textit{qu} (\textit{kw}), \textit{sw} and \textit{tw}:
\textit{dwaːn} (O.E. dwīnan) to dwindle; \textit{wat} what; \textit{wiːə} who; \textit{kws-əvə(r)} to jig, to fluctuate; \textit{kwik} (adv.) quickly; \textit{kws-ət} quart; \textit{swiːət} sweat; \textit{swiːəl} (O.E. swālan) to gutter; \textit{twitʃəbel} earwig; \textit{twiːə} two.

319. Exceptions: w has fallen in strong syllables between s and a back vowel\textsuperscript{1} in:
\textit{suf} (O.E. swogam, M.E. swough) to sough; \textit{siːə} (O.E. swā) so; \textit{suːəd} (O.E. sweord, M.E. sward) sword; \textit{sumpi} swampy.

O.E. w has fallen in *c(w)yllan, M.E. cullen, which appears in the dialect as \textit{kil} to kill, and perhaps in \textit{seik} (O.E. swyle, \textit{Rolle} swilk) such.

M.E. w has disappeared from the unaccented forms of \textit{wil} will; \textit{wad} (\textit{Rolle} wald) would, which appear as \textit{l} and \textit{əd}.

\textsuperscript{1} Jespersen, Modern English Grammar, Vol. i., p. 212.
M.E. \( w \) has disappeared before \( r \) (\textit{Rolle} \( wr \)), as in modern standard English; \textit{raθ} (\textit{Rolle} wrath) \( wroθ \); \textit{raκ} wreck; \textit{raŋ} wrong. \( w \) (or \( wr? \)) has become \( r \) in \textit{rezl} (? O.E. wesle, M.E. wesel) weasel.

320. Medially, M.E. \( w \) followed by a final vowel (O.E. \textit{-wa}, \textit{-we}; M.E. \textit{-owe}, \textit{-ewe}) has become \( ə \) after a consonant; \textit{jarr} milfoil; \textit{spare} sparrow; \textit{winder} window.

321. As the consonant beginning an unaccented syllable, M.E. \( w \) has disappeared from the following suffixes:

- \textit{-ward}: \textit{bakardw}e backwards; \textit{fored} forward; \textit{ɔːkæd} awkward.
- \textit{-worth}: \textit{ɔːpæθ} halfpennyworth; \textit{pænæθ} pennyworth.
- \textit{-ways}: \textit{ɔːles} always.
- \textit{-what}: \textit{sumet} something.

M.E. \( w \) has also disappeared from weak syllables in:

\textit{ansa(r)} to answer; \textit{kəŋka(r)} to conquer; \textit{grünsæl} (O.E. grundwegelge) groundsel; but it remains in: \textit{θrefwud} (O.E. ðersæwald) threshold, by analogy with \textit{wud} wood.

322. Loss of O.E. \( w \) in the dialect.

O.E. \( w \), as a hinge between an accented and an unaccented syllable, has fallen as follows:

- O.E. \textit{aw}, M.E. \textit{au} has become \textit{ɔː}: \textit{klo:} claw.
- O.E. \textit{āw}, M.E. \textit{au} " " \textit{ɔː}: \textit{bloː} to blow; \textit{nɔː} to know; \textit{snoː} snow.
- O.E. \textit{əw}, M.E. \textit{eu} " " \textit{iu}: \textit{diu} dew; \textit{fiu} few.
- O.E. \textit{ēow}, M.E. \textit{eu} " " \textit{iu}: \textit{niu} new; \textit{briu} to brew; \textit{triuθ} truth.
- O.E. \textit{əw}, M.E. \textit{ou} " " \textit{ou}: \textit{fouər} four; \textit{soʊ} to sew.
- O.E. \textit{iw}, M.E. \textit{eu} " " \textit{iu}: \textit{spiʊ} to spew.
- O.E. \textit{ōw}, M.E. \textit{ou} " " \textit{ou}: \textit{glou} to glow; \textit{ɡrəu} to grow.

M.E. \( yh, ʒ \).

323. M.E. \( yh, ʒ \), remains as [j] in:

\textit{jed} (\textit{Angl. ʒerd}) three feet; \textit{jə} you; \textit{jis} yes; \textit{ji-ə(r)} year;
\textit{jest} yeast; \textit{jalə} yellow; \textit{jistədə} yesterday; \textit{jit} yet; \textit{jon} that;
bi’jont (O.E. begeondan) beyond; jat (O.E. ġeat) gate; ju•ə(r) (O.I. jügr) udder;
and appears as g, due to Scandinavian influence in:
  git (O.E. ġietan, O.I. geta) to get; giv (O.E. ġiefan, O.I. gefa) to give; and their compounds, also in bi’gin to begin, and perhaps in gif (Rolle yf, Ps. 3i] if.

324. M.E. y (O.E. ge-) survives as i in:
  i’ni•ef (Rolle ynogh) enough. Also perhaps as e before past participles, only in the protasis of conditional sentences, e.g. gif ðud æ’teld im, id æ’kumd If you had told him, he would have come; though this e may merely represent ‘have’ borrowed in false symmetry from the apodosis.

325. Modern j has developed initially, through shifting of stress from ða or ðæ to ði, in:
  jabl able; jak oak; jakren acorn; jakə(r) acre; jal ale; jam home; jan one; jans once; jal whole; and through stress-shifting from ðu to ðu in: ju• (O.E. iw) yew-tree; juk (O.E. höc) hook; jun (O.E. ofen) oven (§ 161 c).
Also in words which contained late M.E. eu from O.F. ù:
  ju•s (s) use; ju•z to use.

2. Liquids.

M.E. l.

326. M.E. l has remained initially, medially before vowels, and finally in unaccented syllables after a consonant:
  luk luck; luv love; ble•ək yellow; klik to seize; fallə fallow; kənl candle; smıt infectious.

327. Medially before consonants, M.E. l, following a short back-vowel, has fallen:
  bo:k (O.E. balca, M.E. baulke) a rafter; kod (Rolle cald) cold; orf (M.E. haulf) half; sort salt; nop (M.E. nolpen, Clavis naupe) to knock on the head; kou•ə(r) (L. culter, M.E. colter) coulter (of a plough); mou•dwa•p (M.E. moldewarpe D.D.) a mole; goud gold; stoun stolen; stoup (M.E. stolpe) a post; sud (Rolle suId) should; wad (Rolle wald) would; sa•nt shall
not; _wiːnt_ will not; except before a second _l_: _koːl_ to call; _stoːl_ stall; _touːl_ toll; _kəʊl_ to rake.

But _l_ remains after front vowels:

- _teld_ told; _seld_ sold; _fiːld_ field; _eldin_ fuel; _geld_ to castrate; _waːld_ (M.E. _wilde_) wild; _biːld_ (M.E. *bɛlden) to build.

328. M.E. _l_ has also disappeared from:

- _səik_ (Rolle _slike_) such; _wɪtʃ_ (Rolle _whilk_) which; and _wεnʃ_ (M.E. _wenchel_) a woman.

329. Apparently there has never been an _l_ in the forms:

- _foːt_ (O.Fr. _faute_) fault; _mουt_ (M.E. _mouten_) to moult; _pɔm_ (O.Fr. _paume_) palm (of the hand); _pɔːz_ (O.Fr. _poulser_, _posser_) to kick; _soqə(r)_ solder.

**M.E. _r_.**

330. M.E. _r_ has remained, initially, medially, and finally, if followed by a vowel:

- _rəv_ to tear; _beri_ (Rolle _bery_) to bury; _bɛtər ən_ _bɛtər_ better and better; _θrǔst_ to thrust.

331. M.E. _r_ has fallen after _a_ and _e_, when a consonant followed:

- _waːm_ warm; _keːd_ card; _aːbz_ herbs; _aːt_ heart; _peːt_ part.

332. M.E. _r_ after _i_, _o_, _u_, and _y_ has been assimilated to following dental consonants, viz. _t_, _d_, _θ_, _n_ and _s_, but has survived before:

   (1) _p_, _b_, _f_: _tʃɔrep_ to chirp; _korb_ to curb; _torf_ turf.

   (2) _k_, _ɡ_: _bɔrk_ birch; _fork_ fork; _wɔrk_ to work; _ɔrgan_ organ.

   (3) _m_, _l_: _storm_ storm; _bɔrli_ burly; _worm_ worm.

333. Metathesis of medial _r_ has taken place in:

- _brit_ bright; _brǔst_ (pp. _brusn_) to burst; _fɾiːt_ fright.

334. M.E. _r_ retains its original position in _krudz_ (M.E. _crud_) curd; but is lost in _undəd_ hundred.

335. Final _r_ is only heard in the dialect if it ends a period; or if a vowel begins the following word when final _r_ is heard in
the midst of a sentence, e.g. Ist 'beə ne θu θ'out? 'Niə, its 'wa:r Is it better than (lit. nor) you thought? No, it's worse. Or, to illustrate final r followed by a word beginning with a vowel, the answer might be: 'Ei, betər en 'iver a θ'out Yes, better than I ever thought. Before consonants, final r invariably falls.


M.E. m.

336. M.E. m has remained in all positions, and is syllabic in unaccented syllables beginning with a non-liquid consonant:

*merilz* merels (a game); *mig* liquid manure; *wimin* women; *rum* room; *ta:m* time; *bodm* bottom; *bi:zm* besom.

M.E. n.

337. M.E. n has usually remained in all positions, and is syllabic in unaccented syllables beginning with a non-liquid consonant:

*neb* beak; *ni:ef* fist; *kanl* candle; *don* to put on; *dokin* dock; *apn* perhaps; *kazn* dried cows-dung; *fezn* pheasant.

338. M.E. n has disappeared finally after l and m:

*kil* kiln; *mil* mill; *dam* damn; *im* hymn; *o:tm* autumn.

Also from the preposition 'in,' which appears as i before consonants, iv before vowels; and from *jan* one, which becomes *ja:* before consonants, e.g. *ja: man* one man, but *jan os* one horse.

339. M.E. n has disappeared before s in unaccented syllables: *əsti:əd* instead; *Robisin* Robinson; *Alisin* Allanson.

340. M.E. n has disappeared by confusion with the indef. article in: *apren* (O.Fr. naperon) apron; *umpsie(r)* umpire; but has been added from this source to: *neəp* jackanapes; *nik-ni:em* nick-name; *neəs:əfn* oration.

341. An n has been inserted 'before g or dʒ in the weakly-stressed middle syllable of a trisyllable stressed on the first syllable'1 in *martings:əl* martingale (a harness strap to hold

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1 Jespersen: "The Nasal in Nightingale, etc." Eng. Studien, 31, p. 239.
a horse’s head down) and in pasində(r) passenger. There are no ‘nightingales’ in the Hackness district.

342. Final -in occurs in the dialect, representing North. M.E. -and, as the ending of the pres. participle: ganin, gin, gain going; cumin coming; dilin dying; and also, representing North. M.E. -ing, as the verb-noun suffix: leikin (Rollé lyking) pleasure, liking: bi’ginin (Rollé beginnying) beginning; untin hunting.

M.E. ng [ŋ].

343. M.E. y has remained unchanged:

a’mən among; raŋ wrong; tən to sting; tənz tongs; in (O.I. hengja) to hang; liŋ (O.I. lyng) heather: thran (O.I. ʊrʊŋr) busy; ank (O.I. hönk) a hank; and has developed in words borrowed from the French in: kankə(r) blight; ink (O.Fr. enque) ink; sinl (O.Fr. sengle, L. singulus) single. Also by reason of the assimilation of d to n in: onkotə(r) handkerchief.

344. Save that M.E. y has regularly become n in final unaccented syllables: fa:din farthing; gezlin gosling; filin shilling, and in the words lenθ length; streθ strength; where O.E. y was fronted, probably in the M.E. period, before the dental suffix -ŋ.

345. The dialect regularly has the sound η where the ‘standard’ pronunciation has ηη as the equivalent of lit. medial ng:

sinl single; swinl-tri swingle-tree, the cross-bar which hangs in the traces at the heels of horses; minl to mingle; finə(r) finger; lanə(r) longer; stranə(r) stronger.

4. Labials.

M.E. p.

346. M.E. p has, with few exceptions, remained in all positions: paθ path; pund pound; tfapte(r) chapter; doləp a heap, lump; lamp lamp.
347. It has been assimilated to the following consonant in:
Bruntn Brompton; emti (O.E. æmtig, M.E. empty) empty; kubed cupboard.

348. M.E. p has been voiced in:
bab'ta:z to baptise; debθ depth; drab (O.Fr. drap) drab, probably owing to the influence of the initial voiced consonant, cf. bud but.

M.E. b.

349. M.E. b has generally remained in all positions, except after m: brig bridge; a'but about; jabl able; web web.

350. In the dialect, b is never found after m, not only finally in words like: kri:em comb; lam lamb; wi:em womb; klam climbed (clomb); θum thumb; but also medially where b is sounded in the ‘standard’ pronunciation: tʃomə(r) chamber; θiml thimble; triml to tremble; a'seml to assemble; raml to ramble; gaml to gamble; and in gimsa(r) (O.I. gymbr) a yearling ewe.

351. In nobet (lit. not but) only, b has assimilated t.

M.E. f.

352. M.E. f has remained initially, finally, and medially before t:
fan to winnow; fetʃ (O.E. fetian, M.E. fecchen) to fetch; felfa(r) fieldfare; fik (O.I. fika) to wriggle; fli:t (O.I. flytja) to remove; felt (cf. O.I. fela) to hide; faris(r) (O.Fr. ferrier, a blacksmith) a veterinary surgeon; fiksfa:kks beef sinew; fridʒ to rub; for (O.Fr. forre, sheath) fur; frumati (O.Fr. fromentee) frumenty; fle:a to frighten; flumeaks to confound; fudl to confuse; kaf chaff; ri:ef roof; torf turf; weif wife; ni:ef (O.I. hnefi) fist; aft handle; fift fifth; sikst sixth; twelft twelfth.

353. In rift to belch, and in loft (O.I. lopt, air) loft, -ft represents Scandinavian [ft], the O.I. spelling -pt.

354. M.E. f has fallen in: dgoli jolly; oŋkotʃa(r) handkerchief; orpi halfpenny; and in eitʃa(r) (O.E. hælftrœ) halter.
M.E. v.

355. M.E. v has usually remained in all positions:
venamae venomous; vikǝ(r) vicar; vari very; nevil to strike with the fist (niˈæf); rauv (O.I. rifa) to tear; evn (Rolle heven) heaven; stauv (O.E. steorfan, to die) to be cold or hungry; stevn (O.I. stefna) to cry out; juv to shove.

356. M.E. v has become f in: biˈli-af belief, by analogy with ‘grieve,’ ‘grief’; ‘prove,’ ‘proof,’ etc.¹

357. M.E. v has been lost in:
e, ez have, has; ænenst (O.E. on-efen-st) opposite; iˈad (Rolle heued) head; gi (North. M.E. gif) to give, pp. gin (North. M.E. gifen); liˈadi lady; wuman woman; sen self; o, e of.

358. In oːk (M.E. havek) hawk; oue(r) over; and lord (M.E. laverd) lord, v became u in late M.E. after a back vowel, likewise in jun (M.E. oven) oven.

359. v is intrusive in the dialect, before vowels in: frev from; iv in; tiv to; wiv with; div do. This v probably first arose in to and do. North. M.E. to and do would become tiu and diu in early Mod. Eng. (§ 159), whence the forms tiv and div arose before vowels, by the passage of a medial u into v. At the end of a sentence the normal development of M.E. long close ə to iˈə took place, whence the forms tiˈe and diˈe.

Note.—Mr John Hill of Goathland, an old gentleman of over 80, tells me that formerly initial ‘f’ could frequently be heard in forms which in Southern English had v, such as: fat vat: fiksn vixen, but now only the literary ‘v’ is heard. The only relics of Northern M.E. initial ‘f’ for literary ‘v’ which I could find out, are the regular pronunciations of the fairly common surname Ventress as fenˈtris, and of Vane as feˈнn.

¹ Wilhelm Horn, Historische neuenglische Grammatik, Strassburg 1908, p. 139, § 171.
5. *Dentals.*

M.E. *t.*

360. M.E. *t* has generally remained in all positions:

- *tup* a ram; *lat* (O.E. *lætt*) a lath; *fift* fifth; *sikst* sixth; *lætl* little; *tsëti* potato.

361. Except that *t* has fallen after the breathed spirants *s* and *f* by assimilation before *l, m,* and *n*: *blosm* (O.E. *blostma*) blossom; *brusn* (pp.) burst; *busl* to hurry; *ðrosl* thrush; *ðrusn* (pp.) thrust; *ofnz* often.

362. And that before *r, -ar,* or a syllable containing *r,* a spirant glide is heard after *t* (see § 28): *tresēps* to walk idly; *tresēl* to drag; *ote(r)* to talk idly; *etē(r)* after; *sišē(r)* sister; *fonītē(r)* furniture; *pāstē(r)* pasture; *pīktē(r)* picture.

363. M.E. *t* has been assimilated to *s* or *n* in:

- *biəs* (pl.) cattle; *dēsīs* (O.Fr. *giste*) joist; and in *kōren* a currant. There was no *t* in *fezn* (O.Fr. *faisan*) pheasant.

364. M.E. *t* has become *d* in: *bud* but; *bodm* bottom; and at the end of many short words before vowels and voiced consonants; e.g. *gid* get, *gid ēwa bai* get away by!—the call to a sheepdog when rounding up a flock; *led* let, *ledz gid *'ut e ōis lādž!* let's get away from here, you fellows!; and likewise *id* it, *pud* put, *pud ēd 'dum!* put it down!

The glottal stop is never used for intervocalic *t,* as in some dialects; nor is the *r* which is so common in many dialects in this position (cf. Windhill p. 88, § 290, and Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation,* Vol. v., p. 420) often heard. I think the only case in which it is sometimes used is the word *git* get. It is evident that in these words our dialect *d* is the link between M.E. *t* and modern provincial *r* which has resulted from the voiced dental stop becoming spirant in an unstressed position.

365. In this dialect also, *t* has become *d* in *prodistant* protestant; and in *podij* (O.Fr. *potage*) broth; and appears as an outgrowth in *tuft* (O.Fr. *touffe*) a tuft.
366. The suffix -tion appears as ūn, as in the 'standard' pronunciation, the explanation being that the unaccented termination M.E. [sium] became [sjon] and the assimilation of the dental spirant (s) to the palatal spirant (j) produced as a compromise the alveolar spirant (ʃ).

M.E. ū.

367. M.E. ū has usually remained, except before r, or -er:
- de-stl (adj.) by the day; don down, fluff; nídl needle; raːd to ride.

368. Before r M.E. ū occurs as ū (§ 29) initially in:
- dreːet to drawl; driːp to drip; driː dreary; dreːov (pret.) drove, and medially in: blaːðe(r) bladder; diðe(r) (M.E. dyderen) to shudder; foðe(r) fodder; gaðe(r) gander; inðe(r) to hinder; laðe(r) ladder; sindiðe(r) (O.E. sinder) cinder; tindiðe(r) tinder; puːðe(r) powder; wundðe(r) wonder; undad hundred.

But ū has become ū after a lengthened vowel in fe-ðe(r) father, and re-ðe(r) rather, which appear to be borrowings from eighteenth century standard English. Short vowels did not lengthen in the dialect before the suffix -er, -ir.

369. M.E. ū has become t in the preterites and past participles of weak verbs, after a voiceless consonant, as in 'standard' English, e.g. akst asked; smiukt smoked; kapt astonished.

370. M.E. ūd has fallen by assimilation to n before a following consonant, e.g. kanl candle; kinlin firewood; anful handful; frinz friends; grunz sediment; grant son grandson; lamloːd landlord; ansa(r) answer, and in the compound adjective bran-niu brand-new.

As a rule ū remains in a final position: end end; band band; fend to provide; frind friend; pund pound; uːnd hound, and ū is intrusive in druːnd (M.E. drounen) to drown, and suːnd (Fr. son) sound. But ū has fallen after n in: en and; ūzbn thousand; uzbn husband, and in the preterites and past participles of the verbs bind to bind; find to find; and wind to wind, which are ban, bun; fan, fun; wan, wun; and
also in the ending of all present participles, which in North. M.E. was -and, and is now -in.

371. The dialect is correct in having no excrescent d in: 
*bu:n* (O.I. buinn) about to; *len* (O.E. lænan, *Yorks. Dial.* len) to lend; and in *θunæ(r)* (O.E. θunor, *Psalms* thoner) thunder.

M.E. *θ* [θ].

372. Initially and finally, M.E. *θ* has usually remained a voiceless spirant, e.g. *θa:k* thatch; *θi:* (O.E. ẹoh) thigh; *θruf* through; *θroŋ* busy; *θozde* Thursday; *baθ* bath; *paθ* path; *woθ* worth; *ti:θ* tooth; *triθ* truth; *goθ* (O.I. gjörð) girth; *swaθ* (O.I. svörðr) grass; *bi:θ* both.

And it remains medially in *noseθril* (O.E. nosseyrl, M.E. nose-thirl) nostril, where the ‘standard’ pronunciation is an attempt to escape the northern dialect  MySqlConnection before r. For example, Yorkshire dialect speakers who attempt to talk ‘fine’ habitually say *tred* for thread, *triː* for three, and so on.

373. M.E. *θ* has disappeared before *w* in: *wa:k*, to beat; *witl* to shape wood (lit. to cut with a (M.E.) thwitel—a knife, related by gradation to O.E. ǝwitan, to cut); also after *w* in *wi* with; *wiv* before a vowel.

374. M.E. *θ* has become *t* in the ordinals: *fouet* (fourth); *sevnt* seventh; *levnt* eleventh; *θottιnt* thirteenth, etc., by analogy with those which originally ended in -t, e.g. *fost* (O.E. fyrst) first; *fift* (O.E. fifta) fifth; and *sikst* (O.E. sixtā) sixth.

M.E. *θ* [θ].

375. Voiced M.E. *θ* has remained medially, and is now voiced finally, where the following vowel has become mute:  
*θuddær(r)* trouble; *brudær* brother; *bri:θ* to breathe; *ouðe(r)* either; *ls:θ* (O.I. hlaða) a barn; *swi:θ* (O.E. swaðu) a row of cut grass; *weðe(r)* which (of two).
376. M.E. voiced *th* has become *d* in: *fadm* fathom; *fidl* fiddle: and after M.E. *r* in: *bodn* burthen; *fuːdɪn* farthing, and *əfod* to afford.

377. M.E. *th* is voiceless before *s*: *pəθs* paths; *munθs* months.

378. M.E. *th* has been assimilated to *s* in: *bask* (O.I. *baθsk*) to bask; *ask* (O.E. *æsxe*) a newt;—where by a metathesis, so common in O.E., *x [ks]* became *sk*—also in *kliːəz* (O.E. *clǣas*) clothes; and has disappeared in *mɔːk* (O.I. *maθkr, Cath. mawke*) a maggot.

379. In pronominal and adverbial words, M.E. initial *th* is voiced, as in standard English: *θeː* they; *θaː* thy; *θIː* thee; *θis* this; *θiːəz* these; *θem* (O.I. *θeim, dat. of θeir, they*) those; *θuː* thou. When *θuː* is used interrogatively after the verb, it remains if emphatic; *wil *θuː*: wilt thou?; *diz *θuː*: dost thou?; but it is weakened to *θə* if unemphatic, *'wilθə* wilt thou?; *dizθə* dost thou?

This sheds some light on the development of the definite article. The Northern M.E. scribes wrote it as *θe* or *θe*. The writers of the *Yorkshire Dialogues* of 1673 and 1684 wrote it 'th.' Now it is heard as a prefixed *t*. What has happened is that in early modern English it became *t* in unemphatic positions, which has weakened to *t*, owing to its being prefixed to nouns, and consequently losing its aspiration. Its *unemphatic* development consequently was *θe > ə > t*. The definite article still remains as *θə*, the M.E. unemphatic form, when used with *emphasis*, or before 'Lord' meaning God, and in phrases like *wut θə divl* etc.


M.E. *s*.

380. M.E. *s* has remained initially:

*səl* (*Roll* *sal*) shall; *sud* (*Roll* *suld*) should; *səl* (O.I. *sile*) a sieve: *səip* to filter; *skəp* a basket: *skrət* to scratch; *snəg* to drag wood; *snəkl* a snare; *səmə* mild; *steg* gander; *sup* to drink; *swəɛl* to gutter; *sɛθ(r)* sure; *sɨɣə(r)* sugar,
also medially before voiceless consonants, or even before l, m, or n, where an assimilated t formerly came between:

- esp (O.I. hespa) hasp; foisti fusty; rist to rest; rast to wrestle; busl to hurry; ri'sitt recipe,

and finally:

- aks to ask; mu:s mouse; os horse; jans once; tjans chance;
- pi'es peace; gri'es flattery; pa:les (adj.) parlous.

381. M.E. s appears voiced, as in Middle English pronunciation, between vowels medially, including s followed by syllabic l, m, or n: bi:zm, besom; fezn pheasant; tu:zl to dishevel; u:ziz houses; si'ezn season; es'aziz (M.E. assise < O.Fr.) assizes, or before a voiced consonant:

- uzbm husband; wenze Wednesday; gozda Thursday;

and also finally, where a following vowel has become mute:

- gri'az to grease; pli'az to please; bu:z (M.E. bousen) to drink; snu:z to sleep.

382. Final M.E. -es became voiced in M.E., and now appears as s after a voiceless consonant e.g. M.E. cates > [katez] > kats cats; but after voiced consonants, and vowels, it remains as z:

- nu'ez nose; fi:ldz fields; diz does; kli'ez clothes, as in the 'standard' speech.

383. M.E. s has become voiced in ez has; ez as; iz is; uz us;

where the voicing took place originally in unemphatic positions in the sentence, the s being retained in accented positions, and before voiceless consonants.

384. M.E. s, voiced medially before i, has become j, as in English, e.g. Rolle's mesür became in early Modern English [me'zjur] where ju was the development in the dialect of Fr. u. Then by means of an assimilation of z and j, the spirant produced by a tongue position halfway between, namely ž, resulted.

- miz(e)r measure; triz(e)r (Rolle tresore) treasure; pliz(e)r or pliz(e)r pleasure.

385. French final -ce[s] has become Ё: minj mince; renj to rinse; nu'etiz notice; pinjez pincers.

Also final -age: damij damage; manij manage; manij-ment manure.
This is one of the peculiarities of the Northern dialect, cf. Scots *farsch* (farce), *scairsch* (scarce), *pynschers* (pincers), *notisch*.

386. M.E. *s* was mistaken for a plural, and dropped in:
- *piə* (O.E. *pisa*, M.E. *pese*) pea; *ridl* (O.E. *rœdels*, M.E. *redels*)
- an enigma; *fimix* chemise; and *tferi* cherry.

M.E. *sh*; *sch* [*ʃ*].

387. M.E. *f* remains:
- *fap* shape; *fisit* cacare; *fæd* (Anglian *scædu*) shed; *fæm*
- shame; *fæf* sheaf; *fælin* a once-shorn sheep; *fæl* to shell (peas); *fæpet* shepherd; *fæk* to shake; *fæbin* (lit. shoe-bind)
- bootlace; *fæa*, unaccented *fæ* (O.E. *seō*, North. M.E. *schō*) she;
- *bifæp* to burn milk in the pan; *ef* ash tree; *paf* rottenness;
- *wef* to wash.

388. *f* occurs also in Romance words containing O.Fr. medial
- *ss*: *famifst* famished; *nurif* (*Prose*, *nuris*), to nourish; *puf* to push;
- *punif* (*Prose*, *puniss*) to punish; *sef* (O.Fr. *chasse*) window-frame;
- *bufil* (O.Fr. *boissel*) bushel, as in standard English; but *f* represents also O.Fr. *-ce*, *-che*, *-ge*: *oddajend* (O.Fr. *faceon*) precocious;
- *minf* to mince; *renf* to rinse; *nuشف* notice; *pinfz* pincers;
- *kabif* (Picard, *caboche*) cabbage; *damif* damage; *manif* to
- manage; *manifment* manure. In the case of the suffix *-age*, it would appear that the French *ʒ* was retained in Midland M.E. and changed to *dʒ*, by analogy with words like M.E. *loge*, *juge*, and
- *rage* (lodge, judge, rage), in the 'standard' pronunciation. In the dialect, *ʒ* became unvoiced in the unaccented syllables where it occurred, when the accent was shifted to the first syllable, by analogy with words like 'notice,' 'cabbage,' etc.

M.E. *ch* [*tʃ*].

389. M.E. *ch* remains in all positions:
- *tfavl* to champ; *tfou* to chew; *tfotf* church; *tfildə(r)*
- children; *tfuf* conceited; *mitf* much; *notf* notch, run (at cricket);
- *watf* watch; *kletf* a brood (of chickens); *tfsədʒ* to charge;
- *tfɔmə(r)* chamber; *tʃuk* (Fr. *choquer*) to throw; *pufəʃ*

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to poach; bi'grutf (M.E. grucchen, O.Fr. groucher) to grudge; paːtritʃ (M.E. pertriche, O.Fr. pertrix) partridge.

390. Except that the first constituent of the diphthong has been assimilated when it follows n: bunʃ to kick; drenʃ (O.E. drencean) to drench; inʃ (O.E. ynce) inch; pinʃ (A.F. pincher) to pinch.

M.E. j, g [dʒ].

391. M.E. j, g also remains:

dʒoi (Rolle ioy) joy; dʒoːnis (Rolle jaunys) jaundice; dʒeis joist; eːdʒ age; fʊdʒ forge; pɪdʒin pigeon.

dʒ represents O.E. final -eg, M.E. -gge, in the following borrowed Midland forms: edʒ edge; wedʒ wedge; sledger-ame(r) sledging-hammer; edʒ hedge; and midʒ midge.

392. But after n, d has been assimilated: e.g. swing to beat; inʒn engine; mɔːŋʒ mange.

7. Palatals.

M.E. gh [ɣ].

393. M.E. gh, as palatal spirant after a front vowel has regularly disappeared from M.E. forms with -ight (§ 148):

britʃ bright; liːt light; niːt night; riːt right; siːt sight.

And from M.E. egh forms (§ 149): niːn nine; diː to die; iːn eyes; iː high.

Before -t M.E. gh (ɣ) became lost to the dialect between 1480 and 1680. Probably it disappeared during the sixteenth century. In other positions ɣ fell earlier. It had fallen by the fifteenth century; for liː lie; niːn nine; ɣiː thigh, N.M.E. *leghe, neghen, and *thegh, appear in the Catholicon Anglicum (1483) as lee, neen, and thee. Probably it was disappearing during the fourteenth century: hey occurs in The Pricke of Conscience besides hegh, high; and nest as well as neghest next.

8. Gutturals.

M.E. c, k.

394. M.E. c, k, remains as a rule:

bek (Cath. bek) a brook; kseɪ key; snek a latch; kud (O.E. cudu) cud; juk hook; kep (O.E. cēpan) to catch; jakn (pp.)

c. h.
shaken; *kitl* difficult; *waŋkl* unstable; *koul* to rake; *koza* causeway; *le·æl* lilac; *ski·æl* (O.E. scöl) school; *sku·æ(r)* (O.Fr. escurer) to cleanse; *kriukt* crooked; *klo:m* to grope; *kli:t* colts-foot; *klag* to stick; *pur·æk* (O.I. pokí) a bag; *stake(r)* (N.M.E. stakir < O.I. stakra) to stagger.

395. But M.E. *k* has fallen, as in `standard' English, before *n*: *ni:* knee; *nodi* head; *no:* to know; *nit* to knit. There is no trace of *tn* in this position in the dialect.

396. Also before *w* in: *wiks* (O.E. cwice) quitch, or couchgrass; *wai* (O.I. kwiga) a heifer; *wik* (O.I. kwikr) alive, and medially in: *mi·æd* made; *musl* muscle; *te·æn* taken; *asl·tri* (O.I. óxultré) an axle.

397. Romance *qu* [kw] remains, e.g. *kwət* quart; *kwə:t* (O.Fr. quarterer) to plough crosswise (lit. to cut into quarters).

398. M.E. *sk* from Scandinavian *sk*-, remains: *skæb* scab; *skuf* (cf. Fries. skuft) nape (of the neck); *skr·æk* (O.I. skrækjja) to shriek; *skep* (O.I. skeppa) a basket; *skelp* to flog; *skræs* diarrhoea; *skuθə(r)* to run; *skrat* (M.E. scratten) to scratch; *bask* to bask; *busk* to hurry.

399. Metathesis of O.E. *sc* remains in: *aks* (O.E. ascian) to ask; *miks* (O.E. miscian) to mix.

400. Final Northern M.E. *k*, corresponding to Southern and Midland *ch*, is found in:

- *biŋk* (O.E. benče) bench; *bork* (O.E. birče) birch; *klik* (O.E. clyčcean) to seize, clutch; *θi·æk* (O.E. ðečcean) to thatch: *θæk* thatch; *seik* such; *pik* (O.E. pič, Cath. pikke) pitch; *pik-fork* pitchfork; *kiŋkof* chincough.

Also in the Scandinavian forms: *kist* (O.I. kista) chest; *kork* (O.I. kirkja) church: *wa:k* (O.I. werkr) to ache.

401. M.E. final *k* has fallen in: *as* (O.E. ascan, Rolle askes) ashes; *mens* (O.I. mensska) decency, neatness.

402. M.E. *k* has become *t* in: *twilt* to beat, flog, lit. to quilt, derived from O.Fr. *cuilte*, a quilt.
M.E. g.

403. M.E. g has regularly remained:

gavlsk (O.I. gaflak, M.E. gavelok) a pointed iron bar (used in building sheepfolds); galšk (O.Fr. gale) left-handed; go:ki awkward; gilšt (O.I. gyltr) a young sow; gimär(r) a young ewe; gilše(r) (Rolle Ps. gildire) a snare; jagš shaggy; seg sedge; mugš sultry; aqš to hack; igš to chaffer; fog aftermath; og a yearling sheep; ug to carry; lig (O.I. liggja) to lie; grund ground; glumpš sorrowful.

404. Except that it disappeared before n: nag (O.I. gnaga) to nag; noː to gnaw; nat gnat; natše(r) to grumble, nag.

405. Final Northern M.E. g, corresponding to Southern and Midland -gge, -dge in words derived from O.E. final -eg, remains in: brig (O.E. brycg, M.E. brig) bridge; figd fledged; mig (O.E. micge) perhaps short for 'midge-water,' liquid manure; rig ridge, back; and in seg (O.E. sege) sedge.

406. Loss of O.E. spirant ȝ in the dialect.

The above examples of medial or final g in an accented syllable are mainly Scandinavian. O.E. ȝ in accented syllables, preceded by a vowel, fell as follows:


O.E. æȝ, eg, North. M.E. ai [ai] has become eːː deːə day; weːː way; seːː to say.

O.E. ɨȝ, North. M.E. ɨgh [eːq] has become iːː nːːn nine; stːːl stile.


O.E. uȝ, North. M.E. ɨgh [öuχ] has become iuː: siu a sow (pig); fiu fowl.


O.E. æȝ, North. M.E. ai [ai] has become eːː kliːː day.

O.E. æȝ, North. M.E. ɨgh [eːq] has become iːː diː to die tiːː to tie.
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O.E. ñg, North. M.E. ñ [i:] has become ai (finally) in: drai dry.


But O.E. spirant ë remains as a stop in: dog dog; frog frog; and ëag shag, as in ‘standard’ English.

M.E. gh [x].

407. M.E. gh as a velar spirant after a back vowel has regularly disappeared. For its appearance as u, see §§ 184–186. M.E. gh fell first in the fourteenth century after M.E. ã. The Prick of Conscience regularly has such forms as draw, awn (own), where other North. M.E. works have the spelling draghe, aghen. By the fifteenth century medial M.E. gh appears to have fallen. The Catholicon Anglicum (1483) records fewle, fowl, against the North. M.E. form foghel; The Prick of Conscience has outh and nouther beside outh (aught) and noght (naught). The dialect pronunciations bout (bought); douâ(r) (daughter); brout (brought); ðout (thought) indicate that M.E. ëgh was really out, for the diphthong in these words has had the same development as M.E. ow from O.E. òw in the words òou to flow; ãrou to grow; etc.

Finally, and in the words ‘laughter’ and ‘slaughter,’ M.E. gh has become f.

408. In the present dialect, f represents M.E. x (velar spirant) in the following words spelled with gh:

i'niíf enough; kof cough; ti'af tough; ruf rough; троf trough; laf laugh; lafâ(r) laughter; dwa:f dwarf; which have [f] in the ‘standard’ pronunciation. Also in the following dialect forms: fo:f (Cath. falghe, Clavis, faugh) fallow land; ba:fn a bargham, horse-collar; bi'af bough; di'af dough; pli'af plough; ëof though; ðruf through; slafta(r) slaughter; sliuf slough; suf (O.E. swogan, M.E. swough) to sough, make a ‘rushing’ noise; uf displeasure; pef (cf. Lowland Scots pech) to gasp, cough. In the latter instances, the dialect still preserves the ‘standard’
pronunciation of the first half of the seventeenth century, as far as the end-consonant is concerned.

M.E. *h*.

409. M.E. *h* as a glottal breathing has generally disappeared in the dialect, though *h* is often wrongly inserted when a word beginning with a vowel is emphasised.

410. O.E. and Scand. breathed *l, n, r* and *w*, formerly spelled *hl, hn, hr*, and *hw* (North. M.E. *wh, qu*), have become voiced, and occur as *l, n, r*, and *w*:

- *loup* (O.I. *hlaupa*) to leap; *nit* (O.E. *hnitu*) a louse's egg;
- *rig* (O.E. *hrycg*) back; *wat* what; *wi:ə* who.

411. Loss of O.E. *h* in the dialect.

412. O.E. *h* as a palatal or velar spirant fell as follows:

- O.E. *dht*, North. M.E. *oght [ouχt]* has become *ou: nout* naught; *tout* taught.
- O.E. *iht*, North. M.E. *ight [eqt]* has become *iː: brit* bright; *nit* night.

But the seventeenth century forms for *ox* (Yorks. *Dial. 1673, owse*) and *nest* (Rolle *nest*, Clavis 1684 *nest*) are interesting therein, that they show vocalisation of O.E. *h*, (1) to *u* after a back vowel, (2) to *i* after a front vowel. M.E. *ɔks > oux > us* owse, and M.E. *neːst > neiːst > niːst* neest. In the present dialect these words are borrowed from literary English.
CHAPTER VIII

THE HISTORIC ORIGINALS OF THE PRESENT VOWEL-SYSTEM

1. Short Vowels.

a.

413. a corresponds to M.E. a, and to:
(a) O.E. æ, a, ea (West Germanic a) in closed syllables, § 91.
(b) The shortening of O.E. ā, ē, ēa in ask newt, blæða(r) bladder, jaf sheaf, § 92.
(c) Standard English o after w, Literary English a, as: swan swan, want want, kwaleti quality, §§ 93, 194, 251.
(d) O.E. a before ng, as: stræŋ strong, § 94.
(e) O.E. a in slaft(r) slaughter, § 95.
(f) With foregrowth of j, to O.E. ā, a, as: jakœ(r) acre, jan one, §§ 127, 131.
(g) Scandinavian a, œ, §§ 192, 193, 195.
(h) Romance a, § 250.
(i) The shortening of Fr. nasalised ā in: ant aunt, dans dance, and tjans chance, §§ 253.
(j) Romance er in taris(r) terrier, vari very, § 258.

b.

414. e corresponds to M.E. e, and to:
(a) O.E. e, eo (West Germanic e) in closed syllables, § 101.
(b) O.E. a before sh, and dental consonants, as: wef wash, § 98, and kredl cradle, § 99.
(c) O.E. y in beri to bury, mena minnow, § 109.
(d) Shortening of M.E. ē in len to lend, etc., § 138.
(e) O.E. īr in kesmæs Christmas, and kesn to christen, § 114.
M.E. īr in jėd yard, § 105 b.
(f) M.E. ā in sell sold, teld told, § 96 a.
(g) Scandinavian e, jō in closed syllables, §§ 198, 200, 201.
(h) Scandinavian īr in ken churn, § 210.
(i) Romance ī, § 255.
(j) Romance ā as: lenīt linnet, etc., § 260, serēp syrup, sperīt spirit, § 261.

i.

415. Ī corresponds to M.E. ā, and to:
(a) O.E. ī, § 108; and in blind blind, etc., before -nd, § 112.
(b) O.E. y, § 109.
(c) O.E. ē before dentals as: it to eat, rist rest, § 106.
(d) O.E. ē before ng, § 105.
(e) Shortening of M.E. ē: tfiz-ki'3k cheese-cake, niv3(r) never, etc., § 140; fipst shepherd, § 141; blis bless, § 143; frind friend, etc., § 150.
(f) Scandinavian ē in git get, and gi (giv) give, § 199.
(g) Scandinavian ĵ, §§ 205, 209.
(h) Scandinavian y, § 206.
(i) Scandinavian ē before ng, § 202.
(j) Romance ī, § 259.
(k) Romance ē before nasals in triml tremble, ingn engine, etc., § 256.

o.

416. O corresponds to M.E. o, and to:
(a) O.E. o in closed syllables, § 116.
(b) O.E. a before l in od hold, omast almost, § 96 b.
(c) O.E. ā, ā before n in moni many, oni any, § 94.
(d) Scandinavian o in closed syllables, § 211.
(e) Romance o, § 262.
As an r-vowel, O corresponds to:
(f) O.E. ī before r, §§ 105, 114.
(g) O.E. y before r, § 115.
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(h) O.E. o before r in fork fork, os horse, etc., § 119.
(i) O.E. u before r, § 124.
(j) Scand. o before r, § 213.
(k) Romance o before r in misfotn misfortune, moτε(r) mortar, etc., § 264.
(l) Romance u before r, § 266.

u.

417. u corresponds to M.E. u.
(a) O.E. u, § 120, and in grund ground, etc. before -nd, § 121.
(b) O.E. y in umlek hemlock, runl spring, etc., § 110.
(c) Shortening of M.E. ō before dentals in fud food, fut shoot, etc., § 163.
(d) Shortening of M.E. ā in rum room, etc., § 164.
(e) Scandinavian u, §§ 214, 215.
(f) Scandinavian y in muk earth, § 208.
(g) Romance u, ou, § 265.
(h) Romance oi before j in bushel, ušin cushion, § 295.

2. Long Vowels.

a:.

418. a: corresponds to M.E. ē before voiced consonants, also to M.E. ār, ēr, + cons.
(a) O.E. ē before voiced consonants: fa:v five, ma:l mile, etc., § 155.
(b) O.E. ē lengthened in wa:ld wild, ta:n spike, § 112.
(c) O.E. ā before voiced consonants: a:v hive, pra:d pride, etc., § 156.
(d) O.E. y lengthened before -nd, ka:nd kind, ma:nd mind, § 113.
(e) O.E. ear (Anglian ar, ēr), § 97.
(f) O.E. eor (Anglian er, ear), § 104.
(g) O.E. ēor (Anglian ēar) in: da:lin darling, fa:dim farthing, § 104.
(h) Scandinavian ē before voiced consonants: gra:m grime, a:l sile, etc., § 229.
(i) Scandinavian ar, § 197.
(j) Scandinavian er, § 203.
(k) Romance ĭ before voiced consonants: fa:n fine, kon'tra:v contrive, etc., § 281.
(l) Romance ar, § 254 a.
(m) Romance er, § 258 a.

\[\text{i:}\]

419. \(\text{i:}\) corresponds to M.E. ē, also to M.E. igh, egh.
(a) Anglian ē for \(\text{æ}\) (I Mutation of \(\text{a}\)) in bri:d breadth, § 140.
(b) Anglian ē (Germanic \(\text{æ}\)) in di:d deed, etc., § 141.
(c) Anglian ē (I Mutation of \(\text{æ}\), \(\text{æ}\)) in ri:k smoke, etc., § 142.
(d) Anglian \(\text{æ\text{̄}}\) (I Mutation of \(\text{e}\)) in flit feet, etc., § 143.
(e) O.E. \(\text{æ\text{̄}}\) (Anglian \(\text{æ\text{̄}}, \text{æ};\) Germanic \(\text{iu}\)) in bri:st breast, etc., § 144.
(f) O.E. e lengthened before -ld, § 146.
(g) O.E. ē lengthened, also M.E. igh, §§ 147, 148.
(h) North. M.E. egh, § 149.
(i) Scandinavian ē, § 225.
(k) Anglo-French 'close ' ē, § 277.

\[\text{o:}\]

420. \(\text{o:}\) corresponds to M.E. au, also to M.E. al (aul) from the following sources:
(a) O.E. ag, § 172.
(b) O.E. aw, § 173.
(c) O.E. āg, § 174.
(d) O.E. āw, § 175.
(e) M.E. au arising from O.E. af in lo:x lord, o:x hawk, § 176.
(f) Anglian -al + consonant, § 96.
(g) Scandinavian āg, § 242.
(h) Scandinavian āg, § 243.
(i) Scandinavian al + consonant, § 196.
(j) Scandinavian au, in go:ki simpleton, go:mles stupid, § 246.
(k) Scandinavian ā in do:n down, § 236.
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\( l \) M.E. \( au \)—arising from the loss of a spirant between \( a \) and a guttural consonant: \( o:k\text{ed} \) awkward, \( m\text{o}:k \) maggot, § 244.

\( m \) Romance \( au \), § 292.

\( n \) Romance \( al \), § 252.

\( o \) Romance \( \dddot{a} \) before nasals, in \( t\text{fo}\text{ma}(r) \) chamber, \( m\text{omgi} \) many etc., § 253.

\( u:\)

421. \( u:\) corresponds to M.E. \( \dddot{a} \).

\( a \) O.E. \( \dddot{a}, \) § 164.

\( b \) O.E. \( \dddot{a} \) lengthened before -\( ld \), in \( j\text{u}\dddot{a}(r) \) shoulder, § 122.

\( c \) Scandinavian \( \dddot{a}, \) § 234.

\( d \) Romance \( ou, \) § 287.

3. The Diphthongs.

422. \( ai \) corresponds to M.E. \( \dddot{i} \) in a final position:

\( a \) O.E. \( \dddot{y}, \) § 154.

\( b \) Scandinavian \( \dddot{y}, \) § 280.

\( c \) Romance \( \dddot{i}, \) § 280.

\( ei \)

423. \( ei \) corresponds to M.E. \( \dddot{i} \) before \( r \) and voiceless consonants, also to Midland M.E. \( ei. \)

\( a \) O.E. \( \dddot{i} \) before \( r \) and voiceless consonants, § 152.

\( b \) O.E. \( \dddot{y} \) before \( r \) and voiceless consonants, § 153.

\( c \) M.E. \( ei, \) § 177.

\( d \) Scandinavian \( \dddot{i}, \dddot{y} \) before \( r \) and voiceless consonants, § 228.

\( e \) Romance \( \dddot{i} \) before \( r \) and voiceless consonants, § 279.

\( iu \)

424. \( iu \) corresponds to M.E. \( eu, \) and to M.E. \( \dddot{a} \) before gutturals.

\( a \) O.E. \( \dddot{e}aw, \) § 179.

\( b \) O.E. \( \dddot{e}ow, \) § 180.

\( c \) O.E. \( i\dddot{o}, \) § 181.

\( d \) M.E. \( \dddot{a} \) before gutturals, § 161.
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(e) M.E. ou arising from O.E. of, in jun oven, § 161 c.
(f) Scandinavian ð before k, § 233.
(g) Romance eu, ē, § 297.

oi.

425. oi corresponds to M.E. oi, ui.
Romance oi, ui, §§ 293, 294.

ou.

426. ou corresponds to M.E. ou, also to M.E. ol (oul).
(a) O.E. eah (Anglian æh), § 183.
(b) O.E. Æh, § 184.
(c) O.E. og, oh, § 185.
(d) O.E. Æh, § 186.
(e) O.E. eow, § 187.
(f) O.E. eow, § 188.
(g) O.E. eow, § 189.
(h) O.E. Æw, § 190.
(i) Early Mod. E. ou in pound pond, § 121, and in poul pole, § 158.
(j) O.E. ol, § 117.
(k) Scandinavian au, § 245.
(l) Scandinavian og in lililou flame, § 248.
(m) Romance u in poue(r) to pour, § 297 a.
(n) Romance ol, § 263.

e·æ.

427. e·æ corresponds to M.E. ai, also partly to M.E. ā and ār.
(a) O.E. æg, § 167.
(b) O.E. æg, § 168.
(c) Anglian Æg, O.E. æg, § 169.
(d) Anglian Æg, O.E. æg, § 170.
(e) M.E. ā, §§ 127, 128.
(f) M.E. ar, § 97; M.E. ar, § 129.
(g) Scandinavian ei, § 239; Scandinavian ey, § 240; Scandinavian eg in ge·æn rear, § 238.
(h) Scandinavian å, § 217.
(i) Romance ai, ei, §§ 290, 291.
(j) Romance ån, § 271.
(k) Romance å, § 270.
(l) Romance ar, § 254.

428. **i·a.**

428. **i·a** corresponds to M.E. ā, M.E. ē, and to M.E. ŏ, also to M.E. ēr in open syllables.

(a) O.E. a in open syllables, § 127 a.
(b) O.E. ā, § 128 a.
(c) O.E. a before -mb, -st, § 130.
(d) O.E. e in open syllables, § 132.
(e) O.E. æ (I Mutation of ā), § 133.
(f) O.E. æ (Anglian ē, Germanic æ), § 134.
(g) O.E. æa, § 137.
(h) O.E. ēr, ëor, §§ 135, 136.
(i) O.E. ŏ, § 160.
(j) Scandinavian a in open syllables, § 218.
(k) Scandinavian ā, § 219.
(l) Scandinavian e in open syllables, § 223.
(m) Scandinavian æ, § 221.
(n) Scandinavian æ, § 222.
(o) Romance a in open syllables, § 269.
(p) Romance a before -st, § 268; e before -st, § 275.
(q) Romance e in open syllables, § 273.
(r) Anglo-French ‘open’ ë, § 274.
(s) Romance ŏ in bi·at boot, fi·al fool, etc., § 286.
(t) Romance ēr, § 276.

429. **u·a.**

429. **u·a** corresponds to M.E. ŏ, also to M.E. ūr, õr.

(a) O.E. o in open syllables, § 157.
(b) O.E. ā (Midland development), § 158.
(c) O.E. or before dental consonants, § 118.
(d) O.E. ur before dental consonants, § 125.
(e) O.E. ūr, § 165.
Sources of the Vowel-System

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(f) Scandinavian o in open syllables, § 231.

(g) Scandinavian ö before r, § 232.

(h) Romance o in open syllables, § 284.

(i) Romance or before dental consonants, § 264.

(j) Romance o before st, § 285.

(k) Romance ou before r, § 288.

4. The Triphthongs.

sie.

430. sie corresponds to M.E. i before r.

(a) O.E. i before r in siæren, iron, wsier wire, § 152.

(b) O.E. y before r in siær hire, fsiær fire, § 153.

(c) Scandinavian ý before r in meiær mire, § 228.

(d) Romance i before r in umpsiær umpire, § 279.

iue.

431. iue corresponds to M.E. eu before r, or before an unaccented syllable containing a back vowel, e.g. kaziuæl casual.

Romance u before r, in piuer pure, § 297.

oie.

432. oie corresponds to M.E. o before an unaccented syllable containing a back vowel, e.g. loial loyal.

oua.

433. ouæ corresponds to M.E. ou before r.

(a) O.E. ðow before r in fouær four, fouæt fourth, § 189.

(b) Romance û before r in pouæ(r) to pour, § 297 a.
APPENDIX

THE VOWEL DEVELOPMENT

434. The following table indicates the stages of development of the chief vowel sounds. The letters indicate sounds, not spellings; and refer only to the dialect, not to standard English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle English (1850)</th>
<th>Early Modern English (1650)</th>
<th>Modern English (1850)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al (aul)</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ar + cons.</td>
<td>ar</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ar ('bairn,' 'part,' etc.)</td>
<td>er</td>
<td>e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er + cons.</td>
<td>e r</td>
<td>e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ext ('might,' 'right,' etc.)</td>
<td>t r</td>
<td>t:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>r lax.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir + cons.</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ol (ou)</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or + cons.</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or(d), or(u)</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur + cons.</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>o:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Long Vowels.

| a:                             | a:                          | a:                     |
| a:r                             | a:r                         | a:r                    |
| e                               | e                           | e:                     |
| e:r ('bear,' 'here,' 'hear,' etc.) | e: r                      | i: e:                  |
| e: r                             | e: r                        | i: e:                  |
## The Vowel Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle English (1350)</th>
<th>Early Modern English (1650)</th>
<th>Modern English (1850)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:x (‘eye,’ ‘fly,’ etc.)</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>o:</td>
<td>u:o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o: (ûû)</td>
<td>1. ou</td>
<td>1. in before gutturals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. i:e before r</td>
<td>2. i:e before other consonants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. u before d, q, and t</td>
<td>3. u before d, q and t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:r</td>
<td>u:r</td>
<td>u:e(r)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3. Diphthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[ai]</th>
<th>[ei]</th>
<th>[ui]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[œi]</td>
<td>[œi]</td>
<td>[œi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu</td>
<td>io (‘au’ in ‘poison’)</td>
<td>io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>ou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART II

CHAPTER I

A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECT

Nouns

There are no full declensions in the dialect. Inflections have disappeared as in standard English. It is only necessary to know how to form the plural forms of nouns, and their possessive case.

435. Formation of the Plural.

I. -es plurals. The plural of nouns is regularly formed by the endings -iz, -z, or -s.

(a) -iz is the plural ending of nouns which end in hissing sounds (s, z, ð, ʃ, dʒ), e.g. dish /dɪʃ/ dish /dɪʃiz/; lass /lɑs/ lass /lɑsiz/; nose /nɔz/ nose /nɔziz/; os /ɒs/ horse /ɔsiz/; tfotʃ /tfɔtʃ/ church /tfɔtʃiz/.

(b) -z is the inflexion of nouns ending in vowels, or voiced consonants (z, and ð excepted), e.g. de:ə day /dəˈeə/ day /dəˈeəz/; lad /læd/ lad /lædz/.

Nouns which end in -nd, or (r), lose the end-consonant before the plural ending: frind /frɪnd/ friend /frɪndz/; end /end/ end /enz/; bruðə(r) /bruðə(r)/ brother /bruðəz/.

(c) -s is the plural ending of nouns which end in voiceless consonants (s and ʃ excepted), biuk /bjuːk/ book /bjuːks/; kap /kæp/ cap /kæps/; paθ /paθ/ path /paθs/.

But a few nouns in ð, f, and s change the end-consonant into the corresponding voiced ð, v, and z, in the plural, and hence take -z, -iz as the plural ending: mu:θ /muːθ/ month /muːðz/; ju:θ /juːθ/
youth juːdʒ; kɔːf calf kɔːvz; ɔf half ɔːvz; ʃɛif life ʃaːvz; luːɛf loaf luːavz; ʃɛif knife ʃaːvz; siːɛf rush siːɛvz; ʃaf sheaf ʃaːvz; ɵiːf thief ɵiːvz; ʃɛif wife waːvz; ʉːs house ʉːziz.

These endings represent Anglian -as, -ass, the plural inflexion of the strong masculine nouns, weakened to M.E. -es (probably pronounced [əz]). The modern plurals in s are due to the unvoicing of z after a voiceless consonant. By the middle of the fourteenth century the -es type in the North had superseded the O.E. plurals in -n, or in a vowel. The plural forms of Northern M.E. were almost identical with those of the present dialect.

II. -en plurals. Three nouns may have plural in n: iː eye iːn; ɒks ox ɒksn; ʃiː shoe ʃiːn (Clavis sheaun), corresponding to the three Northern M.E. plurals ɐɡɛn, ɒksen, and ʃoen, from the weak declension in Old English.

III. -er plural. One noun may have plural in -ar, tʃaːld tʃiːldə(ɹ). ‘Child’ is rarely heard, beːən bairn with plural beːənz is used instead; but tʃiːldə(ɹ) is a genuine dialect form, derived from Northern M.E. childer, O.E. cildru.

IV. Mutation Plurals. The following form their plural by a vowel change (I Mutation): fiːt foot fiːt; giːs goose giːs; luːs louse leis; kuː cow kai; man man men; muːs mouse meiːs; tiːθ tooth tiːθ; wumən woman wimin. All the Northern M.E. plural forms of this class, fete, gese, kry, men, mica, tethe, have remained, excepting brether (brothers), and hende (hands), which have gone over to the class which forms the plural by adding -s.

V. The following nouns have singular and plural alike: əs ashes; ʃiː fishies; gruːs grouse; jiːp sheep; diːə(ɹ) deer; truːt trout; tʃiːz cheeses; swaːn swine.

This declension of nouns owes its origin to the Old English strong neuter nouns with a long root vowel, whose plural form was the same as the singular in the nominative and accusative cases, but it has absorbed many words which did not originally belong to it.

To these must be added jiːə(ɹ) year, munθ month, and wiːk week, which were originally O.E. genitive plural forms ending in -a, in such phrases as əbʊt siks munθ sin about six months ago, nut ʃə ten jiːər not for ten years; also the following nouns of
measure when they follow a cardinal number: brace (e.g. brace a gru:s); sti-en (= 14 lbs.) stone(s) (e.g. sit ten); brace (e.g. brace a bi-ets); duzn (= 12) dozen; score; tun tons; pund pounds; inches; miles.

VI. The following nouns are only used in the plural:

- Britfiz breeches
- Bodmz or grunz sediment
- Lis lungs
- Mez|z meases
- Krudz curd
- Ji-az shears
- Tenz tongs
- Truziz trousers
- Gre-anz malt
- Ji-az shingles
- Ga'mafiz gaiters, leggings
- Drjkinz nuncheon
- Podiz porridge, and bro soup are plurals, and require a plural verb or pronoun.

VII. Double plurals are found in: belesiz bellows; and galesiz braces.

VIII. The following nouns have a plural with a specialised meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Specialised Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bi-est, beast.</td>
<td>bi-ès, cattle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kope(r), copper, a caldron.</td>
<td>kopez, pence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kli-əz, cloth.</td>
<td>kli-əz, clothes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lít (O.E. lēoht, Goth. liubath, subs.) light.</td>
<td>lìts (O.E. lēoht, Goth. leítha, adj.) lungs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ju:θ, youth.</td>
<td>ju:ž, fellows, men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oil, oil.</td>
<td>oilz, oil for anointing or rubbing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sort, salt.</td>
<td>sorts, Epsom salts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su-æt, sort.</td>
<td>su-ets, health (in such phrases as i ‘gud ‘su-ets in good health, ‘u:t a ‘su-ets ill, wat su-æt a ‘su-ets iz i in how is he?).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

436. Formation of the Possessive Case.

I. (a) There is no inflexion when a second noun follows the possessive noun, used adjectivally. The two nouns are simply placed side by side, the genitival noun becomes an adjective qualifying the noun which follows it, e.g. a hen egg, a calf head.

Examples of the possessive case are:

- mi fe-əsar at my father’s hat,
- tlad bi-ets the lads’ (farm labourers’) boots.
This s-less genitive appears to be peculiar to Northumbrian as opposed to the Scotch variety of modern Anglian. It owes its beginning to the Old English strong feminine nouns, which formed the gen. sing. in -e, and to those (ending in -er, -or) which had no genitival inflexion. In Northern M.E. the weak nouns with gen. sing. in -an passed into this class, instead of into the strong masculine declension with gen. sing. -es, nom. plur. -as. Rolle has be hert rote (the heart’s root), an eghe twynkelyn, be son rysing (the sun’s rising), til helle ground, helle pyne, beside be dede hand (the hand of death), fader house, moder kne. The usual Northern M.E. inflexion for the genitive of masculine nouns was -is or -es, e.g. kinges son, manis blame, and to many feminine nouns was given this ending e.g. pis worldis lyfe. The genitive plural ending, -ra, disappeared altogether; but the ending -s sometimes took its place in M.E. Rolle has mens bodys, beside men banes (men’s bones), also worms fode (worms’ food).

(b) The Hackness dialect, like other Northern English dialects, has dispensed entirely with the inflexion -s, except when the possessive case is substantival. In this case the genitival noun, whether singular or plural, takes the inflexion, which is pronounced -iz after sibilants, -z after vowels or voiced consonants, and s after voiceless consonants, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sat ats mi fe-\d{e}\d{e}z}, & \text{ that hat is my father’s,} \\
\text{Sem bi-atz is tla\d{d}z}, & \text{ those are the lads’ boots,} \\
\text{Its Diks}, & \text{ it is Dick’s.}
\end{align*}
\]

(c) Nouns ending in \( \theta, f, \) and \( s \), which voice these consonants in forming their plurals—e.g. ju:theta youth ju:\d{e}z, ko:f calf ko:vz—retain the voiceless \( \theta, f, \) or \( s \) before the substantival possessive case, e.g.

\[
\text{ist } \theta \text{at ju:theta? Does it belong to that man?}
\]

(d) Nouns which make their plurals by vowel mutation, or in (r), form their possessive case in -s (-z) when substantival—e.g. manz man’s, menz mens, tjild\d{e}z children’s.

II. The possessive case may also be indicated by the use of a, av of, in the dialect, as in literary English.

1 Murray, Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 163.
437. Gender.

Names of male animals require the masculine pronoun ı: he, whilst females are designated by fi: she.

Machines, engines, and the like are often referred to as she, e.g.

Dgu·ødə ez getn ə niu self-binding ən jə ganz up ti tma:k

George has got a new self-binding reaper, and it runs well.

ADJECTIVES.

438. The Articles.

(a) The indefinite article is ə or an, a, an. ə is used before consonants and h-mute, an is heard before vowels, e.g. ə kə:d snap, a spell of cold weather, but ə nə:o:d tʃap an old man.

The indefinite article is the O.E. numeral ən one, used as an article, like the French un. In Northern M.E. no difference was made between the numeral and the article. For both ə (ə:) was written before consonants, and an, ane (ə:n) before vowels. The modern dialect has a specialised form for the numeral, jə: before consonants, jən before vowels.

(b) The definite article is t, the, which is generally prefixed to the noun it qualifies, e.g. tman the man, tku: the cow.

The definite article represents Northern M.E. sing. ə which superseded O.E. demonstrative sə. The th came from the oblique cases. In early modern English it was weakened to th’ (Clavis th’), and now appears as a prefixed t. In Northern M.E. the definite article had a plural form ə’a, which fell out of use in favour of the singular form əe.

(c) In expressions of anger and surprise beginning with wat what, the emphatic form əe, and not the weak form t, is used, e.g. wat əe wold...what in the world! wat əe aŋment! what the hangment! etc.

439. Comparison of Adjectives.

(a) The comparative is formed by adding -ə(r) (North. M.E. -er, -ar), and the superlative by adding -ist (North. M.E. -est) to the uninflected adjective. Long or unfamiliar adjectives are compared with me·ə(r) more, for the comparative, and me·əst most, for the superlative form, e.g.

viuli pretty,       viuli-ə(r),      viuli-ist.
ɔ:kəd awkward,    ɔ:kəd-ə(r),    ɔ:kəd-ist.
plentiful plentiful, me·ə plentiful, me·əst plentiful.
The superlative absolute is formed with very, right, or really real, e.g. a very good friend; really good does a very good thing; really awkward.

Irregular Comparison.

(b) The following adjectives are irregularly compared:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>comparative</th>
<th>superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>wos (Rolle wers)</td>
<td>wost (Rolle werst)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>foar,</td>
<td>foarist,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>befar,</td>
<td>best,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little</td>
<td>les (Rolle les)</td>
<td>liest (Rolle leste),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td>mea (Rolle ma),</td>
<td>mearest (Rolle mast),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much</td>
<td>mear(r) (Rolle mare),</td>
<td>ni-arist (in position),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>niar,</td>
<td>nekst (in order).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

foarist is the comparative of the adverb 'forth,' M.E. farther, foarist is a new adjectival superlative.

fa:rer and fa:rist are used with reference to sight, e.g. the farthest star; foar and foarist with reference to motion, e.g. the farthest trip which we have made.

The Midland form mitj has superseded North. M.E. mykel (O.E. mycel). Marshall (1788) quotes: “Is there mickle to deea?” but mickle is now no longer heard.

mea (Clavis meay) and mear(r) (Clavis mare) are now confused, owing to the loss of r before consonants. The distinction was preserved in North. M.E. e.g.

“And ay be ma saules bat pider wendes, be mare bair payn es, bat never endes.”

(Prike of Conscience, I. 3728.)

niar is either the M.E. adverb nere used as an adjective, or else the comparative of North. M.E. negh nigh used as the positive. The North. M.E. forms were neghe or nerehand, near; nere nearer, neghest nearest, nest next.

(d) After the comparative form of the adjective, than appears in the dialect as an, but the usual substitute is ne(r), nor, e.g. in there is three years older than I. Northern
M.E. used only *than* in this construction, but *nor* frequently occurs in the Middle Scots writers, cf. James Melvill's account of his flight from St Andrews:

"I grew sa extream seik, that manie a tyme I besaught my cowcing to sett me a-land; schoisin (choosing) rather anie sort of dethe for a guid cause, nor sa to be tormented in a stinking holl."

(s) Adjectives of one syllable which end in *ŋ*, do not, as in English, form their comparatives in *-gə(r)* and *-gist*. There is no inserted *g* in the dialect, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparative 1</th>
<th>Comparative 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jun</td>
<td>junə(r)</td>
<td>junist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lan</td>
<td>lanə(r)</td>
<td>lanist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stran</td>
<td>stranə(r)</td>
<td>stranist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Northern M.E. forms offer no guide to their pronunciation. The writers spelled the comparatives of *lang, strang, etc.*, as *langer, stranger*. Probably *g* was not heard.

---

### The Numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 jan, ja:</td>
<td>fost</td>
<td>17 sevn'ti:n</td>
<td>sevn'ti:nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 twi:e</td>
<td>tǔe(r), seknd</td>
<td>18 sitt'i:n</td>
<td>sitt'i:nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 θri:</td>
<td>θod</td>
<td>19 na:n'ti:n</td>
<td>na:n'ti:nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 fouə(r)</td>
<td>fouet</td>
<td>20 twenti</td>
<td>twentit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 fou:</td>
<td>fift</td>
<td>21 jan en twenti</td>
<td>twenti fost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 siks</td>
<td>sikst</td>
<td>22 twi:e en twenti</td>
<td>twenti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 si:əvn, sevn</td>
<td>sevnt</td>
<td>23 θott'i:n</td>
<td>θottit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sit</td>
<td>sitt</td>
<td>24 fotti</td>
<td>fottit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ni:n, na:n</td>
<td>na:nt</td>
<td>25 fifti</td>
<td>fiftit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ten</td>
<td>tent</td>
<td>26 sevnti</td>
<td>sevntit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 e:li:əvn, levn</td>
<td>levnt</td>
<td>27 siksti</td>
<td>sikstit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 twelev</td>
<td>twelft</td>
<td>28 sevnti</td>
<td>sevntit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 θot'ti:n</td>
<td>θot'ti:nt</td>
<td>29 sitti</td>
<td>sittit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 foue'ti:n</td>
<td>foue'ti:nt</td>
<td>30 na:nti</td>
<td>na:ntit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 fifti:n</td>
<td>fift'i:nt</td>
<td>31 unqed</td>
<td>unqet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 siks'ti:n</td>
<td>siks'ti:nt</td>
<td>32 θu:xn</td>
<td>θu:xnt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Like Scots, the dialect has developed a j in jan one, and a long root-vowel in si:ven seven and ali:ven eleven; but it differs in having a Midland form in sit eight. The Middle Scots form was aucht, Northern M.E. aght, Rolle eght. Metathesis of r has taken place in God third, Oddi thirty, and Oddi:in thirteen, by analogy with Midland forms, but the Northern tense tt remains in Oddi:in, and in Oddi. In Oddi forty the t is long by analogy with Oddi.

All the ordinal forms end in -t, except seknd and God. The -t is due to analogy with O.E. fyrsta, fihta, sista, etc. In Northern M.E. the ordinals usually ended in -end, as sevend, neghend, tend, etc. due to the influence of the Scandinavian ordinal ending, which occurs in O.I. as -onde or -ande.

(b) The unaccented form of jan one is en, e.g. tri:den the red one. tuða(r) (lit. the other) is used for the second of two, also for one remaining after a subtraction.

(c) Fractions are:
   s·ef, of: half; God third; kw:ta:r(r) quarter.

(d) Multiplicatives are:
   jans once; twsis twice; ərsis, ər:ta:mz thrice; fousa
   ta:mz four times, etc.; dubl double; tribl threefold.
   en·od en·a twi·a, jan ə twi·a, a few.

Pronouns.

The forms in parentheses are the ‘weak,’ or unemphatic forms. They here follow the ‘full’ or emphasised forms, which are more conservative and nearer to their Middle and Old English ancestry. Naturally the stressed pronouns are not used so often as the unemphatic forms.

441. Personal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Sing.</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a: (a)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>thou</td>
<td>it: (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi: (ms)</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>thee</td>
<td>j: (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi: (wi)</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>j3: (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ux: (ex)</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>j3m (sm)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The first person singular a: represents North. M.E. I [i], the short unstressed form of ik, I. After ik had fallen out of use,
I was used in stressed positions also, and when used emphatically the vowel became i. This M.E. i: gave rise to our a:, from which a new unemphatic form [a:] has been formed. Probably me represents North. M.E. mek, the O.E. accusative, mec; mi: is the O.E. dative, me.

(b) The second person singular ū:; ūi: is used in addressing an intimate friend, a child, or an animal. The plural of the second person is used (1) in addressing a stranger or a superior, (2) as the plural of familiar intercourse with friends and children. The unemphatic nominative [ja] represents the North. M.E. accusative yhow, O.E. eow, with [j] from the nominative jī: (Rolle yhe, O.E. įē).

(c) The third person singular pronouns i: and ji: are used when male and female animals are spoken of, e.g. jə̂z a gud ũimd, ūat la:tl 'bitj a ūam Your little bitch is a good dog. The weak plural form [ēm] represents Midland M.E. hem (them), O.E. heom, him, dative plural of hie (they). ūe: (they), and ĕem (them) are Scandinavian forms, which occurred in North. M.E. as bai and ĕam. The feminine sing. ji:(ja) is from the old Northern M.E. scho, sho, probably directly derived from O.E. seo, the fem. demons. pronoun.

(d) The Objective forms for all persons are used after the verb be, e.g. its im it is he; 'if’a: wə́bį: if I were you; ĕemz ēm those are they. This construction is probably due to Scandinavian influence.

The Objective case is also used:
(1) when more than one subject precedes the verb.
   e.g. im an’or al gān he and she will go.

‘Tom en im kom ‘bak tigider Tom and he came back together.
(2) when a pronominal subject is separated from its verb by a subordinate sentence, or phrase.
   e.g. ĕem, at’sez ‘si: a, iz ‘li:əz They who say so are liars.
(3) Reflexively instead of the reflexive form (sen); with the verbs set to set, īs:ə to lay.
   e.g. i īs:əd im du:n on t su:əfe He lay down on the sofa.

en set me du:m, ti rist a bit And sat me down to rest awhile.
(Castillo, Awd Isaac, l. 5.)

(e) Main affirmative sentences are frequently introduced by
a personal pronoun; and the noun to which it refers, connected by a link-verb, or a demonstrative adjective, is attached at the end of the main sentence.

e.g. Its 'ruf ti de-a, ist (or simply t) 'si-e The sea is rough to-day.

i pa:zilz e'lan, diz Tom Tom walks rather fast.

jaz a'gud øn, jon 'ingn, wen jë gits a'ge-at That engine goes well when once it has been started.

442. Possessive.

(a) Adjectival forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possess. Sing.</td>
<td>ma: (mi) my</td>
<td>ña: (ñi) thy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>u'œ(r) (ø(r)) our</td>
<td>jœ(r) (je(r)) your</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mi and ñi represent M.E. mi and ñi, adjectival possessive (weak) forms of O.E. mën, þin. New emphatic forms mi: and ñi: were developed in the M.E. period (cf. a:; I. < i:) which gave modern ma: and ña:. The genitive it represents North. M.E. it, O.E. hit the nominative form. The old genitive was his. The feminine or is Rolle's hir, O.E. hire. ñe-eør (Rolle's pair) is a Scandinavian form.

(b) Substantival forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possess. Sing.</td>
<td>man mine</td>
<td>ñan thine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>u'œz ours</td>
<td>jœz yours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of the Scandinavian form ñe-eæz theirs, these 'absolute' possessives represent the O.E. genitives mën, þin, his, hire, õre, eower, used as pronouns—not, as in the case of the possessive forms above, as adjectives.

443. Reflexive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reflex. Sing.</td>
<td>mi'sen myself</td>
<td>ñi'sen thyself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>we'senz ourselves</td>
<td>je'senz yourselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The accent always falls on the second syllable. I believe sel forms do occur in certain parts of the North and East Ridings. Dr Wright, quoting Ellis¹, says "-sel is the only form that occurs

¹ Windhill Dialect, p. 193.
in all the North Northern, West Northern, and East Northern dialects, except at Holderness (S.E. Yorks.), and South Ainsty, where we find -sen." I can only state that I have never heard -sel used in the Hackness district; Self is used as a demonstrative pronoun in the dialect meaning 'very,' 'same,' e.g. tself an tsi'am the very same. Historically, sen is the dative of self, O.E. selfum, Northern M.E. selvyn, selfine. Since many verbs with which reflexive pronouns are used take a Dative Object, e.g. tell, give, etc., a dative case remained in M.E.; and the use of selvin (selum > seln > sen) spread by analogy to verbs like wesh, lay, etc. which took an Accusative Object. It is worth noting that nearly all the pro- nominal Accusative forms are derived from the O.E. Dative forms.

444. Demonstrative.

Sing. His, this \( \Rightarrow \) hat, that jon, yon.
Plur. His, these hem, those jon, yon.

(a) His and Hi-ax refer to objects nearest to the speaker (Lat. hic, hi), hat and Hem to objects near or belonging to the person spoken to (Lat. iste,isti). His and Hi-ax are usually followed by i-er (here) and hat and Hem by Hi-er (there), e.g. Hi-ax i-e tsatiz iz beta na hem Hi'er These potatoes are better than those. This (O.E. neut. His, hoc) and that (O.E. neut. Het, istud) were used in North. M.E. exactly as now. Their plurals were thir (Rolle pir, ber, Yorks. Dial. thur), probably of Scandinavian origin, = these; and pa (O.E. da, ista) or paaas (O.E. daas, haec) = those. The modern Hi-ax, these, probably goes back to Rolle's paaas, or it may be a new form from the O.E. dative of daas, deosum. Hem is the O.E. dative of daa, deam; Rolles pam, acc. of pai they. thur has fallen out of use, but it remains in Lowland Scotch and Northumbrian.

(b) Whenever the object or objects pointed out are remote, jon is used (Lat. ille), e.g. jon 'ilz kold 'Wintaz Folli That (over yonder) hill is called Winter's Folly. jon is the (rare) O.E. geon, Northern M.E. (common) zone; cf. Mannyng "ys zone by page" (Is that thy footman?), Handlyng symne, l. 5893.

(c) The Midland English form 'those' is never heard in the dialect.
(d) The determinative forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>im et, he who</td>
<td>or et, she who</td>
<td>gat et, yon et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>dem et, they who, those...who</td>
<td></td>
<td>gat et</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The antecedent of the relative pronoun in the modern dialect is always an Accusative form, historically an O.E. dative. The use of dem as a demonstrative pronoun (ista) is probably owing to its use as a grammatical nominative in this position.

445. Interrogative.

Nom.  wi•er who?,  wa• what,  wii• which,  we•(r) which of two.
Obj.   wi•er whom?,  wa• what,  wii• which,  we•(r) which of two.
Poss.  wi•ez whose?

The Northern M.E. forms were wha (O.E. hwæ) who; wham (O.E. dat. hwæm) whom, whase (O.E. hwæs) whose, what (O.E. hwæt) what. Whilk (O.E. hwilc what sort of?) was a relative pronoun in Northern M.E. we•(r) is the O.E. hwæðer, which of two? wi•ez refers only to persons, and is adjectival like the possessive case of nouns.

wi•er refers to persons, wa• to things. wii• is used only partitively of either persons or things. The interrogative pronoun is never governed by a preposition, the latter is put at the end of the sentence.

  e.g. 'wi•er wa•r it 'di•en bi by whom was it done?
  'wi•er es•e 'gin it ti•e to whom have you given it?
  we•(r) is used of two alternatives, e.g. 'we•a wii•e ev, 'tri•æen et'blaken which will you have, the red one or the black one?

446. Relative.

(a) When the antecedent is expressed, at (et) that is used for all genders and numbers. The relative et cannot be governed by a preposition, but the preposition is tacked on after the object, or at the end of the sentence.

  e.g. im et wi si:d tos ov last wi:ks di•æd The man whose horse we saw last week is dead.
  its bi: et az adlin it for I am earning it for you.
at is also used as a conjunction, e.g. ɗu noz at i 'sed at i 'i-ed ɗat You know that he said that he heard that. As such, at clearly corresponds to the Scandinavian conjunction at (that), also used as a relative in Old Icelandic with suð (so), e.g. suð mikkil at, so great that. In North. M.E. at was only rarely used as a relative, beside the commoner wha and whilk; but the Early Scottish writers made frequent use thereof. In the early Modern English period, it became the only relative pronoun used with an antecedent in Northern English.

(b) When the antecedent is missing, wi-e is used for persons, wat for things.

E.g. A di-ant 'no: wi-e we 'di'er I don't know who was there. A 'si:d wat wer 'up I saw what was the matter.

Strictly speaking, such sentences as these are indirect questions with interrogative pronouns, and the rule that such a relative cannot be governed by a preposition holds good.

E.g. je 'teld me wi-e jad 'gin it ti-e she told me to whom she had given it.

447. Indefinite.

sum some; sambodi someone, somebody; sumat something.

out anything; nout naught, nothing.

i'ni'af enough; fiu few; ivri every; ɔl all; els else.

seik such; ɔ'nudə(r) another; tudi(r) the other.

ouvə(r) either; nouvə(r) neither.

" əνuə(r) əνuə(r)"

oni any; onibodi anyone; moni many.

jan (ən) one, pl. enz ones; jan ənuə(r) one another.

ni-e (ni) no; ni-əbodi no-one, nobody; ni-ən none.

ni-ən is often used emphatically instead of nut not; əz ni-ən ga:in ti di-e 'ɗat I am not (emphatic) going to do that.

fiu (M.E. fewe) is a Midland form. The Northern M.E. was fone.

ouder, ənder, and nouder, ne-əder are both adjectives and conjunctions. They refer to two alternatives. A tale is told of a man who went to the village schoolmaster and asked: weəer iz it ryt ti'se-e, ə-əder ær 'i:əer? And the master replied: ɔ!: 'ouδer on əm l 'di-e.
The dialect possesses several words, adjectives or substantives, to express indefinite quantity, as: ə di'əl, ə vast, ə fiu, ə i-ap a lot, a many.

The distributive adjective is ivri, every, each; ilk (Rolle ilk) each was in use up to the end of the 18th century. Marshall (1788) mentions it in his glossary, with the meanings each, every, and instances "ilk other house" every second house, but it is now no longer heard.

**Adverbs.**

448.

(a) Of Place. ər here, hither; əi-r there, thither; wi'ər where, whither; sumwi'ər somewhere; bi'jint, ə'bak a behind; up up; dun down; ut out; of off; ge'en near; ə'weə away; ə'but about; jondaər yonder; i-em, jam home.

(b) Of Time. nu: now; jans once; twesis twice; ə'gi'en again; wen when; əen then; si'en soon; ivə(r) ever; nivə(r) never; oft, ofanz often; seldnz seldom; i'nu: (lit. een now) soon; jistəde yesterday; las'nit lastnight; ti'mu'en tomorrow; ti'mu'en tmu'en (lit. to morn at morn) tomorrow morning; ti mu'en tmu'nit tomorrow night; sin since; ti'deə today; ti'nit tonight; jist still.

(c) Of Manner. oua(r) too (e.g. oua bad far out too bad for anything); i'evn even; an o:l (lit. 'and all') also (e.g. shaz 'of, en 'a:z of en 'o:l she is going, and I am going also); si'ə (si) so; u: how; əgust just; els else; re'əfeə(r) rather; i'ni'af enough; ə:dlinz hardly; omeət almost; wat for? why?

Affirmative and negative words. si, jis yes; ni-e no; nut, ni'en not.

(d) Of Degree. u'iva(r) however; an, mebi perhaps; nobat only; oles always; sət so (e.g. i we sət bad, et i kd ə:dlinz bəd he was so ill that he could hardly bear it); ka:ndə somewhat; vari very.

(e) Same form as the adjective. wi:l well; lan long; kwik quickly; li'et late; il ill; prati, preti pretty, rather; midlin middling, rather; fast fast; stil still; ə:d hard; ərst straight; rist right; lo: low; tji'əp cheap; di'ə(r) dear; lusd loudly. These are compared, like adjectives, by adding -er and -ist to form the comparative and superlative forms.
Irregular Comparison.

li·et late  li·etar  (last (in order),
li·etist (in time)
ii ill  wa:rt (cf. O.I. werri)  wa:rst (cf. O.I. werstr)
wi:l well  betar  best.

(f) Adverbs built from adjectives usually end in -li unstressed, e.g. o:kadli awkwardly; munOli monthly, etc., but the suffix -ly is stressed in: e'ku'adin'lai accordingly.

(g) Adverbial phrases, and expressions. li·etws·ez at least; up te 'tend to the last; i'nu: at once; (a)ku-es of course, naturally; ti bi 'si·e(r) no doubt; 'Ois we·e thus, in this way; e'ge·et (lit. on the road), at work, going; leik like, is used redundantly in such sentences as 'wai, 'u: a: je 'leik Well, how are you, i 'ofnz leik 'kumz ov e 'munde he often comes on a Monday. In Cumberland, I believe, 'what’ is similarly used.

(h) The forms whither, hither, thither (North. M.E. whidir, hidir, thidir) and whence, hence, and thence (North. M.E. whethen, hethen, thethen), are not found in the dialect today. Instead of ‘whither,’ wi·e(r), followed by ti·e after the main verb, is used, e.g. wi·e az i ga:in ti·e? iz ga:in ti Bolitn where is he going to? He is going to Bridlington. Similarly ‘hither’ and ‘thither’ are replaced by i·e(r), and ëi·e(r), e.g. kum i·e(r) come here, az 'of ëi·e nu: I am going there now. Instead of ‘whence,’ wi·e(r), followed by fre after the main verb, is used, e.g. wi·e diz ja e·al fre? ja 'kumz fre Jatn Where does she come from? She comes from Ayton. ‘Hence’ and ‘thence’ are replaced by frev i·e(r), and fre ëi·e(r).

Prepositions.

449. (a) 

efta(r) after  a'fu·a(r) before  du:n down

a'bu:n above  bi'jint behind  septin, sept except

a'bu:n above  bi'lo: below  for, fe(r) for

a'gi-an against  bi'twikst, a'twim  a'tenst, bi'sa:d beside fre·e (fre), frev from

a'gi-an against  bi'twikst, a'twim  i, iv in

a'mang amongst  bi'jont beyond  inte, intiv into

a'gi-an against  bi'twikst, a'twim  insa:d inside, within

et at  bai (bi) by  ut'sa:d outside
ni'a'rand) near
ge'a'n'and) sin since
on (ə) on, of
of off
ru:nd round, around

The form frəv, which is used before consonants, is made by analogy of iv in and tiv to. a'nenst is O.E. onefen, onemn, prep. alongside of, and the adverbial genitive suffix -es.

(b) Prepositional phrases. az 'far az as far as; speit ə in spite of; ouer a'nenst opposite to; ə 'fis sa:d on this side; at tuęe sa:d on the other side; i 'frunt ə in front of; fa'tsi-ak ə for the sake of.

Conjunctions.

450. bud, bat but; koz, a'kos because; ən and; at that (that is never used as a conjunction); gif, if; ne'a7ea(r), nou'Sea(r) neither; e'fæe(r), oufæe(r) either; e(r) nor (after comparative adjectives = than); e(r) or; wa:1 until.

Interjections.

451. Exclamation, ai; Wonder, iː; Pain, fear uː; Objection, ə; e' bud; Doubt, wiaː; Vexation, deŋ, bon, boon iːt ont; Surprise, loek, 'lock a 'masti 'on az; Meeting, holæ, wat—; Ex-postulation, wa:i (e.g. wa:i, wat diz i ə-al why, what does he ail?); Triumph, u'reːa; Commiseration, oː, di'ær a di'ær; Intention, wa:i nuː ðen; To horses, əv move to the left; dziː move to the right; wu:ə stop.

Verbs.

1. Strong Verbs.

452. The strong verbs are characterised by a vowel change (gradation) which marks the difference between the Present and Past tenses, and the Past Participle; as find, fun, fun,—but the Old English gradation has become much obscured in the course of the dialect's development. The Past Participle regularly should
end in -\text{n} (M.E. -\text{en}), but the ending has been dropped whenever a nasal consonant (\text{n}, \text{\text{n}} or \text{m}) appears in the preceding syllable. Thus \text{\text{d}\text{r}av}, to drive, has Past Participle \text{\text{d}rovn}; but \text{bind}, to bind, contracts to \text{bun} (for \text{bundn}); and \text{klim} to \text{klum} (for \text{klumbn}).

In Old English these verbs had four vowel-steps, representing (1) Infinitive and Present, (2) Pret. Singular, (3) Pret. Plural, (4) Past Participle. In Northern Middle English the Pret. Plural vowel was ousted by that of the Pret. Singular, and the steps were reduced to three, (1) Infinitive and Present, (2) Preterite, (3) Past Participle. Roughly speaking, these vowel-steps remain, and may be traced in the following pages. The vowels have undergone the normal development of vowels in accented syllables.

453. The inflections of strong verbs in Northern M.E. were as follows. The example is the verb ‘speak.’

\begin{center}
\textit{Indicative Mood.}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l|l|l|l|l}
& \text{Sing.} & \text{Plur.} & \text{Sing.} & \text{Plur.} \\
\hline
\text{Present} & & & \\
1 & \text{speke} & \text{spekes, speke} & \text{spak} & \text{spak} \\
2 & \text{spekes} & \text{spekes, speke} & \text{spak} & \text{spak} \\
3 & \text{spekes} & \text{spekes, speke} & \text{spak} & \text{spak} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\text{Imperative mood: sing. spek, plur. spekes.}
\text{Infinitive mood: speke.}
\text{Present participle: spekand.}
\text{Past participle: spoken.}
\text{Verbal noun: spekyng.}
\end{center}

The inflection -\text{es} of the Pres. Indic. Plural was dropped when \text{we}, \text{yhe}, or \text{pa} came immediately before or after the verb. Cf. \textit{Pricke of Conscience}, l. 1463: “Now we \textit{fande} our force, now we fail.”

454. In the modern dialect of Hackness, strong verbs are inflected as follows:

\begin{center}
\textit{Indicative Mood.}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l|l|l|l|l}
& \text{Sing.} & \text{Plur.} & \text{Sing.} & \text{Plur.} \\
\hline
\text{Present} & & & \\
1 & \text{spi\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}ak, spi\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}eks}}}}}} & \text{spi\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}eks, spi\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{}}}}}ak}}}} & \text{spak} & \text{spak} \\
2 & \text{spi\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}eks}} & \text{spi\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}eks, spi\text{\text{\text{\text{}}}}}ak} & \text{spak} & \text{spak} \\
3 & \text{spi\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}eks}} & \text{spi\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}eks, spi\text{\text{\text{\text{}}}}}ak} & \text{spak} & \text{spak} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
Imperative mood: sing. spi-temp, plur. spi-temp.
Infinitive mood: spi-temp.
Present participle: spi-temp.
Past participle: spokn.
Verbal noun: spi-temp.

(a) In the Present Indic., the inflection -s appears as (z) after vowels and voiced consonants, and as (iz) after hissing sounds. This inflection is not a vulgarism in such sentences as tmen kumz. It is the historical plural inflection; cf. such a sentence in The Pricke of Conscience as: "þe tother part of the lyfe, men calles þe midward" (l. 552). Here follow the rules for its use.

The inflected forms of the Pres. Indicative plural are used with a noun subject, or when the pronominal subject is separated from its verb, exactly as in Northern M.E., e.g. wi: drank we drink, but im en mi: drinkes nobet water He and I drink only water; je kum you come, but ji: et kumz ti ma:kit noiz you who come to market know, etc.; ðe-ə sup they drink, but tkai sups t muki pound water the cows drink the dirty water of the pond.

The 1st person Sing. Pres. Indicative of all verbs in the modern dialect has acquired a similar inflected form, by analogy with the plural, e.g. a tel im nut ti:ə I forbid him, but a ofnz telz im ə'but: it I often tell him about it. This inflected form is used as the Historical Perfect tense, e.g. a siz im gan bai, en a up ən eftær im, en a junts ən maiz, bud on i ganz ə z unkon'sa:nd I saw him go past and I went after him and shouted, but he went on unconcernedly.

(b) The Subjunctive forms of both strong and weak verbs had already been replaced by the Indicative in Northern Middle English, hence only inflected forms of the verb are heard in sentences containing unreal suppositions introduced by if, gif, if; e.g. if i ganz ði:ər, il dí:ə ni gud If he go there (but he wont), he will accomplish nothing. But the verb bi: to be, has retained its subjunctive forms—Present (all persons) bi: (bi), Past (all persons) war (we), North. M.E. be, ware—and these are often used in the if-clauses of conditional sentences, e.g. if ðat bi si:ə if that be so, if'ə: we ði: if I were you.

C. H.
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455. Class I.

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>(\ddot{a})</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>(i)</td>
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<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>(\ddot{a})</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

- **ei before voiceless consonants**: \(e \cdot e\)
- **\(\alpha:\) voiced**: "" (unspecified)

- **bad, bide**: \(be \cdot ed, ba \cdot did\) \(bidn, ba \cdot did\)
- **biet, bite**: \(be \cdot et, bit\) \(bitn\)
- **dra:v, drive**: \(\ddot{d}re \cdot ev\) \(\ddot{d}rivn, \ddot{d}rov\)
- **gla:d, glide**: \(gl\cdot ed\) \(gl\cdot dn\)
- **ra:d, ride**: \(\ddot{r}e \cdot ed\) \(\ddot{r}idn\)
- **reit, write**: \(\ddot{r}e \cdot et\) \(\ddot{r}tn\)
- **ra:v, rive**: \(\ddot{r}e \cdot ev\) \(\ddot{r}ovn\)
- **ra:z, rise**: \(\ddot{r}e \cdot oz\) \(\ddot{r}izn\)
- **stra:d, stride**: \(\ddot{s}tr\cdot ed\) \(\ddot{s}tridn, \ddot{s}trodn\)
- **streik, strike**: \(\ddot{s}tre \cdot ek\) \(\ddot{s}trukn\)
- **stra:v, strive**: \(\ddot{s}tr\cdot ev\) \(\ddot{s}trivn, \ddot{s}trovn\)
- **feit, caccine**: \(\ddot{f}e \cdot et\) \(\ddot{f}tn\)
- **\(\ddot{f}ra:v, thrive\)**: \(\ddot{f}re \cdot ev\) \(\ddot{f}rivn, \ddot{f}rov\)
- **\(\ddot{f}am, shine\)**: \(\ddot{f}e \cdot en\) \(\ddot{f}on\)

The \(e \cdot e\) of the preterite in verbs of this class has developed regularly from the \(\ddot{a}\) of the Northern M.E. Preterites (see §§ 126, 128). This is probably the explanation of the \(e \cdot e\) in the Windhill-verbs of this class (Wright, *Windhill Dialect*, § 362), which appear to be borrowed from a Northern dialect. The Past Participles in this list with \(o\) or \(u\) as root vowels are by analogy with Class II.

- **ra:v (O.I. rōfa)** and **\(\ddot{f}ra:v\) (O.I. \(\ddot{f}rōfa\))** are of Norse origin, **stra:v** is the O.Fr. *estriver* (M.E. *strive, stroof, striven*) with a Northern preterite in \(\ddot{a}\) by analogy with the verbs of this class.

456. Class II.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Inf.</td>
<td>(\ddot{e}o)</td>
<td>(\ddot{e}a)</td>
<td>(\ddot{u})</td>
<td>(\ddot{o})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>(\ddot{e})</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{e})</td>
<td>(\ddot{o})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(e \cdot e)</td>
<td>(\ddot{o})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **frizz, freeze (M.E. frese)**: \(fre \cdot ez\) \(frozn\)
The e·e of the above preterites is not the development of O.E. ēā (which is i·a), but is due to the analogy of drive, stride, thrive (Class I), and spread, tread (Class V). jut is from M.E. shote, schut (O.E. scēōtan), with M.E. ō shortened to u before a dental consonant (§ 163). The vowel in jot, the preterite, is from the past participle. O.E. cēosan, Rolle chese, should have become *tjiz, but the word is not heard in the dialect; tjiaz is sometimes heard, and comes from M.E. chose (O.E. ceōsan). M.E. close ō has regularly developed in the dialect to i·e (§ 159). The verb was influenced in M.E. by Fr. choisser, and became partly weak; a pret. chose, choisid, occurs. frozn and tjozn (O.E. froren, coren) have z re-introduced from the present and preterite forms.

(b) Inf. Pret. Sing. Pret. Pl. P. P.
O.E. ēog ēag ug og
M.E. ēgh ēgh, ōgh ow
Mod.E. i· ūo ūu
fiū, fly fiū floun.

The preterite fiū is not due to the analogy of the Reduplicating Verbs (Class VII), but it is the normal development of Rolle’s flogh, a new preterite formed by analogy with drogh drew, and slogh slew (Class VI). This was made to supersede the older and more regular pret. flegh, perhaps because the infinitive and present tense was also flegh. To this class belonged dri: (O.E. dregoan, Rolle dregehe) to endure, suffer; and li: (O.E. lēogan) to tell lies, which are now weak.

(c) Inf. Pret. Sing. Pret. Pl. P. P.
O.E. ēow ēaw uw ow
M.E. ew ew ow
Mod.E. i· ūo —
bru, brew bru, briud briun, briud
riu, rue riu, riud riun, riud.

9—2
These are often conjugated weak. The past participles are from the present stem.

(d) The other remaining verbs of Class II have become weak. *tjou* is from an O.E. by-form *ceōwan*. *drīp* (O.E. *drēopan*, M.E. *drepe*) preserves its long vowel, as do *su:k* (O.E. *sūcan*), and *ju:v* (O.E. *scūfan*), but the root vowels are shortened in the weak prets. and past participles before the double consonants. *smiuk* is a new formation from the noun, O.E. *smocca*. The vowel shows the regular development of M.E. *ō* before *k*.

### Class III.

457. The verbs of this conjugation may be divided into four sub-classes, according to the nature of the first medial consonants.

I. Verbs which had a medial nasal followed by another consonant:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O.E.</td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td><em>u</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>m</strong> stems.</td>
<td><em>klim</em>, climb</td>
<td><em>klam</em></td>
<td><em>klum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>swim</em>, swim</td>
<td><em>swam</em></td>
<td><em>swum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n</strong> stems.</td>
<td><em>bind</em>, bind</td>
<td><em>ban</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>find</em>, find</td>
<td><em>fan</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>bi'gin</em>, begin</td>
<td><em>bi'gan</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>run</em>, run</td>
<td><em>ran</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>spin</em>, spin</td>
<td><em>span</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>wind</em>, wind</td>
<td><em>wan</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ŋ</strong> stems.</td>
<td><em>drīŋk</em>, drink</td>
<td><em>drāŋk</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>kliŋ</em>, cling</td>
<td><em>klaŋ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>siŋ</em>, sing</td>
<td><em>saŋ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>siŋk</em>, sink</td>
<td><em>saŋk</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>slīŋk</em>, slink</td>
<td><em>slañk</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>sprīŋ</em>, spring</td>
<td><em>sprañg</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>stiŋ</em>, sting</td>
<td><em>staŋ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>stiŋk</em>, stink</td>
<td><em>stañk</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>strīŋ</em>, string</td>
<td><em>strañg</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>swīŋ</em>, swing</td>
<td><em>swañg</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td><em>🍌ŋk</em>, shrink</td>
<td><em>frañk</em></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To this class belongs a new formation from O.E. hringan (wk.):

\[ \text{ring} \quad \text{run} \]

Also the following verbs of Scandinavian origin:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dën} & (\text{O.I. dengja}) \quad \text{beat} & \quad \text{da} & \quad \text{du} \\
\text{flëngja} & \quad \text{fling} & \quad \text{fla} & \quad \text{flu} \\
\text{hengja} & \quad \text{hang} \quad (\text{intr.}) & \quad \text{un} & \quad \text{un} \\
\text{slôngwa} & \quad \text{sling} & \quad \text{sl} & \quad \text{slu}
\end{align*}
\]

Loss of the final -n in the past participles of all the above verbs is owing to the nasal in the root syllable, but it remains in the adjective \text{drunken}.

The modern form \text{run}, although it is to be found as a Present tense in the Northern Metrical Homilies (ca. 1325)\footnote{Wyld, \textit{Short History of English}, p. 211, § 354.}, is not a Northern form, but a borrowing from Southern English. The Northern M.E. was \text{rin} (\text{Rolle ryn}), perhaps from Anglian \text{irn}, but certainly influenced by Scandinavian \text{renna}.

458. II. The verbs of this conjugation which had a medial l or r followed by a consonant have all become weak.

They include \text{elp} to help, \text{beal} to bellow, \text{jeal} to yell, \text{jelp} to yelp, \text{melt} to melt, \text{sweal} to swell, throw, \text{baik} to bark, \text{kaiv} to carve, \text{staiv} to die of cold or hunger.

In \text{beal}, \text{jeal} and \text{sweal}, the lengthened vowel is due to the following final l, § 103.

459. III. Verbs having a medial h + consonant.

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<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angl.</td>
<td>\text{eh}</td>
<td>\underline{\text{e} \text{h}}</td>
<td>\text{uh}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>\text{egh}</td>
<td>\underline{\text{a} \text{gh}}</td>
<td>\text{ogh}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one representative of this class occurs:

\text{fait}, fight \quad \text{fou} \quad \text{fou} \text{tn}.

460. IV. Verbs which had two medial consonants, the first of which is not a nasal, l, r, or h.

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<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angl.</td>
<td>\text{e}</td>
<td>\underline{\text{a} \text{u}}</td>
<td>\text{o}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>\text{e}</td>
<td>\underline{\text{a} \text{e}}</td>
<td>\text{o}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only two verbs of this class remain strong:

- brust, burst
- brast, burst
- brusn, brust

brust is of Scandinavian origin (O.I. *drýsta*) and has influenced the root-vowel of brust, which occurred in North. M.E. regularly as *brest*.

mon (O.E. *murnan*) to mourn, *thref* (O.E. *ðerscán*) to thresh, and spon (O.E. *spurman*) to spurn, have become weak.

461. **Class IV.**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglian</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>a or ā</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td>i-e</td>
<td>a or e-e</td>
<td>o or u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bu-e(r), bear</td>
<td>brak</td>
<td>brak</td>
<td>bu-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bri-ek, break</td>
<td>grat</td>
<td>grat</td>
<td>grutn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gri-et, weep</td>
<td>stelt</td>
<td>stelt</td>
<td>stoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sti-el, steal</td>
<td>stak</td>
<td>stak</td>
<td>stku'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stik, stick</td>
<td>tu-e(r), te-e(r)</td>
<td>tu-e(r)</td>
<td>tu-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ji-e(r), shear</td>
<td>fi-ad</td>
<td>fi-en</td>
<td>fi-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ti-e(r), tear</td>
<td>tu-e(r), te-e(r)</td>
<td>tu-e(r)</td>
<td>tu-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and, by analogy, from O.E. *werian* (wk.),

wi-e(r), wear | wu-e(r), ws-e(r) | wu-en |

The verb *stik* is a new formation from O.E. *sticca*, a stick, *gri-et* (O.E. græstan, græt) was originally a reduplicating verb. The preterites of this class are very irregular, only *brak*, *grat*, and *stak* preserve the original sing. form; *br-e(r)*, *te-e(r)* and *we-e(r)* indicate lengthening of *ā* in the open syllable, but in the commoner forms *bu-e(r)*, *tu-e(r)*, and *wu-e(r)*, the vowel of the past participle has penetrated into the preterite. The past participles *bu-en*, *ju-en*, *tu-en*, and *wu-en* show the regular dialect development of M.E. *-orn*, § 118, and *stoun* is regularly derived from M.E. *stolen*, § 117.

(b) The following verb, having a single medial nasal, was irregular in Old English,
### CH. I] GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECT

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<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O.E.</td>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>$ō$</td>
<td>$ō$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>$o$</td>
<td>$u$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**kum, come**  
**kom, kam**  
**kum, kumd.**

The infinitive **kum** preserves the vowel of O.E. **cuma(n)**. The usual Northern M.E. pret. was **com** or **come**. This is preserved in the dialect preterite **kom**. **kam** is difficult to account for. It may be the survival of an Anglian preterite singular ***cam** or ***cwam** (Gothic **qam**, O.H.G. **quam**). Undoubtedly the verb would be influenced by Scandinavian **koma**, which had **kom** or **kwam** for its pret. sing. Our standard English form ‘came’ indicates a Midland M.E. **cāme** with a long vowel, but the dialect form **kam** can only come from a Northern M.E. **cām**. Any lengthening in the Middle English period would have given ***kə·əm** or ***kɪ·əm** in the modern dialect.

The past part. **kum** (O.E. **cumén**) has lost its ending owing to the final nasal in the root syllable.

#### 462. Class V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angl.</td>
<td>$e$</td>
<td>$ə$</td>
<td>$ə$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>$ē$</td>
<td>$a$ or $ā$</td>
<td>$o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td>$i·ə$</td>
<td>$a$ or $e·ə$</td>
<td>$o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$ni·əd$, knead</td>
<td>$nad$, $ne·əd$</td>
<td>$nodn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$spi·ək$, speak</td>
<td>$spak$</td>
<td>$spkn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$tri·əd$, tread</td>
<td>$trad$, $tre·əd$</td>
<td>$trodn$,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and, by analogy, from O.E. **spreadan** (wk.)

**spri·əd**  
**sprad, sprə·əd**  
**sprodn.**

The above past participles have **o** as root vowel by analogy with Class IV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angl.</td>
<td>$i$</td>
<td>$ə$</td>
<td>$ə$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>$i$</td>
<td>$a$</td>
<td>$e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td>$i$</td>
<td>$a$</td>
<td>$b$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$bid$, bid</td>
<td>$bad$</td>
<td>$bidn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$sit$, sit</td>
<td>$sat$</td>
<td>$setn$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
git, get
gat
getn, gitn, gotn
giv, gi, give
gav
gin.

Git and giv owe their initial consonant to their Scandinavian cognates, O.I. geta and gefa. The original meaning of git was to acquire, but as in modern English, the verb is also used in the dialect as the passive auxiliary, e.g. i gat kild, he was killed, and to strengthen the verb 'have,' e.g. iz gotn o kord he has a cold.

it, eat
lig, lie
lign, le-.e
lign, le-.en.

It (O.E. etan) shows raising of e to i before t, § 106. The preterite indicates the shortening of M.E. e before a dental, § 150. Rolle's preterite was ete. lig is the Scandinavian strong verb meaning 'to lie,' O.I. liggja. The strong pret. le-.e and the past part. le-.en may be from O.E. (liogan) læg, legen.

Here must be added also
sit, see
sild, so:
sild, sin.

The weak forms are usually heard, but so: is the regular development of North. M.E. sagh. The past part. sin is the regular development of M.E. sene, which was a new formation from the M.E. infinitive se. It is not derived from the O.E. past part. sewen or segen. Similar formations in the Middle English period were tane from ta (take), and made from ma (make).

463. Class VI.

(a) Int. Pret. Sing. Pret. Pl. P. P.
O.E. a δ δ a
M.E. a, ā δ a

gri-av, dig grov, gri-.avd grovn
swi-.ar, swear swe-.ar swu-.an
stand, stand stud, sti-.ad studn.

The infinitive gri-.av indicates M.E. grave, with a long fronted ā (§ 128); gri-.av (O.E. grafin) would have a preterite in M.E. grove. From this comes the shortened dialect preterite grov, and the past part. grovn (for grāvn); gri-.avd is probably a new weak formation from the infinitive, but it may be the regular strong preterite *gri-.av < M.E. grove (§ 160) with the 'weak' -d added.
swi-er shows the regular development of M.E. e, lengthened in the open syllable from O.E. swerian. The Northern M.E. preterite in the Metrical Psalms is sware (xxiii. 10) by analogy with Class IV, from which comes the dialect form swi-er.

The M.E. past part. sworn, or sworn, was formed from the Midland preterite swore, and took the place of the older sware; sworn regularly became swu-en (§ 118), like the -orn preterites bu-en, fu-en, tu-en, Wu-en of Class IV.

stand preserves its original vowel before the double consonant. The preterite sti-ed is a regular development of M.E. stode (§ 160). The form stud and the past part. studn owe their vowel to a M.E. shortening of the close ə before -d (§ 163). studn is derived from M.E. stoden, a new formation from the preterite stode, like sworn from swore, which ousted the older standen.

The vowel in the infinitive and past part. is the development of M.E. au, the Northern M.E. forms were draw, drawn. Rolle's preterite drogh regularly yielded daniu (§ 161b).

Here must be added:

sle-a, slay sliu sles-en,

where the infinitive is not from O.E. slean, M.E. slee [sle:] but from the Scandinavian sla (Northern M.E. sla, slai). The preterite is O.E. slógh, North. M.E. slogh, regularly developed to sliu, cf. daniu above, and fliu from flogh (Class II). The past part. is not from O.E. slægen or slegen, M.E. slawen, but a new Northern M.E. past participle slane, formed from the infinitive sla.

(c) Inf. Pret. Sing. Pret. Pl. P. P.
O.E. ac əc əc ac
M.E. ak ək ak
Mod.E. ak iuk ak
jak, shake fliuk jakn
tak, take tiuk takn, ts-en.
These preterites show the regular development of M.E. ď before k. tak is of Scandinavian origin, O.I. taka, tōk, tekin. The form takn owes its vowel to the analogy of jākn, but in Northern M.E. a new past participle tane was formed from the shortened infinitive taa (cf. slane above), and te-an is derived from this.

(d) The other remaining verbs of this class, bi'ak bake, fle-a flay, li'ed load, jāv shave, wej wash, have become weak. Of these, only jāv and wej preserve the O.E. short vowel. For wej see §98. The vowel in fle-a is difficult to account for, and it agrees with that in slē-a to slay. One would expect O.E. flēan and slēan to yield M.E. flee and slee with the open ē, which would have given *fli-a and *sli-a in the dialect. Wright, Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, §376, says that the ē-a comes from the past participle. This is unlikely in the case of slē-a, and impossible with the weak verb fle-a. More likely is it that these infinitives come, not from the English verbs flēan and slēan, but from their Scandinavian cognates flō and slā. Barbour has sla, to slay, whereas the Midland and Southern writers regularly have sleen, slee [slē:n]. The latter forms would have yielded literary English ‘slea.’ Slay and flay are undoubtedly Northern forms in literary English, and their spelling is the usual Middle Scots ai, ay, for M.E. ď, which had already become fronted to the sound of the Northern M.E. diphthong ai.

bi'ak and li'ed have developed M.E. fronted ď as far as the i-e stage, like gri-ev to dig.

464. Class VII. (Reduplicating Verbs.)

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O.E.</td>
<td>ēw</td>
<td>ēow</td>
<td>ēow</td>
<td>ēw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td>ď</td>
<td>ď</td>
<td>ď</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blo:; blow</td>
<td>bliu</td>
<td>b lo:n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kro:; crow</td>
<td>kriu</td>
<td>k ro:n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mo:; mow</td>
<td>miu</td>
<td>mo:n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no:; know</td>
<td>niu</td>
<td>no:n</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>so:; sow</td>
<td>siu</td>
<td>so:n</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thro:; throw</td>
<td>θriu</td>
<td>θ ro:n</td>
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</table>
and by analogy:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O.E.</td>
<td>òw</td>
<td>òòw</td>
<td>òòw</td>
<td>òw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td></td>
<td>ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td>òu</td>
<td>iu</td>
<td></td>
<td>ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>grou, grow</strong></td>
<td><strong>griu</strong></td>
<td><strong>groun</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>rou, row</strong></td>
<td><strong>riu</strong></td>
<td><strong>roun</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

These verbs have not passed into the above class, as in standard English. In the dialect M.E. *au* became *ò*, but *ou* has remained as *òu*.

(c) Inf. | Pret. Sing. | Pret. Pl. | P. P. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglian</td>
<td><em>al</em></td>
<td><em>êal</em></td>
<td><em>êal</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>a(u)l</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>a(u)l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td><em>ò</em></td>
<td>el</td>
<td><em>ò</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>fоl: fall</strong></td>
<td><strong>fel</strong></td>
<td><strong>fо:ln</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>od, hold</strong></td>
<td><strong>eld</strong></td>
<td><strong>odn</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel in *od* (*Rolle* hald, *Clavis* haud) should regularly appear as *ò*, the normal development of M.E. *au*, but it became short, by analogy with the past part. *odn* (where the vowel is short before the double consonant) during the eighteenth century (§ 96b).

(d) Inf. | Pret. Sing. | Pret. Pl. | P. P. |
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<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O.E.</td>
<td><em>êa</em></td>
<td><em>êo</em></td>
<td><em>êo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>ê</td>
<td>ê</td>
<td>ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.E.</td>
<td><em>ê</em></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e or <em>ê</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bi:et, beat</strong></td>
<td><strong>bet</strong></td>
<td><strong>betn, bi:etn</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*bet* is probably from an Anglian *bêt* for West Saxon *bêt*. It must come from a M.E. form containing the open ê, for the M.E. close ë shorted to i (§ 150).

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O.E.</td>
<td><em>ê</em></td>
<td>ë</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.</td>
<td>ê or <em>a</em></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ê or <em>a</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>let, let</strong></td>
<td><strong>let</strong></td>
<td><strong>letn</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Northern M.E. forms of this verb were *lete, or *latte, with pret. *lat, and past part. *laten. The *a was due to the influence of the Scandinavian cognate verb (O.I. lāta, lēt, lātinn). The modern infinitive let derives its vowel from a shortening of M.E. open ē, (cf. bet) by analogy with the past part. letn (where the vowel is short before the double consonant, cf. odn, od). The preterite let may have its vowel from a common dialect development, the raising of *a before dentals (§ 99).

To this class belong:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>infinitive</th>
<th>preterite</th>
<th>past participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*sli:p, sleep</td>
<td>*slep, slept</td>
<td>*slep, slept</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*swi:p, sweep</td>
<td>*swep, swept</td>
<td>*swep, swept</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wi:p, weep</td>
<td>*wep, wept</td>
<td>*wep, wept</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These verbs have preserved the long vowel of their infinitive and present stem. *sli:p is Anglian *slēpa(n), O.E. slēpan. *wi:p is Anglian *wōpa(n), cf. Goth. wōpjān. Its preterite was originally *wēop < *wēwēop, contracted to wēp, like *sleēp (slept) and *lēt (let). The vowel appears to have become short in the weak forms before the double consonant, and to have been transferred afterwards to the strong forms. This may be the explanation of the short vowel in let above. *swi:p (O.E. swāpan) appears to have been formed by analogy with *sli:p and *wi:p.

(f) The remaining verbs of this class: *fōd fold; *loup (O.I. hlaupa) to leap; *ri:ad (pret. *red) read; *span span; and *wōk walk; have become weak.

2. Weak Verbs.

465. For historical purposes we may divide the weak verbs into two classes. (1) Those which in Old English had no stem vowel,—the preterite ending was added directly to the root. (2) Those which formed their preterites with -ede, or -ode.

Class I includes the "irregular" weak verbs of the I-Conjugation, sellan, byogan, etc.; I-Conjugation "long roots," hieran, dēman, sendan, lecgan, etc.; and the Al-Conjugation, habban, secgan, and libban; all of which formed their preterites in -de, or -te after a voiceless consonant.

Class II includes I-Conjugation "short roots," fremman, wenian, ferian, etc., which formed their preterites in -ede; the
O-Conjugation, *lufian*, *macian*, etc., which formed their preterites in *-ode*, and some new formations.

In Northern M.E. Class II regularly formed its preterite in *-ed*, whereas the preterites of Class I ended (in speech at least) in *-d*, or *-t* after a voiceless final consonant.

466. The inflections of Class II of weak verbs in Northern M.E. were as follows. The example is the verb *‘look’*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loke</td>
<td>lokes, loke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokes</td>
<td>lokes, loke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Infinitive mood: *loke*.  
Present participle: *lokand*.  
Past participle: *loked*.  
Verbal noun: *lokyng*.  
The inflection *-es* of the pres. indic. plural was omitted when a pronoun-subject came immediately before or after the verb.

467. In the modern dialect of Hackness, weak verbs are inflected as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lıuk</td>
<td>lıuks, lıuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lıuks</td>
<td>lıuks, lıuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lıuks</td>
<td>lıuks, lıuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Infinitive mood: *lıuk*.  
Present participle: *lıukin*.  
Past participle: *lıukt*.  
Verbal noun: *lıukin*.  
The remarks made upon the inflection *-s*, upon the inflected forms of the Present Indicative, and upon the Subjunctive Mood in § 454 are true also for the weak verbs.  
The preterite and past part. may end in *-t*, as in the case of
liukt, or in -id, or -d. As a general rule -t occurs after voiceless consonants, -d after vowels and voiced consonants, and -id is heard only after t or d. New formations, and Middle English borrowings follow that rule, e.g. be-at (to abate) be-atid, klie-em (to claim) klie-emd, profa(r) (to offer) profad, pas (to pass) past; but many original English verbs are irregular in this respect, as will be seen in the following paragraphs.

Class I. (M.E. preterites in -t or -d.)

468. 1. Irregular verbs of the I-Conjugation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>preterite</th>
<th>present stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bai</td>
<td>bout</td>
<td>bout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stritf</td>
<td>stritft</td>
<td>stritft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oisakt</td>
<td>oisakt</td>
<td>oisakt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kil</td>
<td>kild</td>
<td>kild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sel</td>
<td>seld</td>
<td>seld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tel</td>
<td>teld</td>
<td>teld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri-atj</td>
<td>ri-atjt</td>
<td>ri-atjt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-atf</td>
<td>tout</td>
<td>tout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sik</td>
<td>sout</td>
<td>sout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brinth</td>
<td>brout</td>
<td>brout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thiuk</td>
<td>theut</td>
<td>theut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>rout</td>
<td>rout</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

stritf shows a Northern dialect development of e to i before dentals.

sel and tel had Northern M.E. preterites sald and taId. The present dialect forms are Midland, in which the I Mutation of the infinitive and present stem was adopted throughout the verb.

rout shows a metathesis of r, cf. O.E. worhete. The remainder are regular developments of O. and M.E. forms, excepting that ri-atf has formed a new weak preterite. The regular form would be *rout (Anglian raht) with the same vowel as tout.

The vowel change in the preterites of bai, and the last five verbs in the above list is not gradation, § 452, but is due to the fact that in O.E. their infinitives contained a vowel which was mutated by the -j- of the verbal stem. sik, for example, represents O.E. secan, söhte, from an earlier *sökjan1.

1 See Wright, Old English Grammar, § 534, or Wyld, Short History of English, § 333.
II. I-Conjugation Long Roots:

(a) Long by position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long Root</th>
<th>Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bend, bend</td>
<td>bent, bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bild, bil:ld, build</td>
<td>bilt, bilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qrenj, drench</td>
<td>qrenjt, qrenjt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fil, fill</td>
<td>fild, fild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kis, kiss</td>
<td>kist, kist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let, hinder, let</td>
<td>letn, letn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le·a, lay, bet</td>
<td>ls·ad, ls·ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nit, knit</td>
<td>nit, nit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>send, send</td>
<td>sent, sent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set, set</td>
<td>set, setn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spend, spend</td>
<td>spent, spent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jut, shut</td>
<td>jut, jutn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wend, wend</td>
<td>went</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The original short vowels remain, excepting that

bild shows a M.E. e, derived from O.E. y (byldan), lengthened before the consonant group -ld, § 146.

went is also used as the preterite of gan (§ 476) to go.

le·a to lay is used always in speaking of birds and their eggs, also of betting; but otherwise le·a and lig are “equally used transitively or intransitively, without any distinction in meaning,” as in Windhill (p. 143).

Curious, too, is the inevitable use of ‘laid’ (to denote a ‘state,’ not an action) where modern usage demands ‘lying,’ in such a sentence as a fan im le·ad ont grund I found him lying on the ground. This solecism is not confined to the uneducated, as the following examples show: Maxwell’s Life of Wellington, London, Bickers, 1890, chap. 12, p. 375, “the British infantry, who held the threatened point, were laid down on the reverse of the crest they occupied”; Kipling’s A Fleet in Being, London, Macmillan, 1899, chap. 4, p. 44, “The Cornwall coast slid past us in great grey-blue shadows, laid out beyond the little strip of sail-dotted blue.” It reminds one of the joke that Lord Kitchener refused to enlist “Bantam” regiments in 1915 because “they would not lay in the trenches.”
THE DIALECT OF HACKNESS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Past participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bliːd, bleed</td>
<td>bled</td>
<td>bled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broːd, breed</td>
<td>bred</td>
<td>bred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diːal, deal</td>
<td>delt</td>
<td>delt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>draːi, dry</td>
<td>draːd</td>
<td>draːd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiːl, feel</td>
<td>felt</td>
<td>felt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiːd, feed</td>
<td>fed</td>
<td>fed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iːə(r), hear</td>
<td>iːəd</td>
<td>iːəd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iːəl, heal</td>
<td>iːəld</td>
<td>iːəld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiːp, keep</td>
<td>kept</td>
<td>kept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liːəd, lead</td>
<td>led</td>
<td>led</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liːəv, leave</td>
<td>left</td>
<td>left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>len, lend</td>
<td>lent</td>
<td>lent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miːən, mean</td>
<td>ment</td>
<td>ment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milt, meet</td>
<td>met</td>
<td>met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riːə(r), rear</td>
<td>riːəd</td>
<td>riːəd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spriːad, spread</td>
<td>spred</td>
<td>spred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swiːp, sweep</td>
<td>swept</td>
<td>swept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swiːət, sweat</td>
<td>swet</td>
<td>swet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wif, wish</td>
<td>wift</td>
<td>wift</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of the above verbs show an early M.E. shortening of O.E. æ or ə in the preterite and past part. before the O.E. double consonant, e.g. fødan, fødde; lœdan, lædde, etc.

len (North. M.E. len) is not O.E. lænan, which would have become *liːən. It is a new formation from the preterite lent (O.E lænde), where the M.E. æ became short before the double consonant. Similarly wif, O.E. wÝSCAN, would have yielded *weif. The vowel first became short in the preterite and past participle.

470. A-I-Conjugation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Past participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e, ev, have</td>
<td>ed</td>
<td>ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liv, live</td>
<td>livd</td>
<td>livd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səə, səə, say</td>
<td>sed</td>
<td>sed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e (before consonants), ev (before vowels) represents North. M.E. hā, hāf. The e is due to the shortening of M.E. fronted æ; probably in the Early Modern English period. The long vowel remains in the compound verb biːə-eəv.

ed (North. M.E. had) is not the Midland M.E. hafə or haved,
which would have given *oːd in the dialect (cf. loːd from M.E. laverd, or oːk from M.E. havek). It is a new formation from the clipped North. M.E. infinitive hā, like made from ma (for mak) to make. The vowel is either to be explained as on the last page, or more probably as the development of a to e before dentals (§ 99) after its shortening in Middle English.

ss·e represents regularly North. M.E. say (O.E. seccan). The vowel became short in the pret. and past part. before -d.

Class II. (M.E. preterites in -ed.)

471. The remaining verbs, which in Middle English formed their preterites and past participles in -ed, from O.E. ede, ode, may be classified according to their modern forms into

1. Those which add -id to the present tense to form the preterite and past part.,
2. Those which add no inflection,
3. Those which add -d,
4. Those which add -t.

The general rule for the formation of the preterite and past participle is: (1) verbs which end in -t or -d take -id, (2) verbs which end in a voiced consonant take -d, (3) verbs which end in a breathed consonant take -t; but this rule is often broken. Many weak verbs in -l, -m, and -n make preterite and participle in -t.

472. I. Verbs which form preterite and past participle in -id:

felt, hide  feltid  feltid
fiit, remove a household  fiitid  fiitid
frɪ·et, fret  fri·etid  fri·etid
siut, suit  siutid  siutid
skrɪt, scratch  skrɪtɪd  skrɪtɪd
smit, infect  smɪtɪd  smɪtɪd
tʃɪ·et, cheat  tʃɪ·etɪd  tʃɪ·etɪd.

The ending -id, North. M.E. -ed, -id, is preserved in this class of verbs after a dental consonant.

felt is a new formation from the adjective felt hidden, a weak past participle of the Scandinavian verb (O.I.) fela to hide. smit and skrɪt are also of Scandinavian origin.

C. H.
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 fri-at (O.E. frettan, to devour) was originally a strong verb, belonging to the same Gradation series as it to eat.

473. II. Verbs which end in -d or -t, and add no inflection in the preterite:

(a) Short stem vowels. The past participle of these verbs is usually strong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it, hit</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>itn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kast, cast</td>
<td>kast</td>
<td>kast, kesn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kost, cost</td>
<td>kost</td>
<td>kost, kosn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kut, cut</td>
<td>kut</td>
<td>kut, kutn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ot, hurt</td>
<td>ot</td>
<td>ot, otn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put, put</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>putn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slit, slit</td>
<td>slit</td>
<td>slit, sltn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>splet, split</td>
<td>splet</td>
<td>splet, spletn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wed, wed</td>
<td>wed</td>
<td>wed, wedid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet, wet</td>
<td>wet, wetid</td>
<td>wet, wetid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kast, kut, and it are of Scandinavian origin. kost and ot are Romance verbs from O.Fr. coster and O.Fr. hurter respectively.

(b) Long stem-vowels, with contracted preterite.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lit, light, alight</td>
<td>let, lit</td>
<td>let, letn; lit, litn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fri-at, treat</td>
<td>fri-at, treat</td>
<td>fri-at, treat, treatn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fri-at is of Romance origin, Fr. traiter. Its present stem indicates M.E. tres (trete). The short vowel in the preterite is owing to the analogy of the English verbs, which had originally a double consonant in the preterite, as ladan, ladda, to lead, etc.

474. III. Weak verbs, which end in a voiced consonant or a vowel, usually form their preterites and past participles in -d.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fis-a, frighten</td>
<td>fis-ed</td>
<td>fis-ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fol-a, follow</td>
<td>fol-ed</td>
<td>fol-ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frs-em, attempt</td>
<td>frs-emd</td>
<td>frs-emd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im'pri-ev, improve</td>
<td>im'pri-evd</td>
<td>im'pri-evd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>louz, loosen</td>
<td>louzd</td>
<td>louzd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Past Tense</td>
<td>Past Part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luv, love</td>
<td>luvd</td>
<td>luvd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>priːəv, proove</td>
<td>priːəvd</td>
<td>provn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smiːə(r), smear</td>
<td>smiːəd</td>
<td>smiːəd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sou, sew</td>
<td>soud</td>
<td>soud, soun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siːəz, seize</td>
<td>siːəzd</td>
<td>siːəzd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strou, strew</td>
<td>stroud</td>
<td>stroud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jou, show</td>
<td>joud</td>
<td>joud, joun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fəː, shoe</td>
<td>fəd</td>
<td>fəd, fədn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiːəm, pour out</td>
<td>tiːəmd</td>
<td>tiːəmd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakn, waken, awake</td>
<td>waknd</td>
<td>waknd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wəːn, wean</td>
<td>wəːnd</td>
<td>wəːnd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**tiːəm, fleːə, and ləuəz are of Scandinavian origin.**

**priːəv** is Old French *prover*, *imprəːv* is M.E. *emprove*, from O.Fr. *emprouver*, or *approver*, to benefit.

475. IV. Weak verbs, which end in a voiceless consonant (some verbs in l, m, and n), form their preterites and past participles in -t.

(a) Without vowel change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
<th>Past Part.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bon, burn</td>
<td>bont</td>
<td>bont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katʃ, catch (of persons)</td>
<td>katʃt</td>
<td>katʃt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kep, catch (of things)</td>
<td>kept</td>
<td>kept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kos, curse</td>
<td>kost</td>
<td>kost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laːn, learn</td>
<td>laːnt</td>
<td>laːnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap, wrap</td>
<td>lapt</td>
<td>lapt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>los, loose</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mək, make</td>
<td>miːəd</td>
<td>miːəd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smel, smell</td>
<td>smelt</td>
<td>smelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spel, spell</td>
<td>spelt</td>
<td>spelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spil, spill</td>
<td>spilt</td>
<td>spilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ſeːəp, shape</td>
<td>ſeːəpt</td>
<td>ſeːəpt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ſeːəp** is not the strong verb (O.E. sciëppan) but a new formation, M.E. *shape(n)*, from the noun O.E. *ge-sceap*, Northern M.E. *shap* or *shappe*, shape.

**miːəd** is not O.E. *macode*. In Northern M.E. a new infinitive *ma*, or *maa*, was made by analogy with *ta* (take), and *sla* (slay), and a new weak preterite *made* was formed from this. From this
source comes literary English 'made,' and also the dialect form mi·æd. katf is of Romance origin, cf. Old Picard cachier (O.Fr. chacier) to hunt. kep is Scandinavian (O.I. keppa, to strive).

(b) With contracted preterites.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{drēm}, & \text{ dream} & \text{dremt} & \text{dremt} \\
\text{nīl}, & \text{ kneel} & \text{nelt} & \text{nelt}.
\end{align*}
\]

476. Irregular is

\[
\begin{align*}
gan, & \text{ go} & \text{went, gi·æd} & \text{gi·æn.}
\end{align*}
\]

gan is a Scandinavian borrowing (O.I. ganga, gëkk, gënginn), in which the final η, still preserved in Lowland Scots and Cumberland, has been weakened to n in the Hackness dialect. The Northern M.E. form was gā (O.E. gān) from which comes the past part. gi·æn, North. M.E. gane. The O.E. verb was originally strong, and the pret. gi·æd is a new weak formation.

**Preterite-Present Verbs.**

477. The historical interest of the following verbs, which are used as auxiliaries to express modifications of verbal action, lies herein, that they were all originally strong verbs. The present tenses of these verbs have long been obsolete. The present tense was superseded by the old preterite, and a new weak preterite formed from the old preterite plural stem, in the ages long before any of the Germanic languages were written down. The preterite-present verbs are common to all the Germanic tongues. The Hackness dialect of English, like modern English, employs them merely as modal auxiliaries. They have no subjunctive or infinitive forms, as in German. It is impossible for instance to say a sl mun gan, Ich werde gehen müssen; or a evnt it kud di·æ, Ich habe es nicht tun können, but the dialect is more conservative than English. It is possible to say a ka:nt di it nu:, bud a just ti kud di it, where kud is a weak past part. used as an infinitive.

\[
\begin{align*}
sal & \text{ and wil are used to denote futurity and obligation exactly} \\
& \text{like literary English 'shall' and 'will.' Indeed, with the excep-}
\end{align*}
\]
tion of mun, q.v., all the following verbs have the same construction and meaning as in English.

478. can (M.E. can, pret. cuthe, coude).
   Pres. emphatic form kan, weak form kn for all persons.
   Pret. " " kud, " " ked for all persons.
In composition with 'not.'
   Pres. kant, for all persons.
   Pret. kudnt, for all persons.

479. dare (M.E. dar, pret. dorste).
   Pres. da:(r), for all persons.
   Pret. dost, for all persons.
   There is a weak preterite da:d, which is transitive, and means 'challenged.'
   In composition with 'not.'
   Pres. dant, for all persons.
   Pret. do:nt, for all persons.
   The weak preterite da:d has no composite form. i 'da:d im ti 'di it, he challenged him to do it, becomes i didnt 'da:r im ti 'di it.

480. may. (North. M.E. may, pret. moght, or mught.)
   Pres. emphatic form me:a, weak form me, for all persons.
   Pret. emphatic form mud, weak form med, for all persons.
   In composition with 'not.'
   Pres. munt for all persons.
   Pret. mudnt for all persons.
   mud is the regular descendant of North. M.E. moght, cf. nut (not) from noght.
   North. M.E. moght would give an early Mod. Eng. [mout] from which mud is a shortened form. The t was voiced to d owing to the influence of the initial voiced consonant, cf. bud from M.E. but.

481. must.
   Corresponding to lit. English 'must,' the dialect has two verbs
—must which implies outward necessity, not depending on the will of a person; and mun which implies compulsion depending on personal will.

must is borrowed from Midland M.E. moste, the preterite of moot, may or can, used as a present. The Northern M.E. auxiliary which implied logical necessity was byhove, cf. Prick of Conscience, l. 491,

"All þas, he says, þat comes of Eve, þat es, al men þat here byhoves leve
...say outhere a, a, or e, e."

must has

Pres. emphatic form must, weak form mast, for all persons.
In composition with 'not': muznt, for all persons.

The Preterite of this verb is wanting. Its substitute is: ad ti(a) (had to), for all persons.

mun (North. M.E. mon, or mun, from Scand. mun, pret. munða) has

Pres. emphatic form mun, weak form man, for all persons.
In composition with 'not': mont (§ 480), for all persons.
The Preterite of this verb is wanting. Its substitute is: ad ti(e) (had to), for all persons.

The difference in meaning may be shown by the following examples.

Pret. ðe 'must kum ðis ru'ed = they must come this way (they cannot come by another way).

Pres. ðe man 'kum ðis ru'ed = they must come this way ("they are under personal restraint to take this road")?

482. ought, which is followed by the infinitive with 'to.'

Pres. and Pret. out ti, for all persons.
In composition with 'not.'

Pres. and Pret. emphatic form out nut ti, weak form out nt ti for all persons.

out comes from M.E. oght or ought, the Midland form of the North. M.E. pret. aght, which was used without to; cf. Prick of Conscience, l. 1836,

"First aght men drede the ded (death) in hert."

1 Wright, Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, p. 152, § 392.
The verb originally meant ‘to have’ (O.E. *agan), but early in M.E. it acquired the meaning ‘to owe’ (debere), and as such required the sign of the Dative, e.g. “He owȝte to him 10,000 talentes” Wycliffe, Matt. xviii. 24. The compound verb *bi’o: (North. M.E. *byawe) retains the original meaning to have, own, e.g. *wi’e *bi’o:z ȝat? whose is that? ȝat, the regular development of O.E. *agan, North. M.E. awe, means ‘to owe,’ and takes no datival ‘to’; e.g. a’o:d im tupns I owed him twopence.


Pres. emphatic form *sal*, weak form *sl*, for all persons.

Pret. emphatic form *sud*, weak form *sed*, for all persons.

In composition with ‘not’

Pres. *sa:nt* for all persons.

Pret. *sudnt* for all persons.

484. **will.** (Northern M.E. *wil*, pret. *wald.*)

Pres. emphatic form *wil*, weak form *l*, for all persons.

Pret. emphatic form *wad*, weak form *ed, d*, for all persons.

In composition with ‘not’

Pres. *wi’ent* for all persons.

Pret. *wadnt* for all persons.

**Conjugation of Verbs**

485. **Table of Tenses.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Imperfect and continuous</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Perfect and continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td><em>a bri’eks</em> I break</td>
<td><em>az bri’êkin</em> I am breaking</td>
<td><em>av brokn</em> I have broken</td>
<td><em>av bin bri’êkin</em> I have been breaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td><em>a brak</em> I broke</td>
<td><em>a we bri’êkin</em> I was breaking</td>
<td><em>ad brokn</em> I had broken</td>
<td><em>ad bin bri’êkin</em> I had been breaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td><em>aal bri’ek</em> I shall break</td>
<td><em>aal bi bri’êkin</em> I shall be breaking</td>
<td><em>aal e brokn</em> I shall have broken</td>
<td><em>aal e bin bri’êkin</em> I shall have been breaking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To conjugate a verb it is merely necessary to know the present, preterite, and past part. forms, and the auxiliaries have, be, use, and do, which are given in full in the next paragraphs.
The simple preterite is a Perfect, and indicates an action completed in the past, e.g. a brak mi watj (it is not broken now).

**Auxiliary Verbs.**

*Have.*

486. The verb ‘have’ is used to form the Perfect tenses. The Present perfect always contains the notion that the effect of the state, action, or thought indicated by the verbs reaches into present time, e.g. av brokn mi watj (and it is not yet repaired), av θout ο'but θat ο'di'al (and I am still thinking about it).

The Preterite perfect indicates a similar effect reaching into the past time indicated by the context: e.g. id 'brokn iz 'watj, iteld me (and it was still broken when he spoke to me), id 'morn ο'but 'fouer ο'ekez, wen 'a: gat θi'ar (and was still mowing).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a:</strong></td>
<td>e, ev, (av)</td>
<td>ev a: (eva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θu:</td>
<td>ez (θuz)</td>
<td>ez θu: (estθ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>ez (iz)</td>
<td>ez i: (ezi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi:</td>
<td>e, ev, (wit)</td>
<td>e wi: (ewi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji:</td>
<td>e, ev, (jεv)</td>
<td>e ji: (ejε)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θε:ε e, ev, (θεv)</td>
<td></td>
<td>e θε:ε (θεε).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With 'not' a</td>
<td>s:ant</td>
<td>s:ant ι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θu eznt</td>
<td>eznt ε</td>
<td>eznt we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i eznt</td>
<td>eznt ι</td>
<td>eznt je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi s:ant</td>
<td>s:ant ι</td>
<td>s:ant ι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je s:ant</td>
<td>s:ant ι</td>
<td>s:ant ι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θε s:ant</td>
<td>s:ant ι</td>
<td>s:ant ι</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Preterite | | |
| a:        | ed (ad)  | ed a         |
| θu:       | ed (θud) | edε           |
| i:        | ed (id)  | ed ι          |
| wi:       | ed (wid) | ed we         |
| ji:       | ed (jεd) | ed je         |
| θε:ε ed (θεd) | | ed θε. |
| With 'not' a: | ednt, etc. | ednt a, etc. |


Infinitive: e, ev (North. M.E. hā, hāf). As in the case of the present tense, e is used before a following consonant, ev before a vowel.

Present Participle: evin.
Past Participle: ed.

The unemphatic forms of the Present and Preterite are enclosed within brackets.

The plural forms of the present tense given above are used only with pronominal subjects which immediately precede or follow the verb. With noun-subjects, or when the pronoun subject is separated from the verb, ez (weak form z, or s after voiceless consonants) is used; cf. § 454 a. For example, t men ez ṣe dinez et jan the men have their dinner at one, mi an im ez jan he and I have one, jii: ets workt si a:d you that have worked so hard.

Be.

487. The verb be is used to form the Imperfect and Perfect tenses which denote continuous action.

The Preterite imperfect denotes a continued action; e.g. a wē workin 'bī:er Ⱦen (day after day) or an action, state, or thought interrupted in the past, e.g. i wē 'mo:in wen a 'gat bī:er (and I interrupted his action).

The Perfect tenses of this class contain the notion that the action, state, or thought indicated by the verb reaches into the time period indicated by the context. The time period of the Present, Perfect and Continuous reaches into the present, e.g. a:v bī:n workin 'i:a sin a wēr a 'lād (and I am still working). That of the Preterite reaches into the past time indicated by the context, e.g. id bīn ṭīŋkin a gudā:j bit, a:n it fini:t im of (continuous action in the past, to the time of his death).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>a: iz (az)</td>
<td>iz a: (iza)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ṣu: iz (ḥuz)</td>
<td>iz ṣu: (iṣṭe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i: iz (iz)</td>
<td>iz i: (izi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wi: ar (wIr)</td>
<td>a: wi: (awi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ji: ar (jē(r))</td>
<td>a: ji: (a:jē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ṣē:jē ar (ṣē(r))</td>
<td>a: ṣē:jē (aṣē).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With 'not'  
| a iznt | iznt a |
| ḉu iznt | iznṭa |
| i iznt | iznt i |
| wi a:nt | a:nt wi |
| je a:nt | a:nt je |
| ṭe a:nt | a:nt ṭe |

Preterite  
| a: war (a wə(r)) | war a |
| ḉu: war (ḥu wə(r)) | wa:ṭe |
| i: war (i wə(r)) | war i |
| wi: war (wi wə(r)) | wa wi |
| ji: war (je wə(r)) | wa je |
| ḍe: qe war (ṭe wə(r)) | wa ṭe |

With 'not'  
| a: wa:nt, etc. | wa:nt a, etc. |


Present Participle: bi:in.

Past Participle: bi:n, weak form bin.

The unemphatic forms of the Present and Preterite are enclosed within brackets. The plural forms of the present tense given above are only used with pronominal subjects which come immediately before or after the verb. With noun subjects, or when the pronoun is separated from the verb, z (s after voiceless consonants) is used; cf. § 454 a. For example, tmenz of ti ṭe dinez the men are going to their dinner, ḅem ats pu-eli they who are ill.

Use.

488. ju:z, to use, is the auxiliary which forms the variety of the Preterite denoting habitual action. Its preterite in this construction is ju:st (used) for all persons, or ju:ṣ before t, and the main verb is preceded by ti:ə (ti). When used alone to denote habitual action, it is also followed by ti:ə, e.g. a 'ju:ṣ ti:ə I habitually did so. Examples of the Preterite habitual are: ḧ 'ju:ṣ ti gan he used to go; a 'ju:ṣ ti plu: I used to plow.

As a main verb, its preterite is ju:zd, e.g. a ju:zd ə'burt ə'pund I used about a pound.
Do.

489. 'Do' is used to form the Present and Preterite which denote emphasis, e.g. iz 'a:dl, en ūat a 'di:e no: (I am certain about it), a 'did reit tiv im (there is no doubt about it).

In composition with nut not, it forms the negatives of the Simple, Present and Preterite tenses, e.g.

Present: a di-ent bri-æk, emphatic form a di-e 'nut bri-æk.
Preterite: a didnt bri-æk, emphatic form a did 'nut bri-æk.
Inverted, it is used in their interrogative forms, e.g.
Present: div a bri-æk, diz i bri-æk, di (wi, je, ūe) bri-æk.
Preterite: did a bri-æk, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: di-e</td>
<td>div a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūu: diz</td>
<td>diz ūu: (diste)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i: diz</td>
<td>diz i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi: di-e</td>
<td>di wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji: di-e</td>
<td>di je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūe-e di-e</td>
<td>di ūe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With 'not' a di-ent</td>
<td>di-ent a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūu diznt</td>
<td>diznt ūe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i diznt</td>
<td>diznt i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi di-ent</td>
<td>di-ent wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je di-ent</td>
<td>di-ent je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūe di-ent</td>
<td>di-ent ūe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: did</td>
<td>did a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With 'not' a didnt</td>
<td>didnt a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


di-e is emphatic and also occurs in a final position. di occurs before consonants, div before vowels, and are weak forms. Early Mod. Eng. diu from M.E. do developed to div before vowels, and to di-e in an end position (§ 159).

Present Participle: di:in.
Past Participle: di·an.

The plural forms of the present tense above are only used with pronominal subjects attached to the verb; with noun subjects diz is used, e.g. tmen diz it the men do it, also diz is used when the pronoun subject is detached from the verb, e.g. Ŵem st diz it they who do it. The rule for this use is stated in § 454 a.
CHAPTER II

SPECIMENS OF THE DIALECT

490. **The value of specimens of a language in phonetic script without the tongue of the interpreter is not very great. None would, I imagine, set out to learn French merely from the publications of the Association Phonétique. Hence, whilst I have deferred to what is perhaps a useful custom, I have not included many specimens. Those which follow are my own work and record my own pronunciation; and to those words which have varying values according to the emphasis laid upon them, I have assigned the values which I should give in reading aloud.**

There is a mass of stories and poems printed in the dialects of Northern and Eastern Yorkshire. Besides those dialect pieces which appear from time to time in the Whitby, Scarborough, and Hull newspapers, I might mention:

- *Wit, Character, Folklore and Customs of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, by Richard Blakeborough, Saltburn, pub. Rapp, 1911.

But their spelling is unscientific and often capricious, and, I regret to say, not always consistent.
The following extract describing the horrors of old age is taken from The Priclee of Conscience, ll. 766—803, and represents an attempt to reconstruct the pronunciation of the dialect in the fourteenth century. The metre demands the occasional pronunciation of final -e and the accentuation of the ending -and of the present participle at the end of lines. These peculiarities were not heard in conversational speech.

But az tit az e man waksez auld,
 When kynge walk end kauld,
 When tsaundsez his kum'pleksiun
 And his man'ez and his kun'disiun;
 When waksez his hert hard end hevi,
 And his heved fe:bl en dezi;
 When waksez his gæst seek end sa:r,
 And his fa:se ru'lkelz, ai mar en mar;
 His minde ez fort Men¹ he oux² thijkæz,
 His nez oft dropæz, his and stiñkeæz,
 His seç³ wakæz dim ðat he hæz,
 His bak wakæz cröëkid, stupænd he gæz;
 Ñæræ en tæz, fött end hand,
 And aule his tutþæz er trem' bland.
 His werkæz for'worðæz ðat he bi'ginæz;
 His hæræ mu:æz, his èçæn rínez;
 His æ:æz wakæz ðef, end hard tø he:r,
 His tuñ failæz, his spætæz ez noxt kler;
 His mu:ðæ slæveræz, his te:ðæ røteæz,
 His witæz failæz, and he ofte døteæz;
 He is leçtil wra:ð, end wakæz fra'ward,
 But tø turn him fra' wra:ð it ez hard;
 He sutþæz end trææ sœun æ ðiñ,
 But ful læt he turnæ fra' ðat træiñ,
 He ez kuvætæs end hard hau'ldand,
 His tʃer ez ðrææi end his ssm'bland;

¹  mù represents Scotch wh in 'what.'
²  kx represents Scotch ch in 'loch.'
³  ʃ represents Scotch ch in 'nicht' or in 'bright.'
Bot als tyte als a man waxes alde, 
pan waxes his kynde wayke and calde, 
pan chaunges his complexion 
And his maners and his condicion; 
pan waxes his hert hard and hevy, 
And his heved feble and dysy; 
pan waxes his gast seke and sare, 
And his face rouncles, ay mare and mare; 
His mynde es short when he oght thynkes, 
His nese ofte droppes, his (h)and stynkes, 
His sight waxes dym pat he has, 
His bak waxes croked, stoupand he gas; 
Fyngers and taes, fote and hande, 
And alle his touches er tremblande. 
His werkes forworthes pat he bygynnes; 
His hare moutes, his eghen rynnes; 
His eres waxes deef, and hard to here, 
His tung fayles, his speche es noght clere; 
His mouthe slavers, his tethe rotes, 
His wyttes fayles, and he ofte dotes; 
He is lyghtly wrath, and waxes fraward, 
Bot to turne hym fra wroth it is hard; 
He souches and trowes sone a thyng, 
Bot ful late he turns fra pat trowing; 
He es couatous and hard-haldand, 
His chere es drery and his sembland;
he ez swift to spak on hiz mane; and latsem end slau for to her; he praizez auld men and hauledz ëam wiz, and juŋ men list him oft despiz; he luæz men ëat in auld tiz: hæz bezn, he læ:kæz ëa men ëat nu: er sem; he ez ofte seek and ai grë:nand, and ofte aerjed, end ai ple:nand. aule ëir, ëryx kind, to en auld man faulez, ëat klerkæz, pro'pertæ ov eld, kaulez. jyt er ëar me: ëan i: hæv tauld, ëat faulez ëøi ø man ëat ez auld.

II


The next specimen is an attempt to reconstruct the pronunciation of the dialect in the seventeenth century. The extract is from A York-shire Dialogue in its pure Natural Dialect, as it is now commonly spoken in the North parts of Yorkshire, published by J. White, York, in three successive editions, 1683, 1684 and 1685, the last being entitled "The Praise of York-shire Ale" by G. M. Gent. The short ë is very lax, and must be pronounced like ë in Scotch, hill, pit, etc.

ll. 53—78.

Father. Këm, 'Tib, for 'Jam, briŋ u:t ëe 'bre:ød æn 'so:t; ëuz 'lang æ-kumn, ëu 'bre:dz æv 'havër-'ma:t. ëør 'ke:l tënts 'strâŋ æv 'ri:k, ëør 'nut fær 'mi; 'God sendz 'me-æt, æn ë'di:vl sendz 'keuks, ei 'si:

Mother. 'Mari ge: up, 'stëŋk! jër 'vare 'denst, ei 'tru:, jur 'bél 'særz æn 'il 'me:tær 'nu. ëør 'o:r 'gud fær 'ðem æt fändz 'fa:t, eiz 'seur, but 'az ëe 'seu duø 'fil, ëe 'драf duø 'sur:

Father. 'Su: wad 'fe:n pe'swe:d æ æe ær 'gudnz; 'hupri 'dogz ær 'fe:n æv 'derti 'pudnz. kum 'Su: æn 'tëst ëem, 'and æt 'dun æt 'tër; 'me: ëe 'mërræ, but 'fiør 'bë:tær 'fë:r.
He es swyft to spek on his manere,  
And latsom° and slaw for to here;  
He prayses old men and haldes þam wyse,  
And yhung men list° him oft despyse  
He loues° men þat in ald tyme has° been,  
He lakes° þa men þat now er sene;  
He es ofte seke and ay granand°,  
And ofte angerd, and ay pleynand°.  
Alle þir°, thurgh kynd°, to an old man falles°,  
þat clerkes, propertes of eld, calles°,  
Yhit er þar ma° þan I haf talde,  
þat falles to a man þat es alde.

**F.** Come, Tibb, for sham, bring out the bread & sawt;  
Thou's lang a-coming, thou braids of Haver-Maut.°  
Thur Cael tastes strang of Reeke, they're nut for me;  
God sends meat, and th' Deevil sends Ceauks, I see.

**M.** Marry gea upe, stink! you're varra dench'd°, I trow,  
Your Belly sarraes° an ill Master now.  
They'r o're good for them that finnds faut, I seaure.  
But as the Sew doth fill, the Draffe° doth soure.

**F.** Thou wad faine perswade us they are gooddins°;  
Hungry Doggs are fain of durty Puddins.  
Come thou and taste them, and sit down i' th' chaire;  
Meay° the merrier, but fewer better Fair.

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1 loath.  
2 it pleases.  
3 praises.  
4 the plural form.  
5 blames.  
6 groaning.  
7 complaining.  
8 these.  
9 by nature.  
10 more.  
11 resemble.  
12 oat-malt.  
13 dense, particular.  
14 serves.  
15 grain.  
16 goodies, sweetmeats.
Mother. but 'ju: wil 'nut l3t 'miː bi 'mɛɾI 'lɑŋ, 
ei 'seq, fɛɾ 'seɪər iz 'ɑːlˌwɛz 'sʌmtiŋ 'ræŋ. 
'ʃɛː ʃət a 'seq əz 'juː kŋ 'hɑːv neʔ 'wil 
te 'deu ou; e 'ɡud 'dʒɔk maks ə 'ɡud 'dʒiː.

Father. ei ˈpreʃi, 'Peg, 'lɛt us bi 'frɪːnəz ā'ɡən; 
ɬu 'næz, ʃeɪr 'wɜːrdz ðez ʃak 'ʃulz 'ʃən. 
its 'wil'al 'spokn ʃəts 'wiːl 'tɛn, eɪv 'he-ɜːrd; 
ɬu 'iz seʔ 'krəbd, 'te spe'ək iz 'ɑːlˌwɛz 'fe-ɜːrd.

Mother. 'juː set 'jæn ān 'ʌnskɛp, ān 'ʃæn ju 'rɪu; 
greːt 'mæтеz əv ān 'ʌŋri 'wɜːrd, ei 'truː. 
ʃtreɪd, 'Tɪb, ān 'klæt sum 'kænz 'ut ə 'θɜrn; 
ʃən 'ɡeː ʃi 'wɜːz, ān 'ʃetʃ ə 'skyl ə 'bɜrn; 
ən 'hɪŋ ʃe 'pæn ər ˈθɛfr ɾə rekɪnˈkrɛuk, 
ən 'eɪs wɛf 'seɪl ān 'drɪʃ 'uːp ɾə 'njuːk; 
ən 'ʃɛn wiːl 'ɑːl te 'bɛd; e-ɜːrə ə 'kɑːd 'nɪt.

III

Comparative Specimen

493. Here begin the specimens of the modern dialect. The following is the passage used by Ellis in his Early English Pronunciation, vol. v. As it has become the classic dialect specimen, a version in the Hackness dialect will be useful for comparison with other dialects.

Wat for Dʒon ez niːɾ duːts.

(1) Wiːl, nsibər, ɬuː on im kŋ bi-ɛθ laːt æt ðis niuz æ 
mæːn. wiː-ɛkɛz? ʃəts nuːdəɾ iːn na ˈʃiːr.

(2) nobət æ fiuː diːz koʊð ʃə laːft æt, wi noː ʃət, diːənt 
weʔ? wat sud makm? its nut vəri leikli, nuːst?

(3) uːsum'ɪvəɾ, ˈʃiːəz iz tʃəks æt kləːz, siː ə dʒʊst əd ʃi 
din wiːə, frind, æn wɪst wəːl aːv diːən. əːkən!

(4) aːz siːəɾ æt a ˈiːdm ʂəːv—sum on əm æt went ˈʃruːf 
ɔl tʃəb frət stɑːt—ʃət a ɬid, siːəɾ ˈɪniːəf—

(5) æt tʃuːʒɪst sun izˈʃen, æ griːɨt læd æ nɪn [næn] jiːəɾ 
ɔːd, niu iz fuːdək vois [stɛvn] æt jans, ʃof it 'waː si kwɪːər 
en skwoːkɪn, æn æd ˈtrʌst im ti tɛlt triuθ oni ɬɛː, ɛːj, ʃət 
aˈwəd.
M. But you will nut let me be merry lang.
   I seaur, for there is allways something wrang.
   They that have sike as you can have neay will
   To deau ought; A good Jack macks a good Gill.

F. I pray thee, Pegg, let us be Friends again;
   Thou knaws, fair words duz mack Feauls fain.
   It is weel spoken that's weel tane, I've heard;
   Thou is seay Crabb'd, to speak Ise always feard.

M. You set yan on unscape¹, and than you rewe;
   Great matters of an angry word, I trowe.
   Stride, Tibb, & clawt² some Cassons out o' th' Hurne³;
   Than geay thy wayes and fetch a skeel of Burn⁴;
   And hing the Pan ore th' fire i' th' Rekin-creauk,
   And Ise wesh Sile and Dishes up i' th' Neauke;
   And then wee'l all to Bed; here's a cawd Neet.

Why John has no doubts.

Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of
mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there. Few men
die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? What
should make them? It is not very likely, is it? Howsoever
these are the facts of the case, so just hold your noise, friend,
and be quiet till I have done. Hearken! I am certain I heard
them say—some of those folks who went through the whole thing
from the first themselves,—that did I, safe enough,—that the
youngest son himself, a great boy of nine, knew his father's voice
at once, though it was so queer and squeaking, and I would trust
him to speak the truth any day, aye, I would. And the old

¹ horror. ² scrape. ³ hole. ⁴ water.
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(6) en to:d wum'en o'sen el tel oni on je et lafs nu:, en tel je s'tsit of, en o'i, o'but mit bo'der, gif jel nobet aks er, o:ee! wi'ent je?—

(7) li'est we'e az je teld 'mi: o'but it wen a aks et, twi-thi: tu:oz ouer; 'dat je did; en ji.e out nut ti bi rang e 'but ssik e point az vis, sud je?

(8) wi'l, ez 'a: we ss'in, 'jied tel je, 'u:, 'wi'er, en 'wen je fant Jrungk u:n [bi'est] et je ko:iz er uzbn.

(9) je sw'e'er et je sid [so:] im wiv er on im, is-ed ful lenz ont grund, iv iz gud sunde kli'ez, e'enest di'er et uz, dun et tku'ener e jon lwe:en [le'en].

(10) i we twa:min, je sed, fer o'i twold leik e dwa:n o'but, er a la:li las iv a fri'eat.

(11) en 'dat apnd, ez ji'e en or dou'ter-i-ko: kom thut thak-ja:d frev inin ut kli'ez ti qrai ev a wejsin de'e,

(12) wa:i tkel we bo'ilin fet ti-e, ja: fa:n brit sumer ef'ten'i-en, nobet e wlik sin kem nekst thozda.

(13) en, dije nox [di'se nox]? a niwe la:nt nie ma:e ne his o'but dat djob wa:i ti'ds:e, ez si'er ez ma: ni'emz dzon jipet, en a di'ent want ti-e, nou'der, si di'er!

(14) en si az ga:in jam ti mi super, gud ni:t, en di'ent bi si ridi ti krk: ouer a bodi e'gi'en, wen i tocks a his, dat, et tu'der.

(15) its e we'eak fi-e el et prs'eets e'but ri'ezn. en o'aats ma: last wod. gud bai.

IV

494. Ts-er ent prikli bakt Otfn.

It we ja: Sunde mu'enin i Sum'er, d'gust o'but tta:m wen tu'teri bu'ziz blossemz. Tsun we ja:nin brit up i tskai, bi:z we bizi i tu'teri blossemz, skai-la:ks we sizin up'loft, az fu'eks we ts'epsin of ti ttfat. O'i kri's-ein werg uapi, en tprikli bakt otfn en o'i.

Tof'n we standin bi iz di'er, snfin tmu'enin briz, en umin e la:ti san tiv iz'sen, ez fu'ek diz wen the liuk ut ov o fa:n Sunde mu'en. Wa:i i we tiunin up, t'ai:di: kam intiv iz i-ed et i mud d'gust ez wi'l ev e stroult ut, wa:i iz
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? leastways she told me about it 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? Well, as I was saying, she would tell you, how, where and when she found the drunken beast that she calls her husband. She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying stretched at full length on the ground, in his good Sunday clothes, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of yon lane. He was whining away, says she, for all the world like a sick child, or a little girl in a fret. And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the clothes to dry on a washing day, while the kettle was boiling for tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week ago come next Thursday. And, do you know?, I never learned any more than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don’t want to, either, there now! And so I am going home to sup. Good night, and don’t be so quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of this, that, or t’other. It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good bye.

The Hare and the Prickly-backed Urchin.

It war yaa Sunday mornin’ i’ Summer, just aboot t’ time when t’ buttery-bushes blooms. T’ sun war shinin’ breet up i’ t’ sky, bees war bisy i’ t’ buttery blossoms, skylarks war singin’ up aloft, as fowks war traipsin’ off tae t’ chotch. All creation war happy, and t’ prickly-backt urchin and all.

T’ urchin war standin’ by his deär, sniffin’ t’ mornin’ breeze, and hummin’ a laatle sang tiv hissen, as fowks does when they lewk oot ov a fine Sunday mornin’. Whilst he war tunin’ up, t’ idee cam intiv his heäd at he mud just as weil hev a stroll oot,
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If we we$f in up, ti si: u: iz tonæps we di:in. T tanæps we
nekst fi:ld tiv iz u:s, an im æn iz famli just ti e v e beit nu:
æn ægi-en,— ëat we wai i ko:ld æm 'iz tonæps. Sí:æ i snekt
tdi-er ef:er im, æn set of up tedland. Id d$ust gotn æz far
æs tbula$ buj æt standz i tægl ot tonæp fi:ld, wen i d$umpt
wi to:d æ'er. Te-er wær on tsi-æm d$ob. I we stroulin
rund, síin iz kabiñiz. Wen totjn kam up wi te'er, i nodid
æn sed 'Nu: me-æt, wat tji-er?' Bud te-æ re-æfa fansid
iz'sen, æn sti-æd æ sein 'Midlin, ëaŋk jæ, u$: ëis'en?'
i nobæt sed, jot leik 'Wats ëu di:in up iær c:1 bi ëis'en æ
ëis fun mu-enin?' 'O! az nobæt evin æ stroul 'rund,'
sed tprikli bakt otjn. 'Evin æ stroul 'rund,' laft te'er,
'a sud æ thou ëu kud æ fun sumet beñæ ti di-e fe ëi æ
dandi legz ne ti kum spai-in rund ma: kabiñ.'

Nu: ëis anser netit tprikli bakt otjn æ vast. I kæd
stand æ bit, bud i wa:nt ga:in fe ti stand nout sed ægi-en
iz legz, fe ëe 'war æ bit kriukt, æn i niu ëe war. Sí:æ i
ansen 'ëu: toks æ if ëud gotn æ beñæ set ëis'en.' 'Wa:æ
a sud bi ritt put ut, if æ ednt,' sed te'er. 'Wi:!' sed
totjn, 'Sat di'pendz. A le-e æ kud dzust æbüt ëou ëi:
tkuler æ mi te-æl iv æ re-æs.'

'Wa: ëuz daft,' sed te'er, 'ëu: æn ëi bandi legz. Bud
æ di-ænt ma:nd joun ëi æ ëiæ æ twi-e, sin ëuz si kim æbüt
it. Wats tsti-iæks?' 'Al le-e ëi æ gini æn æ bodi æ dgin,
sed tprikli bakt otjn.

'Di-æn,' sed to:d æ'er. 'Kum on ëen, æn lets æv it nu:'
'Næ-e! ëez ni-e gri-æt ori,' anseæ totjn. 'Az nut kwæit
fit. A æ'er ti di-e ëiæ iz æv æ despet ori. Al d$ust gaæ æwæ-
jam, æn æ beit, æn æ æt ëi æp iær æv æbüt æfæn æu'er.'

Wi:1, to:d æ'er ægrid ti ëis, æn tprikli bakt otjn kanñæd
æwæ of iæm ëiækín 'i gudz iz'sen æbüt iz lañ legz, bud æ:1
in'sens im, æ:1 ëou im u: its di-æn.'

Wen i gat jam, i sed tiv iz wef, 'Misis, busk ëis'en æn
liuk ja:p æbüt it, æn kum on u:t wi mi:' 'Wa:æ! wat
iveæ up,' sez fi:, 'ëu eznt bi:n u:t fær æ work wi mi: æn æ
di-ænt no: tta:m wen.' 'Níve ëu: boðær æbüt ëat,' sez i,
'but kum ëu u:t wi mi:. Áv æ bet on æv æ gini æn æ bodi
æ dgin wi te'er, æn a want ëi: wi mi:. 'ëuz ga:in ti run
to:d æ'er! Wa! ëuz lost ëi wits. U: kn ëu: re-æs wiv
whilst his wife war washin' up, tae see hoo his tonneps war deein'. T' tonneps war t' next field tiv his hoos, and him and his family used tae hev a bite noo and agen. That war why he called 'em his tonneps. Seā, he sneckt t' deār efter him, and set off up t' headland. He'd just gotten as far as t' bullas-bush at stands i' t' angle o' t' tonnep field, when he jumped wi' t' awd hare. T' hare war on t' same job. He war strollin' roond, seein' his cabbishes.

When t' urchin cam up wi' t' hare, he nodded and said: 'Noo mate, what cheer?' But t'hare raither fancied hissen, and steād o' sayin': 'Middlin, thankye, hoo's thysen?' he nobbut said, short like: 'What's thoo deein' up here all by thysen o' this fine morning?' 'Oh, I's nobbut hevin' a stroll roond,' said t' prickly-backt urchin. 'Hevin a stroll roond,' laughed t' hare, 'I sud ha' thowt thoo cud ha' fun' summat better tae deā for thy awd bandy legs nor tae come spyin' roond my cabbish.'

Noo this answer nettled t' prickly-backt urchin a vast. He cud stand a bit, but he warnt gyin' for tae stand nowt said again his legs, for they war a bit crewkt, and he knew they war. Seā he answered, 'Thoo talks as if thoo'd gotten a better set thysen.'

'Why, I sud be reet put oot, if I hedn't,' said t' hare. 'Weel,' said t' urchin, 'that depends. I lay I cud just aboot show thee t' culler o' my tail iv a race.' 'Why, thoo's daft,' said t' hare, 'thoo and thy bandy legs. But I deān't mind showing thee a thing or tweā, since thoo's sae keen aboot it. Wat's t' stakes?' 'I'll lay thee a guinea and a bottle o' gin,' said t' prickly-backt urchin. 'Deān,' said t' awd hare. 'Come on then, and lets have it oot noo.' 'Nay, there's neā great hurry,' answered t' urchin. 'I's nut quite fit. I hate tae deā things iv a despert hurry. I'll just gang away yam and hev a bite, and I'll meet thee up here iv aboot hauf an hoor.' Weel, t' awd hare agreed tae this, and t' prickly-backt urchin cantered away off heām thinkin': 'He goods hissen about his lang legs, but I'll insense him, I'll show him hoo it's deān.' When he gat yam, he said tiv his wife: 'Missis, busk thysen and lewk sharp aboot it, and come on oot wi' me.' 'Why! what-ivir's up?' says she, 'thoo hesn't been oot for a walk wi' me sin I deān't knaw t' time when.' 'Niver thoo bother aboot that,' says he, 'but come thoo oot wi' me. I've a bet on of a guinea and a bottle o' gin wi' t' hare, and I want thee wi' me.' 'Thoo's gyin tae run t' awd hare! Why! thoo's lost thy wits. Hoo
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As do we ga:in up ti tbulas buj, wits we tspot wi-e sed e'se'angd ti mi:t, tprikli bakt otf$n sez tiv iz weif 'Nu: od si noiz a minit, aen let mi: t$ok. A$z ga:in ti fetl sis re'es it tonep fl$ld. A$l run i ja: fore, en ts'er in tnekst en. Nu wat suz gotn ti di-e iz ti pa:zi of up tit top end et fore, ouer e'nens tbulas buj, en sit $i'er [kai ti'sen dum]. Wisl sta:t fi'er sis end et fl$ld, aen wen to:d $e kumz up et jon end, o$i et su: ez ti di-e iz ti d$ump up en mal ut "I'er a iz.'"

Si-e, tprikli bakt otf$n weif went on tit fore ouer e'nens tbulas buj, en e$fer id gine tazm ti git $i'er, to:d otf$n went on tit bulas buj. $i'er we to:d e'er e'se'atin fe ti win iz gini en iz bodl e gzin, en i sed az tprikli bakt otf$n kam up 'Ist$ fit?' 'Ai, lad,' ansed tof$n. 'Sen Kum on,' en bi-e$ on em tiuk iz stand iv iz fore.

To:d s-e kun$tid, 'jan, twi-e, thi, a'we-e,' aen of i went aig'erali up tfore ez a:d ez iyer i kud gan. Bud to:d otf$n nobet ran e fiu jedz en Sen kam bak en klap$ iz$en dum e'ma$'t ton$ps et bhi'ginin et fore, en we$etid. To:d s-e went loupin up ti$ld isik a sti-em ing$n, aen wen i kam tit top, up d$umps tprikli bakt otf$n weif en malz ut 'I'er a iz.' It wer re'o$er a kum'dun fe to:d e'er, for i reknd et totf$n wer a unq$ed jedz bi'jint, bud i mis'duted nout, kos tprikli bakt otf$n weif liukt d$ust fer o$i twold isik to:d tprikli bakt otf$n.

I thou tiv iz$en 'sis iz a kwii'e djob,' bud i sed, 'Kum on bak Sen,' aen of i went aig'erali bak a'gi'en dum tfore isik a sti:em ing$n.

But tprikli bakt otf$n weif stopt iv or spot.

Wen to:d e-e gat ti tu$er end et fl$ld, up d$umt totf$n en be'eld ut 'I'er a iz.' An ts'er, fe-e bi'sad iz$en wi re$ed3, je'eld bak 'Sen Kum on a'gi'en.' 'O$i 'rit!' sez totf$n, 'az oft ez je isik, fe ma: si$ek.'
can theo race wi' him? Thoo knows weel inaeaf at he can gan ten-
times faster nor theo.' 'Noo, missus,' he says, kind but firm like,
'this is my job. Just theo get thysen fit, and come oot wi' me.'
Noo, what cud t' prickly-backt urchin wife dea? She cam wiv
him o' course.

As they war gyin up tae t' bullas-bush, which war t' spot
where they'd arranged tae meet, t' prickly-backt urchin says
tiv his wife: 'Noo hod thy noise a mimit, and let me talk. It's
gyin tae fettle this race i' t' tonnep field. I sal run i' yaa furrow,
and t' hare in t' next yan. Noo wat theo's got tae dea is tae
parzle off up tae t' top end o't furrow, ower anenst t' bullas-bush,
and sit there. We sal start fra this end o' t' field, and when t'
awd hare comes up at yon end, all at theo hes tae dea is tae jump
up and mal oot: "Here I is.''

Seë, t' prickly-backt urchin wife went on tae t' furrow ower
anenst t' bullas-bush, and after he'd gi'en her time tae git there,
t' awd urchin weut on tae t' bullas-bush. There war t'awd hare
a-waitin' for tae win his guinea and his bottle o' gin, and he said
as t' prickly-backt urchin cam up: 'Istë fit?' 'Ay, lad,' answered
t' urchin. 'Then come on.' And both of them tewk his stand iv
his furrow.

T' awd hare coounted 'yan, tweë, three, away,' and off he went
Hyder Ali up t' furrow as hard as iver he cud gan. But t' awd
urchin nobbut ran a few yeds and then cam back and clapped
hissen doon amang t' tonneps at t' beginnin' o' t' furrow, and
waited. T' hare went loupin' up t' field like a steäm-ingen, and
when he cam tae t' top, up jumps t' prickly-backt urchin wife
and mals oot: 'Here I is.' It war raither a cum-doone for t' awd
hare, for he reckoned at t' urchin war a hunthed yeds behint, but
he misdooteed nowt, 'cos t' prickly-backt urchin wife lewkt just
for all t' world like t' awd prickly-backt urchin. He thowt tiv
hissen: 'This is a queer job,' but he said: 'Come on back then,'
and off he went Hyder Ali back again doon t' furrow like a
steäm-ingen. But t' prickly-backt urchin wife stopped iv her
spot. When t' awd hare gat tae t'other end o' t' field, up jumped
t' urchin and belled oot: 'Here I is.' And t' hare, fair beside
hissen wi' rage, yelled back: 'Then come on again.' 'All reet,'
says t' urchin; 'as oft as ye like, for my sake.' And off t' awd
An of tod s'e went e'gi'en. dispos and na:nti nam tamz, an tprikli bakt otjn wer or'les i:vn wiv im. Ivri tam at tod s'e kam tit top et bodm et fora, totjn er iz weif jurtid 'I'er a iz.' An et tunqat lap, tod e'we fa'we bet wit djob; e'butt of we'we dun tild, i tumld dun, en ed e sru'ek en did. Si-e totjn tiukt sti-ek fre bi'sa:d tbulas buj, a gini en a bodl a dzin, i jurtid fer iz weif to kum u:t et fora, en of de went i'om kwstent wit mu'eninz wak'; en if de's ent did sin den, de wik jit.

Oats u: tprikli bakt otjn ran ts'er on Gantu Wod, en f'sli ran im ti di'ed, en sin dat tam ni'e s'er ez da'd ti tsalenz tGantn otjnz.

Tmoral a did ti'ed iz fost, at ni'enibi ouc ti dijk iz'sen a be'ta tsap ner u'da fouk, en mak fun on um. An seknd, at men ouc ti psik wa:vz leik de'senz, wa:vz et kn elp um, en bi: sum ju:s tiv um. Dem ets otjnz mun psik en otjn fer e weif, en nut e fond do: rabit, ner e beitin rezil.

V.

495. The following verses are taken from A Yorkshire Tyke, London, pub. Grant Richards, 1914.

18

Dez a dikset thu'en buj
et stanz e'fu'er u'e di'er,
en thi'er i sun an sluf,
its studn moni a jir.

en ivri jir i Dzjun
jest si: it wit wi me',
et blumz tilt e' iz miun
en den it p:inz e'we'.

Oft ev en o'gest mu'en,
e'fu'er u'e wuts iz reip,
a sits bi'ni:oth bis thu'en
en smiuk mi laq kle'e psip.
hare went again. This happened ninety-nine times, and t' prickly-backt urchin war allus even wiv him. Ivery time at t' awd hare cam tae t' top or t' boddom of t' furrow, t' urchin or his wife shoted: 'Here I is.'

And at t' hundeth lap, t' awd hare war fair bet wi' t' job. Aboot hauf way doon t' field, he tumbled doon, and hed a stroke and deed. Seä t' urchin tewk t' stake from beside t' bullas-bush, a guinea and a bottle o' gin, he shoted for his wife tae come oot o' t' furrow, and off they went heäm quite content wi' t' mornin's wark. And if they ain't deed sin then, they 're wick yet.

That's hoo t' prickly-backt urchin ran t' hare on Ganton Wold, and fairly ran him tae deäd, and sin that time neä hare hes dared tae challenge t' Ganton urchins.

T' moral o' this tale is fost, at neäbody owt tae think hissen a better chap nor other fowk, and mak fun on 'em. And second, at men owt tae pick wives like theirsens, wives at can help 'em, and be some use tiv 'em. Them at 's urchins mun pick an urchin for a wife, and not a fond doe-rabbit, nor a bitin' rezzil.

9

Az getn tblis e mu:ntn-tops ti-ni:t,
ðof a:z i bondidg nu:], en blind, en di:saf.
Breðren, az stoun! en fan it vari swíst,
si:e stirsik mi ni:em of, ift bi ju:e bi'li:ef
az sla:din bak.
Last nit, az a we jœgín on up ts'tri:t,
a aktid thí:t.

je ði:ik az a:dnd. ai! a si: je liuk.
A stelt, its triu; bud, breðren, al ri:pe:e.
Al pe:e bak ten-ford ivri:il ã tiuk,
en fu:eks men se:e wate:e ãe leik ti se:e.
It wær e kis.
ën tlas æz promist iv u:er inl-niuk
ti ni:em tde:e.
en dun bi'lə: it di'əl,
mi fi:ləz ligz grim en jela;
ma weif sez a:z a fi'əl,
bud a:z a luki fele.

For wat kn man want me'er
ner elə, en pi'səs a ma:nə,
ent sent a sumer s'ər
on e fu:m ets fe'əl ki:nd.

Déz ru:nde'burts wislin et Ska:bəə fe'er,
et tMa:tnməs statis i Niubəə stə:lt;
en o:i su'ets e gudiz en aplz ti it;
ên juttin, en lafter en funz i ðə sə:ər.

A went ələn t' stə:lt, en a kam bək ə'gi'en
frə tMa:tnməs statis i Niubəə stə:lt,
en ə wifə et ad niver ə'di:eən wat az di'ən;
for wi:ə sud a dʒump wi, en wi:e sud a mirt,
bud or et a went wi, en left ti wed Dgi:ən.

Je wu'ər e bru:n ərəs, en a neklit e skin,
et tMa:tnməs statis i Niubəə stə:lt,
en liukt dʒust əz fris əz je liukt əri: ji-e sin,
je kut me az diəd əz a snuft kanl-li:t,
a no: je did ri:t, en a felt mi:ən az sin.

A sed ti mi'sen wen a sid ər 'Di'ənt bi'əl'
(in tMa:tnməs statis i Niubəə stə:lt)
'ðu mud ə wed Salı et t'i:ətʃiz it ski'əl,
en ðu:z wedid e pli:ən en e twa:nə o:d fris:t
fet bras je kd briŋ ði. ðu:z bim e gri:ət fi:əl.'

en ðruŋəz e bru:n fa:m-ladz kam bai iv e swa:m.
a wantid e jipət, en twi-e ladz ti plu:
nu:, if ad wed Salı, ad nut ə ed tfu:m,
az mi'əd mi on bed, bud al lig on it nu:
eftər o:i,—ji'əz o:lri:t,—en ðez ni:e gri:ət a:m.
Wen skaiz iz bliu ez suprèn si'ez,  
en ju:ə iz ful e sap,  
its grand ti strut i Sunde kli'ez  
en liuk e sma:tif tsap.

Bud wen janz o:d, en ll'em, lisik mi:,  
en la:tl ilz si:mx sti:p;  
janz fe'en ti tak əng kwa:i'tli,  
en sit et jam en sti:p.

De mi'en iz up o:st kro:-wud slak,  
en tfezn malz it wud,  
ent ərodz iz seb-əp, ent ərai twigz krak  
ez wi trimp tiv ə:er i:evnin fud.
Fər o:! its e kin blak frost, mi ladz,  
ent mi'ər l bi-e ti-nit,  
si'e lets ə'wə-e, efə t mi'ez iz fed,  
ti sks'ət i ãe wan mi'enlit.

De mi'en se injz lisik e o:k e'il-eən  
ez je friziz t toneps əru: [θru];  
en e li:t iz ez kəd ez e silve sti'-ən,  
bud its le'ək fər uz en t plu: [pli'-əf].
Fər o:! its en il blak frost, mi ladz,  
fe ãem et men lig int fild,  
bud wi:v gotn bedz, en 1 wa:m eə tu: [ti-ə],  
en wiv getn u:e runeə sti:l,  
en wiv tetld u:e bli'edz on təis, ladz,  
et rinə, en si:nz, en gli'-əmzn.
Wen wiv gli:dn e ma:l iv e trel, ladz,  
bi'ni-əθ ãe le:ən mi'en-əmzn.
WORD-LIST

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