ON

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING

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

BY

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PART III.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE XIVTH AND XVTH CENTURIES.
CHAUCER, GOWER, WYCCLIFFE, SPENSER, SHAKSPERE.
SALESBURY, BARCLEY, HART, BULLOKAR, GILL.
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY.

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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

In Part I.

pp. 270–297. In addition to the arguments there adduced to show that the ancient sound of long \( i \) was \((ir)\) or \((ii)\), and not \((ei, ai, ai)\), Mr. James A. H. Murray has communicated to me some striking proofs from the Gaelic forms of English words and names, and English forms of Gaelic names, which will be given in Part IV.

p. 302, l. 14, blue is erroneously treated as a French word, but in the Alphabetical List on the same page it is correctly given as anglosaxon. The corrections which this oversights renders necessary will be given in Part IV., in the shape of a cancel for this page, which could not be prepared in time for this Part.

In Part II.

p. 442, Paternoster, col. 2, vv. 4 and 8, for don, miis’doon: read doon, mis’doon.

p. 443, Credo 1, col. 2, ll. 4 and 7, for laerver, ded, read laerver, deed; Credo 2, col. 2, line 4, for loverd read looverd.

p. 462, verses, l. 2, for Richard read Richard.

pp. 464–5. On the use of \( l \) for \( i \), and the possibility of \( j \) having been occasionally confused with \( s \) in speech, Mr. W. W. Skeat calls attention to the remarks of Sir F. Madden, in his edition of Lagamon, 3, 437.

p. 468, Translation, col. 2, l. 4, for hill read hill.

p. 473, note, col. 2, l. 1, for 446 read 447; l. 17, for (mee, dee, swee, pee) read (mee, dee, swee, pee); l. 18, for may read May; l. 24–5 for (eint’mynt) read (eint’munt).

p. 503, l. 8, pronunciation, for dead’lithe read dead’lithe.

p. 540, l. 6, for haf’sdi read haf’si.

p. 549, l. 5 from bottom of text, for mansaugur (maan’sceci’r), read man-saugur (maan’sceci’r).

p. 550, Mr. H. Sweet has communicated to me the sounds of Icelandic letters as noted by Mr. Melville Bell from the pronunciation of Mr. Hjaltalin, which will be given in Part IV.

p. 553, verse 30, col. 1, l. 4, for alikâlfi read alikâlfi; col. 2, l. 4, for aalikaual’vi read aalikaual’vi.

p. 559, in the Haustlong ; l. 1, for er read es, l. 2, for er read es; l. 4, for bauge read bauge; l. 5, for Hel’lesbror ... bauge read Hel’lesbror ... bauge; line 7, for isarnleiki read isarnleiki.

p. 560, note 1, l. 2, for lôngr read lângr.

p. 599, col. 2, l. 14, for demesne read demesne.

p. 600, col. 1, l. 6, for Eugene read Eugene.

p. 614, Glossotype as a system of writing is superseded by Glossic, explained in the appendix to the notice prefixed to Part III.

p. 617, col. 2, under n, l. 4, for land read pland.

In Part III.

p. 639, note 2 for (spi’selî, spes’elî) read (spî’shelî, spesh’elî).

p. 651. The numbers in the Table on this page are corrected on p. 725.

p. 653, note 1. The memoir on Pennsylvania German by Prof. S. S. Haldeman, was read before the Philological Society on 3 June, 1870, and will be published separately; Dr. Mombert, having gone to Europe, has not furnished any additions to that memoir, which is rich in philological interest.

p. 680 to p. 725. Some trifling errors in printing the Critical Text and Pronunciation of Chaucer’s Prologue are corrected on p. 724, note.

p. 754, note 1, for (abitees’shun) read (abiteë’shun).

p. 789, col. 1, the reference after \( \text{tamanat should be 759'} \).

p. 791, col. 2, under much good do it you, for mychydotic read mychydotic; and to the references add, p. 938, note 1.

pp. 919–996. All the references to the Globe Shaksperc relate to the issue of 1864, with which text every one has been verified at press. For later issues, the number of the page (and page only) here given, when it exceeds 1000, must be diminished by 3, thus VA S (1003), must be read as VA S (1000), and PT 42 (1057), must be read as PT 42 (1054’). The cause of this difference is that pages 1000, 1001, 1002, in the issue of 1864, containing only the single word Poems, have been cancelled in subsequent issues.
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NOTICE.

Indisposition, arising from overwork, has greatly delayed the appearance of this third part of my work, and a recent relapse, rendering the revision of the last seventy pages and the preparation of this notice extremely difficult, has compelled me to postpone to the next part the illustrations for the xvii th and xviii th centuries, which were announced to be included in the present. Three years or more will probably elapse before the remainder of the book can be published.

The fourth and concluding part of this treatise is intended to consist of four chapters, two of which, devoted to the xvii th and xviii th centuries respectively, are now completely ready for press, and will therefore certainly appear either under my own or some other superintendence. In chapter XI., I am desirous of giving some account of Existing Varieties of English Pronunciation, dialectic, antiquated, American, colonial, and vulgar, for the purpose of illustrating the results of the preceding investigation. This cannot be properly accomplished without the extensive co-operation of persons familiar with each individual dialect and form of speech. I invite all those into whose hands these pages may fall to give me their assistance, or procure me the assistance of others, in collecting materials for this novel and interesting research, which promises to be of great philological value, if properly executed. Many hundred communications are desirable. There cannot be too many, even from the same district, for the purpose of comparison and control. As I hope to commence this examination early in 1872, it will be an additional favour if the communications are sent as soon as possible, and not later than the close of 1871. They should be written on small-sized paper, not larger than one of these pages, and only on one side, leaving a margin of about an inch at the top for reference notes, with the lines wide apart for insertions, and all the phonetic part written in characters which cannot be misread. Correspondents would much add to the value of their communications by giving their full names and addresses, and stating the opportunities they have had for collecting the information sent. For the purpose of writing all English dialects in one alphabet on an English basis, I have improved the Glossotype of Chapter VI., and append its new form under the name of Glossic, with specimens which will shew the reader how to employ it, (pp. xiii–xx.) For the sake of uniformity and general intelligibility, I should feel obliged if those who favour me with communications on this subject would represent all peculiarities of pronunciation in the Glossic characters only, without any addition or alteration whatever. The little arrangements here suggested will, if carried
out, save an immense amount of labour in making use of any communications.

The following table will shew the kind of work wanted. All the varieties of sound there named are known to exist at present, and there are probably many more. It is wished to localize them accurately, for the purpose of understanding the unmixed dialectic English of the xⅢth and xⅤth centuries, and to find traces of the pronunciations prevalent in the more mixed forms of the xⅣth, xⅥth, and xⅦth centuries. Many of the latter will be found in Ireland and America, and in the 'vulgar' English everywhere. No pronunciation should be recorded which has not been actually heard from some speaker who uses it naturally and habitually. The older peasantry and children who have not been at school preserve the dialectic sounds most purely. But the present facilities of communication are rapidly destroying all traces of our older dialectic English. Market women, who attend large towns, have generally a mixed style of speech. The daughters of peasants and small farmers, on becoming domestic servants, learn a new language, and corrupt the genuine Doric of their parents. Peasants do not speak naturally to strangers. The ear must also have been long familiar with a dialectic utterance to appreciate it thoroughly, and, in order to compare that utterance with the Southern, and render it correctly into Glossic, long familiarity with the educated London speech is also necessary. Resident Clergymen, Nonconformist Ministers, National and British Schoolmasters, and Country Gentlemen with literary tastes, are in the best position to give the required information, and to these, including all members of the three Societies for whom this work has been prepared, I especially appeal. But the number of persons more or less interested in our language, who have opportunities of observing, is so great, that scarcely any one who reads these lines will be unable to furnish at least a few observations, and it should be borne in mind that even one or two casual remarks lose their isolated character and acquire a new value when forwarded for comparison with many others. It is very desirable to determine the systems of pronunciation prevalent in the Northern, West and East and Central Midland, South Western, South Eastern, and purely Eastern dialects. The Salopian, Lincolnshire, and Kent Dialects are peculiarly interesting. Mr. James A. H. Murray's learned and interesting work on Lowland Scotch (London, Asher, 1871) will shew what is really wanted for each of our dialectic systems.

In the following, unfortunately very imperfect, Table a few suggestive words are added to each combination of letters, and the presumed varieties of pronunciation are indicated both in Glossic and Palaeotype, but only in reference to the particular combinations of letters which head the paragraph. The symbols placed after the sign =, shew the various sounds which that combination of letters is known to have in some one or other of the exemplificative words, in some locality or other where English is the native language of the speaker. In giving information, however, the whole
word should be written in Glossic, as considerable doubt may attach to local pronunciations of the other letters, and the name of the locality, and of the class of speakers, should be annexed. The quantity of the vowel and place of the accent should be given in every word, according to one of the two systems explained in the Key to Universal Glossic, p. xvi, and exhibited on pp. xix and xx. In writing single words, the accentual system, used on p. xx, is preferable. Great attention should be paid to the analysis of diphthongs, and the Glossic et, oi, ou, eu, should only be employed where the writer, being unable to analyse the sound accurately, confines himself to marking vaguely the class to which it belongs. The trilled r when occurring without a vowel following should always be carefully marked, and the untrilled r should never be marked unless it is distinctly heard. Each new word, or item of information, should commence on a new line. Thus: cord kur'd or kad Bath, workmen, petty traders, etc. card kar'd or kad Bath, as before. beacon bai'ku or baiku Bath, as before. key kai'or or kai Bath, as before.

**Table of Prestmed Varieties of English Pronunciation.**

**Vowels.**

A short in : tap cap bud cat mad sack bag ; doubtful in : staff half calf halve aftermath path father pass cast fast mash hand hand plant ant want hang = ac, a, a', aa, ah, au, o, oo = (e, e, ah, u, a, A, 0, oo, o0). A long in : grape grape babe gaby late skate trade made ache cake ague plague save swathe bath patience occasion ale pale rare name same lane wane = ae, ai, e, ae, a, d', aa; aiy, aih', aivi, ey, eey, eey = (i, ee, ee, ee, aah, aai; eel, ee', eeo, eel, ii', ii').

AI, Ay in : way pay play bray day clay gray say lay may nay, bair wait wail wair waive ait pain trail hair chair pair pair stair = ae, aiy, e, ae, a; aiy, aay; aoy = (i, ee, ee, aah, aai).

AU, AW in ; paw daw thaw saw saw raw raw man gnaw bawl man munnder, aunt aunt gaunt daughter = ao, ah, au, ao, oo; aow, aow = (ao, ao, AA, oo, oo; au, au).

E short in : kept swept ucb pretty wet wed weal less key Seth mess guess very hell hem ben yes yet = i, e, ai, ae, a = (i, e, c, e, i, e).

E long in : glede complete decent extreme here there where me she he we be = ee, ai, e, ae, a? = (ii, ee, ee, eee, aa?)

EA in : leap seat meat knead meat read speak squeak league leaf leave wreath heath breathe crease ease leash wail ear, a tear, seam wean; yea great break bear wear, to tear; leapt swept instead head thread spread heavy heaven weapon leather weather measure health wealth = ee, ai, e, ae; eeh', ath'; yaa = (ii, ee, ee, eee, ee; ii', ee', aai).

EE in : sheep weed heed seek beef beeves teeth seethe fleece trees heel seem seen = ee, ai; aiy, ey = (ii, ee, ee, ei, eii).

EI, EY in : either neither height slight Leigh Leighton conceive neive seize convey key prey hey grey = ee, ai; aay, winy, wy = (ii, ee, aai).

EO in : people leopard Leominster Leopold Theobald = ce, e, i, eeo, ceo = (ii, e, i, ioo, iia).

EU, EW in pew few fewy yew yew knew, to mew, the mews, chew Jew new shew shrew Shrewsbury strew there sew grew brew = eew, iv, ayr, ey, eew, ayr, ay, ne, ne, new, ee, cow, oo, ao, eow main; aa, ah, au; yaa = (in, in, in, eew, eew, au, ii, yi, uu, Ay, uu, oo, eew, en; ao, ao, Aa; ioo).

I short in : hip crib bit bid sick gig stift, to live, smith smithy with his his fish fill spin sin first possible charity furniture = ee, i, e, ai, u, u' = (i, e, ee, ee, a, v).

**NB.**
NOTICE.

I long in: wipe gibe kite hide strike
knife knives wife wives seythe the blithe
ice twice thrice wise pile bile rime
pine fire shire; sight right might
light night bright light sight light;
sight rye my lie nigh fry yie pie = f, ee,
ai, au; iy, aiy, ey, aay, ah, aay, awy,
yy, uwy = (i, i, ee, aa; i, ei, ei,
ai, ai, ai, au, au).

O short, and doubtful in: mop knob
knod nod knock fog dog off office
moth broth brother mother pother
other moss cross frost pollard
Tom ton son done gone morning song
long = o, oo, ao, au, aa, u, wo = (a oo,
o, o, a aa, a, o, u).

O long, OA, and OE in: hoperope soap
note goat oasts rode road oak stroke
joke rogue oaf loaf oaves oath oath
loath goae foses shoes lose roll hold
gold fold sold home roam home groan
= oo, oo, ao, au, ah, aa; ee, ai; eeh', aih', oak', aok', oau, aaw, uww, uww;
ye, ya, yu; wo = (u, oo, o oo, o oo, a
a, o, o, o, oo, oo, o, oo, ao, au, aa; ii, ee;
ii', ee', oo'; oo', oo, ao, au, aa, je, je, ja; woo).

Oi, OY in: join loin grin point joint
joist hoist boil oil soil poison
ointment; joy hoy toy moil noise
boisterous fonsion = oy, aiy, aay, oay,
aoy, uy, uwy, ooy, u; waay, uwwy,
woy = (oi, ai, ai, oi, oi, oi, ai, ui, e;
wa, wai, wa).

OÜ, OW in: down town now how
flower sow cow, to bow flectere,
a bow arrow, a bowl soup
cauthus, a bowling green; plough
round sound mound hound thow out
house flour; found bound ground;
or; brought sought sought bonght
thought ought nought soul four;
blow snow below, a low bough,
the cow lows, a row of barrows, a great
trowthluss, crow, know; owe,
own = oo, wo, w', oo, ou, a, ah,
ai, oai; aw, iw, iw, iw, aw, aow,
iw, iw, cow, e, e, ow = (uu u, uu
u, uh, oo o, oh, a, aa, aa, le; au,
au, au, ou, ouu, ouu, uu, yu, ay, ay).

U short in: pup cub but put bud end
pudding much judge suck lug sugar
stuff bluff busy business hush bush
crush push rush blush bushel cushion
bull pull hull hulk bulk bury burial
church run run punish sung = u,
uu, uu, o', i, e, ne, eo = (e, x, u,
dh, i, e, y, o).

U long and UI, UY in: mute fruit
bruise cruise, the use, to use, the
refuse, to refuse, mule true sue fury
sure union = yoo, eewc, ee, ewe, uu'ee,
eo, eewc, eewy = (uuu, uu, yi, yu, vu,
su, su, su).

Consonants.

B mute or = p, f, v, v', w = (p, f, v,
bb, w).

C hard and K in: cat cart cart sky etc.
= k, ky', g, gy' = (k', kj, g, gj).

S soft = s, sh = (s, sh).

GH in: beseech church choose such
much etc. = ch, k, kh, kun, sh = (tsh,
k, kh, kh, sh).

D = d, dh, t, th = (d, dh, t, th).

F = f, v = (f, v).

G hard in: guard garden, etc. = g ,
= (g, gj, g), ever heard before n as
in: gnaw, gnat?

G soft, and J in: bridge ridge fidget
fudge budge = f, g = (dzg, g).

GH in: neigh weigh high thigh nigh
burgh laugh daughter slaughter
bough cough hiccup doughouch cough
shough though lough plough plough
furlough, slough of a snake, a deep
slough, enough through borough;
thorough trough sough tough = mute
or g, gh, gyk, Kh, khy, f, f, wh,
gh, oo, p = (g, gh, gh, kh, kh, f, ph,
wh, w, u, p).

H regularly pronounced? regularly
mute? often both, in the wrong
places? custom in: honest habitation
humble habit honour exhibition
prohibition hour hospital host
hostler hostage hostile shepherd
cowherd Hebrew hedge herb hermit
homage Hughes hue humility (h)it
(h)'us ab(h)ominably?

J see G soft.

K see C hard; ever heard before n in:
know knit knave knob?

L mute in: talk walk ballon fault
vault, alms? syllable in: stablyng
juggler? sounded volt, ul, h'l = (al,
al, "l) after o long? voiceless as lh ?

M any varieties? syllable in: el-m,
whel-m, fil-m, wor-m, war-m?

N nasalizing preceding vowel? ever =
ng? not syllable in: fall' n, stol'n,
swoll'n?

NG in: long longer hanger danger
stranger linger finger singer, strength
length =ng, ngg, nj, n = (q, qg, ndzh, n); ever ngr or ngrk = (qg, qk) when final in: sing thing nothing?

P ever confused with b? ever post-

inspired as p h = (pm) ?

QU = kv, kw, kch ? = (kw, kw, kch ?).

It not preceding a vowel; vocal r = (r), or trilled = r' = (r), or guttural = r or rh = (r, rh), or mute? How does it affect the preceding vowel in: far cart wart dirt shirt short hurt fair care fear shore ear court poor? ever transposed in: grass bird etc.? trilled, and developing an additional vowel in: world curl wor-m wor-k ar-m ?

R preceding a vowel; always trilled = r' = (r), or guttural = (r) ever labial = w, 6br = (u, brh) ? Inserted in: draw(r)ing, saw(r)ing, law(r) of land, etc. ?

R between vowels: a single trilled r', or a vocal r followed by a trilled r=r', h=r' = (ar, r)?

S=s, 3, sh, zh ? = (s, z, sh, zh ?); regularly z ? regularly lisped=t'h ? = (c) ?

SH=s, sh, zh = (s, sh, zh), or, regularly zh = (zh) ?

T=t, d, th, s, sh, t, h = (t, d, th, s, sh, th).

TH=t, d, th, tth, dh, f = (t, d, th, tth, dh, f) in: fifth sixth eighth with though whether other nothing etc.

V=v, v, w = (bh, w), or regularly v? W=w, v, v = (w, bh, v). Is there a regular interchange of v, w? inserted before O and Of in: home hot coat point etc.? regularly omitted in: wood wosed would wos woman womb, etc.? pronounced at all in: write, wring, wrong, wreek, wrongt, wrap, etc.? any instances of wcl pronounced as in: lips wlonk lukewarm wating loathing wlappe white?

WH=w, wh, f, f, kwh=(w, wh, f, ph, kch).

X=k, ks, g? 3

Y inserted in: ale head, etc.; regularly omitted in ye, yield, yes, yet, etc. ?

Z=z, zh = (z, zh).

Unaccented Syllables.

Mark, if possible, the obscure sounds which actually replace unaccented vowels before and after the unaccented syllable, and especially in the unaccented terminations, of which the following words are specimens, and in any other found noteworthy or peculiar.

1) -and, husband brigand headland
midland, 2) -end, dividend legend, 3) -ond, diamond almond, 4) -und, rubie-
cund jocund, 5) -erd, hanggar niggar sluggard renard leopard, 6) -erd, hal-
berd shepherd, 7) -nee, guidance de-
pendance abundance clearance temper-
ance ignorance resistance, 8) -nee, licence confidence dependence patience, 9) -age, village image manage cabbage
marriage, 10) -eye, privilege college, 11) -some, meddlewise irksome quarters-
some, 12) -sure, pleasure measure lei-
ure closure fissure, 13) -ure, creature
furniture vulture venture, 14) -ate, [in nouns] laureate frigate figurate, 15) al,
ymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medial fineal, 16) -el, camel pannel apparel, 17) -ol, carol
wittol, 18) -am, madam quondam Clap-
ham, 19) -om, freedom seldom fathom venon, 20) -on, suburban logician his-
torian Christian metropolitan, and the compounds of mon, as: woman, etc.,
21) -en, garden children linen woothen, 22) -on, deacon pardon fashion legion minion occasion passion vocation mention question felon, 23) -ern, eastern cavern, 24) -ar, vicar
cedar vinegar scholar secular, 25) -er, robbor chamber member reader, 26) -or, splendor superior tenor error actor victor, 27) -our, labour neighbour
colour favour, 28) -ant, pendant ser-
geant infant quadrant assistant truant, 29) -ent, innocent quiescent president, 30) -aey, fallacy pramaic obstinacy, 31) -aney, infancy tenancy constancy, 32) -ekey, decency tendency currency, 33) -ary, beggar summary granary liter-
ary notary, 34) -ery, robbery bribery
gunnery, 35) -ory, priory cursory ora-
tory victory history, 36) -ary, usary luxury.

Also the terminations separated by a hyphen, in the following words: sof-
aide-a, sirr-ah, her-o suoce-o potato-o
TOBACCO-o, wid-ow yellow fell-ow shadow-
ow sorr-ow sparr-ow, val-ue neph-ew
sherr-iff, bann-ock hadd-ock padd-ock
= frog, possible possibility, stom-ach
lil-ach, no-tice poul-tice, pre-ali pol-
icy, ear-tain, Lat-in, a sing-ing, a be-ing, pulp-itt vom-it rabb-it, mouth-
ful sorrow-ful, terri-ty signi-fy, child-
hood, maiden-head, rap-id viv-id
tcp-id, un-ion commun-ion, par-ish
per-ish, ol-ive rest-ive, bapt-ize civil-
-ize, ev-il dev-il, true-ly sure-ly, har-
mmony matri-mony, hind-most ut-
most better-most for-most, sweet-
-ness, right-eous pit-eous plent-eous, friend-ship, tire-some whole-some, na-
tion na-tional, pre-cious pro-di-gious, off-cial par-tial par-tial-ty, spe-cial spe-
cial-ty spe-cial-ty, ver-dure or-dure, fi-gure, in-jure con-jure per-jure, plea-
sure mea-sure trea-sure lei-sure cock-
sure cen-sure pres-sure fii-sure, fea-
ture crea-ture minia-ture na-ture
na-tural litera-ture sta-ture frac-ture
conje-cure lec-ture archi-tecture pic-
ture stric-ture junc-ture punc-ture
struc-ture cul-ture vul-ture ven-ture
cap-ture rap-ture scrip-ture depar-ture
tor-ture pas-ture ves-ture fu-ture fix-
ture seis-ure, for-war back-ward
up-ward down-ward, like-wise side-
wise, mid-wife house-wife good-wife.

All inflexional terminations, as in: speak-eth speak-said's spok-en pierce-ed
breath-ed prime-es prince's church-es
church's path's path's volv-es ox-en, etc. Forms of participle and
verbal noun in -ing.

Note also the vowel in unaccented
prefixes, such as those separated by
a hyphen in the following words:
among a-stride a-las, ab-use, a-vert,
ad-ance, ad-apt ad-mire ac-cept af-fix'
an-nounce ap-pend, a-lert', al-cove
a-bys, auth-eat, be-set be-gin, bin-
ocular, con-ceal con-cur con-trast'
con-trel, de-pend de-spite de-bate de-
stroy de-feat, de-fer', dia-meter, di-
rect dis-cuss, e-lope, en-close in-close,
ex-cept e-vent e-mit ec-lipe, for-bid,
fore-tell, gain-say, mis-deed mis-guide,
obj-ect ob-lige oc-ca-sion op-pose, per-
vert, pre-cede pre-fer', pro-mote pro-
duce pro-pose, pur-sue, re-pos, sub-
ject suf-fice, sur-vey sur-pass, sus-
pend, to-morrow to-gether, trans-fer
trans-scribe, un-fil, un-til.

Position of Accent.

Mark any words in which unusual,
peculiar, or variable positions of accent
have been observed, as: illustrate
illustrate enu-sure demonstrstrate
demonstrate app-li-cable app-li-cable, des-picable de-
spicable, as-pect as-pect, of-den (two
syllables) ord-i-al (three syllables), etc.

Words.

Names of numerals 1, 2, by units to
20, and by tens to 100, with thousand
and million. Peculiar names of num-
bers as: pair, couple, leish, half dozen,
dozzen, long dozen, gross, long gross,
half score, score, long score, long hun-
dred, etc., with interpretation. Pecu-
liar methods of counting peculiar
classes of objects. Ordinals, first, se-
cond, etc., to twentieth, thirtieth, etc.,
to hundredth, then thousandth and
millonth. Numerical adverbs: once,
twice, thrice, four times, some times,
many times, often, seldom, never, etc.,
Single, simple, double, trouble, quadru-
ple, etc., fourfold, mani-fold, etc., three-
some, etc. Each, either, neither, both,
some, several, any, many, enough, now,
every. Names of peculiar weights and
measures or quantities of any kind by
which particular kinds of goods are
bought and sold or hired, with their
equivalents in imperial weights and
measures. Names of division of time:
minute, hour, day, night, week, days
of week, sevennight, fortnight, month,
names of months, quarter, half-quarter,
half, twelvemonth, year, century, age,
etc., Christmas, Michaelmas, Martin-
mas, Candlemas, Lammas, Lady Day,
Midsummer, yule, any special festivals
or days of settlement. Any Church
 ceremonies, as christening, burying, etc.

Articles: the, th' t', c, a, an, etc.
Demonstratives: this, that, 'at, thick,
thack, they = he, them = ham, thir thors thos these. Personal
pronouns in all cases, especially peculiar
forms and remnants of old forms, as:
I me ich 'ch, we us, bns huz, thon thee,
ye you, he him = hine, s she hoo =
heo her, it hit, his his, they them
'em = him, etc.

Auxiliary verbs: to be, to have, in
all their forms. Use of shall and will,
should and would. All irregular or
peculiar forms of verbs.

Adverbs and conjunctions: no, yes,
and, but, yet, how, perhaps, etc.
Pre-
positions: in, to, at, till, from, etc.

Peculiar syntax and idioms: I am,
we is, thee loves, thou best, thon ist,
he do, they does, I see it = saw it, etc.

Negative and other contracted forms:
Don't doesn't ain't aren't ha'nt isn't
wouldn't couldn't shouldn't musn't
can't cauna won't wunna dinna didn't,
etc., I'm thou'rt he's we're you're I've
I'd I'd I'll, etc.

Sentences.

The above illustrated in connected
forms, accented and unaccented, by short
sentences, introducing the commonest
verbs: take, do, pray, beg, stand, lie
down, come, think, find, love, believe,
shew, stop, sew, sow, must, ought, to
use, need, lay, please, suffer, live, to lead, doubt, eat, drink, taste, mean, care, etc., and the nouns and verbs relating to: bodily parts, food, clothing, shelter, family and social relations, agriculture and manufacture, processes and implements, domestic animals, birds, fish, house vermin, heavenly bodies, weather, etc.

Sentences constructed like those of French, German, and Teviotdale in Glossic, p. xix, to accumulate all the peculiarities of dialectic utterances in a district.

Every peculiar sentence and word should be written fully in Glossic, and have its interpretation in ordinary language and spelling, as literal as possible, and peculiar constructions should be explained.

Comparativo Specimen.

In order to compare different dialects, it is advisable to have one passage written in the idiom and pronunciation of all. Passages from the Bible are highly objectionable. Our next most familiar book is, perhaps, Shakspere. The following extracts from the Two Gentlemen of Verona, act 3, sc. 1, sp. 69-133, have been selected for their rustic tone, several portions having been omitted as inappropriate or for brevity. Translations into the proper words, idiom, and pronunciation of every English dialect would be very valuable.

The Milkmaid, her Virtues and Vices.

Launce. He lives not now that knows me to be in love. Yet I am in love. But a team of horse shall not pluck that from me, nor who 'tis I love—and yet 'tis a woman. But what woman, I will not tell myself—and yet 'tis a milkmaid. Here is a cate-log of her condition. 'Imprimis: She can fetch and carry.' Why a horse can do no more; 'nay, a horse cannot fetch, but only carry; therefore is she better than a jade. 'Item: She can milk;' look you, a sweet virtue in a maid with clean hands.

[Enter Speed.]

Speed. How now! what news in your paper?

Launce. The blackest news that ever thou hearest.

Speed. Why, man, how black?

Launce. Why, as black as ink.

Speed. Let me read them.

Launce. Fie on thee, jolt-head! thou canst not read.

Speed. Thou liest; I can. Come, fool, come; try me in thy paper.

Launce. There; and Saint Nicholas be thy speed!

Speed. [reads] 'Imprimis: she can milk.'

Launce. Ay, that she can.

Speed. 'Item: she brews good ale.'

Launce. And thereof comes the proverb: 'Blessing of your heart, you brew good ale.'

Speed. 'Item: she can sew.'

Launce. That's as much as to say, Can she so?

Speed. 'Item: She can wash and scour.'

Launce. A special virtue; for then she need not be washed and scoured.

Speed. 'Item: she can spin.'

Launce. Then may I set the world on wheels, when she can spin for her living.

Speed. 'Item: Here follow her vices.'

Launce. Close at the heels of her virtues.

Speed. 'Item: she doth talk in her sleep.'

Launce. It's no matter for that, so she sleep not in her talk.

Speed. 'Item: she is slow in words.'

Launce. O villain, that set down among her vices! To be slow in words is a woman's only virtue: I pay thee, out with't, and place it for her chief virtue.

Speed. 'Item: she is proud.'

Launce. Out with that too; it was Eve's legacy, and cannot be ta'en from her.

Speed. 'Item: she will often praise her liquor.'

Launce. If her liquor be good, she shall; if she will not, I will; for good things should be praised.

Speed. 'Item: she hath more hair than wit, and more faults than hairs, and more wealth than faults.'

Launce. Stop there; I'll have her; she was mine, and not mine, twice or thrice in that last article. Rehearse that once more.

Speed. 'Item: She hath more hair than wit.'

Launce. More hair than wit? It may be; I'll prove it. The cover of the salt hides the salt, and therefore it is more than the salt: the hair that covers the wit is more than the wit, for the greater hides the less. What's next?
Speed. 'And more faults than hairs.'

Launce. That’s monstrous: O, that
that were out!

Speed. 'And more wealth than faults.'

Launce. Why, that word makes the
faults gracious. Well, I’ll have her:
and if it be a match, as nothing is im-
possible,—

Speed. What then?

Launce. Why, then will I tell thee
—that thy master stays for thee at the
North-gate.

Speed. For me?

Launce. For thee! ay, who art thou?

he hath stayed for a better man than
thee.

Speed. And must I go to him?

Launce. Thou must run to him, for
thou hast stayed so long, that going will
scarcely serve the turn.

Speed. Why didst thou not tell me
sooner? pox of your love-letters!

[Exit.

Launce. Now will he be swunged
for reading my letter—an unmannery
slave, that will thrust himself into
secrets! I’ll after, to rejoice in the
boy’s correction.

[Exit.

Of course it would be impossible to enter upon the subject at
great length in Chapter XI. The results will have to be given
almost in a tabular form. But it is highly desirable that a complete
account of our existing English language should occupy the atten-
tion of an ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY, and I solicit all cor-
respondents to favour me with their views on this subject, and to
state whether they would be willing to join such a body. At the
same time I must request permission, owing to the necessity of
mental repose on this subject, to abstain from more than simply
acknowledging the receipt of their communications during 1871.

In Chap. XII. I hope to consider the various important papers
which have recently appeared, bearing upon the present investiga-
tions, especially those by Dr. Weymouth, Mr. Payne, Mr. Murray,
Mr. Furnivall, and Herr Ten Brink, together with such criticisms
on my work as may have appeared before that chapter is printed.
Any reader who can point out apparent errors and doubtful con-
clusions, or who can draw my attention to any points requiring
revision, or supply omissions, or indicate sources of information
which have been overlooked, will confer a great favour upon me by
communicating their observations or criticisms within the year
1871, written in the manner already suggested. The object of
these considerations, as of my whole work, is, not to establish a
theory, but to approximate as closely as possible to a recovery of
Early English Pronunciation.

Those who have read any portion of my book will feel assured
that no kind assistance that may thus be given to me will be left
unacknowledged when published. And as the work is not one for
private profit, but an entirely gratuitous contribution to the history
of our language, produced at great cost to the three Societies which
have honoured me by undertaking its publication, I feel no hesita-
tion in thus publicly requesting aid to make it more worthy of the
generosity which has rendered its existence possible.

Alexander J. Ellis.

25, Argyll Road, Kensington, London, W.

13 February, 1871.
GLOSSIC,
A NEW SYSTEM OF SPELLING, INTENDED TO BE USED CONCURRENTLY WITH THE EXISTING ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY IN ORDER TO REMEDY SOME OF ITS DEFECTS, WITHOUT CHANGING ITS FORM, OR DETRACTING FROM ITS VALUE.

KEY TO ENGLISH GLOSSIC.
Read the large capital letters always in the senses they have in the following words, which are all in the usual spelling except the three underlined, meant for foot, then, rouge.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{BEET} & \quad \text{BAIT} & \quad \text{BAA} & \quad \text{CAUL} & \quad \text{COAL} & \quad \text{COOL} \\
\text{KNIT} & \quad \text{NET} & \quad \text{GNAAT} & \quad \text{NOT} & \quad \text{NUT} & \quad \text{FUOT} \\
\text{HEIGHT} & \quad \text{POIL} & \quad \text{POUL} & \quad \text{FEUD} \\
\text{YEAY} & \quad \text{WAY} & \quad \text{WHEY} & \quad \text{HAY} \\
\text{PEA} & \quad \text{BEE} & \quad \text{TOE} & \quad \text{DOE} & \quad \text{CHEST} & \quad \text{JEST} & \quad \text{KEEP} & \quad \text{CAPE} \\
\text{FIE} & \quad \text{VIE} & \quad \text{THIN} & \quad \text{DHEN} & \quad \text{SEAL} & \quad \text{ZEAL} & \quad \text{RUSH} & \quad \text{ROUZHHE} \\
\text{EAY} & \quad \text{R'IN} & \quad \text{EARR'ING} & \quad \text{LAY} & \quad \text{MAY} & \quad \text{NAY} & \quad \text{SING} \\
\end{align*}
\]

R is vocal when no vowel follows, and modifies the preceding vowel forming diphthongs, as in \text{PEER}, \text{PAIR}, \text{BOAR}, \text{BOOR}, \text{HERE}.

Use R for \text{R}' and RR for \text{RR}', when a vowel follows, except in elementary books, where \text{R}' is retained.

Separate \text{th}, \text{dh}, \text{sh}, \text{zh}, \text{ng} by a hyphen (\text{-}) when necessary.

Read a stress on the first syllable when not otherwise directed.

Mark stress by (\text{'}) after a long vowel or \text{ei}, \text{oi}, \text{ou}, \text{et}, and after the first consonant following a short vowel.

Mark emphasis by (\text{\textbf{)}) before a word.

Pronounce \text{el}, \text{en}, \text{en}, \text{er}, \text{ej}, \text{a}, obscurely, after the stress syllable.

When three or more letters come together of which the two \text{first} may form a digraph, read them as such.

Letters retain their usual names, and alphabetical arrangement.

Words in customary or NOMIC spelling occurring among GLOSSIC, and conversely, should be underlined with a wavy line \(\sim\), and printed with \text{spaist letters}, or else in a different type.

Specimen on Ingglish Glosik.

\text{Nom'ik}, (dhat iz, kustemer Ingglish speling, soa kauld from dhi Greek \text{nom'os}, kustem,) konvai'z noa intimai'shen ov dhi risee'vd proannuisia'i'shen ov eni werd. It iz konsikwentli veri difikelt too lern too reed, and stil moar difikelt too lern too reit.

\text{Ingglish Glosik} (soa kauld from dhi Greek \text{glos'sa}, tung) konvai'z whotever proannuisia'i'shen iz inten'ed bei dhi reiter. Glosik buoks kan hairsoar bee maid too impaar't risee'vd aurthoa'ipi too aul reederz.

Ingglish Glosik iz veri eexi too reed. With proper training, a cheld ov foar yeerz oald kan bee redili taut too giv dhi egzak't sound ov eni glosik werd prizen'ted too him. Aafter hee haz akweird familiariti wid glosik reeding hee kan lern nomik reeding aulmoast widhout instruk'shen. Dhi hoal teim rikwei'rd faur lerning \text{boath} glosik and nomik, iz not \text{haaf} dhat rikwei'rd faur lerning nomik alo'n. Dhis iz impoa'rtent, az nomik buoks and paiperz aar dhi oanli egzis'ting searzce ov infermai'shen.
Glosik reiting iz akweird in dhi prose ov glosik reeding. Eni wun hoo kan reed glosik, kan reit eni werd az wel az hee kan speek it, and dhi proper moad ov speaking iz lernt bei reeding glosik buoks. But oaiing too its pikeu'lier konstruk'shen, glosik speling iz imce'dietl intel'ijibil, whidou't a kee, too eni nomik reeder. Hens, a glosik reiter kan kome'nikait widh *aul* reederz, wheder glosik aur nomik, and huz dhairf oar noa need too bikum' a nomik reiter. But hee 'kan bikum' wun, if serkemstensz render it dizeirrabl, widhes trelbl dhan dhouz hoo hav nat lernt glosik.

Dhi novelti ov dhi prezent skeem faur deeling widh dhi Speling Dififikelti iz, that, wheel it maiks noa chainj in dhi buoks ov ezzis'ting reedingz and reiterz, and grautil fasil'aitais lerning too reed our prezent buoks, it enteirli obviaits dhi nises'iti ov lerning too reit in dhi ezheucl komplikaited fashen.

Dhi abuv' aar edeuka'rishenel and soashel ensev ov Glosic. It iz heer introdaunc'st soall az a meenz ov ov reiting Aul Ezgizting Vare'itiiz ov Inglish Proaanusia'i'shen ¹ bei meenz ov Wun Alfabet on a wel noan Inglish baisis.

¹ Eevn amung' heelli edeuka'itied Inglishmen, maartk vare'itiis ov proaanusia'i'shen ezzis't. If wee inkloo'd proa'in'shel dealeiktz and vulgariitz, dhi number ov dhooz vare'itiiz wil bee ina'mumsli inkree'ast. Dhi eer ri-kwertrz much training, bifo'a' it iz aibl too aprec'shit mane'vshain shaidz ov sound, dhoaw iz redli diskri'm'aitais braud differen'csh. Too meet dhis difikelti dhis skeem haz been dividied ntoo tooo. Dhi ferst, aur Inglish Glosik, iz ad'aptied faur reiting Inglish az wel az dhi atherz ov proaan'm'siing dik-sheneriz ezheucl komplia'ted. Dhi sekend aur Eniwersel Glosik, aimz at giving simbelz dhi faur dhi moast minuet foanet'ik analis'is yet aheev'd. Dhis, in dhi ferst, dhi faur dhi'bangzi *ci, oi, ou, eu*, au'r strikli konven'shenel seinz, and pai noa heed too dhi grauti vare'iti ov *waiz* in which at leest sum ov dhem aar habitucchi proaunn'tst. Again, *eer, air, aer, ou*, aar stil ritu widh *ee*, *at, ot, ou, aua=* an ae'tentiv isueur wil redli rekognizu a minuet aulte'ren'zen in dhray soundz. Too fasil'aitais reiting wee mai euz *ci, em, eu, e* a, when not under dhi stres, faur dhoaw obskeur soundz which aar soa preva!'lent in speech, dhoaw reprabaits bei aurther'ipsists, and singk dhi distin'kshen between *i* and *ee*, under dhi suim serkemstensz. Aulso dhi sounds in de'fcr, occer, deffering, occurr'ing may bek aulwaiz rit with *er*, dhius *dfer, oker, deffering, okerr*ing, dhi dubling ov dhi *r* in dhi "too laast" werdz *sikerrring* dhi voakel karaker ov dhi ferst *r*, and dhi tril ov dhi sekend, and dhius disting'g Broncos dhooz soundz from dhoaw herd in her'ing, *oku'ivov*. Konsiderabl ekspe'er'ienz sujexts dhiiz az a konven'cwent praktikel aurther'ip. But faur dhi reprizental'shen ov dealeikz, wee rek'wet 'jenencl a much strikter noastai'shen, and faur aurther'ip'ik diskri'pshen, aur sci'en'tifik feanc'vi diskushen, sunthing stil moar painfo'li minuet. A fen sentensez aar anek'st, az dhi aar rendert bei Wauker and Melvil Bel, ading dhi Autherz oan kolo'kwiwel ute'rens, az wel az hee kan estimait it.

PRAAKTIEL. Endev'far faur dhi best, and proa'vaid'gasth dhi wurst. Nis'esiti iz dhi mudhlr ov ivern'shen. Hoe hoo wonts kontent kan't faiynd an eezi chair.

WAUKER. Endevaur faur dhi best, and pr'ovavayd'gasth dhi wurst. Neeses'vetece iz dhi madhur ov ivern'shen. Hoe hoo wonts kontent kann't faiynd an eezi chair.

MELVIL BEL. Endevaur fo'r dhi baeast, and pr'ovavayd a'gaens'h dhi wurst. Neeses'itiiz dhi madhur'ur o'v invaen'shu'n. Hoe hoo waun'hrs ko'utaenh'rt kant'ov faiynd an' eezi eher.

ELIS. Endev'fu')dhi'best u')n-pr'oa'vayd'g ur'gast dhi'wurst. Nis'esitiiz dhi madhur'ur' u')v'invenshun'. Hoe hoo worts'ku'nten't kant'fuynd u')nv'eezi echw'.
KEY TO UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC.

Small Capitals throughout indicate English Glossic Characters as on p. xiii. Large capitals point out the most important additional vowel signs.

THE THIRTY-SIX VOWELS OF MR. A. MELVILLE BELL'S "VISIBLE SPEECH."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Wide.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>uu' ca ee</td>
<td>U' I' I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>AA A' E</td>
<td>AA A' AE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>AI E' A</td>
<td>AI E' A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Round.** | **Wide Round.** |
| High oo | oo' oo' UE |
| Mid OA | AO oo' OE |
| Low AU | AO oo' OE |

**Brief Key to the Vowels.**

A as in English goat.
A' (read ai-hokay) fine southern English ask, between aa and e.
AA as in English baas.
AE usual provincial English e, French e, German a.
AI broad German ah, between aa & au.
AO open Italian o, between o and ao.
AO' closer sound of oo, not quite oo.
AU as in English caud.
AU' closer sound of an, as i in Irish sir.
E as in southern English net.
E' modification of e by vocal r in herb.
EA Russian i, Polish y, variety of ee.
EE as in English beat.
EO close French eu in pet, Jean.
EO' opener sound of oo, not quite oo.
I as in English knit.
I' opener sound of i, not quite e, as e in English houses, Welsh u.
O as in English not, opener than au.
O' a closer sound of o.
OA as in English coal, with no after-sound of oo.
OA' closer sound of oa; u with lips rounded.
OE open French en in venf, German o.
OE' opener sound of oe.
OO as in English cool.
U as in English nut.
U' obscure u, as o in English mention.
UA open provincial variety of u.
UO' slightly closer UA.
UE French u, German ü.
UI provincial Ger. ü, nearly ee, Swed. y.
UO' Swedish long u.

**uo** as in English full, woman, book.

UU usual provincial variety of u.

**Special Rules for Vowels.**

Ascertain carefully the received pronunciation of the first 12 key words on p. xiii, (avoiding the after-sounds of ee and oo, very commonly perceptible after ai and ou). Observe that the tip of the tongue is depressed and the middle or front of the tongue raised for all of them, except u; and that the lips are more or less rounded for oo, oo, oo, ai, ou. Observe that for i, e, ao, the parts of the mouth and throat behind the narrowest passage between the tongue and palate, are more widely opened than for ee, ai, oo.

Having ee quite clear and distinct, like the Italian, Spanish, French, and German i long, practise it before all the English consonants, making it as long and as short as possible, and when short remark the difference between ee and i, the French fini, and English funny. Then lengthen i, noticing the distinction between leap lip, steel still, feet fit, when the latter words are sung to a long note. Sustaining the sound first of ee then of i, bring the lips together and open them alternately, observing the new sounds generated, which will be ui and we. A proper appreciation of the vowels, primary ee, wide i, round ui, wide round we, will render all the others easy.

Obtain oo quite clear and distinct, like Italian and German u long, French ou long. Pronounce it long and short before all the English consonants. Observe the distinction between pool and pull, the former having oo, the latter oo. The true short oo is heard in French-poule. English pull and French poule, differ as English funny and French fini, by widening. Observe that the back of the tongue is decidedly raised as near to the soft palate for oo, oo, as the front was to the hard palate for ee, i; and that the lips are rounded. While continuing to pronounce oo or we, open the lips without moving the tongue. This will be difficult to do voluntarily at first, and the lips should be mechanically opened by the fingers till the habit is obtained. The results are the peculiar indistinct sounds uu'.
and $u'$ of which $u'$ is one of our commonest obscure and unaccented sounds.

In uttering $ee$, $ai$, $ae$, the narrowing of the passage between the tongue and hard palate is made by the middle or front of the tongue, which is gradually more retracted. The $ai$, $ae$, are the French $i$, $e$, Italian $e$ chiuso and $e$ aperto. The last $ae$ is very common, when short, in many English mouths. The widening of the opening at the back, converts $ee$, $ai$, $ae$, into $i$, $e$, $a$. Now $e$ is much finer than $ae$, and replaces it in the South of England. Care must be taken not to confuse English $a$ with $aa$. The true $a$ seems almost peculiar to the Southern and Western, the refined Northern, and the Irish pronunciation of English. The exact boundaries of the illiterate $e$ and $aa$ have to be ascertained. Rounding the lips changes $ee$, $ai$, $ae$, into $ui$, $eo$, $eo'$, of which $eo$ is very common. Rounding the lips also changes $i$, $e$, $a$, into $ue$, $oe$, $oe'$, of which $oe$ is very common.

On uttering $oo$, $oa$, $au$, the back of the tongue descends lower and lower, till for $au$ the tongue lies almost entirely in the lower jaw. The widening of these gives $uo$, $ao$, $o$. The distinction between $au$, $o$, is necessarily very slight; as is also that between $ao$ and $o$. But $oo$ is very common in our dialects, and is known as $o$ aperto in Italy. The primary forms of $oo$, $oa$, $au$, produced by opening the lips, are the obscure $uu'$, $uu$, $ua$, of which $uu$ is very common in the provinces, being a deeper, thicker, broader sound of $u$. But the wide sounds $uo$, $oa$, $o$, on opening the lips, produce $u'$, $ua$, $ah$. Here $aa$ is the true Italian and Spanish $a$, and $ah$ is the deeper sound, heard for long $a$ in Scotland and Germany, often confused with the rounded form $au$.

Of the mixed vowels, the only important primary vowel is $u$, for which the tongue lies flat, half way between the upper and lower jaw. It is as colourless as possible. It usually replaces $uu$ in unaccented syllables, and altogether replaces it in refined Southern speech. Its wide form $a'$ is the modern French $i$, which is used also for $aa$ in the South of England. The rounded form $oa'$ seems to replace $u$ or $uu$ in some dialects. The mixed sound resulting from attempting to utter $ab$ and $a$ together is $e'$, which Mr. Bell considers to be the true vowel in herd.

Distinctions to be carefully drawn in writing dialects. EE and I. AI and E. AE and E. AA, AH and A. OA and AO. AO, AU and AH. OO and UO. UU and U. UI, UE and EEW, IW, YOO. UE and EO. OE and U.

**Quantify of Vowels.**

All vowels are to be read short, or medial, except otherwise marked. The Stress (⟨⟩) placed immediately after a vowel shows it to be long and accented, as *aʊgust*; placed immediately after a consonant, hyphen (⟨⟩), gap (⟨⟩), or stop (⟨⟩), it shows that the preceding vowel is short and accented, as *aʊgurt*, *aʊmaʊː,* *pʊpə...*. The Holder (⟨⟩) placed immediately after a vowel or consonant shows it to be long, as *aʊw'gust*, *needt*; the Stress Holder (⟨⟩) shows that the consonant it follows, is held, the preceding vowel being short and accented, compare *hɑʊpɪ*, *hɑʊ,...* *hɑpɪ*, *hɑpɪ*; in theoretical writing only. Practically it is more convenient to double a held consonant, as *hɑpɪ*, *hɑpɪ*, *hɑpɪ*.

Stop ⟨⟩ subjoined to any letter indicates a caught-up, imperfect utterance, as *ka*., *kɔt.* for *kat*; great abruptness is marked by ⟨⟩.

Accent marks may also be used when preferred, being placed over the first letter of a combination, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Short</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>V</em></td>
<td><em>V</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>L</em></td>
<td><em>L</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>M</em></td>
<td><em>M</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>S</em></td>
<td><em>S</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with stress—*ɑː,* *ɑː* *ɑː* *ɑː*

without stress—*ɑː,* *ɑː* *ɑː* *ɑː*

If the first letter is a capital the accent marks may be placed on the second, as *Abigail*, *ɑɪdʒət*, *kɑsəːa*.

**Systematic Diphthongs.**

The stressless element of a diphthong is systematically indicated by a preceding 'turned comma ⟨⟩' called hook, as *mɛːrəv* *I* miel, *Lɔːvɔːra* *I* Laura, *prəmɔːvra* *I* paura, *tjuːʃ* Fr. lui. But when, as is almost always the case, this element is *εε* 'oo', or *ui*, it may be replaced by its related consonant $y$, $w$ or $u$, as *myai* *Lɔɔvrə* *I* tawrə, *tʃuːʃ* Fr. lui. Any obscure final element as *u*, *e*, *e',* is sufficiently expressed by the sign of simple voice $h$, as provincial *nɛkt' night*, *stɾɪkm* stream *wɪk'ın waken*. In applying the rule for marking stress and quantity, treat the stressless element as a consonant.
The four English Glossic diphthongs ei, oi, ou, eu are unsystematic, and are variously pronounced, thus:

ei is uy in the South, sometimes a'y, aay; and is often broadened to uny, ahy, aw' y, in the provinces.
or is oy in the South, and becomes any, provincially.

ou is uw in the South, sometimes a've, aave, and is often broadened to uuw ahuw, aow, aw; it becomes or w in Devonshire, and aow in Norfolk.

eu varies as iw, eew, yoo, yew, yew.
The Londoners often mispronounce at as ai'y, aiy, ey or nearly ay, and oA as oAwe, aow, ow or nearly uw.

English vocal r, is essentially the same as H', forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Thus English glossic per, pair, bear, boor, fer, difer-ring, are systematically pit' h', pe'h', boo'h', bow'h', fê'h' or fu', dife'k'ring or diifurring. But r is used where r', or rr', or h'r' may be occasionally heard.

Consonants.

Differences from English Glossic consonants are marked by adding an h in the usual way, with y for palatals, and w' for labials, by subjoining an apostrophe (') or by prefixing a turned comma ('), a turned apostrophe ("), or a simple comma (').

Simple consonants, and added G.

y, w, h; p b, t d, j, k g, f v, s z, vocal r, l m n, ng.

Added H.

wh, ch, th dh, sh zh.

ttiH, GH German ch, g in Dach, Tage; YH, R'H, LH, MH, NH, NGH are the hissed voiceless forms of y, r', l, m, n, ng.

Added Y' and YH.

TY', DY', KY',GY', LY', NY', NGY', are palatalised or mouillé varieties of t, d, k, g, l, n, ng, as in virtue, verdure, old cart, old guard, Italian gli, glu, vulgar French, il n'y a pas=nuy'a pah. LYH is the hissed voiceless form of LY.

KYH, GYH are palatal varieties of KH, GH as in German ich, fische.

Added W' and WII.

TW', DW', KW', GW', RW', R'W', LW', NW', &c., are labial varieties of t, d, k, g, r, r', l, n, &c., produced by rounding the lips at or during their utterance, French roi, dois, English quiet, guano, our, French roi, loi, noix, &c.

KWH, GWH are labial varieties of KH, GH as in German auch, sangen, and Scotch gwh. HWH is a whistle.

Added apostrophe ('), called "Hook."

H' called aich-huok, is the simplestemision of voice; H'W is h' with rounded lips; H'WH a voiced whistle.

T', D', called tee-huok, dee-huok, dental t, d, with tip of tongue nearly between teeth as for th, dh.

F', V', called ef-huok, ee-huok, toothless f, v, the lip not touching the teeth; v' is true German w.

r', or k before vowels, is trilled r.

N' read en-huok, French nasal n, which nasalises the preceding vowel. To Englishmen the four French words vent, von, vin, un sounds von', von', van', un'; but Frenchmen take them as vah'n', voun', vaen', oen'. Sanscrit vaunsova.pu.

K', G' peculiar Picard varieties of ky', gy', nearly approaching ch, j.

CH', J', TS', DZ' monophthongal Roman varieties of ch, j, ts, dz.

T'H, D'H lisped varieties of s, z, imitating th, dh; occasional Spanish z, d.

S' not after t, Sanscrit visu.pu.

Prefixed comma (,), called "Comma."

,H read koma-aich, lax utterance, opposed to .H.

,T,D read koma-tee, koma-dee peculiar Sardinian varieties of t, d, the tongue being much retracted.

,L Polish barred l, with ,LL its voiceless, ,LW its labial, and ,LWH its voiceless labial forms.

; read hamza, check of the glottis.

Prefixed turned comma ('), called "Hook."

; read ein, the Arabic sarm or bleat.

,H', T', D', S', Z', K, read huok-aich, huok-tee, &c.; peculiar Arabic varieties of h, t, d, s, z, k; 'G the voiced form of K.

KH, GH, called huok-kai-aich, huok-see-aich; the Arabic kh, gh pronounced with a rattle of the uvula.
Englishmen like p, t when standing for b, d, and like b, d when standing for p, t. °G, whispered g, does not occur in Saxony.

The tones should be placed after the Chinese word or the English syllable to which they refer. They are here, for convenience, printed over or under the vowel or, but in writing and printing the vowel should be cut out.

\( \mathfrak{\alpha} \), 9, high or low level tone, \( p, \text{hing} \).

\( \mathfrak{\delta} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{\delta}} \), tone rising from high or low pitch, \( \text{shaan} \).

\( \circ \), \( \circ \), fall and rise, (that is, \( \text{foo-khyen} \ \text{shaan} \)') or fall and rise.

\( \circ \), falling tone to high or low pitch, \( \text{kyoo} \) or \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{\delta}} \mathfrak{\mathfrak{\delta}} \).

\( \circ \), a sudden catch of the voice at a high or low pitch, \( \text{shoo}' \), \( \text{shee}' \), \( \text{nuip}' \), or \( \text{yaap}' \).

**SIGNS.**

Hyphen (\( \cdot \)), used to separate combinations, as in \( \text{mis-hap, in-got} \). In \( \text{whair-er} \), r is vocal; \( \text{elm faun} \) are monosyllables, \( \text{el-m, fault-n} \) are disyllables; \( \text{fider} \) has two syllables, \( \text{fild-er} \) three syllables.

Divider (\( \cdot \)), occasionally used to assist the reader by separating to the eye, words not separated to the ear, as \( \text{ter yer dhat} \) \( \text{doo} \).

Omission (\( \cdot \)), occasionally used to assist the reader by indicating the omission of some letters usually pronounced, as \( \text{hec}\)\( \text{doo}, \text{t} \).

Gap (\( \cdot \)) indicates an hiatus.

Closure (\( \cdot \)) prefixed to any letter indicates a very emphatic utterance as \( \text{mei hei for my eye} \).

Emphasis (\( \cdot \)) prefixed to a word, shows that the whole word is more emphatically uttered, as \( \text{ei neu dhat} \), \( \text{dhat dhat} \), \( \text{dhat man sed woz rong} \); \( \text{ei gaiw, too thingz too too men} \), and \( \text{hec gaiw} \), \( \text{too}, \text{too} \), \( \text{too} \), \( \text{too} \).

The following are subjoined to indicate, | omission, |, |, trill of the organs implicated, | inner and | outer position of the organs implicated, | tongue protruded, | unilaterality, * linking of the two letters between which it stands to form a third sound, ( extreme faintness.)
EXAMPLES OF UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC

The Reader should pay particular attention to the Rules for marking vowel quantity laid down in the Key, p. xvi.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

French.—Ai p'wee uen vyaiy ka'raony' ai un'n)on'fon' bao'rny' oan' von'due deco moavae van' oo poeplh bae-'t. Ec act voo?

German.—Ahkh! anynu' anyntsceegyhu' ue'blu' foyreegyhu' mueku' koentu' v'oal ahkwkwh meekyh boe'zu' mahkhu'n! Yhah! szoa'! Es too't meer' oon:en'dleekyh laayt!

OLD ENGLISH.

Conjectured Pronunciation of Chaucer, transliterated from "Early English Pronunciation," p. 681:

Whaan dhaat Aa'pri'l with'is shoo' res swao'te
Dhe droo'kwht aof Maarch haath per'sed tao dhe rao'te,
Aand baar'dhed ev'ri' vaayin in swich li'koo'r
Aof which ver'tue: enjendred is dhe floor;
Whaan Zeafooos, e'k, with'is swe'te bre'the
Inspi'red haath in ev'ri' haolt aand he'the
Dhe tendre kropes, aund dhe yoonge soone
Haath in dhe Raam is)haalfe koor'r's iroon'e,
Aand smaa'le foo'les maark'en melaadii'e,
Dhaat sle'pen aal dhe nikiyht with ao'pen i'e,—
Sao priketh hem naa'tue'r in her' kao'raaj'jes;
Dhaan laongen foalk tao gao'n aon pil'gri'maa'jes,
Aand paalmenz foar' tao se'ken straawnjie straonnds,
Tao fer'ne haalwes koo'th in soon'dri laondes;
Aand spes'taali' fraom ev'ri' shi'res ende
Aof Engelaond, tao Kaawn'ter'ber'i' dhaay wende,
Dhe hao'li' bisfool maar'tir faor tao se'ke,
Dhaat hem haath haolpen, whaan dhaat dhaay we'rt se'ke.

DIALECTIC ENGLISH AND SCOTCH.

Received Pronunciation.—Whot d')yoo wont? Vulgar Cockney.—
Wau'chi waau'nt? Devonshire.—Wat d')yue want? Fifeshire.—
Whuunt u'r' yi' waan;? Teviotdale.—Kwahtah' er' ee wahntun?

Teviotdale, from the dictation of Mr. Murray of Hawick.—Dhe)r' ti'wkwh sahkwhs graow'un e dhe Ri'wkwh Hi'wkwh Hakhwh.
—Kwahtah er' ee ah'nd um? U')m ah'nd um naokwht.—Yuuw un 'mey el gu'ng aowr' dhe deyk un puuw e pey e dhe muunth e Ma'ry.—Hey')l bey aowr' dhe 'naow nuuw.

Aberdeen.—Faat foa'r' di'd dhe peer' si'n vreet t)l)z mi'dher'?

Glasgow.—Wu')l ait wur' bred n buu;ur' doon dhu waau';ur'.

Lothan.—Mahh' koanshuns! hahng u' Bc'yli!—Gaang u'wah', laadi gai tu dhu hoar's sai xx! un shoo em 'baaik ugi'n!'

Norfolk.—Yuuy daw'o'nt yu' paa')mi dhaat dhu 'tue paewnd yu' ao')mi bo? Uuy daw'o'nt ao')yu' nao 'tue paewnd. Yuuy 'due! Scoring Sheep in the Yorkshire Dales.—1. yaa, 2 tafi'n, 3 tedgeh-uru, 4 medhuru (edhuru), 5 pimp (pip), 6 saajjis (see-zu), 7 laajjis (re'-ru), 8 sao'va (kotura), 9 daoo'vu (hau'n), 10 dik, 11 yaa uboo'n, 12 tain uboo'n, 13 tedhur' uboo'n, 14 medhur' uboon, 15 jigit, 16 yaa ugech'z, 17 tain ugech'z, 18 tedhur' ugech'z, 19 medhur' ugech'z, 20 gin agech'z (bumfit).
XX

SPECIMENS OF UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC.

DIALECTS OF THE PEAK OF DERBYSHIRE FROM THE DICTATION OF
MR. THOMAS HALLAM, OF MANCHESTER, A NATIVE OF THE PEAK.

Mr. Hallam considers that he said a', wo, now, vayys, where I seemed to hear
and wrote aa, oa', ui' w, va'yys. Mr. Hallam dictated the quantities.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH. VARIETY.

Th) Soa'ung u) Soiunum, Chaapt'ur th)-
sickund.

1. A(u)m th)roaz u) Shacerun un(th)-
lilli u'th vaaliliz.
2. Lähyk th)lliill u moa'ang thärnz, 
söi'w iz mähy làuv u moa'ang th)-
düzut'urz.
3. Lähyk th)appl t'riy u moa'ang th)
triuy u'th wod' id, söi'w iz mähy 
biüuvd u moa'ang th)soa'rz. A(u) sit
mi däaun wi graët dïy bän'dür'jiz 
shaädü, un(j)ür tü wu'swiýt tujmi 
täast.
4. Ij bruuw(t)mi tu(th)lëeh'stín
ääws, un(j)hä'gär mari wu låuv.
5. S'träng(öh)mi wi)siäd'müt-
'ringk, kümufurt(mi) wi)applz : fur 
aü)üm låuv-sik.
6. Iz lift önts ösän'dür miylation, 
un(j) riyt önts tölps(mi).
7. A(u) chäärj(yu, ös düüw'trz u) Ji-
rü'läxülm, bi(th)roz, un(b)üjüsta'g gå
(ü)fiylz, uy yöa müm nöädhür stü sûr,
nu ri'kün mi)läuv, tiiliy'pëch'zuz.
8. Th)va'ys un)mi)biüuvd! Läwyk,
iu kümü mëch pin öa'pu(th)miäawntinz, 
sky'ippi öa'pu(th)liz.
9. Mi)biüuvd(l)z lähyk ü)roa, ur'ü)-
yöa'ng stä'g : läwyk, iy stöndz û
bi)k'ü aar'ya'wau, iy läw'ks aawt u-
th)windus, un)shoäz issäl Thurs wü-
th)lätaz.
10. Mi)biüuvd spänk, un'sääd 
tö'w'jmi, Gya'et öö')p, mi)läuv, mi-
faër')un, un)gän uém.
11. Fur, lä'w'k, th)wint'ürz pääast, 
un)h')räuänj öar un)gän.
12. Th)füawurz ur(y)kümün öö'pü-
th)gräawnd, th)hämjz kiümün us(th)-
brüdz singu, un(th)va'ys üü')th)töurtliz 
èerd i)ärk'öänt'ri.
13. Th)fig t'riuy ur(g)ya'et'in gripn 
figz on, un(th)viälyyns g'ïin ün)häolv
smaël wi)th)ya'ang gräipz. Gya'et 
öö')p, mi)läuv, mi)fa'er')un, un)küm
uém uwaï.
14. Öa mähy döø, uz)urt(i)th)lîfs 
ü(th)rök, l(i)th)sükri spöts ü(th)staerz, 
lañmî mi sëy dhi'fäis, lañmî mër dhi-
vi'ys; fur'dhi' vay' is swiyt, un)di'h-
fäis iz väerri präät.

TADDINGTON. VARIETY.

Th) Soa'ung u) Soiunum, Chaapt'ur th)-
sickund.

1. A(u)m th)roaz u) Shacerun un(th)-
lilli u'th vaaliliz.
2. Us th)lliill u moa'ang thärnz, söö 
zü mäuv låuv u moa'ang th)düzut'urz.
3. Us th)appl träey u moa'ang th)-
träey u'th wöød' id, söö zu mäuv låuv 
ud u moa'ang th)soa'rz. A(u) sit däaun wu 
grët däey öö')n'dür'jiz shaädü, un(j)iz-
fr'i'wtr wu'swæyet tujmi)läást.
4. Aëy bruunw(t)mi tu(th)lëeët on, 
un(j)hä'gär mari wu låuv.
5. Kyänep mi öö'p wi) soa' mut-
'drëngk, kümufurt(mi) wi)applz; fur 
aü)üm låuv-sik.
6. Íz lift önts ösän'dür miylation, un-
iz riyt önts tölps(mi).
7. A(u) tääl(yu, ös düüw'turz u) Ji-
rü'läxülm, bi(th)roz, un(b)üjüsta'g gå
ü)fiylz, üt yöa müm noädhür stü sûr,
uu ri'kün mi)läuv, tiiliy'pëch'zuz.
8. Th)va'ys un)mi)biüuvd! Läwyk,
iu kümü mëch pin öa'pu(th)miäawntinz,
sky'ippi öa'pu(th)liz.
9. Mi)biüuvd(l)z lähyk ü)roa, ur'ü)-
yöa'ng stä'g : läwyk, iy stöndz ü
bi)k'ü aar'ya'wau, iy läw'ks aawt u-
th)windus, un)shoäz issäl Thurs wü-
th)lätaz.
10. Mi)biüuvd spänk, un'sääd 
tö'w'jmi, Gya'et öö')p, mi)läuv, mi-
faër')un, un)küm uéwë.
11. Fur, lä'w'k, th)wint'ürz pääast, 
un)h')räuänj öar un)gän.
12. Th)füawurz ur(y)kümün öö'pü-
th)gräawnd, th)hämjz kiümün us(th)-
brüdz singu, un(th)va'ys üü')th)töurtliz 
èerd i)ärk'öänt'ri.
13. Th)fig träey ur(g)ya'et'in gripn 
figz on, un(th)viälyyns g'ïin ün)häolv
smaël wi)th)ya'ang gräipz. Gya'et 
öö')p, mi)läuv, mi)fa'er')un, un)küm
uém uwaï.
14. Öa mähy döø, uz)urt(i)th)lîfs 
ü(th)rök, l(i)th)sükri spöts ü(th)staerz, 
lañmî mi sëy dhi'fäis, lañmî mër dhi-
vi'ys; fur'dhi' vay' is swiyt, un)di'h-
fäis iz väerri präät.

** Separate Copies of this Notice and Appendix on Glossic will be sent on application to the Author.**
CHAPTER VII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Chaucer.

Critical Text of Prologue.

In accordance with the intimation on p. 398, the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales is here given as an illustration of the conclusions arrived at in Chap. IV., for the pronunciation of English in the xivth century. But it has been necessary to abandon the intention there expressed, of following the Harl. MS. 7334 as closely as possible, for since the passage referred to was printed, the Chaucer Society has issued its magnificent Six-Text Edition of the Prologue and Knight’s Tale, and it was therefore necessary to study those MSS. with a view to arriving at a satisfactory text to pronounce, that is, one which satisfied the laws of grammar and the laws of metre better than the reading of any one single MS. which we possess. For this purpose the systematic orthography proposed on p. 401, became of importance. The value of exact diplomatic reprints of the MSS. on which we rely, cannot be overrated. But when we possess these, and endeavour to divine an original text whence they may have all arisen, we ought not to attempt to do so by the patchwork process of fitting together words taken from different MSS., each retaining the peculiar and often provincial orthography of the originals. The result of such a process could not but be more unlike what Chaucer wrote than any systematic orthography. Chaucer no doubt did not spell uniformly. It is very difficult to do so, as I can attest, after making the following attempt, and probably not succeeding. But a modern should not venture to vary his orthography according to his own feelings at the moment, as they would be almost sure to lead him astray. Whenever, therefore, a text is made out of other texts some sort of systematic orthography is inevitable, and hence, notwithstanding the vehe-
ment denunciation of the editor of the Six-Text Edition,\(^1\) I have made trial of that one proposed on p. 401, in all its strictness. The result is on the whole, better than could have been expected. Notwithstanding the substantial agreement of the Harleian 7334, and the Six New Texts, there is just sufficient discrepancy to assist in removing almost every difficulty of language and metre, so far as the prologue is concerned, and to render conjecture almost unnecessary. The details are briefly given in the footnotes to the following composite text.

**Pronunciation of Long U and of Ay, Ey as deduced from a comparison of the Orthographies of Seven Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales.**

The investigations in Chap. IV. for the determination of the pronunciation of the xivth century, were avowedly founded upon the single MS. Harl. 7334 (supra p. 244). Now that large portions of six other MSS. have been diplomatically printed, it is satisfactory to see that this determination is practically unaffected by the new orthographies introduced. The Cambridge and the Lansdowne MSS., indeed, present us at first sight with what appears to be great vagaries, but when we have once recognized these as being, not indeterminate spellings of southern sounds, but sufficiently determinate representations of provincial, northern, or west midland, utterances, mixed with some attempts to give southern pronunciation, they at once corroborate, instead of invalidating, the conclusions already obtained. That this is the proper view has been sufficiently shewn in the Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition, p. 51 and p. 62, and there is no need to discuss it further.

\(^1\) Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Part I., by F. J. Furnivall, pp. 113–115. A uniform system of spelling did not prevail in the xivth century, and as we have seen, can scarcely be said to prevail in the xixth, but variations were not intentional, and the plan I advocate is, from the varied spellings which prevail, to discover the system aimed at, but missed, by the old writer, and adopt it. All varieties of grammar, dialect, and pronunciation, when belonging to the author, and not his scribe, who was often ignorant, and still oftener careless (p. 249), should be preserved, and autographs, such as Orruin's and Dan Michel's, must be followed implicitly and literatim. In such diplomatic printing, I even object to insertions between brackets. They destroy the appearance of the original, and hence throw the investigator into the editor's track, and often stand in the way of an independent conjecture. At the same time they do not present the text as the editor would shew it, for the attention is distracted by the brackets. The plan pursued for the Prisoner's Prayer, supra pp. 434–437, of giving the original and amended texts in parallel columns, is the only one which fully answers both purposes. Where this is not possible, it it appears to me that the best course to pursue is to leave the text pure, and submit the correction in a note. This serves the purpose of the [ ] or sic, much more effectually than such disturbances of the text, which are only indispensable when notes are inconvenient. The division of words and capitals of the original should for the same reason be retained. See the Temp. Pref. p. 88.
These MSS. may be looked upon as authorities for the words, but not for the southern pronunciation of the words, and they shew their writers' own pronunciation by using letters in precisely the same sense as was assigned from the Harl. MS. on p. 398 above. Two points may be particularly noticed because they are both points of difference between Mr. Payne and myself, (supra pp. 582, 583) and in one of them I seem to differ from many of those who have formed an opinion on the subject.

Long \( u \) after an examination of all the authorities I could find, was stated on p. 171 to have been (yy) during the xvii th century. There did not appear to be any ground for supposing it to be different in the xiv th century, and hence it was assumed on p. 298 to have had that value at that time. This was strengthened by the proof that (uu), the only other sound which it could have represented, was written \( ou \), p. 305. A further though a negative proof seems to be furnished by the fact that I have not observed any case of long \( u \) and \( ou \) rhyming together, or being substituted one for the other in the old or any one of the six newly published texts. I cannot pretend to have carefully examined them for that purpose, but it is not likely that in my frequent references to them for other purposes, such a marked peculiarity should have escaped me. It has however been already pointed out that in the first half of the xiv th century (uu) was represented by \( u \), and not by \( ou \), and for about thirty years, including the end of the xiii th and beginning of the xiv th century, both signs were employed indiscriminately for (uu), and that this use of \( ou \) seemed to have arisen from a growing use of \( u \) as (yy), pp. 424, 470, 471 note 2, etc. Hence the predominance of \( ou \) in the be-

1 Compare for tone, buke in Hampole (supra p. 410, n. 2). The two orthographies boke, buke, struggle with each other in Hampole. In the Towneley Mysteries, I have also observed the rhyme, goode infude, which however, may be simply a bad rhyme, the spelling is Northern and of the latter part of the xv th century. On examining the Harl. MS. 2253 for the rhymes: bur mesaventur, bure coverture, quoted from the Cam. MS. of King Horn on p. 480, I find that the first rhyme disappears. Thus v. 325, Lumby's edition of the Cam. MSS. has 

\[
\text{Went ut of my bur,} \\
\text{Wip muchel mecaveuntur,} \\
\text{and the Harl. reads fo. 85,} \\
\text{Went out of my boure,} \\
\text{shame je mott byhoure;} \\
\text{and v. 649, the Cam. MS. has} \\
\text{heo ferde in to bure} \\
\text{to fen aventure,} \\
\text{and the Harl. has, fo. 87,} \\
\text{Horn ne pohte nout him on} \\
\text{ant to boure wes ygou.}
\]

Judging however by the collation in F. Michel's edn. the Oxf. MS. agrees with the Cam. The text is clearly doubtful.

But v. 691, which in the Cam. MS. runs 

he lip in bure 
under coverture 
becomes in the Harl. fo. 87, 
he byht nou in boure, 
vnder couertoure, 
where the scribe by adopting the orthography \( ou \) has clearly committed himself to the pronunciation (uu) and not (yy). It would, however, not be safe to draw a general conclusion from these examples in evidently very untrustworthy texts, which have yet to be properly studied in connection with dialectic and individual pronunciation, supra p. 481.

2 On p. 301, note, col. 1, a few instances of the Devonshire substitutes for (uu) are given, on the authority of Mr. Shelly's pronunciation of Nathan Hogg's Letters. The new series of
ginning of the xivth century and the subsequent strict severance of long u and ou, which seem so far as I have observed, to have been never confused, as short u and ou certainly were (p. 304). The conclusion seems to be inevitable, that long u and ou represented different sounds, and that the long u must have had in the xivth, what Bullokar in the xivth century called its "olede and continued" sound, namely (yy). This, however, is directly opposed to Mr. Payne's opinions given on p. 583.

those letters there named, having an improved orthography, using u, a, for (y, a),—not (a), as there misprinted,—has allowed me to make some collections of words, which are curious in connection with the very ancient western confusion of u, e, i, and the pronunciation of long u as (yy). It may be stated that the sound is not always exactly (yy). In various mouths, and even in the same mouth, it varies considerably, inclining towards (uu), through (uu?), or towards (a) the labialised (œ). The short sound in did seemed truly (œœd). But in could, good, I heard very distinctly (kyd, gyd) with a clear, but extremely short (y), from South Devon peasants in the neighbourhood of Totnes. Nor is the use of (yy) or (yu, æ) for (un) due to any incapacity on the part of the speaker to say (un). The same peasant who called Combe, (Kymz) or (Kœmz), [it is difficult to say which, and apparently the sound was not determinate], and even echoed the name thus when put to him as (Kumz), and called brook (bryk), with a very short (y), talked of (muur, stuuuz, ruud) for more, stones, round. Mr. Murray, in his paper on the Scotch dialect in the Philological Transactions, has some interesting speculations on similar confusions in Scotch, and on the transition of (u) or (a) through (e) into (o), and finally (a). On referring to pp. 160-3, supra, the close connection of (un, yy) will be seen to be due to the fact that both are labial, and that in both the tongue is raised, the back for (un) and front for (yy). The passage from (un) to (yy) may therefore be made almost imperceptibly, and if the front is slightly lowered, the result becomes (œ). The two sounds (yy, æ) are consequently greatly confused by speakers in Scotland, Norfolk, and Devonshire. Mr. Murray notes the resemblance between (a, o),—which indeed led to the similarity of their nota-
The second point is extremely difficult, and cannot be so cursorily dismissed. What was the sound attributed to *ai ay, ei ey* in Chaucer? The constant confusion of all four spellings shows that it was one and the same.\(^1\) Here again the voice of the xvth century was all but unanimous for *(ai)*, but there is one remarkable exception, Hart, who as early as 1551 (in his MS. cited below Chap. VIII, § 3, note 1), distinctly asserts the identity of the sounds of these combinations with that of *e, ea*, that is *(ee)*. For printing this assertion in 1569 he was strictly called to order by Gill in 1621, supra p. 122. All the other writers of the xvth century, especially Salesbury and Smith distinctly assert that *(ai)* was the sound. Hence on p. 263, *(ai)* was taken without hesitation to be the sound of *ay, ey*, in Chaucer. We are familiar with the change of *(ai)* into *(ee)*, p. 238, and with the change of *(ii)* into *(ai, ai)*, p. 295, but the change of *(ee)* into *(ai)*, although possible, and in actual living English progress (p. 454, n. 1), is not usual. There was no reason at all to suppose that *ay* could have been *(ii)*, and little reason to suppose that it would have been *(ee)* before it became *(ai)*. On examining the origin of *ay, ey*, in English words derived from ags. sources, the *y* or *i* appears as the relic of a former \(g = (gh, gh, j)\) and then *(i)*, which leads irresistibly to the notion of the diphthong *(ai)*, p. 440, l. 14, p. 489. But it certainly does not always so arise, and we have seen in Orrmin (ib.) that the \(\xi_3 = (j)\) was sometimes as pure an insertion as we occasionally find in romance words derived from the Latin,\(^2\) and as we now find

\[\text{[also to urn], rish'd rushed, tich'd touched, vild flood, wid'n would not, winder wonder, zich such, zin sun son, zmitch smitch.}\]

Short E, I, usually called *(e, i)* are frequently replaced by *(a, o)* or *(a, o)*, as: bevul bevel, bul bell, bulch'd belchd, burry'd burried, chirish cherish, eszul himself, etsul itself, mezuul myself, muklin milking, muller miller, purish perish, shullins shillings, sulp spell, spurrit spirit [common even in London, and compare syrop, stirrup], tulee tell you, turrabul terrible, ultbaw'd elbowed, vuller fellow [no r pronounced, final or pre-consonantal trilled *(r)* seems unknown in Devonshire], vulidge village, vulty filthy, vurrit furret, vury very, vurst first, wul well, wulvare welfore, wul yell, yur'd heard, zmul smell, zulf self.

The words zup'd swept, indeed indeed, dud did done, humman hummen women women, do not exactly belong to any of these categories.

The above lists, which, being only derived from one small book, are necessarily very incomplete, serve to shew the importance of modern dialectic study in the appreciation of ancient and therefore dialectic English (p. 581).

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\(^1\) Not in Scotch, where the spellings *ai, ei* seem to have been developed independently in the xvth century, for the Scotch long *a, e*, and perhaps meant *(ae, ee)*, compare Sir T. Smith, supra p. 121, l. 18. These spellings were accompanied by the similar forms *oi, ui, oti* for the long *o, u, ou*, perhaps *(ov, vy, uu)*, though the first was not much used. We must recollect that in Scotch short *i* was not *(l)* or *(t)*, but *(e)*, and hence might easily be used for *(u)* or *(o)* into which unaccented *(e)* readily degenerates. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Murray's paper on Scotch (referred to in the last note), which was kindly shewn to me in the MS. The notes there furnished on the development of Scotch orthography are highly interesting, and tend to establish an intentional phonetic reformation at this early period, removing Scotch spelling from the historical affiliation which marks the English.

\(^2\) "In Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal, Latin *A* remains unaltered. Some deviations into *ai* or *e* must be admitted... The most important and frequent case is when *a* by
in English after the sound of (ee) in what many persons recognize as the “standard” pronunciation of our language, for instance (neim) for name. There are a few straggling instances in even xiii th century MSS. where ay appears to rhyme to e, the chief of which turn on apparently a dialectic pronunciation of saide as sede, which is also an orthography occasionally employed (p. 484, l. 15, p. 481, l. 33). Dr. Gill, 1621 (Logonomia p. 17), cites (sed) as a northern pronunciation for (said), and classes it with (saa) for (sai). Mr. Payne has pointed out similar cases in the Owl and Nightingale, v. 349, 707, 835, 1779. The orthography sede occurs also, v. 472, 548, 1293, and probably elsewhere. Mr. Payne also notes the less usual rhymes: bigrede upbriode 1411, misrede maide 1061, grede maide 1335. These rhymes are certainly faulty, because in each case the als. has a q in the second word but not in the first, and we cannot suppose them to have rhymed at this early period. In Floris and

the action of an inserted coalescing i or e, according to the individual tendency of the language, passes into ai, or ei, or e and ie; prov. air, sp. aire from aer; prov. primairan (otherwise only primer primier), port. primeiro, span. primero, it. primiere, from primarius; prov. eselairer from eselairer which also exists; prov. bais, port. beijo, span. bezo from basion; prov. fait, port. feito, span. hecho from fatto c being palatalised into i. . . . This vowel has suffered most in French, where its pure sound is often obscured into ai, e and ie. We must first put aside the common romance process, just noticed, by which this obscuration is effected by an inserted i as in air, premier, baiser, fait.” Translated from Dicz, Gr. der rom. Spr. 2nd ed. i. 135.

1 The Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS. reads seyde in each case.

2 The orthography and rhymes of the Owl and Nightingale as exhibited in the Cott. MS. Calig. A. ix., followed by Wright, in his edition for the Percy Society, 1843, are by no means immaclute. The MS. is certainly of the xiii th century, before the introduction of ou for (au), that is, before 1280 or probably before the death of Henry III., 1272, (so that, as has been conjectured on other grounds, Henry II. was the king whose death is alluded to in the poem), and is contained in the same volume with the elder text of Laamon, though it is apparently not by the same scribe. Nor should I be inclined to think that the scribe was a Dorsetshire man, although the poem is usually ascribed to Nicholas de Guildford, of Portishead, Dorsetshire. The confusions of e i, o e, e a, recall the later scribe of Havelok. Dreim 21, clene 301, are obvious scribal errors, corrected to drem cleene in the Oxf. MS., and: erei 334, in Oxf. MS. crey, although put in to rhyme with dai, must be an error for cri. We have cases of omitted letters in: rise wse 53, wrste toberste 121, wite wte 439, for wise, wierste (?), wite. There are many suspicious rhymes, and the following are chiefly assonances: worse merbe 303, heir-sugge stubbe 505, wore forworthe 547, igremet of-chamed 931, wise ire 1027, owre idrove 1151, flesche ewesse 1385, fiiste viest 405, and, in addition to the ei, e rhymes cited in the text, we have: forbreideth nawedeth 1381, in Oxf. MS. we avedey. As to the present pronunciation of ay, ey in Dorsetshire, the presumed home of the poet, Mr. Barnes gives us very precise information: “The diphthongs ai or ay, and ei or ey, the third close long sound [that is, which usually have the sound of a in mate], as in May, hay, maid, paid, rein, neighbour, prey, are sounded—like the Greek ai,—the a or e, the first open sound, as a in father, and the i or y as ee, the first close sound. The author has marked th a of diphthongs so sounded with a circumflex: as mày, hày, màid, páid, váin, nàighbour, práy.” Poems of Rural Life, 2nd ed., p. 27.—That is, in Dorsetshire the sound (ai), which we have recognized as ancient, is still prevalent. This is a remarkable comment upon the false rhymes of the MSS. Stratman’s edition, 1868, is of no use for the present investigation, on account of its critical orthography.
Blancheflur, Lumby’s ed. occurs the rhyme: muchelhede maide 51, which is similarly faulty. ¹ See also p. 473 and notes there. We have likewise seen in some faulty west midland MSS. belonging to the latter part of the xvth century, (supra p. 450, n. 2), that ey was regarded as equivalent to e. In the Towneley Mysteries we also find ay, ey, tending to rhyme either with a or e. In fact we have a right to suppose that in the xvth century, at least, the pronunciation of ey, ay as (ee) was gaining ground, for we could not otherwise account for the MSS. mentioned, for the adoption of the spelling in Scotch in 1500, p. 410, n. 3, and for the fact that Hart,—who from various other circumstances appears to have been a West Midland man—seemed to know absolutely no other pronunciation of ay than (ee) in 1551.² We have thus direct evidence of the coexistence of (ee, ai) in the xviith century, each perhaps limited in area, just as we have direct evidence of the present coexistence of both sounds in high German (p. 238), and Dyak (p. 474, note, col. 2). Such changes do not generally affect a whole body of words suddenly. They begin with a few of them, concerning which a difference prevails for a very long while, then the area is extended, till perhaps the new sounds prevail. We have an instance of this in the present coexistence of the two sounds (a, u) for short u, p. 175 and notes. It is possible that although Gill in 1621 was highly annoyed at maide being called (meedz) in place of (maidz) by gentlewomen of his day (supra, p. 91, l. 8), this very pronunciation might have been the remnant of an old tradition, preserved by the three rhymes just cited from the xiii th century to the present day, although this hypothesis is not so probable as that of scribal error. And if it were correct, it would by no means

¹ On consulting the Auchinleck MS. of the text in the Auch. MS. runs thus, v. 518:
To the king that she hem nowt bivreie
Where though thai were siker to dethe.
The editor suggests biweipe, which would not be a rhyme. The real reading is manifestly to deye, arising, as Mr. Murray suggests, from the common MS. confusion of y, ñ. Admiral is both in the Auch. and Cott. MSS. constantly spelled -ayl, and hence we must not be offended with the rhyme, Admiral confaff 799, for there was evidently an uncertain pronunciation of this strange word.

² This day (9 July, 1869) a workman, who spoke excellent English to me, called specially (spis-ed). Had he any idea that others said (spes-ed)? The facts in the text are perhaps partly accounted for by the influence of the Scotch orthography and pronunciation, referred to on p. 637, n. 1.
prove that the general pronunciation of *ay* in all words from *ags.* was not distinctly (*ai*) and that the (*ee*) pronunciation was not extremely rare.

In a former investigation it was attempted to show that Norman French *ei*, *ai*, had at least frequently the same sound (*ai*), supra pp. 453-459. Mr. Payne on the contrary believes that the sound was always pure (*ee*), and that the Norman words were taken into English, spellings and all, retaining their old sounds. He then seems to conclude that all the English *ay*, *ey*, were also pronounced with pure (*ee*), and maintains that this view agrees with all the observed facts of the case (p. 582). Prof. Rapp also, as we shall see, lays down that Early English Orthography was Norman, and as he only recognizes (*ee*) or (*ee*) as the sound of Norman *ai*, of course he agrees practically with Mr. Payne. Modern habits have induced perhaps most readers to take the same view, which nothing but the positive evidence of the practice of the sixteenth century could easily shake. But it would seem strange if various scribes, writing by ear, and having the signs *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *ie*, at hand to express the sound (*ee*), should persist in a certain number of words, in always using *ey*, *ay*, but never one of the four former signs, although the sounds were identical. This is quite opposed to all we know of cacographists of all ages, and seems to be only explicable on the theory of a real difference of sound, more marked than that of (*ee*, *ee*). Nay, more, some occasional blunders of *e* for *ey*, etc., would not render this less strange to any one who knows by painful experience (and what author does not know it?) that he does not invariably write the letters he intends, and does not invariably see his error or his printer’s or transcriber’s errors when he revises the work. The mistake of *e* for *ey* we might expect to be more frequent than that of *ay* for *e*. When the writer is not a cacographist, or common scribe, but a careful theoretical orthographer as Orrmin or Dan Michel, the absolute separation of the spellings *e*, *ey* becomes evidence. We cannot suppose that Dutchmen when they adopted *pais* called it anything but (*pais*), why then should we suppose Dan Michel, who constantly employs the spelling *pais*, pronounced

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1 I was glad to learn lately from so distinguished an English scholar as Prof. H. Morley that he was always of opinion that *ay*, *ey*, were (*ai*) and not (*ee*).

2 Mr. Morris’s index to Dan Michel’s *Ayenbite* refers to p. 261, as containing *pese* for *peace*. I looked through that page without discovering any instance of *pese*, but I found in it 11 instances of *pays*, *pays* and 3 of *paysible*. Thinking Dan Michel’s usages important, I have extracted those words given in the index, which of course does not refer to the commonest *ags.*, words of constant occurrence. This is the list, the completeness of which is not guaranteed, though probable: adreynk, adraynk, agrayyi, etc., anpayri, aparceyte, apayr, asayd, asayled, atrayt, bargayn, batayle, baylf, baylyes, bayy, contraye, cortays, cortayse, commatise, dayes, deflatey, despayred, euyder eithe, eyr = airy, cyren = eysz, cyse = case, faili, fayninte, fornayne, germayn, graynes, grayner, longaynes, maimes, maine = retinue, maister, mayden, maystrie, meseyse, meyster, neebores, nejen, ordainy ordeneich, oreesonne, paye = please, payene = pagans, pays, paysible, plait, playncres, playni, playty, portayr, porneyonce prays, quaynte, quayntse, queyntise, rayni, [ags. reomiann hryman, to cry out.] strait, strayni, tay, tilemyne, norlay, wayn = gain, wayt, weyuerindemen, yfayled, zaynt.
otherwise? And when we see some French words in Chaucer always or generally spelled with e which had an ai in French, as: resoun 276, sesoun 348, pees 2929, plesant 138, ese 223, 2672, why should we not suppose that in these words the (ee) sound was general, but that in others, at least in England, the (ai) sound prevailed? Nay more, when we find ese occasionally written eyse for the rhyme in Chaucer (supra p. 250 and note 1, and p. 265), as it is in Dan Michel’s prose, why should we not suppose that two sounds were prevalent, just as our own (niidhr-a, niidhr-a) for neither, and that the poet took the sound which best suited him? This appears to me to be the theory which best represents all the facts of the case. It is also the theory which best accords with the existing diversities of pronunciation within very narrow limits in the English provinces. It remains to be seen how it is borne out by the orthography of the Ha. Harleian 7334, and the six newly published MS. texts, E. Ellesmere, He. Hengwrt, Ca. Cambridge, Co. Corpus, P. Petworth, and L. Lansdowne of the Canterbury Tales. For this purpose I have looked over the prologue and Knightes Tale, and examined a large number, probably the great majority of the cases, with the following results. The initial italic words, by which the lists are arranged, are in modern spelling, and where they are absent the words are obsolete. Where no initials are put, all the MSS. unnamed agree in the preceding spelling so far as having one of the combinations ai, ay, ei, ey is concerned, small deviations in other respects are not noted, but if any other letter is used for one of the above four it is named. The numbers refer to the lines of the Six Text edition, and they have frequently to be increased by 2 for Wright’s edition of the Harleian MS.

**List of Words containing AY, EY in the Prologue and Knightes Tale.**

**Anglosaxon and Scandinavian Words.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>again, agayn 991</td>
<td>maidens, maydens 2300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>against, ainesis Ca., ageyns 1787</td>
<td>nails, nayles 2141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aileth, eyleth 1081</td>
<td>neighbour, nyhebeor Ca., neighebore 535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ashes, aishes Co., ashen 2957</td>
<td>neither, neither 1135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bewray, bewreye 2229</td>
<td>nigh, neigh H. He., neyh Co., nyhe P., nyhe L., nyhe Ca., ny e., 732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>said, seyde 219, 1356, and frequently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die, deyen Ca., Co., dyeu E. He. P.</td>
<td>say, seyn 1463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyen L. 1109, dyele 2816</td>
<td>seen, seyn E. He. Ca. Co. L., seen Ha., sene P. 2810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry, dreye Ca., drye 420, 1362, dreye</td>
<td>slain, slayn 992, 2038, 2552, 2708; slayn P. I., sleekan 1556, slee sleen 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>slight, sleight 604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyer, deyer Ha., dyere 362</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye, eye E. Ca., eyghe P., yhe Ha. L., iye He. 10, eyen E. He., eyghe Ha. L., eygyn Ca., yghen Co., yhen L. 267 and frequently</td>
<td>two, twye 704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fain, fayn 2437</td>
<td>waileth, wayleth 1221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fair, fare 1685, 1941</td>
<td>way, way 34, 1264, and often.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flesh, fleish Ha. Co., flesh 147</td>
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<td>height, heght P., heighte 1890</td>
<td>whether, wheither E. He., whethir Ha., wheher Ca. Co. L., whedere P., 1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laid, leyde 1384 and frequently</td>
<td>lay, lay 20 and frequently</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
French Words.

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apayd [rh. ysaid] 1868
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fail, faillé 1854, 2798
finest, fynest Ca., fynest 194
L., floren E. He. 2088
franklin, frankleyn 216
fresh, freshe Ha. E. He. P. L, fossche
Ca., freissche Co., 92, [freisch Ha.]
2176, 2622
furnace, forneys 202, 559
gaineth, gayneth 1176, 2755
gay, gay 73
golyardeys 560
harnessed, harnayed 114, 1006, 1634,
2140
kerciefs, kerchiefes Ha., counerchiefes
Ca. [the proper Norman plural,
according to Mr. Payne], couner-
chiefes E. He. Co. L., counerchefes
P. 453
leisure, lesyer 1188
Magdalen, Maudelayne 410
maintain, maynteyne H. E., mayntene
He. Ca. Co. P., maiten L. 1778
master, mystir Ca., maister 261
mastery, maistrie 165
meyned 2170
money, moneye 703
ordained, ordeyned 2553
paid, payed 1802
pain-ed, peyned 139, peyne 1133
painted, peyntid 1934, 1975
palace, pales 2513
palfrey, palfreyn 207, 2495
plain, pleyyn 790, 1464
plein, pleyyn 315
portraiture, portreitour Ha. E. He. Ca.
Co., purtrature P. L. 1968, [pur-
treitour Ha.] 2036
portray, portray 96
portrayer, portrayer Ha., portreitour
E., purtreiour He., purtreiour
Co., purtrafor P., portreitour Ca.,
purtreicour L., 1899
portraying, portrayynge Ha., portreyng
Ca. Co., pryntayege P., pory-
reyng E. He., purtreyngge L.
1938
pray, preyen 1260
prayer, praver 2226
puerveyance, purveyance E. He., pur-
ueyance Ha. Co. P. L. purueyance
Ca. 1665, purueyance E. H., pur-
ueyance Ha. Co. P. L., purueyance
Ca. 3011
qwaint 1531, 2321, 2333, 2334
raineth, reynith 1555
reins, reynes 904
sovereign, souereyn 1974
straight, streite 457, stryt Ca., streyt
1984
suddenly, sodanly L., sodeynly 1530,
so weirliche 1575
sustain, susteyne Ca. L., sustene 1993
tray, traves 2141
turkish, turckes 2895
turneuyng E. He. Co. turneuyng Ha.,
turneyng Ca. tornyng L., torn-
ynge P. 2557
vain, veyn 1094
vassalage Ha. E. He. Co. L., vassalage
P., wassalaynge Ca. 3054
vein, veine 3, 2747
verily, verrailly E. He. Co. verrely
P. L., verrily Ha. 1174
very, verray 422
villany, vilaynue E. He., velayn Ca.,
L., vilony He. Co. P. 70, [vilanye
Ha.] 740
waiting, waitinge 929
The general unanimity of these seven MSS. is certainly remarkable. It seems almost enough to lead the reader to suppose that when he finds the usual ay, ey replaced by a, e, i in any other MSS., the scribe has accidentally omitted one of the letters of the diphthong, which being supplied converts a, e, i into ay, ey, ai or ei respectively. Thus when in v. 1530 all but L. use ey or ay, and in v. 1575 all, including L., use ey in sodeynly, sodeynliche, we cannot but conclude that sodanly in L. 1530, is a clerical error for sodanly. We have certainly no right to conclude that the a was designed to indicate a peculiar pronunciation of a as ay or conversely. But it will be best to consider the variants seriatim as they are not many in number.

**Consideration of Variants in the Last List.**

**Anglosaxon and Scandinavian Words.**

**Against** 1787 has still two sounds («genstv, «genst») which seem to correspond to two such original sounds as (again, agen').

Ashes, aishes Co. 2957 represented really a duplicate form, as appears from its having been preserved into the xvi th century, p. 120, l. 6.

Die 1109, see variants on p. 284.

Dry 420, see variants on p. 285.

Dyer, the general orthography dyer 362 is curious, for the ags. deagan would naturally give deyer, which however is only preserved in Ha., the rest giving dyere, and the Promptorium having dyyn; Ha. has dyge in 11037. It would almost seem as if habit had confused the two words dyer, die, and hence given the first the same double sound as the second. There is no room for supposing the sound (dec) in either case.

Eye 10, see variants on p. 285.

 Flesh, 147 is one of the words mentioned on p. 265, as having two spellings in Ha., see also p. 473 note 1, for a possible origin of the double pronunciation.

Height, heght P. 1890 is of course a clerical error for heighte.

Neighbour 535, follows nigh in its variants.

Nigh 732, 535. The variants here seem to show that this word should be added to the list given on pp. 284–6, as having a double pronunciation, especially as we have seen that the (ii) sound is preserved in Devon, p. 291, as it is in Lonsdale.

Scen. The orthography semn 2840 for seen is supported by too many MSS. to be an error, it must be a duplicate form, retaining in the infinitive the expression of the lost guttural, which crops up so often in different parts of this verb, Gothic saihvan, compare the forms on p. 279.

Slay 992, see p. 265; the double sound (ee, ai) may have arisen from the double ags. form, without and with the guttural, the latter being represented by (ai) and the former by (ee), which is more common.

Spreind, ispreind, isprind 2169 must be merely clerical errors for isprinted, as in most MSS., because both words rhyme with ymeynd, which retains its orthography in each case.

Whether, 1857, has certainly no more title to (ai) than bat or them, but nevertheless we have seen Ormin introduce the (i) or (j) into these words, p. 489, hence it is not impossible that there may have been some provincials who said schieder, but still it is more probable that the ei of E. and He. in 1857 are clerical errors. The word is not common and I have not noted another example of it in E. He.

**French Words.**

Barren, barun L. 1977, must be a clerical error for beryyn.

Braid 1049, seems to have had various sounds, corresponding to the ags. bredis, icel. brega, and to the French broder, which would give the forms bryde, broude. While bryde would seem to be an uncertain, or mistaken mixture of the two (braid'e, brun'de, broid'e) we do not find brede (brend'e) but as the g was sometimes omitted even in ags. it would have been less curious than bryde.

Catiff. The orthography catiff P. 1552, 1717, 1946, being repeated in
three places, although opposed to the other six MSS, which determine captif to be the usual form, may imply a different pronunciation rather than be a clerical error. The French forms of this derivative of the Latin captivus, as given by Roquefort are very numerous, but all of them contain i, or an e derived from ai, thus: caifit, caifit, cuntie, cuntis, cuntin, cuntivie, cetif, cetis, chaitien, chaitif, chaitis, chaitiu, chetif, chetif, chety, quatif, quetif. Roque fort gives as Provençal and Languedoc forms: cauion, cauions, cuntius, cauitivo. The Spanish cautivo has introduced the labial instead of the palatal modification, while the Italian only has preserved the a pure by assimilating ð, thus, cautivo. If then the ð in ð was intentional, it was very peculiar.

Chiefly, cheyten Ha. 2555, should according to the general analogy of such terminations be chevetyn, and it will then agree with the other MSS.

Company. In compagnye 331, 2105, 2411, the i is concerned by M. Francisque Michel to have been merely orthographical in French, introduced to make gn monilé, just as i was introduced before il to make it monilé. Compare also p. 309, n. 1, at end. It is very possible that both pronunciations prevailed (kumpaniï'e, kumpaniï'e) and that the first was considered as French, the latter as English. There is no room for supposing such a pronunciation as (kumpeenï'e) with (ee).

Conveyed. Convoys E. 2737 is not a variant of the usual conveyed, but another word altogether, a correction of the scribes.

Counsel, counsel L. 3096, is probably a clerical error for counsel as in the other MSS.

Courtesiey 46, vileynye 70, may be considered together. They were common words, and the second syllable was usually unaccented, whereas in eurteis, vileyn, it was frequently accented. Hence we cannot be surprised at finding ey strictly preserved in the latter, but occasional deviations into non-diphthongal sounds occurring in the former. Careful scribes or speakers seem, however, to have preserved the ey of the primitive in the derivative. The vilanye of Ha. Co. P. 70, which is replaced by vilanye in Ha.

740, serves to corroborate this view, as evidently the scribe did not know how to write the indistinct sound he heard, a difficulty well known to all who have attempted to write down living sounds. See also Mr. Payne's remarks, supra p. 585. To the same category belong the variants of portraiture, purveyance, veryly.

Dais, dese L. for deye = deys 370, in opposition to the six other MS. is probably a clerical error for deye the final e being added also to the rhyming word burgeis in L. which retains the ð.

Diee. Deys Ca. 1238 for dys is clearly an error as shown by the rhyming word paradyis, but dys itself seems to have been accommodated to the rhyme for dees, which occurs in Ha. 13882, and is the natural representative of the French dés.

Finest. The orthography fynest Ca. 194, must be a clerical error.

Florin. The floren, florin, floryn 2088 may be concurrent forms of a strange word, and the last seems more likely to have been erroneous.

Fresh 92, had no doubt regularly (ee), but the older (ai) seems to have been usual to some, the froshe of Ca. is a provincialism of the order noted on p. 476.

Kerchiefs. Couercheis Ca. 453, is probably a mere clerical error for couerchefs, i having been written for ù, as we can hardly suppose the provincial scribe of Ca., to have selected a Norman form by design.

Maintain. Maynteyne 1778, susteyne 1993, belong to the series of words derived from tenere. There is no disagreement respecting the ay in the first syllable of maytayne; sustene is fully supported by the rhyme, p. 265, l. 1, and hence maytene, sustene are probably the proper forms. I have unfortunately no note of the Chaucerian forms of obtain, detain, retain, contain, appertain, entertain, abstain, but probably -tene would be found the right form. The spelling ey and pronunciation (ai) may have crept in through a confusion with the form -tayne = Lat. -tingere, of which I have also accidentally been guilty p. 265, l. 25, as: atteyne, bareyne, must rhyme, 1243, 8923, and as -stringere produces -stynge 1455, 1816 in all MSS.

Master, mystir Ca. 261 for master is probably a clerical error.
The natural effect of this examination has been to place the variants rather than the constants strongly before the reader's mind. He must therefore recollect that out of the total of 111 words the following 73, many of which occur very frequently, are invariably spelt with one of the phonetically identical forms ai, ay, ei, ey, in each of the seven MSS. every time they occur:—

dozen, fail, franklin, frankeleys, furnace, forney, gaineth, gay, golbardeis, harnessed, harneyed, leisure, Magdalen, mandeleyne, mastery, meyned, money, ordained, paid, pained, painted, palace, paleys, palfrey, plain, pleyn, portray, pray, prayer, quaint, raineth, reins, sovereign, trace, trauys, turkish, turkeys, vain, vein, very, wailing.

On the other hand, the variants only affect 38 words, of which few, except those already recognized to have two forms in use, occur more than once, while the variants confined to one or two MSS. display no manner of rule or order, and are far from shewing a decided e form as the substitute for ay, ey. They may be classified as follows:

15 Clerical Errors: height, height, spreyned, spred, spriend, whether, darreyne, debonair, despair, dozen, fail, franklin, frankeleys, furnace, forney, gaineth, gay, golbardeis, harnessed, harneyed, leisure, Magdalen, mandeleyne, mastery, meyned, money, ordained, paid, pained, painted, palace, paleys, palfrey, plain, pleyn, portray, pray, prayer, quaint, raineth, reins, sovereign, trace, trauys, turkish, turkeys, vain, vein, very, wailing.

5 Miscellaneous: catiff may have been occasionally catiff as well as catiff — convoyed was a different reading, not an error for conveyed — florin being a foreign coin may have been occasionally mispronounced foireyn, portryng was an orthographical abbreviation of portrygne — wasseylage was a manifest error for the unusual vasselage, the usual wasseyl occurring to the scribe.

The variants, therefore, furnish almost as convincing a proof as the constants, that ay, ey represented some sound distinct from e
TREATMENT OF FINAL E IN THE CRITICAL TEXT.

As the following text of the Prologue is intended solely for the use of students, it has been accommodated to their wants in various ways. First the question of final e demanded strict investigation. The helplessness of scribes during the period that it was dying out of use in the South, and had already died out in the North, makes the new MSS. of little value for its determination, the Cambridge and Lansdowne being evidently written by Northern scribes to whom a final e had become little more than a picturesque addition. It was necessary therefore to examine every word in connection with its etymology, constructional use, and metrical value. In every case where theory would require the use of a final e, or other elided letter, but the metre requires its elision, it has been replaced by an apostrophe. The results on p. 341 were deduced from the text adopted before it had been revised by help of the Six-Text Edition, and therefore the numbers there given will be slightly erroneous 1, but the reader will by this means understand at a glance the bearing of the rules on p. 342.

The treatment of the verbal termination -ede, required particular attention. There are many cases in which, coming before a consonant, it might be -ede 2 or -de, and it was natural to think that the latter should be chosen, because in the contracted forms of two syllables, we practically find this form; thus: fedde 146, bleddde 145, wente 255, wiste 280, spente 300, coude 326, 346, 383, kepte 442, dide 451, couthe 467, tawghete 497, cawghte 498, kepte 512, wolde 536, mighte 585, scholde 648, seyde 695, moeste 712 and

1 The number of elisions of essential e, stated at 13 on p. 341, has been reduced. The only important one left is meer 541, and that is doubtful on account of the double form of the rhyming word milker. see p. 389. The number of plural -es treated as -s has been somewhat increased. The following are examples: Palmer's 13, servawnt's 101, fether's 107, finger's 129, hunter's 178, grayhound's 190, sleev's 193, tavern's 210, haven's 407, housbond's 460, avenir's 785. Of course ('e) is not used as the mark of the genitive cases, but only to show a real elision.
many others. But even here it is occasionally elided. Mr. Morris observes that in the Cambridge MS. of Boethius, and in the elder Wycliffite Version (see below § 3), the -ede is very regularly written. This however does not prove that the final e was pronounced, because the orthography hire, here, oure, youre, is uniform, and the elision of the final -e almost as uniform. The final e in -ede might therefore have been written, and never or rarely pronounced. It is certain that the first e is sometimes elided, when the second also vanishes, as before a vowel or h in: lov’d’ 206, 533, gam’d’ 534, etc. But it is also certain that -ed’ was pronounced in many cases without the e, supra p. 355, art. 53, Ex. Throughout the prologue I have not found one instance in which -ede, or -de, was necessary to the metre,1 but there are several in which -ed’, before a vowel, is necessary. If we add to this, that in point of fact -ed’ remained in the xviith century, and has scarcely yet died out of our biblical pronunciation, the presumption in favour of -ed’ is very strong.2 On adopting this orthography, I have not found a single case in the prologue where it failed, but possibly such cases occur elsewhere, and if so, they must be compared to the rare use of hadde, and still rarer use of were, here for the ordinary hadde’, wor’, her’.

The infinitive -e is perhaps occasionally lost. It is only saved by a trisyllabic measure in: yeve penawnce 223. If it is not elided in help’ 259, then we must read whelpe 258, with most MSS. but unhistorically. On the other hand the subjunctive -e remains as: ruste 500, take 503, were 582, sped 769, quyte 770.

Medial elisions must have been common, and are fully borne out by the Cuckoo Song, p. 423. Such elisions are: ev’ry 15, 327, ev’ne 83, ov’ral 249, ov’rest 290, rem’nawnt 724, and: mon’th 92, tak’th 789, com’th 839. The terminations -er, -el, -en, when run on to the following vowel, should also probably be treated as elisions. As respects -er, -re, I have sometimes hesitated whether to consider the termination as French -re, or as assimilated into English, under the form -or, but I believe the last is the right view, and in that case such elisions as: ord’r he 214, are precisely similar to: ev’ry 15, and occasional noise no difficulty. Similarly, -el, -le, are both found in MSS., but I have adopted -el, as more consonant with the treatment of strictly English words, and regarded the cases in which the l is run on to the following word, as elisions, thus: simp’l and 119. Such elisions are common in modern English, and in the case of -le, they form the rule when syllables are added, supra p. 52. In: to fest’n his hood 195, we have an elision of e in en, and a final e elided, the full gerundial form being to festene, as it would be written in prose.

1 The plural weyghden 454, is not in point.
2 Mr. Murray observes that loyde would be an older form than loved for lovede, and grounds his observation on the fact of the similar suppression of the y before l in tabyll, sadyll, fadyr, modyr, in the old Scotch plurals tablys, sadlys, fadlys, modlys, but its subsequent restoration, accompanied by a suppression of the y before the s, in the more recent forms tabylls sadylls, fadyls, modyls. These analogies are valuable. All that is implied in the text is that the form -ed seems to have prevailed in Chaucer.
As the text now stands there is no instance of an open e, that is, of final e preserved before a vowel (supra p. 341, l. 2. p. 363, art. 82, and infrà note on v. 429), but there is one instance of final e preserved before he, (infrà note on v. 386).

**Métrical Peculiarities of Chaucer.**

The second point to which particular attention is paid in this text is the metre. Pains have been taken to choose such a text as would preserve the rhythm without violating the laws of final e, and without having recourse to modern conjecture. For this purpose a considerable number of trisyllabic measures (supra p. 334) have been admitted, and their occurrence is pointed out by the sign iii in the margin. The 69 examples noted may be classified thus:

- e", arising from the running on of e to a following vowel, either in two words as: many a 60, 212, 229, etc., bisy a 321, cari' a 130, studi' and 184, or in the same word, as: Ivuier 80, curious 196, bisier 321, which may be considered the rule in modern poetry, see 60, 80, 130, 184, 196, 212, 229, 303, 321, 322, 349, 350, 396, 433, 464, 538, 560, 764, 782, 840, instances . . . . . . 20

- er, arising from running this unaccented syllable on to a following vowel, in cases where the assumption and pronunciation of "r would be harsh, as: deliver, and 84, sommer hadd' 394, water he 400; and in the middle of a word, as: colerik 587, leecherous 626; instances . . . . . . 5

- el, not before a preceding vowel, as: mesurabel was 435, mawncipel was 567, mawncipel sett' 556, instances . . . . . . 3

- en, not before a preceding vowel, as: yeomen from 77; or before a preceding vowel or h, where the elision 'n would be harsh, as: writen a 161, geten him 291, instances . . . . . . 3

- e, arising from the pronunciation of final e, where it seems unnecessary, or harsh, to assume its suppression, as 88, 123, 132, 136, 197, 298, 223, 224, 276, 320, 341, 343, 451, 454, 475, 507, 510, 524, 537, 550, 630, 648, 650, 706, 777, 792, 806, 834, 853, instances. . . . . . . 29

**Miscellaneous,** in the following lines, where the trisyllabic measures are italicised for convenience.

Of Engelond', to Cawnterbery they wende. 16
To Cawnterbery with ful devout correge. 22
His heed was balled, and schoon as any glas. 198
And thrys hadd' she been at Jerusalem. 463
Wyd was his parish and houses fer asoner. 491 \(\text{instances} \) 9
He was a sheppeder, and not a mercenarie. 514
He waited after no pomp' and reverence. 525
Thor coude no man bring' him in arrerage. 602
And also war' him of a signifacit. 662

Total 69

It would have been easy in many cases by elisions or slight changes to have avoided these trisyllabic measures, but after considering each case carefully, and comparing the different manuscripts, there did not appear to be any sufficient ground for so doing.

Allied to trisyllabic measures are the lines containing a superfluous unaccented syllable at the end, but to this point, which was a matter of importance in old Italian and Spanish versification, and has become a matter of stringent rule in classical French poetry, no attention seems to have been paid by older writers, whether French or English, and Chaucer is in this respect as free as Shakspeare.
There are a few cases of two superfluous unaccented syllables, comparable to the Italian versi sdrucchioli, and these have been indicated by (+) in the margin. There are only 6 instances: here yeve berye 207, 208, apotecaryes letuaryes 425, 426, miscary mercenarye 513, 514, all of which belong to the class i-, so that the two syllables practically strike the ear as one.

But there are also real Alexandrines, or lines of six measures, which do not appear to have been previously noticed, and which I have been very loth to admit. These are marked vi in the margin. There are four instances. In:

But sore wepte sche if oon of hem wer' deed. 148

the perfect unanimity of the MSS., and the harsh and unusual elision of the adverbial -o in sore, and the not common elision of the imperfect e in wepte, which would be necessary to reduce the line to one of five measures, render the acceptance of an Alexandrine imperative, and certainly it is effective in expressing the feeling of the Prioresse. In:

Men mote yeve silver to the pore freres. 232

the Alexandrine is not pure because the caesura does not fall after the third measure. But the MSS. are unanimous, the elisions mot' yeve' undesirable, and the lengthening out of the line with the tag of "the pore freres," seems to indicate the very whine of the begging friar. In:

With a threbdare cop', as a pore scoler. 260

the pore which lengthens the line out in all MSS., seems introduced for a similar purpose. The last instance

I ne sawgh not this yeer so mery a companye. 764

is conjectural, since no MS. gives the reading complete, but: I ne sawgh, or: I sawgh not, are both unmetrical, and by using both we obtain a passable Alexandrine, which may be taken for what it is worth, because no MS. reading can be accepted.

The defective first measures to which attention was directed by Mr. Skeat, supra p. 333, have been noted by (—), and a careful consideration of the MSS. induces me to accept 13 instances, 1, 76, 131, 170, 247, 271, 294, 371, 391, 417, 429, 733, 778, though they are not all satisfactory, as several of them (131, 247, 271, 391, 778) offend against the principle of having a strong accent on the first syllable, and two (417, 429) throw the emphasis in rather an unusual manner, as: weel coul' he, weel knew he, where: weel coul' he, well knew he, would have rather been expected, but there is no MS. authority for improving them.

Three instances have been noted of saynt forming a dissyllable, as already suggested, (supra pp. 264, 476), one of which (697), might be escaped by assuming a bad instance of a defective first measure, but the other two (120, 509,) seem clearly indicated by MS. authority. See the notes on these passages. They are indicated by ai in the margin.1

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1 Mr. Murray has observed cases in Scotch in which ai was dissyllable, but then it had its Scotch value (av), supra p. 637, n. 1. He cites from Wyn-
Chaucer's Treatment of French Words.

The third point to which attention is directed in printing the text of the prologue, is linguistic rather than phonetic, but seemed of sufficient interest to introduce in a work intended for the use of the Chaucer Society, namely, the amount of French which Chaucer admitted into his English. "Thank God! I may now, if I like, turn Protestant!" exclaims Moore's Irish Gentleman on the evening of 16th April, 1829, when the news of the royal assent to the Catholic Relief Bill reached Dublin. And in the same way it would appear that the removal of the blockade on the English language, when after "je furste moreyn," 1348, "John Cornwal, a maystere of grammere, chaunged pe lore in gramere scole," 2 and Edward III. enacted in the 36th year of his reign, 1362-3, that all pleas should be pleaded and judged in the English tongue, the jealous exclusion of French terms from English works, which marks the former period, seemed to cease, and English having become the victor did not disdain to make free use of the more "gentle" tongue, in which so many treasures of literature were locked up. Even our older poems are more or less translations from the French, though couched in unmistakable English. But in the xixth century we have Gower writing long poems in both languages, and Chaucer familiar with both, and often seeking his originals in French. The people for whom he principally wrote must have been also more or less familiar with the tongue of the nobles, and large numbers of French words must have passed into common use among Englishmen, before they could have assumed English inflectional terminations. We have numerous instances of this in Chaucer. Whenever a French verb was employed, the French termination was rejected, and an English inflectional system substituted. Thus using italics for the French part, we have in the prologue: perced 2, engend'red 4, 421, inspired 6, esed 29, honour'd 50, embroned 89, harnessed 114, entuned 123, peyned 139, rosted 147, ypined 151, garved 159, crowned 161, purfyled 193, farsed 233, accorded 244, enryned 342, chaunged 348, passed 464, encombred 508, spayed 526, ypunish'd 657, trussed 681, feyned 705, assembled 717, served 749, graunted 810, pray'den 811, rueded 816, studieth 841.—flouting' 91, harping' 266, offring' 450, 489, assayling 661, —cry' 636, rost', broyll', frye 383, rohers' 732, feyn 736. Again we have an English adjective or adverbial termination affixed to French words, as: specially 15, fesily 124, 273, certainly 235, solemnely 274, staaly 281, estaatlich 140, verrayly 338, realy town's Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland, circa 1419-30, in reference to Malcolm Cennmor.

Malcolm kyng, be lowchful get,
Hlad on hys wyf Saynt Margret.
Where, however, Margret might rather have been trissyllabic.

1 Travels of an Irish gentleman in search of a religion, by Thomas Moore, chap. i.

2 See the whole noteworthy passage from Trenisa's translation of Higden, printed from the Cott. MS. Tiberius D. VII., by Mr. R. Morris, in his Specimens of Early English, 1867, p. 339.
=royally 378, devoutly 482, scarcely 583, privately 609, subtilly 610, privately 652, playfully 727, properly 729, rudely 734. —dett'lees 582.—In esy 441, pomely 616, we have rather the change of the French -e into -y, which subsequently became general, but the ese remains in : esely 469. In: daggeer 113, 392, we have a substantive with an English termination to a French root. Footmanntel 472, is compounded of an English and French word. In: dalauence 211, loodmanage 403, deyerje 577, French terminations only are assumed. A language must have long been in familiar use to admit of such treatment as this. What then more likely than the introduction of complete words, which did not require to have their terminations changed? The modern cookery book and fashion magazines are full of French words introduced bodily for a similar reason. Of course the subject matter and the audience greatly influence the choice of words, and we find Chaucer sensibly changing his manner with his matter—see the quantity of unmixed English in the characters of the Yeman, the Ploughman, and the Miller. To make this admixture of French and English evident to the eye, all words or parts of words which may be fairly attributed to French influence, including proper names, have been italicised, but some older Latin words of ecclesiastical origin and older Norman words have not been marked and purely Latin words have been put in small capitals. The result could then be subjected to a numerical test, and comes out as follows:

| Lines containing no French word | ... | 325 | per cent. | 37-9 |
| " only one " | ... | 343 | " | 40-0 |
| " two French words " | ... | 157 | " | 18-2 |
| " three " | ... | 87 | " | 3-4 |
| " four " | ... | 12 | " | 0-4 |
| " five" | ... | 1 | " | 0-1 |

Lines in the Prologue 858 100.0

If the total number of French words in the prologue be reckoned from the above data, they will be found to be 761, or not quite one word in a line on an average. The overpoweringly English character of the work could not be more clearly demonstrated.

Chaucer's language may then be described as a degraded Anglo-Saxon, into which French words had been interwoven, without interfering with such grammatical forms as had been left, to the extent of about 20 per cent., and containing occasionally complete French phrases, of which, however, none occur in the prologue. To understand the formation of such a dead dialect, we have only to watch the formation of a similarly-constructed living dialect. Such a one really exists, although it must rapidly die out, as there are not only not the same causes at work which made the language of Chaucer develop into the language of England, but there are other and directly contrary influences which must rapidly lead to the extinction of its modern analogue.

1 These are very few in number, see Mawr' or of Saynt Beneyt. 173, in 5, 162, 254, 336, 429, 430, 646, 662.
2 The line is: The reul' of Saynt

Mawr' or of Saynt Benefyt. 173, in which the French words were indispensable.
Pennsylvania German the Analogue of Chaucer's English.

Fully one half of the people of Pennsylvania and Ohio in the United States of America understand the dialect known as Pennsylvania German. This neighbourhood was the seat of a great German immigration from the Palatinate of the Rhine and Switzerland. Here they kept up their language, and established schools, which are now almost entirely extinct. Surrounded by English of the xvith century they naturally grafted some of its words on their own, either as distinct phrases, or as the roots of inflections; and, perhaps, in more recent times, when fully nine-tenths of the present generation are educated in English, the amount of introduced English has increased. The result is a living dialect which may be described as a degraded High German, into which English

1 See supra, p. 47, lines 5 to 15.
2 Some of these particulars have been taken from the preface to Mr. E. H. Ranch's Pennsylvania Deitsch! De Breefa fum Pit Schwefflebrenner un de Bevvy, si Fraw, fun Schlifletown on der Drucker fum "Father Abraham," Lancaster, Pa., 1868, and others from information kindly furnished me by Rev. Dr. Mombert, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, U.S., in April, 1869.
3 This does not mean that it is a degraded form of the present literary high German, but merely of the high German group of Germanic dialects. On 19 Aug. 1869, the 14th meeting of the German Press Union, of Pennsylvania, U.S., was held at Bethlehem, when an interesting discussion took place on Pennsylvania German, or das Deutsche-Pennsylvaniaische, as it is termed in the Reading Adler of 31 Aug. 1869, a German newspaper published at Reading, Berks County, Pa., U.S., from which the following account is translated and condensed. Prof. Notz, of Allentown, who is preparing a Pennsylvania German grammar, drew attention to the recent German publications on Frankish, Upper-Bavarian, Palatine, Swabian, and Swiss dialects, and asserted that the Penn. Germ. had an equally tough existence and deserved as much study. Mr. Dan E. Schödler declared that the Germans of Pennsylvania could only be taught literary high German, in which their divine service had always been conducted, by means of their own dialect. Dr. G. Kellner justified dialects. He considered that linguists, including J. Grimm, had not sufficiently comprehended the importance of dialects. Speech was as natural to man as walking, eating, and drinking, and the original language of a people was dialectic, not literary, which last only finally prevailed, to use Max Müller's expression as the high language, (Hochsprache). The roots of a literary language were planted in its dialects, whence it drew its strength and wealth, and which it in turn modified, polished and ennobled. Was Penn. Germ. such a dialect? Many English speakers, who knew nothing of German dialects, might deny it, and so might even many educated North Germans, who were unacquainted with the south German dialects, and regarded all the genuine southern forms of Penn. Germ. as a corrupted high German or as idioms borrowed from the English. They would therefore style it a jargon, not a dialect. Certainly, the incorporation of English words and phrases had given it some such appearance, but on removing these foreign elements it remained as good a dialect as the Alsatian after being stripped of its Gallicisms, in which dialect beautiful poems and tales had been written, taking an honourable position in German literature. Penn. Germ., apart from its English additions, was a south German dialect, composed of Frankish, Swabian, Palatine, and Alsatian, which was interlarded with more or less English, according to the counties in which the settlements had occurred; in some places English was entirely absent. All that marked a dialect in Germany was present in Penn. Germ., and since new immigration was perpetually introducing fresh high German, the task would be to purify the old dialect of its English jargon and use the result for the benefit of the people.
words have been interwoven, without interfering with such grammatical forms as had been left, and containing occasionally complete English phrases. On referring to the first sentence of the last paragraph, the exact analogy of Pennsylvania Dutch to Chancer's English will be at once apprehended. The dialect is said to possess a somewhat copious literature, and it is certainly an interesting study, which well deserves to be philologically conducted.1 For the present work it has an additional special value, as it continually exhibits varieties of sound as compared with the received high German, which are identical with those which we have been led to suppose actually took place in the development of received English, as (oo, ee, aa) for (aa, ai, au).

The orthographical systems pursued in writing it have been two, and might obviously have been three or more. The first and most natural was to adopt such a German orthography as is usually employed for the representation of German dialects, and to spell the introduced English words chiefly after a German fashion. This is the plan pursued, but not quite consistently,2 in the following extract, for which I am indebted to Dr. Mombert. The English constituents are italicised as the French are in the following edition of the prologue. A few words are explained in brackets [ ], but any one familiar with German will understand the original, which seems to have been written by an educated German familiar with good English.

of Pennsylvania. The Penn, Germ. press was the champion of this movement, by which an entire German family would be more and more imbued with modern German culture. As a striking proof of the identity of Palatine with Pennsylvania German, he referred to Nadler's poems called Fröhlich Pfalz, Gott erhal'ts, which, written in the Palatine dialect, were, when read out to the meeting by Dr. Leisenring, a born Penn. German, as readily intelligible to the audience as if they had been written in Penn. German. Prof. Notz also observed that in Germany the people still spoke among one another in dialects, and only exceptionally in high German when they spoke with those who had received a superior education—and that even the latter were wont to speak with the people in their own dialect. This was corroborated by Messrs. Rosenthal, Hesse, and others. On the motion of Prof. Notz, it was resolved to prosecute an inquiry into the Germanic forms of expression in use in Pennsylvania, and to report thereon, in order to obtain materials for a complete characterisation of the dialect.  

1 Prof. S. S. Haldeman, of Columbia, Pennsylvania, to whom I have been under great phonetic obligations, and who has been familiar with the dialect from childhood, has promised to furnish the Philological Society with some systematic account of this peculiar hybrid language, the living representation not only of the marriage of English with Norman, but of the breaking up of Latin into the Romance dialects. The Rev. Dr. Mombert, formerly of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but now of Dresden, Saxony, who has long been engaged in collecting specimens, has also promised to furnish some additions. The preceeding note shows the interest which it is now exciting in its native country. In this place it is only used as a passing illustration, but through the kindness of these competent guides, I am enabled to give the reader a trustworthy account so far as it goes.

2 Thus éy is used for ee in kēyn = (keen), or rather (ke-in) according to Dr. Mombert, and ee for ih (ii) in Zeer, which are accommodations to English habits. Cowskin retains its English form. A more strictly German orthography is followed in L. A. Wollenweber's Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben, Philadelphia und Leipzig, 1869, p. 76.
Ein Gespräch.

1. Ah, Düvee, was hot Dich gestern Owent [Abend] so vertollt schmürt aus Squeier Essebeis kumme mache? War ebbes [etwas] letz? 2
2. Nix apartiges! ich hab justht a bissel mit der Pally gespärkt [played the spark], als Dir ganz unvermüth der olte Mann derzu kummt, ummer [und mir] zu vershte’ gibt, er dät des net gleiche. 3
1. Awer [aber] wie hot er’s dir zu vershte’jegewe’ (gegeben)? Grob oder höfflich?
1. Well, wie hot er’s dann g’mocht?
2. Er hat justht de Teer [Thüre] ufg’mocht, mir mei’ Hüh in de Hand ’gewe’ un’ de Cowskin von der Wand g’kricht [gekriegt]. Do hob’ ich g’denkt, er thät’s net gleiche, dass ich die Pally shpärke thät un bin grod fortgange; des wer alles, Säm.
2. Well, sei nur shitiff drfon [davon], und sags Niemand, sonst werd’ ich ausgelacht.
Säm versprach’s; awer som-how muss er sich doch verschnappt have [haben], sonst hätt’s net g’druckt werde könne.

The second style of orthography is to treat the whole as English and spell the German as well as the English words, after English analogies. This apparently hopeless task, 3 was undertaken by Mr. Rauch, who in his weekly newspaper, Father Abraham, has weekly furnished a letter from an imaginary Pit i.e. Peter Schwefflebrenner, without any interpretation, and in a spelling “peculiarly his own.” 4 Perhaps some of the popularity of these satirical letters is due, as

1 South German letz, letsch, lätsch, wrong, left-handed, as in high German links, for which Prof. Haldeman refers to Stalder, and to Ziemann, Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterb. 217. See also Schmeller, Bayerisches Wörterb. 2, 530, “(Miar is letz) mir ist nicht recht, d. h. übel.” Compare high German verletzen, to injure.
2 Dr. Mombert considers gleichen in this sense of “like, approve of,” to be the English word like Germanized. But Dr. Stratmann, on seeing the passage, considered the word might be from the old high German liechen, to please. This verb, however, was intransitive in all the Germanic dialects, and in old English (see ProL 777 below: if you liketh, where you is of course dative). The present active use seems to be modern English, and I have therefore marked it accordingly.
3 An attempt of Chaucer’s scribes to write his language after Norman analogies, as Rapp supposes to have been the case, would have been precisely analogous. Fortunately this was not possible, suprà p. 588, n. 4, or we might have never been able to recover his pronunciation.
4 In the prospectus of his newspaper, Mr. Rauch says: “So weit es mir wiss, ist der Pit Schwefflebrenner der canschisch monn in der United States deers Pennsylvanian Deitsch recht sreicht un bushatweert exactly we’s g’hetzt un ous g’procha werd,” i.e., as far as we know, Pit Schwefflebrenner is the only man in the United States who writes and spells Pennsylvania German correctly, exactly as it is gos-sipped and pronounced.
some of the fun of Hans Breitmann’s Ballads\(^1\) certainly is, to the drollness of the orthography, which however furnishes endless difficulties to one who has not a previous knowledge of the dialect.\(^2\)

The third orthography would be the usual high German and

\(^1\) Hans Breitmann’s “poems are written in the droll broken English (not to be confounded with the Pennsylvania German) spoken by millions—mostly uneducated—Germans in America, immigrants to a great extent from southern Germany. Their English has not yet become a distinct dialect; and it would even be difficult to fix at present the varieties in which it occurs.”—Preface to the 8th edition of Hans Breitmann’s Party, with other Ballads, by Charles G. Leland, London, 1869, p. xiii. In fact Mr. Leland has played with his dialect, and in its unfixed condition has made the greatest possible fun out of the confusion of \(p\) with \(b\), \(t\) with \(d\), and \(g\) with \(k\), without stopping to consider whether he was giving an organically correct representation of any one German’s pronunciation. He has consequently often written combinations which no German would naturally say, and which few could, even after many trials, succeed in pronouncing, and some which are scarcely attackable by any organs of speech. The book has, therefore, plenty of \textit{vis comica}, but no linguistic value.

\(^2\) The following inconsistencies pointed out by Prof. S. S. Haldeman, are worth notice, because similar absurdities constantly occur in attempts to reduce our English dialects, or barbaric utterances, to English analogies, by persons who have not fixed upon any phonetic orthography, such as the Glossotype of Chap. VI., § 3, and imagine that the kaleidoscopic character of our own orthography is not a mere “shewing the eyes and grieving the heart.” Prof. H. says: “The orthography is bad and inconsistent, sometimes English and sometimes German, so that it requires some knowledge of the dialect, and of English spelling to be able to read it.

“The vowel of \textit{they} occurs in \textit{ferstay}, \textit{meh}, \textit{naug}, \textit{ehn}, \textit{bes} and \textit{bass} (= \textit{bass}, angry), \textit{haest} (= \textit{heinst}, called \textit{eowich}, \textit{duck}, \textit{geo}—\textit{a} being mostly used (as in \textit{heasa}, \textit{tswen}); but \textit{gedwater} (also \textit{dreat}) rhymes its English form \textit{treat}, and \textit{dreat}, (= \textit{dreht}, turns) with \textit{fate}.

“The German \textit{a} is as in what and fall, but the former falls into the vowel of \textit{hat}, \textit{bat}. \textit{Fell} is represented by \textit{ah} in \textit{betza}, and \textit{aa} in \textit{pair}, but usually by \textit{aw} (\textit{au} in \textit{songa}) as in \textit{aw} (\textit{aeuh}, also) \textit{g'sawt} (said, gesagt). \textit{Haw}-\textit{a} = haben, should have been \textit{haw-\textit{a}}. The vowel of \textit{what} is represented by \textit{a} or \textit{io}, as in \textit{was}, \textit{war}, \textit{hab}, \textit{kenn}, \textit{donn}, \textit{nora}, \textit{gang}.

“\textit{O} of no occurs in \textit{bokna}, so \textit{amohl}, \textit{einmal}, \textit{cooxa} (= \textit{to coax}) doeh, \textit{hoar} (= \textit{haor} hair), \textit{woeh}, \textit{froke}.

“When German \textit{a} has become English \textit{u} of but, it is written \textit{u}, as in \textit{hat} (= \textit{hat}, has), and \textit{a} final, as in \textit{maeh}, \textit{denka} = \textit{denken}, [which = (\textit{w})], \textit{en} = \textit{ein}.

“The vowel of field occurs in \textit{we}, \textit{shpilda}, \textit{de}, \textit{sh-es}, \textit{krya} (= \textit{krii}, \textit{g'sawt}. \textit{y} is used throughout for (\textit{gh}) of \textit{regen}. The \textit{y} of \textit{my} occurs in \textit{sei}, \textit{si}, \textit{my} and \textit{mei}, \textit{bei}, \textit{dyfel}, \textit{subscriba}.

“\textit{W}”, when not used as a vowel, has its true German power (\textit{bh}), as in \textit{tswen} = \textit{zwi}, \textit{hauve} = \textit{haben}, \textit{wesht} = \textit{weiss}, \textit{venich} and \textit{veenich}! = \textit{wenn}, \textit{auer} = \textit{aber}, and some other examples of \textit{b} have this sound.

“\textit{Das} is for \textit{dass} that, and \textit{des} is used for the neuter article \textit{das}. The \textit{s} is hissing (\textit{s}). The \textit{r} is trilled (\textit{r}) as in German. \textit{P b}, \textit{t d}, \textit{k g}, are confused. The lost final \textit{u} is commonly recalled by a nasalised vowel.

“\textit{Oo} in \textit{tool}, \textit{foll}, appears in \textit{un}, when used for \textit{und}, \textit{if} for \textit{auf}, \textit{wu} = \textit{wo} where, \textit{Zeitun}g pure German, \textit{shool} = \textit{schools}, \textit{truel} = \textit{trouble}.

“English words mostly remain English in pronunciation, as in: \textit{meeting-house}, town, \textit{frolie}, for \textit{fro}, \textit{fwe} where, \textit{Zeitun}g pure German, \textit{shool} = \textit{schools}, \textit{truel} = \textit{trouble}.

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“The vowel of \textit{fat} occurs in \textit{Barricks} = \textit{Berks county}, \textit{loddwarrick} \textit{lodwarrick} = \textit{latwerge} electuary, \textit{kiihrich} = \textit{kiihre}, \textit{waert} = \textit{wert}, \textit{hier} = \textit{her}. \textit{-le} is only an English orthography for \textit{el} or ‘\textit{t}, \textit{sh} is English.”
English orthographies for the words used, which would of course convey no information respecting the real state of the dialect. The only proper orthography, the only one from which such information can be derived, is of course phonetic. The kindness of Prof. Haldemann has enabled me to supply this great desideratum. The passage selected is really a puff of a jeweller’s shop in Lancaster, Pa., and was chosen because it is short, complete, characteristic, varied, and, being not political, generally intelligible. It is given first in Mr. Rauch’s peculiar Anglo-German spelling, and then in Prof. Haldemann’s phonetic transcript, afterwards by way of explaining the words, the passage is written out in ordinary High German and English, the English words being italicised, and finally a verbal English translation is furnished. On pp. 661-3 is added a series of notes on the peculiarities of the original, referred to in the first text. The reader will thus be able to form a good idea of the dialect, and those who are acquainted with German and English will thoroughly appreciate the formation of Chaucer’s language.

1 Professor Haldeman not having spoken the dialect naturally for many years, after completing his phonetic transcript, saw Mr. Rauch the author, and ascertained that their pronunciations practically agreed. The phonetic transcript, here furnished, may therefore be relied on. Prof. Haldeman being an accomplished phonetician, and acquainted with my palaeotype wrote the pronunciation himself in the letters here used. Of course for publication in a newspaper, my palaeotype would not answer, but my glossotype would enable the author to give his Pennsylvania German in an English form and much more intelligibly. Thus the last paragraph in the example, p. 661, would run as follows in glossotype, adopting Prof. Haldeman’s pronunciation: “Auver iwy kon der net olläs saughä. Vatt [vehr] mäiner vissä vil, oonn vatt [vehr] färri raiti Kristskaukh sokh vil—dee faaynsti oonn beshti bressent, maakh selvër dorrt ons Tsamoa gåa, oonn siyh selvër sootä. Noh mohör et pressënt. Peet Shveff’lbrønnerr.” But the proper orthography would be a glossotype upon a German instead of an English basis The following scheme would most probably answer all purposes. The meaning of the symbols is explained by German examples, unless otherwise marked, and in palaeotype. 

**Long Vowels:** ie liß (ii), ee bert (ee), ae spräche (ee, ew), aa Ael (aa), ao Eng. awl (AA), oo Boot (ov), uh Pfuhl (un), uœ Übel (yy), oe Oel (œœ).

**Short Vowels:** i Sinn (i, i), e Bett (e, e), æ Eng. bat (e, w), a all (a), å Eng. what (王牌), o Motte (o o), u Pfand (u, u), ü Fülle (y), ö Bäcke (a), ëchina (v), Eng. bat (v, a), () sign of nasality.

**Diphthongs:** ai Hain (ai), oi Eng. joy, Hamburgh Eule (ai), auw theoretical Eule (ay), au kauen (au).

**Consonants:** f ja (i), w wie (bh), Eng. w (w) must be indicated by a change of type, roman to italic, or conversely, h heu (h), p b (p b), t d (t d), tsch dsh (tsch dzh), k g (k g), kh (kh), f v (f v), th dh (th dh), ss Nüsse (s), s wiese (z), seh sh (sh zh), ch gh (kh zh, gh gh), r l m n (r l m n), ng nk (q qk).

German readers would not require to make the distinction ss, s, except between two vowels, as Wiesë, Nüssë, Fuesë. They would also not find it necessary to distinguish between e, ë final, or between er, ër, unaccented. For similar reasons the short vowel signs are allowed a double sense. This style of writing would suit most dialectic German, but if any additional vowels are required ih, eh, oh, ok, are available. The last sentence of the following example, omitting the distinction e, ë, would then run as follows: “Äower ich kon der net olles saoghe. Waer meener wisse wil, un waer ferst reeti Krischtacho sokh wil,—die fainsti un beschtí bressent, maakh selvër dorrt ons Tsamoa gecê, un sikh selvër suhte. Noo moor et pressënt. Piet Schweff’lbrønnerr.”
1. Rauch's Orthography.

Pennsylvania Deitsh.

Mr. Fodder Abraham Printer—Dear Sir: Ich kon mer now net3 helfen—ich mus der yetz amohli3 shreiva6 we ich un de Bevvy3 ausgemocht hen doh fer-gonga8 we mer in der shtadt Lancaster war.

Der hawpt9 platz wu10 mer onna11 sin, war dot in selly Zahm's ivver ons sheama Watcha12 un Jewelry establishment, graawd dort om eck13 fun was se de Nord Queen Strose14 heasa un Center Shqare—net weit fun wu das eier office is.

In all meim leawa hab ich ne net so feel tip-top sheany sacha g'sea, un sell15 is exactly was de Bevvy sawgt.16

We mer nei sin un amohli so a wenhich rum geguckt hen, donn secht16 de Bevvy—lound genunk17 das der monn's hut heara kenna—"Now Pit,"18 secht se, "weil

3. German and English Translation.

Pensylvaniisches Deustch.

Mr. Vater Abraham, Printer—Dear Sir: Ich kann mir now nicht helfen—Ich muss dir jetzt einmal schreiben wie ich und die Barbara ausgemacht haben, da vergangen, wie wir in der Stadt Lancaster waren.

Der Haupt-Platz wo wir an sind, war dot in selbiges Zahms uberaus schöne Watche un Jewelry Establishment, grade dort an-der Ecke von was sie die Nord Queen Strasse heis sen un Centre Square—net weit von wo dass euer office ist.

In all meinen Leben habe ich nie nicht so viele tip-top schöne Sachen gesehen, und selbiges is exactly was die Barbara sagt.

Wie wir hinein sind und einmal so ein wenig herum geguckt haben, dann sagte die Barbara—laut genug dass der Mann es hat hören können—"Now,


Pensylvania German.

Mr. Father Abraham, Printer—

Dear Sir: I can myself now not help—I must to-thee now once write, how I and the Barbara managed [i.e. fared] have there past, as we in the town Lancaster were.

The chief-place where we arrived are, was there in same Zahm's over-out beautiful Watches and Jewelry Establishment, exactly there at corner of what they the North Queen Street call, and Centre Square—not far from where that your office is.

In all my life have I never not so many tip-top beautiful things seen, and same is exactly what the Barbara says.

As we hence-into are, and once so a little around looked have, then said die Barbara—lound enough that the man it has to-hear been-able—"Now, Peter;"

se der di watch g'shtola hen dört in Nei Yorrick,19 musht an neie kawfa, un doh gookts das36 wann20 du dich suta21 kennst.22

We se sell g'sawt hut, donn hen awer amohl de kærls23 dort hinnich24 en counter uf gegueckt. Eaner hut si brill gedropt,25 un an onnerer is uf g'shtonna un all hen mich orrig36 friendlieh aw27 gegueckt.

Donn sogt eaner—so a wen-nich an goot gueckicher28 ding—secht er, "Ich glawb doch now das ich was weer du bist?" "Well," sog ich, "wär denksht?" "Ei der Pit Schweflebrenner." "Exactly so," hab ich g'sawt. "Un des doh is de Bevvy, di alty, secht er. "Aw so," hab ich g'sawt.

Donn hut er mer de hond gevva, un der Bevvy aw, un hut g'sawt er het shun feel fun meina breefa g'leasa, un er war orrig froh mich amohl selwer


*Peter,* sagte sie, "weil sie dir deine Watch gestohlen haben dort in New York, musst du eine neue kaufen, und da guckt es [als] dass wann du dich suißen könnt."

Wie sie selbiges gesagt hat, donn haben aber einmal die Kerls dort hinterig dem counter aufgeguckt. Einer hat seine Brille gedropt, und ein anderer ist aufgestanden und alle haben mich arg freundlich angetucht.


Donn h't er mir die Hand gegeben, und der Barbara auch, und hat gesagt er hätte schon viel von meinen Briefen gelesen, und er wäre arg froh mich

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*

"bhail si dir dai, bhatsh kshtool'v hen dart in Nei Jar'rk, musht un noai'v kaaf', un doo gukt das bhan du dikh suut've kensht."

Bhi si sel kaat net, dan hen aa'b'r umool' di kærls dört min'-t'kh um kaunt'urf geguk't. Eern't hat sai bril gedrapt', un en an'er is uf kshtan'v un al hen miikh ar'ikh freind'-l'kh aa', gegukt'.

Dan sakt eern't—soo v bhen'ikh un guut gik'ikh't diq—secht er, "'Ikh glaab doch nau das ikh bhees bhrer du bi'sht." "Bhee," sag ikh, "bheer deqksht?" "Ai d'r Pit Shbheefbre'n'r." "Ek-sæk'-li soo," hab ikh kaat. "Un des doo is di Bheh'i, dai alt'i," secht er. "'Aa soo," hab ikh kaat."

Dan hót aer m't di hand gebh'v, un d'r Pebb'h'a, un hót kaat aer hót shun fiil fun ma'n'v briif'a gle'er'su, un är bheer ar'ikh froo miikh umool' sel'bhrer


sagt er, "because they to-thee thy watch stolen have there in New York, must thou a new (one) buy, and there looks it [as] that if thou thee suit mightest."

As she same said has, then have again once the fellows there behind the counter up-looked. One has his spectacles dropped, and another is up-stood, and all have me horrid-friendly unlooked.

Then says one—so a little a good-looking thing—said he, "I believe, however, now that I know who thou art."

"Well," say I, "who thinkest (thou that I am)?" "Er, the Peter Sulphurburner," "Exactly so," have I said. "And that there is the Barbara, thy old-woman," said he.

"Also so," have I said.

Then has he me the hand given, and to-the Barbara also, and has said he had already much of my letters read, and he was horrid glad me once self to
1. Rauch’s Orthography, continued.

PENNSYLVANIAGemini
OfAA
but
Deitshland
Of
cheef‘r
for
fires
wir
is,
tsuzrecht
tsuaerra
wen
braucha
dass
mommiters
Amerikanishe
Noch
amohl
fiinfzig
einmal
fur
many
Ich
haben
brauchen
g‘macht,
das
und
eine
einmal
fur
wahr.
der
einem
mometer*

Haldeman’s Pronunciation, cont.
tsusense’. Dan sin m‘aAbh‘r
umool‘ an bis’nes.

Bhatsh‘v nen si dart, forst
reetti‘ f‘r soch‘tssee bis tsu fiir-
nun‘ert-fu’stikh
taal‘er. Nahk
dem das m‘i si umool‘ rechht
begukt‘
neu, is di Pehbi‘ tsu d‘r
kanklu‘-shen
kum‘v
un
:Ameri-
kaav‘nishv
bhatsh
tsu
kaaf‘v.

Dart
nen
si
aa
bhas
si
term-
mam‘v’t‘rs
hees‘a—so
v
diq
das
eem
bhaft
bhi
kalt
‘s
bhet‘r
is,
un
sel
diqt
m‘kh
kent
m‘
braukh‘v
al‘ebhaill.
En‘tua
m‘r
nen
eens
gkAAf‘v.

Dii
bhatsh‘
isa
um
forst
reetti‘.
Ikh
bhar
als
uf
der
meenuq
das
dii
:AmerikAA‘nishv
bhatsh‘v
bhaar‘v
draus
in
Daitsh‘lant
gAAftkh‘,
un
aAbh‘r
sel
is
net
bhoor.
Un
dii
heusu‘ru‘;
tshir‘meni
faire!
AA‘bhr‘
i
nen
vaauto
shee‘ni!
UF
koors
m‘r
nen
aa
ew‘i
gkAAf‘;
fr‘
han
ikh
umool‘
Poosht
Meesh‘t‘r
bii
mus
ikh
ew‘i
hAAh‘bhu
for
in
di
af‘is
hai
du.

see. Then are we again once on
business.

Watches have they there, first-rate
(ones) for sixteen up-to four hundred
(and) fifty dollars. After that we
them once rightly bescen have, is the
Barbara to the conclusion come, an
American watch to buy.

There have they also what they
Thermometers call—so a thing that
to-him shows how cold the weather
is, and same thinks me might we use
prescutly.

Anyhow we have one
bought.

The watch is also a first-rate (one).
I was always on [all up = entirely
of, always of] the opinion that the
American watches were there-out in
Germany made, and but same is not
true. And the houseclocks; Gemini
Fires! but they have about beautiful
(ones)!

Of course we have also one
bought, for when I once Post Master
am, must I one have, for into the
office hence-in (to) do.
1. Rauch's Orthography, continued.

Se hent aw an grosser stock
fun Silverny Leffel, Brilla, un
ich weas net was olles. De Bevvy hut gedy das weil ich
yetz boll amohl 35 an United
Shtates Government Officer si
war, set ich mer aw an Brill
cawfa, un ich hab aw eany
krickt das ich now net gevva
deat fer duppelt's geld das se
gekosht hut, for ich kon yetz
noch amohl so got seana un
leasu das 36 tsufore.

Un we ich amohl dorrich my
neie Brill geguckt hab, donn
hab ich ærsht all de feiny sacha
recht beguckt, un an examination
gemacht fun Breast Pins,
Rings, Watch-ketts, 37 Shtuds,
Messer un Govvella, etc.

Eans fun sella Breastpins hut
der Bevvy about gott aw-g'
shtonna, awer er hut mer doch a
wennich tsu feel g'fuddert der-
fore—25 dahler, un donn hab

2. Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.

Sii hén aa un groos'sh'tak
fun Sil'vörny Leffel, Bril-v un
ikh hées net bhas 'al-us. Dié
Peh'h-i neot gaduuv dis bhal iäh
jets bal unmoo'leh un Junä'tut
Shtets Gov'rmunt Of-leer sai
bhae'er, set iäh m't aa un Bril
kaw-fa, un iäh háp aa e'ni krikht,
das iäh nwau neat geblü duet f'r
dup'lits geld das sii gekosht-
het, f'r iäh kan jets nokh unmoo'
soo guut see'nu un leev-su das
tsfuor.

Un bhii iäh unmoo'ld dar'ikh
mai, nae'ri Bril geguk't hap,
dan háp iäh ærsht al dii fai'nì
sakh'reekt bukgukt un un
eksëmînesh'n gemacht fun
Bresht'pins, Riqs, Bhatsh'kett-v,
Shtots, Mes'erun un Gabhr'lu,
etse't-vrr.

Eëns fun sel'v Bresht'pins neot
d'r Peh'h-i ucbaut guut aa-
gh'sht-aam'v, aa'b'här æt hót miir
dokh v bhenish tsu fiil ghud'rt
d'rfoo' — ñinf un tsbhan'sikh


Sie haben auch einen grossen stock
von silbernen Lößlern, Brillen, und ich
weiss nicht was alles. Die Barbara
hat gethan dass weil ich jetzt bald
einmal ein United States Government
Officer sein werde, sollte ich mir auch
eine Brille kaufen, und ich habe auch
eine gekriegt, dass ich now nicht geben
thäte für duppelt-das Geld das sie
gekostet hat, for ich kann jetzt
noch einmal so gut sehen und lesen [als]
dass zuvor.

Und wie ich einmal durch meine
neue Brille geguckt habe, dann habe
ich erst alle die feinen Sachen recht
beguckt und an examination gemacht
von Breastpins, Rings, Watch-ketten,
Studs, Messer und Gabeln, etc.

Eins von selbigem Breastpins hat der
Barbara about gut angestanden, aber er
hat mir doch ein wenig zu viel gefodert
dafür—fünf un zwanzig Thaler—und


They have also a great stock of silver
spoons, spectacles, and I know not
what all. The Barbara has done [es-
timated] that because I now soon once
a United States Government Officer be
shall, should I me also a pair-of-spe-
tacles buy, and I have also one got,
that I now not give would-do for
double the money that it cost has, for
I can now still once so good see and
read [as] that before.

And as I once through my new
spectacles looked have, then have I
first all the fine things right be-seen,
and an examination made of Breast-
pins, Rings, Watch-chains, Studs, knives
and forks, etc.

One of the same Breastpins has the
Barbara about good on-stood [suited],
but he has me, however, a little too
much asked therefore—five-and-twenty
1. Rauch's Orthography, continued.
ich mer tsuletsht cany rous ge-
pickt fer drei fiertl dahler, fer
selly sagt de Bevvy, is anyhow
ahead fun ennicrher omnery in
Schliffletown.
Awer ich konn der net alles
sawya. Wer meaner wiisa
will, un wier first raty krishdog
sach will—de feinsten un beshty
presents, mog selwer dort ons
Zahms gea un sich selwer suta.
No more at present.

Pit Schweflebrenner.

dann habe ich mir zuletzt eine heraus
gepickt für drei Viertel Thaler, für
selbiges sagt die Barbara is anyhow
ahead von einiger anderen in Schliffel-
town.
Aber ich kann dir nicht alles sagen.
Wer mehr wissen will, und wer first-rate-
e- Christtag Sachen will — die
feinsten und besten presents, mag selber
dort an’s Zahms gehen und sich selber
suiten. No more at present.
Peter Schwefelbrenner.

2. Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.
taa'l't, un dan hab ikh mir
tsuletsht: ee'en raus gepick't fr
trai fier't'1 taa'l'er, fr' sel'i sakt
di Bebh' i is en'ruan het' fun
ei'khu an'uri in Shliff'taun.
Aa'bb'r ikh kan d'r net all's
saa'ghu. Bheer meen' r bhs'nu
bhu1, un bhaer first reet' i Krish-
taakh sakh bhi1—di bain'shti
un besht'i bres'ents, maka'h sel-
bh'r dart ans Taaams gee've un
sek sel'bh'r suu'tu. Noo moor
et bres'nt.

Pit Shbhcs'l'br'en't.

dollars—and then have I for-me at-
last one out picked for three-quarters
(of a) dollar, for same says the Barbara
is anyhow ahead of any other in
Schliffletown.
But I can thee not all say. Who
more know will, and who first-rate
Christmas things will—the finest and
best presents, may himself there to-the
Zahm's (house) go, and him self suit.
No more at present.
Peter Schwefelbrenner.

Notes on the above Text.
1 Mister is used as well as the
German form (mesht' r'). — S. S.
Haldeman.
2 Father Abraham means the late
president Abraham Lincoln, assumed
as the title of Rauch's newspaper.
3 The guttural omitted, as frequently
in nicht, niches.
4 The infinitive -e for -eu, as fre-
cently in Chaucer, and commonly
now on the Rhine.
5 Einmal, a common explicative,
in which the first syllable, even among
more educated German speakers sinks
into an ind'strict (v). Observe the
transition of (a) into (oa).
6 The common change of (b) into
(ba).
7 Bevvy, or Pevvy, is a short form
of Barbara, a rather common name in
the dialect. Both forms are used in the
following specimen.—S.S.II. German
Babbe, Babchen, compare the English
Bah, Bobby.
8 Doh here, ergusonga recently, an
adverb, not for vergangene Woche.—
S. S. H.
9 Observe the frequent change of
the German an, indisputably (au, an)
into English (AA), precisely as we find
have occurred in English of the
xvii th century.
10 The not unfrequent changes of o
long into (uu) are comparable to
similar English changes xv th century.
11 Onna, the preposition an used as a
verb, as in the English expression,
"he ups and runs." I take this view
because sini is an auxiliary and a
present tense form, but the adverbial
tendency of onna (as if thither) must
nevertheless not be overlooked. A
German will sometimes use in English
an expression like "outed the candle!"
rarely heard in English—S S H.
12 Observe here a German plural
termination e affixed to an English word.
13 Ecke being feminine, the correct form is an der Ecke, although -eck in composition is neuter, as dreieck, vier-eck.—S.S.H. In Schmeller's Bayr. Wört. 1, 25, "das Eck, eigentlich Egg" is recognized as south German. In the following word fun for von, short o becomes (u) or (n).

14 This change of German a to o is common, as in (shoo) for schlafen, (shoo) for schaf, etc.—S.S.H. See note 5, and compare this with the change of ags. (aa) into South English (oo, oo), while (aa) remained in the North.

15 This frequent and difficult word has been translated selbig throughout, as the nearest high German word, and selly, 9 lines above it, may, in fact, indicate this form. Compare Schmeller's Bayr. Wört. 3, 232, "Selb [de-chinabel] in Schwaben über nach erster Declin.-Art (seler, e, es), in A. B. lieber nach zweiter [der, die, das (s'l), den s'iu, di s'iu], etc.] gebräucht, statt des hochd. jener, e, es, welches unw.-volksüblich ist. [Für der, die, das selbe im hochd. Sinn. d.h. idem, eadem, idem, braucht die Mundart der die, das neunitche.] (s'l os mal, des s'1 mal, s'lman) jenes Mel, (s'l o tsait) zu jener zeit, (s'l at-nolbym) oder (shegq) des[jenigen] wegen."

16 Sägte = sagt, says, secht = sügt, instead of sagt, said, with the Umlaut.—S. S. H. The weak verb has therefore a strong inflection. This distinction is preserved throughout. Compare the common vulgar (and older?) forms sleep, sweep, with the usual slept, slept, and see suprã p. 355, art. 54.

17 Genauk, with edued k, is common in archaic and provincial German, and Rollienhalg rhymes jungen, pronounced junk dialectically, with trunk.—S. S. H. See suprã p. 192, n. 1.

18 (Pit) or (Pit) may be used for this short form of Peter.—S.S.H. It is the English Pete, not a German form as the vowel shews.

19 Observe the vowel edued by the strong trill of the r. For convenience (r) has been printed throughout, but the reader must remember that it is always distinctly, and sometimes forcibly, trilled with the tip of the tongue, and never sinks to (l).

20 Das wunn, that though, as though.—S. S. H. Gookus das wunn, for sieht es aus als ob, it looks as if. See note 36.

21 Observe the German infinitive termination -e for -en, added to a purely English verb.

22 The development of s into (sh) is remarkable in high German. It is acknowledged as the proper pronunciation before t, p at the beginning of a syllable, throughout Germany, even North German actors not venturing to say (st, sp) even in Hamburg, as I am informed, the capital of that pronunciation. But in final -st, the common (-sht) is looked upon as a vulgarism, even in Saxony.

23 Koels, may have an English s, but the form is often playfully used by good speakers in Germany, and hence may have been imported and not adopted.

24 Hinnich for hinter has developed a final -ig, but this is a German addition.

25 Gradert, the German participial form for dropped. So also elsewhere I find gepunished, which may be compared with Chancer's ypunish'd, Prof. v. 657.

26 Orrig, very, Swiss arig (Stalder 1, 110), German arg, but not used in a bad sense.—S.S.H. The word arg implies cunning and annoyance, but its use as an intensifier is comparable to our horrid, awfully, dreadfully, which are frequently used in a good sense, as: horrid beautiful, awfully nice, dreadfully crowded. Das ist zu arg! that is too bad, too much! is a common phrase even among educated Germans.

27 Aw for German an is nasalised, which distinguishes it from the same syllable when used for the German anach, also.—S. S. H. This recent evolution of a nasal sound in German, common also in Bavarian, may lead us to understand the comparatively recent nasal vowels in French, infra Chap. VIII, § 3.

28 The gender is changed because it refers to a man; so in high German it is not unfrequent to find Fraulein, Mädchen, although they have a neuter adjective, referred to by a feminine pronoun, as: "das Fraulein hat ihren Handschuh fallen lassen," the young lady [neuter] has dropped her [fem.] glove.

29 In an earlier line g'sea for gesehen, but here we have a double infinitive, as if zu sehenen. This is also used for the third person plural of the present
tense, as in *sie gehen-a*, they go.—S.S.H. Compare also *ich hab dich, wohl geseyhne*, in the Gespräch, p. 654. This seems comparable to what Prof. Child calls the protracted past participle in Chaucer, suprà p. 357, art. 61. It is impossible to read the present specimen attentively without being struck by the similarity between this Pennsylvania German and Chaucer's English in the treatment of the final *-e,-en* of the older dialects. The form (sél-bhur) in the preceding line preserves the *b* in the form (bh). Schmeller also allows *selber* to preserve the *b* as (s1′-bs), see n. 15.

30 *Das cam weist,* that shews him, that shews to one or a person.—S. S. H. *Eau =*einem, not *ihm.*

31 This *als* is Swiss, which Stalder defines by *cheden hitherto and immer always,* compare aqgs. *cat-enge altogether and cat-wig always.*—S. S. H. See also Schmeller Bayr.-Wört. I, 50. Dr. Mombert takes *als* to be an obsolete high German contraction of *alles* in the sense of ever, mostly, usually.

32 Prof. Haldeman takes *uf* for *auf,* but *der Meinung,* and not *auf der Meinung,* is the German phrase, and hence the word may be English, as afterwards, *uf course.* But this is hazardous, as *uf* in this sense could hardly be joined with a German dative *der Meinung.* Can *als uf* be a dialectic expression for *alles auf,* literally *all up,* that is, entirely? Compare, Schmeller, Bayr. Wört. 1, 31, "auf und auf, von unien (ganz, ohne Unterbrechung) bis oben, auf und wider vom Kopf bis zum Fuss, ganz und gar."

33 *Cheenany* is the English exclamation *Oh jeemany.*—S. S. H. The English is apparently a corruption of: Oh Jesus mihi, and has nothing to do with the *Gemini.* But what is the last part of this exclamation: *fires?* Prof. Haldeman, suggests, *hell fires!* Dr. Mombert derives from the shout of: *fire!* Can the near resemblance in sound between *cheenany* and *chimney,* have suggested the following *fires?* Such things happen.

34 *For in de office ni du seems* to stand for *um in die office hinein zu thun,* the use of *for for am* is a mere Anglicism, but why is *zu* omitted before *thun?* By a misprint, or dialectically for euphony? It is required both by the German and English idiom. Dr. Mombert considers the omission of *zu* dialectic in this place, elsewhere we find *zu* do.

35 *Boll amohl,* bald einmal, pretty soon, shortly. This use of *einem* once, appears in the English of Germans, as in: "Bring now here the pen once."

—S. S. H.

36 *Das.* This is not the neuter nominative article *das,* which is *des* in this dialect, but a contraction of *als dass,* with the most important part, *als,* omitted.—S. S. H. I am inclined to take it for *dass* used for *als,* as in the former phrase *das wann = als ob,* see note 29. According to Schmeller, Bayr. Wört. 1, 400 "dass schliesst sich als allgemeinste conjunction, in der Rede des Volkes, gern andern conjunctionen erklärend an, oder vertritt deren Stelle."

37 *Wutch-ketta,* a half English, half German compound, is comparable to Chaucer's *footnuam* half English and half French. In Prof. infrà. v. 472, and suprà p. 651, l. 6.

38 This may be the English *any,* like the German *eineig,* treated like *einiger,* or it may be a legitimate development of this, as *eins* is *eins.*—S. S. H. The latter hypothesis seems the more probable, and then the English signification may have been attached to the German word from similarity of sound. Dr. Mombert thinks the word may be either *any* treated as a German word, or *irgend* einer corrupted. Observe the frequent use of (*ee*) for (*ai*) as *eins* for *eins.* The transitions of (*au*) into (*AA*), (*ai*) into (*ee*), (*aa*) into (*oo*), and occasionally (*o*) in (*u*), are all noteworthly in connection with similar changes in English.

39 *Meener* for *mehr* is obscure. Compare Schmeller, Bayr. Wört. 2, 581; "*manig, Schwab. menig, meny, a* wie hochd, manch ... Comparativisch steht in Amberg. Akten v. 1365 "An einem stuck oder an mengern." ... Sonst hért man im b. W. wie in Schwaben einfacher den Comparativ *menner,* mehr, welcher eher aus (mee, me) als aus *menger* entstellt scheint; oder sollten es noch unmitelbar zum alten *mama* gehörten?"
F. W. Gesenius on the Language of Chaucer.

Two German scholars, Professors Gesenius and Rapp, have published special studies on the language and pronunciation of Chaucer, of which it is now necessary to give an account. The following is a condensed abstract of the treatise entitled: De Lingua Chaucerii comminationem grammaticam scriptis Fridericus Guilelmus Gesenius, Bonnæ, 1847, 8vo. pp. 87. The writer (who must not be confounded with the late Prof. Wilhelm Gesenius, of Halle, the celebrated Hebraist,) used Tyrwhitt’s text of the Canterbury Tales, according to the 1843 reprint. In the present abstract Wright’s spelling and references to his ed. of Harl. Ms. 7334 (which have all been verified) are substituted, and much relating to the peculiarities of Tyrwhitt’s text is omitted; inserted remarks are bracketed. Gesenius’s ags. orthography has been retained.

PART I. THE LETTERS.

Chaucer seems to add or omit a final e at pleasure, both in ags. and fr. words, as was necessary to the metre; and he used fr. words either with the fr. accent on the last syllable or with the present English accent, for the same reason.

Chap. 1. Vowels derived from Anglo-Saxon.

Short vowels are followed by two consonants, or by either one or two in monosyllables, and long vowels have a single consonant followed by e final.

I. Ags. short a is preserved in: land 402, hand 401, bigan 5767, ran 4103, drank 6044, thanked 927; but fluctuates often between a and o, as: loudes 14, hond 108, ous-prong 13526, bygon 7142, nat 2247, drank 13970, i-thanked 7700 [in the three last cases, Tyrwhitt has o].

Short a answers to ags. ã, according to Grimm’s separation ã = goth. a, and ã = gothic ã, as: what, that pron., ags. hvat jät; ate. ags. ât 29; glasses 152, have ags. håbban, etc.

Short a also answers to ags. êa, as in: alle ags. âll 10, scharpe ags. scêarp 114, halle 372, barme 10945, starf 935, 4703, halpe [Tyrwhitt, hilp Wright] 5340, karf 9647, hal 4939.

Long a also arises from ags. ã short, as: smale ags. smål 9, bar 620; fador 100, blake 2980, this last vowel is sometimes short as ã.

Long a like short a also arises from ags êa, as: gaf. ags. géaf 177, mary, ags. méâr 382, jape ags. géap 4341, ale 3820, gate 1895, care, etc.

II. Chaucer’s e replaces several distinct ags. vowels.

Short e stands for ags. e short, in: ende 15, weande 16, bedde, selle 3819, etc.

for ags. i, y, in: cherche (Wr. chirche), ags. cîrce 4987; selle ags. sylv, threshold, 3820, rhyming with selle, ags. sylle; scheeld ags. scyld 2893, rhyming with heed, ags. hielod, kesse ags. cyssan 8933; stenten, ags. sténtan 906; geven, ags. gîfan, gyfân 917, etc. These forms are only found when wanted for the rhyme, and i is the more common vowel.

for ags. êa, ëd in: erme, ags. érmjan 15727; erthe, ags. érd, éirdë 1898; ers, ags. èars 7272; derne, ags. déarn 3200, 3297; berd 272; est, ags. éást 1905.

for ags. êa in: sterres, ags. stêorra 270; cherles ags. écôrl, ger. kerl, 7788; yerne ags. géôrë, ger. gern, 6375; lerne, ags. lêornjan 310; swerd 112, werk 481, derkest 4724; yelwe, ags. geôlun 677.

Long e stands for ags. short e in: erc, ags. erjan 888; queen, ags. éwen 870, etc.

for ags. long e, more frequently, in: sekke, ags. sêcun 13; kene 104, grene 103, swête 5, mete 1902, wepyng 2831, deme 1883.
for ags. ae long : heres, ags. haer 557; breede, 1972; lere, ags. laeran 6491; see 59, yeer 82, reed 5527, slenep 10, clen 369, speche 309, strete 3823, etc.

for ags. êo as in: seke, ags. sêoc 18, as well as: sike, ags. sioc 245, these diphthongs eo, io, had probably a similar pronunciation and are hence frequently confused, so hêofon, hiofon, and lêoð, lioð; scheene, ags. scône, beautiful, 1070; leef 1839, thee 3937; tene, ags. téona, grief, 3108; deepe 129, chee 6450, tree 9337, tre 6341; prestes 164, prest 503, etc.


Nothing certain can be concluded concerning the pronunciation of these e’s, which arose from so many sources. They all rhyme, and may have been the same. In modern spelling the e is now doubled, or more frequently reverts to ea.

III. The vowel i has generally remained unchanged at all periods of the language. Mention has already been made of its interchange with e where the ags. y was the mutate of u or êo, io, thus: fist 6217, fest 14217, ags. fyst; mylle 4113, melle 3921, ags. myll; fel 6090, fille 10883, ags. féol; develes 7276, devyl 3901 [divel Tyrwhitt, devel Heng. and Corp.], ags. diof. The i generally replaces ags. y, and e replaces ags. êo. Long i similarly replaces long ags. y, as occasionally in ags. Short ags. i seems to have been lengthened before ïd, nd, [no reasons are adduced] as in: wyde 2311, chylde 2312, fynde 2415, bynde 2416. Undoubtedly this long i was then pronounced as now, namely as German ei (ai). [Pronunciatio longae vocalis i sine dubio iam id actatis eadem mutat quam nunc, id est i. In the contracted forms fint, grint for findeth, grindeth, there was therefore a change of vowel, fint having the German short i, and findeth German ei. [No reasons adduced.]

IV. Short o stands for ags. short o in: wolde 651, god 1254.

for ags. short u: somer ags. suner 396; wonne ags. wunnen 51; nonne 118, sonne 7, domb 776, dong 532, sondry, ags. sunder, 14, 25. Nearly all these words are now written with u, and preserve Chaucer’s pronunciation, for summer is written, but somer spoken [i.e. Gescius did not distinguish the sounds (o, o).]

for ags. short a, as already observed, and o is generally preferred before nd, and remains in Scotch and some northern dialects.

Long o stands for ags. long o in: bookes, ags. bœc, 1200; stooned 8981, stooed 5435, took 4430, foot 10219, some 5023, sothely 117, etc.

for ags. long a in: wo, ags. vâ 8015, moo 111, owne, ags. âgen 338, homly 7425, on 31, goost 265, hoote 396, ooth 120, loth 488. In such words a is uncommon, the sole example noted being ham 4030. Both o’s rhyme together and were therefore pronounced alike. At present the first is u and the second o.

for ags. short u in: some 79; won, ags. venjan 337, groen 7411.

V. Short u stands for ags. short u in: ful, ags. full 90, lust 192, but 142, cursyng 663, uppon 700, suster 873, shulde probably arose from some form scule, not scoulde, as we have no other instance of ags. êo becoming short u. There is no long u in Chaucer.

VI. The vowel y is occasionally put for i.

VII. The diphthong ay or ai stands for ags. âg in: day, ags. dag 19, weie 793, lay 20, mayde 69, sayde 70, faire 94, tayl 3876, nayles 2143, pleye 236, reyn 592, i-freynded, ags. frignan 12361. These examples show that ey was occasionally written for ay, and hence that ey, ay must have been pronounced alike.

VIII. The diphthong oy or ei arose from ags. êi as in: agein, ags. agein 8642, or from edg as: eyen, ags. eage 152, deye, ags. deygan 6802, [morí, is there such a word in ags.? It is not in Bosworth or Ettingshuter; Ormán has dezenn, supra p. 284. There is a deegon tingerere.] The change in these two last words may be conceived thus: first g is added to ei, then replaced by j (ç) and finally vanishes, as eige, eje, eie or eye. From eah comes eigh, as éahta, head, nád, sleáh, which give eyght, heygh, neygh, sleygh. This orthography is however rare, and highe, nighe, slighe, or hit nie sile, without gh, which was probably not pronounced at that time, are more common. The
word eight explains the origin of night, might, etc., from ags. néah, méah, which were probably first written weight, weight, and then dropped the i. [There is no historical ground for this supposition.]

IX. The diphthong ou, or ow at the end of words or before e, answers to ags. long u (as the German au to medieval German ä), in: bour, ags. bür 15153, oure 34, schowres 1, boun, ags. tün 217; rounded, ags. rûn 7132, doun, ags. dûn 954; hous 252, onle 6663, bok, ags. bûce, Germ. bauch, 2748, souked 8326, brouke, ags. brûcan, use 10182, etc. In many of these words ow is now written.

Before 1d and nd, ou stands sometimes for ags. short u. Before gh, ow arises from ags. long o, and answers to middle German au, as: inough, ags. genôg, mhg. genuoc 375; rought, ags. rôhte 8561, 3770, for which au is sometimes found, compare sale 4185, soule 4261.

Finally ou sometimes arises from ags. êô, as in: four, ags. fêôver 210; trouthe, ags. trêôvth, 46, etc.

X. The diphthong eu, ew, will be treated under w.

Chap. 2. Consonants derived from Anglosaxon.

I. Liquids l, m, n, r.

L is usually single at the end of words, though often doubled, as it is medially between a short and any vowel, but between a long vowel and a consonant it remains single.

The metathesis of R which occurs euphonically in ags., is only found in: bridges 2031, 10925; thrid 2273, threttene 7811, thritty 14437; thurgh 2619. But as these words have regained their primitive forms bird, third, through, we perceive that the metathesis was accidental. In other words the transposed ags. form disappears in Chaucer, thus: gothic rinnan, ags. Irnun, Chaucer renne 3888; frankic dréesan, ags. pérsean, Ch. threisehe 538, threisheid 3482 ags. prêsevold, pêsevold; frank. prêstian, ags. bêrstan, Ch. herst [Harleian and Lansdowne bresten Ellesmere and Hengworth, and Corpus, bresten Cambridge,] 1982; goth briynn, ags. birnan, Ch. brena 2333; modern run, [uru in Devonshire], thrash, but burh burst.

II. Labials b, p, f, w.

B is added euphonically to final m in lamb 4879, but not always, as bymes 4881, now limbs.

P is used for b in nempen 4927.

F, which between two vowels was v in ags., is lost in heed 109, ags. heedôf, heedôd. There seems to be a similar elision of f from ags. efenford in enforce 2237 [enforthe Ellesmere, Hengwrt, Corpus, enforce Cambridge, hensforth Petworth, enforce Lansdowne], compare han for haven 754, 1048, etc. F is generally final, as: wif 447, lyf 2259, gaf 1902, haf 2430, stryf 1836

Pv is never used finally, but is replaced by w, followed sometimes by e, as: sawgh 2019, draw 2549, now 2266, sowe 2021, lowe 2025, knew 2070, bliew 10093, fewe 2107, newe 17291, trewe 17292. In the middle of a word aw, ow are replaced by au, ou, but before v, w is retained, as: howe 3909, schowwe 3910.

W arises from ags. g, as in: lawe, ags. laga 311; dawes, ags. dag, 11492, and as day is more common for the last, we also find ley for the first, 4796. Compare also fawe ags. fhegn 5802 rhyming with lawe, i-slawe 945, for fain, stlain. W also replaces g in: sawe 1528, 6241, mawe 4906, waxes 1960, sorw 10736, morwe 2493, borwe 10910, herberw 4143, herbergh 767, 11347.

III. Linguals d, t, th, s.

The rule of doubling medial consonants is neglected if D stands for ags. X, as: thider 4564, whider 6968, gaderd, togeder, etc., in the preterits äide 3421, 7073, 8739, and hade 556, 619, [Ellesmere and a few MSS. where it seems to have been an accommodation to the rhymes spade, blade.] Similarly i-written 161, i-write 5086, although the vowel was short in ags. [It is lengthened by Bullock in the xvith century, p. 114, l. 7.] Perhaps létel has a long i in Chaucer's time, see 87, 5254.

S final is often single, as: blis 4842, glas 152, amys 17210.)

The termination en in some adverbs is now ce, as: oones 3470, twyes 4346, thries 63, hennes hens 10972, 14102, henen 4051 [in Tyrwhitt, haythen Ellesmere, heithen Corpus, no corresponding word in Harleian], hennen
The aspirate TH had a double character \( \theta \) in ags., and a double sound, which probably prevailed in Chaucer's time, although scarcely recognized in writing. That \( \theta \) was used in both senses we see from: breathed, ags. bræ\( \theta \) \( \delta \); heeth, ags. hæ\( \theta \) \( \delta \); fetheres, ags. fe\( \theta \) 107; forth, ags. for\( \theta \) 976; walketh 1054, etc.; that, ags. \( \theta \)ct 10—ther 43, thanked 927. The use of medial and final \( \delta \) for \( \theta \) are traces of \( \delta \), as: maybe, ags. maeg\( \delta \) 69; quod, ags. cu\( \delta \) 909; wheder ags. hwæd\( \delta \) 4714 [whether, Wright]; cowde ags. cu\( \delta \) 94; whether and con\( \delta \)e are also found. Again, we also find [in some MSS.] the ags. \( \theta \) replaced by \( \kappa \) in: father 7937, gather 1055, wether, 10366, mother 5433, [in all these cases Wright’s edition has \( \kappa \)]. But \( \theta \) on the other hand is never put for ags. \( \kappa \).

The relation of \( \theta \), \( \kappa \) is shewn by their flexional interchange in -eth, -\( \kappa \).s.

The elision of \( \theta \) gives whecher 7032, 10892.

IV. Gutturales, \( e \), \( k \), \( ch \), \( g \), \( h \), \( j \), \( q \), \( x \).

\( K \) is used before \( e \), \( i \), and \( c \) before \( a \), \( o \), \( u \), hence kerver 1801, kerveth 17272, but: carf 100. Medial ags \( e \) becomes \( ek \) or \( kk \), as nekke, ags. hnececa 238; thkke, ags. jiececa 551; lakketh 2282, lokkes 679. Modern \( ek \) after a short vowel is sometimes \( k \), as: seke 18, blake 2980.

Grimm lays down the rule that \( c \), \( k \) fall into \( ch \) before \( e \), \( i \) except when these vowels are the multiples of \( a \), \( o \), \( u \), in which cases \( k \) remains. (Gram. I, 515.) \( e \)h has arisen from ags. \( e \)k in the same way as \( kk \), as: wrecce, ags. vreaceca 11332 fecce, ags. fecceca 6942; cacche Mel., streccce, recce, etc. Probably the pronunciation was as the present \( tch \).

\( K \) was ejected from made, though the form \( maked \) remains 2526. In rule 173, if it is not derived from the French, the \( g \) of ags. \( regul \), \( regol \), has been ejected.

\( G \) was probably always hard, and so may have been \( gg \), in: brigg, ags. brycg 3920; eggyng ags. egc 10009; hegge, ags. hecg 16704. From this certainly did not much differ that \( gg \) which both in Chaucer and afterwards passed into \( i \), as: ligge, lye ags. leegan, 2207; legge, ags. leggan, 3935; abegge, abeye, ags. bycyan 3930.

The \( g \) and \( y \) were often interchanged, as give yeve, forgete, forgate, gate yate, ayen aegen, etc. The \( y \) replaced guttural \( g \) [due to editor] as in: yere, yonge, yerne, ey; and also in words and adjectives where \( y \) arises from \( i g \), as: peny, very, mery, etc., and in the prefix \( y \) or \( i \) for ags. \( ge \), as: ylke, ynowgh, ywis, ymade, yslain, ywriten, ysene, yswore 5655. And \( g \) we have seen is also interchanged with \( w \).

The hard sound of ags. \( h \) is evident from the change of \( vih \), \( löht \), \( fliht \), \( wiht \), etc., into \( night \), \( light \), \( flight \), \( wight \), etc.

Ags. \( s \) had always changed into sh, German sch. In some words sh replaces \( s \) as: freshe, ags. froec 90, wessch 2285, wissch 4873, assbh 2885. There is also the metathesis \( os \) or \( x \) for \( se \) in axe.

Chap. 3. Vowel mutation, apocope, and junction of the negative particle.

I. There is no proper vowel mutation (unlaut), but both the non-mutate and mutate forms, and sometimes one or the other, are occasionally preserved, as: sote 1, swete \( \delta \); grove 1637, greves 1497, 1643 to rhyme with leves; welken 9000, ags. wolcen, Germ. wolke; the comparatives and superlatives, lenger, strenger, werst, and plurals, men, feel, yees.

II. Apocope; bite, fro, mo, tho = than.

III. Negative junction; before a vowel: non = ne on, nother, neithir = ne other, neither, nis = ne is, nam = ne am; before \( h \) or \( w \): nad = ne had, 10212, nath = ne hath 926, nil = ne will 8522, nodde = ne wolde 552, nere = ne were 877, not = ne wit 286, mysten = ne wisten 10948.

Chap. 4. Vowels derived from the French.

French words with unaltered spelling were probably introduced by Chaucer himself, and the others had been previously received and changed by popular use.

I. The vowel \( a \) in unaccented syllables had probably even then approximated to \( e \), and hence these two vowels are often confounded. Thus Chaucer's \( a \) replaces fr. \( e \), \( ai \), and again Ch. e replaces fr. \( a \), thus: vasselage [see vaselage, p. 612, col. 2, and wasselylage, p. 645], fr. vasselage 3066, vilanye [see villany, p. 642, col. 2, and courtesy, p. 614, col. 1], fr. vilanie, vilainie,
728; compaigne, fr. compaignie 4554, chestayn [chastayn, chestayn, in MSS., see p. 642.] fr. chastaigne 2924.

With the interchange of the ags. vowels a, o, we may compare the change of fr. a, au, the latter having probably a rough sound as of oe united, which took place before ne, na, no, au in both languages, but au was more frequent in Chaucer and a in French, as: grevance 11253, grevance 15999, and other ance and ant terminations, also: romauns, fr. romance 15305; enhauns, fr. enhanser 1436; straunge fr. estrange 10690, 10403, 10381; demandes, fr. demande 8224; launde fr. lande, uncultivated district, 1693, 1698; tyrantz, fr. tirant 9863, tyrant 15589; grauntu 6478, 6596; haunt fr. hante 449. With the exception of the last word all these have now a.

II. Long e frequently arises from French ai, as in: plesuance, fr. plaisance 2487; appese, fr. apaisier 8309; freete, fr. frailete; peere, fr. paire 15540. Sometimes it replaces ie, as: neece, fr. niex 14511; sege 939, siege 56; and the e is even short in: cherte, fr. chierte 11193. Similarly fr. i is omitted in the infinitive termination ier, compare arace, creance, daronne, aiter, etc., in the list of obsolete fr. words.

Long e also replaces fr. eu in: peple 2662 [the word is omitted in Harl., other MSS. have peple, pupple, puple], mebles [moebis Harl.] 9188. To this we should refer: reprove 5598, yprove [proved Harl., proved Hengw.] 487.

III. That the pronunciation of i fluctuated between i and e we see by the frequent interchange of these letters; the fr. shews e for Lt. i, as: devine 122, divyn 15643, divide 15676, divided 15720 [Tyr. has devide in the first case], enformed 10649, fr. informer, enformer; defame 8416, difame 8606; surquirdie surquirdrie, chivachee chevachee, see obsolete fr. words below.

IV. Chaucer frequently writes o for fr. ou in accented syllables, as: covereches [most MSS. have coverches Harl.] fr. couvrecief 455; corone, fr. couronne 2292; boeler, fr. boulier 4017; gouvernance, fr. gouvernance 10625; sovereyn, fr. souverain 67. More rarely Ch. u = fr. ou, as: turne [most MSS., tourne Harl.], fr. tourner 2456; curtesye, fr. courtosie 15982.

V. Fr. o is often replaced by Ch. u, as: torment [torment Harl.], fr. tormente 5265; abundantly, fr. habondant 5290; purveans, fr. porvance, pourvance 1667; in assaige 11147, fr. assaiger, assaiger, the u had certainly the sound of w, compare assaige 16130.

For long u we occasionally find ou, which was certainly pronounced as in the present few, few, thus: salewith [Harl. and the six MSS. read saluew] 1494, transmuved [translated Harl., transmeuyd Univ. Cam. Dd. 4, 24] 326 mewe, fr. mue 351 [muwe Ellesmere and Hengw Mss.] jewise, fr. juise [juwe Harl. and most Mss., iues Petworth, iuye Lansd.] 1741.

VI. The vowels y and i are interchanged in fr. as in ags. words.

VII. The fr. diphthongs ai, oi, usually appear as ei in Chaucer, and must have been pronounced identically, as: scynte, fr. saint 511; doseyn, fr. doysine 580; chestayn, fr. chastaigne 2924; peyneth, fr. painer, peiner 4740; coveitoues, fr. coveintes, Mel. These diphthongs interchange in Ch. as well as in fr. [different MSS. differ so much that Gesenius's references to Tyrwhitt's edition on this point are worthless]. For the interchange of a and ai see I.

VIII. When the diphthong ou arose from fr. a, it was perhaps pronounced as long o. This is very probable in those words which now contain o or u in place of the diphthong, but less so in those which have preserved ou; as these had even then perhaps the sound of German au. Ex. nombre 5607; facound, fr. faconde 13465, sovn, fr. son 2434; abonde fr. habonder 16234. [The other examples have o in Wright's ed., or like flour 4 are not to the point; the above are now all nasal on.]

Chap. 5. Consonants derived from the French.

The doubling of final consonants is frequently neglected.

I. Liquids.

[The examples of doubling l, r, are so different in Wright's ed. that they cannot be cited.]

P inserted: dampned 5530, dampnacioun 6649; sompne 6920 =somone 7159, somnour 6909, solempne 209. This p is also often found in old fr. Similarly in Provencal dumpt, sampnor, Diez. Gram. 1, 190 (ed. 1).
II. Labials.

P for b; gipser, fr. gibecier 359; capul, fr. cabal 7732. The letter v, which was adopted from the romance languages into English, had no doubt the same sound as at present, that is, it was the German v, and the w was the German u. [That is, Ges. confuses (v, w) with (bh, nh) in common with most Germans.]

As in ags. g passes into German w, so in fr. words initial w becomes g or gu. Whether this change was made in English by the analogy of the ags. elements or from some other dialect of old fr., in which probably both forms were in use, it is difficult to determine.

The following are examples: wiket, fr. guichet 10026; awayt, fr. aguet 7239; wardrobe, fr. gardrobe 14983. To these appear to belong warie and warsteer, though they may derive from the frankie warian wastan.

III. Linguals.

Z is an additional letter, but is seldom used, as lazr 242. Ch. generally writes s for z.

IV. Gutturals.

C before e, i was probably s as now. Fr. gn now pronounced as German nj, (nj) is reduced to n in Ch., as Coloyne 468, feyne 738, barreine, essoine, oineoment. G was doubled after short vowels in imitation of ags.

The aspirate h, which seems to have come from external sources into English, and was scarcely heard in speech, was acknowledged by Ch., but has now disappeared, as: abominacions 4508. In proheme 7919, the h seems only inserted as a diacresis.

Fr. gu before e and i is often changed into k, as: pliski 913, magik 418, practike 5769, cliket 10025.

Chap. 6. Apheeresis of unaecented French e, a.

Initial e is frequently omitted before st, sp, se, as: stabled, fr. estabblir 2997; spices, fr. espace 3015; specially 14, squyer, fr. escuery 79, scoler, fr. escolier 262; strange, fr. estrange 13. Similarly a, e, are rejected in other words where they are now received, as: potecary 14267, compare Italian bottega a shop; prentis 14711, pistil 9030, compare Italian pistola, chissa. The initial a in avysion 16600, has been subsequently rejected.

Part II. Flexion.

Chap. 1. On Nouns.
Chap. 2. On Adjectives.
Chap. 3. On Pronouns & Numerals.
Chap. 4. On Verbs.
Appendix.

I. Obsolete Chaucerian words of AngloSaxon origin.

[All Gesenius's words are inserted, though some of them are still in frequent use, at least provincially, or have been recently revived. To all such words I have prefixed †. The italic word is Chaucer's, the roman word is ags., meanings and observations are in brackets. Gesenius seems to have simply extracted this list from Tyrwhitt's Glossary without verification, as he has occasionally given a reference as if to Cant. Tales, which belongs to Rom. of Rose. The Mel. and Pers. T. refer to the tales of Melibees and the Persoun, without any precise indication, as editions differ so much.]


†ele ëela ëola [many] 8793, fere [companionship, suprā p. 383], †ȝȝit ëitt [song] 15296, ëlme æfyllman [drive away] 17114, ëlo ëloga? [arrow] 17106,
fongo fangan [take] 4797, forpine
pínan [waste away] 205, forward fore-
veard [promise] 851, 850, 854, 4460,
freynge gefrengán [ask] 12361, fremde
fremed [strange] 10743.

gale galan [yell] 6144, 6198, ṣgar
gearvan [make; the word is get in
Harl., Heng., Corp., gar in Tyrwhitt]
4130, girden gärard gyrd? [cut off]
16032, gleede gled [heat] 3379, gnide
gnidan [so Tyr., girdynge Harl., gig-
gyge Elles., Cam., gyggynge Heng.,
gydyng Corp. gideing Lans., sigyng
Pet.] 2504, grame grama, ger. gram
[grief] 13331, gryeth hraðjan [pre-
pare] 4307, graithke 16080.

hals hēals [neck] 4493, halse hēals-
jan [embrace] 15056, [heende frank.
piahndi, germ. behende [swift?] cour-
teous, suprā p. 385] 3199, 6868, hente
gehentan [to take] 700, hent 7082,
herde hirdē [shepherd] 605, 12120,
herie herjan [praise] 5292, 8492, heste
haes [command] 14055, byheste 4461,
heete [promised] 2400, hete 4754, ṣhiht
[call] 1015, ṣkie higan, on hye [in
hine hina [hind p. 385] 605, ṣolt

jape qijap [joke] 707, 4341, 13240,
[to joke] 15104.

kithe cyðan [announce] 7191, kekk
germ. guckcn [Corp., loked Harl., likd
Heng.] 3445, latered [delayed] Pers.
Tale, ṣtloche laec 3902, lydne lyden
[language] 10719, leemes lēoma [ray;
leemes Harl.] 16416, lere laeran [teach]
6491, 10002, leene [lightning] līgē
more probably than, hilijan 5558,
hevled laevd leave [ignorant] 6928,
7590, līsset lysan [loosed] 11452, [re-
mission] 11550, līth hīl [limb] 16361,
litherly lyðr lās [bad], germ. liedlerlich,
3299.

make maga mīg, [husband] 5667,

newpon nemen nemjan [name]
927, note notu [business] 4066.

oned [united] 7590.

ṣyan panne [brainpan, skull] 15438.
rathe hrað hrað [quick] 14510,
træceh ræcan [reck, care] 2247, 4514,
reed raed [advice] 3527, [to advise]
3073, regne goth. urraijan [travel] 54,
ryst arisan, germ. reisholz [twig] 3524,
rōne rūn 7132, rōne 10530, rode
rūde [ruddiness, face] 5317, 15138.

ṣweve sagu [saying] 1328, swave
scuva scua [shade, grove] 4365, 6968,
shymerung sciman scimjan, ger. shim-
mern, [Heng., glymeryng Harl.] 4295,
scheene scne scéoné scéne, ger. schön
[beautiful] 1070, 10202, ṣhephen scyp-
pen, ger. schopen [stable] 6453,
schonde scéonde [disgrace] 15316,
ṣibe be [relation] Mel., sikurtý
frank, sihhur, germ. sicher 137, secur
[ib.] 9582, sithe sís [times] 5575, 5513,
sitken siten siti sísian 4478, 1817, seth
5224, scheinewit scéecan [pour out
wine] 9569, smythe smǐčan [forge]
3760, sonde sand [message, messenger]
4808, 14630, ṣsparre sparran [spar]
992, storf sterf [died] 935, 4703,
steven stěfén [voice] 10464, stound
stund [space of time] 3990, ṣtrene
stréonan [parents] 8053, sweiß svěťan
die] 3703, svede 1358, sweven svěťen
dream] 16408, etc., sūthe svīč
quickly] 5057.

ṣtene těôna [loss] 3108, theves ṣeá
[corruptions] 8285, thōlīd ṣółjan [suffer]
7128, ṣþrepe prepajan [blame] 12754,
þwynne tvīnjan tvéčjan [doubt, sepa-
rate] 837, 13845.

unethē ėaʃe [uncasily] 3123, unhele
unhaedu [affliction] 13531, unright un-
rhít [injury] 6675.

wanhope vanjan + hopa [despair]
121, welkid vlačian? frank. welchōn,
germ. verwelkt [withered] 14153,
þwclân volcen 9000, [Harl. reads
heven 16217, Tyr. welken], vëndë
[went] 21, whil cr [shortly, just now]
13256, ṣtþilom hýlum, ger. weiland
861, wisse wíçan [shew] 6590, wone
vunjan [dwell] 337, ṣwood vóð [mad]
1321, woodith trægeth] 12395.

yershe görne 6575, ṣyede čôte [went]
13069, yurys gewis [certainly] 6040.

II. Obsolete Chaucerian words of French origin.

[The italic word is Chaucer's, the
roman the old French as given by
Gesenius on the authority of Roquefort;
when this is not added the word was
unchanged by Chaucer. Meanings and
remarks are in brackets. This list again
contains many words not really obso-
lete, here marked with +.]

agregge agreger (aggravate) Mel.,
amoneste [adenomish] Mel., anciëntis
anecüir (anihilated) Mel., arace ar-
achrich [tear] 8079, ṣaaray, [order]
8138, [state, condition] 718, 8841,
4179, [dress] 8900, [escort] 8921, [to
put in order] 9537, ærelte arester [ac-
cuse, impute] 726 [Harl., Corp., Pet.,
Lans., have ret, rette, the others na-
nette], 2751, ṣassoile [solve, absolue]
9528, attempre attemprer 16324, Mel.,
M. RAPP ON CHAUCER.

M. RAPP ON THE PROGNUNCIATION OF CHAUCER.

Dr. Moritz Rapp, at the conclusion of his Vergleichende Grammatik, vol. 3, pp. 166-179, has given his opinion concerning the pronunciation of Chaucer, chiefly on a priori grounds, using Wright's edition, and has appended a phonetic transcription of the opening lines of the Canterbury Tales as a specimen. This account is here annexed, slightly abridged, with the phonetic spelling transliterated into palaetype, preserving all the peculiarities of the original, such as absence of accent mark, duplication of consonants, German (bh) for (w), modern English errors of pronunciation, etc. A few remarks are added in brackets.

The liquids are to be pronounced as written, and hence l is not mute, though there is a trace of its disappearance in the form (mal) for (half).
The transposition of r is not complete; we again find (renne) for (irren), and (brene) for (biren), English (ronn), (brn), (thurbh) through is unchanged, (bird) and (brd) are both used, (threshe) replaces (therskan), and (breste) replaces (bersten), English (horst).

Among the labials, b remains after m in (lumb), but (limm) is without the present mute b. For (nenman) we have the peculiar (nempmen), and similarly (dempmen) to damn. Final f as in (bhf) wife, is also written medially uvre, that is, in the French fashion, because v tended towards f in the middle ages. But initially, in order to preserve the pure German (bh), recourse was had to the reduplication uv or w. On w after a vowel see below. (Bh) sometimes arises from a guttural, as sorwe, that is, (sorbe) now sorrow = (sorrow), from sorg.

Among the dentals d and t occasion no difficulty, and s has, by French influence, become pure (s), [Dr. Rapp holds it to have been (sj) in ags.] especially as it sometimes results from p. The z is merely an s. The most difficult point is th. In ags., we have shewn [supra p. 555, note] that it had only one value (th). I consider that this is also the case for this dialect. As regards the initial sound, which in the English pronouns is (dh), there is not only no proof of this softening, but the contrary results from v. 12589.

So faren we, if I shal say the sothe.

Now, quod oure ost, yit let me talke to the.

The form sothe has here assumed a false French e, since the age. is (sooth) and English (south), [it may be the adverbal e, or the definite e, according as the is taken as the pronoun or the definite article,] which must therefore have been called (sothe), as this th is always hard, and as to the, i.e. (too thee) rhymes with it, shewing that the e of sothe was audible if not long, and that the th of to thee was necessarily hard, as the English (tuu dhi) would have been no rhyme, [but see supra p. 318].

Similar rhymes are (alu thee) allow thee, and (suthhe) youth, (uui thee) hie thee, and (sbhiithe) quickly, [supra pp. 318, 444, n. 2].

The Anglosaxon value of the letters must be presumed until there is an evident sign of some change having occurred. For the medial English th we have a distinct testimony that the Icelandic and Danish softening of d into (dh) had not yet occurred, for the best MSS. retain the ags. d, thus: ags. (feder) here (feder), now (faadher), (gedehtar) here (geder) now (grethdhar), (toegedere) here (together) now (teogdethdar), (hunder) here (hunder) now (uhdethdar), weather, (moolder) here (moorder) now (madethdar) mother, (kkbhiider) here (kkbhider) now (uiddethdar) whither, (thider) here (thider) now (dithdar) thither.

Inferior M.S. have father, gather, thither, etc., shewing that the softening of d into the Danish (dh) began soon after Chaucer. But when we find the d in Chaucer it follows as a matter of course that the genuine old p (th) as in (broother, feather) when here written brother, fether, could only have had the sound (th), and could not have been pronounced like the (bradhder, fcheidhar). The ags. kwy is here (kuth) and also (kuud) or (kuud) for (kun-de.)

Among the gutturals, k is written for c when e or i follows, and before
as (kneu) knew. The reduplicated form is ek. The g is pure (g) in the German words, but in French words the syllables ge, gi, have the Provençal sounds (dzhe, dzhi), which is certainly beyond the known range of Norman or old French, where g is resolved into simple (zh), but here gentil is still (dzheintil). Similarly romantic ch is (tsh), and this value is applied to old naturalised words, in which the hiss has arisen from k, as (tshertsh) from (kirk), (tsherp) from (keapjon) cheapen, and in thoroughly German words (tshild from (kild) child; and (elk) becomes (etsb) each. Reduplication is expressed by ech, representing the sharpened (tsh) [i.e. which shortens the preceding vowel] so that (bhraskke) exile becomes wreche, and sometimes wretch, which can only mean (bhrtsk); similarly from (fekken) comes (ftske) and in the same way (retsbe, stretsbe) and the obscure eacche = (kotsbe), which comes from the Norman eacheur, although (tshose) also occurs from the French chasser. The reduplicated g occurs some difficulty. In French words abregeri can only give abverge = (abredzhe), and loger gives (lodzhe), etc., but the hiss is not so certain in brigge bridge, egge edge, point, legge hedge, as now prevalent, because we find also ligge and lie from (liggen) now (lai), legge and (lezic) from (leggen) now (lec), and (abeze) from (byggen) now (bail). Similarly (brigge) ask, beg, now (breg), which, as I believe, was formed from (buugen) or (bezeigen) to bow. Here we find modern (dzhe) and hence the (dzhi) of the former cases is doubtful.

The softening of g into (j) is a slighter difference. The letter (j) does not occur in asg., and has been replaced in an uncertain way by i, g, ge. In Chaucer the simple sign y is employed [more generally the y is due to the editor, p. 310], which often goes further than in English, as we have not only (seen) a year, but give and (jeve, sjaf, forjete, set, asen, averjent) and (ee) or (ze) an egg.

The termination ig drops its g, as (penit) for penit, and the particle ge assumes the form i, as (inuukh) enough, (ibbiis') certain, and in the participles (itken) taken, (imaad) made, (islaa) or (isleen) slain, (iseene) seeen, (ibbriten) written, etc. From (geliike) comes (liilik) or (lilish), and the suffixed (-liik) is reduced to (li).

The old pronunciation (qq) must be retained for ng, thus (loog, loger) or (lenger); there is no certain evidence for (looq). The French nasal is in preference expressed by n. What the Frenchman wrote raison and pronounced (rasson) is here written resoun and called (resum), as if the (g) were unknown. As the termination in grievde has assumed the form (giving), we might conjecture the sound to be (giviq), because the form comes direct from (givin), as the Scotch and common people still say, but we must remember that giving also answers to the German Gebung, in which the g is significant.

We now come to h, which is also a difficulty. That initial h before a vowel had now become (u) as in German of the thirteenth century, is very probable, because h was also written in Latin and French words, and is still spoken. Chaucer has occasionally elided the silent e in the French fashion before h, which was certainly an error [was freitich ein Missgriff war! shared by Orrmin, supra p. 490, and intermediate writers, who were free from French influence.]. For the medial h, the dialect perceived its difference from (u'), and hence used the new combination gh, known in the old Flemish, where the soft (kh) has been developed from g. The ags. nikht = (nikht) became night = (nikht), and similarly thyrgh = (thurkh). For (khleakhen) we have lauk, and laugh, both = (laakh); (seeakh) gives seach = (saakh) or seigh = (seekh).

Before t, n, r, the ags. h has disappeared, but ags. (khbliti) is here somewhat singularly written white, a transposition of kwite. Had h been silent it would have been omitted as in hl, kn, hr, but as it was different from an ordinary h before a vowel, this abnormal sign for (khbl), formed on the analogy of gh, came into use, and really signified an abbreviated heavy ghw. Hence (khbliti) retained its Anglo-Saxon sound in Chaucer's time. [Rapp could not distinguish English w from (u), and hence to him wh was (wu), the real meaning of wh thus escaped him. His theory is that h was always (kh) in the old Teutonic languages.]

We have still to consider sk and ks.
The former was softened to (s̪jʌk) in ags., and hence prepared the way for the simple (ʃh), and this may have nearly occurred by Chaucer's time, as he writes sch which bears the same relation to the French ch = (tʃh), as the Italian sci to ci, s shewing the omission of the initial t. Some MSS. use ssh and even the present sch, the guttural being entirely forgotten. The ags. ks remains, but sk is still transposed into ks in the bad old way, as aks = (akse) for (ask).

For the vowels, Gesenius has come to conclusions, which are partly based on Grimm's Grammar, and partly due to his having been preoccupied with modern English, and have no firm foundation. The Englishmen of the present day have no more idea how to read their own old language, than the Frenchmen theirs. We Germans are less prejudiced in these matters, and can judge more freely. Two conditions are necessary for reading old English correctly—first, to read Anglo-Saxon correctly, whence the dialect arose; secondly, to read old French correctly, on whose orthography the old English was quite unmistakably modelled. [The complete catena of old English writers now known, renders this assertion more than doubtful. See suprà p. 588, n. 2, and p. 640.]

We must presume that the old French a was pure (a). The ags. a, was lower = (a). The English orthography paid no attention to this difference, and hence spoke French a as (a). There can be no doubt of this, if we observe that this a was lengthened into au or aw, the value of which from a French point of view was (aa), as it still is in English, as strange, demaunde, tyrvant, graunte, haunte. In all these cases the Englishman endeavours to imitate French nasality by the combination (ʌʌ). [This au for a only occurs before n, see suprà p. 143, and infra Chap. VIII., § 3].

The old short vowel a hence remains (a) as in ags., thus (mæksæn) is in the oldest documents (mekie, maki) and afterwards (makie), where the (a) need no more be prolonged by the accent than in the German machen (mĕkʰˈne), and we may read (mekke). [But see Orrmín's makenn, p. 492].

The most important point is that the ags. false diphthongs are again overcome; instead of (ælle) we have the older form (alle), instead of (skærp) we find (shärpe) etc. The nasal (en), as in ags., is disposed to fall into (ûn), as (hound, lord, drook, begonne), etc.

The greatest doubt might arise from the ags. æ or rather (e) appearing as (e) without mutation; thus, ags. (beaf, k hàbët, b ëánter, smal) again fall into (thet, k hàbbeòt, b ëánter, smal). The mutation is revoked—that means, the ags. mutation had prevailed in literature, but not with the whole mass of the people, and hence in the present popular formation might revert to the older sound, for it is undeniable that although the present Englishman says (dhët) with a mutated a, he pronounces (truët, ùaætër, smal) what, water, small, without a mutate. In most cases the non-mutated form may be explained by a flexion, for if (déeg) in ags. gave the plural (dégoæs), we may understand how Chaucer writes at one time (dëæ) day and at another (dææ) daw for day.

Short e remains unchanged as (e) under the accent, when unaccented it had perhaps become (a). Even in ags. it interchanges with i, e, as (thirstsh) or (thërstsh) church. The ags. eo is again overcome, for although forms like beo, beop, still occur in the oldest monuments, e is the later form, so that (stërra) star again becomes (stërræ), and (gæolæ) yellow gives (gelbë, jelæ), (fæol) fell becomes (fæll, fill), etc. A short (æ) sometimes rhymes with a long one in Chaucer, as (mede, reede) meadow, red. Such false rhymes are however found in German poetry of the xiii th century, and they are far from justifying us in introducing the modern long vowel into such words as (mæke, medë), etc.

The old long vowel e is here (ee), as appears all the more certainly from its not being distinguished in writing from the short. [Rapp writes ē e, but he usually pairs ē e, ë e = (ee c, ee e), the (ee) being doubtful, (ee, ee). This arises from German habits, but in reality in closed syllables (ë) is more frequent than (e), if a distinction has to be made. It would perhaps have represented Rapp more correctly to have written (ee c, ee e), but I considered myself bound to the other distribution, although it leads here to the absurdity of making (ee, e) a pair]. The quantity of the ags. must be retained, hence (seckæn, keene) can only give (secke, keen) seek, keen, and from
(sbeete) we also obtain (soote), with omitted (ee), compare Norse (sveet) sweet. [The careful notation of quantity by Orrain points him out as a better authority for this later period.] Long (ee) also replaces ags. o as (beete, see, sleape) hark, sea, sleep, and the old long o as (sceke, leve leve, depe, tshere) seek, lief, deep, choose, and finally the old long ea as (eek) and similarly (geete, beene, tshape) great, bean, cheapen. These different (ee) rhyme together and have regularly become (ii) in modern English. There is no doubt about short i, and long i could not have been a diphthong, because the French orthography had no suspicion of such a sound. Ags. y is sometimes rendered by u as fire fire, which, however, already rhymes with (miire) and must therefore have sounded (fire). The (yy) had become (ii) even in ags., so that (brund) becomes (bride), etc. Least of all can we suppose short i in (bhiide, tshilde, finde) wild, child, find, to be diphthongal, or even long, as the orthography would have otherwise been quite different.

Short o may retain its natural sound (o), and often replaces ags. u, thus (sumner) gives (summer), and (khnut, furthor) give (not, farther) nut, further. In these cases the Englishman generally recrus to the mutate of (u), to be presently mentioned.

Long o in Chaucer unites two old long vowels, (aa) in (hoome), sometimes (ham), (goost from (gaast), (oothe) from (aath) oath, (toote) from (hat); and the old (oo) in (booke, tooke, toote, soothe). Both (oo) rhyme together, and must have, therefore, closely resembled each other; they can scarcely have been the same, as they afterwards separated; the latter may have inclined to (u) and has become quite (u).

The sound of (u) is in the French fashion constantly denoted by ou. [But see supra p. 425, l. 3. Rapp is probably wrong in attributing the introduction to French influence.] French raisom was written raisun by the Anglo-Norman, and resoun by Chaucer, which could have only sounded (resun). A diphthong is impossible, as the name Caucasom Caucasus rhymes with houn, and resoun with town. Hence the sound must have been (nuus, tuun) as in all German dialects of this date. Hence we have (flour) flower for the French (flower). The real difficulty consists in determining the quantity of the vowel, as it is not shewn by the spelling. Position would require a short (u) in cases like (shuldor, hund, sund, bunden) shoulder, old (skulder), hound, hour, bound; but the old (sukhte) must produce a (suukhte) sought; and cases like (brukhte, thukhte) brought, thought, are doubtful.

On the other hand the vowel written u, must have been the mutate common to the French, Icelandor, Dutchman, Swede. The true sound is therefore an intermediate, which may have fluctuated between (e, v, y), (lyst, kyrs) desire, curse. These u generally derive from ags. u, not y. The use of this sound in the unaccented syllable is remarkable. The ags. (bethun) has two forms of the participle (bethed, bethed). Hence the two forms in Chaucer, (bethyd) or rather (bethed) exactly as in Icelandic [where the u = (o), not (u), supra p. 548], the second (bethed, bethed). Later English, however, could not fix this intermediate sound, and hence, forced by the mutations, gave the short u the colourless natural vowel (o), except before r where we still hear (o), [meaning, perhaps (ao). This theoretical account does not seem to represent the facts of the case.] The above value of short (u) in old English is proved by all French words having this orthography. Sometimes Chaucer endeavours to express long (yy) by u, as fruit, where, however, we may suspect the French diphthong; but generally he writes nature for (notytre) without symbolising the length. We should not be misled by the retention of the pure (u) in modern English for a few of these mutated u, as (full, putt, shudd, fruit). These anomalies establish no more against the clear rule than the few pure (a) of modern English prove anything against its ancient value.

The written diphthongs cause peculiar difficulties. The combinations ai, ay, ei, ey, must have their French sound (ee), but as they often arise from (eg) there seems to have been an intermediate half-diphthongal or triphthongal (eëi); thus (dëege) gives (dëeri) or (dëre). From éage we have the variants eye, ye, eighhe, yге, so that the sound varies as (eëe, iëe, ië,
eikhe, iikhe). Similarly (riikhe) and (riic) high, and (reekhe, nie) high.
We have already considered au, eu, to have been (AA). The ags. (lagh, lekh)
law, gives loue, which perhaps bordered on a triphthong (laue). In
the same way we occasionally find (daume) day, in two syllables, instead
of the usual (dey), ags. (deeg, degus),
and from ags. (saabh) comes soule =
(sałe) and soule, which could have
only been (sule). The medial ou =
ou, that is, (un), but before a vowel it
might also border on a triphthong;
thus louh = (luukh) low, is also written
lowe = (loue)? Ounhen = (uukhen),
and also oveu = (ouen), now oveu =
(ou). Similarly grove may have
varied between (grume, groone) and so
on with many others. These cases
give most room for doubt, and the
dialect was probably unsettled. But
the diphthong eu, ev, leaves no room
for doubt; it cannot be French (ou)
for heure hour is here (nyyre) [proba-
bly a misprint for (nuure)], and for
people we also find (peple). On the
other hand the French beunte, which
was called (béeute, bëote) is here
written beunte, which was clearly
(bëute). Similarly German words, as
knue, cannot have been anything but
(kne, kneu). Similarly (nueu) new.
The French diphthong oi in as vois
voice, was taken over unaltered, and
also replaces romanic ui, which was
too far removed from English feelings;
we have seen fruit pass into (fryt,
fruit); ennuier becomes (anoj) and
destruire is written déstrue, destrie,
but had the same sound (destr). As
regards the so-called mute e, it was
undeniably historical in Chaucer
and represented old inflections, yet it
was, with equal certainty, in many
cases merely mechanically imitated
from the French. But we cannot scan
Chaucer in the French fashion, with-
out omitting or inserting the mute e at
our pleasure, and in a critical edition
of the poet, the spoken e only ought
to be written. What was its sound when
spoken? Certainly not (a) as in
French, but a pure (e) with some incl-
ation to (i). This is shewn by the
rhyme (soothe, too thee) already cited,
and many others, as clerkes, derrk is;
(dreed is, decales) etc. At present
Englishmen pronounce this final e in
the same way as i, and in general e, t
present as natural a euphonious as the
French (a).
The following are the opening lines of
the Canterbury Tales reduced to a
strict metre.
[Some misprints seem to occur in
the original, but I have left them un-
corrected.]

And bhal bile bheeren eesyd atte baste,
And shortil kibbon the sonne bhos too reste
Soo test bi spoken bhitu nem evrirtoon
That il bhos of her fealship anoon
And male dehard erli too arise
Too tak-mur bheer ther as il zuu dejhiise,
Byt naethellass, bhebills il nubi tim i space
Or that il further in this tale rape
Me thigketh it akordant too resuun
Too teel zuu all the konsumum
And kibbith thee bheren and of kiblatt
degree,
Of eets of nem, sooo as it seemed meee
And eek in kibbath arrrek that thee bher-
sume,
And at a kniikth than bhol il firste beginne.
A kniikth ther bhas and that a borthi
man
That from the time that me firste bigan
Too ykden ut me lovbd tabialver
Trouth and monur, freedoom and kyttesise.
Fyl bherthi bhos me in nis lordes bhurre
And thertoo nadd we ridon nooman ferre 48
As bhal in kristendenom as heethesesse
And ever monur for his borthiessesse.
At Alisundr- ne bhas kibbann it bhas hannon,
Fyl ofte tim me nadd the bord bigonne
Above en alle nasiumus in Pryse,
In Lettson naddre russed end in Ryshe
Noo kristen men sooo ofs of his degree,
In Garnad- alte siuzhe nadd ne bece,

Kibbann that Aprille bith nis shuures soot
The drukht of martsh nath parse to the
And bethyd eevi venn in eebiitsh likur
Of kibbith sherty- endhendred is the
flour,
Kibbann Sevrye eek bith nis shheete breeth
Enspired noth in evry holt and neeth
The tendre knoppes, and the soge sonne
Hath in the Rem nis nelle kurs ironne,
And smale fulbes moen melodie
Thet sleepen at the nikht bith oopen lie,
Soo pryketh nem natiyr- in her koradzhes,
Then loqen folk too goon on pilgrimmedzhes,
And palmers for too seeken straandzh
sondres
Too fyme nulhes, knuth- in sondri longes,
And spesiell from eevi shires ende
Of Eaglond too Kantyrbury one thee bhurde
The nooll blissful metirr for too seeke
That nem nath nolpen kibbann that thee
Bhear seeke.
Bifall that in that secon on a dée
In Sonth-bheer at the tabaddon as i leen,
Reedil too bhenden on mil pilgrimmedzhe
Too Kankyry-ri bith fyl devuut koradzhe,
At nikht bhas kom into that kosterlire
Bhal mën and thobin in a kompanni
Of sondri folk bii aventyrr- lifale
In fealship, and pilgrims bheer bhi elle
That tobbard Kantyrbury bholed rite.
The theshemors and the stables bheeren
bluide.

M. RAPP ON CHAUCER.
Chap. VII. § 1.
At mortal batrely nadd he been fiftene 61
And fukhen for our feth at Brumasene,
In listes three and ex sixen his too.
This like bhorthi knikht nadd been alsoo 64
Sometime bhith the lord of Paleitie
Aqen another heesthen in Tyrkite,
And evermoore nadd a sovven pris.
And thiik that he bhas bhorthi me bhas bhis,
And of his port as milk as is a mad.
He never set a viilen ne seed
In all his liif, yntoo noo maner bhikht.
He bhas a vettee perfiikt dzhentili knikht.
Byt for too tallle jyu of his arrire,
His hors bhas good, byt me ne bhas nukht gee,
Of fystian he bhere a dzeppun
A bismoteryd bhith his naberduckmun, 76
For he bhas lot komen from his viadze
And bhente for too down his pilgrimadze.
Bhith him thar bhas his son, a soog akhier,
A lower and a lysti batsheeler 80
Bhith lokkes kryll- as thee bheer leed in press,
Of toheendi jeer ne bheas of adah- li gesse,
Of his statyvyr- ne bhas of even iughe, 83
And bhandryil delivr- and greet of streqhe,
And he nadd been somtim in tshivatsnie
In Flandres, in Artis and Pikardie.
And born him bhis, as in seo liti spese
In hop too stonden in his ladi grase.
Embrundid bhas me as it bheer a mode 88
At fyl of freshe flforres, khbhint- and reede.
Sijgung me bhas or flunctig at the eex,
He bhas as fresh as is the mounth of me, 92
Short bhas his guun bhith sleeves logo and bhilde,
Bhel knud ne sitt- on mors and frawe ride,
He knud soggex bhele make and endite,
Dhybyss- and eek daaens- and bhele pyttrre
And bhriite. 96
Soo woot he lovde, that bi nikhter-tale
He sleep nomoor than dooth a nikhtingale.
Kyrrtes ne bhas, lukhil (or louill) and servisable
And karf bfora his fedyr at the table. 100

If in the above we read (ee, e) and (oo, o) for (ee, e) and (oo, o), and (e) for (i) which is a slight difference, and also (ii, i) for (ii, i), and do not insist on (a) for (a), and also read (w, wh) for the un-English (bh, khb), the differences between this transcript and my own, reduce to 1) the treatment of final e, which Rapp had not sufficiently studied; 2) the merging of all short a into (y), certainly erroneous; 3) the indistinct separation of the two values of ou into (uu, ouu), and 4) the conception of (ee), an un-English sound, as the proper pronunciation of ey, ay as distinct from long e. It is remarkable that so much similarity should have been attained by such a distinctly different course of investigation.

Instructions for Reading the Phonetic Transcript of the Prologue.

The application of the results of Chapter IV. to the exhibition of the pronunciation of the prologue, has been a work of great difficulty, and numerous cases of hesitation occurred, where analogy alone could decide. The passages have been studied carefully, and in order to judge of the effect, I have endeavoured to familiarise myself with the conception of the pronunciation by continually reading aloud. The examination of older pronunciation in Chap. V., has on the whole confirmed the view taken, and I feel considerable confidence in recommending Early English scholars to endeavour to read some passages for themselves, and not to prejudge the effect, as many from old habits may feel inclined. As some difficult may be felt in acquiring the facility of utterance necessary for judging of the effect of this system of pronunciation, it may not be out of place to give a few hints for practice in reading, shewing how those who find a difficulty in reproducing the precise sounds which are indicated, may approximate to them sufficiently for this purpose. These instructions correspond to those which I have given in the introduction to the second edition of Mr. R. Morris’s Chauver.

The roman vowels (a, e, o, u) must be pronounced as in Italian,
with the broad or open e, o, not the narrow or close sounds. They are practically the same as the short vowels in German, or the French short a, e, o, ou. The (a) is never our common English a in fat, that is (æ), but is much broader, as in the provinces, though Londoners will probably say (æ). For (o) few will perhaps use any sound but the familiar (o). The (u) also may be pronounced as (u′), that is, u in bull or oo in foot. The long vowels are (aa, ee, oo, uu) and represent the same sounds prolonged, but if any English reader finds a difficulty in pronouncing the broad and long (ee, oo) as in Italian, Spanish, Welsh, and before r in the modern English mare, more, he may take the easier close sounds (ee, oo) as in male, mole. The short (i) is the English short i in pit, and will occasion no difficulty. But the long (ii) being unusual, if it cannot be appreciated by help of the directions on p. 106, may be pronounced as (ii), that is as ee in feet. The vowel (yy), which only occurs long, is the long French u, or long German ü. The final -e should be pronounced shortly and indistinctly, like the German final -e, or our final a in China, idea, (supra p. 119, note, col. 2), and inflectional final -en should sound as we now pronounce -en in science, patient. It would probably have been more correct to write (v) in these places, but there is no authority for any other but an (e) sound, see p. 318.

For the diphthongs, (ai) represents the German ai, French, ai Italian ahi, Welsh ai, the usual sound of English eye,1 when it is distinguished from eye, but readers may confound it with that sound without inconvenience. The diphthong (au) represents the German au, and bears the same relation to the English ow in now, as the German ai to English eye, but readers may without inconvenience use the sound of English ow in now. Many English speakers habitually say (ai, au) for (oi, ou) in eye, now. The diphthong (ui) is the Italian ui in lui, the French ouï nearly, or more exactly the French oui taking care to accent the first element, and not to confound the sound with the English we.

The aspirate is always represented by (H h), never by (h), which is only used to modify preceding letters.

(J j) must be pronounced as German j in ja, or English y in yea, yawn, and not as English j in just.

The letters (b d f g k l m n p r s t v w z) have their ordinary English meanings, but it should be remembered that (g) is always as in gay, go, get, never as in gem; that (r) is always trilled with the tip of the tongue as in ray, roe, and never pronounced as in air, ear, oar; and also that (s) is always the hiss in hiss and never like a (z) as in his, or like (sh). The letter (q) has altogether a new meaning, that of ng in sing, singer, but ng in finger is (qg).

1 This word is variously pronounced, and some persons rhyme it with may. In taking votes at a public meeting the sound intended to be conveyed in the text is generally used in the South of England, but this pronunciation is perhaps unknown in Scotland.
(Th, dh) represent the sounds in thin, then, the modern Greek θ β. (Sh, zh) are the sounds in mesh measure, or pish, vision, the Fr. ch, j.

(Kh, gh) are the usual German ch in ach and g in Tage. But careful speakers will observe that the Germans have three sounds of ch as in ich, ach, auch, and these are distinguished as (kh, kh, kwh); and the similar varieties (gh, gh, gwh) are sometimes found. The reader who feels it difficult to distinguish these three sounds, may content himself with saying (kh, gh) or even (n'). The (kwh) when initial is the Scotch quh, Welsh chw, and may be called (khw-) without inconvenience. Final (gwh) differs little from (wh) as truly pronounced in when, what, which should, if possible, be carefully distinguished from (w). As however (wh) is almost unknown to speakers in the south of England, they may approximate to it, when initial, by saying (n'w), and, when final, by saying (un').

The italic (w) is also used in the combination (kvw) which has precisely the sound of qu in queen, and in (rw) which may be pronounced as (rw), without inconvenience.

(Tsh, dzh) are the consonantal diphthongs in chest jest, or such fudge.

The hyphen (-) indicates that the words or letters between which it is placed, are only separated for the convenience of the reader, but are really run on to each other in speech. Hence it frequently stands for an omitted letter (p. 10), and is frequently used for an omitted initial (w), in those positions where the constant elision of a preceding final -e shews that it could not have been pronounced (p. 314).

These are all the signs which occur in the prologue, except the accent point (\'), which indicates the principal stress. Every syllable of a word is sometimes followed by (\'), as (naa'tyyr'), in order to warn the reader not to slur over or place a predominant stress on either syllable. For the same reason long vowels are often written in unaccented syllables.

If the reader will bear these directions in mind and remember to pronounce with a general broad tone, rather Germanesque or provincial, he will have no difficulty in reading out the following prologue, and when he has attained facility in reading for himself, or has an opportunity of hearing others read in this way, he will be able to judge of the result, but not before.

The name of the poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, may be called (Dzhef'rai· Tshau·secr'), but the first name may also have been called (Dzhef'· reec'), see supra p. 462. The evenness of stress seems guaranteed by Gower's even stress on his own name (Guu'eer'), but he uses Chaucer only with the accent on the first syllable, just as Chaucer also accents Gower only on the first.
THE PROLOG TO THE CAWNTERBERY TALES.

is prefixed to lines containing a defective first measure.
+ is prefixed to lines containing two superfluous terminal syllables.
iii is prefixed to lines containing a trisyllable measure.
vi is prefixed to lines of six measures.
ai is prefixed to the lines in which saynt appears to be dissyllabic.
(‘) indicates an omitted e.

Italics point out words or parts of words of French origin.
Small capitals in the text are purely Latin forms or words.

Introduction.

— Whan that April with his schoures swote
The drought of March hath perced to the rote
And bathed’ ev’ry veyn’ in swich licour;
Of which vertu engend’red’ is the flour;
Whan zephyrus, eek, with his swete brethe
Inspired’ hath in ev’ry holt’ and hethe
The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe cours ironne
And smale foules maken melodye
That slepen al the night with open ye,—
So priceth hem natur’ in her’ corages;
Than longen folk to goon on pilgrymages,
And palmeer’s for to seken straunge strondes
To ferne halwes couth’ in sondry londes;
And specially, from ev’ry schyres ende

iii Of Engelond, to Cawnterbery they wende,
The holy blissful martyr for to seke.
That hem hath holpen whan that they wer’ seke.
Bifel that in that sesoun on a day’
In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay,
Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage

iii To Cawnterbery with ful devout corage,
At night was com’ into that hostelrye
Wel nyn’ and twenty in a companye
Of sondry folk’, by aventur’ ifalle
In felawship’, and pilgrim’s wer’ they alle,
That toward Cawnterbery wolden ryde.
The chambres and the stabel’s weren wyde,
And wel we weren esed atte beste.
And shortly, whan the sonne was to reste
So hadd’ I spoken with hem ev’rych oon,
That I was of her’ felawship’ anoon,

Preliminary Note.

Seven MSS. only are referred to, unless others are specially named.
Ha. is the Harl. 7334, as edited by Morris. “The Six MSS.” are those published by the Chaucer Society, and edited by Furnivall. They are referred to thus: E. Ellesmere, He. Hengwrt, Ca. Cambridge, Co. Corpus, P. Petworth, L. Lansdowne.

1 Defective first measure see p. 333, note 1. The six MSS. do not favour any other scheme, but all write
DHE PROO·LOG TO DHE KAU•N•TERBER·II TAA·LES.

(ii) See pp. 106, 271, readers may say (ii) for convenience, p. 678.
(oo) See p. 95, readers may read (oo, o) for (oo, o) for convenience, pp. 678.
(-) Initial often indicates an unpronounced (u), and that the word is run on to the preceding; at the end of a word it denotes that it is run on to the following.

Introduk'siuun'.

Whan dhat Aar'priil with -is shuur'ees swoot'e
Dhe druuk'weht of Martsh muth pers'ed too dhe root'e,
And baad'hed ev'mii vain in switlsh li'kuur',
Of whitsh ver'tyy' endzhen'dred is dhe fluur;
When Zef'virus, eek, with -is sweet'e breeth'e
Inspi'r'ed hath in ev'rii nolt and meeth'e
Dhe ten'dre krop'ees, and dhe suq'e sun'e
Hath in dhe Ram -is half'e kuurs i're',
And smaal'ee fuul'ees maak'en melod'ii'e,
Dhat sleep'en al dhe nikht with oop'en ii'e,—
Soo pri'k'eth hem naa'tyyr in her koo'raadzh'ees;
Dhan loq'en folk to goon on pil'grimaadzh'ees,
And pal'meerr for to seek'en straundzh'e strond'ees,
To fem'e hal'wes kuuth in sun'dri lond'ees;
And spes'valii, from ev'rii shiir'es end'e
Of Eq'elond, to Kaun'terber'aii dhai wend'e,
Dhe hoo'l'ii blis'ful mart'iiir for to seek'e,
Dhat nem hath holp'en, whan dhat dhai weer seek'e.

Briel' dhat in dhat see'suun' on a dai
At Suuttrwerk at dhe Tab'vard' as H'i lai,
Reed'iI to wend'en on mi pil'grimaadzh'e
To Kaun'terber'aii with ful devuut' koo'raadzh'ee,
At nikht was kuum in too dhat oster'lrii'e
Weel niin and twen'tii in a kum'paniire'
Of sun'drii folk, bii aa'ventyyr ifal'e
In fel'auishii, and pil'gririm wer dhai al'e,
Dhat too'werd Kaun terber'aii wold'en riid'e.
Dhe tshaam'berz and dhe staa'blz wee'ren wiid'e,
And weel wee'ren ees'ed ate' best'e.
And short'lii, whan dhe sun'e was to rest'e
Soo had H'i spook'en with -em ev'ruish oon,
Dhat H'i was of -er fel'auishii anoon,

or indicate a final e to A priil, which is against Averil 6128, April 4426.
16 C a w n t e r b e r y. E. He. Co. and Harl. 1758, write Caum., and P. indicates it. It would seem as if the French pronunciation had been imitated. The verse is wanting in Ca. which however reads Caum. in v. 769.
18 wh an t he t, L. alone omits t hat, and makes were a dissyllable, which is unusual, and is not euphonic in the present case.
And made forword early for to ryse,
To tak' our' wey ther as I you devye.
But natheles whyl's I hav' tym' and space,
Eer that I ferther in this tale pace,
Me thinketh it accordaunt to resoun
To tellyen yo al the condition
Of eech' of hem, so as it semed' me;
And which they weren, and of what degre,
And eek in what array that they wer' inne,
And at a knight than wol I first beginne.

1. The Knight.

A Knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden out, he loved' chivalrye,
Trouth and honour, fredoom and curteysye.
Ful worthy was he in his lorde's werre,
And theerito hadd' he ridden, no man ferre,
As weel in Cristendom as hathenesse,
And ever' honour'd for his worthinesse.
At Alisawnd'r he was whan it was wonne,
Ful ofte tym' he hadd' the boord bigonne
Aboven alle naciouns in Pruse.
In Letto' hadd' he reysed and in Ruse,
No cristen man so oft' of his degre.
At Gernad' atte seg' eek hadd' he be

iii Of Algesir, and ridden in Palmyrre
At Lyeys was he, and at Satalye
When they wer' wonn'; and in the Grete Se

iii At many a nob'I aryve' hadd' he be.
At mortal batayl's hadd' he been fiftene,
And fowghten for our' feyth at Tramassene.
In listes thryes, and ay slayn his fo.
This ilke worthy knight hadd' ben also
Somtyme with the lord of Palatye,
Ayeyn another hethen in Turkye:
And evremor' he hadd' a sovrayn prys.
And thogh that he wer' worthy he was wys,

33 forword, promise. No MS. marks the length of the vowel in for, but as the word came from foreward, it would, according to the usual analogy, evidenced by the modern pronunciation of fer, have become lengthened, and the long vowel, after the extinction of the e, becomes useful in distinguishing the word from forward, onward. for to ryse is the reading of the six MSS.

36 eer, E. He. L. read er, the others or; in either case the vowel was probably long as in modern ere.

38 telleth, the MSS. have telle, the n has been added on account of the following y.

40 curteysye, so E. He. Ca., the rest have curtesye; the cy has been retained on account of curteys. See Courtesy, p. 644.

46 eek is inserted in the six MSS.

57 Palmyrre, the MSS. have all the unintelligible Belmarye. This correction is due, I believe, to Mr. W. Aldis Wright, who has kindly favoured me with his collation of v. 15733 in various MSS.
And maad'e foor'ward eer'lii for to riis'e,
To taak uur wai dheer as rI ruu deviis'e.
But naa'dheles, whiis Li -aav tiüim and spaas'e,
Eer dhat rI ferd'h'er in dhis taale paas'e,
Methi'k-eth it ak'-ord'aunt' to ree'suun'.
To tel'en juu al dhe kondis'ñuun'.
Of eetsh of hem, soo as it seem'ed mee,
And whitsh dhai wee'ren, and of what d'eec'gree';
And eek in what arai' dhat dhai wer in'e
And at a kniikht dhan wol rI first begîne.

1. Dhe Knîkht.

A knîkht dheed was, and dhat a wurdh'iï man,
Dhat froo dhe tiüm'e dhat -e first bigan'.
To riid'en uut, née luv'ed tshiï-valri'i'e,
Truuth and on'uur', free'doom' and kurt'taisï'i'e.
Ful wurdh'iï was -e in -is lord'es were',
And dheed-to nad -e riid'en, noo man fere',
As weel in Krîst'endoom', as heedh'enes'e,
And ev'er on'uur'd' for -is wurdh'iînes'e.
At Aâl'iusaun'dr -e was whan it was wun'e,
Ful oft'e tiüm -e nad dhe boord bigun'e.
Abuu'ven ale naa'siinunz' in Pryys'e.
In Let'oou nad -e raiz'ed and in Ryys'e,
Noo krîst'en man soo oft of nî's dec'gree'.
At Ger'maad' ate seedzh eek nad -e bee
Of Al'dzheesii'r', and riđ'en in Pal mirr'i'e.
At Li'i'aís was -e, and at Saa'taalii'e
Whan dhai wer wun' ; and in dhe Greet'e see
At man'i a noobl'- aarri'vye' nad -e bee.
At mort'aal' bat'aiz' nad -e been fifteen'e
And foukhe't'en for uur faith at Traa'maaseen'e
In liis't'es thrîves', and ai slain -is foo.
Dhî's rïk'e wurdh iï knîkht -ad been also'
Sumtüim'e with dhe lord of Paar'laatii'e,
Aajain anud'h'er heedh'ên in Tyrkiï'e:
And ev'remoor -e nad a suv'rain priis.
And dhouookwh dhat née wer wurdh'iï née was wiis,'
And of his poort' as meek as is a mayde.
Ne never yit no vilayny' he seyde
In al his lyf, unto no maner' wight.
He was a very perfypt gentil knight.
But for to tellyn you of his aray,
His hors was good, but he ne was not gay.
Of joustian he wered' a gipoun,
— Al bismoter'd with his hawbergeoun.

For he was laat' ycomen from his vyage,
And wente for to doon his pilgrymage.

2. The Squyeer.

With him ther was his son', a yong Squyeer,

A lovieer, and a lusty bacheleer,
With lockes crull' as they wer' leyd' in presse.
Of twenty yeer he was of aag' I gesse.
Of his statir' he was of ev'ne lengthe

And wonderly deliever, and greet of strengthe.
And he hadd' ben somtym' in chivachye
In Flawndres, in Artoys, and Picardye,
And boom him weel, as in so lytel space,

In hope to stonden in his lady grace.
Embrouded was he, as it wer' a mede
Al ful of fresche floures whit' and rede.
Singing' he was, or flowing' al the day;
He was as fresch as is the mon'th of May.
Schort was his goun, with sleeves long and wyde.
Weel coud' he sitt' on hors, and fayre ryde.
He coude songes mak' and weel endyte,
Just' and eek dawnce', and weel purtray' and wryte.
So hoot he loved', that by nightertale
He sleep no moor' than dooth a nightingale.
Curteys he was, lowly, and servisabel,
And carf bifoorn his fader at the tabel.

3. The Yeman.

A Yeman hadd' he and servaunt's no mo,
At that tym', for him liste ryde so;
And he was clad in cool' and hood' of grene.
A scheef of pocock arwes bright' and kene
Under his belt' he baar ful thriftily.
Weel coud' he dress' his tackel yemanly,
His arwes drouped' nowght with fethres lowe,
And in his hond he baar a mighty bowe.
A nothecd hadd' he, with a broun visage.
Of wodecraft weel coud' he al th' usage.

90 fresh he was not counted in the enumeration of the fr. words p. 651.
In correcting the proofs several other omissions have been found and a new enumeration will be given in a foot-note to the last line of the Prologue.
109 notheed, a closely cropped poll. Tondre, "to sheere, clip, cut,
And of -is poort as meek as is a maide'.

Ne never  היה noo viir-laini -e said'e
In all -is liif, untoo noo man'eer wikht.
He was a ver'ai perf'iiit dzhent'il kniikht.

But for to tel'en joo of nis arai';
His nors was good, but nee ne was not gai,
Of fus'tiaan -e weer'ed a dzhii'puun',
Al bismoot'erd with -is nau'berdzhuun
For nee was laat i Kum'en from nis vii'aadzh'e,
And went'e for to doon -is pil'grimaadzh'e.

2. Dhe Skwi'i e er.

With nim dheer was -is suun, a juq Skwi'eeer',
A luv'ieer, and a lust'ii baa'tsheler',
With lok'eis krul as dhai wer laid in pres'e.
Of twen'tii jeer -e was of aadzh Li ges'e.
Of nis staart'yyr -e was of eev'ne leqt'he,
And wun'derlii deliv'er, and greet of streqt'he.

And nee -ad been sumtium' in tshii-vauntshii'e
In Flaun'dres, in Ar'tuis', and Piirkard'i'e,
And boorn -im weil, as in soo liit'ul spaa'se,
In noop'e to stond'en in -is laad'ii gras'e,
Embruced -e was, as @ wer a meed'e
Al ful of fresh'e fluur'es, whiiit and reed'e.
Siq'iq' -e was, or fluur'tiq'; al dhe dai;
He was as fresh as is dhe month of Mai.
Short was -is gunn, with sleeve'es loq and wiid'e.
Weel kuud -e sit on nors, and faire rii'd'e,
He kund'e soq'es maak and weil endiit'e,
Dzhust and eek dauns, and weil purtrait' and rwiit'e.
So noot -e luv'ed that bi'ii nikht'ertaal'ee
He sleep noo moor dhan dooth a nikht'iqgnaal'e.
Kur'tais -e was, loov'ii', and serv'iiis'aa'b'l,
And karf bifoorn' -is faad'er at dhe ta'a'b'l.

3. Dhe Jee'man.

A Jee'man had -e and serv'ants' noo moo,
At dhat tiium, for -im list'e rii'd'e soo;
And nee was klad in koot and nood of greene.
A sheef of poo'kok ar'wes briikht and keene'
Un'der -is belt -e baar ful thrift'ilii.
Weel kuud -e dres -is tak'ul jeem'anlii;
His ar'wes drup'ed noukeht with fedherz loou'e,
And in -is mond -e baar a mikht'tii boure'e.
A not'need nad -e, with a bruun viis'aadzh'e.
Of wood'ekraft weel kuud -e al dh- yu'saadzh'e.

powle, nott, pare round," Cotgrave.
See Atheneum, 15 May, 1869, p. 678,
3. "Not-head is broad, bull-headed. Not-head is used in the
south of Scotland as a term of derision,
synonymous with blockhead. Nott in
Dunbar, nout in Burns, oxen.—
W. J. A." Ibid., 5 June, 1869, p. 772,
Upon his arm he baar a gay braceer,
And by his syd' a swerd and a boucleer
And on that other syd' a gay dagger
Harneysed weel, and scharp as poyn't of sper';
A Cristo' on his brest' of silver scheme.
An horn he baar, the bawdrik was of grene;
A forsteer was he soothly, as I gesse.

4. The Pryoresse.

Ther was also a Nonn', a Pryoresse,
That of hir' smyling' was ful simp'lı and coy;
Hir' gretest ooth was but by Saynt Loy;
And sche was cleped madam' Englentyne.
Ful weel sche sang the servyse divyne,
Entuned in hir' noose ful semely;
And Frensch sche spaka ful fayr' and fethisly,
After the scour' of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frensch of Paris to hir' unknowe.
At mete weel ytawght was sche withalle;
Sche lect no morsel from hir' lippes falle,
Ne wett' hir' finger's in hir' savwe depe.
Weel could' sche catri a morsel, and weel kepe,
That no droppe fil upon hir' breste.
In curteysye was set ful mach' hir leste.
Hir' overlippe wyped' sche so clene,
That in hir' cuppe was no fethisly sene
Of grese, whan sche dronken hadd' hir' drawght.
Ful semely after hir' mete sche rawght'.
And sikerly sche was of greet dispoorte,
And ful plesawnt, and amiabl' of poorte,
And peyned' hir' to countrefete chere
Of court', and been estaadlich of manere,
And to been holden dign' of reverence.
But for to spoken of hir' conscience,
Sche was so charita'lı and so pitous,
Sche wolde weep' if that sche sawgh a mous
Cawght in a trapp', if it wer' deed or bleedle.
Of smale houndes hadd' sche, that sche fedde
With roosted flesch, and milk, and wastel breed,
But sore wepte sche if oon of hem wer' deed,

col. 3. Jamieson gives the forms nott, noot for black cattle, properly oxen
with the secondary sense of lord, and
refers to Icel. naut (novert), Dan. nôd (noedh), Sw. nôt (nobot), and als. 
neit, our modern neit (niit) cattle.
115 Cristofr', this was accidentally not counted among the French
words on p. 651.
120 seyn't. See supr., pp. 264, 476, 649, note, and notes on vv. 509
and 697 infrà for the probable occasional dissyllabic use of saynt as
(sa:n't). As this had not been observed, Tyrwhitt proposes to com-
plete the metre by reading Eloy.
with no MS. authority, Prof. Child
proposes othe (supr. p. 390, sub, oath), thus: H'ir' gretest other nas
but by Saint Loy, and Mr. Morris
would read ne was as in v. 74,
thus: H'ir' gretest ooth ne was but by
Upon: -is arm -e haer a gai bra-see;  
And bri -is siid a swerd and a buk-leer;  
And on dhat udber siid a gai dag-ee;  
Har-nais'ed weel, and sharp as punt of speer;  
A Krist'oft- on -is brest of sii-ver sheen-e.  
An horn -e baar, dhe baun'drik was of green'e.  
A forsteer was -e sooth'lii, as Ii ges'e.

4. Dhe Prîv'o-ri e c.
Dheer was al'soo a Nun, a Prîv-o-ri e;  
Dhat of -iir smîl'iq was ful sim'pl- and kui,  
Hîir greet'est ooth was but bii saa'înt Lui;  
And shee was klep'ed maa'daam- Eq'len'tiin'e.  
Ful weel she saq dhe serv'îis'e divîi'ne,  
Entyyn'ed in -iir nooz'e ful seem'elii,  
And Frensh she spaak ful fair and fee'tislii,  
After dhe skool of Strat'tford at'e Boue'e,  
For Frensh of Paa'riis: was to miir unknouc'e,  
At mee'te weel ätau-kwht' was shee withal'e,  
She lect noo morsel from -iir lip'es fal'e,  
Ne wet -iir fiq'gerz in -iir sause deep'e.  
Weel kund she kear'i a morsel, and weil keep'e  
Dhat no drop'e fil upon -iir brest'e.

In kur'taisii'e was set ful mutsh -iir lest'e.  
Hîir overlip'e wiip'ed shee soo kleene',  
Dhat in -iir kup'e was no ferd'h'iq seen'e  
Of grees'e, when shee druqk'en naad -iir draukwht.

Ful see'melii aifter -iir meet'e she rauk'wht.  
And slik'erlii she was of greet dispoorke,  
And ful plec'zaunt' and aa'maan'bl- of poort'e,  
And pain'ed miir to kuun'trefect'e tsheer'e.

Of kuurt, and been estuat'liish of man' cer'e,  
And to been noold'en duin of reeverens'e.  
But for to speek'en of -iir kon'siense',  
She was soo tsaa'ritoaa'bl- and soo pi'i'tuus',  
She wold'e weep, if dhat she saug'h a muus  
Kauk'wht in a trap, if it wer deed or bled'e.

Of smaal'e mund'es nad she, dhat she fed'e  
With roost'ed flesh, and mîlk and wastel breed,  
But soor'e wep'te shee if oon of nem wer deed,  

Saint Loy. Both the last suggestions make a lame line by throwing the accent on by, unless we make by saynt Loy, a quotation of the Nonne's oath, which is not probable. The Ha. has nas, the Six MSS. have was simply. For othe, which is a very doubtful form, Prof. Child refers to 1141, where Ha. reads: This was thyn ooth, and myn eek certeyn, which would require the exceptional preservation of the open vowel in othe, but all the Six MSS. read: This was thyn ooth, and myn also certeyn, only P., L. write a superfluous e as othe. 122 servye. See supra, p. 331. 131 fil, all MSS. except He. read ne fil. The insertion of ne would introduce a iii. 132 ful, so E. Ca. Co. L. 148 So all MSS., producing an Alexandrine, see supra p. 649.
Or if men smoot’ it with a yerde smerte,
And al was conscient and tend’re herte.
Ful semely hir’ wimp’l ypinched was;
Hir’ nose streyt; hir’ eyen grey as glas;
Hir’ mouth ful smaal, and theerto soft’ and reed,
But sikerly sche hadd’ a fayr fourheed.
It was almoost a spanne brood, I trowe,
For hardily sche was not undergrowe.
Ful fetis was hir’ clok’ as I was waar.
Of smaal coraal about hir’ arm sche baar
A payr’ of bedes gawded al with grene;
And theeron heng a brooch of goold ful schene,
On which ther was first writen a crowned ê.
And after: Amor vincit omnia.

5. 6. 7. 8. Another Nonne and thre Preestes.

Another Nonne also with hir’ hadd’ sche,
That was hir’ chapellayn, and Preestes thre.


A Monk ther was, a fayr for the maystreye,
An out-rydeer, that loved’ venerye;
A manly man, to been an abbot abel.
Ful many a deynte hors hadd’ he in stabel:
And whan he rood, men might his bridel here
— Ginglen, in a whistling’ wind’ as clere
And eek as loud’ as dooth the chapel belle
Ther as this lord was keper of the celle.
The reul’ of Saynt Mawr’ or of Saynt Beneyt,
Beceaws’ that it was oold and somdeel streyt,
This ilke Monk leet it forby him pace,
And heeld after the newe world the space.
He yaaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
That sayth, that hunter’s been noon holy men,
Ne that a monk, whan he is reechelies,
Is lyken’d to a fisch’ that’s waterlees;
This is to sayn, a monk out of his cloyster,
But thilke text heeld he not worth an oyster.

159 payr’. This was accidentally not counted among the French words on p. 651.
164 Chapellayn. See Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 92.
170 Ginglen. In any case the line has an imperfect initial measure, and the reading in He. has only four measures.
175 This line has evidently caused difficulties to the old transcribers. The following are the readings:
This ilke monk leet forby hem pace.
—Ha.
This ilke monk leet olde thynges pace.—The six MSS.
Now the Ha. is not only defective in metre, but in sense, for there is no antecedent to hem. The two rules
Or if men smoot it with a smert'e, and al was kon'siens' and tend're nert'e. Ful seem'elit' -iir wampl' ipintsh'ed was, Hvir nooz'e strait, nivr ai'en grai as glas, \[152\] Hvir muth ful smaal, and dheer'too' soft and reed, But sirk'elit' she had a fair foorc'heed'. It was almoost' a span' brood, \[156\] 'It troore', For nar'deliti' she was not un'dergrou'e. Ful fee'tis was -iir klook, as 'It was waar. Of smaal koo'ral' abuut' -iir arm she baar A pair of bead'es gaud'ed al with green'e; And dheer'on neq a brooth of goold ful sheen'e, On whisth dher was first reit'en a krum'ed Aa, And after, Aa'mor vin'sit om'niaa.

5. 6. 7. 8. Anudh' er Nun'e and three Preest'es.
Anudh'er Nun alsoo' with niir -ad shee, Dhat was -iir tshaap'pelain', and Preest'es three. \[164\]

9. Dhe Muq k.
A Muq k dher was, a fair for dhe maist'rii'e, An uut'ruddeer', dhat luv'ed veen'erii'e, A man'iim man, to been an abot aa'b'l. Ful man'i' a daing'tee nors -ad nee in staa'b'l: And whan -e rood men mikht -is brii'dl nee'e Dzhiiq' gleen in a whistl'iq wind as kleere And eek as luud as dooth dhe tshaap'pel bel'e Dheer as dhis lord was keep'er of dhe sel'e. Dhe ryyli of saint Maur or of saint Benait', Bekaus' dhat it was oold and sum'deel strait, Dhis ilk'e Muq k lect it forbi -im paas'e, And neeel aft'er dhe nee'e world dhe spaas'e. He saaf nat of dhat tekst a pul'ed men, Dhat saith dhat nunt'erz been noon nool'i'i men, Ne dhat a muq k, when nee is retsh'clees, Is liik'end too a fish dhat -s waarterles; Dhat is to sain, a muq k nut of -is klui'st'er, But dhilk'ekte tekst neeel nee not wurt' an uist'er.

named being separated by or, have been referred to as it in the preceding line. I therefore conjecturally insert it and change hem to him, though I cannot bring other instances of the use of forby him. The reading of the six MSS. gets out of the difficulty by a clumsy repetition of old, and by leaving a sentence incomplete thus: "the rule... because that it was old... this monk let old things pass," which must be erroneous.

179 recehelees, so the six MSS. It probably stands for reghelees, without his rule, which not being a usual phrase required the explanation of v. 181, and the Ha.cl.oy.sterles was only a gloss which crept into the text out of v. 181, and renders that line a useless repetition.
And I sayd' his opynioun was good.

iii What! schuld' he studi', and mak' himselven wood, 184
Upon a book in cloyst'r alwey to poure,
Or swinke with his handes, and laboure,
As Awstyn bit? Hou schal the world be served?
Let Awstyn hav' his swink to him reserved. 188
Theerfor' he was a prikasour aright;
Grayhound's he hadd' as swift as foul in flight,
Of priking' and of hunting' for the hare
Was al his lust, for no cost wold' he spare.
I sawgh his slev's purfyled att'honde
With grys' and that the fynest of a londe,
And for to fest'n' his hood under his chin
He hadd' of goold ywrowght a curious pin;
A loveknot' in the greter ende ther was.
His heed was balled and schoon as any glas,
And eek his faac' as he hadd' been anoynt;
He was a lord ful fat and in good poynt;
His eyen steap, and rolling' in his heed,
That stemed, as a fornyays of a leed;
His botes soup'l, his hors in greet estaat.
Nou certaynly he was a fayr prelaat;
He was not pal' as a forpyned goost.
A fat swan lov'd' he best of any roost.
++ His palfrey was as broun as is a berye.

10. The Frere.

+++ A Frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye,
A limitour, a ful solemn man.
In alle th' ord'res fowr' is noon that can
So moc'h' of daliewme' and fayr langage.
He hadd' ymaad ful many a fayr mariage
Of yonge wimmen, at his owne cost.
Unto his ord'r he was a nobel post.
++ Ful weel biloy'd and familieer was he
With frankeleyns ov'ral in his cuntre,
And eek with worthy wimmen of the toun:
For he hadd' powerr of confessionoun,
As sayd' himself, more than a curraat,
For of his ord'r he was licenciaat.
Ful swetely herd' he confessionoun,
And plesawnt was his absolucioun;
++ He was an esy man to ycev penawunce
++ Theer as he wiste to haan a good pitawnce;

184 studi', although taken from
the French, so that we should expect
u = (yy), Ca. and L. read stodie,
shewing u = (u), which agrees with the
modern u = (o), and has therefore been
adopted.

201 steep, bright, see steep on
p. 108 of Coekayne's St. Marherete
(supra p. 471, n. 2).
And I said his oo^piY'nrarur was good.
What! shuld -e stud'î and maak -imselv'en wood, 184
Upon a book in kluist'-al'wai to puu're,
Or swïqk'-e with -îs händ'es and laa'buer,e,
As Aust'-în bit? Huu shal dhe world be serv'ed?
Let Aust'-în naav -îs swïqk to nîm reserved.
Dheerfoor -e was a prii'-kaasuur' arikht',
Grai'mundz -e had as swift as fuul in flïkht;
Of prik'-îq and of hunts'-îq for dhe naare
Was al -îs lust, for noo kost wold -e spaare.
Hî saukkeh -îs sleez purfiïl'-ed at'e hond'e
With griïs, and dhat dhe fiïn'est of a lond'e,
And for to fest'n -îs mood un'der -îs tshïn
He had of goold iîrîoukkwht' a kyy'-ruus pîn;
A luve-knot in dhe gree't'er end'e dher was.
His need was bal'ed and shoon as an'i ìi glas,
And eek -îs faas, as hee -ad been anuint.'
He was a lord ful fat and in good puint;
His aren steep, and rool'-îq in -îs need,
Dhat steem'ed as a furr'naïs' of a leed;
His boot'es supl'- -îs nors in gree't estaat'.
Nuu sert'ainlu'-e was a fair prelaat';
He was not paal as a forpiïn'ed goost.
A fat swan luv'd -e best of an'i roost.
Hîs pal'frai was as bruun as is a ber'ie.

10. Dhe Freere

A Freere dher was, a wan'tuun and a mer'ie,
A liir'miïtuur', a ful soo'lem'ne man.
In al'e dh- or'dres fouour is noon dhat can
Soo mutsh of daa'launs' and fair laq'gandzh're.
He had ɪmaad: ful man'i a fair mar'iaadzh'e 212
Of juq'e wiim'en, at -îs ooum'e kost.
Untoo -îs or'dr'- -e was a noo'b'l post.
Ful weel biluvd' and faa'milieer was hee
With fraqk'elainz' ov'ral' in nîs kun'tree',
And eek with wurdh'îi wiim'en of dhe tuun :
For hee -ad puu'eer' of konfes'iïuun',
As said -imself, moo're dhan a kyy'raat',
For of -îs or'dr'- -e was liî'sen'siïat'.
Ful sweet'elîi nêrd nee konfes'iïuun',
And plee'saunt' was -îs a'bsoolyy'iïuun';
He was an eez'îi man to jeec'v penauns'e
Dheer as -e wist'e to maan a good piï'tauns'e; 217
For unto a *por' order* for to yeve
Is *signe* that a man is weel yschreve.
For if he yaf, he dorste mak' *acawnt*,
He wiste that a man was *repentawnt*.  

---

For many a man so hard is of his herte,
He may not wepe though him sore smerte.
Theerfor' insted' of weeping' and *preyeres*,
Men moote yeve silver to the *pore freres*.  

---

His tippet was ay *fursed* ful of knyfes
And pinnes, for to yeve fayre wyfes.
And certaynYy he hadd' a mery note.
Weel coud' he sing' and pleyen on a *rote*.

---

Of yedding's he baa'il utterly the *prys*.
His necke whyt was as the flour-de-lys.
Theerto he strong was as a *chawmpioun*.
He was the beste *beggeer* in his hous,
For thowgh a widwe hadde nowght a sho,
So *plesawnt* was his *In principio*,
Yet wold' he haan a ferthing er he wente.
His *pourchaus* was weel better that his *rente*.
And rag' he coud' and pleyen as a whelp,
In lovedayes coud' he mocbel help'.
For theer was he not lyk' a *cloysterer*,
With a threedbare *cop*' as a pore *scooler*.
But he was lyk' a *mayster* or a pope.
Of *doubel* worsted was his *semicope*,
---

232 All MSS. agree in making this a line of six measures, and it seems to portray the whining beggary of the cry, suprâ p. 649.

235 *note*, throte Ca.

240 *tavern's weel*, the six MSS. have this order. Ha. wel the *tavernes*.

247 *non* E. He. Ca., the others omit it.

249 as omitted in Ha. Ca., found in the rest.

252 After this line He. alone inserts the couplet—
And yaf a *certeyn fermé*, for the *graunte*.
Noon of his bretheren, cam ther in his haunte.

253 So all the six MSS., meaning, although a widow had next to nothing in the world, yet so pleasant was his introductory lesson *In principio erat*
For un·to a poor ord'er for to jeeve
is si·łe dhat a man is weel is·hree·ve.
For ñf -e raaf, -e durst·e maak avau·nt,
He wist·e dhat a man was re·pentaunt.
For man·t a man soo hard is of -is wert·e,
He ma·i not weep·e dhoo·uk·eh -im soor·e smert·e.
Dheer·foor· instead· of weep·i·q and pra·ecer·es,
Men mooit·e jee·ve· sil·ver too dhe poore freer·es.
His típ·et was ai fars·ed ful of kniiff·es,
And pin·es for to jee·ve fai·re wii·fes.
And sertainli· -e nad a mer·ii noot·e.
Weel knud· -e sîq and pla·iten on a root·e.
Of jed·iog nee baar ut·er·lii dhe priis.
His nek·e whît was as dhe fluur de liis.
Dheer·too· -e stroq was as a tshaum·piiun·
He kneu dhe taav·ernz· weel in ev·rii tuun,
And ev·risth ost·eleer· or gai tapsteer·
Bet·er dhan a laa·zeer· or a beeg·eer·
For un·to switsh a wurdh·ii man as nee
Akord·ed not, as bi·î·is fak·ul·tee
To ma·a·n with siik·e laa·zeerz aa·kwain·tauns·e;
It is not on·est, it mai not avau·n·se.
For to deel·en with noon switsh poor·ail·e
But al with ritsh and sol·erz of vii·tail·e.
And ov·ral·, dheer as prof·it shuld arii·se,
Kurt·ais· -e was, and lou·lii of ser·vi·se.
Dher was noo man noo wheer soo ver·tynn·uus·
He was dhe beest·e beeg·eer· in· -is nuus,
For dhoo·uk·eh a wid·we nad·e nouk·e·ht a shoos,
So plees·saunt· was -îs In pr·i·n·s i·i· p·ō·o,
Jet·e·old· -e naan a ferdh·i·q eer· -e went·e.
His puur·tshaas· was weel bet·er dhan -îs rent·e.
And raadzh· -e kuud, and pla·iten as a whelp,
In luv·edar·es kuund· -e mutsh·el nelp.
For dheer was nee not liik a kluist·e·eer·
With a threed·baar·e koop as a poor·e skol·e·eer·
But nee was liik a mai·ster or a poo·pe.
Of duu·bíl wor·sted was -îs sem·i·koop·e,

*verbum* (See Temp. Pref. to Six-Text ed. of Chaucer, p. 93) that he would coax a trifle out of her. The Ha. reads but o o s choo, on which see Temp. Pref. p. 94. That we are not to take the words literally, but that schoo was merely used as a representative of something utterly worthless, which was convenient for the rhyme, just as *pulled hen* 177, or oyster 182, and the usual bean, straw, modern fig, farthing, etc., is shewn by its use in the Prologue to the Wyf of Bathe. 6288 as pointed out by Mr. Aldis Wright,—

The clerk when he is old, and may nought do
Of Venus werkis, is not worth a schoo.
256 weel, so the six MSS., omitted in Ha.
260 So all MSS. except Ca. which reads, as is a scholer, against rhythm. Compare v. 232. See also Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 100.
And rounded as a bell' out of the presse.
Somwhat he liped, for his wantounnesse,
To mak' his Englisch swet' upon his tongue;
And in his harping', when that he hadd' songe,
His eyghen twinkled in his heed aright.
As doon the sterres in the frosty night.
This worthy limitour was call'd Huberd.

11. The Marchawnt.

A Marchawnt was ther with a forked berd,
— In motlee and heygh on hors he sat,
Upon his heed a Flaunderisch bever hat;
His botes clapsed fayr' and fetisly,
His resouns spaak he ful solemnely,
Sounding' alwey th' encrees of his winninge.

He wolde the se wer' kept for any thing
Betwixe Middeburgh and Orewelle.
This worthy man ful weel his wit bisette
So staatlj was he of his governaunce,
With his bargayn's, and with his chevisaunce.
For sooth' he was a worthy man withalle,
But sooth to sayn, I n'oot hou men him calle.

12. The Clerk.

A Clerk ther was of Oxenfoord' also,
That unto logik hadde long' ygo.
So lene was his hors as is a rake,
And he n'as not right fat, I undertake,
But loked' holw', and thecerto soberly.
Ful threedbar' was his ov'rest courtepy,

For he hadd' geten him yet no benefyce,
Ne was so worldlytoro hav' offyce.
For hi was lever hav' at his bedd's heed
— Twenty bokes, clad in blak and reed,
Of Aristoi', and his philosophye,
Than robes rich' or fith'l or gay sawtrye.

264 his, so the six MSS., omitted in Ha. which therefore required lip- s e de for the metre.
271 motlee, so all but Ha. L. which have motteley. The word is obscure, and may be Welsh mudliw, (mydliu) of a changing colour.
274 All MSS. read he spaak, but the order of the words is conjecturally altered on account of the rhythm.
275 soun appears in ags. as son, (Etinmüller 667) but only as the substantive song. As the word has here the form of one derived from the French it is here printed in italics and marked as French.
And round-ed as a bel nut of dhe pres-e.
Sum-what ne lip’sed, for -is wan’tuunnes’e,
To maak -is Eq’lish sweet upon’ dhe tuq’e;
And in -is nar’piq, whan dhat nee -ad suq’e,
His aik’-en twi än led in -is need arîht’,
As doon dhe ster’es in dhe frost’ii niht.
Dhis wurdh’ii lii’mii’tuur’ was kald Hyy’ber’d.

11. Dhe Martshaunt.

A Martshaunt dher was dher with a fork’ed berd,
In motlee and naith on hors -e sat,
Upon -is neel a Flaun’drish beever hat;
His boot’es klaps’ed fair and fee’tslii.
His ree’suuns’ spaak -e ful soolem’nelii’,
Suu’rq alwai’ dh- enkrees’ of his win’iq’e.
He wold’e dhe see wer kept for an’ii thuq’e
Betwiks’e Mid’eburkh and Oo’rewel’e.

12. Dhe Klerk.

A Klerk dher was of Ok’senfoord al’soo’,
Dhat un’to lodzh’ik had’e loq ’goo’.
So leen’e was -is hors as is a raak’e,
And nee n’ -as not riokht fat, Ji undertaak’e.
But look’ed nol’-w- and dheer’too soo’berlii’.

281 staatly, so Co., the rest have staatly, and Ha. alone omits his, against the metre. If we read:
so staatly, the first measure will be trissyllabic.

288 n’as, so E. Ca. Co., but was Ha. He. P. and L.
291 geten him yet no, E. He. Ca.; yit geten him no P.,
ought geten him yet a Ha.,
geten him no, Co. L.
292 wordly E. He. Co., wordly Ca., wordly P., wordly L., Ne was not worthy to haven an office Ha.
296 gay, so all MSS. except Ha. which omits it.
But albe that he was a philosopher,
Yet hadd' he but a lytel gold in cofer,
But al that he might' of his frendes hente,
On bokes and on lerning' he it spente,
And bisly gn for the sowles preye
Of hem, that yaaf him wherwith to soleye.
iiii
Of studie tok he moost cur' and moost heed.
Not oo word spak he more than was need;
And that was seyd in form and reverence,
And schort and quik, and ful of heygh sentence.
'Souning' in morall vertu was his speche,
And gladly wold' he lern' and gladly teche.

13. The Sergeawnt of Lawe.

A Sergeawnt of Lawe, waar and wys,
That often hadde ben at the parcyse,
Ther was also, ful rich' of excellence.
Discreet he was, and of greet reverence.
He semed' swich, his wordes wer' so wyse.
Justye' he was ful often in assyse
By patent, and by pleyn commissioun,
For his sciene', and for his heygh renow:
Of fees and robes hadd' he many oon.
So greet a pourchassour was no wheer noon.
Al was fee simpel to him in effect,
His pourchasing ne mighte not ben infect.
No wheer so busy a man as he ther n'as,
And yit he semed' bisier than he was.
In termes hadd' he caas and domes alle,
That fro the tym' of king William wer' falle.
Theerto he coude' endyt' and mak' a thing,
Ther coude no wight pinch' at his writing'.
And ev'ry statut coude' he pleyn by rote.
He rood but hoomly in a medlee cote,
Gird with a ceynt of silk with barres smale;
Of his array tell' I no lenger tale.

297 So the six MSS., the Ha. is unmetrical. The long vowels in philo-
sopher, gold, coffer, are very doubtful, and it is perhaps more probable that short vowels would be correct.

298 “a” is only found in Co. If it is omitted, the first metre becomes defective.

303 moost heed, so the six MSS.; heed Ha.

305 So all the six MSS. (H. has spoke), but Ha. has the entirely dif-
ferent line: Al that he spak it was of heye prudence. The whole of the clerk’s character is defective in Ha. In “Cassell’s Magazine” for May, 1869, p. 479, col. 1, there occurs the following paragraph: “The following pithy sketch of Oxford life half a dozen centuries ago is from the pen of Wycliffe:—The scholar is famed for his logic; Aristotle is his daily bread, but otherwise his rations are slender enough. The horse he rides is as lean as is a rake, and the rider is no better off. His cheek is hollow, and his coat
But al bee dhat -e wer a fiir’loosoofer,
Jet nad -e but a liir’tl goold in koof’er,
And al dhat nee mëkht of -is frend’es nent’e,
On book’es and on lern’iq nee it spent’e,
And biz’lii gan for dhe sooul’es prai’e
Of nem dhat jaaf -im wheer’with to skolaire.
Of stud’ie took -e moost kyyr and moost heed.
Not oo word spaaek -e moor’e dhan was need;
And dhat was said in form and ree’verens’e,
And short and kwick and ful of naikh sentens’e.
Suur’iq’ in moo’taal’ vertyy’ was -is spectsh’e,
And glad’lii wold -e lern, and glad’lii teetsh’e.

13. Dhe Ser’dzheeaunt of Lau’e.

A Ser’dzheeaunt of Lau’e, waar and wiis,
Dhat of’en nad’e been at dhe par’viis’;
Dher was alsoo’, ful rits of ek’selens’e.
Diskreet -e was and of greet ree’verens’e.
He seem’ed switsh, -is word’es wer soo wiis’e.
Dzhyyst’viis’ -e was ful of’en in asiis’e
Bii paartent, and bii plain komis’iunn’;
For mis si’vens, and for -is naikh remuu’n’;
Of feez and roob’es nad -e man’i oon.
So greet a puur’tshaa’suur’ was noo wheer noon.
Al was see sim’p’l too -im in efekt’.
His puur’tshaa’siq’ ne mëkht’e not been infekt’.
Noo wheer soo biz’i a man as nee dher n -as,
And sitt -e seemed biz’ier dhan -e was.
In term’es nad -e kaas and doom’es al’e,
Dhat froo dhe tiim of kiiq Wil’i’am’ wer fal’e.
Dheertoo’ ne kuud endiit’ and maak a thiq.
Dher kuud’e noo wikht pintsh at mis rwoitt’iq’.
And ev’rii staar’tyyt kuud -e plain bi’i root’e.
He rood but noom’lii’ in a med’lee koot’e,
Gird with a saint of silk with bar’es smaal’e;
Of mis arai’ tel It noo leq’ger taaal’e.

threadbare. His bedroom is his study. Over his bed’s head are some twenty volumes in black and red. Whatever coin he gets goes for books, and those who help him to coin will certainly have the advantage of his prayers for the good of their souls while they live, or their repose when they are dead. His words are few, but full of meaning. His highest thought of life is of learning and teaching. This is obviously a modern English translation of the present passage. Is there anything like it in Wycliffe?
14. The Frankeleyn.

A Frankeleyn was in his companye;
Whyt was his berd, as is the dayseye.
Of his complexitye he was sangwyn.
Weel lovd he by the morrow' a sop in wyn'.
To lyven in delyt' was e'er his won, 332
For he was Ericicus owne sone,
That heeld opinious that pelyn delyt
Was verrayly felicite perfyt.
An housholdeere, and that a greet was he;
Saynt Juliana he was in his cuntree. 340

iii
His breed, his ale, was alwey after oon;
A bettr' envyned man was no wheer noon.
iii
Withoute bake mete was ne'er his hous
Of fischt' and flesch', and that so plentiful
It snewed in his hous of met' and drinke
Of alle deyntees that men coude thinke.
After the sondry sesouns of the yeer',
So chaunged he his met' and his soper. 348

iiii
Ful many a fat partrich hadd' he in meue,
iiii
And many a breem and many a luc' in steue.
Woo was his cook, but if his sauces were
Poynawnt and scharp, and redy al his gere.
His tabel dormawnt in his hall' alwey
Stood redy cover'd al the longe day.
At sessione ther was he lord and syre.
Ful ofte tym' he was knight of the schyre.
An anlas and a gipseer al of silk
Heng at his girdel, whyt as morne milk.
A shyrreev hadd' he been, and a countour.
Was no wheer such a worthy vavasour. 360


An Haberdascheer, and a Carpenteeer,
A Webb', a Dyeer, and a Tapiceer,
Wer' with us eck, clothed in oo liv'ree,
Of a solemn' and greet fraternite. 364
Ful fresch and new' her' ger' apyked was;
Her' knyfes wer' yeched not with bras,
But al with silver wrowght ful clen' and weel
Her' girdles and her' pouches ev'ry deel.
Weel seemed' eech of hem a fayr burgeys
To sitten in a yeld'hall' on the deys.

334 sop in wyn, so all six 348 So all six MSS. Ha. reads:
MSS., sop of wyn Ha. He chaunged hem at mete and at soper, which is clearly wrong:

A Fraqk-elain was in -is kum'pani\(\text{\textae'}\);  
Whi\(\text{\textua'}\)t was -is berd, as is dhe daire\(\text{\textua'}\)e.  
Of -is komplek'si\(\text{\textua'}\)um -e was saqgw\(\text{\textua'}\)in'.  
Weel luv\(\text{\textua'}\)-e in dhe morn a sop in wi\(\text{\textua'}\)n.  
To l\(\text{\textua'}\)i\(\text{\textua'}\)-en in deli\(\text{\textua'}\)t was eer -is wun\(\text{\textua'}\)e,  
For hee was E\(\text{\textua'}\)pi\(\text{\textua'}\)kyy\(\text{\textua'}\)-rus oum\(\text{\textua'}\)e suun\(\text{\textua'}\)e,  
Dhat neel oop'pi'ni\(\text{\textua'}\)un' dhat plain deli\(\text{\textua'}\)t.  
Was ver'aill\(\text{\textua'}\) fee'li\(\text{\textua'}\)sir'tee' per'fi\(\text{\textua'}\)t'.  
An huus'hooddeer', and dhat a greet was hee;  
Saint Dzhyy\(\text{\textua'}\)aan' -e was in his kun'tree'.  
His breed, his aar'le, was al\'wai after oon;  
A bet'r-envi\(\text{\textua'}\)n\(\text{\textua'}\)ed man was noo wheer noon.  
Withuut'e baak'e meet\(\text{\textua'}\)-e was neer -is nuus  
Of fish, and flesh, and dhat soo plent'evuus  
It sneu'ed in -is nuus of meet and driq\(\text{\textua'}\)-e  
Of al'e daint'ees dhat men kuud'ee th\(\text{\textua'}\)ck'e.  
Aft'er dhe sun'dri\(\text{\textua'}\) see'suunz' of dhe see'r,  
Soo tshaundzh'ed hee his meet and his suuper'.  
Ful man'\(\text{\textua'}\)i a fat partrit\(\text{\textua'}\)sh' -ad hee in my\(\text{\textua'}\)-e,  
And man'\(\text{\textua'}\)i a bream and man'\(\text{\textua'}\)i a lyys in sty\(\text{\textua'}\)-e'.  
Woo was -is kook, but if -is sau'se wee'r-e  
Puin'raunt' and sharp, and reed'ii al -is geere.  
His taa\(\text{\textua'}\)b'l dormaunt' in -is naal alwai;  
Stood red'\(\text{\textua'}\)i kuv'erd al dhe loq'e dai.  
At ses'uumz' dheer was -e lord and suur'e.  
Ful oft'ee ti\(\text{\textua'}\)m -e was kni\(\text{\textua'}\)kt of dhe shuur'e.  
An an\(\text{\textua'}\)las and a dzhip'seer' al of silk  
Heq at -is gür'dl', whi\(\text{\textua'}\)t as mor\(\text{\textua'}\)e m\(\text{\textua'}\)lk.  
A shuur'reev' naad -e been, and a kun'tuur'.  
Was noo wheer sutsh a wurdh'\(\text{\textua'}\)i vaa'vaasuur'.  360

15. 16. 18. 19. Dhe Hab'er dash'eer, Kar'penteer,  
Web'e, Di'eer', and Taap'ei'seer.

An Hab'er dash'eer' and a Kar'penteer',  
A Web, a Di'eer', and a Taap'ei'seer',  
Weer with us eek, cloak'ed in oo l\(\text{\textua'}\)-v\(\text{\textua'}\)ee;  
Of a soo-leem'n- and greet fraar'ter'n\(\text{\textua'}\)te'.  364

Ful fresh and neu -er geer api\(\text{\textua'}\)k\(\text{\textua'}\)d was;  
Her kni\(\text{\textua'}\)\(\text{\textua'}\)t'\(\text{\textua'}\)s wer tshaap'ed not with bras,  
But al with sil'ver vouk\(\text{\textua'}\)k\(\text{\textua'}\)ht ful kleen and weel  
Her gir'dles and -er puntsh'es ev'r\(\text{\textua'}\)i deel.  368

Weel seem\(\text{\textua'}\)d cetssh of hem a fair bur'dzhais'  
To sit't'en in a jeld'\(\text{\textua'}\)-nal on dhe dais.

362 dy\(\text{\textua'}\)er, so the six MSS., Harl.  365 apyk\(\text{\textua'}\)ed, so all six MSS.,  
deyer, see dyer, p. 643.  piked Ha.
— Ev'rich for the wisdom that he can,
   Was schaaply for to been an alderman.
   For catel hadde they ynoogh and rente,
   And eek her' wyfes wold' it weel assent;
   And elles certayn weren they to blame.
   It is ful fayr to be yclept Madame,
   And goo to vigilyes al bifoere,
   And haan a mantel really ybore.

20. The Cook.

A Cook they hadde with hem for the nones,
   To boyle chicknes with the mary bones,
   And poudre-marchaunt tart, and galingale.
   Weel coude he know' a drawght of London ale.
   He coude roost', and seeth', and broyl', and frye,
   Make mortreces, and weele bak' a pye.
   But grec harm was it, as it semed' me,
   That on his schinn' a mormal hadde he;
   For blankmangeer that maad' he with the beste.

21. The Schipman.

A Schipman was ther, woning' fer by weste;
   For owght I woot, he was of Dortemouthe.
   He rood upon a ronnay as he couthe,
   In a goun of falding' to the kne.
   A daggeer hanging' on a laus hadd' he
   About' his neck' under his arm adoun.
   The hoote sommer hadd' mad' his hew al broun;
   And certaynyly he was a good fclawe.
   Ful many a drawght of wyn hadd' he ydrawe
   From Bourdevux-ward, whyl that the chapman sleep.
   Of nyee conscient' he took no keep.
   If that he fowght, and hadd' the heygher hand,
   By water he sent' hem hoom to ev'ry land'.
   But of his craft to reckon weel the tydes,
   His stremes and his dauenger's him bisydes,

371 everich, so all six MSS., every man Ha. 372
375 weren they, so, or: they were, read all six MSS., hadde they be Ha. 376
380 mary, ags. menwh, the h becoming unusually palatalised to -y-, instead of labialised to -w-; the parenthetical remark p. 254, n. 1, is wrong. 381 poudre-marchaunt, see Temp. Pref. to the Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 96.
386 Prof. Child reads: That on his schyne—a mormal hadd' he, suprā p. 363. The Six MSS. render many of the examples there cited suspicious, see note on v. 120 for v. 1141. In v. 1324, He. reads moot, and the line may be: Withouten dout' it note stoden so. For v. 1337 all six MSS. read: And let him in his prison stille dwelle. For v. 2286 all six MSS. read: But hou sehe did' hir' ryt' I dar not telle. For v. 2383, E. He. Ca. Co. L. read: For thilke peyn' and thilke hote fyr. In v. 2714, E. He. Ca. have: Sommi' hadden salves and sommi' hadden charmes. For v. 1766,
The supra, MSS. often agree; hence it is said to have been an al'derman. It is full fair to be rklept: Ma a'da am e, and gone to vii'dzhiilii'es al bifoore, and naan a man'tl ree'alii iboor'e.

20. Dhe Kook.

A Kook dhai nad'e with -em for dhe noon'es, To buil'e tshik'nes with dhe mar'i boon'es, And puud're mar'tshaunt' tart, and gaa-liqgaal' e. Weel kuud -e knou a draukwht of Lun'dun aal' e. He kuud'e roost, and seedh, and bruil, and fri'e, Maak'e mortreu'es, and weel baak a pii'e. But greet harm was it, as it seems'd mee, Dhat on -is sh'n a mor'maal' nad'e nee; For blaq' maan'dzheer' dhat maad -e with dhe best'e.


A Ship'man was dher, wuun'iq fer bii west'e; For oukweht li woot, no was of Der'temuuth'e. He rood upon' a ruun'sii as -e kuuth'e, In a guun of fal'diq' too dhe knee. A dag' eer' naq'iq on a laas -ad nee Abuut' -is nek un'der -is arm adum'. Dhe noot'e sum'er -ad maad -is neu al bruun; And ser'tainlil' -e was a good fel'au'e. Ful man'i a draukwht of wiin -ad nee idrau'e From Buur' deus-ward, whiil dhat dhe tshap'man sleep. Of nii's e kon'siens' -e took noo keep. If dhat -e foukweht and nad dhe maik'her hand, Bii waa'ter -e sent -em noom to evru'i land. But of -is kraft to rek'en weel dhe tiid'es, His streem' es and -is dam'dzherz nim bisuid'es,

E. He. Ca. Co. L. read: The trespass of him both and eek the cause. For v. 4377 (in which read sight for night) E. He. Pe. L. practically agree with Ha., but it would be easy to conjecture; 'Til that he had' d al thilek sight' yseyn. For v. 4405, E. reads rotie in place of rote, but He. Pe. L. agree with Ha. The form rotie, which is more ancient, see Strattmann's Dict. p. 467, would save the open vowel. It is possible, therefore, that the other examples of open e preserved by casura in Chaucer, would disappear if more MSS. were consulted. Again, in the first line cited from Gower, i. 143, we see in the example below that two MSS. read: he wept' and with ful woful teres. The practice is therefore doubtful. But final e often remains before he at the end of a line in Gower, superf; p. 361, art. 76, a. Hence the division in the text is justified. There is no variety in the readings of the MSS.

387 that maad' he, so all six MSS. Ha. he made. 391 falding, =vestis equi vil-
His herbergh and his moon', his loodmanage,
Ther was noon swich from Hulle to Cartage.

Hardy he was, and wys to undertake;

With many a tempest hath his berd been schake.
He knew weel al the haven's, as they were,
From Scotland to the caap' of Fynisterere,
And every cryk' in Brelayn' and in Spayne;
His barg' ycleped was the Mauwdeleyne.

22. The Doctour of Phisyk.

Ther was also a Doctour of Phisyk,
In al this world ne was ther noon him lyk
To spek' of phisyk and of surgerye;
For he was grounded in astronomye.
He kept' his pacient a ful greet deel
In houres by his magyh natureel.
— Weel coud' he fortunen th' ascendent
Of his images for his pacient.
He knew the cases' of ev'ry maladye,
Wer' it of coold, or heet', or moyst, or drye,
And wheer engendred and of what humour;
He was a verray parfyt practisour.
The cases' yknow', and of his harm the rote,
Anoon he yaaf the syke man his bote.
+ Ful redy hadd' he his apotecaryes
+ To send' him drogges, and his letuaries,
For eech' of hem mad' other for to winne;
Her' frendschip' was not newe to beginne.
— Weel knew he th' old' Esculapius,
And Deiscordes, and eek Rufus;
Oold Ipocras, Haly, and Gulien;
Serapion, Razys, and Aycyen;
iii Averrois, Damascen, and Constantyn;
Bernard and Gatesden and Gilbertyn.
iii Of his dyete mesurabel was he,
For it was of noon superfluite,
But of greet nourishing' and digestybel.
iii His studie was but lytel on the Bybel.
In sangwyn and in pers he clad was al,
Lyned with taffata and with sendal'.
And yit he was but esy in dispence;
He kepte that he wan in pestilence.
For goold in phisyk is a cordial;
Theerfor' he loved' goold in special.

· losa, see Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Ch. p. 99.
  403 loodmargs, pilotage, see Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 98. A loodman must have been a pilot, or leading-man, compare loadstone, loadstar. The -age is a French termination.
  415 a ful greet deel, so all six MSS., wondurly wel Ha.
His neberkhe and -is mon*; -is lood'manaadzh'e,
Dher was noon switsh from Hul'e too Kartaadzh'e. 404
Hard'ii ne was, and wiiis to un'dertaa'ke;
With man'i a tem'pest nath -is berd been shaak'e.
He kneu weel al dhe naa'venz, as dhai weere,
From Skotland too dhe kaap of Fii'nisteer'e,
And ev'rii kriik in Bree'tain and in Spain'e;
His baardzh 'klep'ed was dhe Mau'delaine.

22. Dhe Dok'tuur of Fii'ziik'.

Dher was alsoo; a Dok'tuur of Fii'ziik;
In al dhe world ne was dher noon -im liik 412
To speek of fi'ziik: and of sur'dzheri'c';
For nee was grund'ed 'in astroon'nomi'e.
He kept -is paa'sient: a ful greet deel
In uure's bi'il -is manaadzh'eek naat'tyy'reel'.
Weel kuud 'nee forty'n'en dh- as'endent:
Of nis 'maadzh'ees for -is paa'sient.
He kneu dhe kauz of ev'rii maaladu',
Weer it of koold, or neet, or muist, or drii'e,
And wheer endzhendred, and of what hyymuur;
He was a vera'ii par'fiit prak'tii'suur'.
Dhe kauz iknoou', and of -is harm dhe root'e,
Anoom' -e yaaf dhe sirk'e man -is boote.
Ful red'ii nad -e nis apoo tee'kaaries
To send -im droges', and -is let'yyaar'ies,
For eetsh of nem maad udl'her for to win'e;
Her frend'shiiip was not neu'e too begin'e.
Weel kneu 'nee dh- oold Es'kyy'laa'pius,
And Dee',iskor'idees, and eek Ryy'fus;
Oold Ipokras', Haa'lid', and Gaa'leen;
Seraapioon', Raaziziis' and Aa'viiseen; 432
Aver'o, is, Damaseen' and Konstantiin';
Bernard' and Gaa'tesden' and Gilbertiin'.
Of nis diiet'e mee'syy'raa'b'l was 'nee,
For it was of noon syy'perylyy'itee,
But of greet nuur'ishiq' and diid'zhes'iiib'l.
His stud'ie was but liit'l on dhe Biit'b'l.
In saq'gwiin' and in pers -e klad was al,
Luin'ed with taftaataar and with sendal.
And sii -e was but eez ii in dispes'e;
He kept'e dhat -e wan in pestilens'e.
For goold in fi'ziik is a kordial';
Dheefloor' -e luv'ed goold in spes'ial'.

429 Suprà p. 341, 1. 2 and 13, I treated this as a full line, thinking that the e in old'e was to be preserved. Further consideration induces me to mark the line as having an imperfect first measure, and to elide the e in the regular way, on the principle that exceptional usages should not be unnecessarily assumed.
23. The Wyf of Bathe.

A good Wyf was ther of bisyde Bathe,
But sche was somdeel deef, and that was skathe.
Of cloothmaking' sche hadde swich an haunt,
Sche passed' hem of Ypres and of Gaunt.
In al the parischi' wyf ne was ther noon,
That to th' offring' bifoorn her schulde goon,
And if ther dide, certayn so wrooth was sche,
That sche was out of alle charite.
Hir' keverchefs ful fyne wer' of grounde;
I durste swere they weygheden ten pounde
That on a Sunday wer' uponhir' heed.
Hir' hosen weren oiftyn scarlet reed,
And on hir' feet a pyr' of spores scharpe.
In felawship' weel coud' sche lawgh' and carpe.

24. The Persoun.

A good man was ther of religioun,
And was a pore Persoun of a toun;
But rich' he was of holy thowght and werk',
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
That Cristes gospel gladly wolde preche;
His parischens devoutly wold' he tiche.

452 was out, so the six MSS.,
wase thanne out Ha.
453 ful fyne wer', so the six
MSS., weren ful fyne Ha.
454 weygheden, weyghede
Ha. weyden E. He. Co. P.,
weydyn Ca. weiden L., hence
all but Ha. give the plural en.
460 So E. He. Ca., atte, Co. Pe.,
att pe L., housbondes atte
chirche dore hadde sche
fyfe Ha. which is unmetrical.
23. Dhe Wiif of Baath-e.

A good wiif was dher of bisiüd-e Baath-e,
But shee was sun-deel deef, and dhat was skaa-th-e.
Of klood- maak-'iq' she nad-e switsh an naunt,
She pased nem of if-pres and of Gaunt.

In al dhe par- ish wiif-ne was dher noon,
Dhat too dh- ofriq' brfoorn- -er shuld-e goon,
And if dher diše, seertain- so rewoth was shee,
Dhat shee was uut of al-e tshaar-'üi-tec.'

Hii'r kev'-ersthefis ful füüne weer of grund-e;
Li durste sweere dhe wai'dh-en ten puund-e.
Dhat on a Sun-dai weer upon -iir heed.
Hii'r nooz-en weer-en of füün skar'let reed,
Ful strait 'toid', and shooz ful mist and neu'e.
Boold was -iir faas, and fair and reed of neu'e.
She was a wurdlriY wunran al -iir liü'e.

HiVr kevertshefs ful frYrre weer of grund'e;
li durste sweere dhai waUh'eden ten puund/e.
Dhat on a Sun-dai weer upon -iir heed.
Hooz'en weer-en of frai skarlet reed,
Ful strait itaid'', and shooz ful mist and neu'e.
Boold was -iir faas, and fair and reed of Heu-e.
She was a wurdlriY wunran al -iir liü'e.

Huus-bondz-at tslurtsre shee Had-f?Yf-e,
"Without'en udh-er kunrpamY-juuth-e,
But dheerof need-eth nought to speck as muth-e.

And thrüi'es nad she had been at Dzhecreru'saleem';
She had-e pased man'i a strayndhre streem;
At Room'e shee nad been, and at Bolooin'e,
In Gaa'liüs', at saint Dzhaam, and at Koloo'in'e.
She kuuth-e mutsh of wand'-riq bii dhe waire.
Gaat-toothe'd was shee, sooth-liü for to sou.'
Upon- an am'bleer ces'elüi she sat,
Iwümpled weil, and on -iir need an nat
As brood as is a buk'leer or a tardzhre;
A foot'mantel abuut- -iir nip'es lardzhre,'
And on -iir feet a pair of spuur'es sharpe.'
In fel'aushiVp weil kuud she langüeh and karpe.
Of rem-edüiiz' of luu'e she kneu partshauu's,e,
For shee kuud of dhat art dhe oold'e dauns'e.

24. Dhe Persuun'.

A good man was dher of relii'dzhiüun',
And was a poor'e Persuunn' of a tuun;
But ritsh -e was of nool'iü thinkacht and werk,
He was alsoo- a lernred man, a klérk,
Dhat Krist'es gospel glad-lüi wold-e preetshe;
His par'ishenz devnuüt'liü wold -e teetshe.

The MSS. are very uncertain in their orthography. Boloyne, Coloyne, appear in Ha. He. Ca., and Boloyne in P. L., but we find Boloigne, Coloigne in E. Co., Coloigne in P., and Coloyngne in L. The pronunciation assigned is quite conjectural. The following pronunciations of the termination are also possible: (-oon'ë, -oon', -ûn'e, -ûn'ë). The modern Cockneyism (Boloin', Kolain') points to (-ûn'e). See also note on v. 634.


_Benygn_ he was and wonder dylygent,
And in adversite ful pacient;
And such he was yprequency ofte sythes.
Ful looth wer’ him to curse for his tythes,
But rather wold’ he yeven out of doute,
Unto his _pore parischens_ aboute,
Of his offering’, and eek of his substavunce.
He cou’d in lytel thing haan suffisauence.

iii Wyd was his _parisch_, and houses fer asonder,
But he ne lafte not for reyn ne thonder,
In sikness’ nor in _meschief_’ to visyte
The ferrest in his _parisch_, moch’ and lyte,
Upon his feet, and in his hond a staaf.
This _nold’l ensampel_ to his scheep he yaaf,
That first he wroght’, and after that he tawghte.
Out of the gospel he tho wordes cawghte,
And this _figur’_ he added’ eek therto,
That if goold ruste, what schuld’ yren do?
For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste,
No wonder is a lewed man to ruste;
And scham’ it is, if a preest take kep’,
A schyten scheppard and a clene scheep;
Weel owght’ a preest _ensampel_ for to yive
By his cleenness’, hou that his scheep schuld’ live.

He sette not his _benefyce_ to hyre,
And left’ his scheep _encombr’d_ in the myre,
And ran to London’, unto _saynt_ Powles,
To seken him a _chawnterye_ for soles,
Or with a bretherheed to been withhoolde;
But dwelt’ at hoom, and kepse wel his foolde,
So that the wolf ne mad’ it not _mischearye_.
He was a scheppard, and not a _mercenarye_;
And though he holy wer’ and _vertuous_,
He was to sinful man nowght _dispitous_,
Ne of his speche _dawngereal ne dygney_,
But in his teching’ _discreet_ and _benygn_.

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493 meschief, so all but Ca., which reads myschif, and L. which has meschief. The old French forms, according to Roquefort, are meschief, meschief, meschies, meschies, meschief, meschies.

499 eek E. He. Co. P., yit Ha., omitted in Ca., L. has eek he hadded. Ca. reads addede, but no particular value is attachable to its final e’s.

503 So all six MSS., if that Ha. in which case tak’ must be read, but the omission of the subjunctive e is harsh. See the same rhyme and phrase in the imperative and hence tak not take, 6014, 13766. Only Ca., which is generally profuse in final e, reads kep scheep, in accordance with ags. analogy.

504 It is a curious example of the different feeling attached to words of the same original meaning, that schyten is banished from polite society, and dirty (ags. dritan cacare) is used without hesitation.
Benūn -e was and wund-er dúl-lúdzhent;
And in adver-śitee full paarsient;
And suth -e was ipeveed ofte śiidh'esi.
Ful looth wer núm to kurse for -is túidh'esi,
But raadh'eri wold -e eeveen uut of duut'ei,
Untoo -is poor'e par-śihenz abuute,'
Of nís ofríq', and eek of nís substaunse.'
He kund in liit'el thiq man syň'-śaunse.
Wiid was -is par-śiš, and mün'ses fer asund'eri,
But nec ne laft'e not for rain ne thund'eri,
In sük'ñes nor in mest'śheef' to viř'-ūt'é
Dhe fer-ést in -is par-śiš, mutsh and liit'é,
Upon -is feet, and in -is mond a staaf.
Dhis noo'bl- ensam'p'l too -is sheep -e raf,
Dhat first -e rroukveht, and after dhat -e taukwh'eti.
Uut of dhe gos-pel nec dho word'es kaukweht',
And dhrs iis'gyyr' -e ad'ed eek dherto',
Dhat if goold rust'e, what shuld ūr'en dou?
For if a preest be fuul, on whom we trust'e,
Noo wund'eri is a leu'ed man to rust'e;
And shaam it is, if a preest taak'e keep,
A shūr'ten shep'erd and a kleen'e sheep;
Weel oukveht a preest ensam'p'l for to jii've
Bri nís kleen'nes', nue dhat -is sheep shuld liiv'e.
He set'e not -is ben'fiiš'e to jii've,
And left -is sheep enkum'bred in dhe mii're,
And ran to Lun'dun, un'to saa'nt Pooules,
To seek'en núm a tshaun'terii'e for sooules,
Or with a breed' herned to been withoold'e;
But dwelt at noon, and kept'e wael -is foold'e,
Soo dhat dhe wulf ne maad it not mískar'ie.
He was a shep'erd, and not a meresenar'ei;
And dhounkwh' -e nool'ii' weer and vē'tyv'nuus';
He was to sin'ful man noukveht diś'piť'tunus',
Nee of -is spectsh'ē daun'dzheruus' ne diūn'e,
But in -is teetch'sôq dis'kreet', and beniën'e.

509 saynt, Ha. and Co. add an e, thus seynete for the metre, the other five MSS. have no e, and the grammatical construction forbids its use. Tyrwhitt, to fill up the number of syllables, rather than the metre, (for he plays havoc with the accentual rhythm which commentators seem to have hitherto much neglected, but which Chaucer's ear must have appreciated,) changes the first to into unto, thus: And ran unto London, unto Seint Poules, but this is not sanctioned by any MS. The solution of the difficulty is to be found in the occasional dissyllabic use of saynt, see note on V. 120. Powles, see supra pp. 145, 148. Mr. Gibbs mentions that he knows (Poolz) as an existent Londoner's pronunciation in the phrase as old as Powl's, see supra p. 266 for Chaucer's usage.

512 fold e, the final e is exceptional, supra p. 384, col. 1.

514 and not a, so all the six MSS., and no Ha.
To drawen folk to heven by fayrnesse,
By good ensampel, was his besinesse;
But it wer' eny person obstinaat,
Whatso he wer' of heygh or low' estaat,
Him wold he snibbe scharpely for the nones.

A bett'preest I trowe ther nowheer noon is.
He wayted' after no pomp' and reverence,
Ne maked' him a spyced conscience,
But Cristes loor', and his apostel's twelve,
He tawght', and first he folwed' it himselfe.

25. The Ploughman.

With him ther was a Ploughman, was his brother,
That hadd' ylaad of dong' ful many a fother.
A trewe swinker and a good was he,
Living' in pees and perfyt charite.
God lov'd' he best with al his hole herte
At alle tymes, thowgh him gam'd' or smerte,
And than his neyghebour right as himselve.
He wolde thresch' and therto dyk' and delve,
For Cristes sake, for ev'ry pore wighte,
Withouten hyr', if it lay in his mighte.
But tythes payed' he ful fayr' and weel,
Booth of his prop're swink', and his catel.
In a tabbard' he rood upon a meer'.

Ther was also a reev' and a milleer,
A somnour and a pardoneer also,
A mawncip'l and myself, ther wer' no mo.


The Milleer was a stout carl for the nones,
Ful big he was of braun, and eek of bones;
That preved' weel, for ov'ral ther he cam,
At wrestling' he wold' hav' away the ram.
He was schort schuld'red, brood, a thikke knarre,
Ther n'as no dore that he n'old' heev' of harre
Or breek' it with a renning' with his heed.
His herd as ony sou' or fox was reed,
And theerto brood, as thowgh it wer' a spade.
Upon the cop right of his noos' he hadde

519 fayrnesse E. He. Co. P. L., e l ennesse Ha. Ca., with He., by, the rest.

525 a nd E. He. Co. P. L., ne Ha. Ca., but this would introduce two trissyllabic measures.

526 spyced conscience, com-
To drai'en folk to nev'en bůi fairnes'e,
Bůi good ensamp'l', was -is besines'e; 520
But it wer en'-ii per'suun' ob'stīnāt',
What'soo -e weer of naikh or loou estaat',
Hům wold -e snīb'e sharp'lii' for dhe noon'es.
A bet're preest Ii trou'e dher noo wheer noon is. 524
He wait'ed after no pomp and reev'rens'e,
Ne maak'ed nům a spuis'ed kon'siens'e,
But Kri'stes loor, and his apost'lz twelv'e,
He taukwht, and first -e fol-wed it nůmselv'e. 528

25. Dhe Pluukwh'man.

With núm dher was a Pluukwh'man, was -is broodh'er,
Dhat mad slaad' of duq ful man'i a foodh'er.
A treu'e swīqk'er and a good was nee,
Liův'iq in pees and perfilt' tshaar'riitee'. 532
God luvd -e best with al -is nool'e nert'e
At al'e tiim'es, dhoukwh' -im gaamd and smert'e,
And dhan -is nahl'hvbuur' rīkhst as -ismselv'e.
He wold've thresb and dher'too diīk and delv'e,
For Kri'stes saak'e, for ev'rīi poo're wikk'te,
Withnuut'en nii', if it lai in -is miikk'te.
But tiūd'hres pai'ed nee ful fair and weel,
Booth of -is prep're swīk and -is kāt'el'.
In a tab'ard' -e rood upon' a meer. 540

Dher was alsoo' a reev and a mi'leer',
A sum'nuur' and a pardoneer alsoo',
A maun'sipl- and mūself', dher weer no moo. 544

26. Dhe Mil'eer.

Dhe Mil'eer' was a stuant karl for dhe noon'es,
Ful big -e was of braun, and eck of boon'ees;
Dhat prēev'ed weel, for ov'ral' dher -e kaam,
At rwast'liq nee wold maav'awai' dhe ram. 548
He was short shuld'red, brood, a thīk'ē knar'e,
Dher n- -as no door'e dhat nee n- -old neev of nar'e
Or breek it with a ren'iq' with -is need.
He's herd as on'it suu or foks was reed,
And dhee'to brood, as dhoukwh' it weer a spaar'de.
Upon' dhe kop rīkhst of -is nooz -e nad'er

sure; his Ha. against the metre; the omission of the relative that before these words is curious, so that Ca. may have the proper reading.
537 for E. Ca. CO. PL., with Ha. Ha.
541 meer', I have preferred eliding the essential final e (suprà, p. 388, col. 1), to adding a superfluous e to mil'eer, suprà p. 254. The Icelandic mar, Danish mær, Swedish mär also omit the e. Chaucer generally uses the form mär.
A wert', and theeron stood a tuft of heres,
Reed as the berstles of a soues eres.
His nose-thirles blake wer' and wyde.
A sword and boucleer baar he by his syde.
His mouth as greet was as a greet fornyays.

iii He was a jangeler and a goliardeys,
And that was moost of sinn' and harlotryes.
Weel coud' he stele corn, and tollen thryes;
And yet he hadd' a thomb' of goold', parde!
A whyt cootf and a blew hood wered he.
A baggepype coud' he blow' and soune,
And theerwithal he brought us out of toune.

27. The Mawncipel.

iii A gentel Mawncipel was ther of a tempel,
Of which achatours mighten tak' exempel,
For to be wys in bying' of vitaille.
For whether that he pay'd' or took by taille,
Algat' he wayted' so in his achat e
That he was ay bifoorn and in good state.
Nou is not that of God a ful fayr grace,
That swich a lewed mannnes wit schal pace
The wisdom of an heep of lern'de men?
Of mayster's hadd' he moo than thryes ten,
That wer' of law' expert and curious,
Of which ther wer' a doseyn in that hous',
Worthy to be stiwards of rent' and londe
Of any lord that is in Engleonde,
To mak' him lyve by his propre good'
In honour deitt'lees, but he were wood,
Or lyv' as scarsly as he can desyre;
And abel for to helpen al a schyre
In any caas' that mighte fall' or happe;

iii And yit this mawncipel sett' her' aller cappe.

28. The Reve.

iii The Reve was a sclender colorik man,
His berd was schav' as neygh as e' er he can.
His heer was by his eres round yschoorn.
His top was docked lyk a preest bifoorn.
Ful longe wer' his legges and ful lene,
Ylyk a staaf, ther was no eal ysene.
Weel coud' he keep a gerner and a binne,
Ther was noon auditor coud' on him winne.
Weel wist' he by the drought', and by the reyne,
The yeelding of his seed' and of his grayne.

559 fornyays, see note to v. 202.
564 a blew, E. He. Ca., Co., a blewe P. L., blewe Ha.
572 state has only a dative e.
A wert, and dheeron stood a tuft of ne'er'es,  
Reed as dhe berst'les of a suu'res eere's.  
His nooz'le thirl'les baak'e wer and wiid'e.  
A sword and buk'leer' baar -e bii -is siid'e.  
H's mooth as greet was as a greet for'nais'.  
He was a dzhaq'leer' and a gool'ardais';  
And dhat was moost of sin and mar'lotri'ies.  
Weel kuud -e steel'e korn, and tol'c'en thiir'ies;  
And jet -e nad a thumb of goold, pardee!'  
A whīt' koot and a bleu nood we'er'ed nee.  
A bag'ep'pe kuud -e bloou and suum'e,  
And dheer'withal' -e broukeht us uut of tuun'e.

27. Dhe Maun'sip'1.

A dzhen't'l Maun'sip'1 was dher of a tem'p'l,  
Of whītsh atshaat'urz': mikh't'en taak eksemp'1,  
For to be wīis in biir'iq of viiatal'e.  
For whedh'er dhat -e paid or took bii ta'il'e,  
Algat' -e wait'ed soo in nis atshaat'e,  
Dhat nee was ai biifoorn: and in good staat'e.  
Nuu is not dhat of God a ful fair graas'e,  
Dhat schwitsh a leur'ed man'es wit shal paas'e  
Dhe wis'doom of an neep of lern'de men?  
Of mais'terz nad -e moo dhan thiir'ies ten,  
Dhat wer of lan ekspert' and kyy'rūus',  
Of whītsh dher weer a duu'zain': in dhat nuus,  
Wurdlr'ii to bee stiwardz' of rent and lon'd'e  
Of an'ii lord dhat is in Eq'elond'e,  
To maak -im lii've bii -is prop're good  
In on'uur' det'lees, but -e weere wood,  
Or lii've as skars'lii as -e kan desii'vre;  
And aa'bl' for to helpen al a shii'r'e  
In an'ii kaas dhat mikh't e ful or nap'e';  
And wist dhis maun'sip'1 set -er al'er kape'.


Dhe Reeve was a sklendar kol'errk man,  
H's berd was shaav as naik' as eer -e kan.  
H's neer was bii -is eere's rund ishoorn'.  
H's top was dok'ed liirk a preest bifoorn'.  
Ful loq'e weere -is leg'es and ful leen'e,  
Liirk': a stanf, dher was no kalf iseen'e.  
Weel kuud -e keep a gerrner and a bin'e,  
Dher was noon ar'dituur' kund on -im wīne.  
Weel wīst -e bii dhe dru坤wht, and bii dhe rain'e,  
Dhe jecld'iq of -is seed and of -is grain'e.

578 that, so all six MSS., an Ha.  
592 ylyk, so all six MSS., al  
587 sclender, all seven MSS.  
592 like Ha., ysene, supra, p. 357,  
agree in the initial set or skl.
His lordes scheep, his neet, his deyerye, 600
His swyn, his hors, his stoor, and his pultrye,
Was hoolly in this reves governing',
And by his covenant' yaf the rek'ning,
Sin that his lord was twenty yeer of age;

Ther coude no man bring' him in arerrage.

Ther n'as ballyf, ne herd', ne other hyne,
That they ne knew' his sleyght and his evyne;
They wer' adraad of him, as of the dethe.

His woning was ful fayr upon an hethe,
With grene trees yschadwed was his place.
He coude better than his lord purchase.
Ful rich! he was astored privelj,
His lord weel couth' he plese subtilly,
To yeev' and leen' him of his owne good,'
And hav' a thank, and yet a covey and hood.

In youth' he lemed hadd' a good mesteer;
He was a weel good wright, a carpenteer.

This reve sat upon a ful good stot',
That was a pomely grey, and highte Scot.
A long surcoot' of pers upon he hadd',
And by his syd' he baar a rusty blaad.
Of Northfolk was this reve of which I telle,
Bysyd' a toun men callen Baldeswelle.

Tucked he was, as is a toor', aboute,
And e'er he rood the hind'rest of the route.

A Somnour was ther with us in that place,
That hadd' a fyr-reed cherubynes face,
For sawceflem he was, with eyghen narwe.

As hoot he was, and lecerous, as a sparwe,
With skalled browes blak', and pyled berd;
Of his vysage children wer' aferd.

Boras, currence, ne oyf of tartar noon,
Nec oznemen that wolde clens' and byte,
That him might helpen of his whelkes whyte,
Nor of the knobbes sitting' on his chekes.
Weel lov'd' he garleek, oyouns, and eek lekes,

597 deyerpe, the termination seems borrowed from the French, for dey see Wedgwood's Etym. Diet. 1, 424. 598 stoor, I am inclined to consider this a form of steer, ags. steer, rather than store, as it is usually interpreted, as the swine, horse, steer, and poultry go better together. On the interchange of (ee) and (oo) see supra, p. 476.

612 so He. Ca. Co. P.; and an hooode L., a thank, a cote, and eek an hooood Ha., a thank, yet a gowne and hooood E.

615 ful E. Ca. Co. L., wel the others.

618 blaad, supra, p. 259.

623 somnour Ca. P., som-
His lord·es sheep, -is neet, -is dai·eri·e,
His swi·m, -is nors, -is stoor, and nis pul·tri·e,
Was nool·li· in dhis reev·e guv·erniq',
And bi· -is kuv·enaunt· jaaf dhe rek·niq', 600
Sin dhat -is lord was twen·ti·eer of aadzh·e;
Dher kuud·e noo man briq -im in ar·ee·raa·dzhe.
Dher n- -as bal·iil, nce neerd, nee ud·he·r nii·ne,
Dhat dhai ne kneu -is sliakht and nis kovi·n·e;
Dhai weere adraad· of n'im, as of dhe deeth·e.
His wuu·niq was ful fair upon an neeth·e,
With green·e treeez ishad·wed was -is plaas·e.
He kuud·e bet·er dhan -is lord pur·tshaas·e.
Ful rith·e was aastoor·ed priv·elii,
His lord weel kuuth -e pleez·e sub·til·lii,
To jeev and leen -im of -is ooun·e good,
And naav a thaqq, and jet a koot and nood.
In juuth -e lemn·ed nad a good mes·teer;
He was a weel good rwikht, a kar·penteer.
Dhis reev·e sat upon a ful good stot,
Dhat was a pum·elii grai, and niikht·e Skot. 616
A loq syyrkoot· of pers upon· -e nad,
And bi· -is siid· -e baar a rust·iil blaad.
Of North·folk was dhis reev·e of whitsh Ii tel·e,
Biisid· a tuun men kal·en Bal·deswel·e.
Tuk·ed -e was, as is a freer, abuu·e,
And eer -e rood dhe mnd·rest of dhe ruut·e.

29. Dhe Sum·nuur.

A Sum·nuur was dher with us in dhat plaas·e,
Dhat nad a fiir·reed tsheer·rubin·es faaes·e, 624
For sau·seflem -e was, with aikh·en nar·we.
As noot -e was and leth·eruu, as a spar·we,
With skal·ed broo·es klaa, and pil·ed berd;
Of nis viisaa·dzhe tshil·dren weer aferd. 628
Dher n- -as kwik·sil·ver, lii·tardzh·, or brim·stoon;
Boraas·, seryys·e, ne uil of tart·er noon,
Ne uin·ement dhat wold·e klenz and biit·e,
Dhat n'im mikh·t hlp·en of -is whelkes whiit·e, 632
Nor of dhe knobes sit·iil on -is tscheek·es.
Weel luvd -e gar·leek·, un·juunz·, and eek leek·es,
And for to drinke strong wyn reed as blood.

Than wold' he spek' and cry' as he wer' wood.

And whan that he weel dronken hadd' the wyn,

Than wold' he speke no word but Latyn.

A fewe termes hadd' he, two or thre,

That he hadd' lerned out of som decre;

No wonder is, he herd' it all the day;

And eek ye knowe weel, how that a jay

Can elepe Wat, as weel as can the pope.

But whoso could' in other thing' him grope,

Than hadd' he spent al his philosophye,

Ay, question quid juris? wold' he crye.

He was a gentel harlot, and a kinde;

A bettre felawe schulde men not finde.

He wolde suffer for a quart of wyne

A good felawe to haan his concubyne

A twelvmoon' th, and excus' him atte fulle.

And privily a finch eek could' he puller.

And if he fond owheer a good felawe,

He wolde techen him to haan noon awe

In swich caas of the archedek'nes curs,

But if a mauness howe yer' in his purs;

For in his purs he schuld' ypunisch'd be.

Purs' is the archedek'nes hel, seyd' he.

But weel I woot he lyeth right in dede;

Of cursing' owght eech gilty man to drede;

For curs wol sle right as assoyling saveth;

And also war' him of a signifigavite.

In dawnger hadd' he at his owne gyse

The yonge girles of the dyoeysye,

And knew her' counseyl, and was al her' reed.

A garland hadd' he set upon his heed,

As greet as it wer' for an alestake;

A boucleeur hadd' he maad him of a cake.

30. The Pardoneer.

With him ther rood a gentel Pardoneer

Of Rouncival, his freend and his compere;

That streyf was comen from the court of Rome.

Ful loud' he sang, Com hider, love, to me!

648 not, the six MSS., now her Ha. felawe, compare v. 395, 650, and 653. Hence it seems best to leave felawe in 648, although felawe frequently occurs, see supra p. 383, col. 2. 655 such a caas Ha. only.

656 purs, see supra p. 367, art. 91, col. i, l. 13, it is spelled without an e in all MSS. but L.

657 ypunisch'd; ypunysshed E. He, punysshed Ha. Co., punyssched L., ponysch'd Ca., punishd P. The two last readings, in connection with the modern pronunciation (pon'isht), lead me to adopt (puny'sht) for the old pronunciation, notwithstanding the French origin of the word. Compare note on v. 184.
And for to driqk'e stroq wiin reed as blood.
Dhan wold -e speek and krui as hee weer wood. 636
And whom dhat hee wee drunq' en had dhe wiin,
Dhan wold -e speek'e noo word but Latii'n'.
A fevre term'es mad -e, twoo or three,
Dhat hee -ad lern'ed nut of sum dekree';
Noo wund'er is, -e herd it al dhe dai;
And eek je knouw'e weel, nuu dhat a dzhai
Kan klep'e Wat, as weel as kan dhe poop'e.
But whoo'soo' kund in udh'er thiq -im groop'e,
Dhan had -e spent al -is fiio' soo-fiio',
Ai, Kwest'i ooo kwid dzhyyr i's? wold -e krui'e.
He was a dzhent'1 har'lut, and a kind'e;
A bet're felaure shuld'e men not find'e.
He wold'e sufer for a kwart of wiin'e
A good felaure to haan -is kon'kyybii'n'e
A twelv'moonth, and ekskyyz' -im at'e ful'e.
And priv'elii a fintsh eek kund -e pul'e.
And if -e fund oowheer' a good felaure,
He wold'e teets'h -im for to haan noon aue
In switsh kaas of dhe artsh-edeeke'n'es kurs,
But if a mans'es shoule weer in -is purs;
For in -is purs -e shuld ipun'isht bee.
Purs is dhe artsh-edeeke'n'es iel, said hee.
But weel Ni woot -e lu'ceth rikht in deed'e;
Of kurs'iq oukwht eets'h gil't'i man to deeed'e;
For kurs wol slee rikht as asul'iq saav'eth;
And al'soo waar -im of a s i g n i f i k a a v'i t h.
In daun'dzheer nod -e at -is oou'n'e gii's-e
Dhe suaq'e gii'es of dhe diii'sii's-e,
And kneu'er kuum'sail, and was al -er reed;
A gar'land nod -e set upon -is need,
As greet as it wer for an aar'estak'ee;
A buk'leer nod -e maad -im of a kaak'ee. 668

30. Dhe Pardoneer.

With hii'm dher rood a dzhent'1 Par'doneer:
Of Ruun'si'val; his friend and his kom'peer;
Dhat strait was kum'en from dhe kuurt of Room'e.
Ful luud -e saq, Kum ni'd'er, luve, too me!

658 seyd', so all six MSS., quoth Ha.
659 see suprâ p. 259.
660 gys' e, so all six MSS., assise Ha.
672 to me. To the similar rhymes on p. 318, add:
As help me God, it wol not be, com, ba me!

I love another, and elles were I to blame, 3709.

On p. 254, n. 3. I marked the usual reading compame as doubtful, and gave the readings of several MSS. The result of a more extended comparison is as follows: compame Lans. 551, Harl. 1758, Reg. 18. C. ii, Sloane 1685 and 1686, Univ. Cam. Dd. 4, 24.
This somnour baar to him a stiff burdoun,
Wes never tromp' of half so greet a soun.
This pardoneer had'd heer as yelw' as wex,
But smooth' it heng, as dooth a striykl' of flex,
By ownces heng' his lockes that he hadde,
And theerwith he his schuld'res overspradde,
Ful thinn' it lay, by colpoun's oon and oon,
And hood, for jolite, ne wer'd he noon,
For it was trussed up in his walet.
Him thowght' he rood al of the newe get,
Dischevel', sawf' his capp', he rood al bare.
Swich glaring' eyghen had'd he as an bare.
A vernik'ld had'd he sowed on his cappe.
His walet lay bifoorn him in his lappe,
Brerdful of pardoun com' of Rom' al hoot.
A voys he had'd as smaal as eny goot.
No herd n' had'd he, ne never schold' he have,
As smooth' it was as it wer' laat' yschave;
I trow' he weer' a gelding or a mare.
But of his craft, fro Berwick unto Ware,
Ne was ther swich another pardoneer:
For in his maal' he had'd a pilwebeer,
Which that, he seyde, was our' lady veyl:
He seyd' he had'd 'a gobet of the seyl
That saynt Peter had'd, whan that he wente
Upon the se, til Jhesu Crist him hente.
He had'd a crois of latoun ful of stones,
And in a glass' he hadde pigges bones.
But with thys' relyques, whan that he fond
A pore persoun dwelling' upon lond',
Upon a day he gat him mor' moneye
Than that the persoun gat in mon'th' ses swyece.
And thus with feyned flatery' and japes,
He made the persoun and the pep'ld his apes.
But trewely to tellen atte laste,
He was in chirch' a nob'l ecclesiaste.

and Mm. 2, 5, Bodl. 686, Christ Church, Oxford, MS. C. 6, Petworth, —cipane, Univ. Cam. Gg. 4, 27—
com paune Harl. 7334 Rev. 17, D. xv, Corpus,—come paune, Oxf. Barl. 29,
and Laud 600—com pe me, Hengwrt
—combame, Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3, 15,
Oxf. Arch. Selld. B. 14, New College,
Oxford, MS., No. 314, — come bame
Harl. 7335, Univ. Cam. H. 26, 26, Trin.
141, — cum bame, Bodl. 414. — bame
Oxf. Hatton 1. — come ba me, Rawl.
Misc. 1133 and Laud 739. The verb ba occurs, in:
Come ner, my spouse, let me ba thy cheke, 6015,
and the substantive ba in Skelton (Dyce's ed. i. 22), where a drunken lover lays his head in his mistress' lap and sleeps, while
With ba, ba, ba, and bas, bas, bas,
She cheryshed hym both cheke and chyn.
To ba basiare (Catullus 7 & 8) was
distinct from to kiss, osculari, compare:
Thanne kisseth me, syn it may be
no bett. 3716.
Dhís sum-nuuir baar to nim a stif burduun;
Was never trump of nalf so grett a sum.
Dhís par’donneer mad neer as rel-w as weks,
But smoodh it neq, as dooth a strõk of fleks;
Biî uns’es neq -is lok’es dhat -e mad-e,
And dheer with nee -is shuld’res oversprad-e,
Ful thin it lai biî kul-puunz oon and oon,
And nood, for dzhol’itee, ne weerd -e noon,
For it was trus’ed up in his walet.
Him thouk’wht -e rood al of dhe neure dzhet,
Dishev’el, sauf -is kap, -e rood al baare.
Switsh glaa’riq aikh’en nad -e as an naare.e.
A verr’nikl -ad -e sooned on -is kap’c.
His walet’ lai bi’foorn -im on -is lap’e,
Bred’ful of pard’duun kum of Room al noot.
A vuus -e nad as smaal as en’u ii goot.
Noo berd n -ad nee, ne never shuld -e naave’e,
As smoodh it was as it wer laat ishaav’e,
Li troou -e weer a geld’iq or a maare.
But of -is kraft, fro Ber’wik un-to Waa’re,
Ne was ther switsh anud’rer par’donneer’.
For in -is maal -e nad a pil’webeer’,
Whritsh dhat, -e said’e, was uur laa’dii vail:
He said, -e nad a gob’et of dhe sail
Dhat saa’iint Pec’ter nad, when dhat -e wente
Upon’ dhe see, ’t/l Dzhee-zyv Krist -im nent’e.
He nad a kros of laa-tuun ful of stone’es,
And in a glas -e nad’e pig’es boon es.
But with diiiiz rel’iikes, when dhat -e fond
A poore pers’sunn’ dwel’iq upon’ lond,
Upon’ a dai -e gat -im moor munai’e
Dhan dhat dhe pers’sunn’ gat in moon’thes twai’e.
And dhus with fain’ed flaterii’ and dzhaap’es,
He maad’e dhe pers’sunn’ and dhe peep’l -is aap’es.
But treu’eli’ to tel’en at’e last’e,
He was in tshirtsh a noo’bl- eklee’siast’e.

Com ba me! was probably the name of a song, like that in v. 672,
or the modern “Kiss me quick, and go, my love.” It is also probable that
Absolon’s speech contained allusions to it, and that it was very well
known at the time.
677 ounces, so all six MSS., unces Ha., which probably meant
the same thing, supra p. 304, and not inches.
679 colpons, I have adopted
a systematic spelling, colpons Ha.
P., colpons E. He., colpones

L., colpounys Ca., colpouns

687 brefdful, the MSS. have
all an unintelligible breet ful or
bretful, probably a corruption by
the scribes of Orrmin’s brefdful = brim-
ful; brefd, bret are found in Scotch,
say Jamieson.

697 So all the MSS. Either
saynt is a dissyllable, see note to v.
120, or the line has a defective first
measure, to which the extremely un-
acented nature of that is opposed.
Weel could' he reed' a lessoun or a storie,
But altherbest he sang an offertorie;
For weel he wiste, whan that song was songe,
He moste prech', and weel affyl' his tonge,
To winne silver, as he right weel coude;
Thcerfoor' he sang so mery' and so loude.

Chawceres Preyer.

Nou hav' I toold you schortly in a clawse
Th' estaat, th' array, the nombr', and eck the caise
Why that assembled was this companye
In Southwerk at this gentel hostelrye,
That hight the Tabbard, faste by the Belle.
But nou is tyme to you for to telle
Hou that we baren us, that ilke night,
"Whan we wer' in that hostelry'' alight;
And after wol I tell' of our' vyage,
And al the remhiawnt of our' pilgrimage.
But first I prey' you of your' curteysye
That ye ne rett' it nat my vilaynye
Thowgh that I playnly spek' in this matere,
To tellen you her' wordes and her' chere;
Ne thowgh I spek' her' wordes properly.
For this ye knownen al so weel as I,
Whoso schal tell' a taal' after a man',
He moost' rehers', as neygh as c'er he can,
Ev'ry word, if it be in his charge,
Al spek' he ne'er so rudely or large:
Or elles he moot tell' his taal' untrewe,
Or feyne thing, or find' his wordes newe.
He may not spare, thowgh he wer' his brother;
He moost' as weel sey oo word as another.
Crist spaak himself ful brood' in holy writ,
And weel ye woot no vilayny' is it.
Eek' Plaro seyth, whoso that can him rede,
The wordes moot be cosin to the dede.
Also I prey' you to foryeev' it me,
Al haav' I not set folk in her' degre
Her' in this taal' as that they schulde stonde;
My wit is schort, ye may weel understande.

711 weel he wiste, so all the six MSS., wel wyst he Ha.
714 so merily P., ful meriely Ha. so mericly Co., the murierly E., the muryerly He., the meryerely Ca., so merelie L., the regular form would be merie, as in loude, which follows; compare thude, murie in the Cuckoo Song, supra p. 427. Hence the above conjectural reading.
727 I playnly spek', so all the six MSS., I speke al pleyn Ha.
733 ev'ry word Ha., eueriche word P., the other MSS. insert a,
Weel kuud -e reed a les'uun or a stoo'tie,
But al'dherbest -e saq an ofetoo'tie;
For weel -e wiste, whan dhat soq was suq'e,
He moost'e preetsh, and weel aʃiʃ -i suq'e,
To wi'n'e siʃ've, as -i riʃht weel kuud'e;
Dheer'foor -e saq soo mer'i and soo luud'e.

Tshau'see'res Pra'ee'r.

Nuu naav Ii toold ju short'lii in a klaw'e
Dh- estaat'; dh- ara'i, dhe num'-br', and eek dhe kauz'e
Whi dhat asem'bled was dhis kumpani'e
In Suuth'werk at dhis dhzen't'l ostelri'e,
Dhat nǐkh't dhe Tabard', fast'e biʃ dhe Bel'e.

But nuu is tii'me too ju for to tel'e
Huu dhat we baaren us dhat iʃk-e nǐkh't,
When wee wer in dhat ostelri' aliʃht;
And aft'er wol Ii tel of uur vii'-aadzh'e,
And al dhe rem'naunt' of uur pʃl'grimaadzh'e.

But first Ii pra'i juu of ruur kur'taisi'e
Dhat see ne ret it nat mii vii'lai-nii'e,
Dhooukwh dhat Ii plain'-lii speek in dhis matee-re.
To tel'e juu -er word'es and -er tshee'e;
Ne dhooukwh Ii speek -er word'es properlii.
For dhis re knou''en al so weel as Ii,
Whoo'soo shal tel a taal aft'er a man,
He moost rehers-', as naik'h as eer -e kan,
Ev'rii word, if it bee in -is tshardzh'e,
Al speek -e neer so ryyd'elii or lardzh'e;
Or e'l'es nee moot tel -is taal untreu'e,
Or fa'n'-e thiq, or find -is word'es neue'e.

He mai not spaar'e, dhooukwh -e wer -is broodh'er;
He moost weel sai oo word as anoodh'er.
Krist spaaƙ -imself' ful brood in noo'li twit,
And weel je woot noo vii'lai-nii' is it.
Eek Plaa-too saith, whooosoo' dhat kan -im reed'e,
Dhe word'es moot be kuz'in too dhe deed'e.
Also' Ii pra'i juu to forceev' it mee,
Al naav Ii not set folk in her degree.'
Heer in dhis taal, as dhat dhai shuld'e stond'e;
Mii wiʃ is short, je mai weel un'derstond'e.

as eneरich a word E., apparently
more correct. Orrmin writes operr for
the adjective, and both operr and opjr
for the conjunction. That distinction
has been carried out in the pronunciation
of the Proclamation of Henry III.,
supra pp. 501-3-5.

The rhyme, however,
shews that there must have also been a
sound (oodh'er), which is historically

738 anothεr. I have throughout
pronounced other as (udh'er), because
of the alternative orthography another,
supra p. 267. This rhyme, however,
shews that there must have also been a
sound (oodh'er), which is historically

744 not set folk, so all the six
MSS., folk nat set Ha.
The Hooste and his Meryth.

Greet chere maad' our' hoost' us ev'rychoon,
And to the soupeir sett' he us anoon;
And served us with vylayl' atte beste.
Strong was the wyn, and weel to drink' us leste.
A seem'ly man our' hooste was withalle
For to haan been a marshal in an halle;
A large man was he with eyghen stepe,
A fair're burgeys is ther noon in Chepe:
Boold of his spech', and wys, and weel ytawght,
And of manhode lacked' him right nawght.

Eek theerto he was right a merye man,
And after soupeir pleyen he bigan,
And spak of merth' amonges other thinges,
Whan that we hadde maad our' reckeninges;
And seyde thus: Lo, lording's, trewely,
Ye been to me weelcomen hertely,
For by my trouth', if that I schul not lye,
At ones in this herbergh, as is nou.
Fayn wold I do you merthe, wist' I hou,
And of a merth' I am right non bithoughth,
To doon you ees', and it schal coste nowght.
Ye goon to Cawnterbery: God you spede,
The blisful martyr quyte you your' mede!
And weel I woot, as ye goon by the weye,
Ye schapen you to talken and to pleye;
For trewely comfort ne merth is noon
To ryde by the weye domb' as stoon;
And theerfoor' wol I make you dispoort,
As I seyd' erst, and do you som comfort.

— For to standen at my jugement;
And for to werken as I schal you seye,
To morwe, when ye ryden by the weye,
Nou by my fader sowle that is deed,

But ye be merye, smythen of myn heed.
Hooled up your hond withoute more speche.
Our' counseyl was not longe for to seche;
Us thoughth' it n'as not worth to maak' it wys,
And gravened him withoute mor' avys,
And bad him sey' his verdyt', as him lest.
Lording's, quoth he, nou herk'nheth for the beste.

756 lacked' him, this is conjectural; lackede he Ha., him lackeded the six MSS. variously spelled, in which case the final e must be pronounced, which is so unusual that I have preferred adopting the order of Ha. and the construction of the other MSS.

759 amonges E. He. Co.

764 I ne sawgh not, this is a composite reading; I ne saugh Ha., I sawgh not the other MSS. variously spelled. The Ha. has therefore a trissyllabic first measure, which is unusual and doubtful; to write both ne and not introduces an Alexandrine.
Dhe Oost and his Merth.
Greet tsheer'e maad uur Oost us cv'rútshoon';
And too dhe suуп'eer' set -e us anoon;
And serv'eth us with vii'tail: at'e best'e.
Stroq was dhe wǐn, and weel to drigk us lest'e.
A seem'li' man uur oost'e was wǐthal'e
For to naan been a marsh'al in an hale;
A lar'dhze man was mee with aik'h'en steep'e
A fair're bur'dzhais īs ther noon īn Tsheep'e:
Boold of -is speetch, and wiis, and weel ntainu'kwh',
And of man'hood'e lak'ed ēm rǐkht naukwh'.
Eek dheer'too mee was rǐght a mer'ie man,
And after suуп'eer' pla'en mee bigan',
And spaak of merth amn'qes udhr'er thiq'es,
When dhat we had'e maad uur rek'eniq'es;
And said'e dus: Loo, lord'iqz, treu'eliī,
Je been to mee weel'kum'en nerteliī,
For biī mūi truuth, īf dhat Īi shul not liī'e,
Īi ēe saukwh not dhīs ēe so mer'ī a kumpaniiē
At oon'es īn dhīs ner'berkh, as īs nuu.
Fain wold Īi duu ju merth'e, wist Īi nuu,
And of a merth Īi ām rǐkht nun bǐhoukheī,
To doon juu ces, and īt shal kōst'e noukheī;
Je goon to Kaunter'ber'ii: God īuu speed'e,
Dhe blīs'ful mart'iīr kwīt'e īuu juur meed'e!
And weel Īi woot, as īee goon biī dhe wai'e,
Je shaap'en juu to talk'en and to plaï'e;
For treu'eliī kumfort: ne merth is noon
To rīdē biī dhe wai'e dumb as soon;
And dheer'fōor wold Īi maak'e juu dispoort',
As Īi said erst, and doo ju sum kumfort'.
And īf īu lūkk'eth al'e biī oon asent:
For to stand'en at mīi dzhyydzh'ement;
And for to werk'en as Īi shal ju saī,e,
To mor'we, when īe riid'ēn biī dhe wai'e,
Nuu biī mūi faad'er sooul'e, dhat īs deed,
But īee he mer'ie, smūt'et'h of mīīu need.
Hoold up juur nond without'e moor speetch'e.
Uur kuun'sail was not loq'e for to sectheī;
Us thonkuh'it īt n- as not worth to maak īt wiis,
And graunte'd nēm without'e moor avīs',
And bad -īm sai -īs ver'dīīt as -īm leste.
Lor'djqz', kwoth mee, nuu merk'neth for dhe best'e, 788

We might read the Ha. I ne saawgh this yeeer, as an Alexandrine with a defective first measure. Perhaps I is a mistake, and ne saawgh this yeeer, or this yeeer saawgh not, may be correct, but there is no authority for it. Tyrwhitt reads: I saw not this yere swiche a compagnie, which is probably conjectural. See p. 649. 782 smyte th of myn heed Ha., I wol yeve you myn heed E. He. Co. P. and Sloane MS. 1685, variously spelled, I zeue sowe Mine heede L. But if ye E.
But taak'th it not, I prey' you, in disdeyn,
This is the poyn't, to spoken schort and playn;
That eech of you to schorte with your' weye,

In this vyage schal telle tales tweye,
To Cawnterbery-ward, I meen' it so,
And hoomward he schal tellen other two,
Of aventur's that whylom haan bifalle.
And which of you that beer'th him best of alle,
That is to seyn, that telleth in this caas
Tales of best sentenc' and most solaas,
Schal han a soupeer at your' alther cost
Heer' in this place, sitting' by this post,
Whan that we com' ageyn from Cawnterbery.
And for to make you the more mery,
I wol myselven gladly with you ryde,
Right at myn ow'ne cost, and be your' gyde.

Schal page for al we spenden by the weye.
And if ye vouchesauw that it be so,
Tel me anoon, withouten wordes mo,
And I wol erly schape me theerfore.
This thing was grawnted, and our' othes swore
With ful glad hert', and prey'den him also
He wolde vouchesauf for to doon so,
And that he wolde been our' governour,
And of our' tales jug' and reportour,
And sett' a soupeer at a certayn prys;
We wolde reuled be at his devys
In heygh and low', and thus by oon assent
We been accorded to his juggement.
And theerupon the wyn was fet anoon;
We dronken, and to reste went' eech oon,
Withouten eny leng're taryinge.

We ryden forth.

A morwe whan the day bigan to springe,
Up roos our' hoost, and was our' alther cok,
And gader'd us togider in a flok,
And forth we ryd' a lytel moor' than paas,
Unto the watering' of Saynt Thomas.
And theer our' hoost' bigan his hors areste,
And seyde, Lordses, herk'neth, if you leste.
Ye woot your' foordward, I it you recorde,
If evesong and morwesong accorde.

which is unlikely, as they must have all known them; why l o m' is suitable for both sets of tales, and a word of that kind is wanted. The Sloane MS. 1685 also spells aven-toures, see p. 635, note 1. The passage is wanting in Ca.
But taketh it not, \( I I \) prai juu, in disdain, 
Dhis is dhe puint, to speek'en short and plain; 
Dhat eets of juu to short'e with juur wai'e, 
In dhis vii'-aadzh'e shal tel'e taal'es twaire, 792
To Kaunter'ber'iward, \( II \) meen it soo, 
And hoom'ward mee shal tel'en udher twoo, 
Of aaventyrrz' dhat whiil'om haan bifale. 
And wha't' of juu dhat beeth -im best of al'e, 796
Dhat is to sain, dhat tel'eth in dhis kaas 
Taal'es of best sentens' and moost soolaas', 
Shal haan a suup'eer' at juur al'dher kost, 
Heer in dhis plaas'e, set'iq' bii dhis post, 800
Whan dhat we kum again' from Kaunter'ber'iit. 
And for to maak'e juu dhe moore' mer'ii, 
\( I I \) wol miisely'en glad'lii with juu rii'd'e, 
Rikht at mün oune kost, and bee juur giül'e. 
And whoo'soo wol mi dzhyydzh'ement withsai'e 
Shal pai'e for al we spend'en bii dhe wai'e. 
And if je vuutsh'esauf' dhat it be soo, 
Tel me anoon' without'en word'es moo, 808
And \( II \) wol er'lii shaap'e mee dherfoor'e. 
Dhis thiq was graunt'ed, and uur ooth'es swoor'e 
With ful glad nert, and prai'den him also' 
He wold'e vuutsh'esauf' for to doon soo, 
And dhat e wold'e been uur guu'vernuur', 812
And of uur taal'es dzhyydzh and reportuur', 
And set a suup'eer' at a sert'ain' pris; 
We wold'e ryyl'ed bee at mis deviis'. 
In naikh and lou'; and dhus bii oon asent; 816
We been akord'ed too -is dzhyydzh'ement'. 
And dher upon' dhe wiin was fet anoon; 
We drauk'en, and to rest'e went eetsh oon, 
Without'en en ii leq're tar'i,uu'ee. 
820

We riid'en forth. 
A mor'we when dhe dai bigan' to spriqe, 
Up roos uur oost, and was uur al'dher kok, 
And gadder us togid'er in a flok, 824
And forth we riid a lii't'l moor dhan paas, 
Untoo' dhe waa'teriq' of Saint Toomaas'. 
And dhee eur oost bigan' -is nor's arest'e, 
And said'e, Lord'es, herk'neth, if juu lest'e. 
828
Je woot jur foro'ward, \( I I \) it juu rekord'e, 
\( H \) eev'esoaq and morwesoaq akord'e, 

798 mooost, so all the six MSS., 
of Ha.

810 our' othes swore, Prof. 
Child points out an ellipsis of we as 
in v. 786, see suprâ p. 376, art. 111, 
Ex. 6. The past participle would be 
sworne, and if the ellipsis be not 
assumed before swore it must at 
least occur before prey'den.

824 in a flock He. P. L., Sloane 
MS. 1685, the others have alle in 
a flock, with various spellings.
Let see non who schal telle first a tale.
As ever' moote I drinke wyn or ale,
Whoso be rebel to my juggement

iii Schal paye for al that by the wey' is spent.
Noe draweth cut, eer that we further twinne;
And which that hath the shortest schal beginne.
Syr' knight, quoth he, my mayster and my lord,
Noe draweth cut, for that is myn accord.
Com'th neer, quoth he, my lady pryoresse,
And ye, syr' clerk, lat be your schamfastnesse,

iii Ne studieth nat; ley hand to, ev'ry man!
Anoon to drawen ev'ry wight bigan,
And shortly for to tellyn as it was,
Wer' it by aventur', or sort, or caas,
The sooth is this, the cut fil to the knight',
Of which ful blyth' and glad was ev'ry wight,
And tell' he moost' his tal' as was resoun,
By foorward and by composicioun,
As ye haan herd; what nedeth wordes mo?
And when this gode man sawgh it was so,
As he that wys was and obedient
To kep' his foorward by his fre assent,

iii He seyde: Sin I schal biginne the game,
What! Weeleom be the cut, in Goddes name!
Non lat us ryd', and herk'neth what I seye.
And with that word we ryden forth our' weye;

And he bigan with right a merye chere
His tal' anoon, and seyd' in this manere.

834 the cut, so all the six MSS., 858 So E.; his tale and seide
thou cut Ha.

In correcting the proofs of this text and conjectured pronunciation of Chaucer's Prologue I have had the great advantage of Mr. Henry Nicol's assistance, and to his accuracy of eye and judgment is due a much greater amount of correctness and consistency than could have been expected in so difficult a proof.¹ Owing to suggestions made by Mr. Nicol, I have reconsidered several indications of French origin. One of the most remarkable is Powles v. 509,

¹ Some trifling errors escaped observation till the sheets had been printed off, which the reader will have no difficulty in correcting, such as e, o, i for ee, oo, y, etc. The following are more important. Read in Text, v. 15 specially, v. 69 poort', v. 123 entuned, v. 152 streyt, v. 208 Frere, v. 260 pore, v. 289 soberly, v. 365 frensh, v. 569 rytyale, v. 570 tayle, v. 599 governing, v. 601 age. Read in the Pronunciation, v. 14 sundrii, v. 23 kum, v. 35 whiliz, v. 48 ferre, v. 53 Aburven, v. 66 Aisain', v. 71 al, v. 72 dzen'tl', v. 107 fezheres, v. 144 sak', v. 181, Dhis, v. 210 kan, v. 241 evrytsh, v. 265 his tuqe, v. 284 men, v. 292 world'ii, v. 334 bii dhe morw-, v. 414 grund'ed, v. 424 jaff. Read in the Footnotes, on v. 60, l. 3 nob'l, on v. 120, l. 1 saynt, on v. 120, last line but three, "all the six MSS. except L.", and add at the end of the note "and L. omits also," on v. 247, l. 1 noon, on v. 305, l. 1 He, on v. 512, l. 1, foolde.
Let see nuu whoo shall tel’e first a taal’e.
As ever moot Jì drìqk’e wiin or aal’e,
Whoo’soo’ be reb’el too miì dzhuydz’hem’t
Shal pa’ir for al dhat bìi dhec wai is spent.
Nuu dra’ueth kut, eer dhat we furdh’er twìu’er ;
And whîsh dhat math dhe short’est shal bigin’e.
Siìr knïïht, kwøth nee, miì maist’er and miì’ lord,
Nuu dra’ueth kut, for dhat is miì akord’t.
Kumth neer, kwøth nee, miì laa’dii pri’ores’e,
And jee, siìr klerk, lat bee jur shaam’fastnes’e,
Nee stud’ieth nat ; lai rand too, ev’rii man !
Anoon’ to drau’en ev’rii wiikht bigan’;
And short’lìi for to tel’en as it was,
Wer it bìi aa’ventyyr’, or sort, or kaas,
Dhe sooth is dhìis, dhe kut fi’il too dhe knïïht,
Of whîsh ful bliïdh and glad was ev’rii wiikht,
And tel’-e moost -is taal as was ree’suun’;
Bìi foo’rward and bìi kompoosis’iuun ;
As jee naan nerd ; what need’eth word’es moo ?
And whan dhìis good’e man saukwh it was soo,
As nee dhat wiis was and obee’dient’
To keep -is foo’rward bìi -is free asent’;
He said’e : Sin Jì shal bigin’e dhe gaam’e,
What ! wee’kum’ bee dhe kut, in God’es naam’e !
Nuu lat us rìid, and nerk’-neth what Jì saire’.
And with dhat word we rìid’en forth nur wai’e ;
And nee bigan with rìkht a mer’-ie tsheere’
His taal anoon’, and said ìn dhìis man’ceere’.

which seemed to have a French pronunciation, but which ought perhaps to be marked Pów’lës, the form Pówel appearing in v. 13938, supra p. 266, a direct derivative from Orrmin’s Pàwel with a long a. The alterations thus admitted affect the calculation on p. 651, which was made from the MS. As now printed (making the corrections just mentioned), the numbers are as follows :—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines containing no French word</th>
<th>286, per cent. 33:3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; only one &quot;</td>
<td>359, 41:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; two French words &quot;</td>
<td>179, 20:9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; three &quot;</td>
<td>29, 3:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; four &quot;</td>
<td>4, 0:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; five &quot;</td>
<td>1, 0:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines in Prologue</td>
<td>858, 100:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These numbers are not sensibly different from the former. The number of Trissyllabic measures after correction appears as 76, the numbers in the six classes on p. 648 being respectively 25, 6, 3, 4, 29, 9. The number of lines with defective first measures, p. 649, remains 13, as before. The number of lines with two superfluous syllables, p. 649, is now 8, vv. 709, 710, having been added.
§ 2. Gower.

Johan Gower, died, a very old man, between 15 August and 24 October 1408, having been blind since 1400, the year of Chaucer’s death. His three principal works are Speculum Meditantis, written in French, which is entirely lost; Vox Clamantis, in Latin, still preserved; and Confessio Amantis, in English, of which there are several fine MSS., and which was printed by Caxton in 1483. In this edition Caxton calls him: “Johan Gower squyer borne in Walys in the tyme of kyng richard the second.” The district of Gowerland in S. W. Glamorganshire, between Swansea bay and Burry river, a peninsula, with broken limestone coast, full of caves, and deriving its name from the Welsh *gwyr* (gu’er) oblique, crooked, traditionally claims to be his birth place. Now Gower’s own pronunciation of his name results from two couplets, in which it is made to rhyme with *power* and *reposer*. The first passage, according to the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, is

Sche axep me what was my name
Madame I seyde Johan Gower.
Now Johan quod sche is my power,
Thou munte as of gi loue fonde.  iii 353

The other will be found below, pp. 738-9. The sound was therefore (Gu’er), which favours the Welsh theory. The modern form of the name is therefore (Ge’er), and Gowerland is now called (Go’erland) in English.

But the correctness of this Welsh derivation has been disputed. Leland had heard that he was of the family of the Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkshire, ancestors of the present Duke of Sutherland. The Duke has politely informed me that the family and traditional pronunciation of his patronymic Gower is a dissyllable rhyming to *mower*, *grower*, that is (Go’er). Now this sound could not be the descendant of (Gu’er), and hence this pronunciation is a presumption against the connection of the two families, strengthening the argument derived from the difference of the coats of arms.¹

He was certainly at one time in friendly relations with Chaucer, who, in his Troylus and Cryseyde, writes:—

O moral Gower, this boke I directe
To the, and to the philosophical Strode,
To vouchesaufl, ther aede is, to correcte,
Of youre benignites and zeles good. 5-77

And Gower, in some manuscripts, makes Venus send a message to Chaucer, as her disciple and poet, which is printed as an example below, pp. 738-9.

The text of Gower has not yet been printed from the manuscripts,

¹ These references throughout are to Pauli’s edition, as explained supra, p. 256.

² For other particulars of the life of Gower, derived from legal papers, showing that he was possessed of land in Kent, see the life prefixed to Pauli’s
edition of the Confessio Amantis, and Sir Harris Nicolas’s Notice of Gower, in the Retrospective Review, N. S., vol. ii. No weight is to be attributed to his
calling himself English, when asking to be excused for faults in French, in a French poem. He would have no
or from any one MS. in particular. Pauli's edition is founded on Berthelette's first edition, 1532, "carefully collated throughout" with the Harl. MSS. 7184 and 3869. Of the first Pauli says: "This volume, on account of its antiquity and its judicious and consistent orthography, has been adopted as the basis for the spelling in this new edition." Pauli says that he has also used Harl. MS. 3490, and the Stafford MS. where it was important, and that his "chief labour consisted in restoring the orthography and in regulating the metre, both of which had been disturbed in innumerable places by Berthelette." As the result is eminently unsatisfactory, it has been thought best, in giving a specimen of Gower, to print the original in precise accordance with some MSS.

The following MSS. of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* are described by Pauli. At Oxford, having the verses to Richard II, and those on Chaucer: MS. Laud. 609, Bodl. 693, Selden, B. 11, Corp. Chr. Coll. 67;—without these verses: MS. Fairfax 3, Hatton 51, Wadham Coll. 13, New Coll. 266;—with the first and without the second, MS. Bodl. 294;—dedicated to Henry of Lancaster, and with verses on Chaucer; MS. New Coll. 326. In the British Museum, Harl. 7184, 3869, 3490. MS. Stafford, in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland. Pauli does not mention the MS. 134, of the Society of Antiquaries.

The MSS. most accessible to me were the four cited suprâ p. 253. Of these the orthography of Harl. 3869 appeared to me the best, and I have therefore printed it in the first column. In the second column I have given the text of Harl. 7184, which Pauli professes to follow; and in the third the text of the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 134. The fourth column contains the conjectural pronunciation. By this means the diversities of the orthography and the uniformity of the text will be made evident. It is the former in which we are most interested. The passage selected for this purpose is the story of Nebuchadnezzar's punishment, as being unobjectionable in detail, and sufficient in length to give a complete conception of the author's style.

But as the Message from Venus to Chaucer possesses great interest from its subject, I have added a copy of it according to Harl. MS. 3869, from which Pauli states that he has taken the copy printed in his edition. In the second column I have annexed the same text according to the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, and, since the passage does not occur in the other two MSS., in the third column I have added my own systematic orthography, and in the fourth column the conjectured pronunciation. For these two last columns a composite text has been chosen, founded on a comparison of the two MSS.

In all cases the phonetic transcript has been constructed on the same principles as that of Chaucer in the preceding section.

doubt considered himself an Englishman, as he spoke English and was an English subject and landowner, even if he had been born in Wales.

1 As this MS. makes no distinction between z and, but writes the guttural with the same z that it uses in Nabugodonozor, I have used z throughout its transcription.
i 136

Ther was a kinge 
Which Nabugodonofor 
Of whom 
As in 
For al ye world in Orient 
Was hol at his comandement 
As panne of kinges to his liche 
Was non fo myhty ne fo riche 
To his empire and to his lawes 
As who selp al in filke dawes 
Were obeissant and tribut bere 
As hogh he godd of Erpe were 
Wip strenghe he putte kynges vnder 
And wroghte of pride many a wonder 
He was fo full of veine gloire 
That he ne hadde no memoire 
That fer was eny good bot he 
For pride of his prosperite 
Til 
Which fec and knowe alle jinges 
Whos yhe mai nothing afterte 
The prinetes of mannes herte

i 137

Theri speke and sounen in his Ere 
As hogh feci lowde wyndes were 
He took vengeance vpon fis pride 
Bot for he wolde a while a bide 
To leke if he him wolde amende 
To him aforerokne he fendre 
And pat in his flep be nyhte 
This proude kyng a wonder fyhte 
Hadde in his fwenene fer he lay 
Him fognht vpon a meric day 
As he behiede 
A tree fulgrove he fyh feroute 
Whiche ftoed 
Of fruit it bar fo ripe a charge 
That alle men it mihte fede 
He thif alfo 
A boue al Erpe in which were 
The kynde of alle briddes fer 
And eke him fognht he thif alfo 
The kynde of alle beftes go 
Vnder fis tree a boute round 
And fedden hem vpon fis ground 
As he fis wonder ftoed and thif 
Him fognht he hertie a vois on hih 
Criende and feide a bouen alle 
Hew don this tree and lett it falle 
The leues let defoule in hafte 
And do fis fruit destraie and waste
FROM GOWER’S “CONFESSIO AMANTIS,” LIB. 1.

Society of Antiquaries, MS. 134, folio 56, b. 2 to 58, a 2.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Dher was a kig dhat mutsh'el mikht'e,
Whitsh Na'aw-bun'goor-doo-noon-oor nikht'e,
Of whom dhat Ilu spank heer tofoore.
Jet in dhe Biibil - is naam is boor'e,
For alo dhe world in Oo-riient-
Was nool at his komand-ement.
As dhan of kig'es too -is litsh'c
Was noon soo mikht'ii nee soo rish'te;
To his empiir' and too -is laures,
As whoo saith, al in dhill'ke daures
Wer oor'baasan't, and triibybet beere,
As dohoukeh -o God of Erth'e weere.
With strequth -e put-e kig'es under,
And rewoukht of prii'de man'i a wunder.
He was so full of vaine gloorvve
Dhat nee ne nad-e noo memoore
Dhat dher was en'ii God but nee,
For pruid of his prosperitee.
Til dhat dhe niih'ke Kig of kig'es,
Whitsh saith and knoou-eth al'e thiq'es,
Whos i'e mai noo-thq' asterte,-
Dhe priiv'wceez of man'es hert'e,

Dhai speek and sunnen in -ismere,
As dhoukheh dhai lund'e wund'es weere-
Hee took vendzhauence upon dhe prii'de.
But, for -e wold a whih-abih'-d'e
To look if hee -im wold amende,
To his -e fooretook'-e -e sende,
And dhat was, in -is sleep biit niikht'e,
Dhis prund'e kig a wund'er sikht'e
Had, in -is swee'vene dhee -e lai.
Him thoukht upon a mervii dai,
As nee beneended dhe world abun'te,
A tree fulgroon' -e sik'h dheernute
Whitsh stood dhe world amid'es cveyne,
Whos saikht'e straukeht up too dhe neev'e
Dhe leev'es weer'en fair and lardzh'e,
Of fryyt it baar soo riep a tshardzh'e
Dhat al'e men it mikht'e feed'e.
He sik'h al'soo dhe boone es spreede
Abu' al erth, in whitsh'e weere
Dhe kind of al'e brid'es deeree.
And eek -in thonkht -e sik'h al'soo
Dhe kind of al'e beat'es goo
Un' der dheis tree abunt e rund'
And feed'en hem upon dhe grund.
As nee dheis wun der stood and sik'h,
Him thonkht -e nerr a vuis on niikk
Crii'end', and said abuven al'e:
"Heu dunn dheis tree, and let it fal'e!
"Dhe leev'es let defuel' in naste',
"And doo dhe fryyt destrue and wast'e!

47
And let of shreden every branche
Bot a Rote let it staunche
Whan al his Pride is caft to grounde
The rote schal be laste bounde
And fehal no nannes herte bere
Bot eueri luf his schal forberb
Of man, and lich an Oxe his mete
Of gras he fehal purcliche and ete
Til þat þe water of þe hevene
Hane waißhen him be tymes feuene
So þat he be þyrgknewe arih
What is þe heuencliche myht
And be mad humble to þe wille
Of him which al mai fane and spille
This kynge out of his twene abreide

And he vpon þe morwe it feide
Vnto þe clerkes which he hadde
Bot non of hem þe fope aradde
Was non his tweneu cow þe vndo
And it ftof þilke time fo
This kynge hadde in subiecicon
Jude, and of affecicon
A boun alle oþre on Daniell
He loneþ, for he cow þe wel
Diuine þat non oþer cow þe
To him were alle jinges cow þe
As he it hadde of goddes grace
He was before þe kings face
Afent, and bode þat he scholde
Vpon þe point þe king of tolde

The fortune of his tweneu expounde
As it scholde afterward be founde
Whanne Daniel þis tweneu herde [fo. He ftof long time er he anfuerde 50b]
And made a wonder heuy chiere
The king tok hiede of his manere
And bad him telle þat he wite
As he to whom, he mocheil trite
And feide he wolde noble be wroþ
Bot Daniel was wonder loþ
And feide vpon þi fomen alle
Sire king þi tweneu motte falle
And naþelæ . touchende of this
I wol þe tellen how it is
And what defeþ is to þee fchape
God wot if þou it fealt alcape
The hige tre which þoun haft fein
Wþ lef and fruite fo wel besehen
The which ftof in þe world amiddes
So þat þe bettes and þe briddes
Goverened were of him al one
Sire king betokeneþ þi pertone
Which ðant a boun all erþli jinges
Thus regnen vnder þe þe kinges
And al þe people vnto þe louteþ
And al þe world þi pouer doubteþ

And let of shreden eueri braunche
But ate roote let it staunche
Whan all his pride is caft to grounde
The roote shall be falt bounde
And thall no nannes hert bere
But eueri luf he shall forberb
Of man and lich an hoxe his mete
Of gras he shall purchase and ete
Til that the water of the hevene
Hane waifhen him be tymes feuene
So that he throw knowe aright
What is the heuenlich might
And be mad humble to the wille
Of him which al may fane and spille
This king out of his tweneu abreide

The fortune of his tweneu expounde
As it shal afterward be founde
Whan Daniel this tweneu herde [fo. He ftof long tyme or he anfuerde 1]
And made a wonder heuy chiere
The king tok hiede of his manere
And bad him telle that he wite
As he to whom, he mochel tripe
And feid he wolde nomt be wroþ
But Daniel was wonder loþ
And feide vpon þi fomen alle
Sire king þi tweneu mot falle
And naþelæ touching of this
I wol þe tellen hou it is
And what defeþ is to þee fchape
God wot if thou it fealt alcape
The high tree which thou haft fein
With lef and fruite fo wel befeïn
The which stood in the world amiddes
So that the bettes and the bridde
Governed were of him alone
Sire king betokenethi thiy pertone
Which ðant above all erþli things
Thus regnen vnder the kinges
And all the people vnto the louteþ
And all the world thiy power doubteth
And let of shreden evrri braunthes,
But at rote lete it staunthes.
"What al -is priid is kast to grunde,"
"Dhe rote shall be faste bunde."
"He shal noo maunies herte beere,"
"But evrri lust -e shall forbeere"
"Of man, and litsch an oks -is meete"
"Of gras -e shall purthsale, and cete,"
"Til dat dhe waalter of dhe neyve"
"Haav wasch'en him biit tiim'es seevne,"
"Soo dhat ne bee thurkwh knowe arriht,"
"What is dhe neyvenlifte's miikht,"
"And bee maad unib'il too dhe wil'e"
"Of Him, whatsh al mai saav and spille.'"

"Dhis kiq uot of -is sweevn- abraid'e,"

Dhe fortynn of -is sweevn- ekspunnde,
As it shuld afterward be furnde
"When Daaniel dhis sweevne herde"
He stood loq tiim eer nee answerd'e, And maad a wunder nevii tseiere. Dhe kiq took need of his manere And bad him telle pat he withe, And he to whom he mochel trite, And feyde he wolde nouzt be wroft,
But daniel was wondir loj And feyde vp on jy fomen alle Sere kiqny jy sweeven mot falle And napeles touchende of jis I wol je tellen how it is
And what defec is to je fchape God wot yf. jou, it fchall afchape The hyze tre which jou, haft feyne With leef and frute fo wel befeyne The whiche stod in je world amiddes So pat je beftis and je briddis. Gouerne were of him allone Sere kyngne bitokene jy perfone Whiche raunte aboue all erjely jynges Thus regnen vndir je je kynges And of je peple vn to je loutej And all je world jy power doutej

"And bee upon dhe morw- it said'e
Untoo dhe klerkes whish -e made,
But noon of hem dhe sooth arade, Was noon -is sweevne kuth undoo.'
And it stod dhikke tiim'es so,
Dhis kiq had in subdzech'siium'
Dzyyyde', and of aek'siuun' Abuy al uht' oo Daaniel'.
He luveth, for ne kuthre wel Divyi'ne dat noon uht're kuthre.
To him weere eel'e thi'ges kuth're
As hee it had of God'es graase.
He was befoor dhe kiqes fan' ee
Aset, and boode dhat -e shold e
Upon dhe punt dhe kiq of toold'e,

"And bee maad unib'il too dhe wil'e"
"Of Him, whatsh al mai saav and spiffe.'"

"Dhis kiq uot of -is sweevn- abraid'e,"

Dhe fortynn of -is sweevn- ekspunnde,
As it shuld afterward be furnde
"When Daaniel dhis sweevne herde"
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And what defec is to je fchape God wot yf. jou, it fchall afchape The hyze tre which jou, haft feyne With leef and frute fo wel befeyne The whiche stod in je world amiddes So pat je beftis and je briddis. Gouerne were of him allone Sere kyngne bitokene jy perfone Whiche raunte aboue all erjely jynges Thus regnen vndir je je kynges And of je peple vn to je loutej And all je world jy power doutej

"And bee upon dhe morw- it said'e
Untoo dhe klerkes whish -e made,
But noon of hem dhe sooth arade, Was noon -is sweevne kuth undoo.'
And it stod dhikke tiim'es so,
Dhis kiq had in subdzech'siium'
Dzyyyde', and of aek'siuun' Abuy al uht' oo Daaniel'.
He luveth, for ne kuthre wel Divyi'ne dat noon uht're kuthre.
To him weere eel'e thi'ges kuth're
As hee it had of God'es graase.
He was befoor dhe kiqes fan' ee
Aset, and boode dhat -e shold e
Upon dhe punt dhe kiq of toold'e,
HARL. MS. 3869.
So that with vein honour deceived
Thou hast the reverence weyued
Fro him which is thy king above
That thou for drede ne for loue

HARL. MS. 7184.
So that with vein honour deceived
Thou hast the reverence weyued
Fro him which is thy king above
That thou for drede ne for loue

i 140
Wolt nöthing knowen of ji godd
Which now for þe haþ mad a rodd
Thi veine gloire and þi folie
With grete peines to chastie
And of þe vois þou herdeft speke
Which bad þe bowes for to breke
And hewe and felle down þe tree
That word belongþe vnto þee
Thi regne schal ben ouerþowe
And þou despuiled for a bree
Bot þat þe Rote schelde stonde
Be þat þou schal wel vnderstonde
Ther schal a biden of þi regne
A time ayein whan þou schalt regne
And ek of þat þou herdeft feie
To take a mannes herte a weie
And sette þere a beftial
So þat he lich an Oxen schal;
Pasture. and þat hebe bercined
Be times feine and fore peined
Til þat he knowe his goddes mihtes

[fol. 51]
Than scholde he stonde ayein vprightes
Al þis betokneþ þin aftar
Which now wip god is in debat
Thi mannes forme schal be laffed
Til seuen þer ben ouerpaffed
And in þe likenöfe of a befte
Of gras schal be þi real fefte
The weder schal vpon þe reine
And vnderstond þat al þis peine

i 141
Which þou schal soffre þilke tide
Is ßhape al only for þi pride
Of veine gloire and of þe finne
Which þou haþ longe stonden inne
So vpon þis condicion
Thi sweune hæþ expoñicion
Bot er þis ßing befallen in dede
Amende þoe. þis wolde .I. rede
zyst and departe þin almœste
Do mercy forþ wip rihtwifnesse
Bëfehe. and preï. þe hihe grace
For so þou miht þi pes purchase

Wip godd. and stonde in good acord
Bot Pride is lop to luce his lord
And wol noght soffre humilite
Wip him to stonde in no degree
And whan a felchip hæþ loft his stiere
Is non fo wys þat mai him stiere

Wilt nöthing knowen of this god
Which now for the hath made a rood
Thi veingloire and thi folie
With grete peines to chastie
And of the vois thou herdeft speke
Which bad the bowes for to breke
And hewe and felle down the tree
That word belongeth unto the
Thi regnen shall be ouerthrowe
And thou despugled for a throwe
But that the roote shall stonde
But that thou shalt wel vnderstonde
Ther shall a biden of thi regnen
A tymne ayein whan thou shalt regne

And eke of that thou herdeft feie
To take a mannes herte a weie
And sette there a beftial
So that he like an ox shall
Pasture. and that he be bereined
Be tymes feine and fore peined,
Till that he knowe his goddes mihtes,

Than shuld he stonde ayein vprightes
All this betokeneth thine estat
Which now with god is in debat
Thi mannes forme shall be laffed
Til feuen yere ben ouerpaffed
And in the likenöfe of a befte
Of gras shall be thi rioll fefte
The weder shall vpon the rayne
And vnderstond that all his peine

i 141
Which thou shalt suffre thilke tide
Is shape all only for thi pride
Of veingloire and of the sinne
Which thou hast longe stonden inne
So vpon this condicion
Thi sweunë hath expoñicion
But er this thing befallen indecde
Amende the this wolde I rede
Yf and departe thine almœste
Deth mercy forth with rihtwifnesse
Bëfeche and praihe the high grace
For so thou miht thi pees purchase

With god and stonde in good acord.
But pride is lote to luce his lord
And wol not suffre humilite
With him to stonde in no degree
And whan a ship hath lost his stiere
Is non fo wys that may him stiere
Gower’s Nebuchadnezzar.

Chap. VII. § 2.

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

So hat with preyne honoure decayed.
Thou haft the reverence weyued,
Fro him which is by kynges aboue
That pou for drede ne for loue.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

"Soo dat, with vain on our desaived,
"Dhuu natt he reverence waiwed
"Froo hym, whist is dhi kig abuye,
"Dhat dhuu for drede nee for luwe

i 140

"Wolt noothiq knouwen of dhiis God,
"Whisthu nuu for dhee hath maad a rod,
"Dhii vaine gloovrii and dhii foliiie
"With greetre pairenes to tshastiie.
"And of dhe vuis dhuu heredest speek'e,
"Whisthu bad dhe boures for to brekke,
"And neu and fel'e duun dhe tree,—
"That word beloq'eth un-to dhee.
"Dhii reene shal been overthroue,
"And dhuu despuield for a throuoe.
"But dhat dhe roote sholdre stonde,
"Bi dhat dhuu shalt wel un-derstonden,
"Dher shal abid''en of dhii reene
"A tiim again: whan dhuu shalt reene.

And eek of dhat dhuu heredest fay,
To take amamis herte away
And sette her a bestiall
So hat he liche an ox'e shall
Pasture and hat he be berynインド
Be tymes feene and fore peyned
Till hat he knowe his goddis myhtys

Than shulde he stonde azen vpryztis
All jis betokened fynne atate
Whiche now with god is indebate
Thye mannis forme shall be lassid
Til seuen zere ben ouerpaffid
And in jis kniffe of abette
Of gras shal be jy riall fette
The wedir shal vp on jis reyne
And vndirfonte hat all jis peyne

i 141

Whiche joun, schalthe suffre filke tyde
Is scheap all only for jy pryde
Of vayne glory and of jy fyme
Whiche joun, haute longe thonden inne
So vp on jis condicions

Thi sweuen hap expositious
But er jis fyngre be falle in dede
Amende jis jis wolde y rede
Zif and departe jyn almenes
Do mercy for with ryztwifnefete
Bechehe and preye jhe hyze grace,
For fo joun, myyte jye pees purchase

[i. 57, 6, 2]

Whit god and stonde in good acorde
But pride is lof to leue his lorde
And wolde nouzt suyst humilite
With him to stonde in nodegre
And whanne a felip hat lofte his sterre
Is noun so wis that may him sterre

"With God, and stond in good akord:"
But prid is looth to leev -is lord,
And wol noukhef suuffr- yymiel'tee
With him to stond in noo deegree.
And when a ship marth lost -is steere
Is noon soo wiis dhat mai -im steere
Ayein þe wawes in a rage
This proude king in his corage
Humilitie hat so forlore
That for no fweene he figh tofore
Ne þit for al þat Daniel
Him hat confiled cueridel
He let it paffe out of his mynde
Throug veingloire and as þe blinde
He sëf no weie. er him be wo
And fell wiþinne a tyme so
As he in babiloine went
þe vanite of pride him hente

His herte aros of veingloire
So þat he drowh into memoir
His lordshiphe and his regalie
With wordes of Surquiderie
And whanne þat he him moft aunauteþ
That lord which veingloire daunteþ
Al fodeinliche as who feith tris [fo.
Wher þat he fford in his Paleis 516]
He tok him fro þe mennes fihte
Was non of hem. fo war þat mihte
Setto yhe. wher þat he becom
And þus was he from his kingdon
Into þe wilde Forêt drawe
Wher þat þe mihti goddes lawe
Thurgh his pover dede him transforme
Fro man into a beftes forme
And lich an. Oxe vnder þe fot
He graørap as he nedes mot
to geten him his limes fode
Tho þoght him colde grasfes goode
That whilom eet þe hote spîces
Thus was he tornd fro delices
The wyn whiche he was wont to drinke

He tok þanne of þe welles brinke
Or of þe pet or of þe fowgh
It þoghtþ him þanne good ynowh
In fêde of chambrers wel arraiþed
He was þanne of a buithf wel paiþed
The harde grounde he lay vpon
For oþre pilwes hat he non

The fôrmes and þe Reines falle
The wyndes blowe vpon him alle
He was tormented day and nyht
Such was þe hih goddes myht
Til fœene yer an ende toke
Vpon himself þo gan he loke
In fêde of mete gras and stres
In fêde of handes longe cles
In fêde of man a beftes lyke
He feih and þanne he gan to fyke
For cloþ for gold and for perrie
Which him was wonte to magnifie
Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

Azen ße wawis in a rage
This proude kynde in his corage
Humilithe ßap fo for lore
That for no sweuen he fyzte to fore
Ne rest for all ßat dianelli
Him ßap counteyld evry deell
He lete it paffe oute of his mynde
Thorowayne glorye and as ße bylde
He ßeep ßo no wele er him he woe
And fallen whithinne a tyme foue
As he in babilonie wente
ße vanite of pride him hente

142

His herte aros of wyne glorye
So ßat he drow in to memorey
His lordshiphe and his regalye
With wordis of turquidrye
And whanne ßat he him moxt auanteph
That lorde whiche wyne glorye daunteß
All fodyneliche as who fayth treis
Where ßat he stood in his palesys
He toke him fro ße memisis fyzte
Was none of hem so war ßat myzte
Sette ye where ßat he become
And þus was he from his kingdowm
In to ße wilde forest drawe
Where ßat ße myzty goddis lawe
Thorow his power did him transforme
Fro man in to abestis formde
And liche an oxe vndir ße fote
He graßef as he nedis mot
To geten him his livis fooe
Thou pouzte him colde grattis goode
That whilom cte ße hoot piciis
Thus was he turnd fro deliciis.
The wyne whiche he was wonte to drynke

[fo. 58, a, 1]

He tok ßanne of ße welleß brynde
Or of ße pitte or of the doghe
It pouzte him ßanne good y nowe
In ßede of chambris wel arrayed
He was ßanne of a butche wc payed
The harde grounde he lay vp on
For ßep pilowis ßap he none

143

The stornis and ße raynis falle
The wyndis blowe vp on him alle
He was turmentid day and nyzte
Whiche ße hyze goddis myzte
Til feuen zere an ende tok
ßp on him felte ßo gan he loke
In ßede of mete gras and treis
In ßede of handis longe clees
In ßede of man a beatis like
He fyzte and ßanne he gan to sike
For clop for golde and ße perry
Whiche him was wonte to magnifie

143

Dhe stormes and dhe raines falle,
Dhe wyndes blowe upon -im ale.
He swas tormentid day and night-
Like was dhe ßike God-es might-
Til seyene seer an ende toke.
Upon -imselft-dhoo gan -e looke.
In steer of mete gras and streed,
In steer of hand-es lope clees,
In steer of man a beest-es like
He ßike, and dhan -e gan to sike
For klooth of goold and for perie-
Whish him was wont to magniliie.
Harl. MS. 3869.

Whan he beheld his Cote of heres
He wepte, and with wulfowul teres
Vp to the heuene he cast his chiere
Wepende, and þoghte in þis manere
Thogh he no wordes mihte winne
Thus seide his herte and spak withinne
O myhþi godd þat al haft wroght
And al myhte bringe agjin to noght
Now knowe I wel, bot al of þee
This wold hþ no prosperite.
In þin aspect ben alle liche [fo. 52]
Þe pouere man and ek þe riche
Wipoute þee þer mai no wight
And þou a boue alle opre miht
O mihty lord toward my vice
Þi mercy medle wip iustice
And I woll make a couenant
That of my lif þe remenant

I shal it be þi grace amende
And in þi lawe so despende
That veine gloire I shal echene
And bowe vnto þin hefte and fiue

Humilite, and pat I. vowe
And fo þenkende he gan dounbowe
And þogh him lacke vois and þpeeche
He gan vp wiþ his feet a reche
And waillende in his beſfli þeuenene
He made his pleignite vnto þe heuene
He kneleþ in his wife and braieþ
To þeeche mercy and affaiþeþ
His god, which made him noþing strange
Whan þat he fih his pride change
Anon as he was humble and tame
He fodd toward his god þe fame
And in a twinklinge of alok
His mannes forme agjin he tok
And was reformed to the regne
In which þat he was wont to regne
So þat þe Pride of veine gloire
Enuere afterout of memoire
He let it paffe, and þus is chewed
What is to ben of pride vnþewed
Aþeþ þe híf goddes lawe
To whom noman mai be felawe.

Harl. MS. 7184.

Whan he beheld his cote of heres
He wepte, and with wulfowul teres
Vp to the heuene he cast his chiere
Wepende and thouȝt in this manere
Thouȝ he no wordes mihte winne
Thus fai[d] his hert and spak withinne
O myghti god that haft all wroght
And al miȝt bringe agein to nought
Now knowe I wel but all of the
This world hath no prosperite [fol. 24,
In thine aspect ben alle liche a, 2]
The pover man and eke the riche
Without the ther mai no wight
And thou aboue all otther miȝt
O miȝt lord toward my vice
The mercy medle with iustice
And I wol make a couenant
That of my lyf the remenant

I shall be thi grace amende
And in thi lawe to despende
That veingloire I shall echene
And bowe vnto thine hefte and fiue

Humilite, and that I vowe
And so thenkend he gan doun bowe
And thouþ him lacke vois and þpeeche
He gan vp with his feet arche
And weiland in his beſfli þeuenene
He made his pleinte vnto the heuene
He kneleþ in his wife and braieþ
To þeeche mercy and affaiþeþ
His god, which made him nothing strange
Whan that he figh his pride change
Anon as he was humble and tame
He fodd toward his god the fame
And in a twinklinge of a look
His mannes forme agein he took
And was reformed to the regne
In which that he was wont to regne
So that the pride of veingloire
Euer afterward out of memoire
He let it paffe and thus is chewed
What is to ben of pride vnþewed
Aþeþ the high goddes lawe
To whom noman mai be felawe.
Soc. Aut. MS. 134.

Whan he bihilde his cote of heris
He wept, and with ful woeful teeres
Up too dhe neevn - e kast - is tseere,
Weep'end', and thonk'wht in dhis manere.
Dhouk'wh nee noo word'es mi'kht'wine,
Dhus said -is hert, and spak within're.
"Oo mi'kht'ii God! dhat al hast reouk'wht!
And 'al mi'kht briq again to nouk'wht!
"Nuu knouo li wel, but out of dhe
"Dhis world -ath noo prosper'itee.'
"In dhe in aspekt' been ale liit'shire,
"Dhe poov're man, and eek dhe rit'sh'e.
"Without 'dhee dher 'mai noo wikkht,
And dhuu abuy: al udh're mi'kht.
"Oo mi'kht'ii Lord, toward: mii viis'e,
"Dhii mers'sii med'i with dzhistis'e,
"And li wol maak a kuur'renauant,
"Dhat of mii liif dhe ren'renauant:

I 144.

I fshall it be fy grace amende
And in fy laue so despen'de
That vayn'e glor ye .y. fshall efchiue
And bowe vn to fryne hefte and fiue
[fo. 58, a, 2]

Humilite and pat .y. vowe
And fo'penkende he gan doun bowe
And pouz him laeke voy's of speche
And bowe vn with his feet areche
And waylende in his beftly teuen
He made his playnt ve to dhe heuen
He kneelp in his wife and praye
To feche mercy and affayeth
His god whiche made him no fyngye
strangue
When pat he fyze his pride chanauge
Anou as he was vmble and tame
He fonde towards his god ye fame
And in a twynkleynge of a loke
His maonis forme azen he tok
And was reformid to the regne
In whiche pat he was wonithe to regne
So pat je pryde of vayne glor ye
Euer aftirwarde oute of memorye
He lete it passe and pous it sechewid
What is to ben of pride vnjewid.
Azen je hyze goddis lawe
To whom no man may be felawe.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Whan nee beuedd -is loot of nee'es,
He wept, and with ful wooful teeres
Up too dhe neevn - e kast - is tseere,
Weep'end', and thonk'wht in dhis manere.
Dhouk'wh nee noo word'es mi'kht'wine,
Dhus said -is hert, and spak within're.
"Oo mi'kht'ii God! dhat al hast reouk'wht!
And 'al mi'kht briq again to nouk'wht!
"Nuu knouo li wel, but out of dhe
"Dhis world -ath noo prosper'itee.'
"In dhe in aspekt' been ale liit'shire,
"Dhe poov're man, and eek dhe rit'sh'e.
"Without 'dhee dher 'mai noo wikkht,
And dhuu abuy: al udh're mi'kht.
"Oo mi'kht'ii Lord, toward: mii viis'e,
"Dhii mers'sii med'i with dzhistis'e,
"And li wol maak a kuur'renauant,
"Dhat of mii liif dhe ren'renauant:

I 144.

"Hi shal it bi'ii dhii graas amend'e,
"And in dhii laue soo despend'e,
"Dhat vain'e gloo'ri Hi shal esthisy'e,
"And bun unttoo' dhii nes't, and sy'e

"Ymii'liitee', and dhat Ji vuue'!
"And soo thek'end: -e gan duun buure,
And dhouk'ch -im lak'e vuis and spectsh'e,
He gan up with -is feet arectsh'e,
And wail'end: in -is beest'lii steever'e,
He maald -is plaint unttoo dhe neev'ne,
He kneel'eth in -is wiss and brai'eth,
To sectsh'e mers'sii, and asai'eth
Hi's God, whitsh maald -im noo'thiq:
straudzh'e,
Dhan dhat -e sikh -is priid'e tshaundzh'e.
Anouo as he was un'bl- and taame
He fund toward:-is God dhe saame,'
And, in a twi'liq' of a look,
His man'es form again -e took,
And was reformid too dhe recere,
In whitsh dhat nee was woont to recere,'
Soo dhat dhe prid of vair'e gloor'ie
eer afterward: nut of memoor'e
He let it pas. And dhus is sheured
What is to been of pridd untheued
Aisin': dhe niik'he God'es laure,
To whom noo man mai bee fel'aire.
MESSAGE FROM VENUS TO CHAUCER

Harl. MS. 3490, fo. 214, b, 2.

iii 372

Myn holy Fader graunt mercy.
Quod I to hym. and to the queene,
I felle on knees vpon the grene.
And toke my leue for to wende.
Bot the that wolde make an ende,
As theward to I was moste able,
A peire of bedes blakke as sable.
She toke and henge my nekke aboute.
Vpon the gandes al withoute.

iii 373

Was write of golde pur repofer.
Lo thus the feide Johan Gower.
Now thou art at the lathe cæfe.
This haue I for thyne cæfe cæfe.
That thou no more of loun feche.
Bot my wilde is that thou befech,
And prey here afther for the pees.

For in the lawe of my comune.
We benot shapen to comune.

iii 374

Thi selfe and I neuer afther this.
Nowe hau e the feide althat ther is.
Of loun as for thy fynal ende.
A dien for I mot fro the wende.
And grete welle Chaucer whan ye mete.
As my disciple and my poete.
In fondry wife as he wel coure.
Of dytees and of fonges glade.
The whic he for mye fake made.
The londe fulfilled is ouer alle.
Whereof to hym in speaciale.
Aboue alle othir I am mort holde.
For thi nowe in his daies olde.
Thou shalle hym telle this messaige.
That he vpon his later age.
To sett an ende of alle his werke.
As he wiche is myn owne clerke.
Do make his testament of loue.
As thou haft do the firlite aboue.
So that my court it may recorde.
Madame I can me wel accorde.
Quod I to telle as ye me bidde.
And with that worde it so hitiddle.
Oute of my rith alle fodeynly.
Eneofed in a ftericke skye.
Vp to the heuen venus frauught.
And I my rith wey cauthe.
Home fro the wode and forth I wente.
Where as with al myn holc entente.
Thus with my bedes vpon honde.
For hem that true loue fonde.
I thanke bidde while I lyue.
Vpon the poynct wich I am shiff.

Soc. of Antiquaries MS. 134. fo. 248, a. 1.

iii 372

Myn holy fadir graunt mercy.
Quod I to him and to þe quene.
I fel on kneis vp on þe grene.
And took my leue for to wende.
But fehe þat wolde make an ende
As þerto whiche I was most able.
A peyre of bedes blakke as fable.
Sche toke and hinge my nekke aboute.
Vp on þe gaudis all with oute.

iii 373

Was write of golde pur repofer.
Lo þus fehe feyde Johan Gower.
Now þau arte at þe lahte castle.
This have I for þyne efe caste.
That þau no more of loun feche.
But my wilde is þat þau biseche.
And praye here afther for þe pees.

For in þe lawe of my comune.
We be not schapen to comune.

iii 374

Thi selfe and I neuer afther þis.
Now haue I seyde all þat þer is.
Of loute as for þi final ende.
A dien for I mot fro þe wende.
And grete wel chaucer whan ze mete.
As my disciple and my poete.
For in þe flouris of his zoupe
In foudry wife as he wel coure.
Of diteis and of fongis glade.
The whiche he for mye fake made.
The londe fullide is ouerall.
Whereof to him in speciall.
A boue alle opper I am most holde.
For þi now iu his dayes olde.
Thou fehalt him telle þis messaige.
That he vp on his latter age.
To fette an ende of all his werke.
As he whiche is my wyn owen clerke.
Do make his testemewt of loute.
As þou hast do þi fechyte aboue.
So þat my courte it may recorde.
Madame I can me wel acorde.
Quod I to telle as ye me bidde.
And with þet world it so bitiddle.
Oute of my fyze all fodenly.
Enoled in a ferried sky.
Vp to þe heuen venus frauht.
And I my ryt wey cauthe.
Home fro þe wode and forþ I wente.
Where as with all myn hool entente.
Thus with my bedis vp on honde.
For hem þat trewe love fonde.
I thanke bidde while I lyue.
Vp on þe poyncte which I am fehrye.
SENT THROUGH GOWER AFTER HIS SHRIFT.

Systematic Orthography.

iii 372
"Myn holy Fader grawnd mercy!"
Quod I to him, and to the queene
I fel on knees upon the grene,
And took my leve for to wende.
But sche, that wolde mak' an ende,
Ar theertowith I was most abel,
A pair' of bedes blak' as sabel
She took, and heng my nekk' aboute,
Upon the gawdes al withoute

iii 373
Was writ of gold' Pour repose.
"Lo!" thus she seyde, "John Goeuer,
"Non thou art at the laste caste,
"This have I for thyn ese caste,
"That thou no moor' of love seche,
"But my will' is that thou biseche,
"And prey' herafter for thy pees.

"For in the law' of my comune,
"We be not shap'en too comune,

iii 374
"Thyself and I, never after this,
"Now have I seyd' al that ther is
"Of lov' as for thy fynal ende,
"Adieu! for I must fro the wende,
"And greet wel Chaweer, whan ye mete,
"As my diseyp', and my poete.

"For in the flours of his youte,
"In sondry wys', as he wel couth,
"Of dytees and of songes glade,
"The whiche he for my sake made,
"The lond fulfil'd is overal.
"Wherof to him, in special,
"Abov' all' oth' I am moost holde.
"Forthye nou in his dayes olde
"Thou shalt him telle this message:
"That he upon his later age
"To sett' an end' of al his werk,
"As he' which is myn ow'ne clerk,
"Do mak' his testament of love,
"As thou hast do thy shrift' above,
"So that my court it mai recorde."

"Madam', I can me wel acorde,
Quod I, "to tell' as ye me bidde.
And with that word it so bitidde,
Out of my sight', al sodainly
Enclosed in a sterid sky
Up to the heven Venus strawghte.
And I myrhte wey [then] cawghte
Hoom fro the wood, and forth I wente
Wheeras, with al myn hool entente,
Thus with my bedes upon honde,
For hem that trewe love fonde
I thinkes bidde, whyl' I lyve,
Upon the pouynt, which I am schryve.
§ 3. Wycliffe.

John Wycliffe born 1324, died 1384, is supposed to have commenced his version of the Scriptures in 1380, just as Chaucer was working at his Canterbury Tales. We are not sure how much of the versions which pass under his name, and which have been recently elaborately edited,1 are due to him, but the older form of the versions certainly represents the prose of the xivth century, as spoken and understood by the people, on whose behalf the version was undertaken. Hence the present series of illustrations would not be complete without a short specimen of this venerable translation. The parable of the Prodigal Son is selected for comparison with the Anglosaxon, Icelandic, and Gothic versions already given (pp. 534, 550, 561), and the Authorized Version, with modern English pronunciation, inserted in Chap. XI., § 3.

The system of pronunciation here adopted is precisely the same as for Chaucer and Gower, and the termination of the imperfect of weak verbs, here -iðe, has been reduced to (id), in accordance with the conclusions arrived at on p. 646-7.


Text.

11. Forsothe he seith, Sum man hadde twewe sones;
12. and the jongere seide to the fadir, Fadir, jyue to me the porcioun of substaunce, ethir cateil, that byfallith to me. And the fadir departide to him the substaunce.
13. And not aftir manye dayes, alle thingis gederid to gidre, the jongere sone wente in pilgrimage in to a fer cuntere; and there he wastide his substaunce in lyuyngne leccherosly.
14. And aftir that he hadde endid alle thingis, a strong hungir was maad in that cuntere, and he bigan to haue nede.
15. And he wente, and eluyde to oon of the citeseyns of that cuntere. And he sente him in

Conjectured Pronunciation.

11. Forsooth -e saith, Sum man had-e twai-e sounes;
12. and the juyere sayede to dhe fadar, Faa'dir, jyive to me dhe porsuoun of substauns, edh'ir kat'eil, dhe bifal'eth to me. And dhe fadar depart'id to him dhe substauns.
13. And not after man'e daies, ale thiy'is gederid to gid're, dhe juyere suuno went in pil'grimaadzh in to a fer kun'tree; dhe hseren hadaid -is substauns in liv'ihe letsh'eruslai.
14. And after that -e mad end'id al'e thiy'is, a stroq huyj Cir was maad in dat kun'tree, and -e bigan' to maav need'e.
15. And -e went'e, and klee'vid to oon of dhe sit'izainz of dat kun'tree. And nee sent

1 The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Aproecryphal books, in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers, edited by the Rev. Josiah For-
Text.

To his toun, that he schulde feede hoggis.

16. And he eneitide to fille his wombe of the coddis whiche the hoggis eten, and no man sa to him.

17. Sothli he, turned azen in to him sile, seyde, Hou many hirid men in my fadir hous, hau plente of louces; forsothe I perische here thur; hungir.

18. I schal ryse, and I schal go to my fadir, and I schal seie to him, Fadir I haue synned azen heuene, and bifoire thee;

19. now I am not worthi to be clep-id thi sone, make me as oon of thi hyrid men.

20. And he rysinge cam to his fadir. Sothli whanne he was hit fer, his fadir sy3 him, and he was stirid by mercy. And he rennyng to, felle on his necke, and kiste him.

21. And the sone seyde to him, Fadir, I haue synned azen heuene, and bifoire thee; and now I am not worthi to be clep-id thi sone.

22. Forsooth the fadir seyde to his seruauntis, Soone bringe xe forth the firste stoole, and clothe xe him, and 3yne xe a ring in his hond, and schoon in to the feet;

23. and brynge xe a calfe maad fat, and sle xe, and ete we, and plenteusously ete we.

24. For this my sone was deed, and hath lyued azen; he perischide, and is founden. And alle bigunnen to eat plenteusously.

25. Forsooth his eldere sone was in the feeld; and whanne he cam, and neyede to the hous, -am in to -is toun, dhat -e shuldre feede hogg-ise.

16. And -e kuyait-ud to fil -is wombe of dhe kod-ise whitshe dhe nog-ise eten, and noo man saav to nim.

17. Soothlii nee, turni'd azen: in to nim sile, said-e, Hun man'i niirid men in mi faadir huus, naan plente- of loovis; forsoothi pe ishe neer thurkwh nuq gir.

18. Ii shal rii-se, and Ii shal goo to mi faadir, and Ii shal sai'e to nim, Faadir, Ii -aav sin'ed azen- neev'e, and bi-foor'e dheee;

19. nuu Ii am not wurdlhui to be klep'id diii su'n, maa'ke mee as oon of thiit niirid men.

20. And nee, viis iq kaam to his faadir. Soothlii when -e was vit fer, niis faadir silkh -im, and nee was stir'i'd bi'ii mer'si. And nee, ren'iq to, feld on -is neke'-e, and kist -im.

21. And dhe suru ne saide'e to nim, Faadir, Ii -aav sin'ed azen- neev'e, and bi-foor'e dheee; and nuu Ii am not wurdlhui to be klep'id diii su'n.

22. Forsooth dhe faa dair said'e to -is servvauntis, Soone briq'e xe forth dhe firste stoole, and kloodh'e xe nim, and iiiv xe a riq in -is nond, and shoon in to dhe feet;

23. and briq'e xe a kalf maad fat, and slee xe, and ce'e we, and plen-teusluii ce'e we.

24. For diis mi suon was deed, and nath liv'ed azen; nee per'ishu'd, and is fund'en. And ale bigun'en to ce'e plen-teusluii.

25. Forsoothi niis el'dere suru ne was in dhe feeld; and whan -e kaam, and naih'ud to dhe nuus,
John Wycliffe.

Chap. VII. § 3.

Text.

he herde a symphonye and a crowde.

26. And he clepide oon of the servauntis, and axide, what thingis thes weren.

27. And he seide to him, Thi brodir is comen, and thi fadir hath slayn a fat calf, for he receyede him saf.

28. Forsoth he was wroth, and wolde not entre. Therfore his fadir, gon out, bigan to preie him.

29. And he answeringe to his fadir, seide, Lo! so manye yeers I serue to thee, and I braak neuere thi comaundement; thou hast neuere joun a kyde to me, that I schulde ete largely with my frendis.

30. But aftir this thi sone, which deuouride his substanee with hooris, cam, thou hast slayn to him a fat calf.

31. And he seide to him, Sone, thou ert euere with me, and alle myne thingis ben thynye.

32. Forsothe it bihofte to ete plenteouously, and for to ioye; for this thy brother was deed, and lyued ajeyn; he peryschide, and he is founden.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

ne nerd a sim-sonii-e and a kruud.

26. And -e klep-id oon of dhe ser'vaun-tis, and ak-sid, what thiq-is dheez wee-ren.

27. And -e said-e to nim, Dhii bro'cid is knum-en, and dhii faa-dir nath slain a fat kalf, for nee resai-v-id-im saaf.

28. Forsooth nee was neooth, and wold'e not entre. Dheer-foo're his faa-dir, goon uut, bigan to prai-im.

29. And nee aun'sweriq to -is faa-dir, said-e, Loo! soo man-re jeer'is Ii serv to dheec, and Ii braak nev're dhii komaun-de-ment; dhuu hast nev're joo-ven a kid'e to mee, dhat Ii shuld'e eet'e laar'dzheili with mi'i freend-is.

30. But aftir dhis dhii suu'ne, whitsh devu-u-rid -is sub'stauns with noo-ri's, kaam, dhuu -ast slayn to nim a fat kalf.

31. And -e said-e to nim, Suu'ne, dhuu ert ev're with me, and al'e mi'i ne thiq-is been dhii-ne.

32. Forsooth it binoof-te to ete plen-tevuslii, and for to dzhui-e; for dhis dhii broo'dir was deed, and liv'id aje'n; ne per'ish'id, and -e is fund'en.
CHAPTER VIII.

Illustrations of the Pronunciation of English during the Sixteenth Century.

§ 1. 

William Salesbury's Account of Welsh Pronunciation, 1567.

The account which Salesbury furnished of the pronunciation of English in his time being the earliest which has been found, and, on account of the language in which it is written, almost unknown, the Philological and Early English Text Societies decided that it should be printed in extenso, in the original Welsh with a translation. This decision has been carried out in the next section, where Salesbury's treatise appropriately forms the first illustration of the pronunciation of that period. But as it explains English sounds by means of Welsh letters, a previous acquaintance with the Welsh pronunciation of that period is necessary. Fortunately, the appearance of Salesbury's dictionary created a demand to know the pronunciation of Welsh during the author's lifetime, and we possess his own explanation, written twenty years later. The book containing it is so rare, that it is advisable to print it nearly in extenso, omitting only such parts as have no phonetic interest. Explanatory footnotes have been added, and the meaning of the introduced Welsh words when not given by Salesbury, has been annexed in Latin, for which I am chiefly indebted to Dr. Benjamin Davies of the Philological Society. It has not been considered necessary to add the pronunciation of the Welsh words as that is fully explained in the treatise, and the Welsh spelling is entirely phonetic. A list of all the English and Latin words, the pronunciation of which is indicated in this tract, will form part of the general index to Salesbury given at the end of the next section.

There are two copies of this tract in the British Museum, one in the general and the other in the Grenville library. The book is generally in black letter (here printed in Roman type,) with certain words and letters in Roman letters (here printed in italics). The Preface is Roman, the Introductory letter italic. It is a small quarto, the size of the printed matter, without the head line, being $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and including the margin of the cut copy in the general library, the pages measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It contains $6\frac{3}{4}$ sheets, being 27 leaves or 54 pages, which are unpaged and
unfolioed. In this transcript, however, the pages of the original are supposed to have been numbered, and the commencement of each page is duly marked by a bracketed number. The title is lengthy and variously displayed, but is here printed uniformly. In the Roman type (here the italic type) portion, VV, vv, are invariably used for W, w, and as there is curious reference to this under the letter W, this peculiarity has been retained in the following transcript. Long í is not preserved except in the title.

[1] A playne and a familiar Introductiô, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytishe tongue, now commonly called Wellihe, whereby an Englyfh man shall not onely wyth eafe rede the sayde tonge rightly: but marking the same wel, it shal be a meane for hym wyth one labour to attayne to the true pronouciation of other expedient and most excellent languages. Set forth by VV. Salefbury, 1550. And now 1567, perversed and augmeted by the same.

This Treatise is most requisite for any man, yea though he can indifferently well rede the tongue, who wyl be thorowly acquainted with anie piece of tranflation, wherein the sayd Salefbury hath dealted. (*)

Imprinted at London by Henry Denham, for Humfrey Toy, dwellyng at the fygyn of the Helmet in Paules church yarde. The .xvj. of May. 1567.


[4] . . . Some exclaumed . . . that I had peruercted the whole Ortographie of the [English] tongue. Wher in deede it is not so: but true it is that I altered it very little, and that in very few wordes, as shall manifestly appeare hereafter in the latter end of this booke. No, I altered it in no mo wordes, but in suche as I coulde not fynde in my hart to lende my hand, or abuse my penne to wryte them, otherwyse than I haue done. For who in the time of most barbarousnes, and greatest corruption, dyd euers wryte euery worde as he souëd it: As for example, they than writte, Ego dico tibi, and yet read the same, Egu deici terbei, they writte, Agnus Dei qui tollis, but pronounced Angns Dei quei tollyls.

And to come to [5] the English tung. What yong Scole did euers write Byr Lady, for by our Lady? or nunkle for vnkle? or mychgoditio for much good do it you? or sein for signe?

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1 These Latin mispronunciations were therefore (egn deiki tu-piel, Agnus Dei kwe tooli-is). Probably (Deei) should be (Decei), but it is not so marked. The phonetisation is not entirely Welsh. The pronunciation (tooli-is) was in accordance with the general sound of long o before í, see supra p. 194.

2 The English examples were probably pronounced (bei'raad-di, naqk-l, midsh-gud-it-in, scin). It seems scarcely probable that an (o) should have been used in a familiar pronunciation of
And thus for my good will molested of such wranglers, shall I con-descend to confirme their vnskylf custome . . . Or shall I proove what playne Dame Truth, appearing in hir owne kykenes can woorke against the wrynckled face neme\(^1\) Custome? . . . . . .

Soiurng at your house in Paules Churchyarde, the 6, of Maij. 1567. Your, assuredly, welwyllyer W. Salesbury.

\[6\] ¶ To hys louing Friende Maister Richard Colyngborne, Wylliam Salesburie wysheth prosperous health and perfect felicitie.

\[7\] [These two pages have no interest. They are dated—]

\[8\] Wylyam Salesbury to the Reader.

[These two pages set forth that after the publication of his dictionary persons wanting to know Welsh asked him whether his dictionary would serve their purpose, and] \[9\] . . . amongst other communication had, they asked, whither the pronunciation of the Letters in Welsh, dyd dyffer from the Englysh sounding of them: And I sayde very muche. And so they perceiving that they could not profite in building any further on the Welsh, lacking the foundation and ground worke (whych was the Welsh pronunciation of the letters) desired me eftsoones to write vnto them (as they had herd I had done in Welsh to my Country men, to introduc them to pronounce the letters Englysh lyke) a fewe English rules of the natural power of the letters in our tonguе.

And so than, in as much as I was not onely induced wyth the premises, but also further perswaded, that neither any inconveniency or mischiefe might ensue or grow thereof, but rather the encrease of mutual amitie and brotherly love, and continuall friendship (as it ought to be) and some commodity at the least wyle, to suche as be desireous to be occupied there aboutes. As for all other, euen as it shall neuer worke them pleasure, so shall it no displeasure.

Euen therefore at the last, I have bene so bolde as to enterprize (condescending to such mens honest request) to inuent and wryte these playne, simple, and rude rudimentes of the Welsh pronunciation of the letters, most humbly desiring the Readers to accept them with no lesse benouolent humanitie, then I hartily pretended to-wards them, when I went about to treate of the matter.

\[10\] Blank.]

\[11\] ¶ The pronunciation of the Letters in the Brytyshe tongue.

The letters in the British tongue, have the same figure and fashion as they haue in Englysh, and be in number as here vnder

---

\footnote{Thus printed in the original; the word has not been identified.} Good, you, which was not pronounced in the sustained form. See p. 163, l. 24, for Cotgrave’s account of this phrase. Salesbury does not recognize (s, w) as different from (i, u), but I have always used (s, w), as the difference of orthography is merely theoretical (p. 185).
The heard ew com. pronounce w.

These be the vowels.

a e i o u w y.

These two vowels

a. w. be mutable.

The diphthonges be these, and be pronounced wyth two soundes, after the verye Greeke pro-pronounciation.

Ae ai au aw ay
ei ew
ia ie io iw
oe ow oy
uw
wi
wy.

These letters be called consonantes;

b. c. ch. d. dd. f. g. ff. k. l. ll. m. n. o. p. r. s. t. th. v.

An advertisement for Writers and Printers.

Ye that be young doers herein, ye must remember that in the lynes endes ye maye not deuide these letters ch, dd, ff, ll, th: for in this tongue euery one of them (though as yet they have not proper figures) hath the nature of one entiere letter onely, and so as vn-naturall to be deuided, as b, c, d, f, or t, in Englysh.

The pronounciation of A.

A In the British in euerye word hath ye true pronounciation of a in Latine. And it is never sounded like the diphthong au, as

---

1 Here the modern Welsh alphabet introduces ng = (q).
2 Not used in Modern Welsh.
3 Here ph (f) is introduced in modern Welsh but only for proper names, and as a mutation of p.

Salesbury’s explanations give the following values to these letters.—

A aa a, B b, C c, CH kh, D d, DD dh, E ee e, F v, FF f, G g, NG q, H h, I ii i, K k, LL lh, M m, N n, O oo o, P p, PH f, R r, S s, T t, TH th, V v, U y, W u, Y y. The pronounciation of the Welsh U and Y will be specially considered hereafter.

5 This is of course merely fanciful.
6 The vowel o is also mutable: “Compare the German Umlaut, thus b ardd [sacerdos], pl. b irrd ; corn [cornu], pl. curry ; d iwr [pagnus], pl. dyruw.—B.D.”

7 This is by no means a complete list of modern Welsh diphthongs, and no notice has been taken of the numerous Welsh trithonghs. The Welsh profess to pronounce their diphthongs with each vowel distinctly, but there is much difficulty in separating the sounds of ae ai au ay from (ai), and iw from u (iu, yu), oe, oy fall into (oi), and ei sounds to me as (ai). In ia ie io initial, Welshmen conceive that they pronounce (ja je jo), and similarly in wi, wy they believe they say (wi, wy). This is doubtful to me, because of the difficulty all Welshmen experience, at first, in saying ye woo (si wu), which they generally reduce to (i uu).

8 That is the Welsh pronounce Latin a as their own a. Wallis evidently heard the Welsh a as (ææ, æ), supra p, 66, l. 18. Compare p. 61, note.
the Frenchmen sounde it commynge before m or n, in theyr tonguine,¹ nor so fully in the mouth as the Germaynes sound it in this woord wagen:² Nayther yet as it is pronounced in English, when it commeth before ge, ll, sh, tch. For in these wordes and such other in Englyshe, domage, heritage, language, ashe, lashe, watch, calme, call, a is thought to decline toward the sound of these diphthonges ai, au, and the wordes to be read in this wyse, domage, heritaige, languevaige, ashe, waitche, caulm, caulme.³ But as I sayd before a in Welsh hath alwayes but one sound, what so euer letter it folow or go before, as in these wordes ap, cap, which hane the same proununciation and signification in both the tongues.⁴

[13] Much lesse hath a, such varietie in Welsh, as hath Aleph in Hebrue (which alone the poynthes altered) hath the sound of euyre vowell.⁵ Howbeit that composition, and deriuation, do oft tymes in the common Welsh speache chaunge a into e, as in these wordes, vnvreith [semel] seithed [septimus]. So they of olde tyme turned a into e or ai in making their plural number of some wordes reserving the same letter in the termination, and the woord not made one sillable longer, as apostol [apostolus], epesty [apostoli]: caeth [servus], caith [servi]: dant [dens], daint [dentes], map [filus], maip [filii]: sant [sanctus], saint [sancti]: tat [pater], tait [patres], etc., where in our tyme they extend them thus, apostolion, or apostoliet, caethion: Dannyd or Dannyde: maibion, santie or seinie: taidie or tadeu. But now in Northwales daint & taid are become of the singular number, taid [uvus] being also altered in signification. Neuertheles e then succeedeth, & is also wrytten in the steede of a: so that the Reader shall neuer be troubled therewith.

¶ The sound of B.

B in Welsh is vniuersally read and pronoiced as it is in Englyshe. Albeit when a woorde begunnych wyth b, and is ioyned wyth me woordes commynng in a reason, the phrase and maner of the Welsh speach (muche like after the Hebrue idiomie) shall alter the sound of that b, into the sound of the Hebrue letter that they call Beth not daggessey, or the Greek Veta,⁶ either els of v being consonant in Latine or English: as thus where as b, in thy.

¹ Suprà p. 143, l. 1, and p. 190.
² Meant to be sounded as (vaag'en, vaagh'en, vaag'en)? The ordinary pronuinciation of modern Saxony sounds to me (bhoagh'en).
³ Probably (dham-aidzh, her-taidzh, laq-waidzh, aish, waithsh, kaul, kauml). For the change to ai see pp. 120, 190; for that to aa see pp. 143, 194.
⁴ Probably ap means apec; it does not occur in Salesbury's own dictionary, but he has "ab ne siak ab An ape," and "kap a cappe." The word siak is meant for (shak), and (shak) for (dzhak).
⁵ The Welsh now sometimes pronounce si as (sh), as ceisio petere (ka'i'sho), and they use it to represent English (sh, tsh; zh, dzh), which sounds are wanting in their language. Hence the passage means (ab ne dzhak-ab), an ape or a Jack-ape, as I learn from Dr. Davies.
⁶ As aleph is only (p) or (ัส) in pointed Hebrew, (p. 10,) it has no relation to any vowel in particular.
⁷ The Greek B, is called (vii'ta) in modern Greek (pp. 518, 524). Salesbury seems to have pronounced (vee'ta).
Walshe [14] word *bys* a fynger, is the primitie (or if I should borrow the Hebreue termes) the radical letter, which comming in the context of a reason, shall not than be calle d b, but v, as in thys text: *ei vys* his finger. And sometyme b shall be turned into m, as for an example: *vymys* my fynger; *dengmlrwydd* for *decblrwydd*, ten yeare old. And yet for all the alteration of thyth letter b, and of diuers other (as ye shall perceyue hereafter) whych by their nature be chaugeable one for an other, it shall nothing let nor hynder anye man, from the true and proper readynge of the letters so altered.

For as soone as the ydrome or propertie of the tongue receyueth one letter for an other, the radicall is omitted and left away: and the accessorie or the letter that commeth in steepe of the radical, is forthwith written, and so pronounced after his own nature and power, as it is playne inough by the former example. Whych rule, wrytynge to the learned and perfectly skylled in the idiome of the tongue, I do not alwayes observe, but not vnblamed of some, but how justly, let other some iudge.

Prouided alwayes that such transmutation of letters in speaking (for therein consisteth all the difficultie) is most diligently to be marked, obserued, and taken heed vnto, of him that shall deli te to speake Welsh a right.1

|| How C. is pronounced.

C maketh k, for look what power hath c in Englishe or in Latine, when it commeth before a, o, u, that same shall it haue in Welshe [15] before any vowell, diphthong, or consonant, whatsoever it be. And as M. Melanchthon affirmeth, that c. k. q. had one sound in times past wyth the Latines: so do al such deducted wordes thereof into the Welsh, beare witnes, as, accen of *accentu*, Caisar *Caesar*, eicut of *icitula*, cist of *cista*, croe of *cruce*, radic of *radice*, Luc of *Luc", lluc also of *luece*, Lluci of *Lucia", lluern of *lucerna", Mauric of *Mauricio": natliche of *natalicis*.

How be it some of our tyme doe vse to wryte k. rather than c, where Wryters in tymes past haue left c. wrytten in their auncient bookes, specially before a, o, u, and before all maner consonantes, and in the latter end of wordes. Also other some there be that

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1 The initial permutations in the Welsh (and Celtic languages generally) are a great peculiarity. Some consonants have three, some two, and some only one mutation, and the occasions on which they have to be used do not seem capable of being reduced to a general principle. The mutations in Welsh are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>dd</td>
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<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ng</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirate</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The (-) indicates the entire loss of *g* as *gufr* goat, *dy afr* thy goat; *mh nh ngh* are not (*mh nh gh*), but (*mu nu (gu)* and consequently if there is no preceding vowel which can be run on to the (*m n q*), a murrum is inserted as (*mh 'nu 'qu*).
sound now c, as g, in the last termination of a word: Example, oe [juventus], coe [moles], lloë [agger]: whych be most commonly read, og, cog, llog.¹

Furthermore, it is the nature of c. to be turned into ch, and other whyles into g. But I meane thysh, when a word that begynneth wyth c. commeth in construction as thus: Carv a Hart, Evvic a’ Charev, a Hynde and a Hart. Either els when c. or k. (for they be both one in effect) is the fyrst letter of a word that shall be compounded, as for an example, Angraff, angred, angrist, which be compou’d of an and of craf, cred, Christ.²

|| The sound of Ch.

Ch doreth wholly agree with the pronounciatiō of ch also in the Germayne³ or *Scottyshe⁴ toungue, of the Greeke Chy,⁵ or the Hebreue [16] Cheth,⁶ or of gh in English.⁷ And it hath no affinitie at all wyth ch in Englysh, except in these worde, Mychael, Mychaelmas,⁸ and a fewe such other. ch also when it is the radical letter in any Welsh woorde, remayneth immutable in every place. But note that their tongue of Southwales giueth them to sound in some worde h onely for ch,⁹ as hwech, for chveech [sex], hweor for chvaer [soror]. Further ch sometyme sheweth the feminine gender, as well in Verbes as in Nownes, as ny thal hon y chodi [non digna illa quæ levetur]: y char hi [amator illius mulieris]: for if the meanyng were of any other gender, it shuld haue been sayd i godi and not i chodi, i gar, and not i char. &c.

|| The sound of D.

D is read in Welshe none otherwyse then in Englyshe, sauyng onelye that oftentymes d in the fyrst syllables shalbe turned into dd, resembling much Daleth the Hebreue d.¹⁰ And sometyme

¹ Mr. E. Jones observes that “this is in accordance with a general tendency in modern Welsh to use the medial for the tennis.” Dr. Davies doubts this tendency.

² The modern Welsh forms are annghraff hebes, annghred infidelitas, annghrist anti-Christus.

³ Where it has really three sounds (kh, kh, kch) dependent on the preceding vowel (p. 53). Probably Salesbury only thought of (kh).

⁴ The Scotch words cited in the margin, are pronounced (rekhit mekhit).

⁵ The modern Greek χ, according to one account I received, is always (kh), never (kh), but Prof. Valetta (p. 517, n. 2) used both (kh, kh).

⁶ The Hebrew נ and ס are by Euro-

peans confounded as (kh); taking the Arabic pronunciation of the corresponding א כ they are (h, krh).

⁷ This therefore confirms the existence of a sufficiently distinct (kh) in English, which may have been occasionally (kh).

⁸ It is not to be supposed that ch in these words was (kh) at that time. But the text certainly implies that the ch was not (tsh), and was therefore probably (k) as at present. All that is meant, then, probably, is that (kh) is more like (k) than (tsh).

⁹ The modern use in South Wales is to say (wh) initially for (kwh), as (whekh) for (kwekeh).

¹⁰ Hebrew נ ת = (d, dh).
when a word begynnynge wyth d, is compounded wyth an: the d shall slyp away, as anawyn [in-donum] of an [in] and dawyn [donum]; anoeth [in-doctus] of an [in] and doeth [doctus].

Dd is nothing lyke of pronunciation to dd in English or Latine. For the double dd in Welsh hath the very same sound of dhelte\(^1\) or dhaleth, dashed wyth raphe,\(^2\) or of d betwyx .ij. vowels in the Hispansible tongue,\(^3\) cyther els of th, as they be comonly sounded in these English wordes, the, that, thys, thyne.\(^4\) Neither do I meane nothing lesse then that dd in Welsh is sounded at any tym[e][17] after the sound of th these wordes wyth thynne, thanke.\(^5\) But ye shall fynde in olde wrytten English bookes, a letter hauing the fygure of a Romayne y, that your auncestres called dhorn, whych was of one efficacie wyth the Welsh dd.\(^6\) And this letter y\(^7\) I speake of, may you see in the booke of the Sermon in the Englyshe Saxons tongue, which the most rueernad father in God D. M. P. Archbishop of Canturbury hath lately set forth in prynt.\(^7\) And ther be now in some countries in England, that pronounce dd euyn in these wordes *addes, fedder,*\(^8\) according as they be pronounced in the Welsh. And ye must note that dd, in Welsh is not called double dd, neither is it a double letter (though it seemeth so to be) wherefore it doth not fortify nor harden the sillable that it is in, but causeth it to be a great deale more thynke, soft, and smoothe. For he that first added to, the second d, ment thereby to aspirate the d,\(^9\) and signifie that it should be more lyghtly sounded, and not the contrary.

\(^1\) Modern Greek δ is (dh). This, and the sound given above to β (p. 747 note 6), shews that the present modern Greek’s system of pronunciation (p. 523) was then prevalent in England, see pp. 529–530 and notes. Sir Thomas Smith’s book, advocatig the Erasmian system of pronouncing Greek, was not published till 1668, a year after this second edition of Salesbury’s book.

\(^2\) “Formerly, when Dugesh was not found in any of the Hebrew letters, a mark called רֹּפֵה רֹפֵה, was placed above it, in order to shew that the point had not been omitted by mistake. With the ancient Syrians this was nothing more than a point made with red ink. The Hebrews probably wrote it in the same way: but, as this point might be mistaken for the vowel קelihood, when printed, or, for one of the accents, the form of it was altered for a short line thus (‘), which is still found in the Hebrew manuscripts, though very rarely in printed books.” S. Lee, Grammar of the Hebrew Language, 3rd edit. p. 21. Hence ҁ with raphe was equivalent to the ordinary ҁ = (dh).

\(^3\) If the Spanish d in this place is not true (dh), it is so like it that Spaniards hear English (dh) as that sound, and English that sound as (dh). Don Mariano Cubi i Soler, a good linguist, who spoke English remarkably well, in his Nuevo Sistema . . . para aprender a leer i pronunciar . . . la lengua inglesa, Bath, 1851, gives (p. 8) the Spanish deidad deity, as a threefold example of (dh). Yet the Spanish sound may be (c), p. 4.

\(^4\) Pronounced (dhe, dhat, dhis, dhein).

\(^5\) Pronounced (with, thin, thaqk).

\(^6\) This alludes to the common practice of printing y for ʃ, which letter is usually called (thorn) not (dhorn), but see p. 541, note 2.

\(^7\) As this was first written in 1650, the Archbishop must have been Cranmer.

\(^8\) Addis addice, now written adze, is generally called (ædz). Fedder is perhaps meant for feather (fedh-a) but may be father, provincially (fee-dhz).

\(^9\) The Welsh has dd, ff, ll (dh, f, lhh), all meant as so-called aspirations of their d, f, l (d, v, l). Similarly Salesbury has rr for modern rh (infra
But I thinke it had be easier, more meete, and lesse strange to the Reader, if that he had put h, after the former d, in a signe of aspiration, than to adde an other d thereto.

And as it semeth it is not passing three or foure C. yeres ago, synce they began to double their d, for before that tyme by lykely-hooode they vseyd one constant maner of pronounciation of their letters even as the Hebrues did at the beginning.

[18] Dd also beginnyng a word, sheweth that it commeth in construction: for there is no woord commyng absolutely that his fyrrst syllabh the beginneth wyth dd.

Moreouer, dd relateth the masculyne gender, as (Ai dđewraich ar ei dđevron) [illius hominis brachia duo super illius hominis pectora duo] for in an other gender, it would be sayd, Ai dđewraich ar ei dđevron [illius mulieris, &c. ut suprà].

How E ought to be sounded.

E without any exception hath one permanent pronounciation in Welsh, and that is the self pronounciation of Εpsilon in Greke, or of e in Latine, being sounded aright, or e in Englyshe, as it is sounded in these woordes, a wreke, vreke, breke, wvrreste.

And the learner must take good heed that he neuer do reade the said e as it is red in these English woordes, eee, beleue: For than by so doing shall he eyther alter the signification of the word wherein the same e is so corruptly reade, either els cause it to betoken nothing at all in that speche. Example: pe [si] signifieth in English and if, now, ye rede it pi, than wil it betoken this letter p, or the byrd that ye call in Englyshe a Pye. And so gpee is, a webbe: but if ye sound e as i reading it gwi, then hath it no signification in the Welshe.

And least peraduenture the foresayd example of the Welsh or straunge tong be somewhat obscure, then take this in your own mother tong for an explanation of that other: whereby ye shall perceiue that the diversitie of pronounciation of e in these English woordes subscribed hereafter, wyll also make them to haue divers significatiōs, and they be these woordes, bere, pere, hele, mele.

p. 758; and Dan Michel and others use ss for (sh), (suprà pp. 409, 441) which many consider as an aspirate of s. Of course there is no aspiration, though the writing (dh), as Salisbury goes on to suggest, has arisen from this old error. Compare the Icelandic hļ, hl, hn, hr, he, suprà p. 544.

The modern Welsh e is, and seems to have always been (ee, e) and never (ee, e), and hence I so transcribe it.

Meaning (e) of course.

(Weer, wreck receek, breck, wresp, wvest).

(Wll, blliv) as appears from what immediately follows.

(Bfr) beier or beer, (beer) bear, (pii) peer, (peer) pear, (miil) heel, (meel) heal, (miil) meel = meddle ?, (meel) meal, p. 79. Mr. Murray suggests that meal in the sense of food consumed at one time, German mahl, ags. meal, Scotch (mil) may have been (meal), and meal in the sense of flour, German mehl, ags. melu, Scotch (mil) may have been (mil) and that these were the two sounds Salisbury meant to distinguish. This is a priori most likely, but the orthographies leave the matter in great perplexity. Promptorium: meel of mete; mele or mete, commensatio cibus; meele of corne growndyn', farina far. Palsgrave: meale of corne farine, meale of meate repast. Levins: meale farina, by flock meale minutin, meele cōna, which would seem to indi-
Neither yet doe we vse in Welsh at any time to write e in the middle or last sillables, & to leave it vnspoken in reading: as it is done by schena in Hebrue, or as the maner of wrytyng and readynge of the same is accustomed in Englysh, as it shall be more manifest by these wordes that followe: golde, sylke, purenes, Chepe-syde: wherein (as I suppose) e is not written to the extent it might be read or spoken, but to mollifie the syllable that it is put in.¹

But now I am occasioned to declyne and stray somewhat from my purpose, and to reuene my phantasie to yong wryters of Englyshe, who (me thinketh) take ouer muche paynes, and bestowe vnrequisite cost (hauing no respect to the nature of the Englysh ending e) in doubllyng letters to harde the syllable, and immediatly they adde an e, which is a signe of mittigatyng and softning of the syllable, after the letters so doubled, as thus: manne, vworshippe, Godde, vvotte, vryshe, gooDnesse, hemme, vvett: ² whych wordes wyth such other lyke, myght with lesse labour, and as well for the purpose, be wrytten on thys wyse: mann, v wors hypp. Godd, vvott, vvyssh, gooDness, hemm, nett: or rather thus: man vvors hypp, God, vvott, gooDnes, hem, net.

[20] And though this principle be most true Frustra id fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora, that is done inwayne by the more, that maye be done by the lesse: yet the Printers in consideration for justyfying of the lynes, as it is sayde of the makers to make vp the ryme, must be borne wythall.³

How F. is commonly sounded.

F In Welsh being syngle, and v when it is consonant in Welsh, English, or Latine, be so nygh of sounde, that they vse most commonly to wryte in Welsh indifferently the one for the other. And I my selfe haue heard Englysh men in some countries of England sound f, euyn as we sound it in Welsh.⁴ For I haue marked their maner of pronounciation, and speciallye in soundyng these wordes:

cate the difference (mecl, miil) in an exactly opposite direction, but as Levins has: cale ccl auquilia, beacle becl spe-tunea, deacle declie portio, he may have meant to imply that these wordes were in a transition state. The meaning of the two words (miil, mecl) then, intende by Salesbury, must remain doubtful.

¹ The utter extinction of the feeling for the final e is here well shewn. How a syllable can be "mollified" without any utterance, is not apparent. The wordes are (goold, silk, pyyrnes, Tsheepscid).

² (Man, wu:ρship, God, wot, wish, gudnes, uem, net), since uette must be a misprint for nette.

³ This may be partly an explanation of the varieties of orthography in the xvirth century in printed books, but will not explain the nearly equal varieties in manuscript. I have noted at least ten ways of spelling tongue in Salesbury’s own book: tongue, tonge, tong, tounge, tounge, tounge, tounge, tounge, tounge, tounge, tounge, tounge; ags. tongue.

⁴ This is west country, still heard in Somersetshire and Devonshire. In early English books of the West of England s is constantly used for f. We also find it in Dan Michel’s Kentish dialect 1340 (p. 409). The same places give also z for s.
The sound of **ff**:

In Welsh hath but the samesounde that the syngle *f* hath in Englysh. And they are faine to vse the double *ff* for the syngle *f*, because [21] they haue abused *f* in steeve of *v* a consonant. But in such wordes as haue *p* for the fyrst letter of their originall (for to keepe the orthographie) the Learned wryte *ph*, and not *ff*, as thus, *Petr a' Phavel*, Peter and Paule.

The pronunciation of **G**.

G In every word in Welsh soundeth as the Hebrue *Gymel*: or *g* in Dutche, or as *g* in Englyshe soundeth before *a*, *o*, *u*. And marke well that *g* neuer soundeth in Welshe as it doth in English in these wordes, *George*, *gynger*. G also in Welsh sometyme (when it commeth in a reason) shall be turned into *ch*, and sometyme elided or left cleane out of the word as *tavvn ne'rvad* [satisfactio vel sanguis]: *koch ne'las* [rufus vel viridis]: and not *koch ne glas*: *dulas* [viridis nigrescens] of *du* [niger] and *glas* [viridis].

And whilewhyle wordes compounded shall put away *g*, as these do, *serlooyve, dulas*: whose ymple be these, *ser* [aster], *gloyve* [purus], *du* [niger] *glas* [viridis].

Also *g* is added to the beginning of such wordes as be deriued of the Latine, which begyn wyth *v*, as *Gvvent*, *gvie*, *grynt*, *Gvent*, *gvyn*, *gosper of* *VVilicienus*, *vicus, ventus, Venta, vinum, vesper*.

Moreover, *g* intrudeth wrongeously into many wordes, namely after *n*, as *Llating* for *Llatin*, *Kathering* for *Katherin*, *pring* for *prin* [*vix*].

[22] Of the aspiration of **H**.

H In every word that is wrytten in Welshe, hath hys aspiration in speakeynge also, and is read, euyn as in these wordes of Englysh, *hard*, *heard*, *hart*, *hurt*: And therefore whersoever *h* is wrytten in Welshe, let it be read wythall, and not holden styll,
as it is done in French and Englysh, in such wordes as be deriued out of Latyne, as these: honest, habitation, humble, habite.\textsuperscript{1} &c. Except when \( h \) is setled betwene two vowles in Welshe, wordes: for then it foyrth not greatlye whether \( h \) be sounded or not, as in these wordes that folowe: deheu [dexteritas], kyhyr [muscclus] mehein [adept], gyveheu, heheu,\textsuperscript{2} gyvehydd [textor], gohir [mora]. &c.

Moreover, \( h \) sometime sheweth the gender, & somtyme the number of the word that it is set before, as in this word, \textit{Ar y hael}: vpon her, or their brow. Further, \( h \) oftentimes is caused or engendred of the concourse of vowles, \( oi \) ervvydd, for \( oi \) ervydd, and sometimes by accenting, as \textit{trugarha}, for \textit{trugard}. Then becaus \( ch \) is not of the essence of the word, I leaue it for most part vnwrytten.

\textbf{The sound of I.}

I In Welsh hath the mere pronounciation of \( i \) in Latine, as learned men in our time vse to soud it, and not as they \( y \) with their Ioncisme corrupting the pronounciation make a [23] diphthong of it, saying: \textit{veidei, teibei for vidi, tibi}. But loooke how \( i \) soundeth in Englysh, in these wordes, \textit{singing, ringing, drinking, winking, nigh, sight, might, right}\. So then \( i \) in every syllable in Welshe hath euyn the same sounde as \( e \) hath in Englyshe in these wordes, \textit{veee, see, three, bee}. And \( i \) is neuer sounded so broade in Welsh as it is in thes English word \textit{I}.\textsuperscript{4} And besyde that \( i \) is neuer consonant in Welsh,\textsuperscript{5} but euyn remaining a vowel, as it doth in \( y \)

\textit{Ego} Germayne tonge, or as \textit{Iota} in the Greke. And because they haue not tasted of the preceptes of Grammer do not lightly vnderstande what thes terme consonant meaneyth: I wyll speake herein as playne as I can, for to induce them to vnderstand my meanyng.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Therefore when we say in spellyng m a, ma:} \( i e, i e \):
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{st e, ste: maieste: or I e, i e: s u s, sus: Jesus: now}
  \end{itemize}

  \item \textit{But when I spell on thes wyse:} \( i \) \textit{per se i, o r k, ork,}

  \item \textit{and wyth doyng them togethyer, reade iork, : then} \( i \)

  \item \textit{is not called consonant, but hath the name of a vowell.}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{1} (On\textsuperscript{est}, abite\textsuperscript{eshun, um\textsuperscript{bl, ab\textsuperscript{it}}. See above p. 220.

\textsuperscript{2} The words gucheu, heheu, have not been identified.

\textsuperscript{3} (Siz\textsuperscript{\textit{i}}, ri\textsuperscript{\textit{q}}, dri\textsuperscript{\textit{q}}, wi\textsuperscript{\textit{k}}, n\textsuperscript{\textit{k}}, sik\textsuperscript{\textit{h}}, mrik\textsuperscript{\textit{h}}, rik\textsuperscript{\textit{h}}). Salesbury here however means (i) not (\( i \)), which he generally marks by \( y \) Welsh. Yet Welshmen at present do not seem acute in distinguishing (i, \( i \)), but use sometimes one sound and sometimes the other, supra p. 112, note 1. The (mrik\textsuperscript{\textit{h}}) and not (nel) or (nel\textsuperscript{\textit{k}}) sound of \textit{nigh} is here pointed out by the context.

\textsuperscript{4} Meaning (ei).

\textsuperscript{5} That is, never has the sound of \( i \) consonant or \( j \) in English, that is, (dzh). Salesbury never thinks of (\( j \)) as a consonant, but only as the vowel (i). This must be borne in mind in reading what follows, in which a curious example of the mode of spelling out words in old English is presented. Of course his argument is perfectly worthless. There is a dispute, as already mentioned, concerning the Welsh \( i \) preceding another vowel. Mr. E. Jones and Dr. Davies both consider Welsh \( i \) to be (\( j \)) in such words \textit{iawen tach, Jesus}. In English, Smith and Hart consider (\( j \)) and (i) to be the same sounds, supra p. 185.
And therefore if ye lyst to reade ryghtly Welshe woordes wherein \( i \) is wrytten, an other vowell immediatlye folowing (for therein else is there no hinderance for the straunge Reader) than must you harken how \( i \) (whych I wryte for \( y \)) is sounded in these English woordes: \( i \)-ane, \( i \)-arde, ield, \( i \) elk, \( i \) elle, \( i \) elow, \( i \)ere, \( i \)ok, \( i \)ong, \( i \)ought, Jorke, iou: And though thesse woordes bee wrytten here [24] now wryth \( i \), in the first letter of every one, yet it is ment that you should reade them as the \( i \) were \( y \), and as they had been wrytten on thys fashion: \( y \)ane, \( y \)arde, \( y \)elde, \( y \)ell, \( y \)elove, \( y \)ere, \( y \)ok, \( y \)ong, \( y \)ought, \( y \)orke, \( y \)ou: 2

Now I trust that the dullest witted chylde that never read but two lynes, perceaueth so familiar a rudiment.

\[ \text{The sound of } K. \]

K Foloweth the rule of \( e \) in every poynyt, and therefore looke for the effect of \( k \), where it is treated of the letter \( e \).

\[ \text{The sound of } L. \]

L Hath no nother difference in sound in Welsh than in English.

And note that it neyther causeth \( a \), nor \( o \), when they come before it, to sounde anye more fuller in the mouth, than they do else where sounde, commynge before anye other letter. 3 And for the playner vnderstandyng thererceof, looke in the rules that do treate of the sounde of \( a \) and \( o \).

And marke whan soene ye see \( l \) to be the fyrst letter of a woorde, that eyther the same word commeth in construction, eyther else the woord is of an other language, and but vsurped in Welsh.

A woord beginning wryth \( l \) hauyng \( ll \) in hys [25] radical, maketh relation of the masculin gender, as \( yu y lauv \) in his hand: for \( yu y llauv \) is in her hand.

Item thys lysping letter \( l \) is now smotheley recyued in some woordes, contrary to their original nominations, as temestl for tempest; trrisel, triselyn, for trriac or trriacyn [cortex]: pynysl or pynysll for pemblys [quinque digiti]: so named of the resemblace that the roots haue wyth mans fingers: which is now better knownen by a more vnapte name euyn Cicut y dever, and in English Water small-edge. 4

So likewyse to this letter \( l \) a loytring place is lent to lurk in this English word syllable. 5 And thus much, that the wryters hereafter maye be more precise and circumspect in accepting the vnlettereds pronunciation by the authority of theyr hand wryting.

1 I have not met with this form \( iye \) elsewhere, except in the Heng. MS. of C. T. v. 10. The sound seems to be (ii) as in the Scotch word \( ee \) for \( eye \).

2 [Jaun, jard, jiild, jel, jelvoon, jir, jook, juq, juuth, Jork, juu]. The orthography \( yowght \) for \( youth \) is peculiar.

3 This alludes to the old English pronunciation of \( tall \), toll as (taul, tooul), supra p. 193-4

4 Apparently cicuta virosa, Water cowbane, Water Hemlock, now spelled \( cegid \) in in Welsh.

5 This, in conjunction with the preceding, is meant to point out the syllabic (\( 'l \)), see p. 195.
Of the straunge sound of double ll.

ll can not be declaredanye thyng lyke to the purpose in wryting, but onely by mouth: if ye the wyll learne how it ought to be sounded: For (as it is sayd before of d) so the second l is added in stode of h: but looke how Lambda coming before Iota is sounded in the Greecke: even so pronounce we ll in the Welsh. And if ye could hyt kyndely on the right and just pronounciation of ll thus aspirated: not leauyng unsouded the entire energe, and the whole strength of the aspiration: than shoulde not you bee farre dissonant from the true [26] sound of our Welsh ll.

For the Welsh ll is spoken the tongue bowed by a lyttle to the roufe of the mouth, and with that somewhat extenyding it selfe betwyxt the fore teeth the lyppes not all touching together (but leaving open as it were for a wyndow) the right wyke of the mouth for to breathe out wyth a thyecke aspirated spirite the same ll. But as I sayde before, and if ye wyll haue the very Welsh sound of

1 Joannes Ocolampadius, the Latinized name of Johann Haussechein, the reformer, 1482-1531, who studied Greek under both Reuchlin and Erasmus, the teachers of the rival Greek Pronunciations.
2 The Welsh ll is not (lh) the whisper of (l), for in (lh) the breath escapes smoothly on both sides of the tongue, and the sound may be frequently heard, with very little escape of breath, in French, table (tabl') for (tabl) see p. 52, and in Icelandic, p. 545. But for the Welsh ll, one side (generally the left) of the tongue lies along the whole of the palate so as entirely to prevent the passage of air, just as for the English cl'ek (ɔ) p. 11, by which we excite horses, and the breath is forcibly ejected from the right side, making it vibrate, at the same time that there is a considerable rattle of saliva, thus much resembling (kh) or rather (krh), and the sound is, perhaps for this reason, conceived as a guttural aspirate by Welsh grammarians. The Welsh ll is a voiceless or whispered consonant which I represent by (lh) p. 6, the second (h) to the right typifying the ejection of breath on the right side, and the initial (lh) the resemblance of the sound to (lh) which when energetic may be substituted for it without loss of intelligibility, although the Welsh ear immediately detects the difference. The lips may be fully open, or only opened on the right; the effect is entirely due to the action of the tongue and is very peculiar. At a distance than (lh'han) when shouted sounds like (tian). There is no resemblance to (thlan) which English-men generally substitute for it. When the table of palaeotype was drawn up I had never heard the voiced form of (lh), which for convenience, may be written (lh'). It is possible also to have palatalised varieties of both, which must then be written (ljh, ljhh). All these forms with (lh) are very awkward, but they are sufficiently distinctive, and the sounds are very rare. In: Il Vangelo di S. Matteo volgarizzato in dialetto Sardo Sassarese dal Can. G. Spano accompagnato da osservazioni sulla pronunzia di questo dialetto e su varj punti di rassomiglianza che il medesimo presenta con le lingue dette Celtiche, sia ne' cambiantiamenti iniziiali, sia nel suono della lettera L, del Principe Luigi-Luciano Bonaparte, Londra 1866, it is stated that (lh', lhh, lhh') occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (lh', lhh) in the dialect of the Isle of Man. The Prince pronounced all these sounds to me, but he laid no stress on their unilateral character, or rather disowned it. In this case (zh, dh) were really the sounds uttered for (lh') according to Mr. M. Bell's views, Visible Speech, p. 93, and Mr. Bell on hearing them, analyzed them thus.
3 Here Salesbury most probably elevated (ll) first into (l) and then into (ljh). See also p. 546, n. 1.
Chap. VIII. § 1. SALESBURY'S WELSH PRONUNCIATION.

thys letter, gue eare to a Welshmā when he speaketh <i>culltell</i>, whych betokeneth a knyfe in Englysh: or <i>ellyll</i> a ghoste.

The Welshman or the Hispaniare compose their mouthes much after one fashion when they pronounce their <i>ll</i>,1 sauyng that the Welshman vttereth it with a more thicker and a more mightier spirite. The Englyshe mans tounge when he would sound <i>ll</i>, slydeth to <i>l</i>l.

The Germanes lykewyse, as writeth <i>John Aventin</i>, as we do now, did in auncient time aspirate <i>l</i>, but pronouncing it somewhat hardish in the throte. And in an other place he recordeth that in old Charters he findeth <i>l</i> aspirated, nameelye in proper names, and after thys manner H L.2 Thus you see how tonges though far distant, haue som affinitie in one thyng or other.

The sound of <i>M</i>.

[27] M In Welsh hath such a sound as ye heare it haue in Englysh or Latine: but yet it is one of the letters that be channgeable in construction as thus: <i>mvvy</i>, moe, <i>llai ne vrvvy</i>, lesse ormore, <i>mvvyevvy</i>, more and more: <i>mal hyn</i>, or <i>val hyn</i>, as thus: <i>megis</i> or <i>vregis</i>, as.

The sound of <i>N</i>.

N Is none otherwyse sounded in Welshe then in Englyshe: but somtyme, after the Latine maner, when it commeth before <i>b</i> or <i>p</i> in composition, it is than turned into <i>m</i>, as ymblaen [cornm], which is compounded of <i>yn</i> and <i>blaen</i>: <i>amparch</i> [contumeliam] of <i>an</i> [in] and <i>porch</i> [reverentiam]: <i>ampvyll</i> [impatientia], or an <i>f</i> <i>pyyll</i> [prudentia].

N also is often times accessary, I meane such as intrudeth into many worde, namely beginning with <i>e</i> or <i>k</i>, as <i>vynca</i> [meus carus] <i>vy-car</i>, <i>vyndev</i> [meus deus], for <i>v-deve</i>, or <i>vynyv</i>.

And because in suche wordes it is nothing of the essence thereof, I doe, but not without offence to some Readers, oftentimes omit the writing of it, thyncking that it is not more meete to admyt <i>n</i> in our so sounded worde, than in these Latine vocables <i>agnus, magnus, ignis</i>, at what tyme they were thus barbarously sounded, <i>agnys, mangus, ignys</i>. After this sort crept <i>n</i> into <i>messanger</i> comming of <i>message</i>. By <i>y</i>e like analogie <i>potanger</i> (which I thinke no man doth so write) must be written for <i>potager</i>, and so corrupt <i>Portingal</i> for <i>Portugal</i>.3

[28] But I will prescrive nothing herein, least of some Remissian I be termed a Precisan.

1 The Spanish <i>ll</i> is (lj), so that Salesbury has elevated it to (ljh), see preceeding note. No doubt in attempting to imitate it he put his own tongue into the familiar Welsh position, and took it for the Spanish.

2 On the ags. and Icelandic <i>ll</i> see supra pp. 513, 546.

3 Compare nightingale ags. nihtegale, Leffrington ags. Leofre, pasenger fr. passagier, porringer quasi porridger, Arminger k. armiger, popinjay, old e. popuplay. See these and other examples of an inserted <i>n</i> in <i>Mätzner</i>, Englische Grammatik, 1860, vol. i. p. 174.
The sound of O.

O In Welsh is sounded accordyng to the right sounding of it in Latin: eyther else as the sounding of o is in these Englyshe wordes: a Doe, a Roe, a Toc: 1 and o neuer soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these words of Englysh: to, do, tevo. 2 But marke that o in Welsh going before u, soundeth nothing more boystous, 3 that is to say, that it inclineth to the sounde of the diphthong ou (as it doth in Englyshe) 4 no more than if it had gone before any other letter.

The sound of P.

P in Welsh differeth not from the Englyshe sound of p, but p com- myng in construction foloweth the rules of the Hebrue Phe, 5 sauing that somtyme it is turned into b, as thus: pedwar neu bemp [quatuor vel quinque], for pimp. And somtyme p in composition is chaunged also into b, as when we say ymbell [longe], for ympell.

And one whyle it is left out of the compounde wordes: as whan these wordes: kymell, kymorth, be wrytten for kympell [compello], kymnport [comporto].

And an other whyle our tongue genveth vs to sounding it as it were an k, as when we say: ymhle [29] ymhbey, ymhlus for ymple [?], ym-plvvy [in plebe] ym-plas [in palatio].

But p turned into ph, maketh relation of the feminine gender, as O'i phlant, of her children, gevise i phen, the attire of her head.

The sound of Q.

Q Is not receiued amog the number of the letters in Welsh as yet, but k supplyeth his rowme, and vsurpeth his office in every place. And the Greekes are fayne to practice the same feate, as ye may see done. Luc. ii and Ro. 16. where Kyriiniou is written for Quirino, Kuartos for Quarto. 6

The sound of R.

R Is sounded a like in Welsh and Englysh, but r, in Welsh for the most part is pronounced wyth aspiration, especially being the first letter of the word. And for the aspiration h, they commonly

1 (Doo, roo, too). In my observations of Welsh, the long and short o were invariably (oo, o). The sounds (oo, o) seem practically unknown, and not appreciated by Welchmen. That these were also the English sounds in the xvith century I infer as in p. 95.

2 (Tu, duu, tui).

3 Boystous, probably (buist-us) does not appear to be a misprint, but a more correct form than the modern boisterous. The Promptorium has boy- stows, the Catholicon butus, the Ortus Voc. boystous, Chaucer boystously 8667 (Wright reads boystrously incorrectly, the r not occurring in Harl, 7334, Cam. Univ. MS. Dd. 4. 24. has bois- tously,) and in several other places, the Wyclifflite version has boustous, Math. 9, 16, as pointed out by Mr. Way on the word in the Promptorium. The origin seems to be the Welsh bwyst wildness, bwyst savage, bwystil wild beast, bwystus brutal ferocious, which account properly for the diphthong in the first syllable. Mr. R. Morris refers the word to boast, Welsh bost.

4 This again refers to the English toll (= (toum)).

5 B = (p), D = (ph) not (f).

put to \(r\), as they play by \(d\) and and \(l\), euen thus: \(rr\color{red}{vvygveyd}\) [fractus], \(rrodres\) [vanitas], \(rringell\) [miles], \(Rufain\) [Roma]. But the manner of some is to wryte one great capittal \(R\) (when it is the fyrst letter of a woord) for the twoo double \(rr\). Also \(r\) serueth the tyme that \(n\) doth in Englysh, that is to wyt, to be put betwene vowels meeting together in two sundry worde, for to stop the vncomely gaping in spech, as ye shall perceyue by these woordes of both the \(30\) tongues: \(yr\)-\(aver\) : a-n hour: for mother nature wyll not admyt that we should pronounce \(y\) \(aver\), or a hour. But stepmother Ignorance\(^2\) recceyueth both \(r\) and \(n\) into some places where they are abused, as \(yr\) \(Llatin\)g, for \(y\) \(Llatin\).

\[\text{The sound of } S.\]

\(S\) Soundeth in Welsh as it doth in Latin: neither hath it two diuers soundes as it hath in Englishe or Frenche, for when it commeth betwene two vowels in these two languages, it is so remissely and lithly sounded, as it were \(z\), as by these two worde of both the speaches it is manifestly proued, \(Feisant\) a Fesant.\(^3\)

\[\text{The sound of } T.\]

\(T\) Lykewyse hath but one sounde, and that as the Latines sound it in these worde: \(atat\), \(tute\), \(tegit\): Neyther do I meane that \(t\) in Welsh is sounded at any tyme lyke \(th\), as some barbarous lyspers do, who depraue the true Latine pronunciation, reading \(amath\), for \(amat\), \(dederith\), for \(dederit\), &c.\(^4\)

Now be it marke well thys exception, that \(t\) is neuer read lyke \(c\) thorowt the Welsh tongue, as it is commonly read of Englyshemen in Latine verbales ending in \(tio\), as Exception\(\text{pronunciatio, electio, subiectio.}\)

\(31\) Marke also, that it is the nature of \(t\) to be turned into \(d\), and sometime into \(th\), and some other tyme it is so lightly spoken, that the \(t\) is quite left away, and there remayneth but the \(h\) in steede of the \(t\). But thys is to be vnderstande when \(t\) is the fyrst letter of a word set in construction to be construed or buylt together on thys fashion: \(Na\) thrice \\(yuhy\) devy aver ne dair [Ne mane in domu duas horas vel tres]. For before they be hewed, squared, and ioyned together wyth theyr tenantes and mortesses, they lye in rude and vnpressed timber after this maner of sort: \(Na\) trye \(yn\) ty devy aver ne tair. Furthermore \(t\) in deriuation is left out of the deriued worde or turned in \(n\), that they myght sound more pleaasunt to the care, as ye may take these for an example: \(chevauoc\) or \(chevaa\)

1 To \(r\), that is, two \(r's\), or \(rr\). The modern form is \(rh\), rather (\(th\)) than (\(rh\)), so that \(Rhys\) (\(R\)h\(ys\)) sounds more like (\(tr\)) than (\(r\)\(s\)).

2 Of course \("an\) hour" is the old form, and \("a\)" comes from the omission of \(n\) before a consonant. The igno-

3 This occasions difficulties in writ-

ing the sounds of English words in

Welsh letters.

4 Palsgrave says of the French \(d\)

that he sees "no particular thyngh

wherof to warne the lernar saue

that they sounde nat \(d\) of \(ad\) in these words

adultere, adoption, adorleer, like \(th\), as

we of our tonge do in these worde of

Latine \(ath\) adthiuvandum for \(ad\) a

adius

vandum corruptly."
The sound of Th.

Th hath the semblable and lyke sound in Welsh as it hath in Englysh in these worodes, thorow, thycke, and thynne: ¹ but it is neuer so lythly spoken as it is commonly sounded in these other words: that, thou, thine, this.²

Moreover th wrytten for the fyrst letter of any worde, sheweth the same worde to be than in construction. For there is no Welshe worde standing absolutely that hath th for hys fyrst letter: but t is hys natyue and originall letter, for the [32] which in construction th is commonly vscd. Neither yet do we vse to wryte th, in any worde, and to reade the same as t or d, as is commonly done in these English wordes: Thomas, thron, threation, Thauies Inne:

Thauies In which be most uniersally spoken after this sorte: Tomas, trone, treasure, Davies Inne.³

Item th sometyme signifieth the word to pertyene to the feminine gender, as Oi thuy of her house, otherwyse said, oi duy, of hys house.

The sound of V being consonant.

V specially being wrytten in thys maner of fashion v, soundeth in Welshe as in Englyshe or Latine, when it is a consonant.⁴ And it lightly neuer begynneth a woroede, except the worde be constructed and ioyned wyth one or more worodes. For other b or m, being the originall or radicall letter, is transmuted or chauged (according to the congruitie of the toungue into v a consonant.

But Latine worodes begynnyng with v, and vsurped in the Welsh, shall receyue g to their fyrst letter, as is declared more at large in the treatise of the letter G, and sometyme B, as bicar of vicarius.

The sound of u being a vowel.

But u written after this manner u, is a vowel, and soundeth as the vulgar English people sound it in these worodes of English: trust, bury, busy, Hu[33]berden.⁵ But know well that it is neuer sounded in Welsh, as it is done in any of these two Englyshe worodes (notwythstanding the diuersitie of their sound) sure, lucke.⁶ Also

¹ (Thuroun, thik, thun).
² (Ihat, dou, dhein, dbis).
³ ('Tomas, trun). see next section under Th (trez'yr. Daviz In).
⁴ The use of v is quite discontinued in Welsh, and f is always used in its place.
⁵ No doubt that he meant the sound of (trist, briz, briz'i, Huberden). (Trist) still occurs in Scotland. (briz) was even then more usually (ber'i) but is the common Scotch now, and (biz'i) remains. Huberden is probably Hubertden, but I cannot find such place. There is a Hubberston in South Pembroke, which therefore may have the u pronounced in the Welsh manner and an Iberton in North Dorset. These are the nearest names I can find.
⁶ (Syr, lok). Pullokar gives (syver) and he is particular in identifying the sound with the French u. Hart has (siur) meaning (syr), p. 167, and Salesbury writes suwer, with the
the sound of \( n \), in French, or \( ù \), wyth two prickes over the heade in Duch, or the Scottish pronunciation of \( u \)\(^1\) alludeth somewhat nearer unto the sound of \( i \) in Welsh, though he yet none of them all, doeth so exactly (as I thinke) expresse it, as the Hebraick Kubuts doeth.\(^2\)

For the Welsh \( u \) is none other thing, but a meane sounde betwixte \( u \) and \( y \) beyng Latyne vowels.\(^3\) And therefore who so euer wyll distinctlye learne the Welsh sound of \( u \) let hym once gene care to a Northen Welsh man, when he speketh in Welsh, the wordes that signifie in English obedient (or) \(^2\) chaff singularly: whych be these in Welshe, \( wuudd \), \( usun \).\(^4\) And this vowell \( u \) alone amongeth all the letters in Welsh, swaruth in sound from the true Latine pronunciation.

Thys \( u \) is more in vre wyth vs of Northwales than wyth theim of the South parteis: whose wryters abuse it, when they wryte thus, \( un \) \( yn \) for \( yn \) \( un \)\(^5\)

\( \text{The sound of } W. \)

\( W \) In Welshe and Englyshe hath but one fygure and power, though it chaunceth to haue .ij. dieres names: for in English ye call it double \( uu \) and in Welshe we gene it the [34] name of a

same meaning, pp. 165, 172, and indeed this passage is sufficient to shew that he did not mean \( \text{syur} \). Smith and Bullok both give \( \text{luk} \).

\(^1\) All meant for the sound of \( \text{yy} \), although at present there are occasional faint differences of sound, but not acknowledged, French \( \text{yy} \), German \( \text{ui} \), Swedish \( \text{uv} \), Scotch \( \text{oo} \).

\(^2\) This of course means that Salesbury pronounced the Hebrew \( \text{ydd} \) (kibbus), generally considered as \( \text{u} \) in the same way as Welsh \( u \); also he shews by writing the name \( kubuts \), that he gave the same sound to the first vowel in the name, generally identified with \( i \). This serves to show, in conjunction with his opening sentence, that his sound of Welsh \( u \) did not much differ from \( i \), and that where he uses it for the representation of English sounds, he certainly meant \( i \) or \( i \).

\(^3\) It is difficult to determine what sounds the Welshman gave to Latin \( u \), \( y \), because these are precisely the Welsh vowels about which there is a difficulty. The next sentence but one, however, would lead us to suppose that his Latin \( u \) was \( u \), as it was different from the Welsh; but what his Latin \( y \), properly \( y \), may have been, cannot be said. Assuming, however, that it was \( i \), then the mean sound ought to be \( i \). By the kindness of Dr. Davies I had an opportunity of consulting three Welsh students at the Regent's Park College about the Welsh \( u \), \( y \). The sound of \( u \) in \( Duw \) appeared to be \( i \), in \( llewyrchu \) it was not distinguishable from \( i \), in \( archread, golemi \), I could not distinguish the diphong \( eu \) from the English \( ai \), though the sound of \( ai \) in \( gair \) was distinctly \( ai \) and occasionally \( aai \), but \( ai, ae, au \) were nearly if not quite indistinguishable; at most \( ai, ae, ai \) would mark the distinctions. I understood from Dr. Davies that the theoretical pronunciation of \( u \) was \( y \), and that in solemn declamation an attempt was made to preserve the sound, but that usually \( u \) became \( ii, i \) or even \( i \). This is perfectly similar to the common German substitution of \( ii \) for \( \text{yy} \) in the pronunciation of their \( u \), an alteration never made in French. In Danish and Swedish the \( y \), theoretically \( y \), becomes \( i \) or, to my ear, practically \( i, i \).

\(^4\) Theoretically \( yyv-ydh, yyv-syn \), practically \( iv-idh, iv-syn \) or even \( iv-idh, iv-sin \) which latter sounds, perfectly easy to English organs, would be intelligible throughout Wales.

\(^5\) This refers only to the orthography. See below under \( y \).
syngle u but than soundyng it after the Latine pronuciatio or ells as you now sounde your oo."

But the lesser Greeke o ioyned togyther wyth the Greke y made a diphthong, or Hebraic Vau cum puncto schurek in ventre, either oo in these English vocables: booke, looke, boorde, woorde, shall rather expresse hys name, than hys proper nature.

But hys owne power, and peculiour office in Welshe, shall there no letter nor letters more preciselye set it forth than the vv it selfe, or oo wyth the Englysh pronunciation. For all though the Germanes vse a vv yet in some wordes sounde they it (to my hearing) as the forther u were a vowel, and the latter o consonant, where we the Britons sounde both uu wholly togyther as one vowel, wyth-out anye seuerall distinction, but beynge always eyther the forther or the latter parte of a diphthonge in Englyshe on thys wyse: wyth aw: and in Welshe as thys: vvyth, awen.

And though, as I sayd before, I fynde in som auncient writers 6 for vv, yet in other I find vv in words now vsually written w v or f as eithervv, for eithav or eithaf. In which kynde of wordes, bycause they of Southwales vse yet to kepe ye pronuciatio of it, saying tawvy where we saye taflu or tafl [jacio], I doe rather vse for the more indifferencie to wytte v than f, vyth that they may the more aptly resolue [35] it into their woonted vowel vv, and we maye sounde the same after our more consonant acceptation. But contrary, we saye denvydd where they sound denvydd or defnydd [substantia], and some corrupters denvydd.

The sound of X.

X Is not founde as yet in the Welshe Alphabet: For the Welshe speache hath no neede of his office: because that suche Walshe wordes as be deducted of the Latine, turne their x into s, as doe these: nos, estenna, escommun, estran, bieses, escuso, escutio, Sas or Sais, which come of nox, extendo, excommunicatus, extraneus, bisex- tus, escuso, escutio, Saxo.

1 Meaning (uu, u).
2 Modern Greek pronuciation (uu) for oo.
3 Hebrew פּוּ (shuureek), meaning 4 (uu).
4 (Buuk, luuk, buurd, wuurd). Bullokar and Gill also give (luuk), the shortening of the vowel into (luk) or rather (luuk) is quite modern. North country pronunciation is still (luuk), though Mr. Melville Bell and Mr. Murray consider the difference between the Scotch and south country sounds to be merely qualitative, the former (luuk), the latter (luuk). Gill has (wurud), Butler (wurud, wurd). Boorde was the spelling at that time for board, as in the Promptorium, Levins has boord, and Butler pronounces (buurd).
5 The meaning of this is difficult to comprehend, and the difficulty is increased by the misprint o, for u or a. He divides w, as he prints it, into v v, which he immediately calls u u, but which of these two letters he considers "the forther" and which the "latter," is not plain. The best I can make out is, that he heard German w as (vu), thus www = (vuu), nearly (vun) or perhaps (vwan). The last is not a very inapt way of representing (bhan), and one which I have heard given by many persons, as the best means of indicating the sound of initial (bh) to English or French speakers.
6 Here, in vvyth, vv is in the "forther" part, and in avven in the "latter" part of the diphthong, which ought to make Salesbury's German ev = (uv), as (uvan), which being dissyllabic is in-
The sound of Y.

Y is sounded in Welsh, as it is in these English words: yn, synne, ys, thynne, vwynne.1 Neyther yet as it is sounded of the commune people in anye of these two woorades following: vydde, vwynge.2 Also y beyng a woorde, counteruayleth the sygnification of the in Englysh, and of Le in Frenche, or of the Articles Ha, Ho, in Hebreue and Grekeke, as thus: y dyn, whose proper sygnification in Englyshe is not communlye vsed, except a man shoulde saye, the person: [36] but Le homme shall well declare it to any that shal be skilled in the Frenche: And by,meanes herco we vse to expresse the excellencie that the Evangelistes attribute to Iesus, when they addde the Grekke article theteto: whiche they semble advisedly to do, omitting to write it when they speake in the name of the Jewes or Gentiles.

The sound of Z.

Z is unknown in Welsh, in so muche that it was never placed in possible. As Salesbury does not recognize (o) he also does not recognize (w), hence wyth aw = with awe, is to him (with ah), not (with an). It is hopeless to look for agreement upon this point of theory. Suprâ p. 513, n. 2. There can be little doubt as to the pronunciation of these words because sin, thin, win, also occur in Smith. Mr. E. Jones remarks: "I has two sounds in Welsh, and it is the only letter that has two sounds. In monosyllables as dyn it is nearly ce Eng, as deen (diin), in polysyllables as dynion=u in but (dan’ion)." On which Dr. Davies observes, "rather i in hint" = (dni on). In the examination of this sound as pronounced by the Welsh students at Regents Park College, (suprâ p. 761, note 3,) the word dignion seemed more like (dan’ion) than (dan’ion), but I noted the following pronunciations, gyd (gad), yn y (an a), trywyd (true’idho), ynddo (on’dho) bywyd (baudh), sydd (siidh), llewyrchu (lheworkh’i), tweylyth (towalh’ukh) and (tawelh’ukh) in North Wales; the words are all in John i., 1–5. According to Dr. Davies the theoretical sound in all places is (o), which is aimed at in solemn or statyly style, but in South Wales the universal sound is (i, r). In North Wales (a, t), or (a, i) are heard. The sound may be (y). The sound (o), or (a), is quite familiar. Salesbury evidently only knew one sound, and it is important with regard to his English to be sure that he did not know the sound (o), which we do not find recognized in English till the xvith century, see p. 174. The following are the rules usually accepted for the pronunciation of Welsh y. In the monosyllables dyd, dyd, dyf, fy, mwn, y, yr, ydd, ym, yn, yr, ys, it is pronounced (o), in all other monosyllables (y). In final syllables it is always (y). In the prefix cyd, and sometimes cyn, as cycnystedd, cynoacadd, and in adjectives and adverbs prefixed as cryf-arfog, it is also (y). After w it is generally (y) as gwfnys, mwyhanu, bwyta, but to this rule there are several exceptions especially if w is short or follows a vowel, as cwyrryn, cwyssu, llewyrchu, tywyllu, acwyddu, cwylyth in which it is (a). In all other cases not specified in these rules it is (o).

2 (Weid, weind). The first word is clear, but the second is doubtful. Wyngye should = wing, which was certainly called (wïq). There is a Norfolk word winge to shrivel, in Wright’s Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial Englysh, but that is probably (wêndgh). Most likely vynge is a misprint for vynde, which, even as a substantive, is called (weind) by Bullokar, and (waind) by Gill.

3 The Greek ù was originally (y), but was (i) at the time Salesbury wrote. What he alludes to in this marginal observation is not clear.
any Welshe woord hytherto: ¹ Neither needed I once to speake of it, but because I would put the reader utterly out of doubt in this behalf. How be it, z may conveniently hereafter be vsurped in woordes borowed of straunge tongues, euen that they keeping their orthographie, maye the more apparantlye declare them selues, at the least, to the learned.

**Of the Abbreviations.**

[This section has no interest.]...[37]

[38] *Annotation.* [This also has no interest.]...........[39]

[40] *A briefe rehersall of all the rules before, vwith certayne other additions thereto pertayning.*

A compariso of the pronunti-ation of the letters in Welshe, to the pronuntiatio of the Greeke and Hebrue letters. ² ³ ⁴

A is most vulyke of pronounciation to the Hebrues Aleph.

B most entirely resembleth the nature of Beth.

C and K be not vulyke in sound vnto Caph and Koph. ²

Ch, chi, cheth and caph wyth raphe, ³ be of one sounde.

D soundeth as Daleth, Dagessata. ⁴

Dd contaynethe the power but of one letter, and that of Dhetla, or of dhaleth not daggesset. ⁵

[41] E is much spoken after the sounde of the vowels Segol or Epsiton. ⁹

F and Beth wythout the poynthe Dagges or the Grek Veta be as one in sounde. ⁷

ff (or ph) agre in pronuntiacion with the Greke Phy or the He-brack phe not poyned wyth Dages. ⁸

G is sounde as Giniel or the Dutch g. ⁹

H and th' aspiration He be equal in power. ¹⁰

I in euyere poynthe agreeth wyth the Greke Iota. ¹¹

L Lamedh, and Lambdha, disagre not in sound. ¹²

Ll countreaylyeth Lambda comming before Iota. ¹³

M N, Mem Nun and My Nyy differ not in sound. ¹⁴

¹ Hence in his transcript of English words the sound of (z) must be given to his w when necessary, as indicated by other authorities.

² The = (k) in ḫ = (kaph), ṝ = (x) in ḫ ṝ = (koph).

³ That is ḫ without the dagesh point = (kh).

⁴ i= (d). ⁵ l= (dh), s= (dh).

⁶ ḫ ṝ = (segho) is the short (e), e was the same.

⁷ ḫ = (bh), β = (v) or (bh), supră p. 518. E. A. Sophocles (Romaine Gram- ⁸ ⁹ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

⁹ ϕ = (f) or (ph) see supră p. 513, note 2; θ = (ph).

¹⁰ ι = (i).

¹¹ "Except in being occasionally a consonant as (j).—B.D."

¹² η, λ = (l).

¹³ ζ = (h), see above p. 756, note 3, and p. 757, note 1.

¹⁴ Ω Π, μ ν = (m, n).
O and Omega shall sound as one.¹
P doeth as well imitate Phe and Phy in sound as in other conditions.²
R hath a peculiar concinnitie with Rho.³
S Samech and Sigma may go together well enough for their tune.⁴
T soundeth as Teth or Tau dageset in the Hebrew.⁵
Th hath the very sound of Theta or Tau having no Dages.⁶
V beyng consonante soundeth as Beth wythoute Dages or as Veta
doeth.⁷
V beyng vowel is read as Kibuts and not much unlyke unto Ypsilon.⁸
Y hath the verye sound Ypsilon.⁹

¶ What further concinnitie the consonants have with the
Greek Letters.

[This only comes to dividing the consonants as follows:] [42]
The thynne letters be these, c or k, b p t l.
The thycke letters are these, ch ph ll.
The middle letters be these, g v dd.

Of the sounde of ch, g, i.

Ch in welsh is but one letter.

These thre letters ch, g, i have neuer the like sounde in the Welshe tong, as they haue in these English wordes, chere, gentle, Jacke.⁹

[43] Of contraction used in welshe.
[This section possesses no interest].

Of accente.

The observation of accente is it that shall do muche towarde the attaynyng of the natif pronunciation of any language, in so muche that somtyme the alteration of accente shall altere also the signification of the word, as in these wordes in Greke: Neos, Tomos, pharos. and these in Welshe: gwyydd, gwyll, gwyr: and in Englishe: these, differ, provide, denye, &c.¹⁰

¹ Ο′ (oo) in modern English pronunciation of Greek, but (oo) in modern Greek, supra p. 523, as in modern Welsh, where pob peth is called (poob peeth) not (poob peth), and the older English, p. 96.  
² The means D′ (p), but what does phy mean? It should be φ, but that has been already appropriated to ff (f). Probably phy is a missprint for fy = π.
³ The “peculiar concinnitie” refers perhaps to the aspirated form ʰ which Salesbury accepts as his rr, modern rh, now (‘rn) rather than (rh).
⁴ D, σ taken as = (s), as they were certainly then pronounced though the determination of the original sound of each letter presents difficulties.
⁵ D = (t), Ν = (t), they are generally confounded.
⁶ θ, Ν = (th).
⁷ Supra p. 747, n. 6, and p. 764, n. 7.
⁸ Kibuts here is kibuts on p. 761, where see note 2. Greek ν = (l), formerly (y).
⁹ (Tsheer, dzhent-l, Dzhak).
¹⁰ Neos young, neos fresh land, fallow and the Ionic gen. of ναυς a ship; τόμος a cut, a piece cut off, τομός cutting, sharp; φάρος any large piece of cloth, a cloth, sheet, shroud, cloak, φάρος lighthouse from the island Φάρος. In the first three words the position of the accent mark causes a difference in modern Greek pronunciation, (neos, neos, tomos, tomos) but both the latter words are (faros). But the accent mark in Welsh is only used to indicate length, and is generally omitted both in printed books (even dictionaries) and writing. Gwydd (guu-ydh) pasture.
Certayne Englishe wordes wher of ye may gather the Welshe pronunciation of the letters.

Archangell, Beynge, Called, Michael, Discomfyted *Dde, Euer *Filaynous. Fend, Gget Him, Itch Ieldynge, Kest, Laye, Mellett, Murrurnyng, Not Ouer, Frenayled, Rauenyng, Horrible, Satan, Tormented, Thorowe, Ualiант, Busines, Worthy, Yll.¹

Certayne wordes wherin the letters be most unlikey sounded to Welshe pronunciation of them.

[44] All, Combe, Dombe, Ceasce, Cyue, Checke, Adder, Ele, Fyshe, Gender, Engyn, Humour, Honour, In, Iaundice, Fall, *Osyll, Reason, Season, Thomas, Thauies Inne, That, Vnle, Ydle, Synging.²

The signification of A. in Welsh.

[This has no reference to pronunciation.]

The signification of Y.

[This has also no reference to pronunciation.]

ground that has been formerly ploughed; a weaver, gwyl (gwylh) wood, or a weaver’s loom; gwyl (gunyll) a hag, goblin, ghost; gwyl (gwyll) shade; gwyr (gunyr) oblique, sloping, see supra p. 726; gwyr (gwiir) fresh vigorous verdant. The English examples are more difficult; differ is probably differ defer; provide is unintelligible for only provide occurs, not provide, though we have provident. Mr. Brock suggests that provide may be meant for proved; denne only occurs as deny, but denier is both denier (deneer) in Shakspeare, Richard III., act 1, sc. 2, last speech, v. 252—the other two passages in which it occurs are in prose,—and denier one who denies.

¹ These words seem to be, Archangel (arkan’she’l), being (bn’i), called (kauld), Michael (Mchel?), discomfited (diskum-fited), the (dhe), ever (ever), villainous (vil’yaunss), fiend (feend), get (get), him (him), itch (itch), yielding (yild’i), kist this is hardly likely to be Spenser’s word “which forth she kist,” F. Q. 6, 12, 15, it is more probably an error for kist=kissed, but the word is doubtful; lay (lai), mellett has the second l battered and looks like mellett, but the l is plainer in the Grenville copy, it is possibly meant for millet (mil’et), murmuring (mur’murq), not (not), over (over), prevailed (prevaild’), ravening (rav’enq), horrible, (hor’i), Satan (saat’au), tormented (tormentd’), thorough (thur’u), valiant (val’vnt), business (biz’ines), worthy (wurth’u), ill (il).

² Probably all (aul), comb (kuum) as a hill, dumb (dum), cease (sees), sieve? “as water in a sta” Much ado, act 5, sc. 1, v. 6, 1023 ed., (siv), check (tshek), adder (ad’er), eat (iil), fish (fish), gender (dzheend’er), engine (en’zhun), humour (hu’my), honour (onur), in (in)? Jeanvlic (dzhauv’dis), fall (faul); osyll is explained in the margin as the blackbird, which answers to the osyll of Levins, osyf of Huloet, the modern oysel or oosel (uez’el) is sometimes used for a blackbird merula vulgaris, though more commonly for the water oysel, dipper, water crow or pyet merula aquatica, cinclus aquaticus, reason (rezz’un), season (sez’un), Thomas (Tom’res), Thauies Inu (Day’iz in), that (dhat), unle (uok’i) or perhaps (nuq’i) see p. 744, and note 2; idle (iild’l), (sindzh’i) singing because (siq’i) would be like the Welsh sound of the letters.
A general rule for the reading of Welsh.

T. Hough there be diners precepts here tofore wrytten of the Welsh pronunciation of the letters, I would think it not ouermuch dissanont, nor yet to wyde from the purpose, to admonishe you in thys behalfe, that is, that you ought not to reade the Welsh according as ye do the Englyshe or French, but euyn after the reading of the latin. For in reading English or French, ye do not rede some wordes so fully as they be wrytten.

And in many other ye seme to sound the sillables more fully than the expressed letters do giue. Which maner of reading is so vtterable eschued in Welsh, as ye perceyue it to be exactly obserued of them that perfitlye reade the Lateine tonge: Nei[46] ther do I meane here to cal them perfite and Latinelike Readers as many as do reade angnus, magnus, for agnus, magnus, ignis, for ignis, santus, for sanctus, sal, for sol: solv, for sol: and for mihi, meiche: and ego, for ego: tuve for tu: and quith ligith, in stede of quid legit. &c. Therefore ye must learne to forget such maner of pronunciation, agaynst ye prepare your selues to reade ye Welsh. Moreover, ye ought to know, that these wordes: dringo [scandere], gevvingo [calcitrare], kynga [sermo], myngen [juba], anglo [repren}ensio], angred [infidelitas], and the most part of suche like Welsh wordes, hauing ng in them, and being of moe sillables then one, shall be red as these English wordes be (but ye must admit them to be red now as of two sillables euery word) Kynges, rynges, bryngeth, syngeth: For euyn as ye do not rede them Kyn-ges, syn-ges, bryn-geth, syn-geth: but rather in this wyse, Kyng-es, ryng-es, bryngeth, syngeth: euyn so do we sound dring-o, and not drin-go: gevving-o, not gevvin-go: myng-en and not myn-gen. Albeit, yet as ng may be seuered and parted in this English word sym-geth (but the signification altrte) so haue we some wordes in Welsh (when they are spoken) in whom the sillables may be seuered in ng, as in these: an-geth, Llan-gvvm, tringyrch, &c.

[Then follow seven entire pages and two portions of pages of a letter to Mr. Collingborn speaking of the advantages to Welshmen of learning English, the low state of Welsh literature, &c., with many wordy digressions, and ending thus:]

But now M. Collingborne, least peraduenture, where I thinkne my selfe but familiarlye to talke here wyth you, and other

1 Agnus magnus (agnus maq-nus), ignis (ignis), sanctus (sant-us), sal (saul), sol (soul), mihi (mei-khei) compare the present Scotch sound, ego (egoo, egu) see p. 744, tu (tty), quid legit (kwith liirdzith?). "The Scandinavians have lost the sound (qg), both medial and final... Hence (q) is regularly represented by ng, or by n in nk, or by g in gn, according to the German school tradition (abbreviations like mng for magnus in the popular dialect). This gn forms a part of the received pronunciation in Swedish, where the frequent combination gn is always assimilated to (q), forming an accidental analogy with the mm which arises from an original fn. bu pn?"—Rapp, Phys. der Spr. 3, 241.
2 (Kiaq, riqz, briaqeth, siqeth),
3 (Sindzh'eth) = singes, most probably.
my familiars (as my meaning is none other in deed) some thankles taunter entermeddle and say vnto me, alluding to that mocke of Diogenes, O viri Myndi portas ocludire, ne quando verba vestra egrediatur, meaning this therby, O my good friend haue done with your Welsh confabulation, haue done:

for els your ioly proemion, and your goodly pârergon shalbe longer then all your booke besyde.

Here therefore at the last I make an end.

Finis

[The colophon consists of three crescent moons interwoven, with the word יִלּ in the central one of the four inner interstices, and the word יֵבָר in each of the three outer openings, between the horns of the crescent, evidently referring to Psalm 72, v. 7: יֵבָר יֵבָר יֵבָר יֵבָר (gad b'lii jaree'ah), so long as the moon endureth, literally, until failure of moon.]

§ 2.

William Salesbury's Account of English Pronunciation, 1547.

The Welsh text of the Introduction to Salesbury's Dictionary is here reproduced literatim with all the errors, misprints, false collocations of letters, antique spelling, of the original, but without the long ſ, and in Roman type in lieu of black letter. Those who are interested in antiquarian Welsh will prefer seeing it in this form, and will be better pleased to set it right for themselves than to have it reduced to form and order for them, while the English translation will enable the English reader to dispense with the Welsh. English and foreign words are italicised.

There are two perfect copies of this work in the British Museum, one in the general library (628, f. 25), and one in the Grenville Library (7512). The volume is a small quarto, 7½ by 5½ inches, including the margin; the letter-press, without the headline, measuring 6¼ by 3¾ inches. It is in black letter, unpagd. The signatures are: none to the first sheet, Bi. Bii. Biii. Ci. Cii, and then, after a blank leaf, the signatures go from A to S, the last letter having only 6 pages. The title occupies the first page, and is in English only, as follows:

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welsh moche necessary to all fuche Welshemen as wil speedely leerne the englyshe toungue thought vnto the kynges maieflie very mete to be fette forthe to the vse of his graces subjectes in Wales: whereunto is prefixed a little treatyfe of the englyshe pronuaciacion of the letters, by Wyllyam Salesbury.
The colophon is

Imprynted at London in Foster lane, by me Iohn Waley (1547). Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Immediately after the title is a dedication in English only: “To the Moost Victorious & Redowbtede prince Henry theght by the grace of God Kynge of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande defender of the faythe And of the Churche of Englande and alfo of Irelannde in erthe the suprême Hedde be al prosperite in continuall honour.” This dedication extends over three pages, and concludes: “Youre poore and humble subiecte Wyllyam Salesburye.”

Then follows the address to the reader, occupying five pages. The beginning of each page is marked in the following transcript by a black figure in brackets as [5], and in numbering the pages of the book I reckon the title as p. 1, and the back of it as p. 2. On p. 11 commences the actual treatise on the sounds of the letters, and, counting the two blank pages at the end of the third sheet, on p. 25 begins the dictionary itself of which the first page is annexed as a specimen, shewing the arrangement in four columns and the many Welsh words left untranslated. Indeed, as may be expected, it is extremely deficient, but it extends to 141 pages.

The English translation of the Welsh address to the reader and account of English Pronunciation was kindly made by Mr. E. Jones, of the Hibernian Schools, Liverpool, and obligingly revised by Dr. Benjamin Davies, of Regent’s Park College, London, one of the Council of the Philological Society. No attempt has been made to imitate Salesbury’s quaintness of language, but the meaning of the words is given as carefully as possible. In this English translation, where Salesbury cites an English word in the spelling of the time, it is printed in small capitals, his pronunciation in Welsh characters is subjoined in italics, and then the interpretation which I give to that phonetic transcript is added in palaeotype in a parenthesis, and when Salesbury gives no phonetic transcript, the conjectured palaeotypic form is given. If Salesbury adds the meaning in Welsh this is subjoined also in Italics, and a translation of it into Latin is annexed in brackets. When Salesbury gives no translation the Latin is still added. Thus: “laddre lad-dr (lad’er) yscol [scala],” give the old English spelling laddre, Salesbury’s phonetic Welsh transcript lad-dr, the palaeotypic meaning of the same (lad’er), the Welsh translation of the original word yscol, and the Latin translation of the Welsh translation [scala]. References are added throughout to the page in which the passage is quoted or in which illustrative remarks occur, and these are enclosed in a parenthesis thus (p. 61), meaning, suprà page 61. This will avoid the necessity of subjoining footnotes. After the specimen of the dictionary is added an alphabetical list of all the words of which Salesbury gives or indicates the pronunciation, in this or the foregoing tract, with a reference to the different pages in this book where it is to be found, supplementing the references in the text.
Wylyam Salesburi wrth y darlleawdr.

O nid odit ddarllleydd bouheddigaidd nid anghyssylltbell vyseii ddangos a datclario pa lesaad pa vudd a phwy broffit a ddelsai ir neb a drefliai ddim amser wrth ddallen a mefyriaw ar y llyfer hwn. Oni bysseei ddarfor o blenc i oruwehel-dab awn harglwyyd vrenhin a gyncoer edrych arnaw ai dderbyn eisoes yn lowedie gymradwy o help a chanhorthwy kychwyniad tywysogaeth at Iaith Saesneg A chan vod hefyd llywadraeth kalon brenhin (vegys y kytystia rystrythr lan) drwy law ddew, yr hwn a gatwo eu ras yn hirhoedloc lwyddianus ffinadwyd Amen. Onid bellach i nesaun tu ar peth kyfreitiaf a chhysonaf yngan a sonio am tanaw yn y vangre hon Sef er mwyn Kymbry or nid oes gantunt angwance o ddfydyner athrwlwythry onid medry o vraidd ddew, ddarllen iain eu mameu ir hai hynny yn vnio o chwennychant vegys y dyllent vynnwy kyffrywyllydty i ddarllen a deall iaith Saesneg iaith heddyw vrdeddic o bob rhyw urreuddyc iaith gyflawn o ddawn a buddygolaeth ac iaith nid chwaith anhawddi i dysey vegys y may pop nassiwn yn i hyfedyr ddyscy ebb edrych yn llwytt y boen nar gost ac yn angenrheitha i ni r Kymbry no neb wrth ei er eeselusset genym am y peth: Ir hai an nyseicid hynny meddai yd yrserifenned hyno wan[6]atra-waeth ac nid ir Rai tra chhyfunarwydd. Onid atomog i chiwi y Rei sydd a mowrddysen genweh ac a wyddoch Rac mor werthfawr yw Dysoemwneuthur awwch hunain yn ol ddull saint Pawl ympop peth i pawp A mesowch hefyd (val y dywyd yd yn rhwy Pawl) modd yr abwydir rhai bychain a bara a laeth borthi o hon-awch chwitheu yr anyseicid a mwydion ych goruchelldyse ac ni d a godido wwrwyyd athronwddys. Ac velly os chwetha ni chudddlych dhysr yr Arglwyyd onid i gyfrannu yny gyffle ir angenigion o ddyseeicadha doethineb ai gyfrwth beuthu ernell: Gobeitho i dyry duw vath ysprydoldeb vddant hwythceu ac na sahrantac yno oloch a mawrth yfawr ac na chhadat ich erbyn al kwn ar vedyr awwch brathy / Eithyr etto cilwaith i ymady a chyfeilornon / ac or dweiddi ddechreu ar hysbys a silltau hanes ac ystyrhaeth y llyfer yma. Ac yn gymeint nad ynt y llythryrnedd ym vn ddywediat nac vn yn dymthiad ym saesneu ac ynghylchrae: Yn gyntaf dim y ddys yn datkan ac yn honny paddelwy darlleir ac y trayther hwy yn ol tafodiad y Seson ac yno esampleu o ei brenin kyfaddas yn kynlyn / A chweddy hynny y maec y Gairlllyfr ner Geiriawe saesneg yn dechr yr hwn a chwir ym saesneg an Englis dictionary es yw hynny kynullfa o ei brenin seisic / aches kynullcidfa o ei brenin seisic yw ywr holl llyfer hayach / Yn yr hwn os deliweh ym dd daa arnaw y ddys yn kadw order a threcyn ynto: o bleit ni chymysed dim or geiriue bendromwngyl ynto val y damwyniai vddant syrthio ym meddwell or tro kynfa: Eithyr ef adfeddylied vyth er
Possibly, gentle reader, it would not have been irrelevant to shew and declare what advantage, what gain and what profit, would result to any one, who should devote any time to reading and studying this book, but that his majesty, the king, together with his council has received it, as an acceptable and suitable help and aid for the induction of the principality into the English language, and because the inclining of the heart of the king (as shewn by the holy scripture) is from God, who I pray may preserve his grace in long life prosperity and success. Amen. But now to come to the most important and necessary subject to be treated of in this place, that is, for the sake of Welshmen who do not possess more learning than the bare ability to read their own tongue, and of those only who may, as they ought, desire instruction in reading and understanding the English language, a language at present renowned for all excellent learning, full of talent and victory, a language moreover not difficult to learn, which persons of every nation acquire fluently, without regarding trouble and expense, and to Welshmen more necessary than to any other people, however much we may neglect it. For these untaught persons, then, so much elementary teaching was written, and not for the well versed. But I desire of you who are possessed of higher attainments, and know how valuable is education, that you would after the manner of Saint Paul, make yourselves all things to all men, and condescend also (as the same Paul says,) since babes are fed with bread and milk, to feed the ignorant with the crumbs of your superior knowledge, and not with the excellency of high scholarship. And thus if you do not hide the treasure of the Lord, but dispense it as opportunity offers, by supplying it to those in need of learning and wisdom, and other like things, I trust God may grant to them such a spirit, that they may not like swine, trample your gems and precious stones under their feet, and that they may not rise like dogs against you, ready to bite you. But now again to leave all digression and to begin to set forth the object and import of this book. Inasmuch as all the letters are not said and sounded alike in English and in Welsh, first of all we declare and affirm the mode in which they are read and sounded according to the pronunciation of the English people, with examples of suitable words following. After which the English Wordbook or Dictionary begins, which means a collection of English words, for the whole book is, indeed, a collection of English words. In which if you carefully notice, order and arrangement are kept: for the words are not mixed helter skelter in it, as they might happen to tumble to my mind at first thought. But with constant reflection, for the sake of the object of the whole book.

Name of the Book.

Order of the Words.

Authorisation of the book by the king, whose authority is from God.
mwyn yr a[7]nyseedic gyfryw vodd ac y darfy helkyt pop gair (hyd y deucí kof) yw van gyfaddas chunan: Ac velly yr holl eirien ac/ a /yn y llythryen gyntaf oe dechreu a gynulled i gyd ir vnile: A phop gair yn dechryn b / yn y llythyr kynaf o honaw a ossodet or neulltuy/ Ar geirieu a c/ yn eu dechreunad a wahaned hwytheu or neulltuy: Ar geirieu a ddechreant ac ch, a ddidolet hwynte chunain/ A rhei a d/ yn i kychwyn a gaslecet ac a ossodet mewn man arall/ Ac val hyn y rayed y llai ll pop vn i seflyn dan vaner i Captelythyr ddechreuol/ Ac wrth hynny pan chwe nychoch gaffael Saesneg am ryw air kamberaen: Yn gyntaf /edrychwech pa llythyyen vo ynnechreu r gair hwnw yn anianol/ o bleit os/ a/ vydd hi / spiwch am tanaw ynnplith y Restyr eirieu a vont yn dechryn ac a/ ac yn y van hono ar y gyfer yn y rhes o eirieu saesneg y kewfch Saxonae iddo/ Eithryr gwillichw yn dda rhae ych twyll o kam geisio gair allan oe van briod gyfaddas / vegys pe i keisiech vn or geirieu hyn yr ystym ar agweddy y maent yn gotrwwed yn y penill yma Mae i ni gangen dec o vedwen Achos ni wasnaetha ywch wrth geisio saesneg am (gangen) chwilio am danaw ymysg geirieu yn dechreu a g/ namyn ymlith y geirieu a vo k yn y dechreu/ y dylyech espio am danaw/ a/ Saesneg vydd gair i von: Canys y gair kroyw kysafdefydwyw kangen ac nid gangen kyd bo r ymadrodd kymraen yn kysafdefy ky gyn g/ ac yn peri sonio t/ val d/ a b/ val v/ yn y geirieu hyn dec o vedwen / Ac am hynny rhai i chwi graffy byth pa llythryen a vo yn dechryn r gair pan draethor ar y ben chun allan o ymadrodd vegys y dangosseis vocod/ Ac velly yn ol y dadaw naturiol draethiad y mae i ch[8]wi geisio o mynwech chwi gael pop gair yn y gairllyfer yma / O bleit vegys na ddysgwyll neb onid ynfyd pan el i wiaла ir koet gaffael gwiaiyl yn tyfy yn vn ystym y byddant wedy r cilio am gledyr y plai/ velly r vn modd ni ddisecwyl neb onid rhy angelel- fyyd gaffael pop rhwy air yn y gairllyfer yn vn ystym nag yn gyn agweddi dddwyediat a chwe dy i blethby ym-parwydencymadrodd/ Ac eb law hyn oll a ddywedais ymblaenllaw/Kymerwch hyn o gyngeor gyd a chwi y sawl gmyr y chwechynwyocdwyse gartref wrth tan Saesneg/ Nid amgen no gybwod o honawch na ddarlleir ac na thrathir pop gair saesneg mor llawnllythyr ac mor hollawl ac yr scerfenner Vegys hyn God be wyth you yr hwn a draetha r kyffredin / God biiwio: A swrn o eirieu ercill a yscrinfen hefyd Ryw sillafen ynthunt yn vn ffnutu eithyr ni ddarlleir ddin honunt or yn ffnymt val y rhai hyn or naill ddarlelyd bowe, crowe, trwwe ar hain a ddarlleir bo bwa: kro / bran: tro/ тыbyeid/ A rhai hyn hefyd a escrifenir y pen diwythaf vdddunt yr vn ffnutu ac ir llail or blaen eithyr i ddarlen a wnair yn amgenach bowe, cowe, nowe, narrow, sparrow y rhai a ddywedir yn gyffredin val hyn kow/ buwch: law/ lowio: now yn ayr: narw kyfing: sparw ederyn y to/ Ac am gyfryw ddamwyniyr hyn y byddei ryddygyn ir ddarlleydd i nodi pe doe kof chwaih i scrifeny mae goreu kyangor a vetrwyf vi ir neb (val y dywedais ymlaen)
every word (so far as memory served) was chased to its own proper position. Thus all the words having \( a \) for the first letter were at
the outset collected into the same place. Then all words beginning
with \( b \) were placed apart. So with \( c \), and \( ch \), and \( d \). Thus also of
all the rest, every word is ranged under the standard of its captain
letter. Thus when you require the English for any Welsh word;
First observe what is the first letter naturally;
if it is \( a \) for example, look for the word under the
series \( a \), and having found the word, in the opposite
column for English you will get the English for it.
But be very careful not to be misled, to seek amiss
a word out of its own proper place. For example, if you trace the
words in the form and aspect in which they lie in the following line
\[ \text{Mae i mi gangen deo o vedwen [Est mihi ramus pulcher betullae].} \]
For it will not serve you to look for the English for \( gangen \)
among words which begin with \( g \), but under \( k \), because the pure
radical word is \( kangen \) not \( gangen \), and the English meaning will be
found opposite the radical word. For it is a peculiarity of the
Welsh to soften the initial consonant, as \( k \) to \( g \), \( t \) to \( d \), \( b \) to \( v \), in
certain positions, as in the words \( deo o vedwen [ramus betullae]. \)
Therefore you must always consider what is the initial letter when
the word stands alone, out of connection, as I observed above.
So it is in the normal natural utterance of the word that you are
to seek, if you wish to find every word in this lexicon. For as
none but an idiot would expect, \([8]\) when going to gather osiers,
to meet with rods growing in the form they are seen after being
plaited round the frame-work of a basket, in the same manner
none but an unskilful person will expect to find every word in
the dictionary in the form and shape in which it is found when
woven in the partition wall of a sentence. In addition to all
I have already said observe this further direction, Advice to
such of you, Welshmen, as desire to learn English
at your own firesides. You cannot fail to know that
in English they do not read and pronounce every word literally
and fully as it is written. For example, \( \text{God be wyth you, which} \)
the commonality pronounce \( \text{God biwio (God bi-wio).} \) And a
heap of other words also are written, as to some of their syllables
in the same way, but are not pronounced in the same way, as
the following: \( \text{bowe, crowe, trowe which are read bo (boo) bwa} \)
[arcus], \( \text{kro} \) \( \text{tr} \) \( \text{bran} \) [cornix], \( \text{tro} \) \( \text{tybyeid} \) [opinor].
The following also have precisely the same termination as the
above but are differently read, \( \text{cowe, lowe, nowe, narrowe,} \)
\( \text{sparowe, which are usually spoken kow (kou) buwch (vacca), low} \)
[lou] \( \text{lowio (mugire)}, \) \( \text{now} \) [nou] \( \text{yn aer (uunc), narrow (nar’u)} \)
\( \text{kyfing (angustus), sparw (sparu) ederyn y to (passer).} \) With re-
gard to such cases as the reader may find too difficult to remem-
ber, much less write, the best advice I have for such as may
not be able to go to England (as I have already said), where the
or ni edy anghaffael iddo vyned i loecr lle mae r iaith yn gynned / ymofyn o honaw ac yn a wypo Saesnee (o bleit odi o blwyf ynymbry eb Susnigydion yntho) [9] paddelw y gelwir y peth ar peth yn sasnce. Ac yno dal a chraffy pa vodd y traythai ef y gair ne r geirieu hyny yn saisnigadd / a chyd a hyny kymeryd y llyfer yma yn angwanece goffaduriaeth yn absen athrawon / ac yn diffic dyscyawdwyr yr iaith. Dewch yna ach a

Dysewch nes oesswch Saesnee
Doeth yw e dyse da iaith dec.

¶ Y gwyddor o lythrynnau bychain.

A a. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ff. g. gh. h. i. k. l. ll. m. n. o. p. r. s. f. sl. st. t. th. v. w. y.

¶ Egwyddor o llythrennau kanoloc o vaint.

¶ Gwyddor o vath vwyaf ar lythrynu.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z.

[10] blank

A. Seisnice sydd yn natur ae (a) gymreci / val y may yn eglur yma y geirieu hyn o saesnee ale / aul ac ymhyrnac kwrw: pale paal: sale sal: O ddieithyr Ryw amser y kaiif / a / sain y dipton (aw) yn enwedig pan ddel ef o vlayn l / ne ll / val y may yn eglurach drwy y geirieu hynn: balde bawld moel ball bawl, pel: wall wawl gwal: Ond yno Ryw ciriue i dodant weithie (a) yn lledsegur er a gyfrifwn a ymarfer o lerd chunan / namyn yno hydreich ymthiotic yno Rith yn boaal (e) ni a wnae ir darlleydd, val hyn euse ies esmwythdra: leaue lief kenad: sea see mor: yea / ic / Ond nith rwystyr vath ciriue ahyn di ond yno anfynch.

B. yn saesonace a / b / yn Camberace ynt vnullais val yno y geirieu hynn: babe baab / baban: brede bred / bara. Ac ni newidir b, seisonic am lythryn aran val y gwnair a / b / gymberace.

C. wrth i darllen yn saesonace a chambrae sydd yn yno llech onid o vlayn c / i / y / cansus o vlayn y tair llytheryn hyn val s / vydd i son vegys hynn Face ffas wyneb graeyouse grassiws / raddlawn / codyeon condisywn.

Ch. nid yw dim tebye yn saesonace ac ymchamberace: Ac nid oes ynghamrach lythryn na llythernnau ai kyyflyba yn iawn / eithyr may sain / tsi / kyn gyflthpet iddi ar efydd ir aur / val yno y gair hwn churec he tsurts cels.
language is native, is, let him inquire of one who knows English (for there is scarcely a parish without some person in it conversant with English), [9] and ask how such and such a thing is called in English. And observe carefully how he sounds the word or words in English, and, in the absence of masters, and lack of teachers of the language, take this book, as an additional reminder. Come then and

Learn English speech until you age!
Wise he, that learns a good language!

|= The Alphabet of small letters.
A. a. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ft. g. gh. h. i. k. l. ll. m.

|= The alphabet of medium letters.

|= The Alphabet of Capital letters.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U X ·


A in English is of the same sound as a in Welsh, as is evident in these words of English, ALÉ aal (aal) kwrov [cerevisia]; PALE paal (paal) [pallidus], SALE sal (saal) [venditio] (p. 61). Except sometimes a has the sound of the diphthong aw (au) especially when it precedes l or ll, as may be more clearly seen in these words: BALDE bauil (bauld) moel [calvus], BALL bawl (baul) pet [pila], WALL waul (waul) gevul [murus] (p. 143, 194). But in certain words they place a sometimes, as we should consider it, rather carelessly according to our custom, out of its own power and rather metamorphosed into the vowel e, as EASE ees (eez) esmwythdra [otium], LEAVE leef (leev) kenad [venia, licentia], SEA see (see) mor [mare], YEA ie (hee) [etiam] (p. 80). But words of this kind will not often perplex thee, gentle reader.

B in English and b in Welsh have the same sound, as in these words: BABE baab (baab) baban [infans], BREDE bred (breed, bred) bara [panis]. And b in English is not changed for another letter as is done with b in Welsh.

C in reading English, as in Welsh, has the same sound, except before e, i, y, for before these three letters it is sounded as s (s). For example FACE fis (faas) wyneb [facies], GRACYouse grasius (graas-i,us) rraddlawn [gratiosus], CONDICYON condisyon (kondis-i,un) [conditio].

Ch is not at all like in English and in Welsh. And there are not in Welsh any letter or letters which correctly represent it, but the sound of tsi (tsi, tsy) is as like it as brass is to gold, as in the following word CHURCHE tsurts (tshirtsh) ecleis [ecclesia].
salesbury's
english pronunciation.  chap. viii. § 2.


E. a ddarlleir yn sasnae gweith val / e / gymbereia gwaith val / i / gymbereia / a gweithe creil yniweddd gair i tan ac i bydd vut val scheua yn hebriw neu vegys y gwelwch / w / yn diwed’ y geiricu hynn o Camberae kynddelw / ardelw / kefnderw / syberwr / buddelw / marwnad / catwderw: yny rhain wrth eu darlai ay traythy / w / a dwadd ymaith ac velly y dyweddyt a wnaer kynddel / ardel / kefnder / syber / budel / marndad / catderw / Velly / e / yn diweddy geiricu saesne ac a dawd ymaith a cham mwyaf o ddiwed pop gair wrth i draithy vegys o ddiwed y geiricu hynn emperoure emperwr ac nid emperwrey darlleir: yr hwn air sasnec arwyddodka ymghymrae ymerawtr: Ac velly am evermore efemormo tr犒gywdd. Ac yn y ddaenau saesnec vechot may y ddwy (e / e) gyntaf o bob vn yn vn llais ac e / o gumberae / neu e / llatin neu epsylon o roec. Ar e / ddiwaethaf yn tewi / val y may / w / yny geiricu a soniais am tanun gynnef. Ond yn enwedie pan ddel / e / yn ol / l / ne / r / yniweddd gair saesonac [13] ni chlywir dim o ywrthci ar danod sais: ond o chlywyt peth o ywrthci / kynt y dyfalyt y bot hi o vlena 1 / ne r / nag oc hol: val y traythant hi ar y geiricu yma / able, sable. twynce, wynele, thordre, wondre, yr hyn eirieu ac crell a deruynant yn vn odyl a rai hyn ni chlyw iains yni darllain onid vegys pe byddem ni yw seriuceny dwy adael / e / heibo / val hynn / abl / sabl / twinkl / wrinkl / thwmdr / wmdr: neu val pe bay / e / o vlayn yr 1 / ne yr r / val hyn saddell, thonder: Ond ni ddylle vot chwaith dicithy thath ddarleyd ad a hwnw i ni yr kambry paam onid yn mineu darllen crwddy ddiweddyr hwnw o ne dair o amrafael lythyreau vegys y may yn eglur yn y geiricu yma popl dros popol, kwbl dros kwblw: papr / ac eithir lle y dylem dyweddyt papyr / ac eythyry. Ond raid yw madde i bob tafawd i ledlaf, a goddef i bob iaith i phrielodeb. Heuaid natur y vocal / e / pan orpheno air sasoneac esmythauh ued veddlauh y sillaft a ddel oc vlayn val hynn hope hoop / gobeth: bake, baak / pob: chese / tis eaws. Eithyr dal yn graff a ddyweddyat y gair acwch chesse, o bleit yr e / gyntaf sydd vn llais ac, i, on hiaith ni: ar e, ddiwaythaf yn sefyll yn vut val y dyweidas o blayn y damwyniai iddi vod ryw amser. E, hefyd o vlayn s, yniweddd enweu llisosawc, scf yw hynny ir anyscecid geiricu a arwyddockaant vel pen rhifedii vn peth, a ddislanna wrth eu dyweddyt val o ddiweddd yr enweu neur geiricu hynn kynges, brenhinedd: frendes, kercint: tente, pepyll / yr hain a ddarlleir kings/ frinds / tents. A gwybyddet y darlleyd nad
[12] D in Welsh and English do not disagree in their powers, as may be understood in these words from the two languages: duke *duke* (duyk) *due* [dux], dart *dart* (dart) *dart* [jaculum]. But note this well when you see two *d* coming together in English, they have not the power of *dd* in Welsh (*dh*), but each retains its usual sound. And it does not soften, on the contrary it hardens the sound, as in the following words: *laddre* *lad-dr* (lad'er) *ysecol* [scala], *bladd' blad-der* (blad'er) *chwysigyn* [vesica]. D also is the termination of the perfect, imperfect, and pluperfect tenses, as in the word loved (luvd) *caren*, *keris*, *caryssun* [amabam, amavi, amaveram].

E is pronounced in English sometimes as *e* Welsh (*e*), sometimes as *i* Welsh (*i*), and sometimes at the end of words, it is silent or mute as *sheva* in Hebrew, or as you see *w* at the end of these words in Welsh: *kynddelw*, *ardelw*, *kefnderw* *syberw*, *buddelw*, *marwnad*, *catioderw*, in which the *w* is melted away in reading and speaking and so they are sounded *kyndell*, *ardel*, *kefnder*, *syber*, *budel*, *marned*, *catiderw*. Similarly *e* final in English words is melted away, for the most part, from the end of every word in pronunciation, as in the following words: emperor pronounced *emperor* (emperur), and not *emperuerey* (emperuuetei) which word in Welsh signifies *ymerauwr* [imperator]. And so *euermore* *efernwcor* (ev'ermoor', evermuur', evermwor) *tragonwydd* [semper]. In the two English words above, the two first *e*, *e*, of each, has the same sound as the Welsh *e* or Latin *e*, or the Greek *epsylon*. And the final *e* is mute as *w* is in the words I have already mentioned. Moreover especially when *e* final follows *l* or *r*, [13] it is not heard from English tongues. But if it is heard at all, it is rather before the *l* or *r* than after, as they pronounce the following words: *able*, *sable*, *twyncle*, *wryncle*, *thondre*, *wondre*, which words, together with others of the same termination, in hearing an Englishman read them, seem as if written without the *e*, thus: *abl*, *sabl*, *twinkel*, *wrinkel*, *thwedr*, (aa'b'l, saa'b'l, twiuk'1, wriuk'1, thund'r, wund'd'r), [potens, niger, scintillare, ruga, tonitur, miraculum,]; or as if the *e* were written before the *l* or *r*: thus *saddell*, *thonder* (sad'el, thun'der), [cphippium, tonitur.]. But such pronunciations ought not to be strange to us Welshmen, for do we not also in reading melt away two or three letters at times, as may be seen in the following: *pophl* for *popol* [populus], *kwbbl* for *kuebol* [toton], *papr* and *eithr*, where we should say *papyr* [papyrus] and *eythyr* [sed]. But every tongue must be pardoned its peculiarities, and every language allowed its idioms. Further it is the nature of *e* final to soften and prolong the syllable which precedes it as: hope hoop (hoop) goeith [spes], bake baak (baak) pobh [coquere panem ut pistor], chese tsiis (tshiiz) cans [caseus]. But observe carefully the word chese, for the *e* has the sound of *i* in our tongue, and the *e* final is mute as before described. *E* also before *s* at the end of plural nouns,—that is, (for the sake of the unlearned,) names which signify a number of anything,—disappears in pronunciation, as in the following: *kynes*, *brenhinedd* [reges], *frendes kereint* [amiici], *tentes pepyl* [tentoria],
yw [14] A gwybyddet y darlleydd nad yw y Ruwl yma yn gwasanaththy i bob enw lliosawc o bleit pan ddel c, ch, g, neu e, arall o vlayn y ddywedetic e, pally a wna y ruwl hon canys yna e, a drwythir yn vungus neu val yn y, ni: val yn y geirieu hynn dyches deitsys /fossydd: faces: /fases /wynebeu: oranges, oreintsys /afa le orayds: trees, triys prenneu.

f, seicsnic ehun sydd gymeint o synnwyr ynthei ac mewn dwy f, f, gambreco wedy gwasey eu penneu yngkyd val hyn: fole, ffwl, ffol ne ynyud

ff, ac f, yn nasne c a dreythyr yn vnmodd, eythyr ff, yn ddywysach, ac f, yn yscafnach a gymerir: f, yn yscafu, val ymay chesf, tsiff pennaf / ff, yn ddywse neu yn drom val yn y gair hwn suffre, swiffler dioddef:

G, seicsnic a ch / o saes nec ynt daran debyc eu sain ie mor debyc i son yw gilyd ac yd yr yscruena sags ny bo dra dysseedic yn aill yn ller llall vegys y damwain yn y gair hwn churge yn lle churche tsurts eglwys. Eythyr g/ yn nasne o vlaen, a, o, u, a gweitho o vlayn e / neu y, nid adwewnir i llais rae g, gambreco, val hyn galoant galawnt / gelding gelding / plage, plaag pla / God, dyw / quyte / gwt coluddyn / Gylbert / gilbert: Ond pan ddel g / o vlaen / e / i / neu y / val ch, seicsnie neu tsadde o hewbrew eyd i llef o ran vrynhyaf vegys hyn gynger tsintsir / sinsir / Gwilia hyn etto yn daa pan ddelont dwy gg / ynghyd / kyddieio eulldwydd ac g / gamrae a wnant val hyn beggyngos beggyng / yn cardota / nagge nag keffylyn / egge, eg wy.

[15] Gh, sydd yn llef an ch, ni ond i bot bwy yn trythyr yr gh / eiddunt yn yscafnade o ddieythyr y mwnnwglyl a ninneu yn pronwnsio yr ch / einon o eigawn y gyddwfu. A vegys y mayn anhowdagar gan saeson glwyed rhwnec y llythyr hon gh / velly may Kymbr deheubarth yn gwachel son am ch, ond lleiaf gallant. Can ti a klywy bwy yn dywedyt hweaer a hwee h lle ddym ni o ogledd kymbry yn dywedyt chweaer a chwech.

Ac etwa mi an gwelaft nineu yn mogedud trythyr ch, yn yvnech o amser vegys y may yn ddywiach gan ymwdiewt (chwegwaith) no (chwechgaith) a (chwe chwechgaith) na (chwech veigain). Ac im tyb i nid hose ach gan y Groecwyr y llythyr ch, pan ymchweylint o ebyryw Johannes yn lle Iochanna / ac Isaac dros Yitschaek: A chyffelyd nap gwell gan y llatinwyr y llythyr vhet pryd bont yn dylyn yr vnvedd ar groecwyr ar drossi yr hewbrew ir llatin / ac yn dywedyt mihi a nihil dros michi a nichil. Ond i ddibenny yt / kymer y chwrnolat hwnw yn yscafnaf ac y del etor wrth ddywedyt iaith Saxoanae.

H, sydd vnvedd yn hollawl y gyd ar Sason a nineu, val y may hane haf, hwde / hart calon ne carw / holly holi suntaidd / ne kelyn. Onid yn rhyw ciriw llatin wedy saesnigo nid aneddir h, val yny
which are read kings (kiqz), fronds (frindz), tents (tents). [14]  
And be it known to the reader that this rule does not apply to every plural, for when c, ch, g, or another s precedes the said s the rule fails, for then s is pronounced obscurely or as our y (i), as in the following ditches deitsys (deitsh·iz) frossydd [fossae], faces ffaces (faas·cez) evynbeu [facies], oranges oreinsys (or·eindziz) afale orayds [aurantia], trees triys (trii·iz) prennue [arborens].  

F in English has singly as much power as two Welsh f, f, with their heads pressed together, thus: pole ffol (fuil), ffol ne ynyud [stultus].  

ff and F in English are pronounced alike but ff harder than F, which has a lighter sound, as in chefe tsiff (tshiff) pennafl [princeps]; FF hard as in suffre swfffer (suffer) dioddef [pati].  

G is sounded in English very similar to ch, so similar indeed that Englishmen not well educated write the one for the other, as in the word charge for churchie tsirwts (tshirts) eglyys [ecclesia]. But c in English before a, o, u, and sometimes before e or y is not distinguished from g Welsh (g), thus galant galavent (gal·aunt) [fortis] (p. 143), gelling gelding (geld·iq) [canterius], plaeg plaag (plaag) pla [pestis], God (god) dyw [deus], gutte gurt (gut) coluddyn [intestinum], gylbert gilbert (gilbert). But when c comes before e, i, or y, it is sounded as ch in English, or as tsadde in Hebrew for the most part, as gynge tsintisir (dzhin·dzher) sinsir [zinziber]. Note well this again when two oo come together, they are sounded as one, like g Welsh, thus: beggyngec begging (beg·iq) yn cardota [mendicans], nagge nag (nag) keffyllyn [mannus], egge eg (eg) wy [ovum].  

[15] Gh has the same sound as our ch, except that they sound gh softly, not in the neck, and we sound ch from the depth of our throats and more harshly (p. 210), and as it is disagreeable to the English to hear the grating sound of this letter so Welshmen in the South of Wales avoid it as much as possible. For you hear them say hwvaer, and hveech (whair, whekh), where we in the North of Wales say chwaer, and chwech (khwair, khwekh; kuehair, kehekh?).  

And still I find that even we often avoid pronouncing ch, as we prefer saying chweegwaith (keegwaith) for chweechgwaith (kehekh·gwaihth) [sexies], and chweergain (kehehi·gain, kehecg·gain?) for chweech vagina (keheeh yu·gain) [centum et vigiiti]. And in my opinion the Greeks were not overfond of this sound when they transferred from the Hebrew, Johannes instead of Joachanna, and Isaac for Itschach. And in a similar manner the Latins had no great liking for the above letter, for they follow the Greeks in transferring from Hebrew, and say miki and nikil for michi and nichil (mi·mi ni·mil, mi·hi ni·hil). But to conclude you may take this guttural as light in speaking English as you can.  

H is precisely the same in English as in Welsh, as we see in have haf (hav) hwele [accipe], hart hart (hart) calon ne caru [cor vel cervus], holy holy (hol·i, hol·i) santadd ne kelyn [sanctus vel aquilolum]. But in some anglicized Latin words h is not sounded
rhai honeste onest / honoure onor / anrhydedd / exhibition eesibisiwn / kynheïlaeth / prohibition proibisiwn / gwaahardd. Nid ynganaf vi yn bot ni y to yr o wrhon mor dddidarwybot a dywedyt gwyydd dros gwelydd.

[16] L, oe hiaith hwy sydd gymeint ar ddwy lythyer yma ei, on iaith ni / od gwesicir y gyd ai dywedyt yn vn sïlaf neu dypthong, val yny gair hwn, i, ei / ni ne myf. Eyythyr pan gydseinio i, a bocal arall vn sain vydd hi yna a, g, seisnic, ae achos eu bot hwy mor gyffelypson ni weleis rei ympedruster a dotw pa vn ai ac, i, ai ynte a, g, yd serienynt ryw eirieu ar rain maiestie, gentyll, gelousyè: a rhai yn serifenny habreïovne ae ereill hebegyn, llurie: Ae velly mi welaf yngylhyl yr vn gyffelybrwydd rwng y tair lythyer seisnic hynn eh, g, i, a rhwng y plwm pewter ar ariant, scf yw hynny, bod yn gynebyc yw gylydd ar y golwe kynfa ac yn amrafacio er hyny wrth graffy armtt. Esampl o, i, yn gydsain Isus, tsiesuw, Isus: John tsion a sion o lediaith: ac Ieuan ynghamroec loyw: ioynt, tsiynt kymal.

K, yngfhymrae a saesnee vn gyneddff yw / ond yn saesnee an- uynychach o beth y dechy air val y gwelwch yma, boke bwk llyfyr bucke bwck bwch: k, yn dechy gair kynge king / brenhin: knot kwIwm: kent.

L, yny ddwyaith ddywededin ni angena ond yn amanyllai i llais val hyn lyly lili / lady ladi arglwylldes lad backhen.

Li, yn saesnee ni ynt dim tebyc eu hansawd in ll. ni: an ll, ni ny ddyse byth yn iawn dyn arallia ith i thraytho o ddierth yny vebyl.

Li, hefyd yn saesnee ni yw yn dwyn enw vn lly thyren eithyr dwbyl l, neu l, ddlypyc i gelwir: a llais l, sydd ynthun yu wastat, neu llais lambda pan ddel [17] o vlayn iota / Ond yn rhwy wledydd yn lloecer val w, y traythant l / ac ll/ mewn rhwy eirieu val hyn bowd yn lle bold: bow dros bull / eauw dros cal. Ond niid yr yw thay ddwyedietead onid llelediaith / ac niid peth yr ddelyn oni vynny vloysci y gyd y blysson.

M, ae n / kynggany awnant yny ddwyaith cinom / ie ac ympop iaiuth ac i gwn ni ddim o ywrthyn / yu Saxonace a dwyts val hyn man gwr men gwy.

O, kymyselcif an o / ac an w / ni vydd / ac niid ar vnwaith nac ym yr vn sïlaf onid mewn vn sïlaf yu o / mewn arall yn w / y treythir val hynm to to / blys troct: so so velly two tw / dau / to tw / ar at / i / schole scowl / yseol.

O, hefyd o vlaen ld / neu ll/ a ddarlleir vegys pe bay w / ryngeto ac wynt / mal hyn colde, cowld oer bollé, bowl / tolle towl toll. Eithyr dwy oo ynghyd yn saesnee a soniant val w / yngfhymrae val hyn good, gwd da: poore pwr / tlawd:

P, yn saesnee niid yw vn ddeddf a phi yn hebrua ynggroce neu
as <i>honeste</i> onest (on'est) [honestus], <i>honoure</i> onor (on'or) anrhydedd [honos], <i>exhibition</i> ecsibiswn (eksibis'i,un) kynheilaeth [expositio], <i>prohibition</i> prohibiwn (proo,ibis'i,un) gwahardd [prohibitio]. I will not mention that we are at present so negligent as to say <i>gwylidd</i> (gwey'hyd) for <i>gechyd</i> (gwee'nyd) [textor].

[16] I in their language is equivalent to the following two letters in ours ei (ei), but they are compressed so as to be pronounced in one sound or a diphthong, as in that word of theirs I ei (ei, oi) mi [ego] or myfi [egomet]. But when it is joined to another vowel it has the sound of e English, and as they are so near alike, I have met with some in hesitation and doubt, whether they should write certain words with I or with e, as the following: <i>maiestie</i>, <i>gentyll</i>, <i>gelousie</i>, and some writing <i>harreigone</i> and others <i>hebergyg</i> [lorica]. Thus I observe the same likeness between these three English letters cn, c, and i, as exists between pewter and silver, that at first sight they appear very like each other, but on close examination they differ. For example, <i>l-seesmayw</i> (Dzehee'zyy) <i>Issu</i> [Jesus], <i>Ioyn tsiow</i> (Dzhon) and <i>siow</i> [Shon] by corrupt pronunciation, and <i>Ienan</i> [Iohanmes] in pure Welsh, <i>Ioynx tsiyont</i> (dzhoint) kymal [junctura] (p. 131).

K has the same power in Welsh as in English, but it is not so frequent at the commencement of words as may be seen in the following: boke buk (bunk) 1yffyr [liber], bucke buck (buk) buch [dama mas]: k at the beginning of words kynge king (kiq) brenhin [rex], knot (knot) kvelum [nodus]; Kent.

L in the two languages does not differ in sound, as <i>leily lili</i> (lil'i) [lilium], <i>lady lad</i> (laa'di) arglwyddes [domina], lad (lad) bachken [juventus].

LL in English is nothing like in sound to our ll (lhh), and our ll will no foreigner ever learn to pronounce properly except in youth.

Ll in English has no distinct name, it is simply called dwbyl l (dubr'l el) or twofold l, and it has always the sound of l, or of lambda [17] before iota. But in some districts of England it is sounded like w (u), thus bowd (boould) for bold [audax], bw (buu) for bull [taurus]; eaw (kau) for call [voco]. (p. 194.) But this pronunciation is merely a provincialism, and not to be imitated unless you wish to lisp like these lispers.

M and N are of the same sound in the two languages (and indeed in every other language I know). In English they are spoken thus man (man) gwr [vir], men (men) gwywr [viri].

O takes the sound of o (o) in some words, and in others the sound of w (u); thus to (too) bys troet [digitus pedis], so so (soo) velly [sic], two tw (tuu) dau [duo], to tw (tu) ar, at, i [ad], schole soweil [skual] yseol [schola]. (p. 93.)

O also before ld or ll is pronounced as though w were inserted between them, thus colde cowld (koould) oer [frigidus], bolle bowl (booul) [crater], tolle towl (towul) toll [vexitigal] (p. 194). But two oo together are sounded like w in Welsh (u), as good gud (gud, guud) da [bonus], roore pur (puur) tlawd [pauper] (p. 93).

P in English has not the same rule as phi in Hebrew, Greek, or
yngamroecc achos yny teiricith hyn y try weithie yn rhyw eirieu yn ph:

Eithyr sain sauaddwy sydd iddi yn sasnecc ympop gair val: papyr papyr / pappe / papp bron gwraic ne ywld: penne ydyw pinn yserifenenny: Ac val hyn y traytha Sais y llyther p / mewn ymadrodd / and wyth a penne: ac a phinn: ac nid wyth a phenne neu ffenne y dywaid ef.

Q. llythyr dieythyr yngamraee yw ac nid mawr gartrefigach yn sasnecc vn gyfraith a eha k / [18] y keffir q / val hynn quene kwim brenhines: quarter kwarter chwarter neu pedwerydd ran: quayle sofyliar: A gywydded may u / yw kydymeith q / can ni welir byth q / eb u / yw chynlyn mwy nar goc heb i gwicelli.

R sydd anian yny ddywiaith hyn cythyr ni ddyblyr ac nid haneddyr R / vyth yn dechreu gair sasnecc val y gwnair yngroec ac yncamroecc modd hyn

Rhona rrufain ne rhufain: Ond val hyn yd yserifienir ac y treithir geirie seisnic ac r / ynthunt ryght rieith iawn rent rent ros ros ne rosim,

S / yn yr ieithoedd yma a syrth yn vn sain val hyn syr syr / seasod seesyn amser amseraw modd seyd af amser kyfaddas: Eithyr pan ddel s / yn sasnecc rhwng dwy vocal lleddfy neu vlosey a wna yn wynch o amser val hyn: muse muwys meuyrio: mase maas madrodot.

S / o dodir hi o ehwance at diwedd enw vnic / yr enw vnic / neur gair vnic hwnw a liosocka ne arwyddocka chwancace nae vn peth vegys hynn hâde hand yw llaw: handes hands ynt llawe ne ddywlo: nayle nayl ewin ne hoyl hayarn nayles nayls ewinedd ne hoylion heyryn: rayle rayl canllaw: rayles rayls canllawe / ne ederin regen yr yd.

Sh / pan ddel o vlayn vn vocal vn vraint ar sillaf hwn (sli) vydd val hynn shappe ssiapp gwedd ne lun: shepe ssiip danaad ne ddeueid.

Sh / yn dyfod ar ol bocal yn (iss) y galwant: vegys hyn asshe aiss / onnen: wasshe waiss / golchi. Ac ym pa ryw van bynaic ac air i del / ssio val neidyr gy[19]frons a wna / nid yn anghyssyltpell o y wrth swn y llythyr hebrew a elwil schin: Ac o mynnwy chwancace o hyspyswydd ynkyleth llaes gwrandol ar byscoet kregin yn dechreu berwi o damwain vnwaith vddun leisio. Kymerwch hyn o athro wlythyr kartrefic raes ofyn na chhrayddo pawp o honawch gaffhel wrth i law tafodioc seisnic yw haddyscy.

T / hefyd a wna yr vn wynchb i Sais a chymrae val hyn tresure tresuwr tryson toure towr twr: top top nen.

Th / o saesnecc a chymrae a vydd gyfodyl ac vn nerth ond yn rhyw eirieu hi a ddarlleir kyn yscafned ar dd / einom ni: Eglurdecb am gyfio wlanllais th/ eiddunt hwy: through thrwech trywodd: thystle
Welsh, for in these languages it is sometimes changed in words to \textit{ph}.

But in English it has a permanent sound in every word as \textit{papyr} \textit{papyr} (pap-pir) \textit{papyrus}, \textit{pappe papp} (pap) \textit{bron g{'o}raic ne ywdd} [mamma vel infantium cibus], \textit{penne pin} \textit{yscroffenny} [calamus]. And an Englishman pronounces the letter \textit{v} thus, in the phrase \textit{and with a pen} \textit{au a phinn} [et cum calamo], and not \textit{with a penne} or \textit{ffenne} with double \textit{ef} (with a pen).

\textit{Q} is a strange letter in Welsh, and scarcely more at home in English. It is the same in sound as \textit{k}, \textit{q} as \textit{que} \textit{kwyn} (kwyn), \textit{brenhines} \textit{regina}, \textit{quarter kwarter} (kwarter) \textit{chwarter} [quarta pars]; \textit{quayle} (kwail) \textit{sofyliar} [coturnix]. And bear in mind that \textit{v} is the companion of \textit{q}, for \textit{q} is never seen without \textit{v} following it, as the cuckoo without her screecher.

\textit{R} is of the same nature in the two languages except that \textit{r} is never doubled or aspirated at the beginning of words as in Greek and Welsh.

\textit{Rhoma}, \textit{rhufain} or \textit{rhyfain} [Roma], but English words beginning with \textit{r} are thus pronounced: \textit{right richt} (richt) \textit{iwen} [rectus], \textit{rent rent} (rent) \textit{scissura}, \textit{ros} (rooz) \textit{ros} \textit{rosim} [rosa].

\textit{S} in these languages is of the same sound, thus \textit{syx} \textit{syr} (sir) \textit{dominus}, \textit{season seesyn} (seez-in) \textit{anser amserawel} ne \textit{anser kyfaddas} [tempestas, tempestivus vel occasio]. But when \textit{s} comes between two vowels it has the flat sound, or it is lisped, thus \textit{muse muwves} (myz) \textit{meuyrio} [meditari], \textit{mase maas} (maaz) \textit{madrondot} [stupor].

\textit{S} when added to the end of a word in the singular, makes it plural, or to signify more than one, as \textit{hande hand} (hand) is \textit{llaw} [una manus], \textit{handes hands} (handz) are \textit{llawe ne ddcylo} [plures vel due manus], \textit{naylle nayll} (nail) \textit{ewin ne hoyl hayarn} [unguis vel ferreus clavus], \textit{nayles nayls} (nailz) \textit{ewinedd ne hoylion heyrn} [ungues vel ferre clavi], \textit{raylle rayll} (rail) \textit{canllaw} [cancellus], \textit{nayles rayls} (railz) \textit{canllauen ne ederin regen yr yd} [cancelli vel creces pratenses] (p. 119).

\textit{Sh} when added before a vowel is equivalent to this combination \textit{ssi}, thus \textit{shappe ssapp} (shap) \textit{gceedd ne lun} [species vel forma], \textit{shepe ssiip} (shiip) \textit{dauad ne ddewid} [ovis veloves].

\textit{Sh} coming after a vowel is pronounced \textit{iss}, thus \textit{ashe aiss} (ash, aish?) \textit{onnen} [fraxinus]; \textit{wasshe waiiss} (wash, waish?) \textit{golchi} [lavare]. And wherever it is met with it hisses, like a roused serpent, [19] not unlike the Hebrew letter called \textit{schin \textit{v}}. And if you wish further information respecting this sound, you should listen to the hissing voice of shellfish when they begin to boil. Take this as an homely illustration lest you may not all be able to find an English tongue at hand to instruct you.

\textit{T} also shows the same face to an Englishman as to a Welshman, as \textit{tresure} \textit{tressour} (tres-yr) \textit{trysror} [thesaurus], \textit{toare towre} (tour) \textit{tvr} [turris], \textit{top} \textit{top} (top) \textit{nen} [vertex].

\textit{Th} in English rhymes with the same combination in Welsh (\textit{th}), but in some words it reads flat like our \textit{dd} (dh). Examples of the Welsh sound of \textit{th}; through \textit{thruchh} (thruukh) \textit{trywodd} [per],
thystl yscall: Eglurwch am th/ val awn dd/ ni this ddys hwn/ hon/ ne hyn. velly ddym nine yn cam arfer yn satbredic o dd/ dros th/ yny gair yma (ddialaydd) yn lle (dialayth) Nota hyn hefyd / y darileant th/ val t / yny geirieu hynn Thomas tomas: throne trwn pall-


W, seisnic ac w/ gymrieic nid amgenant i gallu val hyn/ waw waw tomm ar vor/ wyne wein gwyn: wynne wynn ennill. Eithyr henw y llythyren w/ o saesnec vydd dowbyl uw/ sef yw hynny u dduplic/ Ar sason wrth ddyscy i blant sillafl ne spelio ai kymerant hi val kydson ac nid yn vocal ne yn w, per se val y ddym ni yw chymryd: Ond y ddym ni ar hynny yw harfer hi or modd hawsaf i icunktit ddyfod y ddarllen yn ddeallus.

Hefyd distewi a wna w/ wrth ddiweddy llawer gair saesnec val yn diweddy y rai hynn/ awo, bowe wows/ y rhain a ddarlleant modd hynn: af/ ofyn bo bwa: w/ kary

X, nid yw chwaihth rhy gartrefol yn saesonac mwy nac yn Camberaeac a llais es/ neu gs/ a glywir ynthei vegys yny/ geirieu hynn flaxe flaces llin ayo es/ bwyall. Geirieu latin a ledeithantir saesonac neu ir Gamberac a newidian x/ am s/ val y geirieu hyn/ exn x crosse croes ne crws/ exemplum esampyl/ extento estennaf: excommunicatus escomy

Y, a gaiff ym amy/ enw y dyphthong (ei) val hynn thyne ddein tau ne eiddot: ai enw chun val yny gair hwn thynne thynn teneu.

Ye, a thiyt val, e, vach vech i phen a wna the o saesnec val hyn ye man dde man, y gwr: ye oxe dde ocs/ yr ych

Y, a chroes vechan val t, vech i ffen sydd gymeint [21] yn lla wunlythyr a that ddat, hyny ne yr hwn.

Ya, ac u, uwch i phen a wna thou ddown, ti ne tydi
thistle  

Examples of th like our dd; this ddys (dhis) hien hon ne hyn [hic haec vel hoc]. So also in familiar conversation we mispronounce dd for th in the word ddialaydd for dialayth [sine tristitia]. Observe also that they read th as t in these words: Thomas tomas (Tom'as), thronc trwn (truum) pall [solium].

U consonant is not distinguished in power in Welsh and English, thus: vyne vein (vein) gwin wydden [vitis], vayne vawn (vain) gwythen ne wae [vena vel vanus] (p. 119), velvet velfet (velvet) melfet [holosericum]. But v vowel answers to the power of the two Welsh letters u, w, and its usual power is uw, as shewn in the following words true truw (tryy) kyoir [verus], vertue vertuw (vertyy) rhinwedd [virtus]. And sometimes they give it its own proper sound and pronounce it like the Latinus, or like our w, as [20] in the words bucke buck (buk) buch [dama mas], lust lust (lust) chcant [libido]. But it is seldom this vowel sound corresponds with the sound we give the same letter, but it does in some cases as in busy busi (biz'i) prysur ne ymrys [occupatus vel se immiscens] (p. 164).

W English and w Welsh do not differ in sound, as wawe wauw (wau) tonn ar vor [unda maris] (p. 143), wyne wein (wein) gwin [vinum], wynne wynn (win) ennill [pretium ferre]. But the English name of this letter is dowbyl uw (dou'bil yy), that is double u. And the English in teaching children to spell, take it as a consonant, and not as a vowel, or w per se (u per see) as we take it. But still we use it in the most easy mode for youth learning to read intelligently.

Also w is mute at the end of words in English, as in the following awe, bowe, wowe, which we pronounce thus: a (aa) ofyn [terror] (p. 143), bo (boo) bow [arcus] (p. 150), w (uu, wu?) kary [amare, ut procus petere].

X Neither is x much at home in English any more than in Welsh, and the sound is es (ks) or gs (gz) as in the words flaxe fluxes (flaks) llin [linum], axe ags (agz) buvall [securis]. Latin words in their passage into English or Welsh exchange x for s, as in the words crux crosse croes, or crus, exemplum esampyl, extendo estennaf, excommunicatus escomyn.

Y often has the sound of the diphthong ei (ei, øi), as thyne ðeinein (dhein) tau ne eiddot [tuus vel tibi], and its own sound as in the word thynne thyyn (thyn) teneu [gracilis] (p. 111).

Y with a title like a small e above makes the English, as Yo man ðe man (dhe man) y guwr [vir ille], Yo oxe ðe ocs (dhe oks) yr yeh [bos ille].

Yt with a small cross above it, is equal [21] at full to that ðdat (dhat) hyny ne yr hwn [ille vel qui].

Y with u above it, signifies thou ðdow (thou) ti ne tydi [tu].
Y, ddoedd gan yr hen serifenynydd sasnecc lythyren taran
deybyc i, y, ond nad oedd i throed yn gwyro i vynny val pladur val y
may troet, y, ac nid antebic i llun yr rhauineol, y, neu i ypsylon
græce ne ghaen yn hebrew ac hyd y daw im kof ddorn i klywais
ynwaith hen ddarleydd o sais yn y he nwi vn an dd ni ne ar
ddelta roec y doedd. Ond nid yw hi arferedie ymplith Sason er
pan ddoeth kelyddydt print yw mysc onit kymeryd tan yn (y)
drostei: (ar (th) weithic yny lle: Ac aros hynny may yn anhaws i
ddyn arallwlad dreuthy eu (th) hwy yn seisnigaidd o achos i bot
ryw amser yn gwasa nathwy yn lle yr hen llythyren a elwunt dorn
val y gwelsoch yn eglur ynu geirieu or blayn. Ac velly pan aeth
y vloesythyr wreigaidd honno ar gy feilorn ouy Sason y derby-
nassom niner Kymbry hiih ac aethom i vloyscy val mamaethod ac
y ddywedyt dd dros d, th dros t, a d dros t, b ac ph, dros p, &c.
Ond maddeuwech ym rhac hyyd y trawschwedyl yma a mi a dalfyraf
yn gynt am y sydd yn ol orllytheyren ereill.

Z, hefyd o yddynt yn aruer yn vawr o henei, yn lle s/yn diweddd
gair val: kyngez kings, brenhinedd. A rhai yw dod dros m, ac
eraill (peth oedd vwy yn erbyn i natur) dros gh, yn y chymeryd:
val hyn ryzt richt kyflawn knyzt knicht marchawg yrddol.

t, nid llythyren yw namyn gair kyfan wedy ddefciosio yn vy rh,
val y gwelwch yma/ rhac mor [22] vynech y damwain ympop
ymadrodd o bob ryw iainth yr hwn pan yserfener yn llawnllythr yr
llatin (et) vydd and yn saesnec: ac (ac) yn Camberace a arwy-
ddocka.

\( \text{\textasciitilde} \) ym y Gwydrnor hon o ddisot y kynwyssir sum a chrynnodeb yr
holl rwulws vchot: Ac am hynny tybeid nad rhait angwawec a addyse
na mwy o eglurdeb arneci/i'r neb a chwych ochdarlein y llyer or
pen bwy gylydd.

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\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccc}
a, & a, & b, & c, & d, & e, & f, & f, & g, & h, & i, & k, & tsi, & d, & e, & f, & g, & c, & i, & l \\
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\( \text{\textasciitilde} \) a, & b, & c, & d, & e, & f, & f, & g, & g, & h, & i, & k, & l, & s, & d, & i, & f, & ph, & tsi, & h, & ei, & w \\
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\[ \text{\textasciitilde} \] Neu val hynn

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a, & a, & b, & c, & ch, & d, & e, & f, & g, & gh, & i, & k, & l, & ll, & m, n, o, p, q, \text{aw} & s, & i, & f, & i, & w, & l, & o \\
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\text{iss} & th, & u, & w, & v, & w, & x, & y, & z, & q, & l & w & i, & s, & d, & d/t, & u, & v, & y, & s, & o, & r, & s, & sh, & t, & th, & u, & v, & w, & x, & y, & z, & t, & ssi & dd & uw & f, & gs & i & ch & m \\
\end{array}
\]
The old English writers had a letter þ very much like y, only that the stem was not curved upward as a scythe like the stem of the y; and it is not unlike in shape to the Roman ϖ or the Greek upsilon Τ, or the Hebrew ghayn y, and as near as I can remember, an old English reader once called the name of it ddorn (dhorn), and he pronounced it like our dd (dh) or like the Greek delta δ (dh). But it is not in use among the English since the art of printing was introduced, but y is sometimes used for it, and sometimes th. And on this account it is more difficult for a stranger to pronounce their th in English, because it serves sometimes the place of the letter they call ddorn (dhorn), as may be noticed in the foregoing remarks. So that when that effeminate lisping letter was lost from the English, it was introduced to us the Welsh, and we commenced lisping like nursing women, and to say dd (dh) for d (d), th (th) for t (t), and d for t, b and ph (f) for p &c. But pardon the length of this digression of speech, and I will bring my remarks respecting the other letters sooner to a close.

Z was also frequently used instead of s at the end of words as kynes kings (kīqz) brenhinedd [reges]. Some also used it for m, and others (which was more contrary to nature) for gn in the words ryzt riecht (rikt) kyflawn [rectus], knyzt knicht (knihton) marchawg erddol [eques].

&. This is not a letter but an abbreviation for a whole word as may be seen from the following [22] how frequently it is used in every language. When written in full it is et in Latin, and in English, ac in Welsh.

† The table below gives a summary and the substance of all the above rules: and therefore it was not considered necessary to give more explanation or instruction respecting it to any one desirous to read the book from beginning to end.

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† Or like this.

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First Page of Salesbury's Welsh and English Dictionary.

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<td>Petygrewe</td>
<td>Addfedy</td>
<td>Rype</td>
</tr>
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<td>Hole, founde</td>
<td>Addoli</td>
<td>Worthy</td>
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The words quoted from the Treatise on English pronunciation are in Roman letters, followed by the old spelling in small capitals, the Welsh transliteration in italics, the palaeotypic pronunciation in ( ), the Welsh interpretation in italics, and its translation into Latin in [ ], and finally references as before.

Latin words are distinguished by a prefixed †.

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watch (waitsh). 120, 747, [12, A]
wave see waw
waw wawe waw (wau) tonn ar vor [unda maris]. 143, 755, [20, W]
we we we we (we). 751, 754, [11, E. 23, I]
weir were (weer) 79, 751, [18, E]
wide width (width). 763, [35, Y]
wynge wynge (wyng). 763, [35, Y]. winne wyne (win) gwyn [vinum]

winking winking (wiq-k'iq). 754, [23, I]
wish wish (wish). 752, [19, E]

with with (with). 143, 219, 750, 762, [17, D. 34, W]

wonder wonder wunbr (wun'dr) [mi-raculum]. 79, 99, 185, 199, 777, [13, E]
woo wove w (uu, wuu?) kary [amare, ut procurs petere]. 93, 150, 185, 785, [20, W]
worship worship (wurship). 752, [19, E]
worthy worthye (wurtho). 760, [43]

51

Since the account of John Hart’s Orthographie (p. 35) was in type, the original manuscript of his “former treatise,” bearing date 1551, has been identified in the British Museum, and some account of it is given in the annexed footnote. It may be observed that similarly, in Hart’s Orthographie the author’s name is mentioned in the dedication: “To the doubtfull of the English Orthographie John Hart Chester heralt wisheth all health and prosperitie,” which had not been observed when p. 35, l. 20, was printed, and not on the title. On comparing this printed book with the MS, I found many passages and quotations verbatim the same; see especially the first chapters of the MS, and printed book “what letters ar, and of their right use,” where right is not in the MS. The identity was thus securely established, and the MS has consequently been re-lettered: “Hart on English Orthography, 1551.”

The title of the MS is: “The Opening of the unreasonable writing of our inglish tonge: wherein is shewid what necessaril is to be left, and what folowed for the perfect writing therof.” And the following lines, on the fly leaf, in the author’s hand-writing, seem to shew that this first draught, thus curiously brought to light after 317 years’ repose, was never intended for publication, but was perhaps to be followed by another treatise, which was of course the printed book.

“‘The Booke to the Author.

“Father, keep me still with the, I the pray least Abuse shuld me furiosli de-voure:”
his pronunciation remained practically constant during these eighteen years, and the chief difference of the treatises is the greater extent of the second, and the important introduction of a phonetic alphabet, followed by a full example.

or shut me up from the lyght of the day:
whom to resist I doubt to have the power.

"The Author to the Booke.

"Fear not my sonne, though he doo
on the lower,
for Reason doth the everywhere de-
 fend:
But yf thou maist not now the thing
amend
I shal send thie brother soom luk-
kier hower.
yf Atropos doe not hast my lyves
end,
to confound Abuses lothsome lookes
sower."

"Abuse," meaning the wrongful use of
letters, that is applying them to
sounds for which they were not in-
tended in the Latin alphabet, is a fa-
avourite term of Hart's, and with the
curious orthography var'd for vowel, led
me to suspect the real author from the
first. The following description of the
vowels is slightly different from, and
must be considered as supplementary
to those given above in the pages here-
after cited; the bracket figures give the
pages of the MS. A few remarks are
also inserted in brackets.

"[77] Let us begin then with an
opened mouth so mouch as a man may
(though lesse wold serve) therwith
sounding from the brest, and he shall
of force bring forth one simple sound
which we mark with the a (p. 63):
and making your mouth lesse so as the
inner part of your tong may touch
the lyke inner part of your [78] upper
lowes you shall with your voice from
your brest make that sound wherefore
we doo ofien (and shuld alwaies) writ
the e (p. 80): then somthing your
longer further furth with your lowes,
leaving but the forepart open, and your
sound from the brest will make the
voice wherefore we doo ofien (and shuld
alwaies) write the i : for thicke a man
making his lippes in such a round, as
the compass of the topp of his litell
finger (his teeth not touching, nor
toung the upper lowes) with the sound
from the brest he shall make the simple
voice wherefore we doo ofien (and shuld
alwaies) writ the o (p. 93): and last of
all holding so stil his toung and teeth
untoucht shrinking his lippes to so
litell a hole as the breath may issue,
with the sound from [79] the brest he
shall of force make that simple voice
wherefore we doo sometimes rightly
(and shuld alwaies) write the u [cer-
tainly (u) here]. . . . [81]. Now
as for the a, we use in his proper power
as we ought, and as other nations have
alwaies done (p. 63). But I find that
we abuse all the others. and first of the
e, which most communely we use pro-
perly: as in theis words better and
ever: but often we change his sound
making yt to usurp the power of the i,
as in we, be & he (p. 80), in which
sound we use the i properly: as in
theis words sine, in and him. Where-
fore this letter e, shulde have his an-
cient sound as other nations use yt,
and which is as we sound yt in better
and ever. The profit thereof shuldbe,
that [83] we shulde not feare the
mystating of his sound in i : as we
have longe doon: and therefore (and
partly for lack of a note for time) we
have communely abused the diphthongs
ey or ei, ay or ai and ea : to the great
increase of our labour, confusion of the
letters, in depriving them of their right
powers, and uncertainthe to the reader.
[In this book Hart proposes either the
circumflex or reduplication as the mark
of quantity]. For the voel e, doeth of
voice impart so moche in better and
ever and in mani other words and
sillables, as we do communely use to
pronounce the diphthongs ey or ei, ai,
or ay, or the ea, except yt be when
they are seperate and ire from diph-
thong whiche to signifie we ought to
use an accent as shalbe said. [He
proposes the hyphen.] Then the i,
we abuse two was: the first is in that
we gve it a brode sound (contrary to
all peoples but the Scotts : as in this
sentence, [83] he borrowed a sword
from bi a mauns side to save this life:
where we sound the i in bi, side, thie
and life as we shuld doo the ei diph-
thong . . . The other ab-[84]-use of
the i, is that we make yt a consount
This pronunciation cannot have been in all respects the prevalent and received pronunciation of his time, for Hart frequently disagrees with Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, and Bullokar, and Dr. Gill

without any diversifying of his shape from the voell... [86] The forth now is the o, whose abuse (for that it cometh only by leaving the proper use of the u) causeth me to speak upon the u. We abuse [87] the u, two was the one is in consonant indifferently with both his figures u and v... [88]. The other abuse of the u, is that we sound yt as the Skottes and French men doo, in their words gud and fast [89]: Whereas most commonly we ourselves (which the Grokes, Latines, the vulgar Italiens, and Germanies with others doo alwaies) kepe his true sound: as in their wordes, but, unto, and further. [This thoroughly excludes all suspicion of an (a) sound.] Yf you marke well his azurned sound in gud and fast (and others of the Scottish and French abuse) you shal find the sound of the diphthong iu, keping both the i and u, in their proper vertu, both in sound and voel, as afore is said we ought: sounding yt in that voice wherefore we now abuse to write, you." The identification with the French and Scotch sounds ought to imply that that long u was (yy), but its identication with you makes it (iu); Hart however, in his orthographie also rises (in) for both sounds, as in the passage reprobated by Gill, suprâ p. 122, where he writes you use as (iu lux); yet if any value is to be attributed to his description of long u, suprâ p. 167, he certainly meant (ju yyz) and it was only his notation which led him into an ambiguity which also deceived Gill. But here it is evident that he had not yet heard the difference between yeve, you, which Sir T. Smith writes (yy, in), p. 166. This therefore may be a case of education of the ear. He asks now: "What difference find you betwixt the sound of you, and u in gud and fast? Wherefore yt our predecessors have thought it necessarie to take three voels for that voice, which in another place [90] they (observing derivations) writ with one, there appeareth to be a confusion and uncertaintie of the powers of letters, as they used them. Let us then receive the perfect meanes betwixt thes two doubtfull extremitties; and use the diphthong iu alwaies for the sound of you, and of u in suer, shut & bruer, and souch lyke, writing theim thus shuitt, suer, bruer:' does the word shut shuitt mean sutt or shuott? see suprâ p. 216, n. 1, "wherefore in our writings, we nead carefulli to put a sufficient difference, betwixt the u and n: as theis and the prints give sufficient example. Now see you whether we doo well to writ the o in their wordes do, to & other (signifying in latine alius) when yt ys the proper sound of the u; or for [91] the lyke sound to dooble the o: as in poore, good, root, and souch like of that sound: but I find the same dooble o, written with reason in some wordes, when yt signifieth the longer time: as in moost, goost and goo... [95] Then the number of our voels is fiv as the Grokes (concerning voice) the Latines, the Germanies, the Italiens, the Spayneyardes and others have alwaies had, declared in sooch their singuler power, as they haue and doe, use them... [96] a diphthong is a joinynge of two voels in one syllable keping their proper sound, onli somewhat shortenig the quantite of the first to the longer quantite of the last (p. 132): which is the onli diversite that a diphthong hath, from two voels commynge together yet serving for two syllables, and therefore ought to be marked with the figure δίαφωςις, as shalbe said." Among the diphthongs he places first y considered as Greek uy, and recommends its disuse, and then w considered as we, for which he would write w. [101] "Wherefore we take the iu single to have so moch power as the w: for this figure u, shall not (or ought not) henceforth be abused in consonant, nor in the skottish and french sound. Then may we well writ for when, writ and what, thus huen, urit and huat: and so if their lyke, cleane forsaking the w. Now the ca, so often as I see yt abused in diphthong, it is for the sound of the long e: wherein is the necessite spoken of, for the use of a mark, for the accident of longer time (as hereafter shalbe said) for that the sound e length-[102]-ned wil serve for the commune abused diphthongs ca, ai or ay and ci or cy (p. 122): the powers of which voels we now myx together con-
especially repudiates his pronunciation in many particulars (p. 122). Still we can hardly refuse to believe that Hart tried to exhibit that pronunciation of which he himself made use, and which he conceived to be that which others either did or should employ. Moreover his work contains the earliest connected specimen of phonetic English writing which I have met with, as Falsgrave, Salesbury, and Smith only gave isolated words or phrases. Although Hart's book has been reproduced by Mr. Isaac Pitman, the ordinary spelling in phonetic shorthand, and the phonetic portion in facsimile writing (with tolerable but not perfect accuracy), yet as many persons would be unable to read the shorthand, and would not therefore obtain a proper knowledge of the meaning of the other portion, and as it is desirable, also, to reduce all these phonetic accounts of English spelling to the one standard of palaeotype for the purposes of comparison, I have thought it best to annex the whole of the last Chapter of Hart's book, according to my own interpretation. This Chapter gives Hart's notions of contemporary French pronunciation, a subject which has been already so much alluded to in Chap. III., that the remainder of this section will be devoted to it. Hart does not admit of (w, j) but uses (u, i) for them, even in such words as which, write, which he exhibits as (nuitish, urcit). I have elsewhere restored the (w, j) which were certainly pronounced, but in this transliteration it seemed best to follow him exactly in the

fusible making the sound of the same long e, and not of any parfait diphthong: as in their examples of the ca in fear which we pronounce sounding no part of the a. And for the ai or ay, as in this word faire pronouncing neither the a, or i, or y: also ye saith, where we abuse a thripthong. Also ei or ey we pronounce not in their wordes theine and theym, and souk lyke: where we sound the e long as in all the others. Now for the ee, we abuse in the sound of [103] the i long: as in this sentence, Take heed the birds doo not feed on our seed: also for the ie in thief and priest: in likewise for the eo, as in people, we onli sound the i long. We also abuse the eo in the sound of the u voel as in leapertl, which we pronounceropicrite. The oo we have abused as aore is said . . . Now lett us understand how part of this fore-said and others shall serve us, and doe [104] us great pleasure: even as roules necessari for us lykely to contrefait the image of our pronunciation. First the au is rightly used (p. 144), as in paul and lau, but not law. Then the ia, is wel used in urre, for warre: and in huat for what. Further the ei, is wel and properl used in bei for by: in lef, for lyfe: and in seid, for syde (p. 113). Also eu, we use properli in feu for few: in den, for dew, and souk lyke (p. 138). The ne, as in question: in huan, for when: in nel, for well. Also the u made as in truth, for trueth: in rebiul, for rebuke: and in rule for rule. And the ui alone for our [105] false sounding of wo; and as in huich for which: oder for witnesse, and souk like: [this he identifies with Greek ve] . . . [106] writ for young, yoke and beyond, iong, jake, and be-ond. Then the oi is wel used in app-oint, eujo, poison, and a hoit barke, [here there is a difference from his later orthography (ruel) (p.132)]. And not to be over tedious, we use aright this diphthong ou in house, out, our and about (p. 152) wherein we may perceive how we have kept the ancien power of the u: the same diphthong ou, being sounded farre otherwise then in bloud, souk and should, as some ignorantli writ them, when we pro-ounce but the u, in hyr proper sound. "This use of ou for (a) is frequent in this MS. souk, toung, mouch, being common forms. The above extracts seem to possess sufficient interest to admit of reproduction, but the work itself is entirely superseded by the later edition.
use of (u, i). Hart also systematically employs (iu) for long u, but, as I have already pointed out (p. 167) and as will appear in the course of this example, he meant the French u = (yy), and I have therefore restored that orthography, to prevent ambiguity. Where however iu clearly meant (ju, i, u), the latter forms are used. Hart does not mark the place of the accent, but uses an acute accent over a vowel occasionally to mark that it was followed by a doubled consonant in the old orthography.1 This acute accent is retained, but the position of the accent is marked conjecturally as usual. Hart uses a dash preceding a word to indicate capitals, thus /italian/; I give the indicated capital. His diaeresis is represented by (,) as usual. There are, no doubt, many errors in the marking of long vowels, which were indicated by underdotting, but I have left the quantity as I found it. The (s, z) are also left in Hart’s confused state. As I can find no reason for supposing short i to have been (i) in Hart, although I believe that that was his real pronunciation, I employ (i) throughout. The frequent foreign words, and all others in the usual spelling, are printed in italics. The foreign words serve partly to fix the value of Hart’s symbols.

Exampl’s Hou ser’ten udh’er nas’ions du sound dheer lé’ters, both in Latin, and in dheer mudh’er tuq, dherbei tu kno dhe beet’er hou tu pronouns: dheer spiitsh’es, and so tu riid dhem as dheec du. Kap. viij.

For dhe konfirmas’ion ov dhat nuitsh is seed, for dhe sounds az-u’el ov vo’els az of kon’sonants: anldhour’ ei naav in div’ers plas’es nei-befoor sheu’d ed iu, nou ser’ten udh’er nas’ions du sound part ov dheer lé’ters: ei thont it gud nei, not oon’li to re’kapit’ulat and short’li reners’, part ov dhe befoor’ men’sioned, but an’so tu giv iu t understand’ nou dheec du sound suth dheer lé’ters, az dh ignorant dher of shuld áprootsh’ noth’iq ncer tu dheer pronunsi’ion bei riid’iq dheer ureitiqs or prints. Huer’for, huo so’iz deze’rous tu riid dh- Ital’ian and dhe Lat’in az dheec du, ni must sound dhe vo’ezl az ei naav sufis’ienli seed treat’iq ov dhem, and az ei naav yyzd dhem in aul dhis nyy man’er, on’li eksept’iq dhat dheec maak dhis fig’yyr u, kon’sonant az-u’el az dhis v. Dheec c, dheec yzz aftar’aul vo’ezl az wi dhe k, (as dheer prodzh’entors dhe Lat’in did) and yzz not k at aul: but dheec’abyyz’ dhe c, bitfoor’ e, and i, in dhe sound ov our ch or tsh, az eece and accioche, dheec sound ek’tshe, aktsioke’, francisco frantshes’ko, foe, facendo, amie, fet’she, fatshendo’o, ami’tshi: and for the sound ov dhe k, dheec yzz ch. Dheer g, dheec kiip az ei naav dun aftar vo’ezl, and befoor’ a, o, and u: but befoor’ e and i, dheec naav

1 He says: “I leave also all double consonants: having a mark for the long vowel, there is therby sufficient knowledge given that every unmarked vowel is short; yet wheras by custom of double consonants there may be doubt of the length. we may vse the mark over it, of the acute tone or tume, thus (').” What the meaning of this acute accent is on final vowels, as in French words, is not apparent.
abyzyd: it widh us, for whitsch ci naav yyzd dzh, and tu kiip dhat sound befoor a, o, and u, dheh uzurp gi, as nath bin seed, and dheerfoor dheh nevër maak dheh t, kon'ersonant, for dheh see not agiuto but aiuto, as mee bi dhus ai-uto. Dhe t, dheh nevër sound in s, az in protezițion, satisfaztion, dheh sound dheh t, nard, and dheerfoor dub'il it in dheoz uurdz and man'-uudher'ers: but in giuriiudi'tioni, militia, sententia, intentione, and man'-uudher'er dheh du not dub'il it, iet dheh sound it as it iz, and nevër turn it in'tu dheh sound ov s, but iv in mark it uel, dheh breth ov dheh t, pas'iq thrur dhi thith, and turn'iq tu dheh-i', duth maak it siim as it uer neer dheh sound ov dheh, s, but iz not dheerfoor' so in efekt'. For dheh gli, dheh du not sound g, so nard az ui uld, but so soft'li az it iz of'tn urit'n and print'ed uidhou't dheh g. Dheer zz dheh sound most Kom'o'lí dheh first z, in t, as in fortézza, grandezza, destrézza, but at sum teimz dheh sound dheh az dheh du cc, as for dhiz naam dheh-ureit indifferenli Eccellino, or Ezzellino. Dhehe naav aul'so dheh sound ov our sh or sh, nuitch dheh-ureit sc, befoor', e, or i': dheehyzz tu-ureit dheh th, but not for our th, or th: for dhehe naav not dheh sound dheh-erof' in aul dheer spiitsh, nor ov dh, and sound it in Matthio, az mee bi matnio, as of th, iz seed in Thomas and Thames. And for lak ov a knol'edzh for dheh kuan'titiz ov dheh vor'elz dhehe-ar konstreeand' tu dub'il dhehe kon'sonants of'tn and mutsh: and for dhehe loq'er teim ov dhehe vor'els, dhehe naav no mark: nuerfoor nuo so'-iz decei'ruz tu riid dheh ureit'iq uel, and irmitaat dhehe proinunzasion nad niid tu naav sum instruk'sion bei dheh leiv'li vo,is. And nuen dhehe du reez dhehe tyyn ov dheher urds (nuitch iz of'tn) dhehe noot it uidh dhehe Latin graav tyyn, dhus andô, parlò, e mostrô la noutià, al podestà de la cità. And in riid'iq dhehe Lat'in, aul dhehe feind urit'n, dhehe du pronouns', iiv'n as dhehe du dhehe mu'dher tuq, in dheh ver'i sounds befoor'-seed.1

1 As the pronunciation of Italian has been often referred to, and as H. I. H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte has lately given me his views upon some points of interest in Italian pronunciation, it seems convenient to make a note of them in this place. The medial quantity of Italian vowels has already been noticed (p. 518 and n. 1). The vowel e has two sounds (e) close and (e) open, the intermediate (e) being un-known, whereas it is the only e in Spanish. The vowel o has also two sounds, which have in this work been hitherto assumed as (eh) close and (o) open. The prince does not allow this; to him (eh) is Swedish o long, and (o) is Spanish o. His Italian close o does not differ from (o), and his open o is (a) or (a), probably the former. His theory is that when a language has only one e, o, as in Spanish and modern Greek (supra p. 523, l. 6 from bottom), Welch, and therefore in Latin and early English, it is (e, o); when it has two e, and two o, they are (e, e) and (o, o), respectively. Again in the pronunciation of the consonants in Italian, the Prince distinguishes, an emphatic and a weak utterance. The former is usually written double, but, he insists, is not pronounced double, in the sense of p. 55, but only emphatic, as if preceded by the sign (') p. 10,—which has been wrongly used (pp. 4, 9) in the combinations (t, d) in place of (t', d'), or "outer" (t, d). The following are the rules he lays down in his Sardo Sas-sarese example (supra p. 556, n. 2, col. 2), which it is best to give in his own words (ib. p. xxxv). "Si dice spesso, poiché le consonanti scempie si pronunziano, tanto in italiano quanto in sassarese, come se fossero scritte doppie, in forza delle seguenti regole generali: [Further text not transcribed]
For dhe min dutsh dhee sound aul dheer vo', elz in dhe ver' i saam sort: and ne'ver maak dhe i', kon'sonant, nor abyyz: dhe g, befoor' dhe e, and i, az dh-Italian duth, but kiip it aul'uez befoor' dhem, az

1) Allorché, essendo iniziali, vengono in principio di frase, sia al cominciar di un periodo o di una clausula benché breve, sia dopo una virgola. 2) Allorché, cominciando la sillaba, sono precedute da altra consonante. 3) Allorché occorrono in fin di voce, come ne' monosillabi il, del, &c. 4) Quando la voce precedente, benché terminata in vocale, sia un oisitono oppure un monosillabo derivato da voce latina terminata in consonante, la qual consonante poi venne soppressa nel farsi italiano o sassarese detta voce latina. Così la preposizione a derivata dalla latina ad, la congiunzione e corrispondente ad et, il si derivato dal sic, il "nè" nee, le parole tronche come "amò" amat, "potè" potuit hanno tutte la proprietà di dar pronunzia forte alla consonante iniziale della voce seguente; ed avvegnaché si vegga scritto: a Pietro, e voi, si grande, nè questo nè quello, amò molto, potè poco, non si oide altrimenti che: appietro, evvoi, siggare necesse nequello, anommosto, potepppo. Il sono debo delle consonanti, all' incontro, avrà luogo quando la voce che le precede si termina in vocale, eccettuati i casi notati nelle regole che precedono. Così in: di Maria, i doni, la mente, le donne, mi dice, ti lascia, si gode, ama molto potè poco, molto largo, le consonanti iniziali della seconda voce si pronunziano deboli quali si veggono scritte, per essere le parole latine corrispondenti alla prima voce: de, illi, illa, me, te, se, potui terminate in vocale, oppure perché, come in ama molto e molto largo, le voci ame e molto non ricevon l'accento tonico in sull' ultima sillaba." Compare the double Spanish sound of r, supra p. 198, n. 2. This emphatic pronunciation, in the case of (p b, t d, k g) consists in a firmer contact and consequently a more explosive utterance of the following vowel; in the case of (f s, s s) &c., in a closer approximation of the organs and a sharper hiss or buzz. But in Sardo Sassarese, the weak pronunciation generates new sounds, weak (p t, k v) becoming (b d g, bh). The Prince was also very particular respecting the pronunciation e, g, z in ce, gia, zio, zero, which have been assumed in this work to be (tszh, dzh, ts dz) respectively, forming true consonantal diphthongs, the initial (t, d) having an initial effect only (supra p. 54, l. 20). The Prince considers them all to be simple sounds, capable of prolongation and doubling, and he certainly so pronounced them. Sir T. Smith, and Hart both used simple signs for (tszh, dzh), Gill used a simple sign for (dzh) but analyzed it into (dzj). Hart, however, seems to have considered (tszh) as simple, but his words are not clear. The effect of the simple sound used by the Prince, was that of (ts s, d*zh, t*s, d s z), that is an attempt to make both pairs of effects at once. This results in a closer and more forward contact, nearly (sh t, zh t, s t, z t) but the (t*s, d*z) did not resemble (th, dh). This effect may be conveniently written (shzh, zzhzh, zzh). The effect of (shzh, zzh) on English ears is ambiguous. At one time it sounds (sh zh) and at another (tzh, dzh), with a decided initial (t, d) contact as we pronounce in English, and the Prince again hears my (tszh, dzh) as his (zhzh, zzhzh). It would almost seem that (zhzh, zzh) were the true intermediate sounds between (kj, gj) and (tszh, dzh). But a Picard variety of (kj, gj) which may for distinctness be written (kzh, gzh) is a still more unstable sound to foreign ears. In precisely the same way (k*s, kzh) may be produced, the tongue being more retracted and the tongue closer to the palate than for (s, sh). In the Sardo Tempiese dialect (k*zh) occurs and is written ke. These sounds may be written (zhzh, zzhzh) in imitation of (zhzh, zzh). Was the Attic initial ge, replacing ge, really (zh), and the original Sanscrit (zh)? The double contact of tongue and lips, which probably occurs in African dialects may be (zh), (zp), as slightly different from (kw, tw). The sibilants may now be greatly multiplied. The prince pronounced the following: (s z, sh zh; sj zj, sbj zhj; zs zj, zsh zzhj; zs j zj, zsbj zzhj) all as simple sounds. Emphatic pronunciation, simultaneous pronunciation, and successive pronunciation still require much consideration and practical
observation of existing usages. The difficulty in separating the usual speech habits of the listener and speaker, and of not assuming the first to be a correct account of the second, is more and more felt as the knowledge of the phonetic process increases. We have as yet necessarily given an undue amount of consideration to analysis, in order to ascertain the elements of speech, to the neglect of the important study of synthesis, whence alone can result the proper conception of national speech with its whole array of legato, staccato, phonetic assimilation, phonetic disruption, stress, intonation, quantity, emphasis of letter, syllable, word, of the utmost importance to comparative philologist, and almost totally unknown to comparative philologists.

1 The passage referred to is as follows: "The Dutch doe vse also au, ei, and iu, rightely as I do hereafter, and å, in the founde of a, or (e) long: ø, in the founde of ae, or (eu); u in the sound of (yy), or the French and Scottish u; ü for au, and (u) for (uu), long, or French ou." Fo. 35 b. misprinted fo. 31, p. 2, in the original reference.

2 The Spanish has only five vowels (a, e, i, o, u) of medial length (p. 518, n. 1). The Spanish ch is our (tsb) or (sh). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte
And now last ov aul, dhe French, uidh dh-abyys ov dhe u, in dhe skot-lish leik sound ov dhe iu diphthoq, nuitsh, nor Italian, nor Dutch did ever giv tu u, and yyyz-iqu dhe g, and j, kon-sonant in dhe sound nuer-of, our sh, iz dhe bredh-ved kon-sonant: and turn-iq dhe s, in-tu z, ruen u, uidh aul dhe rest, du sound the s, (eksept dhe Span-iard, az uí mauv aul-so yyyd betnikst: tuu vo-élz) and kii-piqu an udh'er teim in dher vo-élz dhen ui du, and yyyz-iqu dher e, in deir-vers sounds, and dhe o sum nuat aul-so: bei not sound-iq dhe u, in quë, and quë, but az uui mec ki and kee, uidh leev-iqu man'i ov dher léters unsound-ed, duth kauz dher spitish ver'i hard tu bi lernd bei art, and not cezi bei dhe leivli vo'is, az it iz notor'i,uzli knoon. So az if ei shuld ureit French, in dhe léters and or'der nuitsh ei du non-yyz, ci-am ser'ten dhat iu shuld mutsh suun'ker kum tu dher pronunsi-a'sion, dher-bei, dhen bei ureit iq az dhee du. And tu ekse-riiment dhe mät'er, and tu maat sutch az understand: French, dzhudzhes dher-of, ei uil ureit dhe Lords preer az dhee du, nuitsh shuld be prezent-ed tu sutch an oon, az kan riid dhis man'er, and iet under-stand'eth not dhe French, and pruuv nou ni kan riid and pronouns-it: and dhen present: it nim in dhis man'er ov ureit'iq, az nier-after: and kompaar' niis pronunsi-a'sion tu dhe form'er, and iu shuld pruuv dhat efekt, nuitsh kan not bi bront tu pas bei our form'er man'er. And dher-'foor nier fol'neth dhe lords preer first in French in dher man'er ov ureit'iq: Nostre pere qui es et viceu, Ton nom soit sanctifié. Ton Regne advenir. Ta volonte soit faite en la terre comme au ciel. Donnez-nous auourd'hui nostre pain quotidien: Et nous pardonnes nos offenses, comme nous pardonnons á ceux qui nous ont offensé. Et ne nous indui point en tentation: mais nous delivre du mal. Car à toi est le regne, la puissance, et la gloire és siecles, des siecles. Amen. Nou in dhis nyy man'er az fol'utch. Nootran peeran ki-ez eez sieuaz, tun Num soi santifié. Tun Rénaur aviénau. Ta volonté soit fétan, an la taraun kumau 00 siel. Düm-nuuz ozdzuurdhii nootran peen kottian. E nuu pàrdûnan noz ôfancez kumau nuu pàrdùnaunz a seuzi ki nuuz unt ôfancez. E ne nuuz indui point an tan-ta'sion: meez nuu delivar an dyy mal'. Kar a toe eet le ree'man, la pyy,isänse e la gloe-ran eez siecles dez siecles Aman. Nou kon'truirieuz uil ei ureit nier-un'der in dheez nyy léters (and kii-piqu dher sound az befoor') nou dhe French du pronouns' dheer

denies that (v, dh, z) occur in Spanish, but admits (1, th, s), as sounds of f, z, (or e before c, t) and s. This pronunciation of s, z is doubtful. It may be (st), and certainly by some a is pronounced either (dh) or (zt), especially when final. In the common termination -ado, the a is often quite lost, but the vowels are kept distinct in two syllables, and do not form a diphthong. In the termination -ido, the a is never lost. The (s) sound of c, z, is not acknowledged in Madrid. The letters o, c are pronounced alike and as (bb). The j is by some said to be a peculiar guttural, but the Prince identifies it with (kk). La, ñ are (l, nj). Hart confuses ù with Welsh u, as does Salesbury, (supra p. 757), but Hart also confuses the sound with (1), or le in able (supra p. 193); which he probably called (aw-blh) as in French (supra p. 52). There seems to be no foundation for supposing that Spanish u was ever (y), as stated by Hart.
Lat'ın: and dhat aul'so in dhe Lords preer, nuitsh iz az dhus. Paater noster ki ez in seliz, santifisetyr nomen tyy,yym, atveniat rúnnyym tyy,yym fiat voluntzaa tyya siky yt in selo e in tára panem nostryym kotidianym da nobiiz odiie et dimite nobii debita nostra, siky yt et noz dimìitinyyzz debitoribyyz nostriiz. Et ne noz indyrykaaz in tentasionem: Set libera noz a malo. And ei remember ov a mer'i dzhest heu naav nerd ov a buce nuitsh did help a French prist at más, noo see'iq dominyy yobiikyyym, dhe buce neci'iq it sound strandzh'li-in niz eer, aun'suered, eth kum tirleri tiikyyym, and so ent lauri'iq nis uee. And so perfet'tyyr in-nil at dhe riid'iq, az in mee biliiv me-ei did at dhe ureit'iq niez-of. Ei kuld ureit aul'so Hou dhe frenal and udh'er for'ens du spek Iq'lish, but dheer man'er is so plentiful in man'i-of our eerz, az ei thiqk it supper'dli,uz. Dhe rezon nuc'i dhe can not sound our spiitsh, iz (az in mee perseer' bei dhat is seed) bikanz' ui naav and yyz ser'teen sounds and breedhz nuitsh dhee naav not, and du-aul'so yyz tu sound sum of dhooz lèterz nuitsh dhee-yyz uith us, udh'erueiz dhin dhee duu: and dhee for revendzh' sum ov ourz udh'erueiz dhin ui duu, nuitsh iz dhe kauz aul'so dhat dheer spiitsh-ez ar nand for us tu riid, but dhe sound oons knoon, ui kan ce'zil pronounus' dherz bei dhe rezon abu'vee-seed. And dhus tu-ena if tu thiqk lit"l prof't tu bi in dhis me-ei inaau kaus'ed ii tu pás iur teim, ci til iet diishardzh' hei self dhat ei-am ásy'yr red it kan du-iu no harm, and so dhe aulmint'i God, giv'er ov aul gud thiqs, bliis uz aul, and send us nis graas in dhis trans'itori leif, and in dhe world tu kum, leif ever'last'iq. So bi-it. FINIS. Sat cito si sat bene.

Alexander Barclay's French Pronunciation, 1521.

In the introductory Authoris Epistell to the Kynges Grace, prefixed to Palsgrave's Esclareissment, he says: "Onely of this thyng, puttyyng your highnesse in remembranunce, that where as bysydes the great nombre of clerkes, whiche before season of this mater hawe written nowe sithe the beginnyng of your most fortunate and most prosperouz raigne," that is, between 22 April 1509 and 18 July 1530, "the right vertuous and excellent prince Thomas late Duke of Northfolke, hath commanded the studious clerke\(^1\) Alexandre

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\(^1\) Further on he is not so complimentary, as he remarks: "Where as there is a boke, that goeth about in this realtime, intitled the Introductory to writte and pronounce frenche, compiled by Alexander Barcley, in whiche k is moche vse, and many other thynges also by hym affirmed, contray to my sayenges in this boke, and specially in my seconde, where I shal assay to expresse the declinations and coniungu thynges; with the other congruites obserued in the frenche tonge, I suppose it sufficient to warn the lernar, that I have red ouer that boke at length: and what my opinion is therin, it shall well inough apere in my bokes selfe, though I make therof no fether expresse mencion: saue that I have sene an olde boke written in pachment in maner in all thynges like to his sayd Introductory: which, by conjecture, was nat vnwritten this hundred yeres. I wot nat if he happened to fortune upon suche an other: for when it was commaunded that the grammar maisters shulde teche to youth of Englande ioynety latin with frenche, there were diuerse suche bokes diuysed: wherupon, as I suppose began one great
Barcley, to embusy hym selfe about this excercyse, and that my sayd synguler good lorde Charles duke of Suffolke, by cause that my poore labours required a longre tracts of tyme, hath also in the meane season encouraged maister Petrus Uallensys, scole maister to his excellent yong somne the Erle of Lyncolne, to shewe his lernynge and opinion in this behalfe, and that the synguler clerke, maister Gyles Dewes somtyme instructour to your noble grace in this selfe tong, at the especiall instauce and request of dyuers of your highe estates and noble men, hath also for his partye written in this matter." For the last treatise, see supra p. 31. The second I have not seen. A copy of the first, which is extremely rare and does not seem to have been known to A. Didot, as it is not found in his catalogue, (see p. 589, n. 1), exists in the Douce Collection at Oxford (B 507) and the following are all the parts in it relating to French pronunciation, according to the transcription of Mr. G. Parker, of Oxford, who has also collated the proof with the original. The whole is in black letter; size of the paper 10½ in. × 7 in., of the printed text 8½ in. × 5½ in.; 32 pages, neither folioed nor paged, the register at bottom of recto folio is: A 1-6, B 1-6, C 1-4. In this reprint the pages are counted and referred to, as in the editions of Salesbury. The pages are indicated by thick numbers in brackets. Remarks are also inserted in brackets. The / point is represented by a comma. Contractions are extended in italics.

[1] ¶ Here begynneth the introductory to wryte, and to pronounce Frenche compyled by Alexander Barcley compendiously at the commandement of the ryght hye excellent and myghty prynce Thomas duke of Northfolke.

[Plate representing a lion rampant supporting a shield containing a white lion in a border. Then follows a French ballad of 16 lines in two columns, the first headed "R. Coplande to the whyte lyon," and the second "¶ Ballade." ]


occasyon why we of England sounde the latyn tong so corruptly, which have as good a tonge to sounde all maner speches parfitely as any other nacyon in Europa."—Book I, ch. xxxv. According to this, 1) there ought to be many old MS. treatises on French Grammar, and 2) the English pronunciation of Latin was moulded on the French, supra p. 246.

1 There is also an older treatise "Here begynneth a lytell Treatise for to learne the Englyshe and Frenshshe. Emprynted at Westminster by my Winken de Worde. Quarto," as cited in Dibdin's edition of Ames Typ. Ant. 1812, vol. 2, p. 328. The copy he refers to belonged to Mr. Reed of Staple's Inn, then to the Marquis of Blandford (Catalogus librorum qui in Bibliothecâ Blandfordiensi reperientur, 1812, fane. 2, p. 8) and was sold by auction at Evans's sale of White Knights Library 1819, to Rodd the bookseller, for 9l. 15s., after which I have not been able to trace it, but Mr. Bradshaw says it is only a reprint of a work of Caxton's (The Book of Travellers, Dibdins Ames, 1, 315, 316), containing French phrases, but no information on pronunciation. A mutilated copy of Caxton's book is in the Douce Collection.

[4] [Do. joined with Verbs. On this page occurs the following, beginning at line 6:—]

¶ Also when these wordes, nous, vous. and ilz, be set before
verbs begynnynge with any consonant, than amonge comon people
of fraunce the ’s, and ’z, at ende of the sayd wordes, nous. vous.
and ilz, leseth the sounde in pronounycnge though they be wryten.
But when they are ioyned with verbs begynnynge with any vowell
than the .s. and .z. kepeth theyr full sounds in pronounycnge.

§ 5-8] [On Verbs. At p. 8, l. 21, we read]

Here after foloweth a smal treatyse or introductory of ortographe
or true wrytyng, wherby the dyligent reder may be informed
truly, and perfytely to wryte and pronounce the frenche tounge
after the dyuers customes of many countrees of fraunce. For lykewyse
as our englysshe tounge is dyuersly spoken and varyeth in
certayne countrees and shyres of Englande, so in many countrees
of fraunce varyeth theyr langage as by this treatyse euidently shall
appere to the reder.

¶ First how the. lettres of the A. b. c. are pronounced or sounded
in frenche.

¶ Lettres in the. A. b. c. be. xxii. whiche in frenche ought thus
to be sounded.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q
A boy 1 coy doy e af goy asshe û ka el am an oo poy cu
r s t v x y z & parle 9 parse.

aar ees toy v yeux ygregoiz zedes et parlui. 9 parlui. or, parsoy.

¶ And albeit that this lettre .h. be put amonge the lettres of
the alphabete, yet it is no lettre, but a note of asperacyon, or
token of sharpe pronounycnge of a worde. 2 Also .&. and .9. are not
counted amonge the lettres: and so remayneth. xxii. lettres in the
alphabete besyde .h. and .9. as sayd is.

1 Compare Palsgrave’s Introduction
to his second Book: “In the namynge
of the sayd consonantes the frenche-men
differe from the latin tong, for where as
the latines in soundyng of the mutes
begyn with the letters selfe and ende
in E, sayng BE, CE, DE. &c. the
frenche men in the stede of E sound
Oy and name them Boy, Coy, Doy,”
etc. Hence the oy in these words was
not (ee) as it has now become. Pals-
grave adds: “and where as the latines
in soundyng of theyr liquides or semi
vowellz beginn with E, and ende with
them, sayning El, Em, En, the frenche
men double the liqueide or semi vocale,
and addde also an other E and name
them Elle, Emme, Enne, geung the
accent upon the fyrst E, and at the last
E depressyng theyr voyce.” This is
different from Barcley.

2 This must surely be a misprint.
The dots are faint. The vowel û does
not occur in this alphabet.

3 This explanation of aspiration,
renders the real sound of h doubtful;
as to whether it was (u) or (û) as at
present. The following quotations
from a French newspaper, contained
in the Daily News, 14 Sept. 1869,
illustrates this modern use. “L’H
est-il aspiré dans Hugo? Faut-il dire
Victo Rugo ou Victor Ugo? II me
semble, moi, que l’aspiration serait
plus respectueuse.” Observe that no
II is written in either case, but that
the running on of the R, or the hiatus
before U alone mark the absence and
These sayd: xxii. lettres be deuyded all into vowels and consonantes. v. of them be called vowels, whiche be these. a. e. i. o. u. these fyue be called vowels for eche of them by themself ioyned with none other lettre maketh a full and perfec worde. Y. is a greke vowel and is not wryten in latyn wordes, but in greke wordes.

And wordes of other langages without one of these vowels: no lytteral voyce may be pronounced of these. v. vowels. ii. leseth theyr strength somtyme: and become consonantis whiche. ii. be these. i. and v. whiche ar consonantis when they are put in the begynnynge of a syllable ioyned with another vowel and syllabylde or spellid with the same, as in these wordes in frenche Louer to play vanter, to boste: and so in other lyke.

The other .xvi. letters called be consonantis: for they be soundyd with the vowels and make no syllable nor worde by them selfe excepte they be ioyned with some vowel. consonantis be these. b. c. d. f. g. k. l. m. n. p. q. r. s. t. x. z.

These consonantis be deuyded agayne into mutes liquides and semy vowels of whom nedyth not to speke for our purpose. A dyptonge is a ioynynge to gyther of .ii. vowels kepyng eche of them his strength in one self syllable: of them be .iii., that is to say, au, eu. ci, oy. In latyn tunge, au, and, eu be bothe wryten and sounded ay, and, oy, be wryten but not sounded. but in frenche and englysshe tunge bothe ay oy au and eu be wryten and sounded, as in these examples in frenche of au. voycy vng beau filz, here is a fayre sonc. of eu, deux homes font plus que vng: two men dooth more than one. of ay, ie ne diray point ma pencee a toutz gentz. I shall not tell my thought to all folkes. Of oy as, toy mcimes ma fait le le tort. thy self hast none me the wronge. That the same dyptonges be both wryten and sounded in englysshe it appereth by the examples. As a maw, strawe, tawe, dewe, sewe, fewe. fray, say, may, pay, noy, boy, toy, ioy. And thus haue we more lyberte bothe in frenche and englysshe in presence of aspiration. And this may have been Barcleys meaning. But see infrà p. 809, l. 4.

The pointing is evidently wrong. There should be a period here, and the colon after "vowels" seems incorrect. The expression "lytteral voyce" is, even then, rather obscure.

Compare Salesbury's explanation of the consonantal value of i, u, suprà p. 754.

This ought to mean that the sound of each is heard, and ought to distinguish real diphthongs from digraphs. But the author so little understands the nature of speech that he may merely mean that the two letters being juxtaposed modify each others signification, producing a tertium quid. The Lambeth fragment (suprà p. 226, n. 1), gives 3 syllables to aider, aumun, § to meilleur, 4 to enuenz, which would all agree with a real diphthongal pronunciation, but then it proceeds to give 3 syllables to ouir, in which there can be no doubt that ou was a digraph.

The omission of ai is very remarkable. But from what follows it can hardly be doubted that ai was included under ei, or that ei was a misprint for ai.

This ought to imply that Latin au, eu, were then called (au, eu), and this would agree with other indications of English contemporary pronunciation.

As we know from Salesbury that about 30 years later English oy, oy, au, were called (ai, oi, an) at least in some cases, these words ought to imply that they had the same sound in French. This would agree at any rate with Palgrave.
wrytynge and soundynge than in latyn as touchynge the .iii. dyptonges.

Also here is to be noted that of lettres we make syllabes: of syllabes we frame wordes, and of wordes we combye reasons, and by reasons all scyences and speches be vttred. thus resteth the grounde of all scyences in lettres, syllabes, wordes, and reasons. Wherfore (as of the fyrst foundacyon of frenche tounge and also of al other languages) fyrst I intende by the ayde and socour of the holy goost to treate how the lettres be wrytyn and sounded in frenche.

Of the soundynge of this lettre .A. in frenche.

This lettre .A. in fresche somtyme is put onely for a lettre. And somtyme it is put for this englysshe worde. hath. Whan it is put but for a lettre it is often sounded as this lettre e. as in this frenche worde, staues vous: in englysshe, can ye. In whiche worde and many other as, barbe, and rayre. with other lyke this lettre. A. hath his sounde of this lettre .e. But in some countrees .A. is sounded with full sounde in lyke maner as it is wrytyn as, rayre, and suche other whan this lettre .A. is put for a worde it betokeneth as moche in englysshe as this worde hath. But some frenche men than adnex .d. withall as, ad. as il ad, he hath. But suche maner of wrytynge is false. for this lettre. d. is not sounded nor pronounced in frenche, nor founde often wrytyn in the ende of ony worde. And though some wolde say in these frenche wordes, viande, meate. demande, enquyre or aske. and that .d. is sounded in ende of the worde, it is not so. for in these wordes and other lyke, suche as truly pronounce frenche resteth the sounde on the last letter of the worde whiche is .e. and not .d.

Also in true frenche these wordes, auroy, I shall haue. and, auroy, I had: be wrytyn without e in myddes of the worde, and in lykewyse be they sounded without, e but in certayne countrees of fraunce in suche maner of wordes this lettre e is sounded and wryten in the myddes as thus, auroy. aneuoy: which e is contrary bothe in the true wrytynge, and also to the true pronunciacyon of perfyte frenche.

How this lettre b ought to be wrytyn and sounded in frenche themperour for the emperoure, and so of other lyke.

Also this worde auce may be wrytyn in dyuers maners after the custome and vsage of dyuers countrees of fraunce as thus. auceques: auceque. And some without reason or ortography wryte it with .s. in the myddes as aneuque. but how so euery auceve be wrytyn in frenche it soundeth as moche in englysshe as this preposcyon with. And also this worde solene may be wrytyn with c, or els without c

The words staues vous are not clear. The use of a in the sound e seems to be dialectic in barbe, see the quotation from Chevallet, p. 75, at bottom. But in rayre, (which ought not to be rare, but the book is so full of errors that it may be,) to scrape or shave, the remark seems to imply ay = (ee).

Implying, of course, that the final c, now mute, was then audible, but only faintly audible, or else the error which he combat, could not have arisen.

In this case probably s preserved its consonantal power, the remnant of the Latin b.
at the ende as solonc or solon, but than o ought not to be sounded, yf a consonant immedatly folowe.

[Then follow the headings, Of Nombres, in one paragraph, and Of Gendres, in four paragraphs, the last of which is:]

¶ Many mo rules be concernyng wrytynge and spekyng of frenche, which were to longe to expres in this small traiyte: but the moste perfytynes of this langage is had by custome and vs of redynge and spekyng often enquyryng: and frequentynge of company of frenchemen and of suche as haue perfytynes: in spekyng the sayd langage.

[11] [Treatyte of dyuerse frenche wordes after order of the Alphabete .A. B., and then on l. 8 from bottom the author proceeds thus]

¶ This lettre. B. set in the myddes of a frenche worde ought to be soundyd in maner as it is wryten, as debriscr. to bruse, troubler. to trouble, but in these wordes folowyng .b. is wryten in the myddes and not soundyd as, debte. dette, endeblete. desoubz. vnderneth, desubz. aboue, coubte. a ribbe, vng subget. Also these verbes doubter. to dout, tresdoubter, greatly to dout, substiner with all theyr modes and tensys as well synguler as plurell with all nownes and particyles descendynge of them, must haue .b. wryten in the myddes of them and not soundyd, as wryten doubte tresdoubte. and soundyd doute, and tresdoute.

[12] Of. C. ¶ This letter .C. wryten in myddes of a worde hathe somtyme the sounde of this letter .s. or .z. as these wordes. ca. on this half. pieca. a whyle agone. racon a ranson. francois. frenche. and in many other lyke wordes whiche soundyth thus with .s. sa pieca ranson francois. Also this letter .c. somtyme hath the sounde of .k. as in these wordes in frenche crou. cru. cause, and car. Also these wordes done and ioue are wryten with .c. in the ende in synguler nombre, but in the plurell nombre the .c. in them is tournyd in to .x. as doux ioux.

Of. E. ¶ E. for the moste parte is soundyd almost lyke .a.1 and that namely in the ende of a worde. as in this example. A mon premier commencement soit dieu le pere omnipotent. At my fyrste begynnynge be god the father almyghty. Il a vng bon entende-ment. these wordes commencement omnipotent entendement vent with other lyke. be soundyd with a. as commencement. omnipotent. auandemant vant and other lyke. and all suche wordes must haue a short and sharer attent or pronunciaicion at the ende.

¶ And here is to be notyd that al maner nownes of the masculyne gender endynge in the synguler nombre in .c. g. or .f. as blanc. whyt. vyf. quicke. longe. longe. shall be wryten in the plurell nombre with .s. haunyghe .c. g. or .f. put awaye from them. as blans. vis. lons.

Of. G. ¶ Whan this letter .g. is wryten in frenche in myddes of

1 Though expressed generally, this remark evidently refers exclusively to the syllable en where it is now pronounced (aa), which we have seen Hart also pronounced (an), suprâ p. 802. See also infra in this § for all the French nasals during the xvi th century.
a worde bytwene a vowell and a consonant, than shal it be soundyd 
lyke .n. and .g. As compaignon, compaigne. How be it some wryte 
suche wordes as they muste be soundyd with .g. and .n. as com-
pagnon, a felawe, compaigne, a company.

Of H. H is no letter but a tokyn of asperacion or sharpynge 
of a worde, as in these wordes, hors. out, dehors. without, honte. 
shame, haut, lyce, and in other lyke in whiche worde and lyke .h. 
is sounded. other wordes be in whiche. h. is wryten and not 
soundyd as heure. an houre, helas. alas, homme, a man, with other 
lyke.

Of I & E. I. and. E. or ony other two vowels ioyned 
togyder in myddes or in the ende of a worde. when they are put 
bytwene two consonants, or bytwene a vowell and a consonant. 
than eyther of them shall have his founde as in these wordes 
biens. goodes. riens. no thynge, loie. loy, voie. a way, And suche 
lyke worde. yet some holde oppynyon that in these worde, and in 
suche other .I. or E shall not be soundyd.

Also in true frenche these worde. Ie. ce, are. wryten without 
o. in theyr ende but in pycard, or gascoygne, they are wryten with 
o. at the ende, as thus ieo ceo

Of K. This letter .K. in dynerses speches is put for. ch. As 
kinal. kien. vak, but in true frenche it is not, but these worde 
and suche lyke be wryten with ch. as cheual, a hors, chien. a dogge, 
vache. a cowe, Also in certaynes countrees of Fraunce for c. is 
wyten ch. as piecha. for a pieca, a whyle ago, tresdoulce for 
tresdoulce. ryght swete. And so of other lyke. 2

[13] In lykewyse in some countrees of Fraunce names of 
dyngyte and offyce whiche are the synguler nombre are wryten 
plurell with, s, at the ende, as luy papes de Rome, luy roys de 
france, luy sains esperis: but in true frenche these names be 
wryten without, s. as le pape de rume, the pope of rume. le roy de 
france, the kynge of fraunce. le saint esperit, the holy goost. and so 
of lyke.

Of L. This letter .L. set in myddes of a worde immedyatly 
before a vowell shall kepe his full sounde, as nouellement, newly. 
anneulement, yerely. continuellement contynuallly parlant, spekynge. 
egalement, egally. But yf a consonant folowe. I immedatly than 
,l, shall be sounded as .n, as loyalment, principalment, whiche are 
sounded thus. loyaument, faithfully. principaument, prinicipally. 3

Except this worde ,ilz. in whiche worde ,l, and ,z, hath no sounde 
somtyne. as ilz vont ensemble, they go togyder, and somtyne ,l, 
hath his sounde and ,z, lesch the sounde when ,ilz, cometh before 
a worde begynnynge with a vowell, as ilz out fayt: they haue done.

1 The reversal of the order in the 
description of the pronunciation may 
be accidental. This loose writing, 
however, gives no reason to suppose 
that the sound of this gn was either 
-ng or (gu).

2 These remarks must refer to pro-
vincial pronunciations, and indicate an 
interchange of (k, sh) in French an-
swering to that of (k, tsh) in English.

3 The general observation evidently 
refers to the particular case, al pro-
nounced as au, but whether as (au) or 
(oo) cannot be deduced from such loose 
writing.
When, |, is wrytten in the ende of a worde, and that the worde folowynge begyn with a consonant than shall |, in suche wordes lese his owne sounde and be sounded lyke an |, as ladmiral dengle-terre, the admyrall of englande, but yf the worde folowynge |, begyn with a vowell than |, shall kepe his owne sounde: as nul home, no man. nul aulter, none other, nul vsage, no vsage. Also |, put in the ende of a worde of one syllable shal haue no sounde at all as il sen est ale, he is gone. ie le veul bien, I wyll it well. In suche wordes il and veul, and other lyke |, leseth his sounde |. double in myddes of a worde must be sounded with hole and full voyce. as fille, a daughter. fillette, a lyttel mayde. oraille, an eere. and so other lyke.

Of. N. ¶ This lettre. N. put betwene a vowell and a consonant in ende of ony worde whiche is a verbe of the thyrde persone plurell, and the indycatif, or optatytf mode what tens so ener it be, it shall not be sounded in true pronouncynge of frenche, as ilz ayment, they loue. ilz lisent, they rede. whiche wordes and all other lyke must be sounded thus without ,n. ilz aymet. ilz liset. ¶ Out of this rule be excepte verbes of one syllable in whiche ,n, must haue the sounde. as ilz vont, they go: ilz out, they haue: ilz sunt, they are: ilz font, they make, with all theyr modes: tens: and compoundes. in whiche, n shall kepe his ryght sounde.

Of. P. ¶ When |,P, is wrytten in the ende of a worde in frenche, and the next worde immediatly folowynge begynnynge with a consonant than shall it lese the sounde, as thus, il a trop grant auoir, he hath to grete goodes. il vient trop tard, he cometh to late. trop hault, to hyc. trop bas, to lowe. in whiche worde trop |p, hath not his sounde, but it must be sounded thus. tro hault. tro bas. tro tard.

¶ Of this rule be except propre names endynge in |p. in whiche |p, must haue his full sounde, as, philip. But yf a worde ende in |p, and the worde nexte folowynge begyn with a vowell than |p, shall haue his full sounde. as mieulx vault assez quei trop auoir, better is ynown than to haue to moche. Also these wordes sepmaine, a weke. temps. tyme. corps, a body. and this verbe escripre, to wryte, with [14] all nownes and participles commynge thereof, indifferentely may be wryten with p. or without p. but though p. be wrytten in them it shall nat be soundyd: as semaine, tems, cors escrire.

Of. Q. ¶ Q. in pronounsynge muste haue a softe and lyght sounde.² And it shall nat be wrytten in any frenche worde, without two vowells, immediatly folowynge: of whiche two vowells the fyrste shalbe u. as qui que, the whiche, quar, for. querir, to seke, quant, whan, and suche other, but some be whiche wryte q. in suche wordes without this vowell |u. folowynge as qi. que. &c. whiche maner of wrytynge is vnsemenly: And also it is contrary to all rules of ortography or true wrytyng aswell in frenche, as in

1 The monillé sound of | in French (lj) is certainly very badly expressed by these meaningless words.
2 The writer probably only means that it is to be (k) and not (kw).
other langages and no reason haue they whiche wryte suche wordes without u. to assyst them saue theyr unreasonable vse agaynst all rules, and good custome. More ouer these wordes quar, querir, quant. &e. maye be wryten indifferently: with, q. k. or e, as quar; or car, or els kar. &e.

Of. R. ¶ This letter. R. put in the ende of a worde shall kepe his owne full sounde, as cueur, as thus lay grant mal au cueur, I haue graet dysease at my herte: Ie vous pric pour me consailer, I pray you counsell me: but in some countres r. is soundyd, as this letter, z. as compere, a gossyp, is somtyme soundyd thus compez,¹ and so of other wordes endyng in this letter. R.

Of. s. syngle. ¶ A syngle s. in myddes of a worde ought nat to be soundyd if a consonant folowe immedyatly: as tresdoulce, ryght swete: tresnoble, ryght noble: tresgracious, ryght gracyous: but .s. in myddes of these wordes folowyng hath his full sounde: as thus: prosperite, chestien, substance, esperanence, meschant, Institutuer, escharuir, transglomer, Augustynes, Inspirer, descharger, estaincher, estandre, peschies, constrayndre, despenser, escuser, with al nownes, and aduerbes commyng of them. In whiche .s. must be soundyd, if a consonant immedyatly folowe .s. But if a vowel folowe this letter. s. in the myddes of a worde and no letter betwene .s. and the vowel, than shall .s. haue his full sounde, as it is wryten, tresexcellent, ryght excellent: treshault, ryght hye: treshonore, ryght honoure: treshumble, ryght humble.

Of double .ss. ¶ When this letter .ss. double is wryten in myddes of a worde it must alway be soundyd: as puissant, myghty with such lyke. More ouer if this letter .s. syngle, be wryten in the ende of a worde, whiche is a pronowne consiuncion verbe or preposicion, if the worde folowyng .s. begyn with a consonant, than .s. shal nat be soundyd: as dieu vous saume, god saue you. dieu vous gard, god kepe you. voules vous boire, Wyl ye drykne. nous sommes beaucoup des gens, we be moche folke, in which wordes .s. shal nat be soundyd. But when this letter .s. is wryten in the ende of a worde in frenche and that the next worde folowyng begyn with a vowel than must .s. haue his full sounde. as Ie vous ayme, I love you. Ie vous empric, I pray you. estes vous icy, be ye here, and in suche other wordes. But in these wordes folowyng. s. shall haue no sounde, all if the wor[15]le folowyng begyn with a vowel. vous ditez vray, ye say trouth. vous ditez vraymont, ye say truely. In which wordes .s. shall lese his sounde. Also in this worde dis, when it is a nowne of nomebre and taken for ten. if there folowe a consonant .s. shall not be soundyd, as to say dis liures .x. li. it muste be soundyd di. li. But this nombre ten in frenche moost vsally is spelled with .x. as .dix. and not with .s. as dis. But whan ditz is a participle, and betokeneth asmoche as sayd than in the same worde .s. or .z. shall kepe his sounde. as les heures sont ditez the hours be sayde

¹ See the extract from Palsgrave, supra p. 198.
² Meaning although, as these are the exceptions to the rule. See “all if” = although, infra p. 812, l. 26.
Of. T. ¶ This letter T. put in the ende of a worde beygne a verbe of the thirde persone synguler and present or preteryt tens of the indicatyf mode if the worde folowyng begyn with a vowel, it shall be soundyd. as est il prest, is he redy. Il estoit alostel, he was at home. But if the worde folowyng begyn with a consonant, than T. shal nat be soundyd. as quest ce quil dist, what is that he sayth Il est prest, he is redy. il fist tout esbahy. he was al abashed. Il ny a que vanite en cest monde There is nought but vanyte in this worde. Also all nownes and participle, whiche ende in the synguler nombre in t, in the plurell nombre muste be wryten with. s. or with z. the samet. [=same t] put away from the ende of the word as thus worde, saynt, holy. is wryten in the synguler nombre with t. in the plurell nombre it is thus wryten. as sainz. or sains without. t. but in some places of fraunce they wryte suche wordes in the plurel nombre with t. e. and z. or s. at the ende after the moste vsed Ortography of frenche. For amonghe frenche men this is a general rule. that as ofte as t. is put in myndes of a worde beygne a nowne of the femynyne gender it shall not be wryten without a vowel immediately folowyng. as les saintez vierges du ciel ne essent de louer dieu, the holy virgyns of heuen esseth not to laude god. Il ya des femmes que sont bien riches marchaades, there be women whiche be well ryche marchaades. And so may other frenche wordes endyng in tes. be wryten with t. and es. or with z. or s. without t. but it accordeth not to reason to wryte these wordes thus saintz toutz marchaatz in the plurell nombre. all if they be wryten with t. in the synguler nombre. for in the plurell nombre they ought nat to be written with t. for ony of these two letters s. or z. in frenche stande for as moche as ts. or tz. But for a conclusion though suche wordes in in certayne countres of Fraunce be wryten with ts. or with tz. in the ende. as thus mon amy sont nows litz faitz, my frende are our beddes made. Beau sir sont mez pourpointz faitz, faire sir be my doublettes made. yet after true ortography of frenche these wordes and other suche muste be bothe wryten and soundyd without t. as lis fais pourpoinz ¶ Also these wordes filz, a sone. mieulz better. fois one tymc. assez, ynoughe. vous pouez, ye may. vous prunes, ye take, vons enseignes, ye teche. vous lizze. And suche other ought to be wrytyn without t. but some be whiche wrongly wryte these wordes with t. As faltz, mieultz, foitz, assetz, pouetz, prenctz. &c. whiche wordes in ryght frenche haue no t. neyther in soundynge nor in wrytynge. ¶ Also this coniuncione. betofcneath the same thynge in frenche that it doth in latyn. that is to say. and, in englyssh in whiche coniuncione t. is neuer soundyd though it be wryten with et. as et le vous fais a scannoir. And I make you to wytte or knowe.

[16] Of. U. ¶ U. Wryten in myndes of a worde shall often haue no sounde, bothe in latyn frenche and other langages. And that when it is wryten immediately after ony of these thre letters, that is to say. q. g. or. s. As qui que, language, langue, a tonge. querir, to seke: guerre, warre, and suche other. In whiche wordes u. is wryten but not soundyd. Neuertherles in dyuers Countres after
the foresayd letters they sounde w, doubled as quater, quare, quasy. Englyssh men, and Scottes alway sounde u. after the letters both in Latyn and in theyr Uulgayre or common langage. In lyke wyse do dutche men, and almayns. As quare, quatuor quart, quayre, qwade. and suche lyke.

Of. X. ¶ This letter X. put in thende of a worde. may eyther kepe his owne sounde, or els it may be soundyd as. z. as cheualx, or cheualz. hors, doulx, or doulz. swete mieulx, or mieulz. better which wordes may indyfferently be wryten with. x. or with z. Also this worde dieulz, ought not to be wryten with x. in the ende except it be in the nominatıf, or vocatıfe case, but by cause of ryme somtyme it hath x. in other cases. And whan x. is wryten in suche cases somtyme it is soundyd and somtyme not. As if dieux be wryten in the nominatıf case and a consonant folowe immediatly than x. shall not be soundyd. as dieux vous sauue, god saue you. dieux vos garde, god kepe you. but if this worde dieux be set in the vocatıfe case: than shall x. kepe his sounde. As benoit dieux ais pitıe de moy. O blessyd god haue pyte on me.

Of. Y. ¶ This letter y. hath the sounde of this letter I and in many wordes of Frenche it owght to be wryten in stede of I by cause of comelynes of wrytyng. In latyn wordys y. owght not to be wryten, but whan ony greke worde is myngled with latyn wordes for curysite of the wryter or difficulite of interpretacion in suche greke wordes y. muste be wryten in stede of I. in Englyssh wordes y. is moste commonly wryten in stede of I, soo that the englyssh worde be not deducte of ony latyn worde: but speecyally y.: muste be wryten for I, in the ende of englysshe wrodes, and whan n: m, or u, is wryten before, or behynde it.

Of. z. ¶ z. Put in the ende of a worde muste be soundyd lyke s. as querez, seke ye. anez haue ye. lisez, rede ye. And lyke wyse as s. in the ende of a frenche worde is somtyme pronoucende, and somtyme not, ryght so. z. put in the ende of a worde foloweth the same rule: somtyme to be soundyd, and somtyme not as aperyth in the rule of s.

¶ Here is also to be noted for a generall rule, that if a worde of one syllabe ende in a vowe, and the worde folowyng be gymer also with another vowe, than both these wordes shall be ioyned to gyther, as one worde:¹ both in wrytyng and soundyng. As dargent: for de argent. ladmiral, for le admiral, whiche rule also is obseruad in englyshe, as thezychetour, for the exchetour: thexyperye, the expereyence.

[Here ends p. 16.]

[17-28] [Nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, in alphabetical order.]

[29-30] [Numbers, Days of the Week, Months, Feasts.]

[30] [Lyke of the graynes, French and English; the English

¹ Another general rule applicable only to a particular case, as shown by the following examples.
part begins:—God saue the ploughe. And he the whiche it ledeth
Firste ere the grounde. After sowe the whete, or barly.]

[30-31] [Fishes. Proceed at p. 31, l. 14 as follows.]

¶ And also here is to note by that many wordes be which
sonde nere vnto latyn and be vscd in bothe the langages of Frenche
and Englysshe amonge eloquent men, as termes indifferently be-
longynge to both frenche and englysshe. So that the same sygny-
fyecerion, whiche is gyuen to them, in frenche is also gyuen to
them in englysshe,1 as thus.

lette. Humanite. Intelligence. Intellecction. Interpretacion. Insur-
Uesture.

¶ These wordes with other lyke betoken all one thynge in
englysshe as in frenche. And who so desyreth to knowe more of
the sayd langage must prouyde for mo bokes made for the same
intent, wherby they shall the soner come to the parfyte knowlege of
the same.

¶ Here endeth the introductory to wryte and to pronounce
frenche compiled by Alexander barley.

[The above ends at p. 31, col. 2, l. 9; after which: ¶ Here
foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace daunces after the vse of
fraunce and other places translated out of frenche in englysshe by
Robert coplande. Then follow on p. 32, col. 1, l. 4 from bottom:
¶ Bace daunces; at the end of which come the two concluding
paragraphs in the book.]

¶ These daunces have I set at the ende of this boke to thentent
that euyy lerner of the sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may
reioyce somwhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewynge of ydel-
nesse the portresse of vyces.

¶ Imprynted at London in the Fetestracte at the sygne of the
rose Garlande by Robert coplande. the yere of our lorde.
M.CCCC.xxxi. the. xxii. day of Marche.

THE LAMBETH FRAGMENT ON FRENCH PRONUNCIATION, 1528.

This has already been described (supra p. 226, note 1), but the
following extracts relating to the pronunciation, being part of those

1 This probably does not imply that the sound was the same in both languages.
reprinted by Mr. Maitland, should be here reproduced, as the treatise was unknown to A. Didot.

"De la prosodie, ou, accent, comme on doibt pronostcer. briefue admonition

A aa (i) voelles
b be a. e. i. o. u.
c ce Toultes aultres lettres sont
d d côsonätes, deuisees en mu-
e e tes et demy voelles.
effe (q) mutes
g g b. c. d. f. g. k. p. q. t
h hache (q) Demy voelles
i ij f. l. m. n. r. s.
kaa
l olle Sur toultes choses doibuit no-
m eme ter gentz Englois, quil leur
n enne fault acustomer de pronü-
o oo cer la derniere lettre du mot
p pe fräcois, quelq; mot que ce soit
q qu (rime exceptee) ce que la
r erre langue englesche ne permit.
s esse Car la ou Lengois dit.
t te goode breade, Le francois
v ou diroit go o de .iii. sillebes
x ex et breade .iii sillebes
z zedes et &. q con

Ces diptongues some alsi pronücees.

Ai aider, iii.
au aucun. iii.
ie faict meillieur, v. sillebes
eu eureux iii
ou ouir iii

A. ought to be pronounced from the bottom of the stomak and all openly. E. a lytell hyer in the throte there proprely where the englysshe man soundeth his a

i more hyer than the e within the mouthe
o in the roundenesse of the lyppes
v in puttynge a lytell of wynde out of the mouthe thus, ou, and not you. And ye must also gyve hed fro pronoucynge e for i, nor ay, for i, as do some that for misercre say maysiriri.¹

A. also betokeneth, hawe or hat, wha it cometh of this verb in latin, habeo, as here after ye may sc.

Of two consonantes at the ende of a word often the fyrst is left, and is not pronounced, as in this worde, perds, the d, is not pronounced. Et ie faingz g is not pronouced. Je consentz, t is not pronounced, but thus ben they wrytë bycause if ye orthography, and to gyve knowledge, y perds cometh of this urbe in latin,

¹ This probably indicates an English Salesbury's (tei·bei) with the modern pronunciation (mai·siri·ri). Compare (tibrì), for Lat. tibi.
perdo, and not of pers that is a coulour. And thus may ye ymagyn of the others How-be it, I am of opynyon y4 better shold be to pronoisis euery lettre and say. . . . [the examples are taken from the French side]. 1e perdis vostre accointaçe en pronœciant le d) que 1e pers. Pronœc vng chacun comme il luy plaîra, car trop est difficille a corrigier vielles erreurs.

S. in the mydylle of a worde leseth a lytell his sowne, and is not so moche whysteled, as at y5 ende of y5 worde, as tousiours, desiyondre, despryuer, estre, despryser Deux, ss, togyder ben moche pronounced, as essayer, assembler, assurer, assieger.

S. betwene two vowelles, pronounceth by .z. as aize. aise, misericrode misericrode, vsage. and I beleue that by suche pronunziacyon, is the latyn tongue corrupte for presently yet some say miserere for misirere.

Sp, st, ct, ought not to be denyed asonder, but we ought to say, e sperance, not es perance, and e spaigne, not es paigne. And e sperit not es perit. e striuer, not es triuer, e stoint, not es toint. Satisfa ction, non satisfac tion. Corre ction. &c.

C. the moost often is pronounced by s, as. france pieca, ca. And yf a consonante, or other letters is ioyned with the vocale that is after the c, y5 e shall be pronounced by q, as Cardynal, concordance, cassir Combyen, courage, cuider.

G. somtyme is pronounced by i, as, bourgois bourgoisse, gregois, what so eu er it be, I concille, y4 they folowe some good autour, w'tout to gyue or to make so many rules, that ne do but trouble and marre the vnderstandyng of people

1528."

Palsgrave on French Pronunciation, 1530.

In addition to the many quotations from Palsgrave's First Book, scattered through the above pages, the following extracts from the "Brefe Introdution of the authour for the more parfyte understandyng of his fyrst and seconde bokes," ought to find a place here:

"The frenche men in theyr pronounciation do cheffy regarde and couet thrye thynge. To be armonious in theyr speking. To be brefe and sodayne in soundyng of theyr wordes, auoydyng all maner of harshenesse in theyr pronounciation, and thirdly to gyue euery worde that they abyde and reste vpon, theyr most audible sounde. To be armonyous in theyr spekyn ge, they vse one thynge which none other nation dothe,1 but onely they, that is to say, they make a maner of modulation inwardly, for they forme certayne of theyr vowelles in theyr brest, and suffre nat the sounde of them to passe out by the mouthe, but to ascende from the brest straight up to the palate of the mouth, and so by reflection yssueth the sounde of them by the nose. To be brefe and sodayne, and to auoyde all maner harshonesse, whiche myght happen when manys consonantes

1 Did Palsgrave know anything of Portuguese? If he did, this might be an argument for the recent introduction of nasality into Portugal.
come betwene the vowelles, If they all shulde hauue theyr distyncte sounde. Most commonly they never vse to sounde past one onely consonant betwene two vowelles, though for kepyng of trewe orthographie, they vse to write as many consonantes, as the latine wordes hauue, whiche theyr frenche wordes come out of, and for the same cause, they gyve somtyme unto theyr consonantes but a sleight and remissh sounde, and farre more dyneruely pronounce them, than the latines do. To gyue euerie worde that they abyde vpon his most audible sound, ... the frenche men judyng a worde to be most parfaytly herde, whan his last end is sounded hyghest, vse generally to gyue theyr accent vpon the last syllable onely, except whom they make modulation inwardly, for than gyueng theyr accent vpon the last syllable same one, and at the last syllable of suche wordes, they sodaynly depresse theyr voyce agayne, forming the vowel in the brest ... .

"Where as I hauue sayd that to be the more armonious they make a maner of modulation inwardly, that thynge happeneth in the soundyng of thre of theyr vowelles onely Α, Ε, and Ο, and that nat vniuersally, but onely so often as they come before Μ, or Ν, in one syllable, or when Ε, is in the last syllable, the worde nat hauyng his accent vpon hym ... so that these thre letters Μ, Ν, or Ε, fynall, nat hauyng the accent vpon hym, be the very and onely causes why these thre vowelles Α, Ε, Ο, be formed in the brest and sounded by the nose. And for so moche as of necessyte, to forme the different sounde of those thre vowelles they must nedes at theyr first formyng open theyr mowth more or lesse, yet whan the vowel ones formed in the brest, ascendeth vpwardes and must haue Μ, or Ν, sounded with hym, they bryng theyr chawes to getherwardes agayne, and in so doyng they seme to sound an v, and make in maner of Α, and Ο, diphthonges, which happeneth by rayson of closyng of theyr mowth agayne, to come to the places where Μ, and Ν, be formed, but cheffely bycause no parte of the vowel at his expressyng shulde passe forth by the mowth, where as els the frechenmen sounde the same thre vowelles, in all thynge lyke as the Italiens do, or we of our nation, whiche sounde our vowelles aryght, and, as for in theyr vowel I, is no difficylty nor difference from the Italien sounde, sauyng that so often as these thre letters from Palsgrave's, but that he disapproved of that general usage, which we know must have been (ei), and practicly identified the "right" sound, that is, his owen sound of long i, with (ii). Yet that it was not quite the same is shewn by the passage on p. 109. Hence the conclusion that it was (ii) appears inevitable. And as this conclusion is drawn from premises altogethe different from those which led to the same result for Chaucer's pronunciation (p. 282), it is a singular corroboration of the hypothesis there started for the first time.
I, L, L, or 1, G, N, come before any of the first three vowels A, E, or O, they sound an I, briefly and confusedly betwene the last consonant and the vowel following, where as in deede none is written . . . . whiche soundynge of 1, where he is not written, they recompence in theyr v, for thoughe they wryte hym after these three consonantes F, G and Q, yet do they onely sound the vowel next following v . . . . So that, for the most generale, the frenche men sounde all theyr fyue vowelles lyke as the Italiens do, except onely theyr v, whiche euer so often as they vse for a vowel alone, hath with them suche a sounde as we gyue this diphthong eu, in our tong in these wordes, rewe an herbe, a mewe for a hawke, a clewe of threde.

"And as touchynge theyr diphthonges, besydes the sixe, whiche be formed by adding of the two last vowelles vnto the thre first, as ai, ei, oi, an, ev, ov, they make also a scyuynth by adding of the two last vowelles together vi, vnto whiche they gyue suche a sounde as we do vnto wy in these wordes, a swyne, I twyne, I dwyne, soundyng v, and y, together, and nat distynctly, and as for the other sixe haue suche sounde with them as they haue in latin, except thre, for in stede of ai, they sounde most commenly ei, and for oi, they sounde oe, and for av, they sounde most commenly ow, as we do in these wordes, a bowe, a crowe, a snowe," . . . .

"What consonantes so euer they write in any worde for kepyng of trewe orthographie, yet so moche couyt they in redyng or spekyng to haue all theyr vowelles and diphthonges clerly herde, that betwene two vowelles, whether they chaunce in one worde alone, or as one worde fortuneth to folowe after an other, they neuer sounde but one consonant atones, in so moche that if two different consonantes, that is to say, nat byeng both of one sorte come together betwene two vowelles, they lene the first of them vnsounded, and if thre consonantes come together, they euer lene two of the first vnsounded, puttyng here in as I haue sayd, no difference whether the consonantes thus come together in one worde alone, or as the wordes do folowe one another, for many tymes theyr wordes ende in two consonantes, bycause they take awaye the last vowell of the latin worde, as Corpus commeth of Corpus, Temps, of Tempus, and suche lyke, whiche two consonantes shalbe vnsounded, if the next worde folowyng begyn with a consonant, as well as if thre consonantes shuld fortune to come together in a worde by hym selfe. But yet in this thyng to shewe also that they forget nat theyr ternarius numerus of all theyr consonantes, they haue from this rule priuelyed onely thre, M, N, and R, whiche neuer lese theyr sounde where so euer they be founde written, except onely N, whan he commeth in the thyrd parson plurcll of verbes after E . . . .

"The hole reason of theyr accent is grounded chefely vpon thre poynctes, fyrst there is no worde of one syllable whiche with them

1 This gives the following usual, as distinct from Palegrave's theoretically correct pronunciations: ai = (ei), oi = (oe), au = (oou), meaning, perhaps, (oo).
FRENCH ORTHOEPISTS OF XVITH CENTURY.

hath any accent, or that they vse to pause vpon, and that is one
great cause why theyr tong semeth to vs so brefe and sodayn and
so harde to be vnderstanned when it is spoken, especially of theyr
paysantes or common people, for thoughge there come neuer so
many words of one syllable together, they pronounce them nat
distinctly a sonder as the latines do, but sounde them all vnder one
voyce and tenour, and neuer rest nor pause upon any of them,
except the commyng next vnto a poynt be the cause thereof.
Seconde, euery worde of many syllables hath his accent vpon the
last syllable, but yet that nat withstandyng they vse vpon no
suche worde to pause, except the commyng next vnto a poynt be
the causer thereof, and this is one great thyng whiche inclinch the
frenchemen so moche to pronounce the latin tong amyssse, whiche
contrary neuer gyne theyr accent on the last syllable. The thyrd
poynte is but an exception from the seconde, for, when the last
syllable of a frenche worde endeth in E, the syllable next afore
him must haue the accent, and yet is nat this rule euuer generall,
for if a frenche worde ende in Te, or have z, after E, or be a
preterit partyciple of the fyrst coniugation, he shall haue his accent
vpon the last syllable, accordyng to the seconde rule....

"Whan they leue any consonant or consonantes vsounded, whiche
folowe a vowell that shulde haue the accent, if they pause vpon
hym by reason of commyng next vnto a poynt, he shalbe long in
pronounciation, So that there is no vowell with them, whiche of
hymselfe is long in theyr tong ... . As for Enceletica I note no
mo but onely the primatique pronownes of the fyrst and seconde
par-sones syntagular, when they folowe the verbe that they do gouern."
The Vowels and Diphthongs.

The author's name refer to the page of this work in which the required quotation will be found; if p. is prefixed, the reference is to the page of the author's own work, of which the title is given in the passages just referred to. No pretension is made to completeness.

In order not to use new types, the three varieties of ē are represented by e, e, e, in all the authorities (except Sylvius, where they could not be clearly distinguished, and where his own signs are ē, ê, è, therefore employed), and x, l, are used for Meigret's forms for n, l, mouillés. In Ramus certain combinations of letters, as au, eu, ou, eh, are formed into new letters, and are here printed in small capitals thus AR, RV, ou, cr. Sylvius employs a, o, &c., as diphthongs, where the circumflex properly extends over both letters, but the modern form has been used for convenience.

\[ A = (a) \] L. 815, \[ A = (a) \] P. 59, \[ A = (a) \] "ore largiter diduco profertur" S. 2, \[ A = (a) \] G. 61, uncertain (a, a) M., Pel., R. \[ A = (a) \] B. \[ A = (a) \], E. 226, n. Afterwards English writers identify it with (AA). In this uncertainty it is best taken to be a full (a), but not (eh), as B. warns, saying "Hæc vocales, sono in radice linguae solis faucibus formatæ, ore hians eleræ et sonoræ à Francis effertur, quam illum Germani obscuresin et sono quodam ad quartam vocalem o accedente pronuntiet." D. p. 12. In the termination -age = (ai) P. 120. "You must note that (a) is not pronounced in these words, Aoust, souel, oermer, auerste, which words must be pronounced as if they were written thus, oot, soo, oermer, oereste," E.

\[ AI = (ai) \] Bar. 806, doubtful, L. 815, \[ AI = (ai e) \] P. 118. "Diphthongos à Graecis potissimum mutuati videmur, scilicet, aí, eí, oí, o,y, aí, oí, oí. Éas tamen quæ cæteri Europæ populi plenius et purius pronuntiatione, si quid judicio, exprimimus. Si ipsæ simul concreta, debent in eadem syllaba vim suam, hoc est, potestatem et pronuntiationem retinere, ut certe ex sua definitione debent. Frustra enim distinguere sunt literæ: quàm diphthongi, si sono et potestate unil interditter. Namque aí Graecis propriam, Latinis quibusdam poësis usurpatam, non esse civ cum Graecis: non aí divisas vocales cum poësis Latinis, sed aí una syllaba triumque vocales sonum lingeri exprimente, pronuntiantum: quales vox aegrotis et dercepe lassis est plurima." S. p. 8. This should mean, "not (e), nor (a), but (ai)," especially as (ai) is a common foreign groan answering to the English (oou!). But the following passages render this conclusion doubtful: "aí diphthongum Graecam ut sære dividunt Latini, dícunt pro ã μοια Mai-a, ã ës As Al.-ax, & Alal, aquæ, pictiæ, terræ præ aule, aquæ, terræ. Si nos canem modo conjunctam servumus, modo dividimus ad significandum diversum, ut G-é trai [g- is the consonant (zh), ã is the muto-guttural] id est traho et sagittam emitto, quam ob id truct à tractus vocamus. G-é trai, id est pro eo et in fraudem traho, licet hoc à trado videri quæst. G'-há, id est habes et teneo; infin. bauo. G'-hái et g-é béd, id est, habeo odio et eido, infinitio haer, uti à trai trutre: à trai trür inf. habemus!" S. p. 14. "Diæce- sis, id est divisio unius syllabæ in duas, ut Albaí, longaí, syllæ trissyllabæ: pro Alba, longæ, syllæ disyllabæ. Eadem modo et Galli baoey bois, id est lignum et sylva, bois, id est buxus. Habeo g'-haí; id est teneo, et g'-hái, id est eido." S. p. 56. Hence perhaps Sylvius's diphthong was really (e) although he disclaims it. \[ A = (ai, ci, e) \] the last two more frequently, M. 118, Pell. R. 119, B. \[ A = (ai) \] in v'ay, te f'may, = (ai, ê) in Eas-y-e, abha-y-e, = (i) in ais, inois, aisai, E. nearly the same H. 227 note. The usage of M., Pell, B. seems to be as follows.

(a) —waymant, aydant, hair, payant, gayant, ayant, ayans, ay, ayet, ayons, vraie, noyf, M.—pais, payer, naue, Pell.—paint, gaunt, aidant,
Nous avons dans diphongue de a et ou que nous avons ecrivons par aon, comme en ce mot "Aoust", qui est en Latin Monsis Au-

gustus. Mais c'est en ce seul mot, qui se prononce toutefois auiourduhui presques par la simple voyelle comme notre; et nest ia besoin pour vng mot de faire vne regle: Ceste diph-
thongue est fort visite en Latin, comme en ces mots, Author, Audio,
Angue; ou la premiere syllabe doit estre prononcee comme eu Aoust."

P. 2. The passage is very difficult to understand. His e seems to be (e), his è (v), his ê (e), and his excep-tional e to be (x). = (e, e?) M. 119, note, = (e, e, v?) Pell. R. 119, n. "Tertius huius vocalis sonus Grecis et Latinis ignotus, is ipsa est qui ab Hebrews puncto quod Seva raptam vocant, Galli vero e foemineum propter imbicillum et vix sonorum vocem, appellant." B. P. 13. "e Feminine hath no accent, and is sometimes in the beginning or midst of a word, as messurer, menier, tacitement, but moste commonly at the ende of wordes, as belle fille, bonne Dame, hauing but halfe the sound of the e masculine, and is pronounced as the second syllable of these latin wordes faece, legere, or as the second syllable of namely, in English, and like these English wordes Madame, table, sauing that in the first, the english maketh but two sillables, and we make three, as if it were written Ma-da-me and in table the english pronounceth it as if the e were betweene the b and the l thus, tablet, and the French doe sound it thus, ta-ble; you must take heed not to lift vn your voice at the last e but rather depresse it. e Feminine in these wordes, Le lieuoye, L'escripucke, and such like, is not sounded, and serveth there for no other vse then to make the word long: doe not sound e in this word dest, as, ouy deu Monieuer, say ouy de a sound this word Iehan as if it were written Ian," E. And, similarly: "We do not call, è, masculine for the respect of any gender, but because that it is sounded lively: as sotte, lopide, me, te in Latine:... and by adding another, e, it shall be called e, feminine, because it hath but halfe the sound of the other, e: as tansée,题主ettée, &c. where the first is sharpe, but the other goeth slowly, and as it were deadly... VWhereoeuer you find this, e, at the words end, it is an, e, feminine... pronounce it as the second syllable of bodely in English, or the second of jaeere in Latin," H. p. 156. The transition in case of the present e must seems to have been (e, e, a) in French, and in German to have stopped generally at (v), though (e) is still occasionallly heard, 195, n. 2. EAU = (eau) M. 157. EAU = (vo?) Pel. who notes the Parisian error vn sio d'io for un soso d'eau, p. 17, shewing only a variety in the initial letter. EAU = (vo), as chapere, mantere, R. p. 57. "In haec triphthongh auditur e clausum cum diphthongo au, quasi scribas eo, vt eau aqua (quam vocabem maiores nostri scribent et profere-bant addito e feminino eau).

B. P. 52. "Pronounce these wordes beeu, eau, as moste if there were no e," E. Ei = (ei, eci) F. 118. "cf quoque [see Sylvius remarks on at], seu a, non tantum cum Grecis, neque nunc i, nunc e cum Latinis, nunc in hee interlocutione servantibus, in voce autem Graeco in i, aliquando in e permutan-tibus et pronuntiantibus; nec ci diuisas vocales offerimus, sed ci monosyllabum, voce scrivem ipsa ex vraque in unam concreta, ut ingenium engin, non engin, nec engin." S. p. 8. "This ought to mean " not (i), nor (e), nor (ci), but (e)," yet the description cannot be trusted, see AI. We find: peine, peintres, çeinture, s'emereuilat, &c M. —
Meigrêt, meilleures, peine, pareilhe, Pel.—prine, frindue, peindre, reine, Seine, éléine = Hélène, R.—"Hoc diphthongus [ε] non profertur nisi max sequente u, et ita pronuntiatur ut paululum prorsus ab i simplici differat, vt quaevis vagina [= υειν], plein plenus; cujus tamen femininitatem plenum, usus obtinuit ut absque i scribatur et efferatur, Picardi exceptis, qui ut sunt vestitatis tenaces, scribunt et integro sono pronuntiatis plinea," B. p. 45.—"Pronounce these words neige, seigne, or any words where e hath i or y, after it like è masculine, as though there were no i at al." E.

EU= (eu, ey) Bace. 806, L. 815. EU= (eu, y) P. 137.—"Eiusonum habetvarium, aliquando eundem cum Latinis, hoc est plenum, ut cos cotis c'eût, securus seūr, maturus meër, qualis in enge, Tydeus [this should be (eu)]." aliquando exilém et proprius accedentem ad sonum diphthongi Graecæ ε, ut cēūr (in Sylvia the sign is eu with a circumflex over both letters, and a bar at the top of the circumflex, thus indicated for convenience), soror seūr, morior g-e meũr: nisi quod u in his, non velut i sonat (quomodo in ao et eo) sed magis in sonum u vocalis inclinat (can this mean (ευ)?) id scribendo ad ple-
num exprimi non potest, pronuntiando potest. Sed in his forte et in quibusdam alis, huc vocis eu variē
tas propter dictionum differentiam inuenta et recepta est. Ilam eu, hanc eu linea in longum superne producta, sonum diphthongi minus compactum et magis dilatum signifi
cante notamus." S. p. 9. The difficulty of distinguishing "round" vowels, that is those for which the lips are rounded, from diphthongs, especially in the case of (y, ø),—see Hart, supra p. 167, p. 796, n. col. 1, and B.'s remark below, makes all such descriptions extremely doubtful. S. may have meant (y, ø) or (y, ø) by these descriptions, and these are the modern sounds. EU= (ευ) M. 187, see note on that page for G. des auteurs, Pel. B.—"La sixieme voyelle cest vng son que nous escripions par deux voyelles e et u, comme en ces mots, Peur, Meur, Seur, qui semble aussi auoir este quelque diph
thongue, que nos ancêtres ayent prononcee et escripte, et puis apres, comme nous anons dict de Au que ceste diphthongue ayt este reduite en vne simple voyelle: eu bien que lon ayc pris a peu pres ce que lon pouoit." R. p. 9.—"In hae diphthongo neutra vocals distincte sed sonus quidem [quidam?] ex e et u temperatur, quem et Graecis et Latinisignotum vix lectat utila des
description perinrhis exprimere." B. p. 46.—"Le In these words, au feu which signifies fire, en peu a little, donneur to dwell or tarye, en Jou a Playe or game, en veux thou wilt, are not pronounced like these: Je feu I was, T'ay peu I have bene able, T'en I had, Je les ay vouz I haue scene them; for these last and such like, ought to be pronounced in this wise Je fu, T'ay pu, Jou, Jou, as though there were no e at all, but u, and in the former words, e is pro
nounced and ioyned with u." E. As en is frequently interchangeable with or derived from o, ou, the probability is that the transition was (u, cu, o, ø) both the sounds (ευ) being now prevalent, but not well distinguished, see 162, note 3, and 173, note 1. It will be seen by referring to this last place that I had great difficulty in determining what sounds M. Félène intended by "Je soud" and eu in modern French. I there de
cided that the former was (ευ) and the latter (o). M. Félène has been dead several years, but Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who conversed with him on the subject, says that I have just reversed the values of Félène's letters, and that Félène's ε è are my (o, ø) respectively. Hence wherever I have hitherto cited Félène's pronunciations this correction must be made, and especially on 327, the signs (ø, ø) must be in
terchanged throughout, as (ko lœ siel kelk zhor) for (ke õ siel kelk zhur). It will be seen in the same place, supra 173, note 1, that M. Tarver made no distinction between the two sounds. M. Edouard Paris, in the introduction to his translation of St. Matthew into the Picard dialect of Amiens, brought out by the Prince, makes ε "sourd" in le, peu, de, jeu, meaning, as the Prince informed me (bo, po, do, zho), and eu "ouvert" in vœd peable, mean
ing, on the same authority, (vœf, popph). On turning to M. Félène's
Dictionary I find, as interpreted by the Prince, (loc. p. 1, de, zhe; voc, popl), so that in the two words ic, de, Foline differs from *E. Paris, and the latter agrees with me in the sound I have assigned to these words. According to the Prince, half France says (b, d), and the other half (loc. daw). In Germany also the sounds (o, a) are confused, and have no difference of meaning. In Iceland they are kept distinct by the different orthographies u *= (a), o = (o), 546, 548. Compare also the mutation or uumlaut, (o . i = oh, e, i) 557.

I = (i il) L. 815. P. G. 100, 110, occasionally (ii E) P. 109, 817, n. J = (i) S. M. Pol. R. B.—“Our i is sounded as i, in these English words, it, is, or as the English double oo, as is "i vous avez tire", sound as if it were written see vote aus terre.” E.

O = (o) P. 93. “A, i, o, Latinorum pronunciationem, quod sciam, apud Gallos non mutant.” S. p. 2. The traditional pronunciation of Latin o in Italy is (o); and (o), as distinguished from (o) which must be attributed to au, seems to be the sound accepted for French o, by the other authorities. See also B. 131, note col. 2.—“o Is sounded as in English, and in the same vse, as pot, sol, approprive, savoring that in these words following, o is sounded like the English double oo, as mol, fol, sol, col, which must be pronounced, leaving I, thus: foo, moo, soo, coo, except this word Sol, as en even Sol, a Crowne of the Sun: where every letter is pronounced.” E.

OEU. “[scribimus] oower, oower, owef . . . in quibus tamen omnibus o penitus quiescit. Pronuntiamus enim owere, owef, owef.” B. p. 64.

O1 = (oi, o). “Barc. 606, O1 = [oi, oe, or] P. 120. “oi, non i, cum Grecis, nec o cum Latinis, sed vtrisque vocalis serunta, ut monae: dative mnu, id est mibi moe. Hodem sive om proununtiamus ut genitive mnu, id est mi moe.” S. p. 8. This ought to mean oi = (oi), and the last remark may refer only to the use of oi in French for both mol, mou in Greek. Again he says: “Quid quod hae diphthongae pro e supposita Parnissiobus adae placuit, yt ipsrum quoque nutumnon voces in e desinentes, per o1 Parnissi-
The Nasal Consonants and their effect on the Vowels.

M, "in the frenche tong hath thre dyuers soundes, the soundyng of m, that is most generall, is suche as he hath in the latyn tong or in our tong. If m folowre any of these thre voweles a, e, or o, all in one syllable, he shalbe sounded somthing in the nose, as I haue before declared, where I have shewed the soundyng of the sayd thre voweles [143, 150. and also: "if m or n folowre neste after c, all in one syllable, then shall be sounded lyke an Italian a, and some thynge in the nose."] If m, folowynge a vowell, come before b, p, or sp, he shalbe sounded in the nose and almost lyke an n, as in these wordes plomb, colomb, champ, doumbre, circuitus, and suchlike." P. folio 3, see also supra 817. — "M est ferme au commencement de la syllabe: en fin elle est liquide, comme Marie, Martyr, Nom, Bann, Arrièrebann : qui a esté cause a nos Grammaticiens densesigner que m deuant r, estoit presques suprimece, comme en Camp, Champ. N est volontiers ferme au commencement du mot, et en la fin : comme Nanin, non, mais au milieux elle est quelquefois liquide, comme en Compaignon, Espaignol," R. p. 24. Here the "liquid" n appears to be (nj), and n final is "firm" as well as n initial, but a difference between m final and m initial is found, the latter only being "firm" and the former "liquid," and this liquidity, which is otherwise incomprehensible, would seem to imply the modern nasality of the previous vowel, were not final n, the modern pronunciation of which is identical, reckoned "firm." The two passages are therefore mutually destructive of each other's meaning. In his phonetic writing R. makes no distinction between firm and liquid m, but writes liquid n (nj) by an n with a tail below like that of ç. 

N = (n) only, Bar. 810. N "in the frenche tong, hath two dyuers soundes. The soundyng of n, than is moste generall, is suche as is in latyne or in our tonge. If n folowre any of these thre voweles a, e, or o, all in one syllable, he shalbe sounded somthing in the nose, as I have before declared, where I have spoken of the sayd thre voweles. That n leseth never his sounde, neither in the first nor in the last syllables, I have afore declared in the general

but see 131, note, col. 2; Pell. & R. evidently take OU = (u). — "In hac diphthongo neque o sonorum, neque u exile, sed mixtus ex vtroque sonus auditur, quo Graci quidem veteres suum u, Romani vero suum u vocale vt et nume Germani, efferebant." B. p. 49. — E. writes the sound oo in English letters.

U = (u) L. 815, P. 163, "ordine postremum, ore in angustum clauso, et labis paululum exprorectis" S. p. 2, probably M. 164; and similarly Pell, R. — "Hec litera, quum est vocalis, est Graecorum psilon, quod ipsa quoque figura testatur, efferturque veluti sibilo constricts labris efflato," B. p. 17. — E. 227, note 1; H. 228, note.

UI, is not alluded to by any other authority except P., probably because it occasioned no difficulty, each element having its regular sound (yi) as at present. But P. is peculiarr, 110, 818. E. writes the sound wee in English letters.
rules. But it is not to be forgotten, that n, in the last syllable of the third parsos plureles of verbs ending in ent, is ever lefte unwound." P. fol. 13.—In the phrase en villain, M. heard en villain, with the same n at the end of the first word as at the beginning of the second, 189.—"Franciæ sic recte scripseris Pierre s'en est alle, quod tamen sic efferen- dum est, Pierre s'en nest alle. Sic on m'en a parle ac si scriptum esset, on m'en na parle, illo videlicet pri oris dictioins n daghassato, et cum vocali sequentem vocem incipiente coniuncta, pro eo quod Parisiosium vulgus pronuntiat: il se nest alle, on me na parle, per e feminem vt in pronominibus se et me. Sed hoc in primis curandum est peregrinis omibus quod ante in literam n monui (ita videlicet vt non modd labia non occuludant, sed etiam lingue tiroc dentium radicem non feriat p. 30), nempe hanc litteram quoties syllabam finit, quasi dimi- diato sono pronuntiamandam esse, mu- erone videlicet lingue minimè illiso superiorum dentium radici, alioqui futura molestissima pronuntiatione: quo vitro inter Francos laborant etiamnum hodie Nortmanni. Grecos autem haud alter hanc literam ante κ, γ, Χ pronuntiare consueuisse an- notat ex Nigidio Figulo Agellius." B. p. 32. This description seems to indicate the modern pronunciation nearly. E. and II. have no remarks on M, N.

\[A_M, A_N = (an m, au p)\] P. 143, 190, but this nasilization is rendered doubtful by his treatment of final c as (c), 181, note 5, and 817.—For S, see under E, supra p. 822, col. 1. "Vrai est qu'an Norman, e ancos an Bretagne an Anjou e an. . . . Meine . . . iz prononce l'a dunant n un peut bien grossmant, e quasi comme s'i auz a eu par ditongue [which according to his value of au should = (oon)], but he probably meant (au)] quand iz disct Nor- maund, Nauntes, Aungers, la Mauns: grand chere, e les autres. Mee tele maniere de pro- noncer sant son terroir d'une lieue." Pell. p. 125, "Pronounce alwaies an or aun, as if it were written aun, auns," E. that is, in 1609, (Aan, Aans). "Also in these words fol- lowing, o is not sounded, en foun, en taon . . . all which must be pronounced leaving o thus: paun, faun, en tawn." E.

\[A_N = (an), see under A_I, for numerous examples. A_I = (in), "Also in these words, ains, ainscois, ains, or any other word where a is joined with in, a loseth his sound and is pronounced as English men doe pro- nounce their I, as if it were ins, inue, inosi. Also pain, vilain, hau- tain, remain, are to bee pronounced as the English i." E.—A_I = (in) "We sound, ain, as, in: so in sted of main, maintenent, demain, saint . . . say, min, maintenent, devin, sint: but when, o, followed m, the vowel i, goeth more toward a; as balaine a whale, sepmaine a weeke, . . . . and to make it more plaine, romain, certain, vilain, souverain, are pro- nounced as romin, certin, vilin: but adde, e, to it, and the pronunciation is clean altered, so that, romaine, is as you sound, vaine, in English and such like, but more shorter." II. p. 186.

E_M, E_N = (en, en) except in -ent of the 3rd person plural = (-n) ? Bar. 810; E_M, E_N = (a m, a n) when not before a vowel, P. 189, "Quid quod Parrhisises e pro a, et contr, pra- sertim m vel n sequente, etiam in Latin dictiounis, Censorini exemplo, et scribunt et pronuntiant, mag- na sape infamia, dum amantes pro amantes, et contr a amantes pro amantes, alifique ic genus rations con- fundunt." S. p. 11. It is not quite certain whether S. is referring to the Parisian pronunciation of Latin or French, as the example is only Latin, but probably, both are meant. Observe his remarks under E, supra p. 821, col. 2. E_M, E_N = (en, en), M. 189, E_M, E_N = (am, an), Pell. who objects to the pronunciation (en, en) of M., and says: "mon anis et de deus exercre telle teles divisions plus tot par a que par c. Car de dire qu'il et difference en la prolonzation des deux dernièrs silabes de amant et armament, c'est a faire a ceus qui regardat de tropr pres, ou qui venent parler trop mignonement: Samblablement antre les penultimes de conscience e alliance. E le peut on ancpr plus carrieement connostre, quand on prononce ces deux proposizioni qui sont de mème ouy, mais de diuers sans, il ne
m'an mant de mot: e. Il ne m'an mande mot. Combien que proprement a la rigueur ce ne soyt ni a ni e. E. confesse que les silabes equelles nous mettons e auant n, me samblet autant malsesce a representer par lettres Latines, que nules autres que nous eyons en notre Francois. Brief, l'ed quil met vulgaremant an science sonne autrement que l'ed scientia Latin: la un proprement il se prononce comme an Francois celui de ancien, sien, bien." Pel. p. 25. "Toutefois pour confesser verite, an toutes telles diecions, le son n'est pleinemant e ni a (autre lequez i a divers son, comme diuerse misstions de deus couleurs selon le plus e le moins de chacune) toutefois le son participe plus d'oe que d'e. E par ce que bonnement il i faudroit une noueule lette, ce que je n'introdui pas bien hardiment, comme j'e ja dit quelques foes; pour le moins an atandant, il me semelle meilleur d'i metre un e. E sans doute, il i a plus grande distinction an l'Italian, e mèmes an notre Pronuncial, an prononçant la voyelle e auant n. Car nous, eus la prononçons clermant. Comme au lieu que vous dites santer e mantuir deuers l'e, nous prononçons sentir et mantuir deuers l'e; si font quasi toutes autres nacions fors les Francois." Pel. p. 125.—R. writes phonetically: en, différens, envoier, enfants, &c like M.—"Coalescens e in candom syllabum cum m, vt temporel temporalis, vel n, sine sola et sonora vt s'enten ego intelligo: sine adimeto d vt entend intelligit; vel vt content contentus; pronuntiatur ut a. Itaque in his vocibus contenti constans: and content contentus. An annus, et en in, diversa es scripture, pronuntiatio vero recta, vel cadem, vel tennissimi discriminis, et quod vix arius percepti possit. Excepe quatuor has voculas, ancien trissyllabum, antiquus; lien vinculum, et moyen medium, fiem famus, disyllabum; et quotidiu quotidians, quatuor syllabum: denique omnia gentilia nomina, vt Parisiens, Parisiensis, Sauvien Sauabiandus; in quibus e clausum scribatur et distincte auditur, i et e nequaquam in diaphthongum conveniencibus. . . . Alter huius literae sonus adulterinus est idem atque literae, geminate duplicis, in unam tamen syllabam coalescentis, quarevs scribatur e, litera n sequente atque dictionem finiente. Sic in his monosyllabis recte pronuntiatiis accidit, bien bonum, vel bene, chien canus: Christianum dissyllabum, rien meus, rien nihil: sien suus; sien tuus vel tene, cum compositis; sien venio, vel veni cum compositis: que omnia vocabulae sic a pure pronuntiantibus efferruntur ac si scriptum esset d duplci bien chien &c. B. p. 15.—"When e feminine maketh one syllable with m or n, it is sounded almost like a, as enfomentum, ammaillot, pronounce it almost as ammientment, ammaillot, except when i or y commeth before en as moyen, doyen, anciien, or in words of one syllable, as mien, tien, chien, rien, sien, which be all pronounced by e and not by a. Also, all the verbs of the third person plural that doe end in en, as Ilz dizont, Ilz rizont, Ilz faisaisent, Ilz chantoyent, there e is sounded as hauing no n at all, but rather as if it were written thus: ce dizet, ce riet, ce faisoyet, ce shantoyet. E. EIV=(en, ain), see under Al for numerous examples, and the quota- tion from B. under EL. It seems impossible to suppose that in the xvi th century it had already reached its modern form (en), into which modern in has also fallen. 

ILN=(in). No authority notices any difference in the vowel, as M., Pell, R. all write in in their phonetic spelling, and it is not one of the three vowels, a, e, o, stated by P., under M, N, to be affected by the following m or n. See the quotations from E. and H, under ALN. E. gives the pronunciation of hono- re the princes as onore le prines, which seems decisive. 

ON=(or) Bar. 810, (u n) P. 149.—M. Pel. R. write simply on=(on). E. gives the pronunciation of nous en parlersons après elles que dire on, as nous non-zan-parlozon-sapre-zelles, la decra toon. 

UN=(un). "V vocalis apud Latinos non minus quam apud Gallos, sonum duplicem quibusdud exprimit sequente u, in candom syllaba. Vt enima illorum quidam cunctus, percunctari, parques, juncus, hunc, et alia quasdam natiuo u vocalis sono manet alie pronuntiant, ita ham cum alis,
The conclusion from these rather conflicting statements seems to be, that sometime before the xviith century ain, en, ein, ien, in, un were pronounced (ain een, en, ein, ien, in, yn) without a trace of nasality; that during the xviith century a certain nasality, not the same as at present, pervaded an, on, changing them to (a,n, o,n), and perhaps (a,n, o,n), so that, as explained by P. 817, foreigners heard a kind of (u) sound developed, and English people confused the sounds with (au,n, u,n). In the beginning of the xviith

1 This conclusion was the best I could draw from the authorities cited, but since the passage was written I have seen M. Paul Meyer's elaborate inquiry into the ancient sounds of an and en. (Phonétique Française: An et En toniques. Mémoire de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, vol. 1, pp. 244-276). Having first drawn attention to the occasional derivation of Fr. an, en from Latin in, he says: "Notons ici que le passage d'en à en et celui d' en à au sont deux phénomènes phonétiques d'ordre fort différents. Dans le premier cas l'n est encore assez détachée de la voyelle et l'i s'étant en e, ce dont on a de nombreux exemples dès le temps des Romains. Le passage de l'e à l'a ne pourrait se justifier de même. Aussi est-il nécessaire de supposer qu'au temps où le son en s'est confondu avec le son an, l'n faisait déjà corps avec la voyelle. Ce n'est pas e pur qui est devenu a pur, mais e nasalisé qui est devenu a nasalisé." p. 252. He adds: "en anglo-normand en et an sont toujours restés distincts, et ils le sont encore aujourd'hui dans les mots romans, qui ont passés dans l'anglais," and says we must acknowledge "qu'en ce point comme en plusieurs autres, le normand transporté en Angleterre a suivi une direction à lui, une voie indépendante de celle où s'engageait le normand indigène." After M. Meyer's acute and laborious proof of the confusion of en, an in France, and their distinction in England, we need not be astonished if ai, ei in England also retained the sound (ai) long after it had generally sunk to (ee) in France. These are only additional instances of the persistence of old pronunciations among emigrating or expatriated people.
century these sounds, or else (a,n, u,n) were adopted by the Frenchman E., in explaining sounds to Englishmen. As to en, it became (an) or perhaps (a,n), even in xvi th century probably not before, but it must have differed from an, because Englishmen did not confuse it with (aun), many Frenchmen wrote (en), and P. 817, does not allow it to be nasal. The complete fusion of an, en, into one nasal probably took place in xvi th century, except in the connection ien, where en either remained (en) or was confused with in. The combinations ain, in, seem to have been quite confused, and we have no reason to suppose that they were pronounced differently from (in). Whether ein followed their example it is difficult to say. Probably it did, as it is now identical in sound. But un remained purely (yn). We had then at the close of the xvi th century on, on, in, un=(a,n, o,n, in, yn). Now in the xvith or xvinth century a great change took place in French; the final e became absolutely mute. Simultaneously with this change must have occurred the disuse of the final consonants, so that words like regard regardé, which had been distinguished as (regard regardé), were still distinguished as (regar regard), now (regar, regard). It then became necessary to distinguish un, une, which would have become confused. About this time, therefore, I am inclined to place the degradation of (in, yn) into (e,n, a,n). We should then have the four forms (a,n, o,n, e,n, o,n), which by the rejection of n after a nasalized vowel, a phenomenon with which we are familiar in Bavarian German, would become (a, o, e, o). The change thence to (aλ, oλ, eλ, oλ) or (aλ, oλ, eλ, oλ) the modern forms is very slight. The subject is a very difficult one, but there seems to be every reason to suppose that there was scarcely a shade of nasality in Chaucer's time, except perhaps in an, on, which generated his (aun, um), and that the complete change had not taken place till the end of the xvinth or beginning of the xvinth century. One important philological conclusion would result from this, namely that the modern French nasalisation offers no ground for the hypothesis of a Latin nasalisation. If this last existed, it must be otherwise traced. The history of Portuguese nasalisation now becomes interesting, but I am as yet unable to contribute anything towards it. The fact however that only two romance languages nasalise, while the Indian languages have a distinct system of nasalisation, and nasality is accomplished in Southern Germany, and is incipient, without loss of the n, in parts of the United States, is against the inference for Latin nasalisation from the existent nasalisation of French and Portuguese.

**Other Consonants.**

_ L mouillé._ The nature of the sound cannot be inferred from Bar. 810, though it seems to be acknowledged. —“Whan seuer the.iii. letters illa, ille, or ille come to gither in a nowne substantiue or in a verbe, the i nat haungyng an o, commyng next before hym, they use to sounde an i shortly and confusely, betwene the last l and the vowel folowyng: albe it that in wrytynge they expresse none suche, as these wordes, ribandaille, faulle,
baillher, guillaire, eillar, billard, suellet, fille, cheville, guoquelle, arabillon, bastillon, covillon, and suche like, in redyng or speckynge they sounde thus: ribauadillie, faillie, baillier, guilliart, billiart, suelille, fellie, cheuillie, queuquillie, arvillon bastillion, covillion: but, as I have sayd, if I have an o commynge next before hym, in all suche wordes they sounde none i after the letter l, so that these nownes substantyues mouyile, voille, toille, and suche lyke be except from this rule. . . Except also from this rule uille which soundeth none i after his laster." P. i, 7.—"There is two maner harde for to be pronounced in french. The first is written with a double l whiche must be sounded togider, as lla, llo, lly, llo, llu, as in these wordes, bailla gave, tailla cutte, ouelle gader, feuille lefe, bally bayly, fallie fayle, moullot white, euynoulet knefe, matest a tymper hamer, feuillu ful of leaves,houllu." G.—M. and R. have new characters for this sound; Pell. adopts the Portuguese form Ch. E. talks of ll which "must be sounded liquid" in some words and "with the ende of the tongue" in others. But H. explains well; "when two, ll, follow, ai, ei, oi, or ui, they be pronounced with the flat of the tongue, touching smoothly the roofe of the mouth: yong boyes here in England do express it verie well when they pronounce luco or saluto: and Englishmen in sounding Collier, and Scollion; likewise the Italian pronouncing voglio, duggio: for they do not sound them with the end, but with the flat of the tongue, as tailler to cut, treillis a grate, guenouill a distaife, bouill to seethe; where you must note that, i, [which he prints with a cross under it] to shew that it is mute,] serueth for nothing in words of all and euill, but to cause the two, ll, to be pronounced as liquids." H. p. 174. The transition from (l) through (b) to (j) was therefore complete in H.'s time. The sound has now fallen generally to (j, z, Zh). 

So thou seest, or G.N. Bar. 809 and note, is indistinct.—"Also whan so ever these III. letters gna, gne, or gno come to gyther, eyther in a nowne substantiue or in a verbe, the reder shall sounde an i shortly and confusely, betweene the n and the vowel followyng, as for: gaingn, seigneur, mignon, champignon, uergoinne, maintiengne, charogne, he shall sounde, gaings, seigneur, mignon, champignon, uergoinne, charogne, maintiengne, nat chaunyngne therefore the accent, no more than though the sayd i were vsound. But from this rule be excepted these two substantyues signe and regne, with their verbs siguer and regner, which with all that be formed of them the reader shall sounde as they be wryten onely." P.—"The second maner harde to pronounce ben written with gn, before a nouell, as gna, gne, gui, gno, gnu. As in these wordes gagna wan, signe dyd blede, ligne lynne, pique come, uigne vyne, tigue scabb, compagnage falowe, laigne swell, mignon wanton, mignarde wanton, ye shal except many wordes that be so written and nat so pronounced, endyng specially in e, as digne worthy, cigne swanne, magnanime hyge corre, etc. They that can pronounce these wordes in latyn after the Italiennes maner, as (agnus, dignus, magnus, magnanimus,) have bothe the understanding and the pronouencynge of the sayde rule and of the wordes." G.—M. & R. have distinct signs for this sound; see R. 826 under N. Pell retains gu.—"When you meete gu, melt the g with the n, as agnon mignon, pronounce it thus, onie, mignon," E. —"We pronounce gn, almost as Englishmen do sound, mignon; so melt, g, and touching the roofe of the mouth with the flat of the tongue, we say mignon, compagnon: say then compa gn, and not compgn-ne. When the Italian saith guadgno, bisognu, he expresseth our gn, verie well." H. p. 198. It is not possible to say whether the original sound was (ni, ni) or (qi, qi), but from H. it is clear that at the beginning of the xviiith century it was (qi), as now.

Final consonants were usually pronounced. L. 815, and all authorities write them, although we find in P. i, 27, "When so ever a fraunch word hath but one consonant onely after his last vowel, the consonant shalbe but remisely sounded, as auee, soyf, fit, beaevoup, mot, shalbe sounded in maner ane, soy, fi, beavo, no, how
be it the consonant shall have some lytell sounde: but if t or p folowe a or e, they shall haue theyr distinct sounde, as-chat, debitt, combit, hand, decret, regret, entremet; and so of all suche other." These ex-
amples cross the modern practice of omission and sounding in several places.

H' is a very doubtful letter, B. 805 and note 3. The question is not whether in certain French words H was aspirated, but whether the mean-
ing attached to "aspiration" in old French was the same as that in modern French or in English. P. gives a list of 100 "aspirated" words. B. 67 says: "Aspirationis nota in vocibus Graecis et Latinis aspiratis, et in Francicam lingual traductis, scri-
bitur quidem sed quiescit," except hauche, hareng, Hector, Henri, harpe.

The other consonants present no difficulty. We may safely assume B= (b), C (k, s), Ch (sh), D (d), F (f), G (g, zh), J (zh), suprâ p. 207, K (k), L (l), P (p), Qu (k), R (r), S (s), T (t), V (v), X (s, z), Z (z).

The rules for the omission of consonants when not final, seem to agree entirely with modern usage, and hence need not be collected. Sufficient examples of French phonetic spelling according to M., Pell., and R. have been given in the above extracts. But it is interesting to see the perfectly different systems of accentuation pursued by P. and M., and for this purpose a few lines of each may be transcribed.

From P. i, 63. "Example how the same boke [the Romant of the Rose] is nowe tourned into the newe Frenche tonge.

Maintes gentes dient que en songes
Ne sont que fables et mensonges
Mais on peult tels songes songier
Que ne sont mye mensongier
Ayns sont apres bien apparant, &c.

In M. the accent is illustrated by musical notes; each accented syllable corresponds to F of the bass, and each unaccented syllable to the G below, so that accentuation is held to be equivalent to ascending a whole tone. So far P. agrees with M., for he says (book 1, ch. 56) "Accent in the frenche tonge is a lyftinge vp of the voyce, vpon some wordes or syllables in a sentence, above the residue of the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence, so that what soever worde or syllable as they come toguyder in any sentence, be sowned higher than the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence vpon them, is the accent." The following are some of M.'s examples, the accented syllable being pointed out by an acute: "ç'ât mon mâleur, ç'ât môn frere, ç'ât môn am' ê mon éspoir, ç'ât ma grânmere, ç'ât mon bôn compâxon,零距离, &c. é bon âmy, jé
voes à toe, é toe á moe, il n’et pas fôrt bon, ç’et vni bien bon bâton, môñ comparçon, å vizione, mon confrere, vit sâjâment.”

P. constantly admits the accent on the last syllable, M. says it is a Norman peculiarity, which is very disagreeable, and proceeds thus: “il faot premierement entendre que jaimés l’acens eleué, ne se rencontr’ en la derniere syllabe des disyllabiqes, ne polylsa-bi ques. e ce le ton declinant ou circoncîexe, ne se treuue point q’en la penultime syllabe, si ell’ et long’ e la derniere brieue, pourru q’elle ne soet point terminé en e brief: car allors il y peut avenir diuersité de ton, selon la diuers’ assicte du vocable. . . . car il fait entendre que le’ monosyllabes en notre langue, font varier le’ tons d’auncs vocables disyllabiques, ny n’ont eu’ memes aecun ton stable.” fo. 133 a.

Palsgrave says: “Generally all the wordes of many sillables in the frenche tong, haue theyr accent eye ther last sillable, that is to say, sounde the laste vowell or diphthong that they be written with, hygher than the other vowels or diphthongues com-myung before them in the same worde. Orels they haue theyr accent on the last sillable save one, that is to say, sounde that vowel or diphthong, that is the last saue one hygher than any other in the same worde commyng before hym: and when the redar hath lyftyp his voyce at the soundyng of the said vowel or diphthong, he shal when he commeth to the last sillable, depresse his voyce agayne [compare suprâ p. 181, note, col. 2], so that there is no worde through out all the frenche tonge, that hath his accent eyther, on the thyrde sillable, or on the forth syllable from the last, like as diuere wordeas haue in other tonges: but as I haue sayd, eyther on the very last sillable, ordes on the next sillable onely. And note that there is no worde in the frenche tong, but he hath his place of accent certaine, and hath it nat nowe vpon one sillable, nowe vpon another. Except diuersite in signification causeth it, where the worde in writtyng is alone.” Book I. chap. lviii.

B. is very peculiér; he begins by saying: “Sunt qui contendent in Franciæ lingua nullum esse accentibus locum,” which shews, in connection with the diversity of opinion between P. and M., that the modern practice must have begun to prevail. Then he proceeds thus: “Sunt contrà qui in Franciæ lingua tonos perinde vt in Graeca lingua constituant. Magnus est vtrorumque error: quod mihi facilé concessuros arbitror quie unque aures suas attenté consulerint. Dico igitur Franciæ linguæ, vt & Graecæ & Latiniæ, duo esse tempora, longum vnum, alterum breue: itidemque tres tonos, nempe, acutum, grænum, circunflexum, non ita tamen vt in illis linguis observatos. Acuunt enim Graeci syllabas tum longas tum breues, & Latini idem facere magno consensu volunt Grammatici, quibus planè non assentior. Sed hac de re aliás. Illud autem certò dixerim, sic occurrere in Franciæ lingua tonum acutum cum tempore longo, vt nulla syllaba producatur quà itidem non attollatur: nec attollatur vlla quà non itidem acutur, ac proinde sit eadem syllaba acuta quà producta & eadem grauis quà corrupta. Sed tonus vocis intentionem, tempus productionem vocalis indicat . . . .
Illa verò productio in Francica lingua etiam in monosyllabis animaduertitur, quæ est propria vis accentus circumflexis." B. therefore seems to confuse accent and quantity, as is the case with so many writers, although he once apparently distinguishes an accent from an unaccented long syllable, thus in entendement, he says that although the two first are naturally long, the acute accent is on the second; whereas it would be on the last in entendement bon, on account of the added enclitic. He lays down important rules for quantity, and without repeating them here, it will be interesting to gives his examples, marking those which he objects to. *Wrong mëstrêsse mëssé festé prôphêtê misêricôrdë pârolê.* Right maîstrêsse mëssé faîctê prôphêtê misêricôrdë pârolê; ie veû, tu veûx, il veût; veû rotum, veûx vota; beûr beûfs, neûf neûfs, eûl, eûlîx; fit fecit, fist jaceret, fût fuit, fût esset, eût habuit eûst haberet, êst, rôst, tôst, plaiant placet, plût plueret, êt et, plaide contentio indicialis, pleût placuit, plût plût; ie meûr morior, tu meûrs moreris, meûr maturus, meûrs maturi, meûrê matura, si i él ô, qui est êt. Rule 1, misêricôrdë, entêntement, ênvî=én vië, ênvîëux. Rule 2, en-dômir, feûndre, teûndre, bônte, têmpôrel, bôn páis, sômmë cômme dônne bônne sônnë tônne, cônsômmë ôrdônne rêsonné êstônne, sônger besônque; ênnêûî. Rule 3, almêê fônûû véûû; mûc nûê, duê fûê liê âmê êmê loûê noûê aîjê, platê iôiûê voiûê, ênvûîê; mûc nûê fier lier ioûê loûê noûê, ênvûîêûê. Rule 4, aûûûûû, aûûûûû, haultûûûûû, haultûûûûû, haultûûûûû êt droûôûtë. Rule 5, s=(z), iâûsêr braisêc saûsôin plaisûûr caûûçê bîsaû mêûû mêûûpûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsûûsú
last contains what is now mute e, and on the last in all other cases. Both M. and P., make accent to be a rising inflexion of the voice. The French still generally use such an intonation, but it does not seem to be fixed in position, or constant in occurrence upon the same word, but rather to depend upon the position of the word in a sentence, and the meaning of the speaker. In modern French, and apparently in older French (supra p. 331) there is nothing approaching to the regular fixed stress upon one syllable of every word, which is so marked in English, the Teutonic languages, and Slavonic languages, in Italian, Spanish and Modern Greek. The nature of the stress and the effect on unaccented syllables differ also materially in different languages. In English the syllables following the principal stress are always much more obscure than those preceding it. This is not the case at all in Italian. In Modern Greek, the stress, though marked, is nothing like so strong as in English. Mr. Payne considers that the ancient Normans had a very strong stress, and that the syllables without the stress, and which generally preceded it, became in all cases obscure. With the extremely lax notions which we find in all ancient and most modern especially English writers, on the questions of accent, vocal inflexion, and stress, with its effect on quantity, it is very difficult to draw any conclusions respecting ancient practice. A thorough study of modern practice in the principal literary languages of the world, and their dialects, seems to be an essential preliminary to an investigation of ancient usage.

E. gives 12 dialogues in French and English with the pronunciation of such French words as he considers would occasion difficulty, indicated in the margin. The following list contains all the most important words thus phoneticised. The orthography both ordinary and phonetic is that used by E.

Achep'té askét, acons'trements neoco'treman, adavner res auna'sner, aign'ilion égellel'coon, ainsy in'see, n'amée ma'mèe, d'Anglois daunglòz, ouô, açuan okun, aucune ökune, au-jour-d'hui oioordwe, l'anne lône, autre òtre, autriement ôremen, d'aultruy òdrwee, l'ausmanies lômôüier, aussi òssée, autet ótau.

Bailles ballié balliez, ba'tizez bateezé, b'sogpes bezoonis, blanx blauns, boeuf beuf, boîste boîte, bordeur, bordure, bouche booshe, bouillé boillee, boillli, boilleet, bracelets brascal, brillands brillauns, bruster brüler.

Caillette kaillette, seinture sain'ture, c'este, cha'ir sher, chaud shô, chesnage shénaye, c'humad shenad, cheuelle sheenule, cheuilie sheucole, ekrestièns kreitien, eignet scenet, cieux secus cieus, cœur keur, cois'ture coiffure, col coo, commandé cooommandé, compagnié companie, conceupsuir conscesuir, con-

noiseissance kooneissance, corps côr, costé kôt, costeau kootó, coustre cootera, crepe crépe, crespelus krépelu, curoreille curorellie.

Demous deuoons, demanderons de-maundreooms, d'émealer déméer, de-sieunier déunier, de-nvent dénooet, despouillez dépooilliez, dict dëct, disner deener, doigts do, doux doug.

Enfants anfauns, enseignant anse-nceant, enseignent ansnéect, l'entends iantan, w'entortiller mantorteele, eschoreche ekorshe, esconduire écon-dwe'ree, d'esconduit dékarlate, l'escriptors lécrécre, eceuir équier, d'esgard dègar, dègart (before a vowel), esgaré esgaré w'esgatignes mégrateneec, esguire éguire, l'esguiser léguierz, esguilles egullie, lesesquisse légeellette, esteux élész, esloignes elonie, l'esmerande lémé-rode, d'esparguer déparner, espoilles épelle, espingle epengle, l'espingleray
lepeugleré, esprit esprect, est è, qu'es-
tant ketan, estes ète, estez étiez, 
l'estomach lestomak, estreller étreelier, 
lestroné leturgon, lestuy letwee, 
esseillé elleullié, essentiel evantail, 
mesecures mesucere.

Fogats fagos, faillet fallict, fait 
fét, faite fét, fauldra fôdra, faul-il 
fô-te, fenestres fenetres, ferets fêrés, 
felle feellie, fillent feéliel, fillelle 
feellieule, fill ez, fondements ond-
demans, François Frauncez, fritet 
frweet, fiustate fûtine.

Gaillard galliard, gands gauns, gauche 
góshe, gentilhomme ientellioomme 
genoux, genoos, gostt goed.

Habille abeelli, mhabiller mabeellier, 
kastez hâtè, haullte hót, heurwe eur, 
kiersoir ersoir, homne oomme, honnue 
onnecer, hauppe hooppe, huiert weet, 
al'huir luce, humains vmins, humbles 
vmble, humilite uvmeceeti.

D'iciety decelwee, qu'iz kee.

Jesus Christ Iesu-kreket, joyaux ioyýs. 
Liet leet, longs loon.

Madamoiselle madmoizelle, main min, 
mistresse, métriesse, malaisée móúeée, 
mamekick maumshoon, manastre màâatre, 
meilleur méllicer, meitres mecte, mben-
cholic melankolie, mervelle meruelle, 
mesne meme, metsme, monstre montré, 
merfonds merfoons, moncheoir mooshoir, 
mouiller moolier, moult, moo.

Neantmoings neamemoings, nepveu 
neueu, n'est né, niepe niee, noem neu, 
nom noon, nostre noitre, nounnaúte noo-
veóté, nuiet nweet, n'out nount.

Obmetous ometoons, ovèilladees cul-
liade, œuvres cuere, ostiez ôté.

Parapet parapé, pareure parure, 
paste pàte, peignee pinie, peignes pinies, 
peigneoir pinor, peignez pémeiz, pieds, 
pié, plaist plêt, pleu plu, plustost plutó, 
poitrière poitrecene, poignards poniarz, 
poignet ponict, poiilure poedreus, 
pour poor, prestes préses, prestz prés, 
prochainz proshins, propiciation pro-
pecesaseceoon, posaumez sêomes, pues-
sant puesscaunt.

Quatrains kadrins.

Racoutrez racootrez, reeeu resu, 
ronds ran, resconfort récomfor, response 
reponse, responde réponseordre, rhemann 
rume, rideaux recédé, roguez roonié, 
roonds roons, rosmarin roomarin, royaux 
yroyés, rubends ruban.

Sans saunz, saicult sint, sainte sinte, 
saints sinz, sasle sálé, saumiearde soue-
garde, scais scé, seconds segoon, sieche 
séshe, seet sept, souer seur, sols soo, 
spirituels speecetuc.

Tailleur tallieure, tant tuna, tantot 
tauntot temps, tan tans, tette téte, tost 
tôt, toche tooshe, tounions toooor, 
tout too, toutes toote.

Puyze ounze.

Voir voir, voy voy, verds vers, vettir 
vèteer, vestu vêu, veu vu, velz vez, 
vey vee, viee veece, viste vette [veect f], 
visteme veteement, vous vouo.

At the close of the xviiith century Sir William Jones (Works 
1799, 4to, i, 176) supposes an Englishman of the time to represent 
"his pronunciation, good or bad," of French, in the following 
manner, which he says is "more resembling the dialect of savages 
than that of a polished nation." It is from an imitation of Horace 
by Malherbe.

Law more aw day reegyewr aw nool otruh parellyuh, 
Onne aw bo law preeay:

Law croelllyuh kelly lay suh booshuh lays orellyuh, 
Ay noo laysuh creeey.

Luh povre ong saw cawbawn oo luh chomuh luh couvruh 
Ay soozyet aw say lwaaw, 
Ay law gawrdruh kee velly ó bawryayruh dyoo Loovruh 
Nong daylong paw no rraw !

The interpretation may be left to the ingenuity of the reader, 
and the orthography may be compared to the following English-French 

M ay oon Mossoo kee ponx iweemeaym tray 
Bowkoo plow bong-regardlong ker vraymong ilay! 
N iz é Ninglisheman ! Rosbiff ! Orai! 
Milor! Dam! Comme il tourne up son Nose! O maite aiee!!
Since the above pages were in type, I have been favoured by Mr. Payne with a full transcript of that part of the Mag. Coll. Oxford MS. No. 188, (suprâ p. 309, n. 1), which contains the 98 rules for French spelling, partially cited by M. F. Génin in his Preface to the French Government reprint of Palsgrave. This MS. is of the xvth century, but the rules appear to have been much older. They incidentally touch upon pronunciation, and it is only those portions of them which need here be cited. The numbers refer to the rules.

E.

"1. Diceo gallica dictata habens primam sillabam vel medium in E. stricto ore pronunciatam, requirit hanc litteram 1. ante E. verbi gratia bien, chien, rien, pierre, mere. et similia." Here is a distinct recognition of a "close e," and the examples identify the sounds in pierre, mère, now open, but close according to the orthoepists of the xvith century, with the vowel in bien, chien, rien, which therefore tends to confirm the opinion expressed above p. 829, that en was not then nasalized in the modern sense. "2. Quando- cumque hic vocab. E. pronunciatur acute per se stare debet sine huissi 1. processione verbi gratia .beuez, tenez, lessez." As each example has two syllables in e, it is difficult to say whether the rule applies to one or both and hence to understand the meaning of "acute e." The last e in each is generally regarded as "masculine," but the first in "beuez, tenez," was the the "feminine" and in "lessez" the "open" according to other writers. Nor is this obscurity much lightened by the following rules: "3. Quamvis E. in principio alicuius sillabe acute pronunciatur in fine autorius sillabe 1. bene potest preponi vt bies, priez, lez, afflez &c." Here if bies = biais, we have the same mixture of masculine and open e as before. The two next rules seem to call the "feminine e," that is, the modern e mute, a "full e." "4. Quando-cumque adiectum femen- nini generis terminat in .E. plene pronunciata geminabit ce. vt tres honoure dame. 5. Quamvis adiectum mas- culini generis terminet [in?] E. plene pronunciata non geminabit .E. vt treshonoure sire nisi ad differentiam vne Comitec anglie a shire. Vu comite anglie a counte . . . . . 6. Quamvis adiectum masculini generis non terminet in E. Vt vn homme vient, homme adiectum tamen femi- nini generis terminabit in simplici cum se implere [?] pronunciatur vt meinte femme vue femme." There can be no doubt that e feminine was fully pronounced, but how far it differed from the e "stricto ore," and e "acute pronunciatum," it is not possible to elicit from these curt remarks. It is observable that eo and e are noted as indifferent spellings in certain words now having the "muto-guttural e." "8. Item ille sillabe. ie, ee. ieo. indifferenter possunt scribri cum eeo vel e sine o."  

S.

"12. Omnia substantiâ terminantia per sonum .S. debent scribi cum .S. vt signurs lorde, dames ladys." This plural s was therefore audible, but the writer immediately proceeds to point out numerous exceptions where z was written for s, as 13. in gent, plural gens or gentz, 14. in plz, 15. or x for s in deux loita, 16. or the common contraction 9 for us in nos = nones, 17. in nos vos from nostre vester, either s or z may be used. In all these cases it would however appear that (s) was actually heard, and if any meaning is to be attached to "aspiration" we must suppose that an (s) was sounded in the following case: "18. Item quandocumque aliqua sillaba pronun- ciatur cum aspiratione illa sillaba debert scribi cum s. et t. loco aspiratione verbi gratia est fest pleist." The next is obscure. "19. Item si d. scribitur post .E. et M. immediate sequitur d. postet mutari in s." In 21. 93. and 94. we find s mute in fisnes, awesme, mandames, and probably by 96. in feist toust, and possibly also in: "73. Item in verbis presentis et pretetriti temporum scribetur. st. a pres ; e o. v. com bap- tiste fist est lust &c.," though this partially clashes with 18.

U after L, M, N.

"23. Item quandocumque hec litera 1. ponitur post A. E. et O. si aliquod consonans post 1. sequitur l, quasi v. debet pronunciari verbi gratia. malme
mi soule. loialment bel compaigneoun." This does not mean that a, was pronounced (ay), but that it was pronounced as au was pronounced, and this may have been (ao) as in Meigret or (oo) as in other orthoepists of the sixteenth century. With this rule, and not with S, we must connect: "67. Item aliquando s. scribitur et sonabitur cum acum sonabitur acun," etc. as M. Génin transcribes. "36. Item iste syllabe seu diciones quant grant Dem- mandant sachant et huismodi debent scribi cum simplici . sine . v. sed in pronunciatione debet v. proferri &c." This can scarcely mean that an was pronounced as if written au with au in the same sense as in the last rule cited. It must allude to that pronunciation of an as (am) to which Palsgrave refers and which introduced an English (am). supra p. 826, col. 1, and therefore confirms the older English accounts.

Oy and E.

"26. Item moy. toy. soy, possunt scribi cum c. vel o. per y. vel i in indifferenter. — 58. Item in accusativo singulari scribatur me in relliquis casibus moy." This, together with Bareley's names of the letters, p. 805, is well illustrated by the curious passage from Sylvius, p. 824.

Final Consonants.


Does this mutation refer to the following? "51. Item scias quod hac littere C. D. E. F. G. N. P. S. et T. Debent mutari in sono in strictura c. ante noclum vt clerici, cleris et debet in gallico cleris rudi homines rudus hommes et debet sonar ruz hommes. bones dames debent bon dames et tune . n. sonar solempne vys hounte [homme?] loget vis homme et sic De alijis. — 52. Item quando ista diecio graunt sight magnitudinem adjungitur cum feminino genere ita vt e sit sequens t. mutatur in D. vt grande dame grande charge." Observe this xvth century use of English sight for great, as an adjective.—"53. Item quando grant adjungitur masculino generi vt grant seigneur vt quando signat confessionem non mutabitur t. in D. quamuis E. sequitur vt iay grante."

GN.

"39. Item quandocumque hee litera .n. scribitur immediate post g. quamuis sonet ante g. non debet immediate prescribi vt signifiant &c. — 40. Item si .n. sonat g. et non subsequitur bene potest A immediate prescribi. — 41. Item seignour ton seignourson seignour.

— 92. Item quandocumque .n. sequitur I in media diccione in diuersis sillabis g debet interponi vt certaignment be- nignement &c. sed g non debet sonari." All these seem to refer awkwardly and obscurely to (nj).

GU, QU.

"46. Item qi qe quant consuenerunt scribi per k sed apud modernos mutatur k. in q. concordent cum latino I k. non reformer in qu qd quis sed I. — 54. Item posr G. vel E. quamuis v scribatur non debet sonari vt quatre guerre. Debent sonari qatre gerre." Words Like and Unlike.

The transcript was made by Mr. Parker of Oxford, but the proof has not been read by the original; Génin certainly often corrected as he edited; here the transcript is strictly followed. — "86. Item habitur diversitas inter apprendre prendre et repandre oez oops vys et huys kunyl et kenil. — 90. Item habetur diversitas inter estreym strawe et estreym hansel. — 91. Item inter daym et dayu."

These seem to be all the passages bearing upon the present dis-
cussion. They are not numerous, nor very important, nor always very intelligible, but they seem all to point to such a previous state of pronunciation of French, as our English experience would lead us to suppose might have preceded that of the xvi th century as so imperfectly colligible from the writings of contemporary orthoepists. It should also be mentioned that the Claudius Holyband whose French Littelton is described on p. 227, note, under date 1609, is called Holliband in a previous edition of the same book, dated 1566, in the British Museum. This is 3 years before Hart's book, and as this older edition also contains the passage cited supra p. 228, note, saying that the English seem to Frenchmen to call their u like you, and to name g kiou, whereas the Frenchmen pronounce like the Scotch u in gud, while Hart gives iu as the English sound, and identifies it with the Scotch and French vowels (see especially p. 796, note, col. 1, [88])—we are again led into uncertainty as to the sound that Hart really meant, and to consider that the (iu) sound, though acknowledged by no orthoepist before Wilkins, may have penetrated into good society at a much earlier period. Again, the confusion of spelling in Holyband and Holliband, reminds us of Salesbury's identification of holy and holly (supra p. 779, l. 2 from bottom). And lastly it should be mentioned that this name is but a translation, and that the author's real name, as he writes it elsewhere, is Desainlens (under which his works are entered in the British Museum Catalogue) being the same as Livet's de Saint-Lien, or à Santo Vinculo (supra p. 33, l. 8 from bottom). The Latin work there cited is not in the British Museum, but as its date is 1580, and the 1566 edition of the French Littelton there preserved does not differ sensibly from that of 1609 here quoted, this occasions no incompleteness in the present collections from French Orthoepists of the xvi th century.


Bullokar concludes his Book at Large with a prose chapter between two poetical ones. The poetry is so bad that the reader will be glad to pass it over. The prose contains a little information amidst an overpowering cloud of words; and as a lengthened specimen of this important contribution to the phonetic writing of the xvi th century is indispensable, I shall transliterate his Chapter 12. There is some difficulty in doing so. Long a, e, y, o are lengthened by accents thus á, é, ý, ó when they apparently mean (aa, ee, ii, oo), and i is said to be lengthened by doubling as iy, yi, when it would also be (ii) according to the only legitimate conclusion at which I could arrive in treating of Bullokar's pronunciation of this sound, pp. 114, 817, note. The mention of this combination iy, yi, which amounts to a reduplication of i, although I have not found any instance in which it had been used by Bullokar, and the constant omission of any distinction between long and short i, confirm the
former theory that he called long i (ii). In the present transcript
only such vowels are marked long as Bullokar has actually so
marked, or indicated by rule, as (uu, yy). Bullokar’s doubled
consonants, though certainly pronounced single, have also been
retained. Bullokar has also a sign like Greek ξ which he uses for
both s and z, but which he identifies with s. It will be trans-
literated (s) or (z) according to circumstances. Bullokar’s gram-
matical “pricks and strikes” are entirely omitted. They have no
relation to the sound, and are quite valueless in themselves,
although he laid great store by them. On the other hand I have
introduced the accent mark, for which he has no sign. The title
of the chapter is left in ordinary spelling.

¶ The 12. Chapter.

Sheweth the vse of this amendment, by matter in prose
with the same ortography, containing arguments for
the premisses.

Hii-in iz sheu*ed an ek-ser-siiiz of dhe amend-ed orto-grafi biifoor-
sheu*ed, and dhe yys of dhe priks, stru*ks, and noots, for devii-
q of sil-lab’lz akord’iq tuu dhe ryylz biifoor sheu*ed. Wheer-in iz
tuu bii nooot*ed, dhat no art, ek-sersiiiz, miiks-tyyr, st’ens, or okkyy-
pas*ion, what-soever, iz inklyyd*ed in oon thiq oon’li: but nath
in it serral’ disti*ks’ionz el’ements, prin’sip’lz, or devi’zionz, bi
dhe whii*ed dhe saam kum’eth tuu niz per’fet yys. And bikauz-
dhe siq’g’l deviz’ionz for iqq’lish spiitsh, aar at dhis dai so unper-
fetli pik’tyyr, bi dhe el’ements (whii*ed wi’a kal let’erz) pro-
viid’ed for dhe saam (az mai appiir plain’li in dhis foormer
treet’is) Iti nav set furth dhis wurk for dhe amend-ment of dhe
saam: whii*ed JI noop wi’ll bii ta’ak’n in gud part akkord’iq tuu
mi meen’iq: for dhat, dhat it sha’l sav tshardhr-zez in dhe elder
sort, and sav greet tii*n in dhe ruth, tuu dhe greet komod’iti
of a’ll esta’tast, un’tuu whuum it iz nes’esari, dhat dheer bii a
knou’ledzh deh their dyy’ti, un’tuu God tshii’ifi, and dhen their
dyy’ti oon tuu an uddr*er: in knou’iq of whii*ed dyy’ti kons’str’eth
dhe nap’i esta’tast of manz laiﬂ: for ig’norans kauz’eth man’i tuu
goou oot of dhe wai, and dhat of a’ll esta’tast, in whuum ig’norans
duuth rest: wheer-bi’ God iz greet’li dis’pleez’ed, dhe kom’on
kwii’etnes of men mend’er: greet komon welths devii’ded,
madh’straats dis’obeied, and infier’orz despiiz’ed: privat gain
and eez sowht and dheer-bi a kom’on wo wrooth.

And az dhe dzhudzhe&m deh kom’on welth and wo, duuth
not li in privat per’sonz, (and spes’ialli of dhe infier’or sort,) jet
owht dheer tuu bii in everi oon a kaar of niz dyy’ti, dhat niz
privat laiﬂ bii not kon’tra ri tuu dhe kom’on kwii’etnes, and welth
of a’ll men dzhens’ra’lli, (and spes’ialli of dhe wel mend’ed sort,
whuu aar tuu bii boor’n widh’a’l: in sum respekts: for dheir ig’no-
rans, when it reets’eth not tuu dhe giiw’iq okkazion of liik offens:
in uddr*er: for whuu kan wash niz maznd kleen of a’ll fa’lts?

And syy’erli (in mi opin’ion) az fa’lts nav dheir biig’niq of dhe
first fa’l of Ad’sam, so iz dhe saam enkre’es’ed bi ig’norans: dhown sum wuuld ter’m it tuu bii dhe mudder of god’lines: for if men were not ignorable, but did knoou wheer-in tryy fels’iti did konsist, dheu wuuld not fa’l in tuu soo man’i er’orz, tuu dis-kw’et dheir miindz, and enda’nd’zher dheir bod’iz for trans’tori thiqz, and sum’tiimz for ver’i triq’iz. But sum wil sai, a’ll thiqz in dhis world’ar trans’tori, whits’h Ho’ wil konfes’, az tuuts’h’iq a’ll kreek’tyrrz and ek’sersiizez in dhe saam.

Jet dhe gift of spitsh and wriiq’iq iz liik’liest tuu konti-vy with dhe last, az loq az dheer iz an’i bii’iq of man: and for dhat, it iz dhe spes’ial gift of God, wheer-bi wii bii instrukt’ed of uur dyy’tiz from tuum tuu tuum, booth nuu, nav biin, and sha’ll bii az loq az dheer iz an’i bii’iq of man, let us yyz dhe saam in dhe perf’test yys, for eez, prof’it, and kontin’yyans, whits’h dis’s amend’ment wil perf’oor’m in liq’lish spitsh, and kun’dereth not dhe reed’iq and wriiq’iq of udher laq’gadzh: for Ho nav left unt no letter bifoor’ in yys. And dhown wii duu sum’what var’i from udher nas’ionz in dhe naam’iq of sum let’terz, (spes’ialli wheer wii nav dif’feriq suundz in vois,) jet dheer iz no fa’l in it, as loq az wii yyz naamz agri’iq tuu nur oon laq’gadzh: and in udher laq’gadzh, let us yyz naamz akkord’iq tuu dhe suund of dhe saam laq’gadzh, dhat wii wuuld leer’n, if dhe bii provid’ed of sufis’ient let’terz: and if dhe ortog’rafe for dheir laq’gadzh bii unper’fet, whun niid tuu bii offended, ef wii (for spiid’ilee’r’nyq) yyz fig’yyrz and naamz of let’terz, akkord’iq tuu dhe suundz of dheir spitsh.

Dhe Lat’in mai remain: az et duuth, bikauzz: it iz yyy’ed in so man’i kun’tuiz, and dhe buuks print’ed in liq’land mai bii yyy’ed in udher kun’tuiz, and liik’-wiiiz dhe print’iq in udher kun’tuiz, mai bii yyy’ed miir: but if a teets’h-er (for dhe eez of a juq liq’lish leec’nor of dhe Lat’in) duu ad dhe struik tuu c. g. i. e.1 bikauzz: of dheir diverz severa’l suundz, and naam th as it weer but oon leec’ter, az th: and sai dhat: z: after q iz syyper’flyus: and tsha’ndzlh :z: for :s: so suund’ed biitw’in: twuu vuu’elz, whuu kuul’d dzhust’li fiind fa’lt with-a’l? when dhe Lat’in iz so suund’ed bi us liq’lish: whits’h unper’fetnes must bii maad plain bi oon wai or udher tuu a lee’r’nor and must bii duunn eith’er bi per’fet fig’yyr of perf’et naam agri’iq tuu niiz suund in a word, or bi dub’l naam’iq of let’terz dub’l suund’ed: udherwiiz, dhe lee’nor must of neses’iti leer’n bi root, ges, and loq yys: az uur nas’ion wann driz’ven tu duu in lee’r’nyq of iiq’lish spitsh whits’h waz harr’d’er tuu lee’r’ned (dhown miu nad dhe saam and yys dheer-of from niiz in fansi) dhan dhe Lat’in, wheer-of miu un’derstood never a word, nor skant miu’ard ani’i word dheer-of, suund’ed in a’ll niiz liik bifoor’; dhe rez’n neer-of waz, bikauzz: dhe let’terz in yys for Lat’in, did a’ll moost furn’sh ev’cri severa’l divi’zion in dhe saam spitsh: eksept’iq dhe dub’l suund’ed let’terz afoor’said:

1 Bullokar uses £, $, ‘ for (s, dzh, v), and ç, for (dzh). Italics here indicate ordinary spelling.
2 Bullokar writes q alone for qu in the sense of (kw) or rather (kw).
whitsh dub-l and treb-l suund-\'q (no duut) gryy\(^1\) bi korrup\-'t\'q dhe saam from t\'iim tuu t\'iim, bi udher nas\'-\'onz, or bi dhe Lat\'-\'inzh dhemselvz: miq\-'g\'led with uth\-'er nas\'-\'onz: for (\(H\) suppooz\)' dhe Ital\'-\'an duuth not at dh\'is da\'i maak: \(i\) a kon\-'sonant bifoor\: ar\-'i
vuu\', el, and giiv un\-'tuu it dhe suund of :dzh: az wii iq\-'lish duu a\-'l\'-waiz in dha\'t plas; but maak\-'e\'t it a sel\'-\'ab\'l of \(it\)-\'self, az in dh\'is word :iacob: of thrii sil\'-\'lab\'lz in Lat\'-\'in: iacobus of fouo\-'r
sil\'-\'lab\'lz; and wii iq\-'lish sai, dzhak\-'ob: of twuu sil\'-\'lab\'lz, dzhakob\'us of thrii sil\'-\'lab\'lz; and \(i\) niir iq\-'lish: Dzhaamz: of oon sil\'-\'ab\'l; dhe Ital\'-\'an a\-'l\'-so for dhe suund of uur: dzh: wrui\-'e\'t g\(i\): whitsh iz not yyyzed in dhe Lat\'-\'in bat: g: oon\-'li for dhooz twuu suundz of ,g, and, dzh: or, i, bifoor\: a, o, u, and sum \(i\)t\'-iim bifoor\: \(e\), in Lat\'-\'in: bi whitsh wii mai a\-'l\'-so ges, dhat \(c\), in Lat\'-\'in at dhe biig\-'in\'-\'q had dhe suund of ,k, oon\-'li, for dhat, dhat dhe Lat\'-\'in nath dhe suund of :k: and noo udh\-'er letter siild\'-\'ed dhat suund, but \(c\), oon\-'li in dhe Lat\'-\'in: eksse\'pt: :guy: suppl\'ed dhe rum sum tiim: for dhe Lat\'-\'in receiv\(^2\) not ,k, in tuu dhe num\-'ber of dheir letterz. And for dhe \(i\)usi\-'q suund of \(e\), (thownt radh\-'er tuu bii kreet in bi lit\'-\'l and lit\'-\'l) dhe Lat\'-\'in was sufis\'-\'ientli provid\'ed bi dheir letter\: ,s, whuuz suund wii iq\-'lish duu moost tiimz in dhe Lat\'-\'in, and in uur o\-'l\'d ortog\-'rafi, yyyz in dhe suund of ,z, when \(s\), kun\-'e\'th bit\'-\'twin\: twuu vuul\'-\'elz: whitsh \(z\), iz thowht tu bii no Lat\'-\'in letter: dhe dheer\-'foor it mai bii thowht dhat dhe Lat\'-\'in rint\'-\'li suund\'-\'ed did not siild so groon\-'q a suund in dheir his\'-\'q suund of :s.

And for uur thrii suundz yyyzed in ,\(e\), dhe Frentsh duu at dhei
dai yyyz oon\-'li twuu un\-'tuu it: dhat iz, dhe suund agrii\-'q tuu miiz o\-'l\'d and kontin\-'yed naam, and dhe suund of dhe kon\-'sonant ,e, whee\-'bi wii mai a\-'l\'-so ges, dhat dhe Lat\'-\'in at dhe biig\-'in\'-\'q yyyzed ,\(e\), for dhe suund of dhe kon\-'sonant: and yyyzed :u: for dhe suund of dhe vuul\'el.

But nun\-'soe\-'ver dub\'-\'l or treb\'-\'l suund\'-\'q of letterz kaam in:
whi iz it not lauful tuu enkrees\-'let\'-\'erz and figyyrz, when suundz in spii\'tsh aar enkrees\'-\'ed? for spii\'tsh waz kauz of letterz: dhe whitsh whuun\-'soe\-'ver first invent\'ed, nii had a regard tuu dhe diviz\-'ionz dhat miint bii maad in dhe vois, and waz wi\-'iq tuu provi\'id\: for eve\-'ri of dheem, az wel az for oon, or sum of dheem: and if (sins dhat tiim) dhe suundz in vois nav biu fuund tuu bii man\-'z moo and diu\'erz, amooq sum udher piip\'-\'l, whi shuld not letterz bii aksept\'ed, tuu fur\-'n\'-\'sh dhat laq\'-\'gadzh whitsh iz prop\-'r tuu a god\-'li and siv\'-\'il nas\'-\'on of kontin\'-\'yya\'l guver\-'nment, az dh\'is uur nas\'-\'on iz? and dhe beter iz, and ev\-'e\'r sha\'l bii if leerc\'-\'niq (with Godz gras) flur\-'ish in dhe saam: dhe ground of whitsh leerc\'-\'niq, and dhe yys and kontin\'-\'y yans dheer\-'of iz letterz, dhe

\(^1\) Bullokahr writes "gre\-'w, thre\-'w." He represents (ii) by \(e\)', and (u) by \(v\) or \(u\) with a small semicircle below which may be indicated by Italics. Then after distinctly referring his simple \(v\) or \(u\) to French (yy), in his

\(^2\) Misprinted (receui).

11th Chap. he marks as synonymous the signs: \(e\'\), \(e\'u\), \(v\), \(u\), \(e\'w\). Hence his gre\-'w, thre\-'w = (gryy, thrty) and have been so transcribed.
un-perfectnes wheer-of ov'er-thryy man'i gud wits at dheir biigwiiq and waz kauz of loq tiim lost in dhem dat spiidd best.

Dhe Lat'ın waz moost-eez' i tuu us iiq'lish tuu bi leer'ned first, biikauz' of xjj. letterz, xijj. or xiiij. weerr per'fetli per'fet, agrii'iq in naam and suund, and no letter mispiel'ed, syyperfyllous, or suund'ed, and not wrii't'n, eksept in abreviavs-ionz, and eksept bi mis-yys (az Fi taak it) wii iiq'lish suund'ed ignarus az ignarvs: magnus az maq'nuvs. A l'so lignum az lig'num, and so of udh'er wordz, wheer a vuue'cl kaam nekst biifoor' : g' : in oon sil'lab'l, and :n: biigan' an udh'er sil'lab'l fol'ouuq': a'lz so dhe un-per'fet letterz of dub'l or trebl' suund in Lat'ın, nad oon of dhooz suundz, agrii'iq tuu dhe naam ov dhem, so dheer want'ed but fiv or siks fig'yzzz or letterz tuu fur'nishe ev'eri sev'erall diizvion of dhe vois in dhe Lat'ın, az wii iiq'lish suund dhe saam: whits hii dheez, c'g' g' v' 1 (tuu bii suppoozed radh'er ab-yyz'ed bi tsha'ndzhz of tiim, dhau so un-ser'tein at dhe biigwin'iq), biissidz' dhis, dhe Lat'ın nath dhe aspiravs'ion or letter (b) ver'i siil'dum after an 'i kon'sonant in oon sil'lab'l, and dheer after :t: in dhe suund of :th: oon'li and after :e: in dhe suund of :k: oon'li, and after :r: in dhe suund of :r: oon'li, in a feu wordz deriv'd from dhe griik: nei'dher nath dhe Lat'ın dhe suund of, tsh. ii. uu. sh. dh. w. wh. j, (nor dhe suund of the thrii ha'l veel'ez, 'l. 'm. 'n. in dhe per'fet suund of iiq'lish spiitsh) nei'dher in siq'g'1 letter, sil'lab'l, nor suund in word: a'lz whits aar ver'i kom'0n in iiq'lish spiitsh.

Wheer-for dhe Lat'ın teets'horsz, with Lat'ın ortog'rapi, did not (nor kuul'd) suffis'ientli fur'nish iiq'lish spiitsh with letterz, but patsh'ed it up az wel az dheu kuul'd (or at dhe leest, az wel az dheu wuul'd) but nothiq per'fet for iiq'lish spiitsh, az appiir-eth bi dhe foormer treets'is, so dat of, xxxvij. sev'erall diizvionz in vois for iiq'lish spiitsh, 2 oon'li dheez siks, a. b. d. f. k. x. weerr per'fetli per'fet, and dheer-bi xxxi diizvionz in vois un-per'fetli furnished: wheer-of sum aar ut'erli want'iq, sum dub'1 or trebl' suund'ed, and sum mis-naam'ed, biissid: sum mis-plaas'ed, sum wrii't'n, and nor suund'ed, and sum suund'ed dat aar not wrii't'n. Whits un-per'fetues maad dhe nat'iv iiq'lish tuu spend loq tiim in leec'niq tuu reed and wrii't dhe saam (and dat tshiif'li bi root) nol'p'n bi kontin'yya'1 ek'sersiz biifoor nad in niz eez, bi mirariq udh'er, and bi niz oon'yys of speek'iq whits ni' waz fain tuu leen moor untun'; dhan tu dhe giid'iq of dhe o'ld ortog'rafi, so far un-per'fet for iiq'lish spiitsh: whits nelp of ek'sersiz biifoor sheer'ed in dhe nat'iv iiq'lish, dhe stra'ndzher was ut'terli void of, biissid: sum stra'ndzhz diizvionz of suundz in vois in iiq'lish spiitsh, amoq' stra'ndzherz, ut'terli un-yyyyed:

1 Bullokars 37 letters as given in his eleventh chapter will be found suprâ p. 37, 1. 19 from bottom. Several of his letters are in duplicate, for the purpose of keeping his spelling like the old, and making changes chiefly by points. In a second enumeration he adds k, ph, r' = (k, f, 'r).

2 Bullokars signs for (s, dzh, dzh, u, y) respectively, the second and third being the same.
whitsh kauz'ed dhem at dhe first siut, not oon-'li tuu kast dhe buuk awai', but a'l'so tuu thiqk and sai, dhat uur spiitsh waz so ryyd and bar-barus, dhat it waz not tuu bii leec'ned, bi wriit'-iq or print'-iq: whitsh diispair man'i of uur oon nas'ion (wii-l'iq tuu leer'n) did fa'l in tuu: for dhe mooor wii-l'iq nii was tuu fol'ouu dhe naam of dhe letter, dhe fard'er-of nii waz, from dhe tryy sound of dhe word: and ad'-iq niir-untuu an un-pass'ent and un-diskreet- teets'h-or, man'i gud wits weer over-throu'n in dhe biig'n'iq, whuu (udh'erwiiz mint nav gon foo'rward, not oon-'liin reed'-iq and wriit'-iq dheir nati'v laq'gadzh, but a'l'so (bi dhe abil'i'ti of dheir frindz) prosiid'ed in gree'er duur'iq, tuu dheir oon proft' and stei in dhe kom'on welth a'l'so: of whitsh sort, weer dhe juth of noo'bl' blud, and sutsh az und parents of greeb' abil'i'ti: wunuz parents (throwh tend'er luv') kuuld not hard'li enfors' dheem tuu treed dhat pain ful maaz: and dhe juth fiuid'iq it nard, and dheer- bi' naad noo del'int: dheer-in, took an'i dhe leest okkaz'i'on tuu bii ok'kyyp'ed udh'erwiiz wheer-bf knou'ledzh waz lak'iq in sutsh, in whuuum dhe kom'on welth (for dheir abil'i'ti and kred'i't) rek-wii' red moost, and sutsh az bi a'll reeez'-n miint bii luuts tuu gud udh'er, and steiz tu up-no'ld udh'er; nav biin driv'-n man'i tiimz tuu bii gid'ed bi udh'er dheir far-inferiorz: whuu (for nes'es'siti or udher okkaz'i'on) man'i tiimz ab-yyz' duur'iq privat, and sum-tiin pertain'-iq tuu dhe kom'on welth, whitsh iz tshii-if'i'li mainte'nin'ed bi leec'-n'iq (Godz gras biisfoor a'll thiqz preferred): whitsh leec'rniq in dhe inferiorz, kauz'edth dyy obeii'diens toward dhe syyper'ioz, and bii'ro in nd syyper'ioz teecheth dyy guver'nmnt, and fiin'lli teets'h-th a'll estaats'tu liv in oon yy'ni'ti of dhe estaat' of dhe kom'on welth, ever'i estaat: in dheir degrii' and ka'll'iq, not without: dhe part'k-yylar prof'it, kwe'etnes, and saaf-gard of ever'i estaat': wheer-un'tuu if I'i nave ad'ed an'i thiq bii diis'mi amend'ment of ortog'rafi, for dhe yys and prof'it of leec'-nuorz dhe dhe saam aksept'ed akkord'-iqli, I'i wii not oon'-li spiid'-lii imprint. dhe Gram'ar, but a'l'so put mi nelp'iq mand un'tuu. a nes'es'sari Dik'sionar agrii'-iq tuu dhe saam, if God lend me liif, and dhat I'i mai bii eex'ed in dhe bur'd'n, dhat dyy'ti bi nati'yyr kompel'eth mii spes'ial'i ltu taak kaar of.

**English Pronunciation of Latin in the xviiith Century.**

Information respecting this subject is given incidentally by Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, Bullokar and Gill. Palsgrave generally illustrates the French sounds by the Latin, "when pronounced aright" (supra p. 59), implying that there was a wrong, and therefore perhaps a usual pronunciation, which is the one we most desire to learn. By combining these authorities the result seems to be as follows.

A aa, a, AEE ee, B b, C k, s, CH k, D d, dh, th, E ee, e, F, f, G g, dzh, GN qu, H h, i ei, j, J dzh, K k, L l, M m, N n, NG qg, O oo o, u, OEE ee, P p, QU kw, R r, S s, z, T t, th, TH th, U, yy, u, V v, X ks, Y=Y, Z z.  

1 By omission of the diacritics, this word is misprinted (lou).
A may have been (a, a, ae), but probably (a) only.

Æ, Æ Palsgrave says (i, 10) "be written in latine and nat sounded," i.e. I suppose, not sounded as diphthongs. It seems clear from Smith (supræ p. 121) that the real sound of Æ, and therefore probably of Æ, was (ee).

C was (k) before a, o, u and (s) before e, i according to present custom, and probably (s) before æ, oe.

CH= (k) according to Bullokar, supræ p. 842, l. 19.

D. The only proper sound was (d), but we find Palsgrave saying of French D (i, 30): "D in all maner thynges confermeth hym to the general rules aboue rehearsed, so that I see no particular thyng wheroff to warne the lernar, save that they sound nat d of ad in these wordes, adultere, adaption, adouleer, like th, as we of our tongue do in these wordes of latine ath atjuwanandum for ad adjuwan- dum corruptly." I have assumed this th to mean (dh) as being derived from d. But Salesbury writes (kvieth) for quid.

E. Besides the regular sound of (ee, e), Salesbury shews that (ii) had crept in occasionally, compare (liidzh* it)= legit, p. 767. I do not find this mentioned by any other authority.

G= (g) before a, o, u and (dzh) before e, i, as at present. Both Salesbury and Bullokar note and stigmatise the use of (qn) for GN, which seems to have been in general use.

I short = (i) throughout. Long = (ei) in Salesbury, (ei) in Gill most probably. Whether Bullokar said (ii) or (ei) depends on his English pronunciation of long I. It is to be observed that he as well as Smith (p. 112), does not admit the sound of (ii) in Latin. Hence Bullokar's sound of long i must have been quite distinct from (ii), as (ii, ii) are at this day kept quite distinct in Iceland and Teviotdale, in both cases perhaps by inclining (ii) towards (ee), p. 544.

T, usually (t), but when final often (th) as (am-ath) amat, according to Salesbury, see D. Palsgrave also finds it necessary to say, in reference to the French word est: "if the next word folowyng begyn with a vowell, it shall be sounded et: but neuer est sounding s, nor eth, soundyngg t like th, for t hath neuer no suche sounde in the frenche tonge," (i, 44), which seems to be directed against this Latin usage.

TH= (th) see supræ p. 842, l. 19.

U vowel, when long seems to have been generally (yy) supræ p. 841. But Palsgrave seems to consider this wrong, and to prefer (uu), supræ p. 149. The short vowel could have been nothing but (u, u).

Examples.—Latin spelling in Italics, pronunciation in Roman letters.

Salesbury gives: agnus ag'nus, amat am'ath, dederi' dederith, dei decrei, dico de'tu, ego eg'u, ignis ig'nis, Jesu Dzheezyy, legit liidzh'ith, magnus maq'nus, qui kevi, quiid kvith, sal saul, sanctus san'tus, sol sooul, tibi tei'bei, tollis too'lis, tu tyy, vidi vidi, but objects to every one of these pronunciations.

Bullokar writes, translating his symbols literatim: Cicero rheto-
§ 5.  Alexander Gill's Phonetic Writing, 1621, with an examination of Spenser's and Sidney's Rhymes.

Dr. Gill, born in the same year as Shakspere, and occupying the high literary position of head master of St. Paul's School, London, at the time of Shakspere's death, must obviously be considered as the best single authority for the pronunciation of the more educated classes in Shakspere's lifetime. Hence it is necessary in these examples to give prominence to what has fallen from his pen. We have had frequent occasion to lament that Dr. Gill has not explained the value of all his signs with sufficient clearness. The reasons why I suppose his  to have been (ai), and his  and  to have been (aA) will be found on pp. 115, 145.

The greatest difficulty in transcribing Dr. Gill's phonetic passages arises from the carelessness of the printing. Dr. Gill has furnished a list of Errata, which he requests may be corrected before reading, but in some instances these contain no corrections at all, and they
are exceedingly deficient. The commencing and concluding observations create difficulties:

"Syllabae quæ naturæ suæ communes sunt, possunt etiam indifferenter per vocales longas aut breves describi, vt (shal) aut (shaal), (dans) aut (daans), (bi bi, ded deed, whom whhum, modher, mudher, sai sani, mai maai, &c.) Quaedam accentu variant, vt ibi dictum est: itaque in his nil titubabibis. Errata leuiora præterebis: cognita et agnita sic restitues . . . . . Quintiam characterem penuriam in I, pro J, quoties opus refarcies. Denique capite 25 et deinceps, accentum notatio, longarum vocaliae quantitati veniam inveniet."

It is evident that owing to these errors much doubt must be felt by a reader of the nineteenth century on many of the very points respecting which precise information is desirable. I had endeavoured to correct errors by a reference to other occurrences of the same word. But after much consideration I determined to give a literal transcript of the text as it stands, as I have done for Hart and Bullokar, correcting only the errors marked in the errata and supplying the accent mark ('), so that the reader will be able to form his own opinion. I have used (i) for the short i, believing it to have been the sound intended by Dr. Gill. See also § 7 of this Chapter. But I have let (i) stand for short i when it appeared to be a misprint for ō=(ii).

Almost the only examples of phonetic writing as such, given by Dr. Gill, are Psalms 62, 67, 96, 97, 104 according to the Authorized Version, and as that version had only been published ten years when his book appeared, these transcripts possess a peculiar interest and are given at length.

The poetical examples are chiefly adduced to give instances of rhetorical figures, and are principally taken from Spenser and Sidney,—not one line from Shakspere being quoted throughout the book, which need not excite surprise, as the first folio edition of Shakspere's plays did not appear till two years after the publication of Gill's second edition. There are a few epigrams from Harrington, a poem of Withers, a song of Ben Jonson, and one or two other songs cited. I have thought it best to give all the longer quotations from Spenser's Faerie Queen in the order in which they occur in the poem, and to collect the other quotations according to the authors. We have thus a very tolerable collection of literary examples differing materially from the dry sticks furnished by Hart and Bullokar. Their main interest, however, consists in their being written phonoetically by a man who was contemporary with nearly all the writers, and who therefore was able to furnish us with the pronunciation of English current in their time. We shall not go far wrong if we read like Dr. Gill. At the same time he clung to the older form of pronunciation, not admitting Harts (ee) for ae, although he does allow (deseev, konseev) which were the current pronunciations of the xvii-th century, and apparently admitted (oi, aa) which properly also belong to that period. It will
be found that his quotations from Spenser often differ from Mr. Morris's (Globe) edition, sometimes designedly, sometimes perhaps from carelessness.

How far Dr. Gill's pronunciation represented that of Spenser, Sidney, and the other authors themselves, is an interesting question; but there is no direct means of answering it. The only path open is an examination of their rhymes. Accordingly Spenser's and Sidney's rhymes will be considered immediately after the specimens which Gill has given. And in the last section of this chapter not only Shakspere's rhymes, but also his puns will be examined for the purpose of determining his individual pronunciation.

Extracts from Spenser's Faerie Queen.

The references are to the book, canto, and stanza of the F. Q., and to the page of Gill's Logonomia.

Mutsh gan dhei praaiz dhe triiz so straikht and néi
Dhe sail-iq pain, dhe sce'dar proud and taal,
Dhe veinprop elm, dhe poplar nev'er droi,
Dhe bield'er ook, sool kiq of for'ests aal,
Dhe as pin gud for staavz, dhe soi'pres fyy'neral.

1, 1, 8, p. 105.

Dhe laa'di sad tu sii miz soor konstraint,'
Kraid out, Nou nou, sir knaikht, sheu what juu bii.

1, 1, 19, p. 108.

Nou, when dhe rooz'i-fiq'gred morn'iq faier
Wee'ri of aadzhek Toi'heonz saf'ern bed,
Had spred her purpl roob thrukh deu'i nier,
And dhe nœikh nilz Ti'tan disku'vered.

1, 2, 7, p. 106.

Az when tuu ramz, stôrd with ambis'vis prôid,
Foikht for dhe ryyl of dhe fair flis'ed flok;
Dheir norn'ed fronts so feers on cidh'er said
Du mît, dhat with dhe ter'or of dhe shok
Aston'ed booth stand sens'les as a blok,
Forget'ful of dhe naq'iq viktorî:
So stüud dheez twain unmuuv'ed az a rok.

1, 2, 16, p. 99.

... Mers'i, mersi (Sir) voutsaaf: tu sheu
On sîl'i daam subdzhekt: tu hard mîstshans'.

1, 2, 21, p. 116.

Hîz dii'erest Laa'di deed with feer nii found,

1, 2, 44, p. 111.

Her siim'iq deed nii found, with fain'ed feer.

1, 2, 45, p. 111.

qi mæi frail eiz dheez lainz with têrzez du stiip,
Tu thiqk nou shii, thrukh goîl'ful, hân'dlîq
Dhokh tryy az tuutsh, dhokh daukht'er of a kiq,
Dhokh faair az eve're lyv'iq woîkht waz fair,
Dhokh not in word nor diid il mer'îiq,
Iz from her knaikht divorc'ed in dispar'.

1, 3, 2, p. 114.
Of groiz'li Plu'to shii dhe daakht'er waz,
And sad Proser'pīna dhe kwiin of hel:
Jet shii did thiəq ner pi'er les wurth tu pas
Dhat parentadzh, with praid shii so díd swel:
And thun'drō Dzhoov dhat noikh īn nev'n duth dwel
And wiild dhe world, shii klainred for her soir;
Or if dhat an'i els did Dzhoov eksel;
For tu dhee nei'est shii díd stīl aspoir.
Or if oukht noi'er weer dhen dhat, did īt deeezēir.'

Ful man'i mis'tshiifs fol'ou kryy'el wrath;
Abhore'd blud-shed, and tyym-ul'tyynus straif,
Unman'li mu'r'dher, and unthīl'fte' skath,
Bēr dispoit, with raqk'ers rust' knōif,
Dhe swēl'iq spliin, and fren'zi radzh'iq roif.

Dhe waaIz weer noī, but noth'iq stroq, nor thēk;
And goold'īn fuul āl ov'er dhem displaaid:
Dhat pyy'rest skōi with broikht'nes dheei dismaaid.'

With nīd'ecus nor'or booth togeedh'er smoit,
And sous so soor, dhat dheei dhe nev'n afrāi.'

Hii dzhent'loī askt, wheer āal dhe piip'ī bii,
Whīsh īn dhat staat'li bīld'īq wunt tu dwel?
Whuu an'swreecd nīm ful soft, nīi kuul not tel.
Hii askt again', wheer dhat saam knoikt was laid,
Whoom greet Orgo'loō with pyyis'ans fel
Had maad nīz kāi-tīv thral? again' nīi said,
Hii kuul not tel. Hii asked dhen, whīsh wai
Hii īn maikht pas? Ignaa'ro kuuld not tel.

But, neidhr' dark'nes foul, nor fil'ṭhī bandz
Nor noī'us smel, nīz pur'pooz kuuld withnoold'.

But noī'us smel nīz pur'pooz kuuld not nooould
But dhat with kon'stant zeel and kouradzh boould,
Aftēr loq painz and laa'bors man'foould;
Hii found dhe meenz dhat priz'ner up tu reer.

Dhen shal īi juu rekount' a ryy'ful kaas
(Said mīi) dhe whīsh wīth dhrs unluk'i ei
qī laat biiueled'; and nad not gree'ter graas
Mīi reft from īt, had bīn partaak'er of dhe plaas.

Wii met dhat vil'an, dhat voil mis'kreant,
Dhat kurs'ed wailkht, from whoom āi skaapt wheileer;
A man of hel, dhat kalz nūmsel's Despair'.

For what nath loif, dhat īt luv'ed maak?
And givz not raadh'ēr kaaz īt dai'loī tu forsaaḳ?
Feer, siknec, aadzh, los, laa'bor, sor'ouu, stréif,
Pain, nuq'ger, koold, dhat maaks dhe mart tu kwak;
And ev'er fék'il fro'tyyn radzh'iq raif';
:Aal whitsh, and thouz'andz moo, duu mak a loth'sum laif.

1, 9, 44.  P. 103.

Hii dhat dhe blud-red bil'ouuz, loik a waal
On eích'er said dispart'ed with niz rod;
T'1 aal niz arm'oi droi-fuut thrukh dhem jod.
1, 10, 53.  P. 106.

Dhe's said, adoun' nii luuk'ed tu dhe ground
Tu naav returnd' ; but daazed weer niz ein
Thrukh pas'iq braikht'nes whitsh dìd kwat konfound:
Hiz fiüb'1 sens, and tuu eksiid'iq shain.
So dark aar thi'qz on eether kompaard tu thi'qz divain.'
1, 10, 67.  P. 116.

So doun nii fel, and furth niz loif dìd breath
Dhat van'isht t'nu smook, and kloudez swîft:
So doun nii fel, dhat dh'erth nim underneeth:
Dìd groon, az fiüb'1 so greet lood tu lift:
So doun nii fel, az a nyydzh rok'vkliift
Whuuz faaIs foundaa'sion waavz hav washt awai;
And roul'ing doun greet Nep'tyyyn duth dismai',
So doun nii fel, and loik a heep'ed moun'tain lai.
1, 11, 54.  P. 121.

... moost wretsh'ed man
Dhat tu afek'sönz duz dhe broid'1 lend:
Ìn dheir begin'nìq dheir ar week and wan,
But suun throoukh suf'mera, groou tu feer'ful end :
Whailz dheir are week, bitaímz' with dhem kontend';
For when dheir oons tu per'fekt streqth du groou,
Stroq warz dheir maak, and kryy'el bat'ri bend
Gainst fort of Reez'å, ët tu ov'erthrou.
Wrath dzhel'osì, griif, luv, dhìs skwaìr nav laid thus loou.

Wrath dzhel'osi, griif, luv, duh dus ekspel
Wrath is a fair, and dzhel'osi a wiid ;
Griif iz a flud, and luv a mon'ster fel:
Dhe fair of sparks, dhe wiid of li'1 siid;
Dhe flud of drops, dhe mon'ster filth dìd briid :
But sparks, siid, drops, and filth du thus delai :
Dhe sparks suun kwentsh, dhe spriquid'iq siid outwiid' ;
Dhe drops dréi up, and filth waìp kleen awai',
So shal wrath, dzhel'osi, griif, luv, d'ai and dekai'.
2, 4, 34. 35.  P. 123.

No trii, whuuz bran'tshez dìd not braav'li spriq ;
No bran'ish, wheron' a foin burd dìd not sit ;
No burd, but dìd nìs shrìl noot swït'loi siq ;
No soq, but dìd kontain' a luv'loi dìt,
Triiz, bran'tshez, burdz, and soqz, weer fraam'ed fit
For to alyyr' frail moindz tu kaar'les eez :
Kaar'les dhe man suun woks, and nìz week wìt
Waz ov·erkum of thiq dhat did nīz pleez.  
So pleez·ed, did nīz wrath·ful kuurr·adzh fair apee·z.  
2, 6, 13.  p. 123.

And iz dher kaar ʻn neeva n?  and iz dher luv  
Jn neeva n'la spīr·its tu dheez kree·tyrryraz baas,  
Dhat mai kompa·son of dheir iiv·lz muuv?  
2, 8, 1.  p. 118.

... AAl dhat plees·vīq iz tu līv·vīq eer,  
Waz dher konsor·tēd ēn oon nar·monī.  
Burdz, vois·ez, īn·stryyments, waa·terz, woidz, AAl agrī.

Dhe dzhoi·us burdz shroud·ed ēn tsheer·ful shaad  
Dheir noots ur·tu dhe vois attem·pred swiit:  
Dh- andzheel·kal soft tren·bīq vois·ez maad  
Tu dh- īn·stryyments īvōīn 'respon·dens miit:  
Dhe sīl·ver sound·vīq īn·stryyments did miit  
With dhe baaz mūr·mur of dhe waa·terz faal:  
Dhe waa·terz faal with dīferens īskrīt:  
Nou soft, nou loud, ur·tu dhe woid did kaal,  
Dhe dzheent·l war·bīq woid loon an·swered ur·tu AAl.  
2, 12, 70, 71.  p. 118.

Ne let nīz faair·est Sin·thā reffyzz  
Jn mir·orz moor dhen oon herself tu sīi,  
But eïdh·er Gloorrā·nā'na let nīr īshyzz  
Or ēn Belfee·be fash'īoned tu bii:  
Jn dh- oon īr ryyyl, ēn dh- odh·er īr raar tshast·tītī.  
Pref. to 3, st. 5.  p. 101.

Hyyzdzh see of sor·oon, and tempest·euzs griif,  
Wheerīn· mai fīb·l bark iz tōs·ed loq,  
Far from dhe hoop·ed naav·n of relii£:  
Whoi du dhoi kryy·el brl·ooz beet so stroq,  
And dhoi moist mount·ainz eetsh on odher throq,  
Thrēet·vīq tu swal·'oon up mai feer·ful laif?  
O du dhoi kryy·el wrath and spōit·ful wroq  
At leqth alai', and stīnt dhoi storm·i stroif,  
Whītsh ēn dheez trub·'ed bōw·elz rainz and raadzh·'eth rāif,  
For els mai fīb·l ves·el, kraazd and kraakt,  
Kan·ōt endyyr.  
3, 4, 8,  p. 99.

Fordhoi· shīi gaaav nīm warn·vīq ev·erī daai  
Dhe luv of wīm·en not tu entertain '  
A les'n tuu tu nard for līv·vīq klaai.  
3, 4, 26.  p. 100.

So tēk·l bii dhe termz of mort·aal staat,  
And ful of sut·l sof·izms whītsh du plai  
With doub·l sens·ez, and with faal·s débāt.  
3, 4, 28.  p. 97.

Unthāqk·ful wretsh (said nīi), iz dhiš dhe mīd  
With whītsh īr sov·erain merr·sī dhou dust kwait?  
Dhoi laif shīi saav·'ed boi īr graa·sīus diid:  
But dhou dust meen with vīl·enus dispoit·
Tu blot her on'er and her neev'nî loikht.
Dôi, radh'er dei, dhen so dislo'ralai
Dûm of her naîkh dezert', or siîm so laikht,
Faair deeth it iz tu shun moor shaam, dhen dôi;
Dôi, radh'er dôi, dhen ev'er luv dislo'ralai.

But if tu luv dislo'altaî it bii,
Shal oî dhen naat her [dhat] from deeth'ez door
Mii broukht? an, far bii sutsh reprotoosh' from mii.
What kan oî les du dhen ner luv dherfoor',
Sîth oî ner dyy reward: kannot' restoor?
Dôi, raadh'er dôi, and do'îq dûn her serv,
Dâ'îq her serv, and lîviq her adoor.'
Dhôi loîf shii gaav, dhôi loîf shii duth dezerv'.
Dôi, raadh'er dôi, dhen ever from her serv'is swerv.

Diskur'teus, dislo'ai'al Brit'omart;
What ven'dzhans dyy kan ek'wal dhei dezart;
Dhat nást with shaam'ful spot of sîn'ful lust,
Dëfsiîl'd: dhe pledzh komât'ed tu dhôi trust?
Let u'gôi shaam and end'les in'tamoi
Kûler dhôi naam with foul reprooc'tshez rust.

Amoq* dheez knôikhts dheer weer thrîi bried' hern bould,
Thrii booulder bried'hern nev'er wer iborn',
Born of oon mud'h'er ân oon nap'i moold,
Born at oon burdh'en ân oon nap'i morn,
Thraiiz nap'i mud'h'er, and throiis hap'i morn,
Dhat boor thrîi sutsh, thrii sutch not tu bii fond.
Her naam waz Ag'ape, whuuz tshîld'dren weern
Aâl thrîi az oon; dhe first nôikht Proi'amond,
Dhe sek'ond Da'amond, dhe juq 'gest Trai'amond.

Stout Proi'amond, but not so stroq tu stroik;
Stroq Da'amond, but not so stout a knôikht;
But Trai'amond, waz stout and stroq aloik*.
On nors'bak yy'zed Trai'amond tu foikht,
And Proi'amond on fuut nàd moor delait';
But nors and fuut knyy Da'amond tu wiild,
With kurt'aks yy'zed Da'amond tu smoit;
And Trai'amond tu hand'd speer and shild,
But speer and kurt'aks both, yyzd Proi'amond in fiild.

... Doun on dhe blud'î plan
Herself* shii thrîyy, and teerz gan shed amain',
Amoqst: ner teerz îmmâk'sîq prai'erz miik,
And with ner prai'erz, reez'nz tu restrain'
From blud'î stroik.
Shii held nîr wrathful hand from vën'dzhans sour.
But draa'iq neer, eer mî nîr wel biheld:
Iz dhîs dhe faith (shii said ?) and said no moor,
But turnd nîr fast, and fled away' for ev'ermoor.

Fresh shad'oouz, fît tu shroud from sun'î rai;
Fair landz, tu taak dhe sun in seez'n dyy;
Swît spriqz, in whîsh a thouz'and nimîs did plai;
Soft rum'blîq bruuks, dhât dzhent'î slumb'er dyy;
Heikh reer'ed mounts, dhe landz about tu vyy;
Loou luuk'îq daaalz, disloind' from kom'on gaaaz;
Deloit'ful bourz, tu sol'as lu'verz tryy;
Fair lab'erths, fond run'erz eiz tu daaz:

Extracts from Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia.

. . . Reez'n tu mi pass'ôn iild'ed
Pass'îôn un'tu mi raadzh, raadzh tu a nast'î revendzh'.

And nan'veq plaast moî thoukhts, maî thoukhts dhus plaas'ed mîi,
Mîi thoukht; nai, syyr oi waz, oi waz in faair'est Wud
Of Samothe'a land, a land dhat whail'um stuud
An on'or tu dhe world, whail on'or waz dheir end.

Dhe feir tu sîi mîi wroqd for aq'ger burn'eth,
Dhe aai'er in teerz for moîn aflêk'sîon wiip'eth,
Dhe see for grîff tu eb nîz floou'îq turn'eth,
Dhe eerth with pit'î dell ner sen'ter kiïp'eth,
Faam iz with wund'ër blaaz'ed,
Toim flîiz awai' for sor'ooou,
Plaas stand'eth stil amaaz'ed,
Tu sîi mîi noîkht of iiiv'îz whâsh nath no mör'ooou.
Alas, aal oon'dei shii no pit'î taak'eth
Tu knoou mîi miz'eraiz, but tshaast and kryyel
Moî faal nîr gloor'î maak'eth.
Jît stil nîz eiz giv tu mîi flaamz dheir fyyel.

Fair, burn mîi kwôit tîl sens of burn'îq leev mîi:
Aî'er, let me draa dhîs breth no moor in aq'guîsh:
See, dround in dhii of vi'tal breth bireev' mîi:
Erth, taak dhîs eerth wheerîn' mîi spirî'ts laq'guîsh:
Faam, sai oi waz not born,
Toim, nast mîi doî'îq ou'er:
Plaas, sîi mîi graav up'torn:
Fair, aî'er, see, eerth, faam, toim, plaas, sheu juur pour.
Chap. VIII. § 5. GILL’S PRONUNCIATION OF HARRINGTON. 853

Alas’ from aal dheir helps am oie eksaîld’,
For herz am oie, and deeth feerz nîr displeez’yyr;
Foi deeth, dhou art bigâî’e’d,
Dhokh oie bîi herz, shii sets boi mii no treez’yyr.
3, 15. p. 125.

Extracts from Sir John Harrington’s Epigrams (a.d. 1561–1612.
Fai but a mans disgraast’, noo’ted a nov’is.
Yee but a mans moor graast, noo’ted of no vois.
Dhe miid of dhim dhat luv, and du not liv amis’.
2, 17. p. 113.

3, 15. p. 125.

2, 17. p. 113.

Extracts and Miscellaneous Extracts.

What if a dai, or a munth, or a seer,
Kronn dhai dezairs with a thou’zand wisht konten’iqz?
Kannot dhe tshauns of a noikt or an ouer
Kros dhai deloits with a thou’zand sad tormen’tiqz?
For’tyn, on’or, beu’ti, ryyth,
Aar but blosumz dî’iq [dai’iq]:
Wan’ton pleez’yyr, doot’iq luv,
Aar but shad’douez fboi’iq.
:Aal our dzhoiz, aar but toiz
gid’1 thoukhts deeseev’iq.
Noon hath pow'er of an ou' er
   In dhirz bireev'-iq.

  Thomas Campion.  p. 144, with the music.

Faaier boi na'tyrr bii'-iq born,
Bor'oud beu'-ti shii duth skorn.
Hii dhat kiseth her, niid feer
Noo unnool'sum vernish dheed;
For from dhens, hii oon'-lei sips
Dhe pyyr nek'tar of her lips:
And with dhez at oons hii kloo'cez,
Melt'-iq ryy'-biz, tsher'-iz, rooz'-cez.

George Withers.  p. 98.

Nou dhat dhe neirth iz kround with smai'-iq faier
And sum du driqk, and sum du daans,
   Sum riq
   Sum siq,
And aal du straiv t- advaans:
Dhe myyz'-ik hoie'er:
   Wheerfoor' shuuld ai
   Stand si'lent boi?
Whun not dhe leest

Booth luv dhe kaaz and aar'torz of dhe feest.


Moen eiz, no eiz, but foun'tainz of moai teerz:
Moi teerz, no teerz, but fludz tu moist moi nart:
Moi nart, no nart, but nahr'bour of moi feerz:
Moi feerz, no feerz, but fill'-iq of moi smart.

Moi smart, moi feerz, moi nart, moi teerz, moi eiz,  
Ar bleind, draid, spent, past, waansted with moi kroiz.
And jist main eiz dhokh bleind, si kaaz of griif:
And jist moi teerz, dhokh draid, run doun amaan' :
And jist moi nart, dhokh spent, attendz' reliif :
And jist moi feerz, dhokh past, iinkres' moi paain:
And jist oii liv, and liv'-iq fiil moor smart :
And smart'-iq, kroii in vain, Breek hev'-i nart.

Song, "Break Heavy Heart."  p. 119.

Swiit thoukhts, dhe fuud on wh'tsh oii fiid'-iq starv ;
Swiit teerz, dhe driqk dhat moor aagment' moi thirst ;
Swiit eiz, dhe starz boi wh'tsh moi kours duth swarv ;
Swiit noop, moi deeth wh'tsh wast moi loif at first ;
Swiit thoukhts, swiit teerz, swiit noop, swiit eiz,
Hou tshaanst dhat deeth in swiit'nes loiz ?

Song, "Deadly Sweetness."  p. 119.

Maat'shil iz naq'ed ,
And bren'ed iz hiz byyks.
Dhokh Maat'shil iz naq'ed
Jit hii iz not wraq'ed.

Reus Macchiavellus, Northern Dialect.  p. 122.

Raaz'-iq moi noops, on hiz of noikh dezir';
Thiik'-iq tu skaal dhe neev'n of hiz nart,
Moi slend'er meenz prezumd' [prezyym'd'] tuu nei a part.
Her thund' er of disdain' forst mii re'tair',
And thryy mii doun &c.


Content' whuu livz with treid estaat,
Niid feer no tshan'dzh of froun'iq faat:
But mii dat siiks, for un'knooun' gain,
Oft livz boi los, and leevz with pain.

Accentual Hexameters. Stanthurt's Translation of
Virg. Æn. 4, 93-95. p. 100.

Psalm 62. p. 20.

1 Tryy' lai mii sooul wait' eth upon' God: from hîm kum' eth mii salu[v]jaas' sion. 2 Hii oon' loi iz mii rok and mii salvaa'sion: Hii iz mii defens'; òi shal not bi gree't' loi muu'ved. 3 Hou loq wil jii imadzh'in mis'tshii' against' a man? jii shal bi slain aal of juu: az a boun'iq waal shall ji bii: and az a tot'reiq tens. 4 Dheei oon' loi konsult' tu kast hîm doun from hîs ek'selensoi, dheei deboi t in laiz: dheei bles with dheei mouth, but dheei kurs in'wardbei: Sel'an. 5 Mai sooul wait dhou oon' loi upon' God: for mii ekpek'ta'sion iz from hîm. 6 Hii oon' loi iz mii rok and mii salvaa'sion; Hii iz mii defens'; òi shal not bi muu'ved. 7 In God iz mii salva'sion and mii gloor'i; dhe rok of mii streqth and mii ref'yydzh iz in God. 8 Trust in hîm at aal teimz ji piip'; pour out juur nart bifoor' hîm: God iz a ref'yydzh for us. Sel'an. 9 Syyr' lai men of loo degrii ar van'ttoi, and men of mii degrii ar a lei: tu bi laid in dhe bal'ans, dheei ar aaltogedh'er loikht'er dheen van'tvai. 10 Trust not in opres'sion, bikum' not vain in rob' eroi; if rits' reez' in'krees', set not juur nart upon' dheem. 11 God nath spook'n oons; twe is naav òi naard dhis, dhat pour biloq' eth u'n'to God. 12 :Aal' so u'n'to dhii, oo Lord, biloq' eth mer'si': for dhou re'derest tu ever ai man akkord'iq tu nîz wurk.

Psalm 67. p. 21.

1 God bi mer'si ful yv[u]n'tu us and bles us: and kaaz nîz faas tu shoin upon' us. Sel'an. 2 Dhat dhoi wani maa bi knooun upon eehr, dhoi saav'iq neelth amoq' aal naa'sionz. 3 Let dhe piip'1 praiz dhi, oo God; let aal dhe piip'1 prais dhi. 4 O let dhe naa'sionz bi glad, and siq for dzoii: for dhou shalt dzhudzh dhe piip1 roikht-euslai, and dheen dhe naa'sionz upon' eehr. Sel'an. 5 Let dhe piip'1 praiz dhi oo God; let aal dhe piip'1 praiiz dhi. 6 Dhen shal dhe eehr jiild nîr in'krees; and God, iv'n our oon God, shal bles us. 7 God shal bles us, and aal dhe endz of dhe eehr shal feer nîm.
Psalm 96. p. 22.

1 O siq un·tu dhe Lord a nyy soq; siq un·tu dhe Lord aal dhe eirth. 2 Siq un·tu dhe Lord, bles niz naam; sheu fuurth niz salva·sion from dau tu dai. 3 Deeklaar niz gloo·ri amoq dhe need·hen: niz wun·derz amoq: aal piip·l. 4 For dhe Lord iz greet, and greet·loi tu bi praiz·ed: Hii iz tu bi feer·ed abuv· aal Godz. 5 For aal dhe godz of dhe naa·sion ar airdolz: but dhe Lord maad dhe neev·nz. 6 On·or and Maad·zhestei ar bifoor·him: streth and beut·ri ar in niz sank·tuari. 7 Giv un·tu dhe Lord (oo ji kin·drez of dhe piip·l) giv un·tu dhe Lord gloo·ri and streth. 8 Giv un·tu dhe Lord dhe gloo·ri dyy un·tu niz naam: brij an of·riq and kum in·tu niz kunrts. 9 O wur·ship dhe Lord in dhe beut·ri of hoo·lines: feer bifoor·him aal aal dhe eirth. 10 Saai amoq dhe need·hen dhat dhe Lord reei·neth: dhe world aal·so shall bi established dhat it shal not bi muu·ved: Hii shal dzhudzh dhe piip·l roikht·teuslai. 11 Let dhe neev·nz redzhois, and let dhe eirth bi glad: let dhe see roor dhe fuhl·nes dherof. 12 Let dhe fiild bi dzhoi·ful, and aal dhat iz dherin: dhen shal aal dhe triiz of dhe wud redzhois. 13 Bifoor·dhe Lord; for Hii kum·eth, for Hii kum·eth tu dzhudzh dhe eirth: Hii shal dzhudzh dhe world with roikht·teusnes, and dhe piip·l with niz tryyth.

Psalm 97. p. 22.

1 Dhe Lord reei·neth; let dhe eirth redzhois: let dhe mul·ti·tyyd of dhe aiz bi glad dherof. 2 Kloudz and dark·nes ar round about him: roikht·teusnes dhe dzhudzh·ment ar dhe habitaa·sion of niz thron. 3 A for·er go·eth bifoor·him: and burn·eth up niz ene·moiz round about: 4 Hiz loikht·niz izloikht·ned dhe world: dhe eirth sau, and tremb·led. 5 Dhe niz melt·ed laik waks at dhe prez·ens of dhe Lord; at dhe prez·ens of dhe Lord of dhe world eirth. 6 Dhe neev·nz deklara niz roikht·teusnes: and aal dhe piip·l si niz gloo·ri. 7 Konfound·ed bi aal dheei dhat serv graav·n oimadzhiez, dhe dhael·vz of airdolz: wur·ship him aal ji godz. 8 S·on naard, and waz glad, and dhe dhaak·terz of Jorda reo·siz·ed: bikauz· of dhe dzhudzh·ments, oo Lord. 9 For dhou Lord art hii·k abuv· aal dhe eirth: dhou art eksal·ted far abuv· aal godz. 10 Jii dhat luv dhe Lord, maat ii·v·l; Hii prezerv·veth dhe soulz of niz saints: Hii deliv·ereth dem out of dhe hand of dhe wick·ed. 11 Laikht iz sawon for dhe roikht·teus, dhe dhael·vz for dhe up·roikht in war·t: 12 Redzhois· in dhe Lord, jii roikht·teus: and giv thaqks at dhe remem·braus of niz hoo·lines.

Psalm 104. p. 23.

1 Bles dhe Lord, oo moi sooul: oo Lord moi God dhou art ver·i greet: dhou art klood·ched with On·or dhe Madzhe·stoi. 2 Whuu kuv·erest dhai self with laikht, az with a gar·ment: whuu strett·ch·est out dhe nev·nz loik a kur·tain; 3 Whuu lai·eth dhe becmz of niz tsham·berz in dhe wa·terz; whuu maak·eth dhe kloudz niz tshar·et: whuu walk·eth upon dhe wiqz of dhe waind. 4 Whuu
maak·eth niz an·gelz spir·its: niz min·isterz a flaam·iq foi·er. 5 Whuu laid dhe founda·sionz of dhe eerth: dheit it shulnd not bi remu·ved for ever. 6 Dhou ku·verest it with dhe dip az with a garment: dhe waat·ers stuld abu·v dhe mount·ainz. 7 At dhei rebyrk· dheei fled: at dhe vois of dhei thun·der dheei naas·ted away. 8 Dheei go up boi dhe mount·ainz, dheei go doun boi dhe val·lez un·tu dhe plas whitsh dhou nast found·ed for dhem. 9 Dhou nast set a bound dhei maai not pas over: dhei dheei turn not again: tu ku·ver dhe eerth. 10 Hii sendeth dhei spryq· in·tu dhe val·lez; witsh run amoq· dhe niz. 11 Dheei giv driqk tu ev·roi beest of dhe fiild; dhei wield ases kwen·th dheiir thirst. 12 Bai dhei shal dhei foulz of dhe heaven naav dheim habit·asion, whitsh siq amoq· dhe bran·shez. 13 Hii waat·ereth dhei niz from niz tsham·berz: dhe eerth iz sat·is·fied with dhe fryt of dhoi wurkz. 14 Hii kaaz·eth dhei grs tu groou for dhe kat·el, and herb for dhe serv·is of man: dhat nii mii briq fuurth fund out of dhe eerth. 15 And wain dhat maak·eth glad dheiOart of man, and oil tu maak niz faas tu shoin, and breed whitsh streqth·neth mans·art. 16 Dhe triiz· of dhe Lord ar ful of sap: dhei see·darz of Lebo·nan whitsh Hii nath planted. 17 Wheer dhei birdz maak dheimi nests· az for dhe stork dhei fir triiz are niz hous. 18 Dhei nai·kh niz ar a ref·yrydzh for dhei wild goats: and dhe roks for dhe Kun·iz. 19 Hii apuun·ted dhei muun for seez·nz; dhei sun knou·eeth niz goov·aq doun. 20 Dhou maak·est dark·nes, and it iz nai·kht: wheerin· aal dhei beests of dhe forest· of dhe kriip fuurth. 21 Dhe jiu loi·onz roor aften dheimi prai, and siik dheiir meet from God. 22 Dhei sun arai·zeeth, dheei gadher· dhei·selfz· tu·gedher·, and lai dheim doun in dheeiir denz. 23 Man go·eth fuurth un·tu niz wurk; and tu niz laa·bor, until· dhei iiv·niz. 24 O Lord no man·ifou·ul ar dhai wurks? in niz·dum nast dhou maad dheim aal: dhe eerth iz ful of dhai rit·shez. 25 So iz dhis greet and weid see, wheerin· ar thiqz kriip·iq innum·erabl, booth smaal and greet beests. 26 Dheer go dhei ships; dheer iz dhat Levi'athan [Levi'athan?] whuuim dhou nast maad tu plai dheimi prai. 27 Dheez wait aal upon dhiin dhat dhou maist giv dhem dheimi meet in dyu seez·nz. 28 Dhat dhou giwest dhem dheei gadher·: dhou oop·nest dheii man, dheei ar fel·ed with gud. 29 Dhou naid·est dhai faas, dheii ar trub·led: dhou taak·est awai· dheimi breth dheimi do, and return· tu dheiir dust. 30 Dhou send·est forth [fuurth] dhai spir·its, dheii ar kreaat·ed: and dheiir enyy·est dhei faas of dhe eerth. 31 Dhei gloo·ri of dhe Lord shal indyyr· for ever: dheiir Lord shal redzho·is·in niz wurks. 32 Hii luuk·eth on dhe eerth, and it trem·bleth: nii toutsh·eth [tutshez·eth?] dhei niz and dheei smook. 33 Qi wiq siq un·tu dhe Lord az loq as si liv: si wil praiz mai God whail si naav mai biiv·aq. 34 Mai medita·sion of him shal bi swiit: si wil be glad in dhe Lord. 35 Let dhe siv·erz bi konsum·ed [kon·sym·ed?] ont of dhe eerth, let dhe wrk·ed bi no moor: bles dhou dhe Lord, oo mai sooul. Praiz rii dhe Lord. Amen.
An Examination of Spenser’s Rhymes.

An inspection of the examples of Spenser’s pronunciation as given by Dr. Gill, pp. 847-852, shews that as Dr. Gill read them the rhymes were not unfrequently faulty.1 If then this authority is to be trusted we have entirely left the region of perfect rhymes, and have entered one where occasional rhymes are no guide at all to the pronunciation, and very frequent rhymes are but of slight value. Still it seemed worth while to extend the comparison further, and see how far Spenser in his rhymes conformed to the rules of pronunciation which we gathered from contemporary authorities in Chap. III. Before, however, giving the results of an examination of all the rhymes in the Faerie Queen, I shall examine the bad rhymes in contemporary poems of considerable reputation, in order that we may see and understand what limits of approximation in the sound of rhyming vowels and even consonants, some of our best versifiers deem to be occasionally or even generally sufficient, that is, how closely they approach to final or consonantal rhyme (p. 245) on the one side, and assonance on the other. For this purpose I have selected Thomas Moore and Alfred Tennyson. Every one admits that Moore was at least a master of the mechanical part of his art. His lines are generally rhythmical, and his rhymes good, as might be expected from a song writer with a delicate perception of music. Of his writings I choose the most elaborate, the Loves of the Angels, and Lalla Rookh, and note all the rhymes which are false according to my own pronunciation. Of Tennyson, who is also a master of his art, I select the In Memoriam, as his most careful production in regular rhymed verse, and do the like with it. The following are the results.

Mode of Reference.

FW 1, 2 Fireworshippers, part 1, paragraph 2.
LH 6, Light of the Harem, paragraph 6.
PP 24, Paradise and the Peri, paragraph 24.
VP 3, 17, Veiled Prophet, part 3, paragraph 17.

The examples are arranged according to the sounds, which, according to my pronunciation, are different, but must have been identical, according to the pronunciation of the poets, if the rhymes are perfect.

Faulty Rhymes observed in Moore and Tennyson.

1. Both rhyming syllables accented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>command</td>
<td>brand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>command</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glance</td>
<td>expanse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(last hast VP 2, 24)

[In all these cases the first word is occasionally pronounced with (w), more frequently with (ah).]

1 In the few extracts that are given we find: (Aal fyyneral 1, 1, 8. waz pas 1, 4, 11. whoseer- despair 1, 9, 28. lur muuv 2, 8, 1. morn weorn 4, 2, 41. faikht smoit 4, 2, 42.) And the following seem to be forced, a double value to -er, and -y being assumed,

(Britomart+ dezart+ 4, 1, 53. harmonii agrii 2, 12, 70. tshastitii bii 3, intr., 5, disloiai dal si 3, 5, 45.) The spelling here used is the preceding transliteration of Dr. Gill’s, the references are to book, canto, stanza, of the Faerie Queene.
(aa) = (A, AA, o, oo)

bar war VP 3, 14
guard lord T 124

haunts wants T 96 [the first word has sometimes (AA), and the second either (A) or (o).]

(aa) = (ee)

vase grace VP 2, 6. [the first word is very rarely called (vees), or (veez) generally (vaaz, vaaz).]

(A) = (aa), see (aa) = (A)

(αα) = (aa), see (αα) = (AA)

(αα) = (ee), see (ee) = (AA)

(α) = (aa), see (αα) = (α)

(α) = (ee)

amber chamber FW 4, 37 [the second word in these cases is usually (tshem-b2), occasionally (tshaam-b2); I do not know (tshem-b2).]

clamber chamber FW 1, 8

have grave T 54

(e) = (ee)

death faith T 80. 106. 112.
said maid VP 1, 28 [the word said is possibly occasionally called (seed).]

unsaid maid T 72

heaven driven FW 1, 1, 1, 15, 2, 11, 4, 8. LA 2, 42. VP 1, 33, 2, 33.

heaven forgiven LA 1, 14, 2, 13, 2, 65. FW 4, 1. PP 32.

heaven given FW 1, 2, 4, 4, 4, 7, 4, 24. LA 1, 9, 2, 8, 2, 37, 2, 46, 3, 1, 3, 5. LH 23. VP 1, 3, 1, 19, 1, 25, 2, 8, 2, 24, 2, 27.—T 16. 39

heaven o'erdriven T 61

heaven riven FW 3, 1. LH 6

heaven unniven VP 3, 11

[any attempt to say (niv-n) would no doubt have been scouted by any poet, but all poets allow the rhyme.]

inherit spirit PP 14 [(sperr-it) is now thought vulgar]
yes this FW 3, 2 [compare Sir T. Smith, supra p. 80].

(e) = (ii)

breath beneath LA 1, 15, 2, 2. VP 2, 31

breath underneath T 98

breath wraith LH 18. 22. VP 1, 9

dead beneath FW 1, 17. 1, 18. 3, 6. 3, 14.—T 40

death sheath FW 4, 28. VP 1, 2.

dead wreath FW 2, 13.—T 71

dead beneath VP 3, 17

deads wraiths LA 2, 63

heaven even FW 1, 17. LA 1, 6. 2, 33. PP 26. VP 1, 34

treads leads v. FW 4, 25

(αα) = (oo)

earth forth LA 3, 13. LH 30

(e, x) = (oo, oo)

above grove LH 2

above love wove LA 3, 8

beloved roved LH 3

come home LA 2, 74. 3, 8. LH 18

discover over LH 4

love grove LH 20

love rove VP 1, 18, 2, 35

lover over LH 1. 6.

loves groves FW 1, 9. LH 6. VP 1, 13.

one alone LH 24.—T 93

one shone VP 1, 15. LA prol. 5

one tune FW 4, 25

(α) = (uu)

blood good T 3, 33, 53, 82, 104

blood stood FW 2, 12, 2, 13, 4, 9

blood understood VP 1, 27, 3, 21

bud good T ep.

blood good T 126

blood stood FW 1, 13, 1, 18, 2, 8, 3, 11, 4, 29, PP 9

blood wood LH 25.—T 84

floods woods PP 12.—T 83

shut put T 35

thrush push T 89

(α) = (uu)

beloved moved T 51

blood brood FW 1, 2, 3, 1, 4, 4.

blood food FW 3, 14.

come dome FW 1, 1.

come tomb FW 2, 9.—T 83

flood food VP 2, 6.

love move FW 4, 7. LH 5.—T 17.

23. 39, 100
love prove T prol. 26, 47. 83.
loved proved PP 15. VP 1, 20.—T 103.
ep.
loved removed LA 3, 10.—T prol. 13.
loved unmoved FW 1, 3. 2, 12. LA 1,
16. VP 2, 27.
loves moves T ep.
some dome = judgment VP 1, 16

(\alpha, \iota) = (\alpha, \omicron \alpha)
curse horse T 6
words chords LA 2, 36. 2, 67. LH 33.
VP 2, 17.—T 47
word lord LA prol. 2.

(\alpha, \iota) = (\omicron \alpha, \omicron \alpha)
return'd mourn'd FW 2, 13
urn mourn T 9
[some persons say (muum)]
word adored VP 1, 29
word sword FW. 1, 13. 2, 3
words swords VP 1, 2. 1. 8

(\epsilon \epsilon) = (\iota 
)bear fear T prol.
bears years T 51
wears tears s. LA 1, 15

(\epsilon \epsilon) = (\alpha \alpha), see (\alpha \alpha) = (\epsilon \epsilon)
(\epsilon \epsilon) = (\alpha \iota), see (\alpha \iota) = (\epsilon \epsilon)
(\epsilon \epsilon) = (\epsilon \epsilon), see (\epsilon \epsilon) = (\epsilon \epsilon)

(\epsilon \epsilon) = (\iota 
)to day quay T 14

(\alpha \iota) = (\iota)
Christ mist T 28
Christ evangelist T 31
behind wind s. VP 1, 8
blind wind s. VP 3, 5
find wind s. T 8
kind wind s. VP 3, 2.—T 106
mankind wind s. T 28

[many readers always read (waind) in poetry instead of wind; Gill has generally (waind) even in prose.]

(\alpha \iota) = (\alpha \iota)
I joy T ep. [the pronunciation (ai dzhoi) would be out of the question]

(\alpha \omicron \omicron) = (\alpha \omicron, \omicron \omicron)
brow below LH 5
brow know T 89
down grown VP 2, 10
down own LA 2, 39. PP 24
now low T 4
powers doors T 36
shower pour LH 2. [the pronunciation (pouz) is now vulgar.]

(\iota) = (\epsilon), see (\epsilon) = (\iota)
(\iota) = (\alpha \iota), see (\alpha \iota) = (\iota)
(\iota) = (\iota)
did seed T ep.

(\iota) = (\epsilon), see (\epsilon) = (\iota)
(\iota) = (\epsilon \epsilon), see (\epsilon \epsilon) = (\iota)
(\iota) = (\epsilon \ epsilon), see (\epsilon \ epsilon) = (\iota)

(\omicron \omicron \iota) = (\omicron \omicron \iota)
anew through LA 3, 10
anew two VP 3, 27
dew through VP 2, 4
cause through T 115
few true FW 1, 17
drew new LA 1, 20
drew knew through LA 1, 15
drew LH 25
hew too VP 1, 36
drew true FW 3, 10
drew who VP 3, 3

[if hew is pronounced (shhuu) and not (riiu) the six last cases may be
estemed rhymes.]

knew too FW 1, 13
new too T 13
Perfume bloom LA prol. 2
Perfume bloom T 93
Lure sure VP 1, 29
Lute shoot VP 1, 29. [some say (luuu, luut).]
Mute flute VP 3, 2. [some say (liuu, liuit).]
View true VP 1, 23. [some say (truu).]
Use chose T 34
Yew through T 74

(\alpha) = (\alpha \alpha), see (\alpha \alpha) = (\alpha)

(\alpha) = (\alpha \alpha), see (\alpha \alpha) = (\alpha)

(\alpha) = (\alpha \alpha)
font wont T 29. [some say (wannt) and others (wannt).]

God rode FW 3, 5. 4. 15
gone alone LA 1, 20. 2, 71. LA prol.
5. VP 2, 10.—T 103
gone shone FW 2, 9. PP 18. VP 1,
29. LA 1, 3. [some say (shan).]

loss gross T 40
lost boast T 1
lost ghost T 91
lost most LA 3, 7, 3, 9—T. 27. 83
tost host VP 3, 6
on shone LA 1, 2. 2. 20. VP 1, 7.
[some say (shan).]

wan shone FW 4, 15

(\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota) = (\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota)
(\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota) = (\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota)
(\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota) = (\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota)
(\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota) = (\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota)
(\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota) = (\alpha \omicron \omicron \iota)

lord adored FW 4, 12
storm form T 16. [some say (foam) always, others distinguish (foam) shape, (foam) seat.]

\[
\begin{align*}
(oo) &= (\partial), \text{ see } (\partial) = (oo) \\
(oo) &= (\omega u), \text{ see } (\omega u) = (oo) \\
(oo) &= (u)
\end{align*}
\]

mode good T 46

\[
(oo) = (uu)
\]

doors poor T 28. [some say (moor).]

hope group FW 4, 16

more poor T 40. [probably a rhyme riche p. 246, as: here hear T 35.]

more poor T 77

\[
\begin{align*}
(oox) &= (\epsilon, \epsilon), \text{ see } (\epsilon, \epsilon) = (oox) \\
(oox) &= (\omega, \epsilon), \text{ see } (\omega, \epsilon) = (oox) \\
(oox) &= (\omega u), \text{ see } (\omega u) = (oox) \\
(oox) &= (oo), \text{ see } (oo) = (oox)
\end{align*}
\]

foot brute T prol.

good food VP 2, 33

woods moods T 27. 35. 87

\[
\begin{align*}
(uu) &= (\partial), \text{ see } (\partial) = (uu) \\
(uu) &= (iu), \text{ see } (iu) = (uu) \\
(uu) &= (oo), \text{ see } (oo) = (uu)
\end{align*}
\]

II. An Unaccented Rhyming with an Accented Syllable.

(\epsilon, \epsilon) unaccented = (\epsilon, \epsilon) accented

islander myrb VP 3, 4

(\epsilon, \epsilon) unaccented = (\epsilon, \epsilon) acc.

universe fierce VP 1, 25

(\epsilon, \epsilon) unaccented = (\epsilon, \epsilon) acc.

festival all VP 3, 19

musical fall FW 2, 17

(\epsilon, \epsilon) unaccented = (\epsilon, \epsilon) acc.

circumstance chance T 62. [some say (srkemstens) with a distinct secondary accent on the last syllable.]

countenance chance T 112

deliverance trance VP 3, 18

inhabitants plants LH 10

utterance trance LH 33

visitant haunt VP 1, 12

(\epsilon, \epsilon) unaccented = (\epsilon, \epsilon) acc.

masterdom home T 100

(\epsilon, \epsilon) unaccented = (\epsilon, \epsilon) acc.

Lebanon sun FW 2, 11. PP 22

orison one VP 1, 22

(uu) = (uu), see (uu) = (uu)

(dh) = (th)

breathe wreath s. VP 2, 7

(dh) = (ths)

breathe sheathes FW 1, 2

breathe wreathes LII 2

(\epsilon) = (\epsilon), see (\epsilon) = (\epsilon)

(t) = (oo), see (oo) = (oo)

(s) = (z)

bliss his VP 1, 2

else tells T 75

face gaze T 32

grace vase VP 2, 5 [adopting the pronunciation (vaaz, vaaz) or (veez), this is faulty; only the unusual (vees) saves the rhyme.]

house s. boughs T 29

(th) = (dh), see (dh) = (th)

(z) = (s), see (s) = (z)

house s. bows T 35

house s. vows T 20

ice flies T 105

paradise eyes LA 2, 11. VP 1, 3.—T 24. ep.

peace disease T 104

peace these T 88

race phase T ep.

this is PP 10.—T 20. 34. 83.

(i) unaccented = (i) acc.

agonies see FW 1, 13

armory see VP 3, 1

canopies breeze VP, 3, 2

constancy be T 21

desperately breeze FW 1, 17

destinies please LA 3, 15

ergies ease VP 2, 7

eternities seas VP 2, 7

exquisite sweet FW 3, 13

harmonies breeze VP 2, 10. LII 17

history be T 101
Some of these rhymes, as may be seen, are justifiable by diversities of pronunciation. Others are really rhymes of long and short vowels. But others cannot be made into rhymes with the help of any known received pronunciations. Thus:—1) bar war, guard lord, clamber chamber, amber chamber, have grave, heaven given [very common], heaven even [also common], death beneath, death sheath, &c. [common], earth forth, one gone, rough off, above grove, some home [very common], love grove &c., one alone &c., blood, good &c., flood stood &c., thrush push, blood food, come tomb, love move &c., curse horse, word lord [so that as we have: guard lord, we might have: word guard!] word sword, Christ mist, I joy, brow below, down grown &c., now low, loss gross, lost boast &c., mode good, hope group:—2) breathe wreath, breathes sheaths, bliss his, else tells, house s. boughs &c., ice flies &c.—are about as bad rhymes as can be, the first division being purely consonantal rhymes, and the second mere assonances. The rhymes of an unaccented and accented syllable are all bad, but the double use of unaccented final -y, -ies, to rhyme either with (-ii, -iiz) or (-oi, -oiz) at the convenience of the poet is really distressing; compare: agony I, agonies sees; energies cries, energies ease; harmony die, harmonies breeze; mysteries replies, mysteries these &c. It is at once evident that any attempt to derive the pronunciation of the xixth century from an examination of modern rhymes must utterly fail.

Now the extended examination of Spenser's rhymes above named, leads to a similar result. It would not only be impossible from them to determine his pronunciation, but his usages cross the known rules of the time, even if we include Hart's varieties, so multifariously, that the poet was evidently hampered with the multiplicity of rhyming words which his stanza necessitated,¹ and became careless, or satisfied with rough approximations.

The language in which he wrote was artificial in itself. It was not the language of the xvth century, but aped, without reflecting, that of the xvth. The contrast between the genuine old tongue of Chaucer, or modern tongue of Shakspere, and the trumped up tongue of Spenser, which could never have been spoken at any time, is painful. Coming to the examination of Spenser's rhymes fresh from those of Chaucer, the effect on my ears was similar to that produced by reading one of Sheridan Knowles's mock Elizabethan English dramas, after studying Shakspere. It is sad that so great a poet should have put on such motley.

¹ The scheme of his rhymes is a b a b b c b c c, necessitating 2, 3, and 4 rhyming words.
Sometimes, either the author or the printer,—it is impossible to say which, but in all subsequent citations I follow Mr. Morris,—seems to think he can make a rhyme by adopting an unusual spelling. At other times unusual forms of words, long obsolete or else provincial, are adopted, and different forms of the same word chosen to meet the exigencies of the rhyme.

Unusual Spellings and Forms for appearance of Rhymes.

infusd chusd = chose used 2, 2, 5
fire yre stire = stir 2, 5, 2.
draws jawes waves = waves 2, 12, 4. [see Salesbury, supra p. 785.]
strond hond found stond = strand hand
found strand, 2, 6, 12. lond fond =
land found 3, 2, 8. hand understand
found = found 3, 1, 60. [here the two
first words have been left unchanged.]
aboard affoord foord = aboard afford
ford 2, 6, 19.
terentayne demayne = demean 2, 9, 40
paramoure succoure droure = floor poure
2, 10, 19.
fayre hayre = heir shayre = share 2, 10, 28.
weet = wit v. feet 2, 10, 71. [weet is con-
stantly used.]
gate hate awate = await 2, 11, 6.
assault exault withhault = withheld
fault 2, 11, 9. fault hault assault 6, 2, 23.
tooke strooke = struck 2, 12, 33. strooke
looke 2, 12, 33. broken stroken
wroken, 6, 2, 7. tooke strooke
awooke looke 6, 7, 48.
vele = veil unhele concele 2, 12, 64.
vele appele revele 3, 3, 19. vele con-
cele 4, 10, 41. Florimelle vele 5, 3, 17.
paynt faynt tynt daynt = dainty 3,
intr. 2.
way convoy = convey assay way 3, 1, 2.
surecase encrease prease = press peace
peace 3, 1, 23. prease = press surecase
peace 4, 9, 32.
fayre debonayre compayre = compare,
repayre 3, 1, 20. fayre prepayre =
prepare 3, 4, 14. chayre = chere, dear,
ayre, fayre 3, 5, 51.
sex wex = wax v. vex flex = flaws 3, 1, 47.
beare appear there 3, 2, 11.

1 The Globe edition Complete Works of Edmund Spenser, edited from the original editions and manuscripts by R. Morris, with a memoir by J. W. Hales, London, 1869. In this edition the stanzas of the Faerie Queen are numbered, and hence my references to book, canto, and stanza can be easily verified. It has not been considered necessary to extend this examination beyond the Faerie Queen.
Occasionally, but not very often, Spenser indulges in unmistakable assonances, or mere consonantal rhymes, or anomalies, which it is very difficult to classify at all, as in the following list.

**Anomalies, Eye Rhymes, Assonances.**

mount front 1, 10, 53.
fyre shyre conspyre yre 1, 11, 14 [here shyre was a mere rhyme to the eye.]
away decay day Span 1, 11, 30.
bath wrath hath = hateth hath 2, 2, 4.
bough enough 2, 6, 25 [where enough is quantitative and not numerical.]
mouth drouth coust = could 2, 7, 58.
[eye-rhymes.]
towre endure sure 2, 9, 21. [consonantal rhyme.]
deckt sett = decked set 2, 12, 49. [an assonance.]
Chryssogonee degree 3, 6, 4. [but] Chryssogonee alone gone thone 3, 6, 5.
[the very next stanza, whereas the former spelling is reverted to in 3, 6, 51.]
nest overkest = overst, oppress 3, 6, 10.
more store yore horrore = horror 3, 6, 36.
stayd strayd sayd denyad = denied 3, 7, 57. day tway denyad = deny dismay 3, 11, 11.
gotten soften often 4, intr. 5. [an assonance.]
health wealth deal’th = dealeth stealth 4, 1, 6. [this may only be a long and short vowel rhyming.]
maligne benigne indigne bring 4, 1, 30.
[even if -igne is pronounced (-ign), as occasionally in Gill this will only be an assonance.]
follie jollie dallie 4, 1, 36.
evill drevill devil 4, 2, 3. [even when the two last words rhymed, as they were usually spelled, as drivel divel, they only formed consonantal rhymes with the first, and the spelling seems to have been changed to make an eye-rhyme.]
ybore morne morne weyne = weeren 4, 2, 41. [see above p. 858.]
imid hid thrid = thread midid 4, 2, 48.
emperish cherisht guarish florisht 4, 3, 29 [consonantal rhymes.]
discover mother other brother 4, 3, 40 [assonance.]
aimed ordained 4, 4, 24 [assonance.]
ventred = ventured entred = entered 4, 7, 31 [this would have been a rhyme in the xvii th. century.]
dum = dumb overcum mum beem = become 4, 7, 44, [here the spelling seems unnecessarily changed, the rhyme being, probably, good.]
fouré paramoure 4, 9, 6 [consonantal and eye rhyme.]
wont = wont hunt 5, 4, 29. [change of spelling probably used to indicate correct pronunciation, compare.]
wont hunt 6, 11, 9.
neare few 5, 4, 37 [this may be considered as an assonance, (neer feeu), which takes off much of the harshness apparent in the modern (uiiu fin).]
growell levell 5, 4, 40
warre marre darre farre = war mar dare far 5, 4, 44, [the spelling apparently altered to accommodate dare, which had a long vowel, the others having short vowels.] thondred sondred encombrd enombred 5, 5, 19, enomber thonder asonder 6, 5, 19, [assonance.]
endeavour labour favour behaviour 5, 5,
35 [part consonance, part consonantal rhyme.

attend hemd = hemned kmd = kempt combed portend 5, 7, 4. [consonance, it is curious that kmd was unnecessarily forced in spelling.]

discover lover endever ever 5, 7, 22 [consonantal rhyme].

stronger longer wronger = wrong doer, 5, 8, 7. [Did Spenser say (stroq-er rwoq'er), or (stroq'er, rwoq'ger), or did he content himself with an assonance? I lately heard (siq'gt) from a person of education.]

desynes betymes cymes clymes =designs betimes crimes climbs 5, 9, 42. [assonance.]

tempted consented invented 5, 11, 50. [assonance.]

washed scratch = washed scratched 5, 12, 30. [assonance.]

roade glade = did ride, glade 6, 2, 16. [consonantal rhyme.]

most ghost host enforst = enforced, 6, 3, 39. [not only are the consonants different in the last word, but the vowel is probably short and not long as in the others.]

quease reason season seisin 6, 4, 37. [With the last rhyme compare Salesbury's seyn (sez'zn) for season, p. 783.]

mauer dishonor 6, 6, 25.

hildeous monstruous hous battallious 6, 7, 41. [consonantal or eye rhyme, unless Spenser called hous (hus).]

live v. give drive thrive 6, 8, 35. [consonantal or eye rhyme]. forgive drive live v. grieve 6, 9, 22.

alone home 6, 9, 16. [assonance.]

wood stood bud aloud fluid = flood 6, 10, 6. [Did Spenser, like Bullokar, say (aluan'd)?]

turne mourne leare 6, 10, 18. [consonantal rhyme.]

The above examples, which it does not require any historical knowledge to appreciate, are amply sufficient to prove that Spenser allowed himself great latitude in rhyming, so that if we find him continually transgressing the rules of contemporary orthoepists, we cannot assume that he necessarily pronounced differently from all of them, or that he agreed with one set rather than another. When however we come to examine other words which he has rhymed together, where his rhymes, if they could be relied on would be valuable orthoepical documents, we find not only apparent anticipations of usages which were not fixed for at least a century later, but such a confusion of usages that we cannot be sure that he was even aware of these later pronunciations. Hence his rhymes not only do not show his own custom, but they do not justify us in supposing that the more modern practice had even cropped up in stray cases. The principal conclusion then to be drawn from such an examination is that we have left the time of perfect rhymes, exemplified in Chaucer and Gower, far behind us, and that beginning at least with the xviith century we cannot trust rhymes to give us information on pronunciation. The previous examination of the rhymes of Moore and Tennyson shew that the same latitude yet remains. The esthetic question as to the advantage of introducing such deviations from custom does not here enter into consideration. But it would seem sufficiently evident that they arose at first from the difficulty of rhyming,1 and there is no doubt that they remain in the majority of cases for the same reason. Their infrequency, and the mode in which they are generally disguised by orthography, or apparently justified from old usage, would seem to imply that the poet did not in general consciously adopt them, as musicians have adopted and developed the use of discords, in order to produce a

1 See what Chaucer says, suprà p. 254, note 2.
determinate effect. Hudibras is of course an exception, and all burlesque poems, where the effect intended is evident and always appreciated, but is not exactly such as is sought for in serious poems. The following examples from Spenser may seem over abundant, but the opinion is so prevalent that old rhymes determine sounds, and Spenser’s authority might be so easily cited to upset the conclusions maintained in the preceding pages on some points of importance, that it became necessary to show his inconsistence, and the consequent valuelessness of his testimony, by extensive citations. The arrangement as in the case of the modern poets is by the sounds made equivalent by the rhymes, but Dr. Gill’s pronunciation, as determined by his general practice is substituted for my own. At the conclusion a few special terminations and words are considered, which I could not conveniently classify under any of the preceding headings.

Anomalous and Miscellaneous Rhymes in Spenser.

\[(a) = (aa)\]

awakt lak\(t\) = awaked lacked 2, 8, 51. 
blakke lake make partake 5, 11, 32. 
lam\(b\) same dam = lamb same dam 1, 10, 57. am\(e\) = am dame same 1, 12, 30.

1Those who wish to see the ludicrous and consequently undesirable effect which is often produced by such false rhymes, should consult a very amusing book called: Rhymes of the Poets by Felix Ago. (Prof. S. S. Haldeman), Philadelphia, 1868. 8vo. pp. 56. These rhymes are selected from 114 writers, chiefly of the xviiith and xviiiith centuries, and were often correct according to pronunciations then current. The following extract is from the preface: “It is better to spoil a rhyme than a word. In modern normal English therefore, every word which has a definite sound and accent in conversation, should retain it in verse; great should never be perverted into greet to the ear, signed into signed, grinned into grind, or wind into wind” (wind, wind). “A few words have two forms in English speech, as said, which Pope and Th. Moore rhyme with laid and head; and again, which Shakespeare, Dryden, and Th. Moore rhyme with plain and then, and Suckling with inn.” “The learned Sir William Jones is the purest rhymers known to the author, questionable rhymes being so rare in his verse as not to attract attention. His Arcadia of 368 lines has but forlorn and horn; god, rode; wind, behind; med, reed (mead of meadow being med and not need).” In a foot note he cites the rhymes: med head, med reads Dryden, tread head Herrick, mead reads Johnson. “Caissa of 334 lines, Solima of 104, and Laura of 150, are perfect. The Seven Fountains, of 542 lines, has only shone—sun, and stood—blood. The Enchanted Fruit, 574 lines, has wound—ground twice, which some assimilate. The few questionable rhymes might have been avoided; and these poems are sufficiently extended to show what can be done in the way of legitimate rhyme. Versifiers excuse bad rhymes in several ways, as Dr. Garth [A.D. 1672-1719]—ill lines, but like ill paintings, are allowed To set and to recommend the good; but it is doubtful whether the Doctor would thus have associated allow’d and good, if he could have readily procured less dissionant equivalents. Contrariwise, some authors make efficient use of what to them are allowable rhymes, and much of the spirit of Hudibras would be lost without them. Cardan believ’d great states depend Upon the tip o’ th’ Bear’s tail’s end! That, as she whisk’d it t’wars the Sun, Strew’d mighty empires up and down; Which others say must needs be false Because your true bears have no tails!” —Butler.
EDMUND SPENSER'S RHYMES.

(aa) = (aa)? or = (a)?

[in most of the following as in some of the preceding one of the words has now (ee).]

ame = an came shame 1, 5, 26.

prepare'd hard far'd 2, 11, 3. reward hard prepar'd 3, 5, 14. [compare 3, 8, 14, 2, 27, 5, 4, 22.]
hast = haste fast 1, 6, 40. haste past fast hast v. 1, 9, 39. fast = taste cast 2, 12, 57. [compare 3, 2, 17, 3, 7, 38. 6, 10, 35, 6, 12, 16.]
gave have crave brave 1, 1, 3. wave save have 2, 6, 5. brave have slave 2, 7, 33. [compare 2, 8, 4, 2, 10, 6.]

w initial does not affect the subsequent a?

ran wan 1, 8, 42. man wan a. began overran 2, 2, 17. ran wan v. wan a. can 2, 6, 41. began wan a. 3, 3, 16.
farre starre arre = are warre 1, 2, 36.
ward saufgard far'd 2, 5, 8. reward far'd shard 2, 6, 38. 2, 7, 47.
hard regard reward 3, 1, 27. 3, 5, 14. 4, 2, 27. ward unbard = unbarred far'd 4, 9, 5.
dwarfe scarce 5, 2, 3.

was gras has 1, 1, 20. was pas 1, 1, 30.
1, 8, 19. was grass pas alas! 1, 9, 36.
2, 1, 41. 2, 6, 37. was masse 2, 9, 45. has was mas 2, 12, 34. 3, 4, 23.
5, 7, 17. was chace 6, 3, 50.

al = (al, aal, Aal)?

fall funerall 1, 2, 20. fall martall call 1, 2, 36. shall call fall 3, 1, 54. vale dale hospitale avale = hospital avail 2, 9, 10.

(ee) = (aa)

[The following rhymes in one stanza show that ea could not have had the same sound as long a; speake awake weake shake sake be strake knee bee = be, 1, 5, 12, but the spelling and rhyme would lead to the conclusion that ea and long a were identical in:]

weake shake bespoke 3, 2, 42.
dare spear 3, 10, 28. fare share compare apare 5, 2, 48. fare whylecare prepare bare 6, 5, 8.

regard rear'd 3, 8, 19.
grace embrace embrace = ease encrease 2, 7, 16.

late gate retrate = retreat 1, 1, 13. estate late gate retrate 1, 8, 12, 4, 10, 57. 5, 4, 45, 5, 7, 35. intreat late 4, 2, 51. treat late ingrate hate 6, 7, 2. entreat obstinate 6, 7, 40

tox nature creature feature stature 4, 2, 44. recieve = receive gave have 2, 10, 69.
edenour, save her, favour, gave her 5, 4, 12. have save gave leave 5, 11, 46. leave have 6, 1, 9. save reave forgave gave 6, 7, 12.

(al) = (aa)

[The word proclaim has a double form with or without i, as we have seen supra p. 253, and similarly for claim; the latter word has both forms in French, hence such rhymes as the following are intelligible.]

proclome overcame dame same 1, 12, 20. frame same name proclame 2, 5, 1.
came game fame proclame 5, 3, 7.
clame shame 4, 4, 9. came name clame same 4, 10, 11. came clame tame 4, 11, 12.

[The following rhymes, however, seem to lead to the pronunciation of ai as long a, and if we took these in the conjunction with the preceding, where ea is equal long a, we should have ai = ea as in Hart, and both = long a, contrary to the express declarations of contemporary orthoepists, and to the rhymes of long a with short a already given. As Spenser's contemporary, Sir Philip Sidney apparently read ai as (ee) in Hart's fashion, see below p. 872, Spenser may have adopted this pronunciation also, and then his rhymes of ai, a, were faulty. But it is impossible to draw any conclusion from Spenser's own usage.]

Hania day 2, 10, 24. sway Menevia 3, 5, 55. pray day =Emelia 4, 7, 18. say Adicia 5, 8, 20.
staid = stayed made shade displeahe 1, 1, 14. 5, 4, 38. made trade waihe = weighed 1, 4, 27. made dismaid blade 1, 7, 47. 6, 10, 28. laid sayde made 1, 8, 32. said made laid 2, 7, 32. displayd bewrayd made 2, 12, 66. mayd = blade dismaid 3, 1, 63. playd made shade 3, 4, 29. 3, 10, 10. decayd dissiwade 4, 9 34.
taile entrai mayle baie 1, 1, 16. whales scales tayles 2, 12, 23. faile prevaille bale 3, 7, 21. assaye flayle avayle dale 5, 11, 59.
saine paine bane 2, 11, 29. retaine Gloriane 5, 8, 3.
aire rare spare 1, 2, 32. faire dispayre shayre = share 1, 3, 2. chaire faire sware bare 1, 3, 16. faire bare 1, 4, 25. ware = aware haire 1, 7, 1. declare fayre 1, 7, 26. faire whylebare dispayre rare 1, 9, 28 [see p. 558, note.] fayre
hayre shavre = share 2, 10, 28. 6, 2. 17. repayre care misrure share 4, 8. 5. care aire faire 4, 8. 8. haire = hair [certainly (naer)] bare are [certainly (aer)] fare 4, 11, 48. faire care 5, 9, 40. faire despaire empare misfare, 5, 11, 48. faire compare. 1, 2, 37 [see: compare appear under (ee) = (aa).] payre prepare 1, 3, 34. fayre prepare stayre declare 1, 4, 13. fayre hayre = hair [certainly (naer)] even in Chaucer. ayr prepare 1, 5. 2. rare fair com-paire 1, 6, 10. faire reapre s. restore rare 1, 8. 50. 3, 2. 22. fayre dis-payre ayr prepare 2, 3, 7. compare fayre 2, 5, 29. faire debonaire prepare aire 2, 6, 28. ayr prepare 2, 11, 36. 3, 4, 14. fair three-square spare prepare 3, 1, 4. fayre debon-aire compare repayre 3, 1. 26. 3, 6. 8. faire compare share 4, 3, 39. rare fare prepare fare 4, 10, 6. repayre fayre prepare ayr 4, 10, 47. grate e. bayte 2, 7, 34. state late debate baite, 4, intr. 1. late gate awake prate 4, 10, 14. gate wake 5, 6, 4. dazed raised = dazed raised 1, 1, 18. amaze gaze praise 6, 11, 13.

(ai) = (ai)?
streight might fight 5, 10, 31. straight bright quick despight 5, 11, 5. straight right fight 5, 12, 8; [if we adopt the theory that Spenser's ei was generally (ee), these examples show a retention of the old sound as in the modern height, slight, although (heet, seet) may be occasionally heard.]

ought = ought.
raught ought fraught saught = sought 2, 8, 40. raught wrought taught wrought 2, 9, 19.

(ec) = (e) = (ii) = (ai)
leach = physician teach 1,5, 44. speach = speech teach 6, 4, 37.
proceed = (proceed;) breede 1, 5, 22.
dothe lead, aread, bred, sead = seed 1, 10, 51. did lead, aread tread 2, 1, 7.
reed = rend weed stood agreed 4, 4, 39. tread proceed aread dread 4, 8, 13.
wrake wecke, seekse 6, 7, 13.
concealed hcald = held conceal'd 1, 5, 29. beheld yeeld 4, 3, 14. beheld weld = wield 4, 3, 21.
beame tene = team 1, 4, 36. estceme strecme extreme misseeme 5, 8, 26.
deemed seemed esteemed stremed stremed 4, 3, 28. deeme extreme 4, 9, 1.
scene been cleane keene = (ee, ii, ee, ii) 1, 7, 53. scene scene cleene weene 1, 10, 58. quene unsee cleene 2, 1, 1. meane leen atwene bene = been 2, 1, 58. keene scene clean 3, 8, 37. 3, 12, 20. 5, 9, 49. greene cleene bescene beme = (ee, ii, ii, ii) 6, 5, 38.
seend = rend attend defend spend 3, 7, 3. seend = friend wend end amend 4, 3, 4. 44. defend seend kend = kend send 5, 11, 20.
kepe shepee depe chepe = cheap 6, 11, 40. heare e. = (tiir) see § 7] near inquere weare 1, 1, 31. teare e. faere heare 1, 2, 31. faere there requere 1, 3, 12. heare teare s. = (tiir) faere inquere 1, 14, 36. 3, 25. heare = hai re beare appearre deare 1, 4, 24. deare appearre were e. 1, 9, 14. fare wyleare dis-paree, 1, 9, 28. [see under (ai) = (aa).] were appearre faere seare 1, 11, 13. ycare forbearre nearre weare = weare 2, 1, 53. reare cleare appeare 2, 2, 46. yearres pearses = peer teares s. 2, 10, 62. were dreare tease v. beare e. 2, 11, 8. deare, meare = mere 2, 11, 34. cleare apparee displee wyleare 5, 8, 1. beare appearre here fere = companion 6, 3, 22. beare cleare cheare = chear despyre 6, 5, 38. nearre care faere reree 3, 12, 6. fere = companion pere = peer, dere = dear, cler = clear, stee = stee teare v. neare 6, 18, 12. were were 1, 8, 49. there neare feare 1, 9, 34. there heare appeare 2, 13, 14. teare e. there heare 5, 8, 41.
weary cherry merry 6, 10, 22. pearce ferce reherce = pierce fierce re-
hearse 1, 4, 50. creaste pearst = pierst 6, 1, 46.
peace preace = press release cease 1, 12, 15. surecase encresse precase = press peace 3, 1, 23. release possessive will-
ningnesse 4, 5, 25. cease, suppress 4, 9, 2.

beast brest = breast suppresse 1, 3, 19. 1, 8, 15. beasts behests 1, 4, 18.
beast beast deteaste = destest 1, 4, 21. 1, 11, 49. beast, creast = crest feast adrest 1, 8, 6. east creast 1, 12, 2. beasts creste guests 2, 5, 30. east increast gess 2, 5, 24.

heat sweet eat threat = (ee, ii, ee ?, e) 1, 3, 33. heate sweet eat 1, 4, 22. great heat threat beat 1, 5, 7. scat great excheate 1, 5, 25. 2, 2, 20, 2, 11, 32. great treat intrete [see under
(ee) = (ii) 

(an) = (i) 

(oo) = (oi) 

(oo) = (oi) 

(oi) = (oi) 

(oi) = (oi)
rose expose lose 3, 1, 46. disposed loosed 4, 5, 5. loosed unclos'd disclos'd 4, 5, 16. whom become 4, 7, 11. wombe come roam home 4, 12, 4. groome come somme =sum 5, 6, 8.

rocke broke 2, 12, 7. wroth loth goth =goeth 2, 12, 57. wroth loth blo' th =bloweth 3, 7, 8. alone anone bemoane swnone = bemoan swoon 6, 30.

lord ador'd scor'd word 1, 1, 2. sworne retournes mourne 1, 12, 41. sword word abhord 2, 1, 11. abord ford word lord 2, 6, 4. foure paramoure 2, 9, 34. paramoure succoure flour poure =floor pour 2, 10, 19. attone done on 5, 6, 17. retournes forlorn 5, 6, 7.

long wrong tong 1, int. 2. along tong strong hong 1, 5, 34. tong hung stong 2, 1, 3. wrong tong strong 2, 4, 12. prolong wrong long 2, 8, 28. strong along sprung emong 2, 12, 10. sprung emong flong 3, 4, 41. hong strong 3, 11, 52.

ou, ow = (ou) or = (uu) ?
downe sowne = sound sowne = swoon townes 1, 1, 41. bowre howre stowre = bower hour stowr 1, 2, 7, 2, 3, 34. towre powre scoowe conqueorre 1, 2, 20. howre lowre powre emperour 1, 2, 22. wound stound found 1, 7, 26. wound sownd 1, 8, 11. found hound wound 2, 1, 12. bowr baviour 2, 2, 15. towre endure sure 2, 9, 21. wonderous hideous thus piteous 2, 11, 38. hous valorous adventurous victorious 3, 3, 54. Hesperus joyeous hous 3, 4, 51. hous ungratious hideous 3, 4, 55. hous glorious 3, 6, 12. thus hous 3, 11, 49. thus outrageous 4, 1, 47.

we = (oo) ?
one owne unknowne 1, 4, 28. foe flow show grow 1, 5, 9. so foe overthorke woe 2, 4, 10. overthrowne knowne owne none 6, 1, 14.

ir = (ur) ?
forth worth birth 2, 3, 21.

er = (ar)
harts = hearts smarts parts desarts = deserts 2, 2, 29. desert part 2, 4, 26. serve starve 2, 6, 34. serve deserve swerve 3, 7, 53 [(er) or (ar) ë] dart smart pertart = pertart heart = heart 3, 11, 30. Britomart part heart desart 4, 1, 33. depart hart art revert 4, 6, 43. hart smart dart convert 5, 5, 28. parts smarts arts deserts 6, 5, 33. regard mard prefard = marred preferred 6, 9, 40. [In reference to this confusion of (er, ar) it may be noticed that Prof. Blackie of Edinburgh, in his public lectures, pronounced accented er in many words, in such a manner that it is difficult to decide whether the sound he means to utter is (er, ar, ar) or, the r being slightly, but certainly, trilled. A similar indistinctness may have long prevailed in earlier times, and would account for these confusions.] marinere tears 1, 3, 31. [does this rhyme (er, eer) ?]

brood mood good withstood 1, 10, 32. blood good brood 1, 10, 64. groome come somme = sum 5, 6, 8. mood stood wod 5, 6, 15. approve move love 2, 4, 24.

Lud good 2, 10, 46. flood mud blood good 5, 2, 27. woont hunt 5, 4, 23. push rush gush 1, 3, 35. rush bush 2, 3, 21. rush push 3, 1, 17. blunt but 1, 6, 24. truth ensu'th youth ruth 1, 6, 12, 2, 3, 2.

use accuse abuse spues 1, 4, 32. vewed rude 3, 10, 48. newes use 5, 6, 51.

blis enemis = bliss enemies 4, 9, 16. prise =prise thris = thris cowardise emprise 5, 3, 15.

-e, -ed syllabic.

to the long raynes at her commande ment 3, 4, 33. salvagesse sans finesse, shewing secret wit 3, 4, 39. [salvagesse has its final e elided, finesse preserved, shewing inconsistency.]

wondered answered conjectured 2, 4, 39. accomplishid hid 3, 3, 48. led appareled garnished 3, 3, 59. fed forwaried bed dread 5, 6, 50. [but -ed is constantly = (-d, -d).]

formerly grounded and fast settled 2, 12, 1. [this is remarkable for both the last syllables].
gh mute.
spright sight quight = quite sight 1, 1, 45. diversely jollity lye = high daintily 1, 7, 32. 1, 8. 
write, light, knight 3, 9, 1. bite knight might 6, 6, 27. delight [generally without gh] sight knight sight 6, 8, 20.

made trade waide = weighed 1, 4, 27.
[see also (aa) = (ai).]
bayt wayt straat = straight sleight 2, 7, 64. [see also (ai) = (ai).]

heard = (haarl) = (hord)?
heard embard = embardred 1, 2, 31. regard heard 1, 12, 16. heard far'd prepar'd 2, 2, 19. heard unbard prepar'd = unbarred prepared 5, 4, 37. heard reward 7, 7, 24. heard hard debard 5, 9, 36.

heard beard afeard seared 1, 11, 26.

heir = (naer) = (naer) = (heer).
fay hayre 1, 12, 21
affayres hayres hayres cares 2, 10, 37. deare hayre 2, 10, 61.

inquire = (inkweer) = (inkwoir).
inquire spere = spear 2, 3, 12. nere = near were inquere 3, 10, 19. inquire were nere 5, 11, 48.
retire inquire desire 5, 2, 52.

-i-on in two syllables.

submission compassion affliction 1, 3, 6.
devotion contemplation meditation 1, 10, 46. Philémon anon potion 2, 4, 30. upon anon confusion 2, 4, 42. conditions abusions illusions 2, 11, 11. fashion don complexion occasion 3, 6, 38. fashion anon gon = gone 3, 7, 10. [these examples of fash-i-on, are valuable, because the sh spelling seemed to imply fash-ion in two syllables].
inclina-tion fa-shion 6, 9, 42.

[Whether the two last syllables are to be divided or no, it is difficult to say; if they are, the lines have two super-

fluous syllables. The stanza begins thus—

But Calidore, of courteous inclination
Tooke Coridon and set him in his place,
That he should lead the dance as was his fashion.

On account of the laxity of Spenser's rhymes it is impossible to say whether this was a rhyme or an assonance, that is, whether the -tioy was pronounced as -shion. I am inclined to think not. See the remarks on Shakspere's rhyme: passion fashion, below § 8.]

like = (l'itsh).
witch pitch unilich = unlike twitch 1, 5, 28. bewitch sich = such lich = like 3, 7, 29.

love.
love hove move 1, 2, 31. approve move love 2, 4, 24. love behove above reproove 6, 2, 1.

one.
one shone gone 1, 1, 15. throne one fone = foes 3, 3, 33. gone alone one 3, 8, 46.

shew = (shoo, shoo; shew)?
show low 1, 2, 21. slow show 1, 3, 26. foe flow show grow 1, 5, 9. slow low show 1, 10, 5. shewn known, own thrown 5, 4, 18. show flow know 5, 9, 13. forgoe, showe 6, 1, 27. shewed bestrawed unsowed sowed 6, 4, 14. moe = more showe knowe age 6, 11, 11.
view vew shew 1, 2, 26. 2, 3, 32, 3, 1, 41, 5, 3, 23. vew knew shew crew 1, 4, 7. newes shewes 1, 7, 21. subdew shewd 2, 8, 55. shew vew knew hew 2, 9, 3, 2, 11, 13. grew hew shew 3, 3, 50. dew shew 3, 6, 3. hew new trew shew 4, 1, 18. drew threw shew hew 4, 8, 6. trew embrew shew rew 5, 1, 16. vew pursew shew 6, 5, 22. vew shew askew hew 6, 10, 4.

would, could, should.
mould could mould 1, 7, 33.ould would 1, 7, 41. mould should defoul 1, 10, 42. gold bold would mould 2, 7, 40. behould should hoould 3, 11, 34. behold hold would 4, 10, 16. would hoould 5, 5, 55. mould could should 5, 6, 2. could behold 5, 7. 5. could would hoould 6, 1, 29. bold could hoould 6, 5, 15.

wound, swound.
wound round sound 1, 1, 9. stownd ground wound 2, 8, 32. found swound ground 4, 7, 9.
Sir Philip Sidney’s Rhymes.

Gill cites several passages from Sir Philip Sidney (A.D. 1554–86) who was the contemporary of Spenser (A.D. 1552–99). Mr. N. W. Wyer has kindly furnished me with a collection of rhymes from Sir Ph. Sidney’s version of the Psalms, which I have arranged as follows. It will be seen that Sidney was a more careful rhymer than Spenser. But he seems to have accepted the mute gh, Hart’s pronunciation of ai as (ee), the inexpediency of distinguishing (oon) and (oo), and the liberty of making final -g=(f) rhyme with either (ii) or (ei). His other liberties are comparatively small, and his imperfect rhymes very few. In the following list the numbers refer to the numbers of the psalms in which the rhymes occur. The arrangement is not the same as for Spenser’s rhymes, but rather alphabetical.

Apparent imperfect Rhymes.

Cradle able 71, is a mere assonance.
Hewne one 80, is difficult to understand, unless hevin like shewen, had occasionally an (oo) sound.
Abandon randon = random 89, th imperfection is here rather apparent than real, as random is the correct old form.
Proceeding reading 19, it is very possible that in proceed, succeed, proceed, the e was more correctly pronounced (ee), or at least that a double pronunciation prevailed. See Spenser’s rhymes, p. 868, col. 1, under (ee) = (ii).
Share bare ware = wear 35, this must be considered a real bad rhyme.

A.

Long and short : am game 22, am came 37, forsake wrack 37, inviolate forgate estate 78, tary vary 71, grasse place 37, hast last 9, barre are 82, barric are 88, 103, past haste 88, wast = waste plast 31, plac’d hast 5. 8, plast fast 31, cast defast 74, tast caste 18, orecast last 16, hath wrath 2.

Have rhymes with : grave 5. 16, crave 16, save 28. 33, wave 72.
W” does not affect the following a, in : wast last 9, was passe 18, flashed washed 66, quarrell apparell 89, wander meander 143.

AI.

Uncertain, (ai) or (ee) : praises = preys staiac say ay 28, afraid laide 8.
Probably imperfect, ai = (aa) : praise phrase 34, repairo are 91.
Nearly certain, ai = (ee), since even Gill writes concite with (ee), though he admits (ei, eei) in they obey : they say 3, concite wait 20, waite decite 38, concite scate 40, obey daie 45.

Quite certain, ai = (ee), seas laies 33, sea survey 72, sea way 136, praise ease 10, dutes ease 37, pleased praised 22, praise please vàoes raise 69, staine cleanse 32, meane vaine 2, chaine menace 28, streames claims 32, waite greate 26, waieth seacth 1, disdaying meaning 37, bereaves glaves leaves 78, heyre were 90, and hence: ai here 8, while the rhyme ai = (e) in plaint lent 22 strongly confirms the belief that the above were natural rhymes to Sidney’s ear, and consequently the co-existence of (ai, ee) for the sound of ai in the xviith century among polite speakers, notwithstanding Gill’s denunciation.

AU, AW.

The following few rhymes do not establish anything, but they serve to confirm the orthoeist’s dictum of the development of (ai) after (a) when (i) or (n) follows: caw’d appal’d 74, shall appall 6, all shall 2, vaunting wanting 52, chaunces glances 52.

E.

Probably Sidney said (frend) and not (fründ) supr p. 779, as in : fend wend 38, fend defend 47.

EA.

The confusion of ee and e short in spelling, and the rhymes of similar orthographies, confirm the general pronunciation of ee as (ee) : greater better 71, greate sett 21, greate scate 48, distresse release 74, eueresse oprest 25, rest brest neast 4, head spred 3, treads leads 1, leade tred 23, tredeth leade 84, scate frent 100. 102, encrease prease 144, pearced rechearsed 22, break weak, 2.
The influence of \( r \) is felt in the following words, where \( ee \) or \( e \) would be naturally pronounced (\( ee \)), but was undoubtedly at times (ii), p. 81, and poets may have taken the liberty of using either pronunciation as best suited their convenience: heere teare, 55, here nere 91, deere heare appeare 20, heare appeare 6. 57, eare feare appeare where 55, appeares yeares endspheres spheres 89, neere cleere 34, there heare 102, beare there 55, feare bear 34, beare were 22, deere were beare cleare 55, beare were =were 48, care outbeare appeare cheere feare ware 49, sphere endeare 77, heire forbeare mere speare 53.

ER.
The rhymes: heard barr'd 54, guard heard 116, which certainly corresponded to a prevalent, though not generally acknowledged pronunciation, properly belong to the same category as: parts harts =hearts 12, avert heart 51, desert part hart 6, avert hart 119, preserved swarved 37, art subtvert 100. 102. See suprâ p. 871, c. 1, under heard.

EU, EW, IEW, U.
These all belong together. The orthoepical distinctions (yy, eu) seem to have been disregarded. Whether they were sunk into (iu, zu) cannot be determined, and is perhaps not very likely at so early a period. See however the remarks on Holyband's observation in 1566, suprâ p. 838: true advic 119, view pursue 46, ensue grew new view 60, pursue diew new 105, you pursue 115, you true renewe 31, renew ensue you 78, knew true rue 18, new you 96, grew imbrue 78, subdue brew 18, chuse refuse 89.

GH.
We know that the guttural was only faintly pronounced (suprâ p. 779) although even Hart found it necessary to indicate its presence by writing (n). The poets of the xvth century however generally neglected it in rhyming as: praying weighing 130, waigh alway alley stay 55, pay weigh 116, surveying weighing 143, day decay stray waigh 107, laide weighd 103, de-lighted citied 1, sprite wight 9, sight quight 26, quite sight spight light 69, wight quite 39, bite spight 3, sprite might 13, high thy 43, high awry 119, eye high 131, I high 46, high dy cry 9, though goe 43, wrought thought caught 9, aloft wrought 77.

GN.
After a vowel the \( g \) appears to have been regularly mute as: Assigned kind find minde 44, assigned enclined 11, remaineth raigneth 3.

I.
There was probably some little uncertainty in the pronunciation of \( i \) in the following words, as we know that Gill had great doubts concerning build: build shield 35, shield fill'd yield 28, field reconcile'd 60, theevry delivery 75, give releue greeve 82.

The uncertainty of the final \( i \), which Gill gives both as (ai) and (ii), is shewn by the following examples which are quite comparable with Spenser's, p. 869, col. 1.

High apply perpetually 9, unceasantly cry 77, eye effectually 115.

Sacrifice ly 4, magnify hie 9, fly slippery 35, misery supply 79, memorie fied j orderie 90, injurys suffice applies lies 58, memory relye 106;—but: be chivry 20.

Jollity eye 31, jolities tiranize 94, veritie lie 31, verity hie 57, ly iniuity 10, high vanity lie 4, high try equity 6;—but: iniurnity me 41, see vanity 39, equity me thee 4, be vanity 39, thee eternily 21, be iniurnity me 36, bee thee see degree me treachery free enemy 54, be constancy 34.

L.
It would seem that the practice of omitting \( i \) in folk, was at least known, if not admitted, by Sidney, as he rhymes: folk cloak 28, folkes invokes 32.

O.
The following rhymes all point to the pronunciation of long and short \( o \) as (oo, o) and not as (oo, o): crossed engrossed 69, coast hoast 33, ones bones 42, one alone moane 4, mones ones 74, none bone 109, therefore adore 66, borne scorn 2, floore rore 96, abroad God 10, God load 67, upon stone 40, folly holy 43, sory glory 42.

The following imply that \( o \) was also occasionally pronounced as (uu) or (u), though the three last rhymes were more probably imperfect: approve love 1, love move 12, moved behovel 20, love above grove remove 45, doe unto 119, beguinn undunn doun 11, become dumb 38, sunn done 79, slumbered encombered 76, punished astonished 76, dost
unjust 77, strong tongue 8, wrong flong 45, flong song 60, strong dunge 83.

**OI.**

The rhymes here are insufficient to convey much information, yet perhaps they rather imply (oi) than (ui): annoid enjoy'd 81, destroi'd anoi'd 10.

**OO.**

This is used rather uncertainly, as (uu, u) and even as rhyming to (oo): good blood 9, broad bloud 57, poore more 69, wordes boordes affordes 78, lord worde 50. The rhyme: buds goodes, is strongly indicative of the old pronunciation of u as (u) without any taint of the xviiith century (s).

**OU, OW.**

The following are quite regular as (ou): wound undrowned 68, wound bound found 105, power hower = hour 22, thou bowe 99, thou now 100.

In: thou two 129, yours towres 69, the older sound of (uu) seems to have prevailed, and in: mourn turn 69, us glorious 116, such touch much 35, we have the regular short (u), belonging to the same class.

In: could gold 21, would hold 27, we have the same curious emancipation of ou from this category that was observed in Spenser, p. 872, col. 2, and is still occasionally met with, as I have heard it in use myself.

In: soule rowle = roll 26, soule extoll 103, we have apparently the regular action of l on long to produce (ou), but the following rhymes shew that even if the (u) had not been developed the rhyme would have been permissible: know no 72, unknown one 10, knowers aftergoes 85, alone unknown none forgone 44, flowers inclose 105, blows foes 3, shoues goes 10, bestoe goe 100, throw show goe 18, woe goe show; woe row show 107, repose growes 62, woe growe 41, own one 16—and the rhyme: owner honor 8. 37, in connection with these, shews how indifferent the long and short sounds of o were to the ear of a rhymer.

**S.**

In: this is 10, is his misse 11, is misse 115, blisse is 4, rased defaced 79, we have a confusion of (s) and (z), but in: presence essence 68, sacrifice cries 50, sacrifices sizes 66, the rhymes may have been pure. In: sent pacient 6, we have an indication of si- untransformed into (sh).

§ 6. Charles Butler's Phonetic Writing, and list of Words Like and Unlike, 1633-4.

The indistinctness with which Butler has explained, and the laxity with which he apparently denotes his vowels, have occasioned me considerable difficulty in attempting a transcription of his phonetic writing. But inasmuch as he has printed two books of fair dimensions, his Grammar and his Feminine Monarchy, in his own character, so that he is the most voluminous phonetic writer with whom we have to deal, it was impossible to pass him over, and I have therefore endeavoured to transliterate a short passage from his Feminine Monarchy or History of Bees, 1634, which was printed in the ordinary as well as well the phonetic orthography. The vowel system is, so far as I can understand it, more truly of the xviiith century than even Dr. Gill's, and therefore this is the proper place for it, although it was published after the first third of the xviiith century. At the conclusion are annexed some extracts from his List of Words Like and Unlike, in his own orthography, using italics to represent his variants of old forms. In the following extract probably (i) should be read for (i), but the whole vowel system is too uncertain to insist upon such minute distinctions.
Extract from Butler's Feminine Monarchy, p. 2-4.

And all this under the government of one Monarch...of whatum, abvul' aul thingz, dhei naav a prinsipal kar and respekt-leuvving revererensing and obeir'ing Her in aul thingz.—If shii goo fourth tu sooolaaas mir self, (as suum-teim shii will) man'i of dhem attend: her, gard'ing mir per'son bifoer: and bineind': dhei whitsh kuum fourth bifoer her, ever nou and dhen return'ing, and luuk'ing bak, and maak'ing withaul' an ekstra,ord'sinari nois, as if dhei spak dhae lang-gwaadzh of dha Knikht Mar'shalx men; and soo away: dhei flei tuggedh'er and anon: in leik man'er dhei attend: her bak again:...

If bei mir vois shii bid dhem goo, dhei swaarm; if biir'ing abrood: shii disleik: dhe wedh'er, or leikh'ing plaaas, dheik kwik'li' return: noom again'; wheil shii tshuir'eth dheem tu ba'tvel, dheik feikht; wheil shii is wel, dheii ar tshuur'dul about: dheir wurk; if shii draup and dei, dhei wil nevir af-ter endzhoe: dheir noom, but ei'dher lang'gwish dcheer til dheii bii ded tu, or jield'ing tu dhe Rob'berz, flei away' with dhem. ... But if dhei naav man'i Prin'ses (as when twuuw flei away' with oon swaarm, or when twuuw swaarmz ar neir'ed tuggedh'er) dhei wil not bii kwe'et til oon of dhem bii cassier'ed; whitsh suum-teim dheii bring down dhat iiv'ning tu dhe man'li, wheer ju mai feind her kuv'erd with a lit'l heep of Biiz, udh'eerweiz dhe nekst dai dheii kar'ri her fourth ei'dher ded or ded-li wound'ed. Konserning whitsh matter, ei wil niir rilaat: oon mem'orabl eksperimient. "Twuuw swaarmz biir'ing put tuggedh'er, dhe Biiz on booth seidz as dheer man'er is, maad a mur'muring noiz, as biir'ing dis'ten'en'ed with dhe sud'dain kon'gres of strairn'dzherz: but knouuring wel dhat dhe mooor dhe mer'rier, dhe saar'er, dhe warm'er, see, and dhe bet'er provedeid, dheik kwik'li maad frindr. And naavung agriir'ed whitsh Kwiin shauld reic, and whitsh shauld deic, thrii or foor Biiz brooukht oon of dhem doun bitwiin' dheem, pul'ling and naal'ing her as if dheii weer leed'ing her tu eksekyy'siun whitsh ei bei tshaans perseev'ing, got nooold of her bei dhe wingz, and with mutsh adau' tuank her from dheem. After a wheil (tu sii what wuuld kuum of it) ei put her in' tu dhe Heiv again: noo suun'er was shii amung' dheem, but dhe tyy'mult bigan' afresh' greet'er dhan bifoer; and presen'tli dhei fel tuggedh'er bei dhe eerz, feer'sli feikht'ing and kil'ling oon an udh'er, for dhe spaa of mooor dhan an our tuggedh'er: and bei noo miinz wuuld sees, until: dhe puur kondem'ned Kwiin was broukht fourth slain and laid bifoer dhe duur. Whitsh dnum dhe streif presen'tli end'ed, and dhe Biiz agriir'ed wel tuggedh'er."

Index of Woords Like and Unlike.

"Soom woords of lik' sound hav' different writing: as soon filius, sen sol: soon of lik' writing hav' different sound: as a mouus mus, mouus struus pl. of mou: soom of like sound and writing differ in de accent: as precedemt procedens, precedemt exemplum quia procedit: and soom of lik' sound, writing, and accent, differ yet in signification: wie den must be discerned by the sens of de woords precedent and
subsequent: as ear auris, ear spica, to ear aro: were' earable arabilis. Of wie sorts you hav' hereafter oder examples."

The object of the list which is thus introduced by the author seems to be to discriminate words of like sound as much as possible by various spellings, which in Butler's system would represent different but nearly identical sounds. The list therefore is not of much value or assistance, especially as the like and unlike words are not inserted separately. He seems to have trusted to an orthography which is extremely difficult to understand from his description. Hence instead of giving the whole list, 28 pages long, it will be sufficient to extract those parts in which some mention of pronunciation is made, and for these to adopt the author's own orthography, as in the above citation, because of the difficulty of interpreting it. The italic letters represent generally simple varieties of ordinary types, thus, oo, are joined together, forming one type, and so for ee, and c, d, &c., have bars through them, t is ʒ, a turned t, and so on. These will occasion no difficulty. The final (') answers to mute e. It is the value of the simple vowels and digraphs and the effect of this mute (') as a lengthener, which it is so difficult to determine satisfactorily from Butler's indications. The small capitals indicate the usual orthography and generally replace Butler's black letters.

\begin{verbatim}
a Coper, D. Koffer, F. coffre, (yet wee writ' and sound it wit a singl' f, to distinguish it from cowger wie is sounded coffer). Devil, or racke devil not divel: (as əsm, far fetsing it from diabolus wold' hav' it). Enocg setis, but importing number it is bot' written and pronounced without de aspirat' : as Exclus. 55. 1. Sacrifices enou. Enou for even nou, modo': In de pronouncing of wie 2 words, de only difference is de accent: wie de first hat' in de last, and de last in de first. For enouc we commonly say enuf: as for laug datger, soon say laf, dafter: for cowg all say cof: and for de Duite akter, wee altogether bot' say and writ' after.

to Enter intrare, to enter in-humare.

Ear auris, to ear ero, ere before prinis, erst first primô, (not yer yerst) as in Dute ere, erst. Hence erenoon', erewit', and erkely i. former: as of erkely rings I wil deetel: for wie is nou written (I know not wy) ferly.

Certain words beginning wit es at boomint' spoken and written without e: ses escap', especial, espi; scape, special, spi: to espous, and to estrange, [verbs:] spous, and strange [nouns:] esquir', essay, establiss, estat'; squir',

\end{verbatim}

For ascertaining and comparing the different accounts of the pronunciation of the xvith century which have come down to us, it is necessary to have an alphabetic list of all or most of the words which have been spelled phonetically by various writers, with a uniform transcription of their various notations. This is attempted in the present section. The following vocabulary contains:

1) all the English words cited by Palsgrave, p. 31, with the pronunciations as inferred from his descriptions.

2) all the English words cited by Salesbury, pp. 32, 34, in his accounts of Welsh and English Pronunciation, with the pronunciation he has actually or inferentially assigned to them, as explained in the passages cited pp. 789—794.

3) numerous words from Sir John Cheke’s Translation of Matthew. 1

4) all the words pronounced in Sir Thomas Smith’s Treatise p. 34.

5) all the examples of diphthongs, and a few other words only from Hart, pp. 35, 794, whose pronunciation, as has been already frequently mentioned, was in several respects exceptional.

6) All the exemplificative words in Bullokar’s lists, with many others collected from various parts of his Book at Large, pp. 36, 838.

1 The Gospel according to Saint Matthew and part of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Saint Mark translated from the Greek, with original notes, by Sir John Cheke, knight &c. Prefixed is an introductory account of the nature and object of the translation, by James Goodwin, B.D., London, Pickering, 1843, 8vo. pp. 124. Cheke was born 16th June, 1514, and died "of shame and regret in consequence of his recantation" of Protestantism, 13th Sept., 1557. This translation, of which the autograph MS. is preserved (not quite perfect) at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is supposed by Mr. Goodwin to have been made about 1550.
7) all, or almost all words in Gill’s Logonomia, pp. 38, 845; the provincialisms are not quite fully given, but Gill’s whole account of them will be found below, Chap. XI, § 4, and they are best consulted in that connection.

8) A few characteristic words from Butler, pp. 39, 874.

The modern orthography has been followed in the arrangement of the vocabulary. Palsgrave and Salesbury occasionally give an old orthography different from that now in use, but the variation is not material. The others only give the phonetic spelling. Occasionally short observations from Smith and Gill have been added in the original Latin, and in some cases the Latin translation given by these authors is inserted. Some doubts may arise as to the propriety of retaining so many words about the pronunciation of which little hesitation can be felt by those who have mastered the main principles, such as, abandon, abhor, abound, absence, absent, &c. bill, bit, bless, boast, boat, &c., but after much consideration, it has been resolved to retain them, as no rule of exclusion could be framed, which did not seem to assume the very knowledge and familiarity which the vocabulary was meant to supply, and it is only by such accumulated proofs that the certainty of the results can impress itself on the reader’s mind. These results are however extremely important in the history of our language, as they present the first sure ground after the time of Orrmin, and the only means by which we are able to rise to the pronunciation of Chaucer. Thus the certainty of the pronunciation of ou, ow as (uu) by Palsgrave and Bullokar, and the probability of their pronunciation of long i as (ii), are great helps towards conceiving the general use of these sounds in the xivth century.

The various phonetic orthographies of the above writers (except Cheke’s) have been translated into palaeotype to the best of my ability, although a few, unimportant, cases of doubt remain, generally pointed out by (?). The position of the accent is always hypothetical, except for the words cited from G. 128-138, in which Gill has generally marked or indicated the accent. It was at first intended to refer to Levins (p. 36,) for the position of the accent in each case, but his usage was found too uncertain to be made available. The use of (w, j) at the beginning of combinations where some writers employ (u, i), and conversely the use of (u, i) at the end of combinations where some writers employ (w, j), has been consistently maintained. The difference between these writers and myself is purely theoretical: we mean to express the same sounds in each case. Qu has been interpreted as (kw) throughout, because this is believed to have been the sound intended. Bullokar uses the single letter q. The initial wr has been left, but (rw) has been subjoined with a (?) as this is believed to have been the sound. Except in the words spangle, entangle, where the sound (qg) is especially indicated, G 10, the introduction of (qg) for ng in the following vocabulary is quite hypothetical, for none of the writers cited seem to have thought the distinction between (q) and (qq) worth marking at all times.

There was a great difficulty in determining the length of the
vowels. Palsgrave does not note the length and Salesbury is not consistent in his notation. Smith, Hart, and Gill generally use diacritical signs, and Bullokar does so in many cases. Now when this is the case the diacritical sign is often omitted by either the writer or printer, and it is difficult to know in any given case whether it ought to be added or not (p. 846, l. 3). The difficulty is increased when the diacritic implies a difference in quality as well as quantity, thus 'i', 'i' are (ei, i) in Smith but (ii, i) in Gill, and 'i' are probably (ii, 'i') in Bullokar (p. 113). In these cases I have generally searched for other instances of the word, or been guided by the use of other writers, or by analogy. In Bullokar 'y' is not unfrequent, but 'iy, yi' may be said never to occur, although he gives both as marks of the long sound, and 'i' is most frequently used for both (ii) and (i) although 'i' ought to have been used in the former case. By reference to pp. 110, 114, the reader will see the great difficulty which attaches to the value of long 'i' in Palsgrave and Bullokar, and the reasons which have induced me, after repeated consideration for several years, to consider that it must have been (ii) or some closely cognate sound, acknowledging at the same time that this pronunciation was quite archaic at the time, just as obleege, obleest (oblidiizh'; obliiist') in Scotland and obleeche (obliziists') in English are still existent archaic forms, for which the greater number of English speakers say (obloidizh'; obloidizhd:). For the reason why Gill's 'j' has been rendered (oi) rather than (ei) see p. 115, and the reason why his 'a, au', are each rendered by (aa) is given on p. 145, where we may add that Gill in adducing "HALL Henriculus, HALLI trahere, et HALL aula," says: "exilior est 'a in duabus vocibus prioribus, in tertìa fere est diphthongus," (G. 3,) so that he possibly hesitated between (au) and (aa). Hart's (yy) has been considered on p. 167, p. 796 note, col. 1, and p. 838.

Another source of error is the use of an old letter in a new sense. Thus Smith employs 'c' for (tsh) and he consequently continually leaves 'c for (k, s) where his old habits misled him. Gill employed 'j' for (oi), and the confusion between 'i, j' in his book is very perplexing. Extremely slight distinctions in the forms of the letters are also confusing. Thus Smith distinguishes (i, e) as 'e, e, which have a diaeresis mark superposed to imply length. The consequence is that it is sometimes extremely difficult to determine whether he means (ii) or (ee), and, considering that in his time the distinction of the sounds had not yet been thoroughly established by the orthographies ee, ea, this confusion is perplexing and annoying.

For any errors and shortcomings of this kind, the indulgence of the reader is requested, and also for another inevitable source of error. The nature of the compilation, rendered it impossible to verify every word afterwards by referring to the passage from which it was quoted. I have therefore had to rely on the accuracy of my original transcript, and it is impossible that that should have been always correct.

Sir John Cheke's orthography is rather an attempt to improve the current spelling than strictly phonetic. Hence it has not been
transliterated, but left as he wrote it, and is therefore printed in Italics. The following appear to have been the values of his symbols, which were not always unambiguous: \( aa = (aa) \), \( ai = (ai, ee ?) \), \( ea = (ee ?) \) unfrequent, \( ee = (ee) \) and \( = (ii) \), \( ei = (ai, ee ?) \), \( iy = (ei, ii, ii ?) \), \( o = (o) \) and \( (u) \), \( oo = (oo ?) \) and \( (uu) \), \( oow = (oou) \), \( ou = (uu) \) only? \( ow = (ou) \), \( uu = (yy) \). The \( i \) most commonly did service for \( (i) \) and \( (j) \), but \( y \) was sometimes used as \( (j) \), although it most frequently stands for \( (th) \) and \( (dh) \), for which also \( th \) occasionally occurs. The use of \( i \) is doubtful, sometimes it seems meant for \( iy = (ei) \), sometimes as in \( dai \) it would seem only to indicate the diphthong, but it is used so irregularly that no weight can be attached to its appearance. The terminations \( -ty, -ble \), occasionally appear in the forms \( -tee, -bil \). Final \( e \), being useless when there is a distinct means of representing long vowels, is generally, but not always omitted. The comparison of Cheke's orthography with the phonetic transcriptions of others seems to bring out these points.

The authority for each pronunciation is subjoined in chronological order, but not the reference to the passage, except in the case of Gill and Cheke. The figures refer to the page of the second edition of Gill's Logonomia (supra p. 38) and the chapters of Sir John Cheke's translation of Matthew. The references to Salesbury will be found in the index, supra pp. 789-724. Smith and Bullokar's words can generally be easily found in their books, from their systematic lists. The example from Bullokar p. 839, and Hart, p. 798, are also sufficient guarantees of the correctness of the transcription. The authors' names are contracted, and a few abbreviations are used as follows. All words not in palaeotype, with exception of the authors' names, are in Italics.

**ABBREVIATIONS.**

| Aust | Australes; Southern English Pronunciation. |
| Bor | Boreales; Northern English Pronunciation. |
| B | Butler, 1633. |
| Ball | Bullokar, 1580. |
| C | Cheke, 1550. |
| cor | corrupte; a pronunciation considered as corrupt by the author cited. |
| G | Gill, 1621. |
| H | Hart, 1569. |
| Lin | Lincolnienses, Lincolnshire Pronunciation. |
| Mops | Gill's Mopsae, and Smith's mulierculae, supra pp. 90, 91; indicating an effeminate or thinner pronunciation. |
| Occ | Occidentales; Western English Pronunciation. |
| Ori | Orientalis; Eastern English Pronunciation. |
| P | Palsgrave, 1530. |
| poet | poetice. |
| pr | praefatio, the preface to Gill, which is not paged. |
| prov | provincialiter; any provincial pronunciation. |
| S | Smith, 1568. |
| Sa | Salesbury, 1547 & 1567. |
| Sc | Scoti; Scotch Pronunciation. |
| Transtr | Transtrentani; English Pronunciation North of the river Trent. |
| ? | interpretation doubtful, or apparent error, or misprint, in the original. |
a a G pr
abandon abandon G 133
abbreviation abreviation Bull
ahor abhor Bull, abhorred G 106
able aa-ib Sa, S, Bull, G 65, abl' G 32
abide =abid C 2
Abington Ab'iqtun see Trumpington G 134
abound abound G 89
about about Bull, about G 23
above abov Bull, abov G 22
abroad abroad G 60, abroad' G 133, abroad C 6
absence absens G 66
absent absent G 84
absolve abzolv G 85
abstain abstain G 89
abundance abund'ansa P, abund'ansa G 127
abundant abund'ant G 84
abuse abys Bull
ace as Bull
acceptable akseptabl G 84
acceptance akcept'an G pr
accordance akord'en G 21
account akount G 89
aceuse akyzz S, akyzz G 45
acustomed aksutom'd G 84
ache antsh Bull, Hart, see headache,
aches =axess axes C 8
acknowledge akknou-ledzh G 32
acquaint akwaint S, acquainted
akwaint'd G 129
acquaintance akcwaintens S
acquit akw'it ant akw'it G 15, akw'it
G 85
acre aa'ker G 70
add ad G 85
addressed adres'd G 133
adjudge addzhudzh G 32
 admonish admon'sh G 85
adore ador G 122
adorn adorn G 141
adultery adul'eryl G 85
advance advaans G 143
adventure advent'tyr G 30
adverb adverb Bull
advise advise G 87, 131
adz adicke addiz adizes prov Sa
affairs afairy G 37, afairy's G 122
affections afek'sions G 123
affect afekt G 103, affects afeks G 141
affirm afirm G 112
affliction aflik'sion G 125
afford afuurd B
affray afrair G 98
afore abor G 80
afrait afraid' per prothesin pro fraid G 135
after after G 79
again again G 24
against agents frequentius, against
doctor interdum G pr, against G 20, 79
age aadzh S, G 70
agree agrn Bull, G 118
ague aaggy G 92
aid aid G 14, 113
air aier G 106, aier G? air aier C 6
airy aer'oi aerens G 14. aeri fere tris-
syllabum G 16
ale aal Sa, G 37
algae algat G 109
all aul S, a'l Bull, aal G 23, al G 39,
Aal G 25
alay alai G 99
alhelial al'haal omnis salus G 64
allure aly'r G 123
alone aloon G 45, 145
aloud aloud Bull, aloud G 109
also a'lso Bull, aas Bor pro aal'so G 17
altar =alter C 5
although aldhokh G 65
altogether aal'togedh'er G 21
among am'um S
am am G 52
amain amain G 119, amain' G 110
amate amant terreo G 32
amaze amanz G 88
ambitious amb'ersus G 99
omiss amis G 113
among amoq G 21 amoq? G 79, amoq B
an an G 10
andiron a'diir'n Bull
angels aq gelz? see next word, G 24
angelical andheel'ikal G 119
anger aqger G 91
angry aq'gri G 84
anquish aq'wish Bull
another anodi'h'er G 95
answer answer non anew'suer G pr,
answered answered G 119, answerd
C 4
answerable answerable G 84
any an' Bull, G 45, prima nature sul
brevis G 133
ape aap, Sa S
apparel apparel G 38
appear apir Bull B, appear C 6, ap-
peared apirlid G 94, appear'd
C 1, 2, appeareth apir'reth Bull B,
apireth G 87, appearing apir'iq
G 133

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appease specz G 123
appertain apertain G 87
apply aplai G 86
appointed apoint-ed G 24
apprentice appren'tis G 98
are ear Bull, G 56, ar G 21
areas areeds G 98
aright araklut G 135
aristeth arai-zeth G 25
armed arm-ed G 82
arms armz G 37
army arm-si G 106
array arai S, areai G 128
ars-seat ar-seat hydropiper G 38
Arthur Artur G 107
as az Bull G 13, 95
ash aish Sa, ash S, ashes ash'ez G 37, 128
ask asks et ask S, ask G 88, asked askt G 111
aspen as'pin G 106
aspiration aspira'sion Bull
aspir as'pir G 111.
as as Bull, asses as'ez G 24
assay assai; assay thereof zadraakh:
Oec, G 18
assist assit G 141
assoi asoi G 85, 89
assurance assy'rans G 83, 117
assure assay' G 128, assy're G 32
astonished aston'ied G 99, astoned G 19
at at G 79
attended atem'pred G 119
attend atend G 119, attends atendz:
attire d'he diez ati'er? cerri cornua G 43
attribute v. stribyyt G 85
auditor aa'ditor G 129
auger auuger G 14
argument arg'ment G 119, 142
aunt aint G 10
authors auctor G 143
avail avail' G 87, availeth avail·eth
G 117
avengement avendzh'ment G 149
avens avenz earyphyllatum G 37
av er aver G 32
avoid avoidid G 131
awe au na Sa, au S, aau G 14
awful aa'ful G 150
awry awriit' =arrelt? P
axe agz Sa, aks S, G 13
eye ei S, eei G pr, 15, eei G 15, aui G 118, aui G 116, ai C 6

B.

Baal Baal Bull
babble s. baab'l nyug G 26, v. bab'l in-
phantum more balbivire G 26
babbler bab'ler infantiramopus G 26
babbling bab'liq garrulitas G 26
babe baab Sa, G 26, babes=baabs C 11
baby baab'bai G 26
back bak S
backward bak'ward G 23
bacon baar'k'n Bull, baak'n G 38
bad bad malus S
badge badzh G 12
bag bag S, G 89
ball ball Bull
bally be'er' cor B
bait bait G 14
bake baak Sa, S
balance bal'ans Bull, bal'ans G 21
bauld bauld Sa S, ba'ld Bull
bale baal Bull
bail ball Bull, sa'l Bull, baal G 14
balm baal'm =ba'll'm Bull, baalm potius
quaw baam G pr, baalm G 38
bands bands? G 116
bar bar S, Bull
barbarous bar'barus Bull
Barbary Barbary G 147
bars bars G 37
bear bear S, Bull
bargain bargain G 93
barley bar'lei G 37
born baar'n Bull
baron baron Bull
barren barren Bull
base baas G 98
basket bav'ket Bull
bass bauz G 119
bat bat S
bate baat S
bath bath, S
bate baathd badb S
battery bat'tri G 123
battles bat'tals G 104 (in Spenser)
bawf baal, coeitn sono proferitus, baal
ball pilis, et tu baal baile vocife-
rari G 14
bay baadus Bull
bay-tree ba-tiull Bull, bays baiz lauri
G 141
be by G 23
beak beck B
beans becmz G 23
bean BEANE been P, Bull
beau been G 37
beer beer P, beer Sa, baar versus Bull,
beer bare bore born, beer baar boor
born (without distinguishing 'borne')
G 50, borne boor'n Bull
beast beest P, Bull, G 12
beat beeterbeet, bet eeteravit S, beet,
but eeteraban dialectus est, G 48
beauty beurti G 22, 98, beurti B
because bikaz G 91
beck beck B
become bikum G 21, 67, became bikaam.
G 86
bed bed S, G 47
bedridden = bedreed C 9
be bii P, Sa
beef biif G 39
been bin G 56 100
beer bier G 87
beet bit S
beets bits bitum G 37
bees bitiz G 39
befalleth bitalfeth G 87
before biform S biform Bull, biform G 21, 23, 80
begging begiq Sa
begin begin G 133, beginning beginiq G, 123
begone bigoon? G 81
behave binaav G 51
behind behand G 79
beloved bilooed Sa, beheld G 100
behoveth biruuveth G 95
being biriq G 25
believe, beliv, Sa, G 87, biliv G 100, 128, believ C 24, believing billiviq G 133,
bell bel vola S
bellows belououz G 37
belongeth biloqeth G 21, 86
beloved biluveth G 129
Belphoebe Belfebe G 101
bend band G 48
beneath binedd Bull, bineth G 79
benefit ben efit G 133
benign benign Sa, benigq n G 30
bent bent S
bereave bereevo G 125, bereavo G 48
beseech bisim G 67
beside bisuud G 79
besought bisoukh S 127
best best G 12, 34
bestow bistoour G 86
bet bet pro beter G 135
betake bitaka G 22
betheink bithiqk: 32
betid past tense bitaid G 108
betimes bitism G 123
betrayed bitraid G 145
better beter G 34
between bitwiwin Bull, bitwiwin G 79
beyond bised G 79
bid bid S, bad G 88, bidden bidn G 20
bide bide S
bier biir P, biir Sa, beer spelled beare
rhyming with neare in the passage of Spenser (6, 2, 48) cited in G 103
bill bii S
billows billououz G 99
bind braid G 116, bjud C 18
bird bird S, G 24, budr G 88, birds
burdz G 118
bit bit S, bits bits G 37
bitch bitsb, Se et Transv. bik S
bite bit S, bit mordeo, bit bit mordebam, have bitten naav bitn monardi G 48
bitter biter G 40
bainted bladver Sa.
blame blaming G 86, blaming bland P, G 90
blazed blaazed G 125
bless blest G 21
bland biaad G 119
blithe blith S 107
block blok G 99
blood bluud S, blud Bull, G 4, 38,
blow C 27
bloody bludv S 100
blossoms blosumz 144
blow blow Bull, blown blowum G 2
blush blush S, blushed blusht G 117
blue bly S
board buurd Sa, B, boord G 47, boards
boordz G 118
boost boost G 23, 89
boat boat S, bull, boat C 4
bodily bodi S 72, 133
boil boil ulen S, bunul cuouo G 15
bold boud prov Sa, bueld S, boould G 105
bombast bumbast G 38
bondmen bondmen G 41
bone boon, Se baan bean S
book buuk Sa, Sm, Se byyk S, buuk-s G 3, 41, byyks Bor G 122
boor buut S, Bull
booth booth Bull
bore boor P, G 50
born boor natus, bor nallatus the
present use reversed Bull, born G 50, 98
boorn = natus C 2
borrow borouou G 88, borrowed borouued G 98
bot but lumbriciu equorum S, Bull
botch botch S
both both G 39, 98, beadh Bor G 16, both C 6
bough bough buun Bull, bou G 15
bought bount S, buount Bull, bokht
G 12, buoukht G 109
bound bound G 15, 24
bounty bounti G 29, 82
bourn burn Bull, buurn B
bore borooued S, Sa 34, 58, booru areus bou
flecter S, boon areus, buu flecter
Bull, boon areus G 15, bousing
bouing bouq G 20, boudd = bond C 18
bouets bouver Bull, bouer Bull G 37, 94
bouers bours G 114
boub bouul sinu Sa, S, Bull, G 15, B,
boul sphaera S, G 15, B, buul globus
Bull
bouk bouk S, G 107
boy bui P, boi, fortasse bui, ali beo S,
bwee H, boi Bull, buoi, non bu G
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pr, buoi puer G 92, 136, baii Bor G 15, buoi B
brad brod clavis sine capite S
brag brag G 89
brake brak reperta, braak balista, filix &c., Bull, braak = rupt. C 15
bramble bran-b'g 41
bran bran G 83
brandiron brond'br'n Bull
branches bran-sh'ez G 24, bran-sh'ez G 123
brass bras G 37
bravada brav-a-va-da G 28
bravey braev-l G 123
breach bretsh? Se et Transtr. brek S
bread brek? Sa, breed S, G 24, 37, breed C 4
break breek Sa, brek, imp break brook
olim brast, occidentaliter briik G 51
breath breth Bull
breath breeth Bull, breath? G 121
bred bred S
breeth british Se Transtr. et Bor briik S, breeches britis'h'es, briiks Bor G 17
bread briid S, G 124
breeved breeved Bor G 122
breehren breth-ren ant breth-ern G 41, 124
breev bry S, breved bruwald? S
briide briid G 112
bridgebroom = brijdgroom C 25
bridge breath, Bor brig S, brdzh G 12
bridle bridl? S braidl G 20, 123
breithness broikhtnes G
Britain Britain (in Spenser) G 104
broad brood S, G 70
brol broil fortasse bruil S, broil bruwil,
indifferent G 15
broken brook'n G 51
brood bruud S, G 101
brooks bruiks G 114
broom bruum Bull
brother brudh'er G 27, 41, 112, B,
broier C 4
brotherhood brudh-vernund G 27
brought broakht G 10
brown bruin Bull
brush brossed C 21
buckle buck G 133
bud buj doma mas Sa, S, G 3, fagot-tricium G 37
buckler buck'ler Bull
bud bud G 133
budge budzh peregrinac ovis pellis S
buidledbybyld'ethbuidl'ethbuidl'eth
buidl'eth, pro suopthe cujusque ingenio G 4, built = biilt C 7
buidler build'er G 105
building build'g G 111, buildings = buildings C 21
bull bul, S, Bull, bui prov Sa
bulwark bulwark G pr
buny buq B
buny bwei H, bunii Bull, G 15
burden bur-d'n Bull
burn burn Bull, burn G 109, burneth
burneth G 23
burr burrappa S
bury biri Sa, buri C 8
bush bush G 73
busied biz'ied G 91
business biz'nes G 81
busy bizi Sa
but but S, Bull, G 20, 133
butter buth'er, Mops britsh'er G 18
butter but Bull
button but'n Bull
buy bei S, G 89
buyer beier H
by be S, bei H, G 20, 79, 136, by our
lady bei-r laard' Sa, by and bye, by
and by, bi and by P

C.
cage kaadzh S
catiff kait'tif miser S, kait'tiv G 111,
calends kal'endz G 37
calf ka'l'Bull, calves ka'l'vz Bull
call kaul Sa, S, ka'l'Bull, kau prov Sa
callet kal'et meretricula Bull
calum kaum Sa 4, ka'l'M Bull
cambrie kaam-br'k, Mops keem-br'k
G 17
Cambridge Kaam-br'dzh G 77
canne kanot G pr, kann'not G 45
canoa kanoa? G 28
candie can'ddl G 98
canvas kan'vas G 38
cap kep Sa, S, G 12
cape kaap hispanica chlamys S
capers kaperz G 37
capoon kaap'n Bull, kaap'n, Mops keep n
et forè kip'n G 18
captive kaptiv G 116
can kan S
care kaar Bull
careful kaar-ful G 84
careless kaar-les G 123
carpentrer karpentrer G 129
Carthage Karthadhz G 66
case kaas G 35, 100
casement kaaz'ment, G 27
casket kasket G 35
cast cast G pr, 48, kast kus'n Bor G 16
cat kat S, G 35
cates kaats G 37
catch katch Sa, G 149, see 'ketch', caught
cattle kaar Bull, G 24
caul kaul = ka'l'Bull
cauldron kau’dor’n, Bull  
cause kauz Bull, kæz G 21, 103, 143  
causeway kau’es Bull  
cave kaav G 77  
cove ilav’l Bull  
ceased seeest G 112, ceaseest seeest G 102  
cedars see’darz G 24, 105  
censor sensor G 66  
centre sentor G 125  
certain sertain G 67  
chant chaff tshaf G 37  
chant skhaak G 38  
challenge sthaa-lendzh G 109  
chambers tsham’berz G 23  
chance tshans S, tshauns B, chanceth tshaam’seth G 66, tsham’seth G 86,  
changed tshaanst G 111, 119  
chancellor tshans’ler G pr  
change tshandzh S, G 12, 20, tshandzh B  
Bull, tshaandzh B  
changeable tshaundz’ab’Bull  
chanter tshant’er cantor S  
chap tshap fundi per se aut vento S  
chape tshaap ferrum quod ambit unam vagiunam S  
chapel tshapel S  
char tshaar P  
charge tshardzh Bull  
charity tshar’te S  
charm tshar’m Bull  
charriot tshar’et G 23  
chaste tshaast G 77, 100  
chasten tshas’t’u Bull  
chastity tshast’iti G 101  
chaw tshaa G 14  
cheap tship tshap’t hoiaturi S, Cheapside  
Tapeypeisid Sa  
check taliik P  
cheer tshir’i voluntus S  
cheerful tsher’ful G 118  
cheese tshiz S, Sa  
cherish tsherv’ish Bull, tsher’sh et  
tsher’sh G 127  
cherry tsherv’i S, cherries tsherv’iz G 99  
Chesterton Tsheetertum G 134  
chidden tshid’d’n? Bull  
chief tshif S, Bull, G 77, cheef C 6  
child tshild? S, tshold G 42, child C 1, 2, children tshild’ren G 42  
childlessness tshild’liness Bull  
chin tshin P, G 80  
chisel tshiz’l Bull  
choler kol’er G 38  
chollic kol’ik G 38  
choose tshyyzz G 101, choose C 13 choose tshooz G 118, chosen tshoo’z’n Bull, G 66, 152  
chop tshap scindere S, chopped tshopt G 111  
Christian Kristian G 150  
church tshir’tsh Sa, tshir’tsh tshurtsh vel tshyyrtsh, Se et Transtr. kyyrk,  
kurk S, tshurtsh G 92  
churchyard tshur’tsh’yard G 128  
churil tshuril P, tshur’l Bull  
cider sid’er? G 38  
Cimmerian Sæmerian G 136  
citizen svivisen G 85  
city sivi’ Bull  
civet siv’et G 39  
clad klad G 123  
claim klaim S, claimed klaim’d G 110  
claw klau S  
clay klay G 38, klaai G 101  
clear klier G 147, klier B  
cleave kliv ? S, kleev G 50  
cleft kleft G 50  
clew klyy P  
cull klif Bull  
climb kloim, climed klimd, apud rusticos autem pro imperfecto hapes kloom  
klam klum G 49  
clines klaimiz G 141  
olive kliv haverre S  
clayo kloog G 46  
clove kloog globa S  
clouds kloudz G 23, kloud’ez in Spenser G 121, 137  
cloren kloovn G 50  
cloy klwei, [klui?] dare ad fastidium,  
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bull lul G 101
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m

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made maad G 22
magnify mag-nifii G 31, 134
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make maak Bull, maak C 3, maketh maaketh G 23
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mare maar equa S
margent mardzhent G 30
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marr’y mar’i G 74, married married G 112
mark mark G 110
marl marl G 38
marvel mar’vail G 88, marvelled mar’veld C 9
mash mash aquam hordeo temperare, et macula retium S
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master master G 75, 95
mat mat S
match matsh S
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merchants mar’tshants G 93
mercifull mer’sful G 21
Mercury Mer’kursi ? G 84
merry mersi G pr 21, 116, 121, mer’soi G 149
mere miir Bull
meridional mer’deonal G 30
meriting mer’itq G 114
mess mes ferculum, S
message mes’adzh G 118, 146
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mew (for a hawk), myy P, S, meu vox volorum S, mieu H
paint paint S, paint G 52
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pale paɪl Sa, G 91
pap paɪp Sa, S
paper paɪpər Sa
paradise praɪdəs G 38
pardon paɪdən G 88
parentage praɪnət ədʒ G 110
parents paɪpənts G 68, 102
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passion paɪʃən G 110, in the following quotation from Sydney's Arcadia, 3, 1, being the conclusion of an accentual hexameter, and the whole of an accentual pentameter, in each of which it forms a dactyl,—resc'ν tu mi pa'sion ild'ed—Pa'sion un'tu mi raadhz, raadhz tu a hast'i revendhz.
pat paɪt itus S
patient pa'sənt Bull
patience paɪtəns G 109
patronise paɪtrənəz G 141
Paul's Poulz in the French manner B
pawn paʊn G 14, 93
pay paɪ g, Maps pee, Sc et
Transr paɪ Sa, pai G 88, Lin paa abjεkt ə i; Apest post diphthongion dialysin a odiose producent, paai G 17, paai G 86, pee cor B, paaiz paai G 117
paynim paɪnəm G 111
peace peəs G 73, peəs C 20
pear peer P Sa
pease peəz pɪəs S, peez G 41, Oce peez ən G 19
peck pek S
peel pɪl S, pɪl ən an sp'*l, Bull
peir pɪər P, Sa
peerless peɪr'əlz G 110
pen pen Sa, S
pence pens G 42
penney penəri G 42
pennyroyal pen'ɛriəl G 38
pent pent S
Pentecost Pen-tekost G 134
people pɪpəl Bull, G 4, 41, B, peəpəl C 9
pepper pepər G 38
perceive per'əv S  G 29
perch perərt S  G 70
perfect per'fɛkt Bull, per'fɛkt G 123,  pɪf't S
perform pər'fɔrm' əm Bull
personal personal G pr
personality personali'ti G pr
persons personz non pers'ənz G pr, 72
perspicuity pers'piːk'i ti G 29
perspicuous pers'piˈkjuːs G 30
pertain pərtən ə Bull
perversely pərvərs'li G 141
petticoes pɛtˈtɪkoʊz G 37
pewer peɪtər G 69, B
Pharises = Pharisaıs C 23
phea sant fe'zərnt? Sa
Philip Fil'ip Bull
philosophers filəs'əforz G 74
phlegm flɛm G 33
phoenix fɛˈnɪks B
physician = phisɪʃən C 9
pick pɪk S
pickel pikəl ljuːpəl G 35
picture pikə'təɹ Bull
piece pɪs Bull
pies pɪz S
pig pɪg S
pike pɪk ljuːs S, pak G 35
Pilate = Pi-lat C 27
pike peɪl Bull, pail G 28
pill pɪl Bull
pillory pɪlˈərɪ Bull
pin pi n Bull
pine pɪn emaɪərə S, Bull, pain G 105
piss pɪs S Bull,
pit pɪt S
pitch pɪtʃ G 38
pith pɪθ S
pity pɪtɪ G pr, 83, 87, 129
place plaɪs Bull, G 24, 98, 100, 125
plague plaɡ Sa
plaisie plaɪs əsər pəsɪs Bull
plain plain G 85
plaint plaint G 130
planted planted G 24
plate plaɪt vəsərˈtɛntə G 38
Plato Plat o G 74
play plaɪ S, G 18, Maps plee G 18, plee cor B, plaɪs plaɪz Bull
pleasant plezənt G 142
please plez S, pleæθəz plez'əθ G, plēz′ɪŋ plez'ə ι G 118
pleasure plezəˈzɜːr G 144
pledge pledʒ G 88, 101
plentiful plentiful G 84
pock pok kebəz grændis S
poesy poəsɪ G 141
point point, for asse point, muero, indice monstrare, et ligula S, puin ənt G 88
poko poʊk S
pole pool pertəˈɹ G 7
poll pol kəpɪtəˈɭɪdəsɪmʊm G 7
pool poʊl S
poor poor Sa, S, G 141
pop pop, bʊlə, aut pop'ɪzməs, et irri-dendi not ə, S
poop poop paʊp S
poplar poʊˈlər G 105
porch poʊrθ S 123
pore poor prəˈprɪs əntuər eɪt lʊˈsɪʊsɪ fəˈʃɪnt S
Portugal Poortˈiɡɡəl S
pot pot S
potager poʊˈtærdʒər Sa
Bull, pour poundage potent preach praise prepare prayers pray praiseworthy

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potent pootent G 134
potage pot-adzh G 37
poundage pound adzh G 27
pour pour pour funds ; pour out off unde S, pour H, pour G 21, power B
power power S, H, pour G 21, 79, 125, B
praise praise G 21
praiseworthy praise-wurdh-vej G 32
pray pray non pre G pr, prai, Mops pre
G 18
prayers prai'er-z G 110
preach preech G 13
precious prez'ious Bull
prepare = prepur G 2
presence prez'ens G 23
present prez'ent G 69, 84
presented prez'er-eth G 23
presumed prez'ymd G 99
prevent prevenet ? G 87, prevented pre-vent G 133
prey prey G 24
price v. pri's Bull, pres G 89
prick prik S, Bull
pricket prik'et G 100
pride preid G 43, 99
priest priest Bull
prime preim G 112
prince prins G 107, princes prins'es G 103
prism priz'm S
prisoner priz'ner G 105
private privat ? Bull
privily priv'il G 79
privities priv'itais G 39
proceeded prosi'd ed Bull
prodigal prood'dig'al G 148
profane profan' G 134
profanely profan'ly G 134
profit prof'it G pr 31, profited prof'ited G 43
profitable prof'itable G 31, 84
prohibition, proobis'um Sa
prolong proloq' G 133
promise prom'is G 83
proper proper G 84
prophets = p'phets C 11
propone propur G 31
propose propoz' G 86
prosperous pro'sperus B
prostrate prostrant G 149
proud proud B, G 74, 105
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provide provid' Bull, provid' G 86
process pruces G 116
prudent prudent ? G 30
puissance pyyis'ans G 111
pull pul S
pulley pul' Bull
punish punish G 89 punished = punished C 10
pure pyrr S, pyy'er H
pureress pyy'nes Sa
purge purdzh B
purity pyy'ritai G 39
purple pur-pl G 106
purpose pur-pooz G 104
purplain pur-plain portulaca G 38
pursue pursy' G 90
push push G 88
put put pono G 48

Q
quail kwail G pr
quake kswak G pr, 103
qualities kwal'itiz G 136
quarrel kareel S
quassy (?) kase'i insalabris S
quarter kearter Sa, S, H
quash kwash G pr
quain kvien, scovtum S, Bull
queen kwain Sa, S, G pr, 110, kwain ? G 72
quench kwentsh Bull, G 24, 124
quern, kwar'n mole truwalities Bull
quest, kwest consilium S
question kwest'ion G 88
quick kwik S
quickly kwik'li G 34
quicken kwik'en Bull
quiet kwet quietus S, kwet ? G 39
quilt kwil S, quilts kwilt G pr
quilt kwilt tepctis suffuli lana genus S
quine kwins S, G 12
quit, kwit, quietum aut liberalum, S, kwit G pr
quite s. kwet liberare aut acceptum ferre S, kwit G 121, adv. kwit G 116
quoit koit, fortasse kuit, jacere discum, S gvoth kith vel kwit khoth G 64

R
race rans soboles G 39
rag rag S
rageth raadzeth G 99
rail rad Sa, rails, raiz Sa
rain rain P, G 66, rain C 5
raising raaz? G 99
Ralph Raaf Bull
ram ram S, rams ramz G 99
rancorous raq'kerus G 106
range raundzh B
rank a. raqk, Aust. roqk G 17
rare raar Bull, G 101
rat rat S
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ratline rat'liqz G 37
rather raad'her G 103
raving raav'iq G 148
raw rau S
reach reecth Bull
read reed lego Bull, G 48, red lectum S,
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reid'iq, G pr, 95
ready red'i G 84
realm reeln G 122
reap reep S
rear reer S, G 105, rear ed reed G 114
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reck riik ? eureare S
reconciliation rek'noq G 100
recount rekount· G 86
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Redcliff Rat'if G pr
redeem redim· G 102
redoubt redyit· munimentum pro tempore
aut occasione factum G 29
redound redound· G 86
redress redres· G 149
reduce reddy's· G 31
reeds rindz G 146
reek reek B
reft reft G 100
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refuse v. refiy'yz· G 101, 132
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regrater regraater G 129
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reigns rainz G 99
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remember remem'ber G 40
remembrance remem'braus G 23
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rend rend G 48
render rend'er G 21
renewest reeny'est G 25
renewed remuured G 100
rent rent Sa
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reported report'ed G 67
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requite rekuwait· G 87
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resort resor· G 112
resound resound· G 142
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restore restoor· G 122
restrain restrain· G 89
retain retain' G 163
retire retaor· G 99
retrieve retriev· venmimagari S
return return· G 33
revenge revendzh· G 110
revive revoi'v G 141
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reward reward· G 89, 122
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rib rb B
rich ritsh, Bor raitsh G 17
riches ritshe'z G 21
rick rik B
rid rid G 89
ride reid II, Bull, ridden rid'n S
ridge redzh S
rife raif G 99
right rikht Sa
righteous raikht'eous G 27
righteously raikht'eousl G 21
righteousness raikht'teousnes G 27, righ-
teousnes C 5
ring rip G 93, ringing rip'iq Sa
rip rip dissuere S
ripe reip S
rice rois G 37
rise v. =rijs C 12
river river Bull
roach rooth S
room room Bull
roar roor G 22
rob rob S, G 85
robe roob S, G 106
robbery rob'rerai G 21
rock rock colous vel rupes S,rok rupes
G 20, 99
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roo roo Sa
rolling roool'iq G 121
Rome Riu'm Bull
rook ruuk S
room room Bull
root root B
rope rope S
ropp rop intestinum S
rose rooz? Sa, rose C 2, roses rooz'ez
G 99
roscheeked rooz'tshlikt G 150
rosy-fingered rooz'ziq'gred G 106
root root Bull
roused round G 107
rove roov S
row roon remigare Bull
royal roiral G 104
rub rub S
rubies ryy'bz S 99
ruck ruk accvenus, rucks ruks S
rue ryy P, ryy ruta S, ryy se ponitere
G 145
ruful ryy'ful G 100
ruuff ruf pisces perve simillis S
ruin ryyoin·? in an accentual penta-
meter from Sydney's Arcadia 3, 1,
O ju, alas! so 0 0 found, kaaz of hir
on'li ryyoin· G 146
rule ryyl Bull, G 68
rump rump, Lin strut runt cauda G 17
rumbling rum blyq G 114
run run, ran ran G 13, 49
runners run'crz G 114
rural ryr'ral G 146
rushed rush junctus S
rust rust G 118
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ryth ryth G 39
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sable saab'l Sa
sackcloth sak'kloth G 128
sacred saa'kred G 98
saddle Sa, sad'1 Bull, sad'1 G 133
safeguard saa'fard G 73
safely = saef'ti C 27
saffron saa'f'rn G 106
said sed rusti, said non sed G pr, 67, sed Bor pro said G 17
sailed said G 146, sailing sail'-iq G 105
saints saints G 23
sake = saak C 5
salable saal'abl G 32
sale saal Sa
Saltust Sal'ust G 84
salmon sam'ron G 77
salt salt S, sal't G 27, 81
salthi saal tish G
salutation saluta'sion ? G 30
salvation salva'sion G 20
same saam Bull, G 45, saam C 5
sanctuary saaqt-tuarcio G 22
sandors san'derz santalum G 37
sandie san-'rkl G 30
sap sap G 24
sat sat S
satisfaction satisfa'sion a Latinio in iu, proprium tamen accentum retinet in antepenultima G 129, shewing that -sion was regarded as two syllables.
satisfy satisfa'soi G 87, satisfied satisfa'ied G 24
Saturn Saart'urn G 100
Saul saol S
save saav S, saving saav'-iq G 21
save sau S, saa G 14
sax sax aratrun Oce, G
say saiy non So G pr, saii G 22, saa Bor abortio i G 17, zai Or G 17, see cor B, sai C 5
scale skaal G 99
'scooped skapt G 105
soathe skath G 106
sceptre sep'tr Bull
science s'venc Bull
scissors sixerz G 37
scholar skolar potin' quam skoler G pr,
scholars skol'ars Mops skal'ers G 18
school skul Sa
schoolmaster skuul'master G 86
scolding skooold'-iq G 95
score skoor G 71
scorn skorn G 98, 141, scorned = scooned C 27
scour skour B
scourge skurzh B
scoull skoul B
scrivish oxel skreik-nul Bull
scribble skrili' scribllare
scripture scriptur ? see literature G 30
scull skul S
scurrility skurl'-iti G 112
sea sea Sa, G 22, see C 4, seas seez G 13
seed seel S
seam seem adeps G 38
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season seez'en Sa, seasons seez'zn G 24
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sedge sedzh, S
see, sii Sa, G 23, seen siin G 7
seeds siids Bull
seek S, siik G 20
seldom siild'um Bull
self self Bull, self sel'n Bor G 17, selves selvz Bull
sell sel S, G 89
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Sempringham Sem'p'riq'am media syllaba producitur [see Trumpton] G 134
send send G 48, sendeth send'eth G 24, sent sent G 43
senseless sens'les G 99
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serve serv G 23
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Severn Sev'n G 40
seven sen B
sewed sound G
sewer sewer Bull, seewer dapiser G 15
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shadows shad'oo z G 114, 144
shale shal S
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shambles shamb'lz G 37
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shape shap Sa
share shaa r P
sharp sharp Bull
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\( yell \) jol Sa
\( yellow \) jellou Sa, S
gennoun reman' S, jumman Bull
\( yes \) is ali sonant S, S, is G 10
\( yesterday \) yesterdai G 77
get sit, ali sonant set S G 102
\( yew \) \( yew \) yaxley Sa
\( you \) joo Sa, joo Sa, Bull, G 22, 86, jool conccasit S, yielded iilded G 110, jild-ed G 117, ielded C 13
\( yode \) sed G 106, see Went
\( yoke \) sook G 10, 43, sook C 11
\( yolk \) sook jugum S, jell vitellum G 10
\( yonder \) joinder Sa, jond, jond S, jond'er H
\( York \) Jork Sa
\( you \) joo Sa, joo Sa, Bull, joo ruu
obserua joo sic scribi solere, et ab aliquibus pronunciari at à plerisque
\( Juan, \) laen quia hoc nundum ubique
obtinuit paulisper in medio reliquitetur G 46, joo inu in G, pr, joo G 45, joo G 44, joo Hops sa G 18, yoo C 6, yoo yoo C 10
\( young \) jyyth Sa, S, Sull, B, G 24, 112
\( your \) jsuur, Bull, juur G 21, 95, yours jsuurz G 45, yours C 6
\( yunker \) juyker adolescentes generosior S
\( youth \) jsuth' Sa, juth Bull, jyhyth G 13, 46, juth' B, youths jyhyth G 40
\( zeal \) zeel G 13, 105
\( zeal \) sed litera z, S
\( zodiak \) zodiak' S G 29
\( Zouch \) Zouth G 42

Extracts from Richard Mulcaster's Elementarie, 1582.

Gill says in the preface to his Logonomia, "Occurrere quidem huic vitio [caecographiae] viri boni et literati, sed irrito conatu; ex equestri ordine Thomas Smithius; cui volumen bene magnum opposuit Rich. Mulcasterus: qui post magnum temporis et bone chartae perditionem, omnia Consuetudini tanquam tyranno permittenda censeret." Mulcaster's object in short was to teach, not the spelling of sounds, but what he considered the neatest style of spelling as derived from custom, in order to avoid the great confusion which then prevailed. He succeeded to the extent of largely influencing subsequent authorities. In Ben Jonson's Grammar, the Chapters on orthography are little more than abridgements of Mulcaster's. Sometimes the same examples are used, and the very faults of description are followed. It would have been difficult to make
anything out of Mulcaster without the help of contemporary orthoepists, and it appeared useless to quote him as an authority in Chap. III. But an account of the xvth century pronunciation would be incomplete without some notice of his book, and the value of his remarks has been insisted on by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce (infra p. 917, note). A few extracts are therefore given, with bracketted remarks. Chronologically, Mulcaster's book should have been noticed before Gill's, p. 845. But as he was a pure orthographer who only incidentally and obscurely noticed orthoepy, these extracts rightly form a postscript to the preceding vocabulary. The title of the book, which will be found in the Grenville collection at the British Museum, is:

The first part of the elementarie which entreateth cheflie of the right writing of our English tung, set furth by RICHARD MULCASTER. Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier dwelling in the blak-friers by Lud-gate, 1582.

In Herbert’s Ames, 2, 1073, it is said that no other part was ever published. In the following account, all is Mulcaster’s except the passages inclosed in brackets, and the headings. The numbers at the end of each quotation refer to the page of Mulcaster’s book.

The Vowels Generally.

The vowelles generallie sound either long as, comparing, revenged, enduring, encloure, presuming: or short as, ran-saking, rewilling, pentent, omnipotent, fortontit; [here the example revenged, which had certainly a short vowel, shows that by length and brevity, Mulcaster meant presence and absence of stress, which applies to every case:] either sharp, as māte, mēte, ripe, hope, duke. or flat as: mät, már, rip, hop, dük. [Here he only means long or short, and does not necessarily, or indeed always, imply a difference of quality, as will appear under E. Occasionally, however, he certainly does denote a difference of quality by these accents, as will be seen under Ī. In his “general table” of spelling, these accents seem frequently used to differentiate words, which only differed in their consonants, and it is impossible from his use of them to determine the sounds he perhaps meant to express. Thus in his chapter on Distinction, he says: “That the sharp and flat accents ar onelie to be set vpon the last syllab, where the sharp hath manie causes to present it self: the flat onlie vpon som rare difference, as refise, refise, present, present, recörd, recörd, differ, differ, șenër, șenère.” 151.—Where the grave accent seems to mark absence of stress, the quality of the vowel changing or not.] Which diuersitie in sound, where occasiōn doth require it, is noted with the distinctions of time [meaning stress in reality, which he indicates by “,” because in English versification imitating the classical, quantity was replaced by stress], and tune [meaning length, which he indicates by accent marks, and hence confuses with tune], tho generallie it nede not, considering our daelie custom, which is both our best, and our commonest gide in such cases, is our ordinarie leader [and hence unfortunately he says as little as possible about it].—110.

Proportion.

I call that proportion, when a number of words of like sound ar written with like letters, or if the like sound have not the like letters, the cause why is shewed, as in hear, fear, dear, yeare, weare [where the last word, which was certainly (weare), should determine the value of ea in the others to have been (ee) in Mulcaster’s pronunciation, though, as others said (niir, fiir, diir) even in his day, this may be too hasty a conclusion].—124.
A.

A Besides this general note for the time and tune, hath no particular thing worth the observation in this place, as a letter, but it hath afterward in proportion, as a syllab. All the other vowels haue manie pretie notes. [This might mean that a always preserved its sound, and the other vowels did not. It is possible that the “pretie notes” only refer to his observations on them, and not to diversity of sound.]—111.

Ache, brache, with the qualifying e, for without the e, i, goeth before ch. as patch, snatch, etch, snatch, watch. The strong ch. is mere foreen, and therefore endeth no word with vs, but is turned into k, as stomak, monark. [This context makes a long and ch = (tsh) in ache = (antsh). Yet in his general table p. 170, he spells both ache and ake. See the illustrations of ache in Shakspere, infrâ § 8.]—127.

AI, EI.

AI, is the mans diphong, and soundeth full: e, the womans, and soundeth finish [=rather fine] in the same both sense, and vs; a woman is daintie, and feinteth soon, the man fainteth not because he is nothing daintie. [Whether any really phonetic difference was meant, and if so of what kind, is problematical. Smith had said the same thing, supra p. 120, but with Smith the word diphthong had a phonetic meaning, with Mulcaster it was simply a digraph, and he may have at most alluded to such differences as (ae, ee) or (ee, ee). Compare the following paragraph.]—119.

No English word endeth in a, but in aio, as decevo, assasie, which writing and sound our vse hath won. [Does this confuse or distinguish the sounds of a, ai? It might do both. It ought to distinguish, because the writing of ai being different from the writing of a, the mention of its sound should imply that such sound was also different. But we cannot tell. See what follows.]—125.

Gaiue, grave, trave. And maid, said, gual, English for coif, quaint, soil, rail, mail, onelasse it were better to write these with the qualifying e, quaint, feile, stale, maile. [If any phonetic consistency were predicadel of an orthographical reformer.—which, however, we are not justified in assuming,—this ought to in-

dicate a similarity of pronunciation between ai and a. To the same conclusion tend: ] Howbeit both the terminations be in vse to diuurse ends. Gain, pain, if not, Pane, gane, remane, and such as these terminations, he also vsed to diuurse ends, [these “diverse ends” being, of course not to indicate diversity of sound, but diversity of sense; it would be quite enough for Mulcaster to feel that the vowel was long, and that a final e, and not an inserted i, was the “proper” way of marking length. ]... Fair, pair, air, if not Fare, pare, are, both terminations also be vsed to diuurse ends. Wait, strait, if not Wate, strate. Straight or straight, bycause ai and ei, do enertain vses. Aim, or ame, main, Pain, restraint, faint, or feint, quaint, or quaint... Ete, eight, sleight, height, weigh, field, yeild, sheild, the kined between ei, and ai, maketh ei, not anie where so ordinarie, as in these terminations. [If we were inconsiderate enough to suppose that Mulcaster had any thought of representing the different sounds, as distinguished from the length, of vowels, all these cases, would be explicable by assuming ai = ei = (ee), and a long = (ee). But this would be somewhat opposed to other parts of Mulcaster, and to the writings of contemporaries, and is founded upon the groundless assumption just mentioned. As to the similarity of ai, a, see supra p. 867, col. 2, and Mr. White’s account of Elizabethan pronunciation, infrâ.]—136-7.

E.

Whensoever E, is the last letter, and soundeth, it soundeth sharp, as mé, se, vé, agré. saving in thé, the article, ye the pronoun, and in Latin words, or of a Latin form, when the e be vused Eng- lish like, as certiorare, quandare, where e, soundeth full and brode after the originall Latin. [Here, as we know that the sounds were (mi, si, wi, agrir, dhc), though (se) is not so certain from other sources, we might suppose e = (ii), è = (e). Ben Jonson, however, in abstracting and adapting this passage, distinctly makes the sound (ii), saying (Gram. chap. iii.), “When it is the last letter, and soundeth, the sound is sharp, as in the French i. For example in mé. sé., agré. yé, shé, in all, saving the article thé.” Observe that yé is now (ii) and not (ie). Observe
also that quondam is referred to a Latin origin, quam dare, as if they were the first words of a writ.] Whencsoever c, is the last, and soundeth not, it either qualifieth som letter going before, or it is mere silent, and yet in neither kind so encreaseth it the number of syllables. I call that E, qualifying, whose absence or presence, sometime altereth the vowell, sometime the consonant going next before it. It altereth the sound [length] of all the vowels, even quite thoroughly one or mo consonants, as mad, stéme, échée, kinde, stripe, óre, cue, tóste sound sharp with the qualifying E in their end: whereas, mad, stém, éch, frind, strip, or cur, tost, contract of tossed, sound flat without the same E. [Now as we know that stem, each, were (stemm, eech), it follows that é represented either (ii) or (œ), that is, that the acute accent only represented length, independently of alteration in quality of tone; there was such an alteration in curé, cur, certainly, and in stripe, strip, according to the current pronunciation; but there was or was not in sé, stéme, compared with stém, and hence we have no reason to infer that there was any in madé, mad, óre, ór. Ben Jonson alters the passage thus: "Where it [E] endeth, and soundeth obscure, and faintly, it serves as an accent, to produce the Vowell preceding: as in madé. stéme. stripe. óre. évre. which else would sound, mad. stém. strip. or. évir." It is tolerably clear that by using "produce" in place of Mulcaster's "alter the sound," he intended to avoid the difficulty of considering stéme = stem as (stímm), unless, indeed, he meant it to be a contraction for esteem. He omits the example each for a similar reason.]-111.

Port, desert, the most of these sorts be bissyllabs or above: besides that, a, dealeth verie much before the r, [meaning probably that ar was often sounded [ar]]. By deserve, preserre, conserve, it should appear that either we strain the Latin s to our sound, or that thei had som sound of the z, expressed by s, as well as we, [did he say (konzerv) ²]—132.

I.

I, in the same proportion [supra p. 911] soundeth now sharp, as gine, thrine, alive, vrine, title, bible, now quik, as gine, line, sive, title, bible, which sounds ar to be distinguished by accent, if acquaintance will not seem in much reading. [As Ben Jonson uses the same words and notation, and we know that he must have distinguished his i, i, as (ai, i) there is no reason for supposing that Mulcaster's i was anything but (ai) or (ai). But at the same time there is nothing to militate against the contemporary Bullokar's (ii). And Mulcaster's pronunciation of ov as (un), infra p. 914, which is about the only certain result that can be elicited from his book, renders the (ii) probable.—115.

I, besides the time and tune thereof noted before, hath a form sometime vowellish, sometime consonantish. In the vowellish sound either it endeth a former syllab or the verie last. When it endeth the last, and is it self the last letter, if it sound gentle, it is qualified by the e, as mane, merie, livie, carte, where the verie pen, will rather end in e, than in the naked i. If it sound sharp and loud, it is to be written y, having no e, after it, as neding no qualification, deny, ery, defy. [This at any rate goes against Gill's use of final (ai), supra p. 281, which, however, he only attributes to "numeros poeticos," Log. p. 130, in his Chap. 25, quoted at length, infra § 8.]—113.

If it [I] end the last syllab, with one or no consonants after it, it is shrill [long] when the qualifying e, followeth, and if it be shrill [long] the qualifying e, must follow, as, repine, unwise, minde, knide, fiste [foist ²]. If it be flat and quik, the qualifying e, must not follow, as, examin, behind, mist, fist. [Observe (behind) with a short vowel, and hence certainly not (beneind'),]—114.

The quik i, and the gentle passant e, ar so near of kin, as theie enterchange places with pardon, as in deseryd, or deseryid, findeth, or findith, hir, or her, the error is no heresy.—115.

If it [I] light somewhat quiklie upon the s, then the s is single, as promis tretis, amis, advertis, enfranchis, etc. [This seems to establish (advertis, en-franchis) as the common pronunciation.]—133.

O.

O is a letter of as great uncertainitie in our tung, as e, is of direction both alone in vowell, and combined in diphthong. The cause is, for that in vowell
it soundeth as much vpon the u, which is his cosin, as upon the o, which is his naturall, as in dösen, dösen, mother, which o, is still naturallie short, and, höszen, frözen, mother, which o, is naturallie long. In the diphthong it soundeth more vpon the, u, then vpon the, o, as in found, wound, cow, sow, bow, how, now, and bow, sow, worm, ought, niow, tröugh. Notwithstanding this varietie, yet our custom is so acquainted with the vse thereof, as it will be more difficultie to alter a known confusion, then profitable to bring in an unknown reformation, in such an argument, where acquaintance makes justice, and vse doth no man wrong. And yet where difference by note shall seem to be necessarie the titles of proportion and distinction will not omit the help. In the mean time thus much is to be noted of o: besides his time long and short, besides his tune with or without the qualifying e, sharp or flat, that when it is the last letter in the word, it soundeth sharp and loud, as agó, to, só, so, saue in to the preposition, tó the numerall, dó the verb: his compounds as endó, his derivaitures as döing. In the midle syllabs, for tune, it is sharp, as here, or flat if a consonant end the syllab after o. For time the polysyllab will bewraie it self in our daifie pronouncing: considering the children and learners be ignorant, yet he is a verie simple teacher, that knoweth not the tuning of our ordinarie words, yea tho theie be enfranchised, as ignorant, impudent, impotent. O varieth the sound in the same proportion, naie oftimes in the same letters, as buë, gloë, déue, shouë, remouë, and lóue, gróue, shróue, nóue. This duble sound of o, in the vowell is Latiniz, where o, and u, be great cosens, as in voltis, voltis, colo. And voltis, voltis, oevulo: in the diphthong it is Grekishe, for theie sound their ow, still vpon the u, tho it be contract of oo, or oë [there is some misprint in these oo, oë which is imitated here], wherein as their president [precedent] is our warrant against objection in these, so must acquaintance be the mean to discern the duble force of this letter, where we finde it, and be that will learn our tung, must learn the writing of it to, being no more strange then other tungs be euen in the writing. [It would seem by the general tenor of these remarks, that the two sounds of o were (oo, u), and even that the diphthong ow, in those words where it is said to "sound more upon, the, u then vpon the, o," had, as with Bullokar and Palsgrave, the sound of (uu). It is in fact difficult to conceive that Mulcaster pronounced otherwise. And this sounding of ow as (uu), leads, as before mentioned, p. 913, to the suspicion of sounding long as (ii).]—115.

O, in the end is said to sound lowd, as go, shor [shrew?], frw, sauing tó, dó, too, etc. . . . O before, l, sounding like a diphthong causeth the ll, be doubled, as trol. And if a consonant follow, l, o, commonlie hath the same force, tho the, l, be but single, tól, cold, bold, coll, dolt, colf; rolf, holt, holm, sould, dissolve. [The last example is peculiar.] O, before m, in the beginning, or midle of a word, leading the syllabs soundeth flat vpon the o, as omnipotent, commend, but in the end it soundeth still vpon, the u, as som, com, dom, [hence the first is (o), the second (u)] and therfor in their derivaitures, and compounds as wleoom, trublesom, newcom, enumberom, kingdom. With e, after the m, as home, mone, rone [roam?], and yet whom, from, haue no, e, by prerogative of vse, tho theie haue it in sound and seming [that is are called (room room), which is strange, especially as regards from. . . .] Or is a termination of som trouble, when a consonant followeth, bycause it soundeth so much vpon the u, as worm, form, [(furm)?] sword, word, and yet the qualifying e, after wil bewraie an o, as the absence thereof will bewraie an u, storme, o, worm, u, lorde o, hord, u.—134.

Good, stood, good. Hoof, roof. Look, took, book, hook. School, tool. Groom, bloom. Hoop, coop. If custom had not won this, why not ou? Bycause of the sound which these diphthongs have somtimes vpon the o, sometimes vpon the, u, I will note the o, sounding vpon himself, with the straight accent, bycause that o, leadeth the lesse number. Böw, knöw, söw, and Böw, söw, söw, möw. [That is (bøu, suu, kuu, muu), but there seem to be some misprints in what follows, compare the wióught, oight, nówe, tróugh, given above.] Outeh, croucht, strouchet. Lowde, lowde. Hoof, aloof. Gongs, booge. Couch, oght, ought, oft, oëve, with, w, from the primitivie. Fought, nought, coought, wióught, sought. again, Bought, nought, dought. Plough, rough, sloug,
enough. Howl, counsel, soul. Why not as well as with oo? Room, brown, town. Now, crown, clown, down. Own, grown, upon the derivative. Stoop, loop, drop, comp. Sound, ground, found. Our common abbreviate like as our, the termination for enfranchisements, as auteur, procureur, or is for our our, as sateur, writer: Boy, low, flour, four, alone upon the. o. Mourn, ad-tourn. House, house, mouse, the verbs and derivatives upon the, as, as, House, house, mouse, the nouns upon the, s, Ous, our English cadence for Latin words in osus, as notorious, famous, populous, riotous, gorgeous, being as it were the writing of the chief letters in the two syllables, o, and u, osus. Clout, tout, doul. [These instances are strong-ly confirmative of the close ou having been (uu) to Mulcaster, and his only knowing the open ou or (ou).]—136.

OI.

Thirdly, oi, the diphthong sounding upon the o, for difference sake, from the other, which soundeth upon the u, wold be written with a y, as ioy, away, buy, boy, whereas without, appoint, fail, and such seems to have an u. And yet when, i, goeth before the diphthong, tho it sound upon the u, it were better oy then oi, as ioyn, ioyn, which these shall soon perccive, when theye mark the speeke of their pen: likewise if oi with i, sound upon the o, it maie be noted for difference from the other sound, with the straight accent, as boic, enioic.—117–8.

U.

V besides the notes of his form, besides his time and tune, is to be noted also not to end enie English word, which if it did it should sound sharp, as ní, trú, vertú. But to avoid the nakedness of the small u, in the end we use to write those terminations with ew the diphthong, as new, true, vertuc. [Whether this implies that u was called (iu), or that ew was called (yy) occasionally, as in Smith and Palgrave, it is hard to say. ]—116. *

-URE.

I call that a bisyllab, wherein there be two securall sounding vowels, as Asur, rasur, measur, and why not lasur? [Are these words azure, rasure, measure, leisure? If so the orthography, or the confusion of a, ea, ei, into one sound, is very remarkable. Further on he writes:] Natur, statur, Measur, treasur. [Probably this settles the question of measure; but the spelling would indicate that the final -sure, -sure, were (-tur, -sur), which would have immediately generated the xvii th century (-tar, -sar), and not Gill’s (-tyrr, -syrr). Probably both were in use at that time.]—137. This shortness or length of time in the derivatives is a great leader, where to write or not to write the qualifying, e, in the end of simple words. For who will write, natur, perfitt, measur, treasur, with an, e, in the end knowing their derivatives to be short, naturall, perfittile, measured, treasurer? . . . And again, fortun proft, comfort, must haue no, e, bycause fortunate, profitting, comforter, have the last saue one short. [It will be seen in Chapter IX. § 2, in Hodges’s list of like and unlike words, after the vocabulary, that the pronunciation (-ter) or (-tar) prevailed at least as early as 1613. See also the remarks in Mr. White’s Elizabethan Pronunciation, infrà. The examples fortun, fortunate, point to the early origin of the modern vulgarism (faat’n, faat’nit.)]—150.

Remarks from an Anonymous Black-letter Book, probably of the xvith Century.

As these pages were passing through the press, I met with an 8vo. black-letter book, without date or place, the date of which is supposed to be 1602 in the British Museum Catalogue, press-mark 828, f. 7, entitled:

“Certaine grammar questions for the exercise of young Schollers in the learning of the Accidence.”

In the enumeration of the diphthongs, occur the following remarks which clearly point out ea as (ee), and distinguish i short and i long as having characteristically different sounds, probably (i ci) or (oi):—
"ea for e full  great
ee or ie for i smal greefe
ui for i broade  guyde."

The following curious passage shews that si- was by error occasionally pronounced (sh) in reading Latin words, and hence had most probably the same unrecognized English sound at the close of the \textit{xvi}th century. It is unfortunate that the book is of unknown date, and that there is nothing which suggests the date with certainty. The type and spelling have the appearance of the \textit{xvi}th century, and there is a written note "happening by forhond," appended to \textit{Accidents} on the last page of sig. B, which is apparently of that date, but there are other words on the next page in a much later hand. The information then must be taken for what it is worth, but it seems to be of Shakspere's time, and is important as the oldest notice of such a usage.

"Q. Nowe what thinges doe yee observere in reading?"

R. These two thinges. 1. {\textit{Cleane sounding.}}
2. {\textit{Dewe pawsing.}}

Q. Wherein standeth \textit{cleane sounding}?  
R. In giving to euery letter his iust and full sounde. In breaking or diuiding euery worde dueley into his seuerall syllables, so that euery syllable may bee hearde by himselfe and none drownd, nor slubbed by ill fauouredly. In the right pronouncing of \textit{ti}, whiche of \textit{vs} is commonly sounded \textit{ct} when any vowel doeth follow next after him or els not. And finally in avoyding all such vices as are of many foolishly vsed by cuill custome.

Q. What vices be those?  
R. \textit{Isiacismus.}  sounding \textit{i} too broade.
2. \textit{Labdacismus.}  sounding \textit{l} too full.
3. \textit{Ischnotes.}  mincing of a letter as feather for father.
4. \textit{Traulismus.}  stammering or stutting.
5. \textit{Plateasms.}  too much mouthing of letters.
6. \textit{Cheilostomia.}  maffling or fumbling worde in the mouth.
7. \textit{Abusing of letters.}  as \textit{v} for \textit{f}. \textit{vat} for \textit{fat}. \textit{z} for \textit{s} as \textit{muza} for \textit{musa}. \textit{sh} for \textit{ci}. as \textit{fasho} for \textit{facio} \textit{dosham} for \textit{doccam jelicium} for \textit{felicium} and such like.

Q. Wherein standeth due pawsing? 
R. In right obseruation of the markes and prickes before mentioned."

Here the \textit{Isiacismus} may be considered to reprobate the pronunci-ation of Latin \textit{i} as (ci). The \textit{Lambdacismus} alludes to the introduc-tion of (\textit{u}) before (l). For both errors, see supra p. 744, note 1. The \textit{ischnotes} (supra p. 90, n. 1) of \textit{feather} for \textit{father}, either means the actual use of the sound (\textit{feedher}) for (\textit{faadher}), in which case this would be the earliest notice of the pronunciation of \textit{a} long as (ee), but still as a reprobated vulgarism, antedating its recognition by nearly a century,—or else it means merely thinning \textit{a} from (aa) to (ae), which was no doubt sporadically existent at this early period. The enigmatical \textit{fedder} of Salesbury may, as we have seen, also refer to \textit{father} (supra p. 750, n. 8), and both may indicate an
anomalous pronunciation confined to that single word. The abusing of letters reminds one of Hart, suppl. p. 794, note 1. It is observable that the use of (z) for (s), in musa, is reprobated, although probably universal, as at present, and is placed in the same category with (v) for (f), a mere provincialism, and (sh) for ci-, which we here meet with for the first time, and notably in terms of reprobation, and after the distinct mention of the "right pronouncing of ti" as "of vs commonly sounded ci," meaning (si) "when any vowel doth follow next after him or els not." As late as 1678, E. Coote writes in his English Schoolmaster, p. 31: "Rob. How many ways can you express this sound si? Joh. Only three; si, ci, and sci or xi, which is esi. Rob. Now have you erred as well as I; for ti before a vowel doth commonly sound si." So that (sh) was not even then acknowledged. It is curious that there is no reference to the use of (th) for t and d final, see suppl. p. 844, under D and T.

§ 8. On the Pronunciation of Shakspere.

Our sources of information respecting the pronunciation of Shakspere are twofold, external and internal. The external comprises those writers which have been examined in Chap. III., and illustrated in the preceding sections of the present chapter.1 Of these,

1 The first published attempt to gather the pronunciation of Shakspere from the writings of preceding orthoepists is, so far as I know, an article in the "North American Review" for April, 1864, pp. 342-360, jointly written by Messrs. John B. Noyes and Charles S. Peirce. Unfortunately these gentlemen were not acquainted with Salesbury, whose works are the key to all the others. Had they known this orthoepist, the researches in my third and eighth chapters might have been unnecessary. Salesbury's Welsh Dictionary first fell under my notice on 14 Feb. 1859; his account of Welsh pronunciation was apparently not then in the British Museum, and seems not to have been acquired till some years afterwards, during which time I vainly sought a copy, as it was necessary to establish the value of his Welsh transcriptions. I had finished my first examination of Salesbury, Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, Butler, Wallis, Wilkins, Price, Mige, Jones, Buchanan, and Franklin, and sent the results for publication in the Appendix to the 3rd edition of my Plea (suppl. p. 631, note) in 1860, but the printing of that work having been interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War in America, they have not yet appeared. My attention was directed to Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's article in March, 1865, and I noted all the works they quoted, some of which I have unfortunately not been able to see; and others, especially R. Mulcaster's Elementarie, 1682 (suppl. p. 910), and Edward Coote's Schoolemaster, 1624 (suppl. p. 47, l. 19), which Mr. Noyes considers as only inferior to Gill and Wallis, I have scarcely found of any value. When I re-commenced my investigations at the close of 1866, since which time I have been engaged upon them with scarcely any intermission, I determined to conduct them independently of Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's labours, with the intention to compare our results. It will be found that we do not much differ, and the points of difference seem to be chiefly due to the larger field here covered (those gentlemen almost confined themselves to Elizabethan times), and perhaps to my long previous phonetic training. The following are the old writers cited by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce:—Palsgrave, Giles du Guez, Sir T. Smith, Bullokar, "Jesops Fables in true Orthography, with Grammar Notz, 8vo., 1585" (which I have not seen), P. Bales, 1590 (not seen), Gill, Butler, B. Jonson, Wallis, Bare, Gataker, Coote, Percival's Spanish Grammar,
however, Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, and Hart, wrote before Shakspere’s birth or when he was a baby (see table p. 50), and although Bullokar published his book when Shakspere was sixteen, it represents a much more archaic form of language than Hart’s, of which the first draft (supra p. 794, note) was written six years before Shakspere’s birth. Gill, who was born the same year as Shakspere, should naturally be the best authority for the pronunciation of the time. He was head master of St. Paul’s School during the last eight years of Shakspere’s life, and he published the first edition of his book only three years after Shakspere’s death. But Gill was a favourer of old habits. We have on record his contempt of the modern thinness of utterance then affected by the ladies (pp. 90, 91) and his objections to Hart’s propensities in that direction (p. 122). Gill was a Lincolnshire man, of East Midland habits. Shakspere was a Staffordshire man, more inclined to West Midland. Hence, although Gill no doubt represented a recognized pronunciation, which would have been allowed on the stage, it is possible that Shakspere’s individual habits may have tended in the direction which Gill reprobated. The pronunciation of the stage itself in the time of the Kembles used to be archaic, and our tragedians (or such of them as remain) still seem to affect similar habits. But it is possible that in Shakspere’s time a different custom prevailed, and that dramatic authors and actors rather affected the newest habits of the court. Hence the necessity for proving the indications of Gill and other writers by an examination of Shakspere’s own usage, so far as it can be determined from the very unsatisfactory condition in which his text has come down to us.

The internal sources of information are three in number, puns, metre, and rhyme. The first is peculiar and seems to offer many advantages in determining identity of sound, accompanied by diversity of spelling, but is not really of so much use as might have been expected. The metre, properly examined, determines the number of syllables in a word and the place of the accent, and, so far as it goes, is the most trustworthy source of information which we possess. The rhyme, after our experience of Spenser’s habits, must be of very doubtful assistance. At most we can compare general habits of rhyming with the general rules laid down by contemporary orthocpists. A few inferences may be drawn from peculiarities of

1623 (not seen), Cotgrave, Nat Strong (not seen), Wilkins, Mulcaster, Festeau, 1673 (not seen), Berault, 1698 (not seen), De la Touche, 1710 (not seen), Taudon, 1745 (not seen), Sharp on English Pronunciation, 1767, and the following, which I have not examined, Nares, 1784, Hexham 1660, Pomey, 1690, Saxon 1757, Messrs. Noyes and Peirce’s conclusions will be inserted as footnotes to the subsection headed “Conjectured Pronunciation of Shakspere,” immediately before the speci-

1 An elaborate attempt to determine the pronunciation of some vowels and consonants by means of rhymes, puns, and misspellings, was made by Mr. Richard Grant White in his edition of Shakspere, vol. 12, ed. 1861. This did not come under my notice till these pages were passing through the press. An abstract of his researches, with remarks, will be found below, immediately after the present examination of Shakspere’s rhymes.
spelling, but when we recollect that Shakspere did not revise the text, and, if he had done so, might not have been very careful in correcting literals, or have had any peculiar notions of orthography to enforce, we cannot lay much store by this. Nevertheless I have thought it right to read through the whole of Shakspere with a view to his puns and rhymes, and, during the latter part of this task, I also noted many metrical and accentual peculiarities. The results obtained will have more or less interest to Shaksperean students, independently of their phonetic bearing.

The following system of reference has been adopted in which I have had in view the owners of any modern edition, and have more especially consulted the convenience of those who possess Macmillan's Globe edition, of which the text is the same as that of the Cambridge Shakspere, edited by Messrs. W. G. Clark and W. Aldis Wright.

Contracted Names of the Plays and Poems, with the pages on which they commence in the Globe edition.

AC, Antony and Cleopatra. p. 911.
AW, All's Well that Ends Well. p. 254.
AY, As You Like it. p. 205.
CE, Comedy of Errors. p. 93.
Cy, Cymbeline. p. 944.
H1, Henry IV., part I. p. 382.
H1, Henry IV., part II. p. 409.
H2, Henry V. p. 439.
H3, Henry VI., part I. p. 469.
H4, Henry VI., part II. p. 496.
H5, Henry VI., part III. p. 526.
H6, Henry VIII. p. 592.
JC, Julius Caesar. p. 764.
KL, King Lear. p. 847.
LC, Lover's Complaint. p. 1050.
MA, Much Ado about Nothing. p. 111.
MM, Measure for Measure. p. 67.
MV, Merchant of Venice. p. 181.
MW, Merry Wives of Windsor. p. 42.
Oth, Othello. p. 879.
PP, Passionate Pilgrim. p. 1053.
PT, Phoebus and Turtle. p. 1057.
R1, Richard II. p. 356.
R2, Richard III. p. 556.
RJ, Romeo and Juliet. p. 721.
RL, Rape of Lucrece. p. 1014.
S, Sonnets. p. 1031.
Tim, Timon of Athens. p. 741.
TC, Troilus and Cressida. p. 622.
TG, Two Gentlemen of Verona. p. 21.
TS, Taming of the Shrew. p. 229.
VA, Venus and Adonis. p. 1003.

In case of the plays the first figure following the title represents the act, the second the scene, and the third the number of the speech. The speeches are generally not numbered. The speeches in each scene were, I believe, first numbered by me in phonetic editions of T and M in 1849, and Mr. Craik, in his edition of JC, numbered the speeches from beginning to end of the play, thinking that he was the first person who had done so. There may be some doubt in some plays, as AC, regarding the number of the scenes, and in a few scenes as to the number of speeches, but those who have been in the habit of using Mrs. Cowden Clarke's Concordance to Shakspere, where the reference is to act and scene only, will readily acknowledge the great convenience of having only to count the
speeches to find the passage with tolerable certainty, instead of having to read through a whole long scene. It would be a great boon if subsequent publishers of Shakspere would adopt this plan of numbering the speeches, which would give a means of reference independent of the size of the page, and serving for the prose portions as well as for the verses. In the specimens at the close of this section the speeches are numbered in the way proposed, the current number being prefixed to the name of the speaker. Finding, however, that this reference is not always minute or convenient enough, I have inserted two other numbers in a parenthesis, the first referring to the page (number unaccented denoting the first, and number accented the second column) in the Globe edition, and the second pointing out the line of the previously indicated scene in that edition. When the scene consists wholly of verse, this number coincides with that of the line in the Cambridge edition, but when any prose has preceded, as the number of words in a line in the Globe edition is less than that in the Cambridge edition, the number of the line in the former is somewhat greater than that in the latter. Thus

\[
gilt \text{ guilt } 2 \text{H}4, 4, 5, 31 (432', 129)\]

shows that the pun, gilt guilt, is found in the second part of Henry IV, act 4, scene 5, speech 31; Globe edition, page 432, column 2, verse 129 of this fifth scene. The reference is always to the first line and first speech in which the several words which form the pun and rhyme occur. Consequently the reader will have to refer to some following lines, and even speeches, occasionally, to find the full pun or rhyme. The order of the words in the rhyme as cited is generally, but not always, that in which they occur in the original, and hence the reference must be considered as belonging to either word.

The Sonnets are referred to by the number of the sonnet and verse, with the page or column in the Globe edition, so that

\[
\text{prove love } S 117, 13 (1045')\]

shows that the rhyme prove love, occurs in sonnet 117, verse 13; Globe edition, page 1045, column 2.

For the other poems, VA, RL, LC, and PT, the annexed numbers give the verses and column in the Globe edition. PP gives the number of the poem and verse of the poem as in the Cambridge edition, and the column and verse in the Globe edition.

**Shakspere’s Puns.**

The word pun is modern and is not used in Shakspere. The following terms have been noted:

- Quips TG 4, 2, 1 (35', 12), MW 1, 3, 27 (45, 45). AY 5, 4, 28 (227', 79). H4 1, 2, 11 (383', 51).
- Snatches MM 4, 2, 3 (83, 6).
- Double meaning MA 2, 3, 81 (120, 267).
- Equivocation H 5, 1, 51 (841, 149).
- Quillets 3th. 3, 1, 15 (892, 26).
These jests are not merely puns. They include catchings up, mis¬
understandings, intentional or ignorant, false pronunciations, humor¬
ous allusions, involuntary associations of sound, even in pathetic
speeches, coarse doubles entendres, and jokes upon words of every
imaginable kind. Many of these defy notation, and are also useless
for our present purpose. By far the greater number of real puns
involve no difference of spelling, and were therefore not worth
citing. But so inveterate was Shakspere’s habit of playing upon
words, that I have marked specimens in every play except AC,
where most probably I have overlooked some covert instance.

The following, although they present a slight difference of spell¬
ing, convey little if any information.

tide tied TG 2, 3, 3 (26', 42).
foul fowl MW 5, 5, 1 (64', 12).
dam damn CE 4, 3, 16 (104, 54). MV
3, 1, 10 (191', 23). AY 3, 2, 9
(215', 9). In the last instance dam¬ned = damned or wedged. The more
solemn instance in MV, discounte¬
nances the damned usually preferred
by actresses in M 5, 1, 13 (806', 39).
Gill’s (kondemné) is probably an
oversight.
sink cinque MA 2, 1, 22 (115, 82).
This also is in favour of the pro¬
nunciation of French in, supra p. 827.
holiday holyday KJ 3, 1, 10 (340', 82).
This reminds us of Salesbury’s con¬
fusion of holy, holly, supra p. 99,
n. 3.
gilt guilt 2 H', 4, 5, 31 (432', 129).
H', 2, prol. (443, 26). This agrees
with the preceding vocabulary p. 892,
and shows the u was not pronounced
in guilt.
Lacies laces 2 H', 4, 2, 25 (516', 47).
This makes the pronunciation of final
-es, as (-is) or (-iz), probable, but not
certain. Dick, the butcher, speaks it.
presents presence 2 H', 4, 7, 11 (519',
32). This cannot be relied on for
indicating the habitual omission of
in the first word; the joke is one of
Jack Cade’s.

The following shew the indistinctness with which unaccented
final -el, -il, or -ar, -er, -our were already pronounced.

sallet salad 2 H', 4, 10, 1 (521', 11).
council counsel MW 1, 1, 51 (45, 120).
medlar meddler AY 3, 2, 31 (216, 125).
Tum 4, 3, 91 (705, 307).
dollar dolour T 2, 1, 9 (7, 18), MM 1,
2, 24 (68', 50) KL 2, 4, 19 (559, 54).
This favourite pun also indicates the
shortness of the first o in dolour.
choler collar RJ 1, 1, 2 (712, 3), H', 2,
4, 123 (393, 356). This makes o
short in choler.
manner manor LL 1, 1, 56 (137, 208).

1 "Pun play upon words: the expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained: Serenus would explain it by the Icelandic funalegr frivolous, Todd by fun, Nares by the obsolete pun, now pound, so that it would properly mean ‘to beat and hammer
upon the same word; ’ Mahn refers also to Anglo-saxon punian to bruise,
and to the English point, French pointe.” Ed. Mueller, Etymolo-
gisches Woerterbuch der Deutschen Sprache. Wedgwood adopts Nares’s
explanation. What is the age of the word? That it was not used in Shak¬
spere, where he had so much need of it,
seems evidence against any ancient
derivation, and to reduce it to the
chance associations of comparatively
modern slang. There is little use in
looking for old roots unless the word
itself is known to be old.
The very vague allusions in the following jokes shew how careful we must be not to lay too much stress on the identity of the sounds in each word.

**English.**
laced lost TG 1, 1, 39 (22, 101).
lover lubber TG 2, 5, 26 (29, 48).
Cæsar, Keisar, Pheezar MW 1, 3, 9 (45, 9).
band bond CE 4, 3, 8 (103, 30).
noting nothing MA 2, 3, 16 (118, 60).
See Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, infrà, under TH.
beside, by the side MA 5, 1, 46 (130, 128).
tittle title LL 3, 1, 25 (144, 86). This is a mere alliteration, like the preceding rags robes.
insinuate insanie LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 28).
cloves cloven LL 5, 2, 318 (158, 654).
Stoicks stocks TS 1, 1, 2 (232, 31).
court her, cart her TS 1, 1, 5 (232, 54).
mates, maid, mated TS 1, 1, 8 (232, 59).
It is impossible to suppose that mates, maid (suprâ p. 867, col. 2), had the same vowel, and yet the play upon the phonetic resemblance is evident.
rhetoric ropetrick TS 1, 2, 26 (235, 112).
night knight Æ 1, 2, 7 (383, 27).
"Let not us that are squires of the night's body be called thieves of the day's beauty." The pun is complete in modern English. We have no reason to suppose that k in knight was dissused till long afterwards (suprâ p. 208). There is also a vague similarity of sound in body, beauty (bod)erti), but no real pun as Mr. Grant White supposes, see his Elizabethan Pronunciation, infrà, under EAU.
purse person 2 Æ 1, 2, 34 (415, 127).
See next.
care, cure, corrosive Æ 3, 3, 1 (483, 3).
The manifest difference of the vowels here, shews that we have no reason to assume identity in the last case.

To this same category belong the following plays on Latin and French words, intended to imply ignorance.

**Latin.**

hanc hoc, hang hog MW 4, 1, 26 (59, 50).
caret carrot MW 4, 1, 30 (59, 55).
Shewing probably that caret was pronounced with a short, and not with the modern Italian fashion with a long (kee-ret).
horem where MW 4, 1, 37 (59, 63).
Countenancing the sound (hoor) rather than (œor) as in Smith, and commonly in our tragedians' Oth.

genitive case, Jenny's case MW 4, 1, 37 (59, 64). This does not settle (Dzhîn't) in preference to (Dzhîn't) as now, for genitive might have been heard or spoken with ('). See rhymes of (i) below.
ad dunghill, ad unguem LL 5, 1, 31 (150, 81). As we cannot suppose
uneven to have had any vowel but (u, u), this confirms the (u) sound in dun.

Jupiter gibbet maker TA 4, 3, 13 (705, 80), a clown's mistake.

French.

luciones louses MW 1, 1, 8 (42, 17). This would seem to indicate the old pronunciation (luis) for this uncommon word, to which the French was assimilated, but the confusion is credited to a Welshman, and hence is of no authority in English speech.

enfranchise, one Frances LL 3, 1, 54 (142', 12).

moi moy H\(^5\) 4, 4, 7 (459', 14).

bras brass H\(^5\) 4, 4, 9 (459', 18).

Probably indicating the continued pronunciation of final e.

pardonnez moi a ton of moy as H\(^5\) 4, 4, 11 (459', 23). That is, Pistol echoes the following instances are ranged under the orthographies which they mainly illustrate.

A.

bate beat TS 4, 1, 67 (245, 209). There is no doubt of the pronunciation of eo = (ee), and this passage would be unintelligible unless the sound of long e were quite distinct, the play being simply on the consonants. The words are: "as we watch these kites That bate and beat and will not be obedient." We may therefore feel sure that long a was not = (ee). Such allusions are like the heraldic motto dun spiro spora.

gravity gravel 2 H\(^1\) 1, 2, 55 (413, 183). "Chief Justice. There is not a white hair on your head, but should have his effect of gravity. - Folstaff. His effect of grasy, grasy, grasy." The mocking joke is entirely lost in the modern (grav-iti, gravev). The old pronunciation must have had the same vowel in each case, (grav-iti, gravev). This instance and the last therefore determine that Shakspeare's long e could not have been (ee), and must have been the same as his short a lengthened = (aa) or (aah).

ace ass MN 5, 1, 87 (179, 312). "Pyramus. Now die, die, die, die, die. Dem. No die, but an ace, for him; for he is but one." A double pun on ace = ass, and ace = one. "Eyes. Less than an ace, man: for he is dead: he is nothing," since 0 is less than 1. "The. With the help of a surgeon he might yet recover and pardonnez moi as (a tun o moii), compare Hart's (pardunau) for pardonne, supra p. 802, 1, 6 from bottom of text.

for firk ferret H\(^5\) 4, 4, 15 (459', 29).

pucelle puzzle H\(^5\) 1, 4, 17 (474, 107).

This is not meant to be an identity, but merely an allusion, as in the following dolphin and dogfish: "Pucel or Pussel, Dolphin or Dog-fish. Your hearts Ie stampe out with my Horses heels." Hence it does not countenance the supposition that the sound of French u was impossible to an Englishman. Pucelle is spelled Pucel throughout in the fo. 1623.

foot, gown, H\(^5\) 3, 4, 32 (451, 54). Katherine's unfortunate mistakes as to these words at least show the French on was = English oo (un), and French -ou = English -OWN (oun), supra pp. 825, 827.

prove an ass." This is to the same effect as the last, and is confirmed by Judas Jude-ass LL 5, 2, 299 (157', 629).

bass base TG 1, 2, 61 (23', 96). TS 3, 1, 17 (240', 46). R\(^2\) 3, 3, 23 (372, 180). Both must have been (baas) as both are now (bees).

Marry! marry R\(^2\) 1, 3, 33 (561, 98). RJ 1, 3, 16 (716, 62). The first was the exclamation, Mary! addressed to the Virgin, which therefore could not have been called (Meevrit) as now.

marrying marrying MW 1, 1, 12 (42, 25). AY 1, 1, 6 (205, 34). AW 2, 3, 109 (264, 315). This favourite pun, in which the modern marrying (maariq) retains its ancient sound, with at most the vowel lengthened, confirms the last remark.

all awl JC 1, 1, 12 (764, 25). This might have been either (aI, ahl) with Bullokar, or (Aal, Aal) with Gill, and hence confirms nothing.

A, A al.

bairns barns MA 3, 4, 21 (124, 49).

"Then, if your husband have stables enough, you'll see he shall lack no barns." Bairns is only a modern orthography. In AW1 3, 1, 1 (257, 28) the first folio reads barnes, the second barns, probably only a transposition of the e, and the two last barns. This therefore gives no information respecting at.
tale tail TG 2, 3, 9 (26', 54). Oth 3, 1, 6 (892, 8). In the first case the joke is so obscure when no difference is made between the sounds of tail, tale, that Hamlet illustrates it with a kick. In the second the first folio reads tale in both places, and tail is meant probably in both cases. Under no circumstances can we suppose tale, tail to have had the same sound till the xvith century. See however the quotation from Holyband, suprâ p. 227, note, col. 2, which seems to indicate an occasional confusion of ai, a, and also Spenser’s rhymes, suprâ p. 867.

waste waist MW 1, 3, 27 (45, 46). 2 H 1, 2, 44 (413, 160). Waist is a modern spelling, see suprâ p. 73, n. 1.

with maid withmade MM 1, 2, 48 (66', 94). “Is there a maid with child by him? No, but there’s a woman with maid by him.” Where there is an allusion to withmaid = una made, ruined. But it belongs to the class of vague allusions on p. 922.

AI, EA, E.

beats baits WT 1, 2, 32 (312', 91).

Leontes speaking of Paulina calls her, “A callat Of boundless tongue, who late hath beat her husband And now baits me!” Here it is absolutely essential to the cutting sarcasm that beat, bait should have been differently pronounced. It would make nonsense to say (beet, beets). The modern (biit, beets) preserves the full force of the original. See remarks on bate beat p. 923, c. 1.

fair fear VA 1083 (1013). “Having no fair to lose, you need not fear.” This play on words does not require an identity of sound, and is quite well enough preserved in the modern (feet, fie).

prey pray H 2, 1, 26 (388, 89). Here there was an identity of sound, but there is nothing to determine what it was. Gill marks prey as (prei) and expressly says that pray is not (pree). main Maine 2 H 6 1, 1, 32 (498, 209). “Unto the main! O father, Maine is lost—

That Maine which by main force Warwick did win,
And would have kept so long as breath did last!
Main chance, father, you meant; but I meant Maine,
Which I will win from France, or else be slain.”

The pronunciation was probably (meen) in each case. But it is possible that the English pronunciation of the state of Maine was still (Main). Gill pronounces the rhyming word slain (slain).

hair heir CE 3, 2, 41 (101, 127). The joke is rather covert, but still it seems as if this was one of the words in which ee = (ee), and this is confirmed by the next example.

here apparent, heir apparent H 1, 2, 17 (383', 65). We shall find many rhymes of here with (eer) although it is one of the words recognized as having (ir), see p. 892. The preceding instance shewing that heir was also (heer), the pun is justified, see suprâ p. 80, note.

reason raisin H 2, 4, 94 (392', 264). It is probable that raisin as a modern French word was pronounced (rezz-in), and hence the pun. See suprâ p. 81, note, col. 1.

These are the only puns which I have discovered, though I looked carefully for them, in which ai could have the sound of (ee). The three words thus determined are main, heir, raisins. We have no contemporary orthoeipical account of these words; but Gill uses (main) in composition, and Cheke spells heiers. Considering how widely the (ee) pronunciation had spread so early as Hart’s time, and that Gill acknowledged though scouted its existence, the number of instances is remarkably small, while the first of the preceding examples, beat, bait, seems to establish an accepted difference of sound, between ai, ea, the last of which was undoubtedly (ee).

E, EA, IE.

comeal’d cancel’d RJ 3, 3, 29 (729, 98). Rather an allusion than a real play upon words.

best beast MN 5, 1, 59 (178, 232). The difference between the long and short vowels (best, beest) is necessary to make the joke apparent,
which is lost in the modern (best bist). Long (oo) and short (e) frequently rhyme.

Veal, wel Dutch LL 5, 2, 121 (154, 247). "Veal, quoth the Dutchman. Is not veal a calf?" The identity of both words, as heard by the writer, is evident. They were probably really (veel, bleel).

ne'er near R^2 5, 1, 14 (377, 88). The first is still generally (neer), though some change both into (miia).


dear deer MW 5, 5, 29 (65', 123). LL 4, 1, 43 (144', 116). See supra p. 81, l. 15.


art heart TS 4, 2, 6 (245, 9).

heard hard TS 1, 2, 49 (238, 184).

Rhymes will be found to indicate the same pronunciation of heard, see also p. 82, l. 17 and p. 86, l. 11.

EE, IE, I

sheep ship LL 2, 1, 89 (141, 219). See supra p. 460, n. 1.

lief live e JC 1, 1, 36 (766, 95).

clept elipt LL 6, 2, 274 (157', 602).

civil Seville MA 2, 1, 110 (117, 304).

I have heard of (siiy:il) oranges from a lady who would have been more than 100 were she still alive, so in this case the pun may have been complete. In the xvth century the confusion between (e, i) was frequent, as also in the rhymes of the xwvth, (supra p. 271), and we shall find many similar rhymes in Shakspere. In spirit, syrop, stirrup we have still the common change of (i) into (e), but we cannot suppose that either of these changes was acknowledged.

OA, O, OO.

post pos'd CE 1, 2, 13 (95, 63). "I from my mistress come to you in post: If I return, I shall be post indeed, For she will score your faults upon my pate." Dyce (9, 339) explains this to be "an allusion to keeping the score by chalk or notches on a post; a custom not yet wholly obsolete." May not the latter word be posed, having a pose or pain or cold in the head?

sore sour RJ 1, 4, 7 (716', 20).

Moor more MV 3, 5, 12 (196', 44). Moor may have been indifferently (moor, muur), as at present indifferent (moou, muur).

Pole pool 2 H^2 4, 1, 25 (515', 70).

The name Pole is still generally called (Puell). The name GEOFREY POOLE, 1562, with oo, may still be read on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower in the Tower of London.

woode wood MN 2, 1, 24 (165', 192).

Wode meaning mad, is not now distinguished from wood in Yorkshire, both being called (wad).

Rome roam H^5 3, 1, 11 (450, 51). "Bishop of Winchester. Rome shall remedy this, Worwick. Roam thither, then." This pronunciation, says Dyce (9, 367), "may perhaps be considered as one of the proofs that Shakespeare was not the author of that play." But the existence of the pun shews that the old Chaucerian (oo) of (Roo-me) was still known, though the final (e) was dropped. See next entry.

Rome room KJ 3, 1, 27 (341', 180). JC 1, 2, 38 (766, 156). Both these allusions are in passionate stately verse. They are generally assumed to determine the sound of Rome as (Ruum). See supra p. 98, last line, p. 101, line 1, p. 102, line 23. Dyce (ib.) quotes the same pun from Hawkins 1626, and from the tragedy of Nero 1607, and from the rhyme tomb, Rome from Sylvester 1641. To these we may add Shakspere's own rhymes: Rome doom RL 715 (1021). Rome grooms RL 1644 (1029). Bullokar also writes (Ruum). It is however certain that both pronunciations have been in use since the middle of the xvith century. (Ruum) may still be heard, but it is antiquated; in Shakspere's time it was a fineness and an innovation, and it is therefore surprising that Bullokar adopted it.


JC 1, 1, 6 (764, 16). Possibly both were called (soool), see supra p. 755, and note 3. In his list of errata Gill corrects his oo = (ooool) to oo = (ooool) in the word gold "idque quotes occurrit, cum similibus Guilf, hould, &c." It will be seen, however, that (oo) often rhymes with (ooool) in Shakspere.

soe sew TG 3, 1, 88 (33, 307). "Speed. Item: She can sew. — Loom. That's as much as to say, can she so?"
This is a similar confusion of (oo, oou). When we consider that at present (oo, oou) are seldom distinguished, we cannot be surprised.

U, O, OO,

sum some MV 3, 2, 15 (194, 160).
2H 2, 1, 27 (415', 78).

sun son RJ 2, 1, 100 (339, 499).
3 H 2, 1, 5 (332', 40).
R 3 1, 3, 82 (563, 266).

done dun RJ 1, 4, 12 (717, 39).
cosen cousin MW 4, 3, 35 (63, 79).
H 4 1, 3, 39 (387, 254).
R 4 4, 4, 61 (583, 222).

full fool LL 5, 2, 180 (155, 380).
TC 5, 1, 6 (647, 16).

moody muddy RJ 3, 1, 4 (725, 14).

"Mercutio. Come, come, thou art as hot a Jack in thy mood as any in Italy, and as soon moved to be moody, and as soon moody to be moved."

The first moody appears to be muddy. If so, this play on words corroborates the external testimony that Shakspere's pronunciation of short u was (a). Compare: muddied in Fortune's mood, AW 5, 2, 1 (276, 4), and : muddied some 2 H 2, 2, 4, 13 (419, 43), and see Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, infra, under U, too two H 4, 4, 109 (584', 363).

too to MA 1, 1, 21 (111', 53).

I, U.

I aye T 4, 1, 54 (17, 219). "And I, thy Caliban, For aye thy foot-hocker." The pun is not certain.

I aye eye TN 2, 5, 66 (291, 145).

"Malvolio. And then I comes behind. Fab, Ay, an you had any eye behind you, you might, &c."—RJ 3, 2, 7 (727', 45). See supra p. 112, 1, 16–28.

nod-ay noddy TG 1, 1, 47 (22, 119).

"Proteus. But what said she?—Speed (first nodding). Ay.—Proteus. Nod-Ay—why that's noddy." This shows that the final -y was often (ai), as Gill makes it, and as it will be seen to rhyme most frequently (not always) in Shakspere. The passage is quoted above in the text adopted in the Cambridge Shakspere, where the stage direction is inserted. The first fo. reads: "Proteus. But

what said she?—Speed. I.—Proteus. Nod-I, why that's noddy." I and ay, are generally both written I in that edition.

Mary! mar-I. AY 1, 1, 6 (205, 34).

"Olliver. What mar you then?—Orlando. Mary, sir, I am helping you to mar that which, &c." Here the double sense is given, first the exclamation Mary, sir! and secondly by the answering question: Mar I, sir? See the pun on marry! marry supra p. 928, c. 2.

hie high RJ 2, 5, 19 (724', 80). This is also a case of an omitted guttural, common in Shakspere's rhymes.

Y you-i u LL 5, 1, 22 (150', 57).

"Armado. Monsieur, are you not lettered?—Moth. Yes, yes; he teaches boys the horn-book. What is a, b, spelt backward, with the horn on his head?—Holofernes. Ba, pucritia, with a horn added.—Moth. Ba, most silly sheep with a horn. You hear his learning.—Hol. Quis, quis, thou consonant?—Moth. The third of the five vowels, if you repeat them; or the fifth, if I.—Hol. I will repeat them—u, e, i.—Moth. The sheep: the other two concludes it,—, u." Here the name of the vowel i is identified with the pronoun I, which presents no difficulty, and the name of the vowel u with the pronoun u, and perhaps the sheep eee, the first of which is opposed to the pronunciation (yy), which all writers down to Wallis give to the French vowel, except Holyband, supra p. 228, note, col. 2, l. 14. The pun is quite reconcilable with our modern pronunciation of u, you, eee, but see the last two words in the vocabulary pp. 899, 910. It would perhaps be unwise to push this boy's joke too far. Moth's wit, which did not scruple about adding on a consonant to convert wittol into wit-old in his next speech, might have been abundantly satisfied with calling the vowel (yy). See, however, the rhymes on long u, u, etc, iee, and you; and the observations on Shakspere's pronunciation of long u, in the introduction to the specimen at the end of this section.

This examination of puns has not resulted in any real addition to our knowledge. It has confirmed the value of long a=(aa) or almost (aah) and quite distinct from (ee). It has rendered rather
doubtful the exact pronunciation of ai, making it probably the same as (ee) in three words, generally different from (ee), and occasionally approximating to (aa). It confirms the use of ea, oa, and of øl as (oo1). In the case of mud, it implies the general pronunciation of short u as (u). It confirms the identity of sound in I, eye, aye. It shows that short i and the pronoun I were identical, and that long u and the pronoun you were either identical or closely related. It is evident that without the external help we should have been little advanced.

Shakspere's Metrical Peculiarities.

My collections have not been made with sufficient care to give a full account of Shakspere's metres, which would have also required more space than could be given to it in a work already overswollen. My attention has been chiefly directed to three points, and that only from the beginning of the Histories. These are, the number of measures in a line, the number of syllables in a measure, and the position of the accent in words. These are necessary to determine the existence of a dissyllabic pronunciation where a monosyllabic now prevails, (or, as it may be called by an inversion of the real process, of resolution,) and to understand the rhymes. All my shortcomings in this respect, however, will be abundantly made up by the third edition of the Rev. E. A. Abbott's Shaksperean Grammar, which was passing through the press at the same time as these sheets. I shall have to make frequent reference to the chapter on Prosody, but as the work is indispensable to all my readers, I shall merely give Mr. Abbott's results, and leave the proofs to be gathered from his own accessible pages. On much relating to rhythm and scansion of lines there is some divergence of opinion between Mr. Abbott and myself, owing to the very different points from which our observations and theories take their rise, but the instances which he has collected and classified, and the explanations which he has given, must be fully considered by any future writer on the subject.

I regret that I did not note the lines containing a defective first measure, as these had been made a special study in Chaucer's prologue. In the preface to the Cambridge Shakspere, vol. i, p. xvii, the following are quoted:—

No, I will not, for it boots thee not. What? TG 1, 1, 9 (21, 23).
Fire, that's closest kept, burns most of all. TG 1, 2, 22 (22', 30).
Is't near dinner time? I would it were. TG 1, 2, 37 (23, 67).
Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since. T 1, 2, 14 (2', 53).

which, however, are none of them entirely satisfactory. In the first edition, 1869, pp. 136. Revised and enlarged edition, 1870, pp. xxiv, 511. The Prosody, which only occupied 10 pages in the first edition, is expanded to 102 pages in the third. In the above text this 1870 edition will be cited as Abb., with a number annexed referring to the section.
first case the editors have accidentally omitted to notice the final what? which renders the line entirely defective. If we read, What not? or what boots not? the line would have only a third place trisyllabic measure. Thus, italicising the even measures,

No, I will not, for it boots thee not. What boots not?

The numerous instances cited below of the dissyllabic use of fire and generally the syllabic value of r, renders the second and fourth instances incomplete. The objection raised by the editors "that one word should bear two pronunciations in one line is far more improbable than that the unaaccented syllable before twelve is purposely omitted by the poet," is not tenable. The word year might be dissyllabic in both places, a trisyllabic fifth measure being not uncommon, and the use of the same termination sometimes as two distinct metrical syllables, and sometimes as part of a trisyllabic measure, is extremely common. We have it in two consecutive lines in

It is religion that doth make vows keep;
But thou hast sworn against religion. KJ 3, 1, 53 (342', 279).

Be patient, gentle queen, and I will stay.

Who can be patient in such extremes? 3 H 1, 1, 109 (528', 214).

In the third example, the simple resolution of is't into is it, by the editors in their text, saves the metre. In the second we might also read that is. And in the last example an initial 'Tis may have dropped, as Pope suggests. These considerations serve to shew how cautious we must be, and how large a comparison of instances has to be made, before we can decide on such a point. It is from this feeling that I have thought it advisable to accumulate instances, and classify them as well as possible. Resolutions, trisyllabic measures in every place, real Alexandrines, and lines with two superfluous syllables, are well established, by the following collections. Defective first measures have still to be traced. The

1 The line: Ay, and we are betrothed; nay more our marriage hour, TG 2, 4, 93 (28', 179), cited by the editors of the Cambridge Shakspere as an instance of the "irregularity" of "a single strong syllable commencing a line complete without it," is a perfect Alexandrine, with the complete pause at the end of the third measure, and is so printed in their text. In the preface they put the Ay into a single line, and reduce the rest to five measures by reading we're. This instance is, however, complicated by the previous imperfect line: But she loves you, on to which the first words of this speech; Ay, and we are betrothed, might be joined, completing the verse. So that we really have one of those cases where "when a verse consists of two parts uttered by two speakers, the latter part is frequently the former part of the following verse, being as it were, amphibious," Abb. 513; where numerous instances are cited. These sections belonging to two lines might be conveniently termed amphistichs. In this case, to consider "Ay, and we are betrothed," as an amphistich, would be to confirm the Alexandrine nature of the second part. The following instances, cited by Abb. 1b., are then precisely similar; the amphistich is italicized. Hor. Of mine own eyes. Mar. Is it not like the king? Hor. As thou art to thyself. H 1, 1, 42 (812, 58). Ham. No, it is struck. Hor. Indeed? I heard it not; then it draws near the season. H 1, 4, 5 (816', 4).

2 Then the whining schoolboy with his satchel AY 2, 7, 31 (214', 145), seems a clear instance, but in the Globe edition the editors of the Cambridge
whole subject of English metres requires reinvestigation on the basis of accent. The old names of measures borrowed from Latin prosodists are entirely misleading, and the routine scansion with the accent on alternate syllables is known only to grammarians, having never been practised by poets.¹

**Noteworthy Usages.**

\[ n' = \text{he in serious verse} \]  
\[ v' = \text{in serious verse} \]

\[ \text{Shakespeareans} = \text{recognition} \]

\[ \text{chirrah} = \text{currah} \]

See infra, Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation under CH.

Tisick the debity 2\[ H^3 2, 4, 28 \] (419, 92). Put in the mouth of the Hostess this indicates a mere vulgarity, but Jones recognizes this pronunciation of *deputy* in 1700, and also *Cubid*. Tisick (viz.:k) for *phthisick* is still the rule.

| Abb. 402 |
---|---|

**Miscellaneous Notes.**

Evidently a misprint for *reynes*, see supra p. 282, l. 2.

**Thee** as predicate. I am not thee, Tim 4, 3, 72 (758, 277). The oldest example of this construction that I have noted. \[ Abb. 213 \]

**These sort.** These set kind of fools TN 1, 5, 37 (284', 95), these kind of knaves I know KL 2, 2, 44 (857', 107). These are the oldest examples of this construction I have noted. \[ Abb. does not note them. \]

Troilus. TC 1, 1, 1 (622', 5). In two syllables throughout the play, but always in three in Chaucer.

Thou whoreson *zol*! thou unnecessary letter, KL 2, 2, 32 (857, 69). Here Johnson conjectures *C* for *zol*. The name *zol* and not *izard* is noteworthy.

**BT = T.**

Better debtor AY 2, 3, 10 (211', 75).

det = *debt* LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 24).

debt Boyct LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 333).

dout = *doubt* LL 4, 1, 5, (150, 23).

doubt lout_KJ 3, 1, 46 (342, 219).

**Corruptions.**

Canaries = quanardies MW 2, 2, 25 (49', 61). Does this determine the position of the accent on the second syllable? See supra p. 913, col. 1, l. 1.

Rushing = *rustling* MW 2, 2, 25 (49', 68), shewing that same tendency to

Shakspeare have adopted Rowe's amendment, and read: And then the, &c. Mr. Abbot has shewn that Shakspeare uses monosyllabic measures freely. The reader should study the passages cited in \[ Abb. 479a-486 \]. Although a disyllabic pronunciation is probable in many cases, as in *fear*, *dear*, and other words in *r* (\[ Abb. 480 \]), some other explanation of these monosyllables seems necessary in most instances.

¹ \[ Abb. 452 \], assumes the ordinary theory, and in \[ 453a \], declares that the
convert (s) into (sh) before a mute even when not initial that we find in vulgar German, (isht) for (ist), and Neapolitan (ashpë't) for (aspré'ta).

Whesoon week = Whitson week, 2 H 1
2, 1, 32 (415', 96), Whesoon quartos, Whitson folios. See below, Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation under I.

seulls = schools i.e. shoals, a presumption that u = (u) TC 5, 5, 4 (651', 22).

Syllabic French -e.

Speak it in French, king; say "par-
don-ne moi" R 3 5, 3, 39 (379', 119).

Have I not heard these islanders shout out "Ti-ee le roi!" as I have bank'd their towns KJ 5, 2, 5 (352', 104).

Rust, sword! cool, blushes! and Paroll-es live AW 6, 3, 121 (274', 373).

See several other instances Abb. 489.

Syllabic Genitive -es.

to shew his teeth as white as whal-e's bone LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 332).

Folios, except first, read whal-e-his.

Of Mars's fiery steed. To other

Unusual Position of Accents.

archbishop H 4 1, 11 (612', 24).

adverti'sd SH 4 5, 1 (547', 9), 5, 3, 4 (552', 18), TC 2, 2, 101 (632, 211).

See supra p. 913, end of I.

aspect H 2 1, 1 (448', 9), R 3 1, 2, 64 (559', 155).

characters R 3 3, 1, 26 (571, 81), charac-
ter v. H 1 3, 8 (815', 59), charac-
ter'd 211e 3, 1, 54 (510, 300), charac-
tery JC 2, 1, 72 (772, 308).

commercè TC 1, 3, 6 (627, 105), 3, 3, 35 (639', 205).

comparer s. TC 5, 2, 49 (637', 182).

complete R 3 4, 4 (583, 189), TC 3, 3, 31 (593', 181).

confessor RJ 2 6, 4 (725, 21), Edward Confessor H 4 1, 34 (613, 88).

conjur'd = modern conjured RJ 2, 1, 7 (719', 20), conjure = modern conjure M 4 1, 15 (601', 50).

consignèd TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 47).

contrary verb RJ 1, 5, 24 (718', 87).

contrace s. AW 2, 3, 63 (266, 185),
H 6 1, 41 (481, 143).

cornèrier SH 4 5, 4 (547', 6).

démonstrate Tim 1, 1, 38 (742, 91),
Oth 1, 1, 8 (579', 61).

détestable KJ 3, 4, 8 (544, 29), RJ 4,
5, 19 (753', 96), Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 33).

re-gions. AW 2, 3, 105 (264, 300)
Marseys in Fo. 1623.

See cases of the omission of this syllable after -s, -se, -ss, -ee, -ge in Abb. 471.

Ache (suprà pp. 208, 912).

Dissyllabic Plural.

Fill all thy bones with aches make thee

rear T 1, 2, 96 (5', 369).

Aches contract and starve your supple

joints Tim 1, 1, 135 (743', 257).

Their fears of hostile strokes, their

aches, losses Tim 5, 1, 68 (762, 202).

As we have mistakes a trisyllable, R 2
3, 3, 4 (370', 9), these examples
could not prove ache to have been
(aath) without external authority;
and both pronunciations (aath, aak)
apparently prevailed.

Monosyllabic Plural.

That the sense aches at thee, would

thou hadst ne'er been born. Oth 4,
2, 31, (902', 69).

Rhyms with -ake.

sake ache CE 3, 1, 33 (99, 56).

ache brake VA 875 (1011).

distinct TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 47).

dividable TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 105).

émpiries AW 2, 1, 47 (260, 125).

exploits H 3 1, 11 (441', 121).

forlorn TA 2, 3, 30 (695', 153).

horizon SH 4 4, 7, 31 (549', 81).

implorators H 1, 3, 24 (816', 129).

indulgence TC 2, 2, 99 (632, 178).

instinct R 2, 3, 20 (569', 42), C 5, 3, 3
(683', 35).

madam TA 1, 1, 13 (689', 121).

mankind Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 40).

mervaulous H 2, 1, 17 (443', 50).

observe TA 2, 3, 9 (695', 77).

Pentapolis P 5, 3, 1 (998', 4).

persèver CE 2, 2, 77 (98', 217), MN
3, 2, 47 (171', 237), AW 3, 7, 8
(270, 37), KJ 2, 1, 91 (338', 421).

H 1, 2, 16 (813', 99), P 4, 6, 47
(994', 113), perséverance TC 3, 3, 31
(639, 156). These agree with the
modern séver, séverance, which doubt-
less influenced the older pronuncia-
tion, although not etymologically
related; the modern persévère, per-
sévérance, must have been introduced
by some Latinist, such as those who
now prefer ini-quitous, inni-cal,
and were guilty of cu-cumber; but
when?
The following differences of accent are noted in Abb. 490-492. The query indicates doubt, or dissent from Mr. Abbott’s conclusion respecting the position of accent, and some remarks are bracketed.

Accent nearer the end than with us: abject, access, aspect, characters, commendable, commerces, confinse, consors, conträry ag, contractus, compactus, different [CE 5, 1, 19 (106', 6)], probably corrupt, the second and third folios read, “And much much different from the man he was”], edict, effectis, envy v., exile, instact, inti, misery [MV 4, 1, 76 (190', 272), undoubtedly corrupt, the three later folios read, “Of such a misery doth she cut me off,” but this correction is not satisfactory; the sense requires words like “from all such misery, etc.” “and all such, etc.”; the “of” comes in strangely, and seems to have arisen from the final “off”], nothing ? obdurate, oppurture, outrage, peremptory [as Mr. Abbott suggests, this accent is not needed for the scansion], portents, precéps, prescence, record [still so called in law courts], seپhure, sinister, sojournd, something ?, sweetheart, triumphing, unto, welcome, wherefore. Words in -ised: advertised, chastised, canonized, authorized, solemnised andsolemnized, [rather than make an exception, which is improbabl, introduce a second trisyllabic measure, and read: Straight shall our nupti-al rites be solemnized, MV 2, 9, 2 (190', 6).]

Accent nearer the beginning than with us: archbishop, aement s., compell’d, complete, concereal, conduct, confessor, cóngal’d, conjure = entreat, consign’d, corrosive, défectable, détectable, distinct, forlorn, humane, maintain, nature ?, métthinks ?, mutiners, myself ?, Nérhampton, obscure, observant, perséver, perspective, pioners, plebians [the word is not frequent, it is certainly plebians in H² 5, ch. (463') 27], and TA 1, 1, 36 (690', 231), unless we read “Patrici-ans and pleb-éiáns we create,” the italics shewing a trisyllabic measure; in C 1, 9, 1 (661', 7) I would rather read “That with theusty pleb-éiáns hate thine honour,” than “That with theusty pleb-éiáns hate thine honour,” the italics again shewing the trisyllabic measure; in C 3, 1, 53 (669', 101), I read “Let them have cushions by you. You’re plebians,” and Mr. Abbott’s scansion seems forced; again, “the senators and plebians love him too,” C 4, 7, 7 (681', 30), but AC 4, 12, 4 (934, 34) “And hoist thee up to the shouting plebians,” (unless we read unto with Keightley and make a trisyllabic measure: And hoist thee up unto the shouting plebians,) and C 5, 4, 12 (655', 39) “The plebians have got your fellow tribune,” (which could be easily amended by adding fast, or now, or there, at the end of the line, in which case there would be a trisyllabic first measure,) seem real cases; but they are the only ones in Shakspeare and, as we have seen, the reading may be faulty [,], purruit, purveyor, quintessence, recordor, relapse ?, rheumatic, sécure, séquester’d, successor, successive, towards, utenils ?, without.

In this connection the following extracts from Gill’s Logonomia, pp. 128-138, are valuable, though they are much injured by his confused notions of the difference between accent and quantity.
GILL ON ACCENT.

Cap. xxv. De Accentu.

Vocum prosodia vsu potius quam regulis percepitur: ea tota in accentu est. Accentus est duplex, Grammaticus, et Rhetoricus. Grammaticus est qua vocalis vna, aut diphthongus, in omni dictione affecta est. Rhetoricus, qui ad sensum animo altius infigendum, emfasin in vnâ voce habet potius quam alia. Monosyllaba omnia per se accepta accentum acentum habere intelligitur: at composita, nunc in priori tonum habent; vt, (mors' man, shp'huuk), nunc in posteriori; vt (with'stand', with'draw', n'mself'). Quaedam ita facilia sunt, vt accentum vtrobius recipiant, vt (tshurtsh'yard', out'run', out'raadzh').

Disyllaba quâ oxytona sunt, (biliy', asyrr', aswaadzh', enfoors', konstrain'): quâ paroxytona, vt (pit'i, kul'er, fol'ou). Trissyllaba quædam paroxytona sunt: vt, (regraater, biluv'ed, akwaint'ed); quædam proparoxytona; vt (miz'er'i, des'teni): quædam indifferentia; vt, (foar'goo'ing, foar'staal'er).

Animaduertendum autem nos tanto impetu in nonnullis vocibus accentum retrahere, vt nulla syllabarum longitudo, naturā aut positione facta contraueniat: idque non in nostris tantum (for'ester, kar'penter): sed etiam in illis quæ doctui à Latinis ascierunt: vt, (aa'dîtor, kompet'îtor, kon'stansi, redzh'îster, tem'perans, in'stryyment, mul'tityyd). Hic autem duplici cautela opus: primā, vt illâ excipias quæ ad nos integra transierunt; quibus eâ humanitate vtminur qua peregrinis, qui suo iure et more viuunt, vt (Amîntas, Erâ'mïs, Barîka'đo). Secundâ excipias illâ à Latinis in io, quæ unquam in nostrum ius concesserunt, proprium tamen accentum retinet in antepenultimâ; vt (opin'ion, satisfak'szion) et alia sic excentia (mû'nion, fran'zon), etc.

Plurisyllaba etiam (quod in alijs quas scio linguâs non ât) accentum sæpius in quartâ recipiunt; vt (ok'yyposier, vidzh'îlansî, lî'veratyyr): et omnia fere illa quae in (muqger) excunt aut (abî): vt (kos'termuqger, òi'enmuqger, mar'tshantabl, mar'ùdzhabl, miz'erabl, ou'orabl). mirum dixeris si tonum in quinta repereris, tamen sic leges (mul'tipliabl, vit'rifabl, Kon'stantînopl), et alia fortasse plura.

Duo sunt quæ tonum variant: Differentia, et Numerus poeticus.

1. Differentia est, qua vox vocit quoddammodo opponitur: hæc accentum transfert in syllabam vulgariter accentuæ precedentem, vt (du

\[ j \approx \text{âl} \] and \[ u \approx \text{yy} \], when it appeared necessary.

2. Gill does not mark the accent position in these three words. In subsequentum cited he marks it by an acute on the diphthong syllable, and neglects to distinguish long and short vowels in consequence, as he says in his errata: "Capite 25 et deinceps accentuum notatio longumur vocu- calium quantitati veniam inuentic." I have, therefore, in my transcription restored the quantity, and replaced \( i \) by

\[ j \approx \text{âl} \] and \[ u \approx \text{yy} \], when it appeared necessary.

3. The term antepenultima here determines the dissyllabic character of the termination -sion = (-sion) in Gill's mind.

4. Gill does not distinguish (muqger) from (muqger); my transliteration is, therefore, also an interpretation.
yuu taak mii roikht, or m'i-straak mii? sic (with oumould, un-thaqfkl, di's-one-stoi, di's-onorabl, di's-onorablai) etiam, et (un-mecezyyrablai); hue refer (dezert') meritum, et (dez-ert) desertum aut solitudo, etc. Numerus poeticae proparoxytonis in [1], sepe vltimam productam acuit, vt, (mi'zeroi', konstansoi', destinai'); 1 vnde etiam in prosa feré obtinuit, vt vltima vel longà vel breui æqualiter scribantur, et pronunciantur, non acuan- turi tam-en.

De Rhetorico accentu difficilium est indicium; quia suum euique est, et varium. Exem- plo res melius intellige- tur.

(Mai song, if an'i ask whuz grii•vus plain iz suthsh, Doi, eer dhou let niz naam: bii knoou, niz fol'i shouuz tuu mutsh, But, best weer dhii tu noald', and never kum tu loikht:
For oon dhe erth' kan noon but o'i, dhaain ak'sents sound araikht.)


Accentui inseriunt punctiones: quià illae vt sensum aperinit, ita quum possunt accentui viam sternunt. Eedem sunt nobis quæ Latinis, et vsus idem: sunt autom Kòmna sine incisum [\textsuperscript{2}], 'T\textsuperscript{2}pođiaostol' aut subdistinctio [\textsuperscript{3}], Kòlon sine membrum [\textsuperscript{4}], Περίοδος sine sententiae et sensus integra complexio [\textsuperscript{5}]. His adjunge interrogationis notam [\textsuperscript{6}] et exclamationis [\textsuperscript{7}].

Parevthiav (scientibus liquor) nihil includi debet quod cum vlia

1 The accent is not written here, but is inferred from the context. Observe that we had (des-teni) a little above.

2 Erroneously printed (doin).

3 Gill writes afraid, afraid. He had long previously explained å to mean (AA), and hence I have thus interpreted the sign, but the interpretation is probably incorrect. He has nowhere given a physiological description of the effects which he means to indicate by the old Latin terms, acute, grave, and circumflex, which were perhaps in Latin the rising, the falling, and the rising and falling inflections, (\textsuperscript{4}·\textsuperscript{4} ·\textsuperscript{4}) supra p. 12, but there is no reason to suppose that he had in view anything but stress for acute, its absence for grave, and a broadening i.e. opening or rounding or else excessive lengthening of the vowels for the circumflex.
voce in reliquâ orationis serie syntaxin habet: at 'Τποπαρενθεσθει
[; ἐ] i l l u d quod abesse quidem potest, sed cum alià aliquò senten-
tiæ voce construitur.

Exemplum.
(Dhe best (said nii)² dhat ei kan yun adveiz
Lx tu avoid: dh- okaar'zion of dhe an.
Dhe kaas remun'ed when dh- iivl dath araiz.
( As suun it mai ; dh- efekt; surseez-th still)

Huc accedit Αποστραφος in (dh- efekt),° el in vocibus compositis
Τύsiue maecaf [-] vt (hart-ecting grif'). Et vtimo (si tu .
concedas (lector) in Διαμερει, Διαστολή [·] in συναρει, Αρμη
[·] vt in (okaar'zion) trissyllabæ;¹ sed his et 'Τποπαρενθεσθει
in vsu frequenti, locus raró conceditur.

Cap. xxvi. De Metro.
Metrum apud nos largè acceptum, aliquando significat ipsa in
carmin omioioteleuta: nonunquam ponitur pro omni oratone ad-
stricta numeris; sic enim metrum, et prosam opponimus. Sed hie
pro omni mensurā syllabæ, pedis, metri propriò dicti, et carminis
vsurpo.

De Syllaba.

Syllabarum quantitas septem modis agnoscitur. 1. Vocali. 2.
Diphthongo. 3. Accentu. 4. Positione. 5. Derivatione. 6. Præ-
positione. 7. Metaplasmo.


Satis aparuit in grammaticâ, quæ syllaba longa aut breuis censerí
debet, ex vocalibus, quas longas aut breues esse diximus: 1. Poetæ
tamen illa in (si) desinentia licenter corripiunt ; quia in fluxu ora-
tionis accentus in pròpínquâ syllabâ eius longitudinem absorbet.
At si syllaba accentu vîlo grammatico, vel rhetorico afficiatur, non
corripitur; vt, (mai monî)²·°.°.

2. (Yy) in fine anceps est ; vt (nyy, tryy).$: at consonâ in eàdem
voce monosyllabæ sequente, longa est ; vt, (syy â, pyyy). sic in
dissyllabis, si accentum habeat: yt, (manyry, refyyz) verbum : at
accentus in priori, ultimam anciptem relinquit; vt, in (ref-yyz,
refyz)⁶ subst. 3. Vocalis, aut diphthongus, ante vocalem non cor-

¹ This is a sign not otherwise noticed, probably of Dr. Gill's own coinage, for
the printer had clearly to "make" the
mark, the first time from (and;) the
second time, in the example, from ə
and .
² The original has "(Dhe (best said
mii) dhat), etc., where the parenthesis
is clearly incorrectly put.
³ Gill prints ³efekt.
⁴ Gill seems to intend to say that
(okaar'zion), which is really of four
syllables, here reckons as three, from
the rapidity with which ³(i) is pro-
nounced. See infrà, p. 937, n. 1.
⁵ This vowel being represented by
y in Gill never has the mark of pro-
longation placed over it; hence it has
been uniformly transliterated (yy). A
pure (y) in closed syllables does not
seem to have occurred in English of so
late a date.
⁶ Observe, an (s) not an (sh), and
see suitor, supra, pp. 215, 922.
⁷ The word is only written once
refiz in Gill, but is repeated here to
exhibit the "doubtful" quantity.

3. Accentus.

Omnis syllaba, accentum acutum habens aut circumflexum, longa est: idque maxime si syllaba dictionis prima non sit. Nam prima naturâ suâ breuis, accentum sæpe admittit, vt (go-îng, du-îng, an'-i, spîrît, bodî) quam etiam ex vocali breuæ esse intelligitur, accentu tamen subinde communes fiunt vt in illo Choriambō (Laa·di', ladî').

2. In trisyllabis etiam, acutus in breui ante liquidam, syllabam aliquando ancipitem facit, vt in (mal'adâi, sîm'onî, dzhen'erâl, ben'efîs).4


4. Omnis syllaba ante accentuatam breuis est: vt, (dezîr', abroo'ad (?), aban'don, devai'ded, dîvain'loî, blîvî'ing, preven'ted): nisi obstet natura; vt, in (foor'gî'ing, foorspee'king); aut posito, vt, (forgot'n forgîv'iq). Sed hic tantum valet accentus, vt in multis duplicatis alteram elidat, vt, (attend', apî'riq, oppoo'zed, adres'ed); pro (attend); apî'riq, oppoo'zed, adres'ed): Sed vt consonam elidat vel non, poëte in medio reliquitur.

5. Syllabæ que solis constant consonantibus, quia accentum nunquam recipiunt, breues indicantur; vt, (sad'îl, trub'îl, moist'în).

6. Accentus Rhetoricus longas precedentes sæpemunero corripit: vt, (ff yi bi âal thiivz, what noop nav oi?) vbi vocales naturâ longæ in (yii, bii, naav) ratione accentuum in (âal) et (oi) correcptæ sunt.

4. Positio.

In dieresis dictionibus positio sæpe valet vt apud Latinos, in cædém dictione, accentus positioni praeculent; ita vt in trisyllabis,

1 As Gill could not have used the word diphthong in the sense of digraph, more especially because he represents the (ai) in the first word by a simple sign j, we have here a confirmation of the theory that he pronounced his ai as a diphthong (ai), and not as a simple vowel (ee).

2 This implies the pronunciation of thou'ri as (dhart) and not (dhourt).

3 No accent marked in Gill. The assumption of the choriamb - "-", shews that the accents were intended as I have placed them. This passage should have been referred to suprâ p. 281, l. 34.

4 The exact meaning of this passage is doubtful, owing to the constant confusion of accent and quantity in Dr. Gill's mind, while he attempts to separate them.

5 Misprinted in, as if it were one of the English words, being put into a different type.
accentus in primâ sonorâ naturâ aut positione longâ, abbreuiet vtrasque sequentes; vt, in (Tshes-tertun, Wîm-bldun). Nec quisquam, qui Anglice noutit, negare audivit (Ten'terden stii'pl) esse carmen Adonicum. nam hic adeo violentus est accentus, vt etiam in diversis dictionibus positionem auferat. Idipsum affirmabitis, si Sussexios audias in (Wâ'-terdoun for'rest).\(^1\) Adeo clarus est accentus in primo trissyllabo, licet positione non elecutur. Hic tamen cautelâ opus, nam si ad positionem (l, n) vel (q) concurrat, media syllaba producitur: vt (Sem-priqam, Trum-piqtun, Ab'iqton, Wîm-undam, Wîl'-fulnes) etc.\(^2\) Quod dixi apparebit exemplo.

(What if a dani, or a munth, or a zeer) hemistichium est, duobus constans dactylis, et choriambos, nemo dubitat. (Soo ët befel' on a Pen'-tekost dai). Nec quisquam hic magnepore hæreit, nisi quod particula (ít) tardius sequi videtur ob positionem: at Metaplasmus occidentalis (ivel\(^1\)) pro (befel\(^1\)) nihil occurrit rotundius; nam positio illa in (kost), nullo modo tempus retardat propter accentum in (Pcn). Positio aliàs valet ad Longitudinem; vt, (Gîl'land, Lon'don, nar'вест).

5. Deriuation.

Dériuatione eandem cum primitiuis quantitatem plerumque sortiuntur; vt, (di, do'-iq; dezair, dezair-ed; profaam, profaam-loi). Excipientur illa, que á longis enata, vocalem naturâ longam corripiunt; vt, a (mæ'-zer, miz'erabl, miz'er-ı): Et anomala coniugationis prima, que figuratiam comutant: vt, á (reed, red); á (sweet, swet); á (wrait, wrît; stroke, strîk), etc. His adde vnum tertiae (du, di'd). Secundo excipientur illa á peregrinis deducta, quibus syllabarum quantitas naturâ, positione, aut accentu mutatur; vt à noto as, (tu noot-ci),\(^3\) á magnifico (tu mak-nîfâi), á potens, (poó-tent) etc. At (im-potent, omni-potent), suam naturam sequuntur: quod etiam in alius fortë pluribus observabis.

6. Præpositio.

Præpositiones inseparabiles (a, bi, re), etiam (un, dis, mis) si positio sinat, corripiuntur. Reliquarum omnium quantitas ex suis vocalibus satis intelligitur.

7. Metaplasmus.

Est, quum necessitatis, aut iucunditatis gratia, syllaba, aut dicio à formâ propriâ in aliam mutatur. Huc refer omnes anteditas diaepectos præter communem. Et licet omnis Metaplasmus ad syllabarum quantitatem agnoscedam non sit vitili: tamen quia plurimæ eius species hic multum possunt, eas omnes simul explicabimus.

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\(^1\) Written Wîterdoun, the first vowel probably stands for ë = (\(\alpha\alpha\)) in Gill’s notation.

\(^2\) In the vocabulary I have introduced a second accent mark thus (Sem-priq'am), to represent this presumed lengthening.

\(^3\) There seems to be some misprint here; the original is followed literatim, with the exception of the accents, which were not marked.
Prothesis apponit caput id quod Apharesis aufert:
vt, (aroikht', emmuuy') : pro (raiikht, muuv') : et eleganti imitatione Latinæ compositionis, (efraid'), pro (fraid. ven'dzher), pro (aven'dzher).

Syncope de medio tollit, quod Epenthesis infert.
vt, (hum'bles, whuuuev'er), pro (hum'blnes), et (whuuusoev'er); (errand) pro (ee'rand).

Aufert Apocope finem, quem dat Paragoge.
vt, (What ai dhe bet fordhaï') Spens. pro (bet'er, tel'en) et (displee'zen), Chauener pro (tel, displeez')

Consonam vt Echthlipsis, vocalem aufert Synalæpha.

Exempla.

(Faam with abun'dans maak'eth a man threes blessed an hap'pi) pro (and hap'pi).

Systola longa rapit, breuiata Diastola longat.
vt, Sidn. (un'tu Kyy'píd dhat buoi shal a pedan'te bi found:) ubi prima in (pedan'te) à παιδος corripitur.

Diastola Taes, Extaes sive extensio dicitur. Exemplum reperies apud cundem Sidneium.

(Dhat boî a bod'i it gooz, sins boî a bod'i it iz.)

Vbi ex (bod'i) perichio, trocheum facit contra quaem eius natura patet, Rectius ille in speculo Tuscanismi.

(:Aal gal'vant vir'tyyz, Aal kwal'litiz of bod'i and sooul.)

Plus satis huiusmodi exemplorum inuenies apud Stanhurstrum, et alios.

(Sins moî nooz out'peek'iq (gud Sâ') yuur lip'labor hín'dreth).

Neque enim verum est quod scribit quidam, Syllabarum regnum illis concessum, qui primi suo exemplo illarum quantitatem definirent: Syllabæ enim naturâ suâ; id est, euisuenque linguae idiomate, aut longae sunt, aut breues, aut indifferentes, vtecunque mali poetæ illarum quantitate abutuntur.

Syllaba de binis confecta, Synæresis extat.

Vsitatissimus est hic metaplasmus in verbalibus passiuis in (ed); vt, (luv-d) pro (luv'ed) et vbique alias; vt (ev'-roi) pro (ever'ai); whatsoever, oka'zjon; trissyllabis. Neque in vnà tantum dictione synaeresis est, sed etiam in diuercis; vt (Is-t not inukh')?

1 These are accentual hexameters, the author not named. Hence the final (-sïon) of (habita'sïon) reckons as a single syllable. Compare suprâ p. 934, note 4.

2 This requires much forcing of the stress to make an accentual hexameter, thus: (Aal gal'vant virtyyz; Aal kwal'litiz of bod'i and sooul). Gill doubles the (l) in (kwal'litiz) to make “position.”

3 Probably (whatsoever, oka'zjon), but the actual “synaeresis” is not written. There can be no thought of (okaazthon), which was probably never used, the (aa) having changed to (ee) before (zz) was reduced to (zh). The pronunciation (whatsoever) is quite conjectural, as there is no authority for it. The hyphens represent Gill's apostrophes.
pro (iz it not), et in communi loquendi formulâ pro (much gud du-t yun) pro (du it).\(^1\) Sic (was-t, for-t, whuuz deer\(^2\)) pro (waz it, for it, whuu iz deer\(^2\)).

\[\Delta\text{d}l\text{r}e\text{t}e\text{s}i\text{s} \text{siue} \Delta\text{l}\text{\ddot{a}}\text{\acute{n}}\text{\acute{u}}\text{\acute{s}}i\text{s}.\]

\textit{Dictitur in binas separatæ Dieresis vnam.}

Vt Sp. (wuund-es, kloud-es, wand-es); pro (wuundz, kloudz, wandz.) Huic cognata est.

\[\text{Tuph}i\text{s}, \text{\Deltai}\text{ak}o\text{\kappa}i, \text{siue Intercisio.}\]

\textit{Dat Timesin partes in binas dictio secta.}

vt (Tu us ward) pro (toward us.)

\[\text{M}e\text{tà}d\text{e}t\text{e}t\text{t}e\text{s}i\text{s}.\]

\textit{Fit Meta rite thesis, si transponas elementa.}

Vt (vouched saaf), pro (vouch'saaf'ed). Spen. (Loom whoil) pro (whailoom').

\[\text{A}n\text{t}i\text{d}e\text{t}e\text{s}i\text{s}, \text{melius} \text{A}n\text{t}i\text{st}o\text{\i}t\text{i}x\text{o}v.\]

\textit{Est Antistoechon tibi litera si varietur.}

Spens. (foon, ein, nond, lond) pro (fooz, eiz, nand, land.) hunc referre potes illa tertiae personæ Indicatiui presentis in (s, z, ez) pro (eth): vt (miu speaks, luvz, teech'ez); pro (speck'eth, luv'eth, teech'eth). In quibus non tantùm est Antistoechon sed et synæresis

\textit{Ista Metaplasmus communi nomine dicas.}

Quæ dixi de quantitate syllabarum, ita abhorrere videambuntur ab auribus illorum qui ad Latinam prosodiam assuecerunt, vt mihi nunquam satis causisse, illos satis admonuisse possim. Sed si syllaba breuis vnius temporis concedatur, longa duorum; ego veritatem appellò indicem, auresque musicorum testes: his causam ommem permitto. Ipsos autem, qui me iudicio postulaverint, adhortor, vt meminerint quàm multa Latini à Græcis discesserunt Atque, vt mittam significationem, genus, syntaxin aliæbii; in prosodìa toto caelo aberrarunt, omegà vix productam in ambo; et ego, et Noster Apollo veta. Sed quia de his paulò fusiùs dicendum est postea,\(^3\) in presens missa facio.

\(^1\) See supra p. 165, 1. 24, and p. 744, note 2. "The tendency to contractions [in the Lancashire dialect] is very great, rendering some sentences unintelligible to a 'foreigner.' \textit{Luthe} pro (look thee, pray you): \textit{mitch good'ee/o} (much good may it do you)."

\textit{Folk-Song and Folk-Speech of Lancashire,} by W. E. A. Axon, F.R.S.L., page 69. In a private letter Mr. Axon informs me that these phrases are pronounced. (\textit{ludh}'-\textit{priwe}; \textit{mitch gud'iu}) the last (ii) being long but unaccented. In the north (di) is very common for (dun), so that the analysis of the words is (\textit{mitch gud-dec-i-u}). (\textit{Ludh}'-\textit{i}) is also heard in Yorkshire.

\(^2\) Probably a misprint for (deeer) in both cases.

\(^3\) This refers to "Cap. xxvii., Carmen Rhymicum," which would have been interesting, had not Dr. Gill’s utter confusion of accent and quantity rendered it entirely worthless. Thus speaking of heroic and Alexandrine verses he says: "Scenicum, et Epicum, vno ferè carminis genere contenta sunt: illud est vt plurimum pentametrum. Spenceri tamen Epicum, siue Heroi- cum, nonum quoniam versus habet hexametrum: ad graviatem, et quantam stationis firmitudinem. In scamio, poete malè negligunt \textit{διοικήδεων, qui in Epico continuasunt.}" &c., p. 142.

In Cap. xxviii., Dr. Gill treats "De Carminibus ad numeros Latinorum poetarum compositis."

**Contracted Words.**

The following list is taken from *Abb* 460–473. All omitted syllables are here inserted in parentheses. A star * prefixed, shews that this contraction is acknowledged either in the same or a similar word, by Jones 1701, and will be found in the Vocabulary of the xviiith century to be given in Chapter IX. When † is prefixed, the instance is not from Shakspeare himself. A subjoined (?) indicates that the passage cited in proof does not appear decisive.

**Prefixes dropped.** — *sm)boldened, * (a) bove, * (a) bout, (up) braid, † (re) call, (be) came, (be) cause, (con)erns, (de) cide, (re) cital, † (re) collect, (be) came?. * (en) couraging, * (ae) count, *(en) dear (ed), (be) fall, (be) friend, (a) gain (st) giving, (mis) gave?, (be) got, (a) gree, (be) baviour, (en) joy, *(a) larum, (a) las, (be) lated, (un) less, (be) longs, (be) longing, * (a) miss, * (a) mong, *(a) nighted, *(a) pointed, *(a) noyance, (im) pairs, *(im) pale, *(ap) parel, (com) plain, (en) raged, *(ar) ray, *(ar) rested, *(as) sayed, *(e) scape, (ek) excuse = excuse, (in) stalled, † (fore) stalled?, *(a) stonished, (de) stroyed, *(at) tend, (re) turn, *(a) lotted, un (re) sitting?, (be) ware, (en) hire, (re) course, (re) venge. In some cases, where the contraction is not written, Mr. Abbott assumes it, although the use of a trisyllabic measure would render it unnecessary.

**Other contractions.** — Barthol(o)mew, Ha(re)ford, † (this) ci ple, ignom(iny), † gen(e) man, gent(le) man, gent(le), † cas(i)ly, par(l) ious = perilous, inter(ro) gatories, † cand( e) stick, † mar(ve)le, † whe(th) er, God b(e with) ye, see supra p. 773, in (hi)s, th(ou) wert, you (we)e, h(e) were, y(ou) are, she (we)e. In these five last cases, notwithstanding the orthography, the sound may have been, (dhou rt, rue-r, hir-r, rue-r, hir-i). But in the passage cited for we were, "'Twere good she were spoken with : for she may strew," H 4, 5, 5 (836, 14), the trisyllabic measure, which would be naturally introduced by any modern reader, obviates all difficulties. Similarly in the passages cited for this = this is, a trisyllabic measure removes all difficulties. Mr. Abbot says (401), "it (this contraction) is at all events as early as Chaucer, Knight's Tale, 233." On referring to the six text edition, v. 1091, we find three MSS. (Hengwrt, Cambridge, Lansdowne), to which we may add Harleian, reading in various spellings, "We mote endure it this is the schort and playn," where we may either contract "en- dure' t," or make is the schort a trisyllabic measure; but the Elesmere MS. omits it, which seems the best reading, as the it is clearly superfluous, and the Corpus and Petworth omit the, which is not so commendable. Hence it by no means clear that Chaucer ever said this for this is. Relying on the provincialism 'se, is for shall, in KL 4, 6, 85 (873, 246), and Lady Capulet's thou's for thou shalt, which was evidently an accommodation of her language to the nurse's, RJ 1, 3, 6 (715, 9), Mr. Abbott would avoid several trisyllabic measures, by reading I se for I shall, but this does not seem advisable. Wi(th), † w(ith) us, † w(ith) ye, were probably (wi, wrus, wi si). To these he adds d(o) off, d(o) on, d(o) out, proba(b)l(c).}

**Words contracted in pronunciation.** — *Abb* 462, destrous of the use of trisyllabic measures and Alexandrine verses as much as possible, suggests many elisions which often appear doubtful, and are certainly, for the most part, unnecessary. A grammarian who would count the syllables of Italian or Spanish verses on his fingers, would be led to conclude that final vowels were always elided before initial vowels, and that frequently a whole word, consisting of a single vowel, was lost in pronunciation. Turning to the musical setting of Italian words, and seeing only one
note written for the two or three vowels which thus come together, he would be strengthened in this opinion. But if he listens to an Italian singing or declaiming, he would find all the vowels pronounced, sometimes diphthongizing, but, as a rule, distinctly audible, without any connecting glide. Such open vowels are, however, generally pronounced with extreme rapidity, and perhaps this is what Mr. Abbott means by "softening," a term which he frequently uses in a manner phonetically unintelligible to me, thus: "R frequently softens or destroys a following vowel, the vowel being nearly lost in the burr which follows the effort to pronounce the r," Abb. 463, as alarum, war(a)nt, flour(is)hing, nourish, barr(e)n, barr(e)n, spr(i)t; "R often softens a preceding unaccented vowel." Abb. 464, as conf('ed)erate; "Er, El, and Le final dropped or softened, especially before vowels and silent h," Abb. 465. "Whether and ever are frequently written or pronounced whe'r or where and e'er. The th is also softened in either, hither, other, father, etc., and the v in having, evil, etc. It is impossible to tell in many of these cases what degree of 'softening' takes place. In 'other,' for instance, the th is so completely dropped that it has become our ordinary 'or' which we use without thought of contraction. So 'whether' is often written 'wh'er' in Shakespeare. Some, but it is impossible to say what, degree of 'softening,' though not expressed in writing, seems to have affected th in the following words, brother, either, further, hither, neither, rather, thither, whether, whither, having," Abb. 466, where he cites instances, which might certainly all have been used by a modern poet who naturally speaks the words syllabically. A few words as or, ill, e'er, have established themselves. It is impossible to say what liberty of contraction or change the xviith century poets allowed themselves in verse. "I in the middle of a trisyllable, if unaccented, is frequently dropped, or so nearly dropped as to make it a favourite syllable in trisyllabic feet," Abb. 467, where he cites, punishment, cardinal, willingly, languishing, fantastical, residue, promising;—easily, prettily;—hostility, amity, quality, civility;—officer, mariners, ladyship, beautiful, flourishes, par(i)ous. "Any unaccented syllable of a polysyllable (whether containing i or any other vowel) may sometimes be softened and almost ignored," Abb. 468, as barbarous, company, remedy, implements, enemy, messengers, passenger, conference, majesty "a quasi-dissyllable," necessary, sacrificers, innocent, inventory, sanitary, unnatural, speculatively, incredible, instruments. It is hardly conceivable that these vowels were habitually omitted in solemn speech. Abb. 469, thus explains the apparent docking of a syllable in proper names. Abb. 470, makes power, jewel, lower, doing, going, dying, playing, prowess, etc., frequently monosyllables or "quasi-mono- syllables." Abb. 471, remarks that "the plural and possessive cases of nouns in which the singular ends in s, se, ss, ce, and ge are frequently written, and still more frequently pronounced, without the additional syllable," but his instances of plurals are not convincing. We know that -ed after t, d, was often lost in olden time, as we now say it hurt for it hurted, but the instances cited in Abb. 472, by no means establish its general omission, or indeed its necessary omission in those very cases. Compare, however, Abb. 342.—Final -ed, as we see from Gill, was so regularly pronounced, that we should always rather keep than omit it, although Gill allows it to be frequently elided (supra p. 937, 1. 35), and Abb. 474, shews that it was often omitted and pronounced in the same line. "Est in superlatives is often pronounced st after dentals and liquids. A similar euphonic contraction with respect to est in verbs is found in Early English. Thus 'bindest' becomes 'bindst,' 'eatest' becomes 'eatst.' Our 'best' is a contraction for 'bet-est,'" Abb. 473, where he cites, sweetest, kindest, sternest, secretest, eldest, dearest, loyalst, greatest, nearest, unpleasantest, strongest, shortest, commonest, faithfullst, farthest.

**Trisyllabic Measures.**

Unmistakable trisyllabic measures occur in each of the five places, and occasionally two or even three occur in a single line. The complete lines are quoted and the trisyllabic measures are
italicised. As Mr. Abbott seeks to explain away many of these examples by contractions and softenings, I have added the reference to his book wherever he cites the example. But it will be seen that he has not noticed many of these instances.

First Measure Trisyllabic.

Barren winter with his wrathful nipping cold 2H 2, 4, 1 (506', 3), Abb. 463.

Hasten God, her conscience, and these bars against me R 3 1, 2, 88 (500, 235), Abb. 466.

I beseech your graces both to pardon her R 3 1, 1, 10 (557, 84), Abb. 456.

Naught to do with Mistress Shore! I tell thee, fellow R 3 1, 1, 13 (557, 98).

By your power legatine within this kingdom H 3 3, 2, 91 (611, 339).

In election for the Roman empery TA 1, 1, 3 (688', 22).

Second Measure Trisyllabic.

When capital crimes, chew'd, swallow'd, and digested H 2 2, 2, 18 (443, 56).

Succeeding his father Bolingbroke, did reign H 2 2, 5, 11 (479', 58).

A cockatrice hast thou hatch-ed to the world R 3 4, 1, 19 (579, 55). This seems more probable than the pronunciation of hatch'd as one syllable, throwing an emphasis on thou. The folio, however, reads hatcht.

That would I learn of you, As one that are best acquainted with her humour R 3 4, 4, 79 (584, 269). Observe the construction, you as one that are.

Be chosen with proclamati-ons to-day TA 1, 1, 25 (690, 190), Abb. 479.

Third Measure Trisyllabic.

[This is by far the most common and most musical position of the trisyllabic measure.]

Crouch for employment. But pardon, gentle all. H 1 1, proI. (439, 8).

Appear before us? We'll yet enlarge that man H 2 2, 2, 18 (445, 56).

These English monsters! My Lord of Cambridge here H 2 2, 2, 26 (445', 58).

Save ceremony, save general ceremony H 4 1, 1, 67 (457, 256).

And then we'll try what these dastard Frenchmen dare H 6 1, 4, 17 (474', 111).

Myself had notice of your conventicles. [Or else: Myself had notice of your conventicles] 2H 3 1, 25 (509, 166).

To prove him tyrant this reason may suffice 3H 3 3, 3, 18 (542', 71).

Look, therefore, Lewis, that by this league and marriage 3H 3 3, 3, 18 (542', 74).

The common people by numbers swarm to us H 4 2, 1, 5 (545', 2).

I did not kill thy husband. Why then he is alive R 3 1, 2, 22 (558, 92).

I have already. Tush, that was in thy rage R 3 1, 2, 67 (559, 188).

Madam, we did; he desires to make atonement R 3 1, 3, 20 (560', 35).

My lord, good morrow! Good morrow, Ca-tess-by H 3 2, 2, 28 (573, 76).

At any time have recourse unto the princes R 3 3, 5, 26 (576, 109), Abb. 460.

Thy back is sacrifice to the load. They say H 1 2, 10 (505', 50).

The gentleman is learn'd, and a most rare speaker H 1 1, 2, 18 (566, 111).

Melt and lament for her. O! God's will! much better H 2 3, 2, 6 (602', 12).

Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the king's coin H 3 3, 2, 87 (611, 325).

Quite from their fixtire. O when degree is shacked TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 101), Abb. 343, in reference to shaked.

To doubtful fortunes: sequestering from me all TC 3, 3, 1 (638, 8). As sequester occurs, supra p. 931, this might be possibly, though harshly, read: To doubtful fortunes sequestering from me, pronouncing (sequestre).

Did buy each other, must poorly sell ourselves TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 42).

Of dreaded justice, but on the ministers C 3, 3, 47 (674', 98).

Than girt his trophy: the breasts of Hecuba C 1, 3, 8 (657', 43).

The graves stood tenantless and the sheeted dead H 1 1, 1, 50 (812', 115), Abb. 468, cited in the index only, as explained by that article, see supra p. 940, col. 2.

As of a father: for let the world take note H 1 1, 2, 16 (814, 108).

My father's brother, but no more like my father H 1, 2, 20 (814, 152).

Been thus encounter'd. A figure like your father H 1, 2, 43 (814', 199).

To hang a doubt on: or we upon thy life Oth 3, 3, 130 (896, 366).
As Dian's visage is now begrim'd or
black Oth 3, 3, 135 (896, 387).
Comfort forswear me! Unkindness may
do much Oth 4, 2, 74 (903, 159).

Fourth Measure Trissyllabic.
Shall not be wink'd at, how shall we
stretch our eye H² 2, 2, 18 (445, 55).
Which hapy by much company might
be urged R³ 2, 2, 38 (569, 137).
Then is he more beholding to you than I
R³ 3, 1, 40 (571', 107).
I was then present, saw the sun salute
on horseback H² 1, 1, 4 (592', 8).
Were hid against me, now to forgive
me frankly H² 2, 1, 28 (600, 81).
Deliver this with modesty to the queen
H² 2, 2, 48 (602, 136).
To see the battle. Hector, whose
pati-ence TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 4).
Co-rival'd greatness. Either to har-
bour red TC 1, 3, 2 (626', 44).
Let me not think on't—Frally, thy
name is woman H 1, 2, 20 (814, 146).
This hideous rashness, answer my life,
my judgment KL 1, 1, 40 (848', 153).
Abb. 364, cited in the index only, to
explain the subjunctive mood.
Oh thy too ready bearing? Disloyal!
No Cy 3, 2, 1' (956', 6).

Fifth Measure Trissyllabic.
The citizens are mum, and speak not a
word R³ 3, 7, 2 (376, 3).
Put in their hands thy bruisimg iron of
wrath R³ 5, 3, 35 (588', 110).
Turns what he list. The king will
know him one day.
Pray God he do! he'll never know
himself else H² 2, 2, 9 (601, 22).
Or maid it not mine too? Or which of
your friends H² 2, 4, 9 (604, 20).
However, yet there is no breach; when
it comes H² 4, 1, 40 (613, 106).
Fails in the promis'd largeness; checks
and disasters TC 1, 3, 1 (626, 5).
And curse that justice did it. Who
deserves greatness C 1, 1, 50 (655',
180); or we may contract didn't, and
beginning with an accented syllable
after the pause thus avoid the trissyl-
labic measure.
Which would increase his evil. He
that depends C 1, 1, 50 (655', 183).
Except immortal Caesar; speaking of
Brutus JC 1, 1, 30 (765', 60).
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged com-
rade. Beware H 1, 3, 8 (815', 65).

Two Measures Trissyllabic.
Of your great predecessor King Edward
the third H⁵ 1, 2, 25 (442', 248),
Abb. 469. The Collier MS. avoids
the two trissyllabic measures by
reading Edward third.
Foul devil, for God's sake hence, and
trouble us not R³ 1, 2, 9 (558', 50).
Either heav'n with lightning strike the
wanderer dead R² 1, 2, 9 (558', 64).
I hope so. I know so. But gentle
Lady Anne R³ 1, 2, 39 (559, 114).
Into a general prophecy: That this
tempest H¹ 1, 1, 20 (593', 92).
My surveyor is false; the o'er-great
cardinal H¹ 1, 1, 57 (689', 222).
To oppose your cunning, you're meek
and humble-mouth'd H² 2, 4, 18
(604', 107).
A royal lady, spare one the least word
that might H² 2, 4, 28 (605, 153),
Abb. 18, 344 for construction only.
Amidst the other; whose medicible
eye TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 91).
My surname Coriolanus; the painful
service C 4, 5, 42 (678, 74).
Of impious stubborness; 'tis unmanly
grief H 1, 2, 16 (813', 94).
But suck them up to the top-mast. A
kind of conquest Cy 3, 1, 5 (956, 22).

Three Measures Trissyllabic.
To the discontented members, the mu-
tinous parts C 1, 1, 33 (555, 115),
Abb. 497, quoted in the index only.
Given to captivity me, and my utmost
hope Oth 4, 2, 29 (902, 51).

The following instances are not so well marked as the preceding,
and many readers would account for them by an elision; but, the
commonness of trissyllabic measures being now established, there
seems to be no ground for such a violent remedy. Such trissyllabic
measures as the following are frequent enough in modern poetry,
where the lightness of the first syllable in the measure (depending
on the strong accent on the last syllable of the preceding measure),
would make the use of the three syllables as a measure and a
half, appear weak or antiquated. But Shakspere has no such
scruples.
Light Trissyllabic Measures.

Was aptly fitted and naturally perform'd TS ind. 1, 25 (230, 87), Abb. 472. Writers in the xviith century would use naturally and even said (natural), as we now frequently hear (natural), But the real number of syllables in the word appears from—

Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural, Provokes this deluge most unnatural. R² 1, 2, 9 (558', 60).

Whom I unnaturally shall disinherit, ? unnaturally. 3H⁶ 1, 1, 95 (528', 193).

Your high profession spiritual that again H² 2, 4, 18 (604', 117), or spiritual that, a trissyllabic measure, felt as a trisyllabic.

Her tears should drop on them perpetually RL 686 (1020').

For he would needs be virtuous, that good fellow H² 2, 2, 47 (602, 133).

His vacaney with his voluptuousness AC 1, 4, 3 (915, 26).

Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands H 1, 1, 50 (812', 119), Abb. 204, for the use of upon.

Printing their proud hoofs in the receiving earth H³ 1, prol. (439, 27).

Why so hath this, both by the father and mother R² 2, 3, 15 (569', 21).

I took by the throat the circumcis-ed dog Oth 5, 2, 172 (910, 355).

To the king I'll say't, and make my vouch as strong H² 1, 1, 40 (594, 157).

To the water side I must conduct your grace H² 2, 1, 30 (600, 95). In following this usurping Henr-y 3H⁶ 1, 1, 32 (527, 81).

Not well dispose'd, the mind growing once corrupt H² 1, 2, 18 (596, 116). Of one not easily jealous, but being wrong'd Oth 5, 2, 172 (910, 351).

Out, loath-ed medicine! hated potion hence! MN 3, 2, 61 (172, 264).

Into your own hands, Cardinal by extortion H² 3, 2, 77 (610', 285). Would seem hyperboles. At this dusty stuff TC 1, 3, 8 (627', 161).

That shews good husbandry for the Volscian state C 4, 7, 5 (681, 22).

The senators and patricians love him too C 4, 7, 7 (681', 30).

To justice continence and nobility TA 1, 1, 2 (688, 15).

A countenance more in sorrow than in anger H 1, 2, 62 (815, 252), Abb. 468, cited in index only.

Your mystery, your mystery: may dispatch Oth 4, 2, 19 (902, 30).

Effect of courtesy, dues of gratitude KL 2, 4, 55 (860, 182).

My speculative and officed instruments Oth 1, 3, 55 (884', 271).

Alexandrine Verses.

Shakspere seems never to hesitate to use a pure Alexandrine or six-measure line when it suits his convenience. Such lines also occasionally contain trisyllabic measures. Some of these Alexandrines are well marked, in others the last word has such a strong accent on the last syllable but two that both final syllables fall on the ear rather as an addition to the last measure, a mere superfusious syllable, than a distinct measure by themselves. See supra p. 649, l. 1. These two cases will be separately classed.

Mr. Abbott is always very unwilling to admit Alexandrines. He says: "A proper Alexandrine with six accents, such as 'And now | by winds | and waves | my life|less limbs | are tossed'—Dryden, is seldom found in Shakespeare," Abb. 493, but he admits also that lines with five accents are rare, supra p. 929, n. 1. As he intentionally confuses the number of accents (or syllables bearing a stress) with the number of measures, he and I naturally view verses from different points. The true Alexandrine has a pause at the end of the third measure. It consists therefore of two parts of three measures each. This is very marked in the heroic French Alexandrine, where there must be a natural pause in the sense as well as at the end of a word. Now such Alexandrines Mr. Abbott
calls "Trimeter couplets—of two verses of three accents each," 
Abb. 500, an entirely new conception, whereby normal Alexandrines are made to be no Alexandrines at all. The rule of terminating the third measure with a word is, however, not so strictly followed by English as by French and German writers. Every one admits that the final line in the Spenserian stanza is an Alexandrine, or at least has six measures. Now in the 55 stanzas of the Faery Queen, Book 1, Canto 1, I find 44 perfect Alexandrines (Mr. Abbott's Trimeter Couplets), 9 in which the third measure does not end with a word, and 2 (stanzas 30 and 42) in which, although the third measure ends with a word, the sense allows of no pause. This is quite enough to establish the rule for Shakspere's contemporaries, to shew that Mr. Abbott's Trimeter Couplets must be considered as regular Alexandrines, and to admit of the non-termination of a word with the third measure, which is inadmissible in French. Mr. Abbott begins by noting Alexandrines which are "only so in appearance, "the last foot containing two extra syllables, one of which is slurred," (a term phonetically unintelligible to me) Abb. 494. These are those previously mentioned, and instanced below. But Mr. Abbott allows these two superfluous syllables to be inserted "at the end of the third or fourth foot," Abb. 495, without having any value in the verse. Thus, "The flux | of company. | Anón | a care|less herd," AY 2, 1, 6 (210', 52), is made to have only five "feet," i.e. measures, as is also "To call | for récompense: | appear | it to | your mind," TC 3, 3, 1 (637', 3), and so on. This may do for "scanners," but will not do for listeners. These lines have distinctly six measures, with the true pause. "In other cases the appearance of an Alexandrine arises from the non-observance of contractions," Abb. 496. These "contractions" would have a remarkably harsh effect in the instances cited, even if they were possible. No person accustomed to write verses could well endure lines thus divided: "I dares| abide | no longer (454). | Whither (466) should | I fly," M 4, 2, 34 (803', 73). The line belongs to two speeches, and should may be emphatic. "She le|vell'd at | our pur|pose(s) (471), and, | being (470) royal," AC 5, 2, 123 (943, 339). Here there are two trisyllabic measures, and no Alexandrine. "All mór|tal conse|quence(s) (471) have | pronounced | me thus," M 5, 3, 1 (807, 5). "As mis|ers dó | by beggars (454); | neither (466) gave | to mé," TC 3, 3, 30 (639, 142). Here to me are two superfluous syllables. I should be sorry to buy immunity from Alexandrines at the dreadful price of such Procrustean "scansion." Abb. 497, adduces a number of lines which he calls "apparent Alexandrines," and says they "can be explained," that is, reduced to five measures, "by the omission of emphatic syllables." The effect is often as harsh as in those just cited. Abb. 498, calls a number of Alexandrines "doubtful," because by various contrivances, reading "on" for "upon" and so on, he can reduce them to five measures. But is this a legitimate method of deducing a poet's usage? Another contrivance is to throw the two first or two last syllables into a line by themselves, Abb. 499. Finally we
have the "Trimeter Couplet" (500, 501), "the comic trimeter" (502), and "apparent trimeter couplets" (503), of which enough has been said. In order that the reader may see Mr. Abbott's method of avoiding the acknowledgment of Alexandrines in Shakspere, reference is made to all the passages in which he cites the following examples with that intention.

**Well-marked Alexandrines.**

Whose honour hear-en shield from soil! c'en he escapes not H 1, 2, 6 (595, 26).

The monk might be decei'd, and that 'twas dang'rous for him H 1, 2, 32 (596', 179), Abb. 501.

Pray for me! I must now forsake ye: the last hour H 2, 1, 32 (600', 132).

His highness having lived so long with her and she H 2, 3, 1 (602', 2).

Still growing in a majesty and pomp, the which H 2, 3, 1 (602', 7).

As soul and body's severing. Alas! poor lady! H 2, 3, 3 (602', 16).

More worth than empty vanities, yet prayers and wishes H 2, 3, 22 (603, 69).

Overtopping woman's power. Madam, you do me wrong H 2, 4, 17 (604', 88).

And patches will I get unto these cudgell'd scars H 5, 1, 27 (464', 94), Abb. 501.

A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue R 1, 1, 11 (557, 94), Abb. 498.

Say that I slew not. Why then they are not dead R 1, 2, 20 (558', 89), Abb. 500, cited in index only.

I did not kill thy husband. Why then he is alive R 1, 2, 22 (558, 9).

I would I knew thy heart. 'Tis figured in my tongue R 1, 2, 69-70 (559', 192-202). These six Alexandrines are by some considered to be twelve six-syllable lines, and, as there is an odd line of six syllables, v. 203, there is considerable ground for this supposition. We must not forget, however, that Alexandrines are very common in R 3, and that the odd line can be explained by an amphistyth, suprà p. 928, n. 1, Abb. 500.

And hugg'd me in his arm, and kindly kiss'd my cheek R 2, 2, 9 (568, 24).

Which since succeeding ages have re-edified R 3, 1, 20 (571, 71), Abb. 494, cited in index only.

Thou'ret sworn as deeply to effect, what we intend R 3, 1, 70 (572, 158), Abb. 497. She intends unto his holiness. I may perceive H 2, 4, 31 (605', 235).

His practices to light. Most strangely. O, how, how? H 3, 2, 8 (608, 28).

And dies fled under shade, why, then the thing of courage TC 1, 3, 2 (626', 51).

Speak, Prince of Ithaca; and be't of less expect TC 1, 3, 4 (626', 70).

Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow factions TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 83).

What honey is expected. Degree being vizarded TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 83).

And sanctify their numbers. Prophet may you be! TC 3, 2, 49 (637', 190).

To call for recompense. Appear it to your mind TC 3, 3, 1 (637', 3), Abb. 458 (miscited as v. 8), 495.

In most accepted pain. Let Diomedes hear him TC 3, 3, 28 (638, 30).

Not going from itself: but eye to eye opposed TC 3, 3, 28 (638', 107).

That has he knows not what. Nature, what things there are TC 3, 3, 29 (639, 127).

In monumental mockery. Take the instant way TC 3, 3, 1 (639, 153).

To see us here unarm'd: I have a woman's longing TC 3, 3, 41 (640, 237).

And tell me, noble Diomed; faith, tell me true TC 4, 1, 18 (641, 51).

The cockle of rebellion, insolence, seditition C 3, 1, 42 (669', 70), Abb. 497, cited in index only.

Insult without all reason, where gentry, title, wisdom C 3, 1, 62 (670, 144), Abb. 501, cited in index only.

The warlike service he has done, consider; think C 3, 3, 26 (674, 49), Abb. 512, where think is treated as a separate "interjectional line."

As 'tis to laugh at 'em. My mother, you wot well C 4, 1, 5 (675', 27).

Whose house, whose bed, whose meal, and exercise C 4, 4, 7 (677, 14).

To thee particularly, and to all the Volscs C 4, 5, 42 (678, 72).

Therefore away with her, and use her as ye will TA 2, 3, 33 (696, 166).
Witness this wretched stump, witness these crimson lines TA 5, 2, 6 (708, 22).
And when he's sick to death, let not that part of nature Tim 3, 1, 15
(749', 64).
The memory be green and that it us befitted II 1, 2, 1 (813', 2).
'Tis sweet and commendable in your nature, Hamlet H 1, 2, 16 (813', 87), Abb. 490, who accentuates commendable, agreeably to MV 1, 1, 23 (182, 111), in which case there are two trisyllabic measures in the line. That father lost, lost his, and the survivor bound H 1, 2, 16 (813', 90).
Are burnt and purged away. But that I am forbid H 1, 5, 10 (817', 13).
The sway, revenue, execution of the rest KL 1, 1, 37 (848', 139), Abb. 497, cited in the index only.
When pow'r to flatt'ry bows? To plainness honour's bound KL 1, 1, 40 (848', 150), Abb. 501, cited in the index only.
Of such a thing as thou, to fear, not to delight Oth 1, 2, 27 (881', 71), Abb. 465, for the construction only.
Hath this extent, no more. Ruhe am I in my speech Oth 1, 3, 32 (883, 81).

Lightly-marked Alexandrines,
or Verses of Five Measures with Two Superfluous Syllables.

And that you come to reprend my ignorance R3 3, 7, 25 (577, 113), Abb. 487.
The supreme seat, the throne majestical R3 3, 7, 28 (577, 118).
All unavoided is the doom of destiny R3 4, 4, 58 (583', 217).
Which I do well; for I am sure the emperor H6 1, 1, 42 (594', 186).
Wherein? and what taxation? My lord cardinal H6 1, 2, 8 (695, 38).
That's Christian care enough for living murmurers H6 2, 2, 47 (602, 131).
Is our best having. By my troth and maidenhead Hs 2, 3, 6 (602', 23).
But what makes robbers bold but too much lenity 3H6 2, 6, 1 (537', 22).
Her looks do argue her replete with modesty 3H6 3, 2, 61 (540', 84).
I that am rudely stamp'd and want love's majesty R3 1, 1, 1 (556, 16),
Abb. 467, cited in index only.
Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery R3 1, 1, 8 (557, 75), Abb. 494, cited in index only.
I was; but I do find more pain in banishment R3 1, 3, 54 (563, 168).
Go to, I'll make ye know your times of busi-ness Hs 2, 2, 24 (601', 72),
In speaking for myself. Yet, by your gracious patience Oth 1, 3, 32 (883, 89).
Is once to be resolv'd. Exchange me for a goat Oth 3, 3, 74 (894, 180).
Matching thy inference. 'Tis not to make me jealous. Oth 3, 3, 74 (894, 183).
A séquester from liberty, fasting and prayer Oth 3, 4, 24 (897, 40).
And knowing what I am, I know what she shall be Oth 4, 1, 35 (899', 74).
That the sense aches at thee, would thou hadst ne'er been born Oth 4, 2, 31 (902', 69).
Why should he call her whore? who keeps her company? Oth 4, 2, 70 (903, 137).
Acquire too high a fame, when him we serve 's away AC 3, 1, 3 (924', 15).
Some wine, within there, and our viands! Fortune knows AC 3, 11, 28 (929', 73).
Do something mingle with our younger brown, yet ha' we AC 4, 8, 3 (885, 20).
And in 's spring became a harvest, lived in court Cy 1, 1, 11 (944', 46).
Such griefs as you yourself do lay upon yourself P 1, 2, 12 (979', 65).

SHAKSPERE’S ALEXANDRINES.

CHAP. VIII. § 8.
Shaksperian "Resolutions," Dissyllables corresponding to Modern Monosyllables.

The following instances of the resolution of one syllable into two, (as they seem to modern readers, who in fact have run two syllables together,) are so marked that it is impossible not to recognize that they were cases of actual accepted and familiar dissyllabic pronunciation. They occur in the most solemn and energetic speeches, where the resolution at present would have a weak and traily effect, such as no modern, even in direct imitation of an old model, would venture to write. We must therefore conclude that all the cases were habitually dissyllabic, and that those numerous cases, where they appear to be monosyllabic as at present, must be explained as instances of trisyllabic measures, Alexandrines, or lines with two superfluous syllables.

Mr. Abbott, however, by his heading "lengthening of words," Abb. 477, seems to consider the modern usage to be the normal condition, and the resolution to be the licence. Historically this view is incorrect, and the practise of orthoepists, though subject to the objection that "they are too apt to set down, not what is, but what [they imagine] ought to be," Abb. 479,—is all the other way. See Gill on Syneresis, suprà p. 937. Abb. 481, observes that "monosyllables which are emphatic either (1) from their meaning, as in the case of exclamations, or (2) from their use in antithetical sentences, or (3) which contain diphthongs, or (4) vowels preceding r, often take the place of a foot." The examples Abb. 481-486, are worth studying, but except in the case of r, they appear to be explicable rather by pauses, four-measure lines, accidentally or purposely defective lines, and such like, than by making go-ad, bo-ad, go-ad, fri-ends, etc., of two syllables, or daughte-r, siste-r, murde-r, horro- rs, ple-asure, etc., of three syllables, which would be quite opposed to anything we know of early pronunciation. I have, however, referred to all Mr. Abbott's observations on the following citations.

Miscellaneous Resolutions.

And come against us in full pu-is-sance

2H1 1, 3, 14 (414', 77).

Here's Glo-ces-ter a foe to citizens

H6 1, 3, 25 (473, 62).

Abominable Glo-ces-ter, guard thy head

H6 1, 3, 33 (473', 87).

Well, let them rest. Come hither,

Ca-tes-by. R3 3, 1, 70 (572, 157).

Or horse or oxen from the le-opard

H6 1, 5, 4 (475, 31), Abb. 484.

Divinest cre-atu-re, Astraea's daughter

H6 1, 6, 2 (473, 4), Abb. 479, where he cites: You have done our

ple-asures much grace, fair ladies

Tim 1, 2, 37 (745, 151). Although he corroborates this division by some passages of Beaumont and Fletcher, cited from (S.?) Walker, without complete reference, it must surely be a mistake. In the passages from Beaumont and Fletcher pleasures is the last word of the line, which may in each case have had only four measures with one superfluous syllable. The word pleasure occurs very frequently in Shakspeare, and, apparently, always as a dissyllable, except in this one passage. This leads us to suppose the line to have only four measures, thus: You have done [our plea-] -sures much grace [fair la-]dies, just as the next line but three: You have ad-[ded] worth [unto] and lus-[tre]; which again is closely followed by a line of three measures: I am [to thank] you for't, showing the, probably designedly, irregular character of the whole complimentary speech.

The Earl of Pembroke keeps his regi-

ment R3 5, 3, 10 (587', 29).
His *regiment* lies half a mile at least
R⁵ 5, 3, 11 (587', 37).
But deck'd with *di-amonds* and Indian stones
3 H⁶ 3, 1, 16 (339, 63).
These signs have mark'd me *extra-ordinary* H⁴ 3, 1, 11 (385', 41).
Aford no *extra-ordinary* gaze H⁴ 3, 2, 3 (398, 78).
The false revolting Normans *thor-ough* thee 2H⁴ 4, 1, 26 (515', 87), Abb.478.
To shew her bleeding body *thor-ough*,
Rome RL 1851 (1030')
To be reveng'd on Rivers, *Vau-gh-an*,
Grey R⁴ 1, 3, 102 (563', 333).
This name appears to be always dissyllabic.
See the next two instances.
With them Sir Thomas *Vau-gh-an*,
prison-ers R² 2, 4 (570, 43).
With Rivers, *Vau-gh-an*, Grey; and so
'twill do R³ 3, 2, 25 (573, 67).
Till in her ashes she lie *buri-ed* H⁵ 3, 3, 1 (450, 9), Abb.474, cited in index only.
The lustful Edward's title *buri-ed* 3 H⁶ 3, 2, 81 (541, 129).
That came too lag to see him *buri-ed*
R³ 2, 1, 26 (567, 90).
All circumstances well *con-sider-ed* R² 3, 7, 30 (577', 176), Abb. 474.
Please it, your Grace, to be *adver'tis-ed*
2 H⁴ 4, 9, 7 (521, 23).
For by my scouts I was *adver'tis-ed* 3 H⁶ 2, 1, 18 (533, 116).
As I by friends am well *adver'tis-ed* R³ 4, 4, 163 (586, 501), Abb. 491.
And when this arm of mine hath *châs-tis-ed*
R³ 4, 4, 88 (584', 331), Abb. 491.
Tybalt is gone and Romeo *banish-ed* RJ 3, 2, 12 (727', 69); 3, 2, 19 (728', 113).
So unwillingly are modern actors to pronounce this *ed*,
that I have heard the line imperfect,
or eket out by repeating—
*banish*th, *banish*th.

**Sanctuary.**

Go thou to *sanct'ry* and good thoughts
possess thee R⁴ 4, 1, 28 (579, 94) Abb. 468.
Of blessed *sanct'ry*! not for all this land
R⁵ 3, 1, 13 (571, 42).
Have taken *sanc-tua-ry*; the tender princes
R³ 3, 1, 11 (570', 28).
You break not *sanc-tua-ry* in seizing
him R³ 3, 1, 14 (571, 47).
Oft have I heard of *sanc-tua-ry* men
R⁵ 3, 1, 14 (571, 56).

**The Terminations, -tion, -sion.**

Whose manners still our tardy apish *na-tion*
Limps after in base *imita-tion* KJ 2, 1, 4 (582, 22).
This is not meant for a rhyme, it occurs in blank verse,
and if it rhymed, the second line would be defective by a whole measure.
As it stands, the first line has two superfluous syllables.

With titles blown from *adula-tion*.
H⁴ 4, 1, 67 (457, 271).
Will'd me to leave my base *voca-tion* H² 1, 2, 49 (471, 80).
First will I see the *coronat-i-on* 3 H⁶ 2, 6, 22 (538', 96).
But, that's a foolish *observa-tion* on 3 H⁵ 2, 6, 23 (538', 108).
O then hurl down their *indigna-tion*
R⁴ 1, 3, 63 (562', 220).
Give me no help in *lamenta-tion* R³ 2, 2, 20 (568, 66).
To sit about the *coronat-i-on* R³ 3, 1, 74 (572, 173).
It is and wants but *nomi-nat-i-on* R³ 3, 4, 3 (574, 5).
But on his knees at *medita-tion* R³ 3, 7, 16 (576', 73).
And hear your mother's *lamenta-tion* R³ 4, 4, 2 (581', 14).
Thus will I drown your *exclama-tions* R⁴ 4, 4, 29 (582', 153).
Now fills thy sleep with *perturba-tions*
R⁵ 3, 3, 45 (589, 161).
A buzzing of a *separat-i-on* H² 1, 1, 38 (600', 148).
Into my private *medita-tions* H⁵ 2, 2, 22 (601', 66).
Only about her *coronat-i-on* H³ 3, 2, 106 (611, 407).
Besides the applause and *approba-tion* TC 1, 3, 3 (626', 59).
As he being drest to some *orati-on* TC 1, 3, 8 (627', 166).
To bring the roof to the *foun-da-tion* C 3, 1, 91 (671, 206).
Abated captives to some *nati-on* C 3, 3, 55 (675, 132).
Let molten coin be thy *dona-tion* Tim 3, 1, 18 (749', 55)
Out of the teeth of *enula-tion* JC 2, 3, 1 (773', 14).
This present object made *proba-tion* H 1, 1, 57 (812', 156).
Of Hamlet's *transfor-ma-tion*; so call it H 2, 2, 1 (820, 5), Abb. 479,
where he observes that the only other instances of *ti-on* preceded by
a vowel in the middle of a line which he has been able to collect are: With observational the which he vents AY 2, 7, 8 (213', 41), and: Be chosen with proclaimati-ons to-day TA 1, 1, 25 (600, 190), but when preceded by c, as in action, perfection, affections, distraction, election, he cites six instances. Numerous other cognate cases, cited below, prove, however, that such rarity was merely accidental, and not designed. The instance cited below p. 952, as an Alexandrine by resolution, Mr. Abbott would probably scan: For dep│rava│tion to square! the gen’ral sex TC 5, 2, 102 (649, 132), admitting a trisyllabic foot to avoid an Alexandrine.

But yet an un-ion in partiti-on MN 3, 2, 43 (171', 210).

We must bear all. O hard conditi-on. H^2 4, 1, 67 (457, 259). This day shall gentle his conditi-on H^5 4, 3, 10 (458', 63). Virtue is chokes with foul ambiti-on 2 H^3 3, 1, 25 (508', 149).

Than a great queen, with this condi-ti-on R^3 1, 3, 35 (561', 108). Who intercepts my expediti-on? R^3 4, 4, 24 (582' 136).

Thrice fam’d beyond all eruditi-on TC 2, 3, 93 (634', 254).

I do not strain at the positi-on TC 3, 3, 29 (638', 112). To underreat your good additi-on C 1, 9, 11 (661', 72).

Meanwhile must be an earnest moti-on H^3 2, 4, 31 (605', 233).

God shield I should disturb devoti-on RJ 4, 1, 24 (733, 41).

Enforced us to this executi-on R^3 3, 5, 16 (575', 46).

To do some fatal executi-on TA 2, 3, 3 (694', 36).

So is he now in executi-on JC 1, 1, 85 (767, 301).

Which smok’d with bloody executi-on M 1, 2, 3 (788', 18).

The brightest heav-en of inventi-on H^1 1, pro/. (439', 2).

Did push it out of further questi-on H^1 1, 1, 1 (439', 5).

All out of work and cold for acti-on H^3 1, 2, 10 (441', 114).

After the taste of much correcti-on H^3 2, 2, 17 (445, 51).

To scourge you for this apprehensi-on H^6 2, 4, 37 (478', 102).

To ques-tion of his apprehensi-on 3 H^6 3, 2, 80 (541, 122).

Thy son I kill’d for his presumpti-on 3 H^6 5, 6, 11 (554', 34).

E’en for revenge mock my destructi-on R^3 5, 1, 3 (587', 9).

To keep mine honour from corrupti-on H^4 4, 2, 12 (614, 71), compare: Corrup-tion wins not more than honesty H^3 3, 2, 109 (612, 445), where there must be a trisyllabic measure.

To us in our electi-on this day TA 1, 1, 37 (690, 233).

Which dreads not yet their lives de-struc-ti-on TA 2, 3, 3 (694', 50).

Wanting a hand to give it acti-on TA 6, 5, 2 (708, 17).

When sects and facti-ons were newly born Tim 3, 5, 6 (752', 30).

But for your private satisfacti-on JC 2, 2, 20 (775, 72).

As whence the sun ’gins his reflecti-on M 1, 2, 5 (788', 25).

O master! what a strange infecti-on Cy 3, 2, 1 (956', 3).

For, by the way, I’ll sort occasi-on R^3 2, 2, 43 (569, 148).

This we prescribe through no phys-i-sci-on

Deep malice makes too deep incisi-on R^2 1, 1, 19 (357', 154). The quarto reads phisation, the first two folios physision. Thus justifying the rhyme, which is on the last syllable. When they next wake, all this derisi-on Shall seem a dream and fruitless visi-on.

MN 3, 2, 92 (173, 370). The rhyme is on the -on, to make it on the -is would be to lose a measure in each verse.

Some say the lark makes sweet divisi-on RJ 3, 4, 5 (730', 29).

Jove, Jove! this shepherd’s passi-on

Is much upon my fashi-on AY 2, 4, 19 (212, 61). Observe that the rhyme is here an identical one, on the final syllable -on, as in the two preceding cases, and that it is not a double rhyme (push-un, fash-un) like the modern (pesh-un, fesh-un), as this would make each line defective by a measure. The following examples show that passi-on, fashi-on, -on, were really trisyllables. The apparent double rhyme passion, fashion, which occurs three times, is really an assonance of (-as-, -ash-), and will be so treated under assonances, see S with SH and Z, below. It is necessary to be careful on this point, because readers not aware of the trisyllabic nature of passion, fashion, or the use of assonances in
Shakspere, might by such rhymes be led to imagine the change of -sion into -shun, of which the only trace in Shakspere's time, is in the anonymous grammar cited, supra p. 916.

Bear with him, Brutus, 'tis his fashio-n JC 4, 3, 55 (782, 135).

You break into some merry passio-n TS ind. 1, 27 (230, 97),

'A re' to plead Hortensio's passio-n 'C fa ut' that loves with all affec-tio-n TS 3, 1, 27 (246', 74).

This is that it makes me bridle passio-n 3 H6 4, 4, 8 (547, 19).

I feel my master's passi-on! this slave Tim 3, 1, 15 (749', 59).

Whilst our commis-sion from Rome is read H6 2, 4, 1 (603', 1).

He speaks by leave and by permissio-n JC 3, 1, 77 (776', 239).

Other Terminations in -ion.

It is reli-gion that doth make vows kept;

But thou has sworn against religi-on KJ 3, 1, 53 (342', 279).

Turns insur-recc-tion to religi-on 2 H4 1, 1, 34 (411', 201).

'Twas by rebel-li-on against his king 3 H6 1, 1, 59 (527', 133).

I would not for a mil-lio-n of gold TA 2, 1, 8 (693, 49).

Could never be her mild com-pa-ni-on P 1, 1, 4 (977', 18).

And formless ruin of obli-vo-n TC 4, 5, 72 (643', 167).

Swil'd with the wild and wasteful oce-an H6 3, 1, 1 (448', 14).

Final -ience, -ient, -ious, -iage, -ial, -ier.

Then let us teach our trial pati-ence MN 1, 1, 31 (162', 152).

Lest to thy hurri thou move our pati-ence R5 1, 3, 75 (362', 248).

Right well, dear madam. By your pati-eance R4 4, 1, 6 (57S', 15).

Then pa-ti-ent-ly bear my impa-ti-eance R4 4, 4, 32 (592', 156).

To see the battle. Hector whose pati-eance TC 1, 2, 4 (693', 4).

Fearing to strengthen that impa-ti-eance JC 2, 1, 63 (771', 248).

Dangers, doubts, wringing of the con-se-euce II 2, 2, 11 (601, 23).

For policy sits above con-se-euce Tim 3, 2, 24 (750', 94).

And yet 'tis almost 'gainst my con-se-euce II 5, 2, 111 (845, 307).

Know the whole world he is as vali-ant TC 2, 3, 86 (634, 243).

For I do know Fluellen vali-ant H5 4, 7, 53 (462, 187).

Were not revenge suffi-ent for me 3 H6 1, 3, 10 (530, 26).

If you should smile he grows impa-ti-ent TS ind. 1, 27 (230, 99).

Be pa-ti-ent, gentle queen, and I will stay.

Who can be pati-ent in such extremes? 3 H6 1, 1, 109 (528', 214), Abb. 476.

I can no longer hold me pati-eunt R3 1, 3, 50 (562, 157).

How fur-ious and impa-ti-ent they be TA 2, 1, 14, (693', 76).

Than the sea monster! Pray, sir, be pati-eunt KL 1, 4, 89 (854, 282).

Ho'ven, be thou graci-ous to none alive H6 1, 4, 15 (474, 55).

The forest walks are wide and spaci-ous TA 2, 1, 25 (693', 113).

Confess yourself wondrous malici-ous C 1, 1, 29 (655, 91).

Hath told you Caesar was ambiti-ous.

But Brutus says he was ambiti-ous,

Did this in Caesar seem ambiti-ous JC 3, 2, 30 (777', 83, 91, 95, 98, 103).

Therefore 'tis certain he was not ambiti-ous JC 3, 2, 34 (778, 117), where the line is therefore Alexandrine, or rather with two superfluous syllables.

Why so didst thou? seem they religi-ous H6 2, 2, 26 (445', 130).

Methinks my lord should be religi-ous H6 3, 1, 15 (480, 54).

To England's king in lawful mar-ri-age 3 H6 3, 3, 15 (542, 57).

Is now dishonour'd by this new mar-ri-age 3 H6 4, 1, 14 (544', 33).

And in his wisdom hastes our marri-age RJ 4, 1, 4 (732', 11).

For honesty and decent car-ri-age H8 4, 2, 37 (615, 145).

Too flattering sweet to be substan-ti-al RJ 2, 2, 33 (720', 141).

He would himself have been a soldi-er H1 1, 3, 6 (385', 64).

With some few hands of chosen soldi-ers 3 H6 3, 3, 55 (543', 241).

The counsellor heart, the arm our soldi-er C 1, 1, 34 (655, 120).

But he's a tried and valiant soldi-er JC 4, 1, 12 (780, 28), Abb. 479.

You say you are a better soldi-er JC 4, 3, 26 (781, 51).

Final -or, -ir, -er, after a Vowel.

May-or, farewell, thou dost but what thou mayst Ho 1, 3, 32 (473', 55).

He sent command to the lord may-or straight H5 2, 1, 39 (600', 151).
The we-ird sisters hand in hand M 1, 3, 12 (789', 31), Abb. 484.
I mean, my lords, those pow-ers that the queen 3 H 5 3, 3 (552, 7).
But you have pow-er in me as a kins-
man R 3 3, I, 41 (571', 109).
The greatest strength and pow-er he can make R 3 4, 4, 138 (585', 449).
But she with vehement pray-ers urgeth still RL 475 (1019).
I would prevail if pray-ers might pre-
vail H 3 3, 1, 20 (480', 67).
With daily pray-ers all to that effect R 3 2, 2, 6 (567', 15).
And, see, a book of pray-er in his hand R 3 3, 7, 28 (577', 98).
My pray-ers on the adverse party fight R 3 4, 4, 46 (583, 190).
Hath turn'd my feign-ed pray-ers on my head R 3 5, 1, 5 (587, 21), Abb. 479.
Make of your pray-ers one sweet sacri-
fice H 2 2, 1, 27 (600, 77).
Almost forgot my pray-ers to content him H 3 3, I, 29 (607, 132).
Men's pray-ers then would seek you, not their fears H 5 5, 3, 24 (618', 83).
If I could pray to move, pray-ers would
move me JC 3, I, 30 (774', 58).
These instances shew that the word
pray-er must always be considered as a
dissyllable, and that no distinction
could have been made, as now, between
pray-er one who prays (pree-x), and
prayer the petition he utters (preeci),
but both were (prairer). The possibility of
the r having been vocal (a), how-
ever, appears from the next list of
words.

Syllabic R. Abb. 477. 480.
You sent me deputy to I-re-land H 3, 3, 2, 73 (610, 260).
And in compassion weep the fi-re out R 5 5, 1, 4 (876', 48).
Away with him and make a fi-re straight TA 1, 1, 14 (689', 127).
As fi-re drives out fi-re, so pity, pity J'C 3, I, 65 (775', 171). Here I read the
second fi-re as also dissyllabic, introducing a trissyllabic measure.
Should make desi-re vomit emptiness
Cy 1, 6, 9 (949', 45).
We have no reason to desi-re it P 1, 3, 10 (980', 37).
And were they but alti-r'd in grave
weeds TA 3, I, 5 (698, 43).
To stab at half an hour of my life 2 H 4, 5, 31 (482, 109).
How many hour-s bring about the day 3 H 2, 5, 1 (536', 27).

So many hour-s must I, etc. 3 H 5 2, 5, 1 (536', 31-35).
If this right hand would buy two
hour-s life 3 H 2, 6, 21 (538, 80).
'Tis not an hour-s since I left him there
TA 2, 3, 60 (696', 256).
Richly in two short hour-s. Only they
H 8 prof. (592, 13).
These should be hour-s for necessities
H 5 5, 1, 3 (615', 2).
One hour's storm will drown the fra-
grant meads TA 2, 4, 8 (697', 54).
Long after this, when Hen-r-y the
Fifth H 2 5, 3, 11 (479', 82).
But how he died, God knows, not
Hen-r-y 2 H 3 2, 29 (512, 131).
But let my sov-reign vir-tuous Hen-r-y
2 H 5, 1, 8 (522', 48).
In following this usurping Hen-r-y
3 H 6 1, 1, 32 (527, 81).
I am the son of Hen-r-y the Fifth 3 H 6
1, 1, 46 (527', 107).
So would you be again to Hen-r-y
3 H 3, 1, 26 (539', 95).
You told not how Hen-r-y the Sixth
had lost All that which Hen-r-y the
Fifth had gotten 3 H 3, 3, 23 (542', 89).
So stood the state when Hen-r-y the
Sixth R 2 3, 13 (569', 15).
As I remember, Hen-r-y the Sixth
R 4 2, 45 (580', 98), Abb. 477, cited in
index only.
In our sustaining corn. A sen-tr-y
send forth KL 4, 4, 1 (870, 5), an
Alexandrine, the word is spelled
variously, century in early quarto and
late folios, and century in the
first two folios, indicating its tri-
syllabic pronunciation.
Who cannot want the thought how
mons-trous M 3, 6, 1 (800', 8), Abb. 477.
But who is man that is not em-pire ?
Tim 3, 5, 9 (752', 57), Abb. 477.
Lavinia will I make my em-pr ess TA
1, 1, 37 (690', 240).
And will create the em-pr ess of Rome
TA 1, 1, 64 (691, 320).
And make proud Saturrine and his
em-pr ess TA 3, 1, 56 (700', 293),
but in two syllables in: Our em-
press' shame and stately Rome's
disgrace TA 4, 2, 24 (703, 60), un-
less we venture to read the line as
an Alexandrine, thus: Our em-
pr ess-es shame, and stately Rome's
disgrace, which is, however, some-
what forced.
After the prompter for our em-tr ance
RJ 1, 4, 2 (716', 7).
Farewell: commend me to your mis-
tre-ers RJ 2, 4, 81 (723', 204).
Make way to lay them by their breth-
ery TA 1, 1, 9 (689, 89).
Good, good, my lord: the se-er-ets of
nature TC 4, 2, 35 (612, 74).

**Syllabic L.**

Me thinks his lordship should be
hun-bl-er H 3, 1, 16 (480', 56).
You, the great toe of this assem-bl-y
C 1, 1, 45 (655', 159), Abb. 477.
While she did call me rascal fid-all-er
TS 2, 1, 45 (238, 158), Abb. 477.
A rotten case abides no han-dling
2 H 4, 1, 26 (427, 161), Abb. 477.

Does thoughts unveil in their dumb
era-ul-er TC 3, 8, 35 (639', 200),
Abb. 487. This line has much ex-

These numerous examples of unmistakeable resolutions, trisyllabic
measures, and Alexandrines, will show us that we must consider
the following, which are only an extremely small sample out of an
extremely large number, as trisyllabic measures, and Alexandrine
verses, or lines with two superfluous syllables, arising from real,
though frequently disregarded, resolutions.

**Trisyllabic Measures from Resolution.**

His pray-ers are full of false hypocrisy;
Our pray-ers do out-pray his; then let them have,
That mercy which true pray-er ought to have,
R 3 5, 3, 36 (379', 107, 109).

Upon the power and pu-issance of the
king 2 H 4, 1, 3, 2 (414, 9).
The prayers of holy saints and wrong-
ed souls R 3 5, 3, 61 (589', 241).
Or but allay, the fire of passi-on. Sir
H 3 1, 1, 37 (594, 149).

**Alexandrines with Internal Resolutions.**

His eyes do drop no tears, his pray-ers
are in jest R 3 5, 3, 36 (379, 101),
Abb. 497 or 501, cited in index only.
So tediously away. The poor con-
demn-ed English H 3, 4, pro. (454',
22).

To wit, an ingested and de-form-ed
lump 3 H 5 5, 6, 12 (554', 51).
Environ'd me about, and howl-ed in
mine ears R 3 1, 4, 8 (564, 59), Abb.
460, where he avoids the Alexan-
drine by pronouncing 'viron'd n'
about.

**Alexandrines with Final Resolutions, or Five-measure Verses with two
Superfluous Syllables.**

Weren't not that, by great pre-servati-on
R 3 3, 5, 14 (575', 36).

That I have been your wife in this
obedi-ence H 2, 4, 9 (604, 35).
SHAKSPERE'S

PASSION,

TOR'S

MEASURE

GOWER

THE

SIDE

INSTANCES.

OFTEN

IN

TO

NOTORIOUS

RESOLUTION

BIBLERRY

INVISIBLE

MINE

WILL

THEMSELVES.

GIVEN,

THOUGHT

BEEN

THIS

TION

CLASSES

ASSONANCES

HE

PRODUCED

SELVES

MANY

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NEARLY

871,

I

OF

CHAP.

8.8.

SHAKSPERE'S RHYMES.

AFTER THE PRECEEDING EXAMINATION OF SPENSER'S RHYMES, PP. 862-871, WE CANNOT EXPECT TO FIND ANY VERY GREAT REGULARITY IN A POET OF NEARLY THE SAME DATE, WHO WAS DOUBTFUL FAMILIAR WITH SPENSER'S FAERY QUEEN. SHAKSPERE, HOWEVER, DID NOT ALLOW HIMSELF QUITE SO MANY LIBERTIES AS SPENSER, ALTHOUGH HIS RHYMES WOULD BE IN THEMSELVES QUITE INADEQUATE TO DETERMINE HIS PRONUNCIATION. HIS POEMS ARE NOT IN THIS RESPECT MORE REGULAR THAN THE OCCASIONAL COUPLETS INTRODUCED INTO HIS PLAYS. BUT THE INTRODUCED SONGS ARE THE LEAST REGULAR. HE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN QUITE CONTENTED AT TIMES WITH A RUD E APPROXIMATION. CONSONANTAL RHYMES (WHERE THE FINAL CONSONANTS ARE THE SAME, BUT THE PRECEDING VOWELS ARE DIFFERENT,) ARE NOT UNCOMMON. ASSONANCES (WHERE THE VOWELS ARE THE SAME, BUT FINAL CONSONANTS DIFFERENT,) ARE LIBERALLY SPRINKLED. THE COMBINATION OF THE TWO RENDERS IT QUITE IMPOSSIBLE, FROM SOLITARY OR EVEN OCCASIONAL EXAMPLES, TO DETERMINE THE REAL PRONUNCIATION OF EITHER VOWEL OR CONSONANT. IT IS THEREFORE SATISFACTORY TO DISCOVER THAT, VIEWED AS A WHOLE, THE SYSTEM OF RHYMES IS CONFIRMATORY OF THE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM A CONSIDERATION OF EXTERNAL AUTHORITIES ONLY IN CHAPTER III, AND TO ARRIVE AT THIS RESULT, THE LABOUR OF SUCH A LENGTHENED INVESTIGATION HAS NOT BEEN THROWN AWAY. AS IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE READER TO ACCEPT THIS STATEMENT, Merely FROM MY OWN IMPRESSIONS, I HAVE THOUGHT IT RIGHT TO GIVE A SOMEWHAT DETAILED LIST OF THE RHYMES THEMSELVES, AND I AM NOT CONSCIOUS OF HAVING NEGLECTED TO NOTE ANY OF THEORETICAL INTEREST. THE OBSERVATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL RHYMES OR CLASSES OF RHYMES WILL BE MOST CONVENIENTLY INSERTED IN THE LISTS THEMSELVES. AS A RULE, ONLY THE RHYMING WORDS THEMSELVES ARE GIVEN, AND NOT THE COMPLETE VERSE, BUT THE FULL REFERENCES APPENDED WILL ENABLE THE READER TO CHECK MY CONCLUSIONS WITHOUT DIFFICULTY.

IDENTICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS RHYMES.

ME ME MN 1, 1, 41 (163, 198).
MINE MINE MN 1, 1, 43 (163, 200).
INVISI-BLE SENSIBLE VA 434 (1007).
THE RHYME IS ON -BLE.
BILBER-RY SLUTTER-RY MW 5, 5, 13 (65, 49). THE RHYME IS ON -RY.
RESOLUTION ABSOLUTION DISSOLUTION RL 352 (1017). THE FIRST LINE WOULD WANT A MEASURE IF WE DIVIDED AS ABOVE, SO AS TO MAKE THE RHYME -TION, GIVING TWO SUPERFLUOUS SYLLABLES TO EACH. HENCE WE MUST CONSIDER THE RHYME TO BE ON -ON, AND THE LAST TWO LINES TO BE ALEXANDRINE.
IMAGINATI-ON REGI-ON P 4, 4, GOWER (993, 3). THE VERIFICATION OF THE GOWER SPEECH IN P SEEMS INTENDED TO BE ARCHAIC, AND THE RHYMES ARE OFTEN PECCULAR. THIS KIND OF IDENTICAL RHYME IS, HOWEVER, NOT UNFREQUENT IN SHAKSPERE, BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN THOUGHT NECESSARY TO ACCUMULATE INSTANCES. SEE REMARKS ON FASHI-ON, PASSI-ON, SUPRA P. 949, COL. 2.
SHAKSPERE'S CONSONANTAL RHYMES.  Chap. VIII. § 8.

extenu-ate insinu-ate VA 1010 (1012).

ocean motion RL 589 (1020). These are both lines with two superfluous syllables, so that the rhyme is (oo-sian, moo-sun), the indistinct un-accented syllable not coming into account, compare supra p. 921.

Compare also the double rhymes: extenu-ate VA 1010 (1012). Compare supra p. 921.


commendable vendible MV 1, 1, 23 (182, 111).

riot quiet VA 1147 (1013').
in women H$^{6}$ epil. (621', 9). This couplet is manifestly erroneous somewhere. As it stands the second line is an Alexandrine, thus, marking the

Consonantal Rhymes, arranged according to the preceding Vowels.

A with I.

father hither LL 1, 1, 34 (136', 139).

Short A with short O.

foppish apish KL 1, 4, 68, song (853', 182).
daily folly RL 554 (1019').

man on MN 2, 1, 38 (166', 263), MN 3, 2, 91 (172, 348).
corn harm KL 3, 6, 16, song (865', 44).

Here $u$ and $a$ after $v$ are considered identical.

Tom am KL 2, 2, 1 (858', 20).
crab bob MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 48).
pap hop MN 5, 1, 86 (179, 303).
departure shorter KL 1, 5, 29 (855', 55). See supra p. 200, l. 11, and infra p. 973, in Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation under -URE.
cough laugh MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 54).

heart short part, LL 5, 2, 30 (152, 55).

Short A with Long O.

man one TS 3, 2, 27, song (241', 86).

Short A with Short U.

adder shudder VA 878 (1011).

Long A with EA.

created defeated S 20, 9 (1033'). Compare the rhyme created seat ed in the version of Luther's hymn, "Great God! what do I see and hear," usually sung in churches, and see the remarks on bate beat, supra p. 923. The numerous examples of the false rhyming of $a$ must warn us against supposing that long $a$ was here (oo), to rhyme with (ea) which was certainly (ee).

Long O with OU (ou).

[These rhymes may be compared first with the rhymes Long O with OW = (ou), and secondly with the rhymes OW with OU (ou, on) below. They were not so imperfect when pure (oo, on) were pronounced, as they are now when these sounds are replaced by (oo, ou).]

sycamore hour LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 89).

Moor deflour TA 2, 3, 41 (696, 190).

down bone TC 5, 8, 4 (652', 11).
Shakesper's Assonances.

Assonances, arranged according to the corresponding Consonants.

B, with TH, P, D.
labour father in the riddle, P 1, 1, 11 (978, 66).
invisible steeple TG 2, 1, 73 (25', 141).
This rhyme is evidently meant to be quaint and absurd.
lady baby MA 5, 2, 11 (132, 37). This is also meant to be ludicrously bad.
lady may be LL 2, 1, 77 (141, 267).
This is intended for mere doggerel.

K with P, T.
broken open VA 47 (1003); S 61, 1 (1038).
open’d betoken’d VA 451 (1007). All these three cases occur in perfectly serious verse.
fickle brittle PP 7, 1 (1053, 85).

M with N and NG.
plenty empty T 4, 1, 24 (15', 110).
Jam-ypenny many in a proverbial jingle, TS 3, 2, 27 (241', 84).
betime Valentine H 4, 5, 19, song (836, 49).
win him TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 212).
perform’d adjourn’d return’d Cy 5, 4, 11 (970, 76).
moons dooms P 3, Gover (987, 31).
run dumb P 5, 2, Gover (998, 266).
soon doom P 5, 2, Gover (998, 285).
replenish blemish RL 1357 (1026).
témpérer venturing VA 565 (1008), venting quartos.
sung come P 1, Gover (977, 1).

S with SH and Z.
refresh redress PP 13, 8 (1054, 176).
fashion passion LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 139); RL 1317 (1026); S 20, 2 (1033).

See the remarks on these words supra p. 949, col. 2, in proof that they should be considered assonances, and not rhymes. This assonance was almost a necessity, and may have been common. In Walker’s Rhyming Dictionary, the only word in -assion are passion and its compounds, and the only word in -ashtion is fashion.
defaced razed S 64, 1 (1039). wise paradise LL 4, 3, 14 (147, 72).
eyes suffice LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 113).
his kiss LL 2, 1, 101 (141', 247).
this is TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 314).
is amiss H 4, 5, 6 (836, 17).

Miscellaneous.
farthest harvest in the masque, T 4, 1, 24 (16, 114).
doting nothing S 20, 10 (1033). See Mr. White’s Elizabethan Pronunciation, infra p. 971, col. 1.
heavy leafy MA 2, 3, 18, song (115', 73).
sinister whisper, in Pyramus and Thisbe, MN 5, 1, 31 (77, 16).
rose clothes H 4, 5, 19, song (836, 52).
leap swept MW 5, 13 (65, 47). Perhaps pronounced swep, which is even yet not unfrequent among servant girls. The rhyme occurs in ludicrous verses.
downs hounds VA 677 (1009'). This is in serious verse. Compare sound from son, sowan and swoon, and the vulgarisms drawn-d goven-d.
time climb RL 774 (1021'); him limb R 2, 3, 24 (870, 186). Both of these were probably correct rhymes, final mb being = (m).

General Rhymes, arranged according to the Combinations of Letters which they illustrate.

A long or short.

Have rhymes with cave AY 5, 4, 50 (228', 261); slave AY 3, 2, 34 (216', 161); VA 101 (1004); RL 1000 (1023); grave R 2, 1, 20 (363, 137); RJ 2, 3, 15 (722, 83); S 81, 5 (1041); Cy 4, 2, 104 (966, 250); VA 374 (1006); 757 (1010); gave RL 1511 (1028); grave PP 10, 7 (1064, 137). Kate ha’t TS 5, 1, 87 (255, 180), supra p. 64, n. 2. In all these cases of hate and its rhymes we have long (aa).

Haste rhymes with fast CE 4, 2, 16 (103, 25); MN 3, 2, 93 (173, 378); KJ 4, 2, 52 (349, 268); RJ 2, 3, 18 (722, 93); VA 55 (1003); fast blast RL 1332 (1026). Taste rhymes with last VA 445 (1007); S 90, 9 (1042); LG 167 (1051); fast VA 527 (1008). The length of the vow in all these cases is uncertain. Gill has (laus-ted, laud-nd, laust-4, last). The modern development has been so diverse, however, (nest, test, last last last, faast fast fast, blast blast blast) that a difference of length is presumable.
sad shade MN 4, 1, 26 (174', 100); babe drab M 4, 1, 8 (801', 30); chat...
gate VA 422 (1006); grapes mishaps VA 601 (1008). These are instances of long (a) rhyming with short (a).

ranging changing TS 3, 1, 31 (241, 91).

granted haunted planted LL 1, 1, 38 (136, 162).

Want rhymes with enchant T epil. (20', 13); scant KL 1, 7, 74 (849', 281); PP [21], 37 (1056', 409); vaunt RL 41 (1015); pant grant RL 555 (1019).

The insertion of the (u) sound between (a) and (u), seems to have exerted no influence on these rhymes.

shall withal LL 5, 2, 48 (152', 141); befall hospital LL 5, 2, 392 (159', 880); all burial MN 3, 2, 93 (173, 382); gall equivocal Oth 1, 3, 46 (884, 216); festivals holy-ales P 1, Gower (977, 5); thrall perpetu-al RL 725 (1021); fall general RL 1453 (1027*); perpetu-al thrall S 154, 10 (1049*); falls madrigals PP [20], 7 (1056', 359); shall gall RJ 1, 5, 25 (718', 93).

The influence of (n) in introducing (u) after (a), or in changing (al) to (a1), does not seem to have been regarded in rhyming.

wraith hath MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 20); LC 293 (1052*).

unfather'd gather'd S 124, 2 (1046).

place ass CE 3, 1, 22 (99, 46) = (plaus as).

Was rhymes with pass WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 9); H 2, 2, 143 (828', 437); S 49, 5 (1037) = (pas was); ass (by implication, see next speech) H 3, 2, 89 (829', 293); grass RL 393 (1018); glass RL 1763 (1030); S 5, 10 (1031*);lass PP [18], 49 (1055', 293).

The w exerts no influence on the following ā here, or in: can swan PT 14 (1057*);

watch match VA 584 (1008*).

Water rhymes with matter LL 5, 2, 83 (153, 207); KL 3, 2, 14, in the Fool's prophecy (853, 81); flatter RL 1560 (1028). Gill is very uncertain about water, having (wāt'er, wāt-er, wāt-er). Here it rhymes simply as (wāt'er).


plat hat LC 29 (1050). We now write plait, but generally say (plaat).

AI and EI with A and EA.

Gait rhymes with state T 4, 1, 21 (15', 101); consecrate MN 5, 1, 104 (179', 422); hate Tim 5, 4, 14 (763', 72);

late VA 529 (1008); state S 128, 9 (1046). In all these cases the old spelling was gate; see supra p. 73, n.

Waist rhymes with fast LL 4, 3, 41 (148, 185); chaste RL 6 (1014). In these two cases the old spelling was wast, supra p. 73, note.

Again rhymes with vein main LL 5, 2, 248 (156', 546); then LL 5, 2, 382 (159', 841); mane VA 271 (1005'), [maine in quartos, see supra p. 73]; slain VA 473 (1007*). We must remember that again had two spellings, with ai, and e, from very early times, and has still two sounds (ee, e).

Said rhymes with read LL 4, 3, 50 (145', 193); maid MN 2, 2, 13 (167', 72); H* 4, 7, 6 (489', 37). The word said was spelled with ai and e from very early times, supra pp. 447, 484. It has still two sounds with (ee, e). Gill especially objects to calling said, maid (sed mced), though he acknowledges that such sounds were actually in use.

Bait rhymes with conceit PP 4, 9 (1053, 51); state CE 2, 1, 36 (96, 94). It is impossible that both of these rhymes should be perfect. The pronunciation of conceit, state was then (consect, staa). It is therefore possible that Shakspere may have pronounced (bait), as Gill did, and left both rhymes false.

Wait rhymes with conceit LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 399); gate P 1, 1, 11 (978, 79). We have just the same phenomenon here, as in the last case. Smith and Gill both give (wait), the other words were (konsect, gate).

receive leave AW 2, 3, 43 (262', 60); TC 4, 5, 20 (644, 35); LC 303 (1052'); deceive leave AW 1, 1, 62 (256, 243); TC 5, 3, 39 (560', 89); RL 583 (1019'); S 39, 10 (1036); repeat deceit P 1, 4, 15 (981, 74). In these words Gill writes (-scv, -seet) throughout; the pronunciation had therefore definitely changed, and the rhymes are all perfect.

Leisure rhymes with measure MM 5, 1, 135 (91, 415); treasure TS 4, 2, 23 (246', 59); pleasure S 58, 2 (1038). As the word leisure does not occur in my authorities, we can only suppose that it may have followed the destinies of receive and become (lee-zyyr).

survey sway AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 2).

key survey S 52, 1 (1087).
key may MV 2, 7, 4 (190, 59). It is not quite certain whether this last is meant for a rhyme. The only word in the authorities is may, which Gill writes (maai).

hair despair RL 981 (1023); S 99, 7 (1043). There is no doubt that hair was (meer), and Gill gives (despair).

hair fair LC 204 (1051).

fair hear S 6, 13 (1032); see supra p. 924, col. 1.

fare hear P 1, Gover (977, 21).

wares fairs LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 317).

scales prevails 2 H8 2, 1, 106 (504', 294).

Syria say P 1, Gover (977, 19).

bail goal S 133, 10 (1047), bale quarto.

play sea H8 3, 1, 2, song (606, 9). For all these rhymes, which would make ai sometimes (ee) and sometimes (aa), see the above observations on the rhymes to braid, and on similar rhymes in Spenser, supra p. 867.

unset counterfeit set S 16, 6 (1033).

counterfeit set S 53, 5 (1037).

AU, AW, AL.

assault faults T epil. (20', 17).

cauf = calf LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 25); hauf = half LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 26). Really (maaf kaaf) or only (maaf kaaf)?

Gill favours the former hypothesis.

chaudron cauldron M 4, 1, 8 (801, 33).

talk hant PP 19, 8 (1056, 306). This is rather an assonance.

hawk bark RL 694 (1020').

la! flaw LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 414). This favours the complete transition of (au) into (aa), as Gill seems also to allow. Perhaps the modern pronunciation (laa) was already in use.

EA with long E.

Great rhymes with sweat LL 5, 2, 257 (157, 555); eat Cy 4, 2, 94, song (965', 264); seat P 1, Gover (977, 17); RL 69 (1015), supra pp. 86-87; repeat P 1, 4, 5 (981, 30); defeat S 61, 9 (1038').

scene unclean RJ prol. (712, 2).

theme dream CE 2, 2, 65 (98, 183); stream VA 770 (1010).

extreme dream S 129, 10 (1046').

speak break TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 214); 4, 4, 5, song (642', 17); II 3, 2, 61 (829, 196); RL 566 (1019'), 1716 (1029'); S 34, 5 (1035).

pleadeth dreadeth leadeth RL 268 (1017).

These rhymes with seas CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 20); please LL 1, 1, 5 (135', 49); Simonides P 3, Gover (987, 23).

Pericles seas P 4, 4, Gover (993, 9).

displease Antipodes MN 3, 2, 8 (170, 54).

dread mead VA 634 (1009).

sweat heat VA 175 (1005).

EA with short E.

dead order-ed P 4, 4, Gover (993', 46).

dead remember-ed S 74, 10 (1040).

head punished RJ 5, 2, 65 (740', 306).

dead knell PP [18], 27 (1053, 271).

heat get VA 91 (1004).

eats gets song, AX 2, 5, 13 (213, 42).

great get RL 876 (1022).

better greater S 119, 10 (1045).

eutreats frets VA 73 (1004).

steps leaps VA 277 (1005).

bequeath death MN 3, 2, 33 (171, 166).

Macbeth rhymes with death M 1, 2, 16 (789, 64); 3, 5, 2 (800, 4); heath M 1, 1, 5 (788, 7).

death breath bequeath RL 1178 (1025).

deck speak P 3, Gover (987, 39).

oppres Pericles P 3, Gover (987, 29).

Bless rhymes with increase T 4, 1, 23 (15', 106); peace MN 5, 1, 104 (179', 424); case = cease AW 5, 3, 16 (277, 71).

confless decease VA 1001 (1012).

East rhymes with detest MN 3, 2, 109 (173, 432); rest PP 15, 1 (1054', 193).

Feast rhymes with guest CE 3, 1, 10 (98', 26); H4 4, 2, 21 (402, 85); RJ 1, 2, 5 (714', 20); Tim 3, 6, 42 (754, 109); VA 449 (1007); vest TS 5, 1, 67 (251, 143).

Beast rhymes with rest CE 5, 1, 30 (107, 83); jest LL 2, 1, 92 (141, 221); VA 997 (1012); blest VA 326 (1006); possess'd least S 29, 6 (1034').

crest breast VA 395 (1006).

congest breast LC 238 (1052).

lechery treachery MW 5, 3, 9 (64', 23).

EA, or long E with EE or IE.

[Most of the following are manifestly false or consonant rhymes similar to those on p. 954, as there was no acknowledged pronunciation of ea or long e as (ii), except in a very few words, supra p. 81. Possibly beseech, for which we have no orthoeipical authority, retained its old sound (besectsh), as
leech retained the sound of (leech), beside the newer sound (liiish), supra p. 895.]
discert sweet BJ 1, 1, 78 (714, 199).
crete sweet Hφ 4, 6, 5 (489, 54).
up-heaveth relieveth VA 482 (1007).
leaving grieving WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 17).
teach beseech TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 318).
beseche you, teach you P 4, 4, Gower (993, 7).
beseche thee, teach thee VA 404 (1007).
impleach'd beseech'd LC 205 (1051).
each leech (folio leech) Tim 5, 4, 14 (763', 83).
reading proceeding weeding breeding
LL 1, 1, 15 (136, 94).
echo v. speech P 3, Gower (986', 13).
deems extremes RL 1336 (1026).
seems extremes VA 985 (1012).
Sleeve rhymes with Eve LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 321), believe CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 21).
These may be perfect; the first is rather doubtful.
EE or IE with short E or short I.
sheds deeds S 34, 13 (1035').
field held S 2, 2 (1031).
field build KL 3, 2, 14 (863, 89), see supra p. 136, n. 1.

Short E with short I.
[See the remarks on civil Seville, supra p. 925.]
hild = held fullfill'd RL 1255 (1025').
mirror error P 1, 1, 8 (978, 45).
theft shift RL 918 (1022').
sentinel kill VA 650 (1009).
Yet rhymes with sit RJ 2, 3, 11 (722, 75); wit LL 4, 2, 10 (145', 35); VA 1007 (1012), agreeing with Smith and Gill.
ditty pretty PP 15, 7 (1055, 199).
impression commission VA 566 (1068).
spirit merit S 108, 2 (1044).
Hither rhymes with weather song, AY 2, 5, 1 (212', 5), RL 113 (1015'); leather CE 2, 1, 34 (96, 84); together song, AY 5, 4, 35 (227, 116), whether thither PP 14, 8 (1054', 158).
Together rhymes with thither TC 1, 1, 37 (628', 118); whether VA 902 (1011).
Though not precisely belonging to this category, the following rhymes are closely connected with the above through the word together. See p. 129, note. either neither hither CE 5, 1, 44 (99, 66); neither together LL 4, 3, 49 (148, 191); together neither PT 42 (1057'); whether neither PP 7, 17 (1054, 101).

devil evil LL 4, 3, 91 (149, 286), 5, 2, 42 (152', 105); TN 3, 4, 142 (297', 403); RL 85 (1015'), 846 (1022), 972 (1023). It is probable that all these should be taken as (div-l, iv-i), but Smith also gives (diiv-il). Compare modern Scotch devl = (dil).
uneven seven R2 2, 2, 25 (366, 121).
heaven even Ay 5, 4, 35 (227, 114); VA 493 (1007). never fever S 119, 6 (1045').
privilege edge S 95, 13 (1042').
Mytilene rhymes with then P 4, 4, Gower (993', 50); din P 5, 2, Gower (998, 272). See supra p. 929, col. 1.
Friend rhymes with penn'd LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 402); end AY 3, 2, 34 (216', 142); AC 4, 15, 28 (938', 90); Cy 5, 3, 10 (969', 59), VA 716 (1009'); RL 237 (1016'), 897 (1022); tend H 3, 2, 61 (829, 216); intend VA 587 (1008'); comprehend RL 494 (1019). These rhymes are opposed to Salesbury (supra p. 80, l. 9), Bullokar, and Gil.
Fiend rhymes with end PT 6 (1057'); S 145, 9 (1048'); friend S 144, 9 (1048').—Shakspere therefore apparently pronounced both friend and fiend with e. Salesbury has (friend, fend), which is just the reverse of modern use.
teeth with VA 269 (1005').
sin bin = been RL 209 (1016').
give believe H6 prol. (592, 7). See supra p. 891, col. 1; give had occasionally a long vowel.
give me, relieve me P 5, 2, Gower (998, 268).
field gild RL 58 (1015); killed RL 72 (1015).
yielded shielded builded LC 149 (1051).

Long and Short I.—IND.
[These rhymes were "allowable," perhaps, in the same sense as poets in the xvith and xviiith centuries allowed themselves to use, as rhymes, words which used to rhyme in preceding centuries. If I have not been greatly mistaken, the following words would have rhymed to Palsgrave and Bullokar, perhaps even to Mulcaster, though it is not likely that any actor of Shakspere's company would have pronounced them so as to rhyme. We find Tennyson allowing himself precisely similar rhymes to this day, supra p. 860, c. 1, and, as there shewn, the singularity of the present pronunciation (wind), leads poets to consider it to be (waif), as
many always pronounce it when reading
poetry. The existence of such rhymes,
which could not be accounted for by
any defect of ear, gives a strong pre-
sumption therefore in favour of the old
sound of long i as (ii) or (ii), and not as
(ai).]

Longville rhymes with compile LL 4,
3, 38 (148, 133); mile LL 5, 2, 29
(152, 53); ill LL 4, 3, 36 (147, 123).
line Collatine RL 818 (1021').
unlikenly quickly VA 989 (1012).
derived unlikened derived RL 1752
(1030).
live v. contrive JC 2, 3, 1 (773', 15).
lives s. restoratives P 1, Gower (977, 7).
Ilion pavilion LL 5, 2, 320 (158, 658).
grind confined S 110, 10 (1044).
Inde blind LL 4, 3, 69 (148', 222).

Final unaccented Y with long I.
[These rhymes, which are fully ac-
cepted by Gill, who generally pro-
nounced both as (ai), are very frequent
in Shakspere as well as in Spenser,
supra p. 869. But final unaccented
y also rhymes with long ee or as (ii),
and hence we gather that the original
(-e, -i, -i'e), out of which these were
composed, were still in a transition
state. Though they have now become
regularly (-i), yet, as we have seen by
numerous examples from Moore and
Tennyson, supra p. 861, the old 
license prevails, although the rhyme
(-i, -ii) is now more common than (-i,
ai), thus reversing the custom of the
xviith century.]

I rhymes with Margery song, T 2, 2,
3 (10, 48); lie fly merrily song, T 5,
1, 10 (1888); reportingly MA 3, 1,
26 (121, 115); loyalty MN 2, 2, 11
(167, 62).

Eye rhymes with die jealousy CE 2, 1,
38 (96', 114); disloyalty CE 3, 2, 1
(100, 9); merrily CE 4, 2, 1 (102',
2); perfury LL 4, 3, 14 (147, 60);
majesty LL 4, 3, 69 (148', 226);
infancy LL 4, 3, 71 (149, 243); dye,
archery, espy, gloriously, sky, by,
remedy MN 3, 2, 22 (170', 102);
poverty LL 5, 2, 179 (155, 379);
melody MN 1, 1, 36 (162', 188);
company MN 1, 1, 47 (163, 218);
remedy R2 3, 3, 31 (372, 202); in-
firmity P 1, Gower (977, 3); justify
P 1, Gower (977, 41); majesty
satisfy RL 93 (1015'); secrecy RL
99 (1015); dignity RL 455 (1018');
piety RL 540 (1019'); alchemy S 32,
2 (1035); prophecy S 106, 9 (1044).

Lie rhymes with conspiracy T 2, 1, 147
(9', 301); 1 ministreys LL 1, 1, 39
(136', 178); remedy RJ 2, 3, 8
(721', 51); subject; S 138, 2 (1047);
rarity simplicity PT 53 (1057).

Die rhymes with philosophy LL 1, 1,
3 (135, 31); misery H5 3, 2, 45
(483, 136); eternity H 1, 2, 12
(815', 72); testify P 1, Gower (977',
39); dignity S 94, 10 (1042).
dye fearfully PP [18], 40 (1055', 284).

Flies rhymes with enemies H 3, 2, 61
(829, 214); adulteries Cy 5, 4, 4
(970, 31).

fly destrey RL 1728 (1029).
adversity cry CE 2, 1, 15 (95', 34).
cry deity Cy 5, 4, 14 (970', 88).
try remedy AW 2, 1, 50 (269, 137);
enemy H 3, 2, 61 (829, 218).
warily by LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 93).
why academically M 4, 1, 42 (802, 125).
spy jealousy YA 655 (1009).
advise companies TS 1, 1, 59 (234,
246).
exercise injuries miseries Cy 5, 4, 12
(970', 82).
modesty reply TG 2, 1, 91 (26, 171).
apply simplicity LL 5, 2, 36 (152, 77).

Final unaccented Y with long EE.
See rhymes with enemy AY 2, 5, 1,
song (212', 6); solemnity AC 5, 2, 131
(943', 368).

He rhymes with villag'ry MN 2, 1, 4
(164', 34); destiny M 3, 5, 2 (800',
16); be dignity Cy 5, 4, 7 (970, 53).
crue badly TN 1, 5, 113 (286, 306).
thee honesty KJ 1, 1, 48 (334, 180);
melancholy S 45, 6 (1036').

decree necessity LL 1, 1, 37 (186', 148).
me necessity LL 1, 1, 38 (186', 154).

Long O and short O.
One rhymes with on T 4, 1, 29 (16,
137); TG 2, 1, 2 (21', 1) [this is (on
oon)]; done R2 1, 1, 26 (358, 182)
[this is (oon dan)]: Scene M 5, 8,
23 (815', 74); shoon H 4, 5, 9, song
(836, 23); throwu Cy 5, 4, 8 (970',
59) [this is (throoun oon)]: bone
VA 293 (1006); loan S 6, 6 (1032);
none S 8, 13 (1032); bone LC 43
(1050); gone CE 4, 2, 14 (103, 23),
VA 518 (1008); 227 (1005); alone 
RL 1478 (1027); S 36, 2 (1035); 
PP 9, 13 (1054, 129).

Alone rhymes with anon S 75, 5 (1040);
none TN 3, 1, 65 (293, 171); H 4, 7, 1 (489, 9).

None rhymes with stone S 94, 1 (1042); 
moon PP [18], 51 (1055, 295); 
gone CE 3, 2, 50 (101, 157); MN 2, 
2, 13 (167, 66); I will have none.
Thy gown? as an echo TS 4, 3, 31 
(247, 85).

Gone rhymes with moon MN 5, 1, 96 
(179, 340); H 4, 5, 60, song (837', 
197); groan R 2 5, 1 17 (377, 99); 
RL 1360 (1026); stone H 4, 6, 11, 
song (836, 30); bone VA 56 (1003'); 
on P 4, 4, Gower (993, 19). Oth 1, 
3, 45 (884, 204); sun VA 188 (1005).

Long O with short O. 
not smote LL 4, 3, 4 (146', 24).

note pot LL 5, 2, 405 (160', 929). 
clock oak MW 5, 5, 16 (65, 78). 
wot boat H 4, 6, 3 (486, 92).
moment comment S 15, 2 (1033).
rost boast LL 1, 1, 23 (156, 100).
most lost LL 1, 1, 96 (136', 146).
boast lost H 4, 5, 6 (488, 24).
lost coast P 5, Gower (995, 13). 
lost boast VA 1075 (1013); RL 1911 
(1025).
cost boast S 91, 10 (1042).
oath troth LL 1, 1, 11 (135', 65); 4, 
3, 38 (148, 143).
oath wroth MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 77). 
troth oath growth RL 1059 (1024).

Long O with open OW = (oon).

[These rhymes shew that the after-
sound of (u) had become faint, justifying 
itself entirely by the orthoepists of the 
xvth century. It is curious, how-
ever, to find that in the xixth century 
the (u) has reappeared, not merely 
where there was formerly (oon), but 
also where there was only (oo). It has 
no connection with either of the above 
sounds, having been merely evolved 
from (oo), which replaced both of them 
in the xviiith century. The changes 
of (e, oo) into (ei, ou) are local, be-
lieging only to the Southern or Lon-
don pronunciation of English, although 
widely spread in America, and ortho-
epis are not agreed as to their recep-
tion; the further evolution into (ei, ou), 
or nearly (oi, ou), is generally con-
demned. But orthoepists have a habit 
of condemning in one century the rising 
practice of the next.] 

Angelo grew MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 283).

owe Dromio CE 3, 1, 20 (99, 42) 
Go rhymes with know MM 3, 2, 86 
(82, 277); below H 3, 3, 10 (831', 
97); flow Cy 3, 5, 53 (961', 165) 
grow S 12, 10 (1032'); below VA 
923 (1011'); so too mow to T 4, 1, 
10 (15, 44). A writer in the Athe-
navum for 20 Aug. 1870, p. 253, pro-
tests to alter the last no into now, 
stating, among other reasons, that 
"now enjoys the advantage of rhym-
ing with noce, which it was meant 
to do." But now in this sense was 
(moon), according to Sir T. Smith, 
and all five lines are meant to rhyme 
together.

bow = aren's doe TC 3, 1, 68 (635', 126).

No rhymes with blow CE 3, 1, 31 (99, 
54); show AY 3, 2, 34 (216, 194).

So rhymes with crow CE 3, 1, 57 (99', 
87); P 4, Gower (990, 32); know 
CE 3, 2, 3 (100, 53); LL 1, 1, 11 
(185', 59); Oth 4, 3, 41 (906, 103); 
VA 1105 (1013); between H 4, 3, 36 
(147', 109); owe TN 5, 1, 118 
(286, 229); shew MN 3, 2, 82 (171, 
151), [hence probably Shakspeare 
said (shou) and not (shu); see 
Spenser's various uses, supra p. 871;] 
shew TS 5, 2, 32 (253', 158). (Shroe) 
is still heard, compare also the com-
mon pronunciation (Shrooz'bert) for 
Shrewsbury, and the rhymes: O's 
shews LL 5, 2, 23 (151, 45); shew 
tshew TS 4, 1, 67 (245, 223); shew 
crow RJ 1, 2, 26 (715', 91).

Vow rhymes with show LL 4, 3, 4 
(147', 36); flow H 4 prol. (592, 3); 
show H 1, 2, 15 (812', 83).
suppose shows P 5, 2, Gower (998, 5).

Rose rhymes with grows LL 1, 1, 24 
(136, 105); flows LL 4, 3, 4 (146', 
27); throws VA 580 (1006y).

snow foe VA 362 (1006y). 
foes overthrows RJ prol. (712, 5).
crows shews RJ 1, 5, 14 (718, 56).

Cleon grows P 4, Gower (990, 15).
more four MN 3, 2, 110 (175, 437); 
LL 4, 3, 62 (148', 210). 
four door VA 446 (1007).

foal bowl = emp MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 46), 
shoulder bolder LL 5, 2, 42 (152', 
107; poll = heed soul H 4, 5, 60, 
song (837', 196). These two in-
stances only apparently belong to 
this category, (u) being developed 
by (l) in bold, poll, unless we are to 
assume that Shakspeare did not de-
velop this (u), and also left out the 
(u) in shoulder, soul.
Long O = (oo) or open OW = (ouu) with close OU = (ou).

[Such rhymes are strongly opposed to the notion that Shakespeare recognized Palsgrave and Bullock's antiquated pronunciation of (ou) for (ou).] low cow MA 5, 4, 22 (153', 48). four hour LL 3, 2, 177 (155', 367).

Gill pronounces (four), and provincially four is frequently pronounced so as to rhyme with hour, as here.

bowl = emp owl LL 5, 2, 405 (160', 335). fowls controlls CE 2, 1, 8 (97', 18). souls fowls CE 2, 1, 8 (97', 22).

brow grow VA 159 (1004'). glow broll VA 357 (1006). growing bowing T 4, 1, 24 (15', 112). allowing growing WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 15). known town H* prol. (392, 29). coward froward VA 569 (1008'). toward coward VA 1157 (1013').

Rhymes in OVE.

Love rhymes with move CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 22); 4, 2, 9 (103', 13); MN 1, 1, 39 (163', 196); TX 3, 1, 66 (293, 175); H 2, 1, 37 (820, 118); PP [20], 15 (1056', 367); [20], 19 (1056', 371); remove RJ prol. (712, 9); S 116: 2 (1045); PP [18], 11 (1055', 255); prove LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 109); 4, 3, 88 (149', 282), TN 2, 4, 36 (289', 120); S 116, 13 (1045); 117, 13 (1045'); 153, 5 (1049'); 154, 13 (1049'); PP [20], 1 (1056, 335); reprove S 142, 2 (1048); approve S 147, 5 (1049); Jove LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 119); RL 568 (1019). grove MN 2, 1, 38 (166, 299); T 4, 1, 16 (15', 66); dove PT 50 (1037'); above AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 1). moreover lover LL 5, 2, 211 (156, 446). discover lover TG 2, 1, 91 (26, 173).

move prove R 3, 1, 1, 9 (356', 45).

Long O with long OO.

shoot do't LL 4, 1, 11 (145', 26). doing wooing TS 2, 1, 26 (237, 74).

do too Cy 5, 3, 10 (966', 61). to 't foot LL 5, 2, 50 (132', 145).

to 't foot Tim 1, 2, 15 (744', 71).

Woo rhymes with two MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 75); unto VA 307 (1006); LC 191 (1501); age RJ 3, 4, 4 (780, 8); know MN 3, 1, 1 (177', 159).

choose lose CE 4, 3, 27 (104', 96); MV 2, 9, 10 (191, 80).

propose lose H 3, 2, 61 (829, 204).

Come rhymes with tomb S 17, 1 (1033); doom S 116, 10 (1045); 145, 5 (1048'); roam TN 2, 3, 17 (287', 40); master-doom M 1, 1, 9 (791', 70).

moon bordone MN 5, 1, 101 (179', 379).

doth tooth TC 4, 5, 113 (646', 292).

look Bolingbroke R 3, 4, 23 (373, 98).

store poor LL 5, 2, 178 (155, 377); RJ 1, 1, 88 (714', 221).

Whore rhymes with more TC 4, 1, 19 (641, 65), 5, 2, 92 (649, 113); poor KL 2, 4, 19, song (859, 52).

do woe P 1, 1, 8 (978, 47).

no man, woman TG 3, 1, 18 (31, 104).

moon Biron LL 4, 3, 70 (148', 230).

OO.

Blood rhymes with good LL 2, 1, 58 (141, 186); MN 5, 1, 83 (178', 287); AW 2, 3, 47 (262, 102); H 6, 2, 5, 18 (479', 128); Tim 4, 2, 7 (755, 38); M 4, 1, 10 (501', 37); VA 1181 (1013'); RL 1028 (1023); S 109, 10 (1044); LC 162 (1051).

wood MN 3, 2, 13 (170, 74); stood VA 1121 (1013), 1169 (1013'); understood wood LC 198 (1051); wood = mad H 6, 4, 7, 5 (489, 35); wood VA 740 (1010).

Flood rhymes with wood VA 824 (1010'); stood PP 6, 13 (1033', 83).

Foot rhymes with boot H 6, 4, 489 (189, 52); root RL 664 (1020').

groom doom RL 671 (1020'). should could VA 385 (1006'). Compare Spenser's rhyme as (shoould), supra p. 571, and p. 968, under L.

Short O or OO with short U.

[See the puns depending on the identity of these sounds, supra p. 925.]

crum some KL 1, 4, 74, song (855', 217).

Come rhymes with some LL 5, 2, 381 (159', 839); sum S 49, 1 (1037); LC 230 (1052); dumb TG 2, 2, 9 (26', 20); drum H 4, 3, 3, 71 (400', 229); M 1, 3, 11 (789, 30); thumb LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 111); M 1, 3, 10 (789, 28).

tomb dumb MA 5, 3, 3 (152', 9); MN 5, 1, 96, Pyramus and Thisbe (179, 334); AW 2, 3, 57 (263, 146); RJ 1121 (1024'); SS 33, 10 (1041); 101, 9 (1043').

sun won LL 1, 1, 14 (136, 84).

done won sun M 1, 1, 2 (788, 4).

done sund Cy 4, 2, 38, song (965', 258).

VA 197 (1005).

begun done R 2, 1, 8 (558', 60).

mums sons VA 752 (1010).

under wonder VA 746 (1010).
wonder thunder LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 117).
good bud PP 13, 1 (1054', 169).
flood mud LC 44 (1050).
wolf gulf M 4, 1, 8 (801', 22).
trouble bubble M 4, 1, 5 (801', 10).

Short O rhyming as short U.
son done T 4, 1, 20 (15', 93); M 3, 5, 2
(800', 10).
noon son S 7, 13 (1032).
took provoke P 1, Gower (977, 25).
forage courage VA 554 (1008).

-ONG, with -OUNG, -UNG.

[The following list of words in -ong = (oq, uq), now (oq, un), shews with what laxity this termination was used for convenience, so that consonantal rhyme is constantly employed. See Spenser's rhymes, supra p. 870.]

Young rhymes with long LL 5, 2, 386
(105', 845); RJ 1, 1, 64 (714, 166);
RF 4, 5, 21 (735', 77); KL 1, 4, 76,
song (853', 235); 5, 3, 124 (878',
325); PP 12, 10 (1054, 166);
strong VA 419 (1007); RL 863
(1022); belong AW 1, 3, 35 (258,
134).

Tongue rhymes with belong LL 5, 2,
181 (155, 381); 4, 3, 71 (148', 238);
long 5, 2, 117 (153', 242); MN 5,
1, 105 (180', 440); TS 4, 2, 25 (245',
57); wrong MA 5, 3, 3 (133', 1);
LL 1, 1, 39 (156', 167); 4, 2, 34
(146, 121); MN 2, 2, 2 (166', 9);
2 II ind. (409', 39); VA 217 (1005),
329 (1006); 427 (1007); 1003
(1012); RL 78 (1015); S 89, 9
(1042); strong KL 3, 2, 14 (863,
87); strong MM 3, 2, 65 (81, 198);
song LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 403); VA
775 (1010); S 17, 10 (1033); stung
MN 3, 2, 12 (170, 72).
sung among KL 1, 4, 70, song (853', 192),
belong among strong LC 254 (1052),
along sung VA 1034 (1013).

Long U, UE, EW, IEW, and YOU.

[The following examples shew, that whatever was the pronunciation, Shakspere found these rhymes sufficiently good for his purposes. According to Gill, he must have rhymed (yy, eu, iun). The modern pronunciations are (iu, u, iun) in various words, and are generally held to rhyme. But the rhymes in Shakspere can no more justify us in supposing that he pronounced them identically, than the universal custom of German poets in rhyming o, u, eu with e, i, ei, would admit of us supposing that they would endure the former vowels, received as (ee e, yy y, ay oy oi), to be reduced to the second, which are received as (ee e, ii i, ai). This is a most instructive example, because this custom of rhyming is universal among German poets. The corresponding pronunciation is extremely common, and it is as much shunned by all who have any pretence to orthoepical knowledge, as the omission or insertion of the aspirate in English speech. We may, therefore, well understand Shakspere using rhymes and making puns due to a perhaps widely spread pronunciation, while he would, as manager, have well "wagged" an actor who ventured to employ them on the stage in serious speech,—a fate impending on any German actor who should "assist" his author's rhymes by venturing to utter o as (ee), u as (ii), or eu as (ai).]

You rhymes with adieu LL 1, 1, 25
(136, 119); 2, 1, 83 (141, 213); 5,
2, 116 (153', 240); MN 1, 4, 48
(163, 224); II', 4, 4, 21 (485, 45),
VA 535 (1008); S 57, 6 (1038),
new CE 3, 2, 2 (100, 37); S 8, 13
(1033); grew S 84, 2 (1041); view
LL 4, 3, 40 (148, 175); true T epil.
(29', 3); S 85, 9 (1041'); 118, 13
(1045); true sue LL 5, 2, 197 (155',
426); untrue LL 5, 2, 217 (156,
472); view true new MV 3, 2, 14
(193', 132).

True rhymes with adieu MA 3, 1, 26
(121, 107); RJ 2, 2, 32 (726', 139);
Montague RJ 3, 1, 54 (726', 153),
view RL 454 (1018'); new S 68, 10
(1039'); grew LC 169 (1051');
subdue LC 246 (1052),
viewing ensuing VA 1076 (1013).
blue knew RL 407 (1018).
hue Jew MN 3, 1, 32 (168', 97),
beauty duty RL 13 (1014'); VA 167
(1004).
excuses abuses sluices RL 1073 (1024).
pollute fruit RL 1063 (1024).
suit mute LL 5, 2, 138 (154, 275);
VA 205 (1005); 335 (1006).
suitor tutor TG 2, 1, 73 (25', 143);
KL 3, 2, 14 (863, 83).
youth ruth PP 9, 9 (1054, 125); S 37, 2 (1035).

Long U with Long OO.
[These examples, though few in number, are instructive. There can be no question that the first two are not rhymes, and that if the third do you is a rhyme, the common you adieu in the last line, is not.]
suing wooing VA 356 (1006').
lose it, abuse it H# 4, 5, 13 (488, 40).
do you M 3, 5, 2 (800', 12).

Long I with EYE and AY.
Eye rhymes with by LL 1, 1, 14 (136, 81); VA 281 (1003') ay LL 2, 1, 60
(141, 188); buy LL 2, 1, 101 (141', 242); I LL 4, 3, 41 (148, 183);
why TS 1, 1, 16 (232', 79); die RJ 1,
2, 7 (715, 50); lie RJ 1, 3, 23
(716', 85).
Eyne rhymes with shine LL 5, 2, 82
(158, 203); mine TS 5, 1, 56 (250',
120); vine AC 2, 7, 66, song (924,
120).
die ay R# 3, 3, 21 (372, 175).
fly perdy KL 2, 4, 27, song (859, 84).

OY with UI, and long I.
noise boys CE 3, 1, 39 (99, 61).
oyes=oyez toys MW 5, 5, 12 (65, 45),
in ludicrous rhymes.
moi Fr. destroy R# 5, 3, 39 (375', 119).
joy destroy H 3, 2, 61 (829, 206).
voice juice VA 134 (1004'). This
rhyme is somewhat obscure. But
Hodges, 1643, gives juice and joice,
meaning joist, as in sound; he probably said (dzhais), a pronunciation
still common among carpenters.
swine groin VA 1115 (1013). Here
possibly (grain) may have been said.

Close OU (ou),
with especial reference to the word
wound, called (wound) by Smith, and
(wound), in accordance with the present
general use, by Gill, who gives (waund),
or perhaps (wound), as a Northern pronuciation.

Wound rhymes with ground MN 2, 2,
18 (167', 100); R# 3, 2, 18 (369',
139); RL 1199 (1023); confound
MN 5, 1, 86 (179, 300); TC 3, 1,
68 (635', 128); found RJ 2, 1, 10,
and 2, 2, 1 (719', 42 and 1); sound
RJ 4, 5, 40 (736, 128); P 4, Gower
(990, 23); bound VA 265 (1005');
round VA 368 (1006'); bound VA
913 (1011').

Swounds wounds RL 1486 (1027).
profound ground M 3, 5, 2 (800', 24).
crown lown Oth 2, 3, 31, song (889, 93).

GH with F.
Maceduff enough M 5, 8, 9 (800', 33).
laugh draft MW 4, 2, 41 (60, 104).
laugh staff CE 3, 1, 26 (99, 56).
hereafter laughter TN 2, 3, 20 (287', 48).
after daughter TS 1, 1, 59 (253, 244).
This may be meant as ludicrous.
daughter with WT 4, 1, 1 (317, 27).
In the speech of Time, as chorus.
cought her, daughter, slaughter, halter,
after KL 1, 4, 101 (834', 340). In a
Song of the Fool. These last three
erimes are very remarkable, es-
pecially the last, including the word
halter. When this rhyme occurs in
modern ludicrous verse it is usual to
say (aa-ti) daa-ti. Whether any
such ludicrous pronunciation then
prevailed is not clear, but (-AA-ti-
ner) would save every case, as halter
might well sink to (hAA-ti).

Oft nought PP 19, 41 (1056, 339).
Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth, says that
he has heard higher lower pronoun-
ced in that neighbourhood as (hai-fa
loof)-a, and that (thaft, self) are
common in Devonshire for thought,
sigh. See p. 212.

GH written as TH.
mouth drouth P 3, Gower (986', 7);
VA 542 (1008). See Jones's pro-
nunciation, supra p. 212.

GH mute.
[This is entirely comparable to the
disregard of (u) in the rhymes (ou, ou),
supra p. 961, col. 1. It by no means
proves that the gh (khi) was not still lightly touched.
The sound was con-
fessedly gentle, and not so harsh as the
Welsh ch, supra pp. 210, 779.
But it favours Gill's (rookht), etc., for
Salesbury's (rikht).]

Light rhymes with bite R# 1, 3, 57
(361, 292); white VA 1051 (1012');
spite VA 1153 (1013'); smite RL
176 (1016).

Right rhymes with appetite RL 545
(1019'); spite H 1, 5, 64 (819, 188);
CE 4, 2, 2 (102', 7).
might rite MA 5, 3, 5 (132', 21).

Night rhymes with quite Oth 5, 1, 78
(906', 128); despite VA 731 (1009).

spite knight MN 5, 1, 83 (178', 281).

Delight rhymes with quite LL 1, 1, 13
(135', 70); white LL 5, 2, 404 (160,
905); spire M 4, 1, 42 (802', 127).

sight white VA 1166 (1013).

sleights sprits M 3, 5, 2 (800', 26).

Nigh rhymes with try CE 2, 1, 16 (96',
42); immediately MN 2, 2, 24 (167',
155); sky AY 2, 7, 36 (215, 184);
fly Oth 2, 1, 57 (887, 153); eye VA
341 (1006).

high rhymes with eye AW 1, 1, 62
(256, 235); dry VA 551 (1008).

**Effect of R. final.**

**EAR, -ERE.**

[These seem to have been in a transitional state between (iir) and (eer),
p. 51, probably for this reason the rhymes are rather confused. But the
general pronunciation was evidently (eer).]

Ear rhymes with there R² 5, 3, 40
(379', 125); PP 19, 26 (1056, 324);
dear RJ 1, 5, 14 (718, 48); hair
VA 145 (1004'); tear s. RL 1126
(1024'); bear hear RL 1327 (1026);
swear bear RL 1418 (1027); bear
S 8, 6 (1032).

Hear rhymes with chasteicler T 1, 2,
101 (5', 384); swear LL 4, 3, 36
(148, 143); tear Fear LL 4, 3, 55
(148', 200); hear MN 2, 2, 24 (167',
153); bear Oth 1, 3, 46 (884, 212);
VA 428 (1007); tear v. bear RL
667 (1020'); cheer PP [21], 21
(1056', 393).

Here rhymes with were CE 4, 2, 4
(102', 9); swear ear LL 4, 1, 23
(144, 57); ear appear LL 4, 3, 4
(147, 44); there 4, 3, 45 (148,
189); MV 2, 7, 5 (190, 61); dear
LL 4, 3, 82 (149, 274); swear LL
5, 2, 173 (155, 357); wear MN 2,
2, 13 (167, 70); swear R² 1, 1, 24
(357', 170); tear s. H².prof. (592,
5); bear TC 3, 2, 54 (637, 219);
where RJ 1, 1, 80 (714, 203); bier
RJ 3, 2, 9 (727', 59); clear M 5, 3,
20 (807', 61); dear VA 229 (1005);
bear dear RL 1290 (1026).

There rhymes with bear T 1, 2, 99
(5', 381); near MN 2, 2, 23 (167,
135); § S 136, 1 (1047'); spear VA
1112 (1013); RL 1422 (1027); ap-
pear fear RL 114 (1015'); tear v.
fear RL 737 (1021); tear s. RL 1373 (1026).

Where rhymes with sphere MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 6); clear S 84, 10 (1041); secure CE 4, 2, 13 (103, 19); near S 61, 13 (1038); were beer Oth 2, 1, 57 (887, 159).

Wear rhymes with dear LL 5, 2, 45 (152, 130); dear AX 4, 2, 6 (223, 11); bear VA 163 (1004); year 506 (1007); fear 1051 (1013); bear S 77, 1 (1040).

Year rhymes with peer WT 4, 3, 1 (318, 1); R² 1, 3, 18 (359, 93); cheer there 2H² 5, 3, 6 (435, 18); dear KL 3, 4, 34 (864, 144); wear KL 1, 4, 68, song (853, 181); forbear VA 624 (1008).

Dear rhymes with wear wear WT 4, 4, 92 (322, 324); peer R² 5, 5, 3 (380, 67); there S 110, 1 (1044); year KJ 1, 1, 38 (333, 152).

Tear s. rhymes with hair CE 3, 2, 2 (100', 46); VA 49 (1003); 191 (1005); her MN 2, 2, 18 (167, 92); wear LC 280 (1052).

Appear rhymes with bear CE 3, 1, 4 (98', 15); TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 320); bear hair near MN 2, 2, 4 (166', 30); here MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 73); R² 5, 6, 2 (381', 9); there KL 1, 4, 62, song (853, 159); wears P 5, 3, Gower (999, 93); tear s. VA 1175 (1013); fear RL 456 (1018); 1434 (1027); were 651 (1020); pioneer 1356 (1026); where S 102, 2 (1043); wear dear LC 93 (1050).

Fear rhymes with there MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 30); 3, 2, 2 (170, 31); H 3, 2, 56 (828, 181); VA 320 (1006); RL 307 (1017); swear TN 5, 1, 61 (301', 173); H² 4, 5, 6 (488, 28); PP 7, 8 (1053', 92); bear M 3, 5, 2 (800', 30); RL 610 (1029); near H 1, 3, 5 (815', 43); forbear AC 1, 3, 8 (914, 11); clear P 1, 1, 15 (978, 141); ear VA 659 (1009); RL 307 (1017); dear VA 689 (1009); severe VA 993 (1012); 1153 (1013); hear cheer RL 261 (1017); there swear 1647 (1029).

Bear rhymes with severe MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 275); fear MN 2, 2, 18 (167, 94); bear MN 5, 1, 2 (176, 21); near Cy 4, 2, 102, song (966, 278); tear e. P 4, 4, Gower (993, 29); hair tear RL 1129 (1024); were S 13, 6 (1032'); there S 41, 9 (1036).

clear sphere MN 3, 2, 9 (170, 60); swears hairs P 4, 4, Gower (993, 27); pierce rehearsal R² 5, 3, 40 (379, 127).
fierce = fearce in quartos H 1, 1, 50 (812, 121).
weary merry T 4, 1, 29 (16, 135).
herd 'beard S 12, 6 (1032). This favours J. P. Kemble's pronunciation of beard as bird, supra p. 82, I. 13 and note, and p. 20.
heard beard LL 2, 1, 74 (141, 202). This is not so favourable to Kemble as the last, because heard was often hard, supra pp. 20, 964.

AIR.
despair prayer T epit. (20', 15).
prayer fair RL 344 (1017). As we have fully recognized prayer as a dissyllable, supra p. 951, we must apparently make r syllabic in despair and fair.

IR.
first worst TS 1, 2, 6 (234, 13).
curst first VA 887 (1011).
first accurst VA 1118 (1013).
et earth birth MW 5, 5, 17 (65, 84).
birds herds VA 455 (1007).
stir spur VA 283 (1005'); stir, quartos.
stir incur RL 1471 (1027).

IRE.
aspire higher MW 5, 5, 25 (65', 101).
briar fire MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 3).
fires liars RJ 1, 2, 27 (715', 94).
aspire higher P 1, 4, 2 (980', 5).
relier retire RL 639 (1020).

In all these the r is evidently syllabic, p. 951.

ORE, OR.
before door MV, 1, 2, 29 (183', 146).
abhor thee, adore thee PP 12, 9 (1054', 165).
court sport LL 4, 1, 29 (144', 100).
short sport H² 1, 3, 54 (387, 301).
forsworn born LL 1, 1, 38 (136, 150).
form storm KL 2, 4, 27, song (859, 80); LC 99 (1050).

force horse S 91, 2 (1042).
accust worst TG 5, 4, 18 (40, 71).
Turk work Oth 2, 1, 40 (886, 115).
forth worth AW 3, 4, 2 (267', 13):
H 4, 4, 17 (855', 65); VA 416 (1007); S 38, 9 (1035'); S 72, 13 (1040); S 103, 1 (1043).

Word rhymes with Ford MW 5, 5, 76 (66', 268); afford CE 3, 1, 8 (98', 24); S 105, 10 (1044); 79, 9 (1040); 83, 5 (1041); board CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 18); LL 2, 1, 85 (141, 215); lord
LL 4, 1, 30 (144', 102); MN 2, 2, 24 (167', 151): P 2, Gower (981',
OUR.

hours flowers LL 4, 3, 99 (150, 379).
power hour Tim 3, 1, 15 (749', 65).
flower devour RL 1254 (1025). These
are evidently cases of syllabic r,
supra p. 951.

Mr. Richard Grant White's Elizabethan Pronunciation.

The following is an abstract of Mr. White's Memorandums on English Pronunciation in the Elizabethan Era, which forms an appendix to the 12th Vol. of his Shakespeare, supra p. 918, n. 1. Passages in inverted commas are nearly in the words of the original; those in brackets, and all palaeotypic symbols, are additions.

A.

A was generally (ee) as in ale, make, tane; sometimes (a) as in ave, saw, fall; the Italian (aa) and short (e) are rarely indicated.

A final was almost always (ee). This is shown by the rhymes: say Seneca, Drayton's Elegies, 1627, p. 197; Remora delay, Pastor Fido, 1647, p. 215; from height of Idey = Ida, Genova's Tav Tragedies, 1581, fol. 115. [See supra p. 912, under AI. In a note on MV 3, 1, 23 (192, 84), Mr. White observes that both folios and quartos spell Genova or Genewa, and thinks this indicates the pronunciation Geno'a or Geno'ay, a position of the accent now common among the illiterates. But if we remember that the Italian is Genova, we may suppose Gen-o-wa to have been intended, or apply the suggestion, supra p. 133, note. According to the Cambridge editors, the quartos and first three folios have Genowa, and the fourth Genova, a mistake for Genova. None end the word with ay. He adds: ] "I am convinced that the final a of proper names had then almost always the pure sound of the vowel; and the more, because such a pronunciation still pervades New England, where even the best-educated men, who have not had the advantage of early and frequent intercourse with the most polite society of Boston and the other principal cities, say, for instance, Carolinay for Carolina, Augastay for Augusta, and even Savannay for Savannah—the last syllable being rather lightly touched, but being still unmistakably ay (ee) instead of ah (aa). If told of this, they would probably be surprised, and perhaps deny it; but it is true; and the pronunciation, although somewhat homely, is merely a

remnant of Shakespearian English." [Say rather of English of the xvith century, and that peculiar, if we may trust orthoepists at all. Compare the observations on German e final, supra p. 119, note, col. 2.]

In angel, stranger, danger, manger, a = (ee) or (λ), shown by the co-existence of the spellings an, aun [no instance of auangel is cited].

In master, plaster, father, a = (ee). In Pastor Fido, v. 6, p. 202, ed. 1647, we find the rhyme: father either. Also in have, a = (ee). "He [the painter West] also pronounced some of his words, in reading, with a puritanical barbarism, such as have for have," Leigh Hunt's Autobiography, p. 85, ed. 1860. "My mother, who both read and spoke remarkably well, would say have and shaul (for shall) when she sang her hymns." Ibid. [Both xvITH century sounds, (neer) being the late form of (neew). The modern (new) shortened the vowel, without altering its quality. We have (feeth-a) now as a provincialism, see supra p. 760, n. 8.]

CH

had more frequently than now the sound k. [The instances cited—beseeke, belk, stinch, roches, for beseech, belch, stink, rocks—are only cases of old k not changed into (tsa). The ch can hardly be supposed to represent k; yet Mr. White observes that chaste is cast in the first and second folios of WT 3, 2, 19 (315, 133), which might have been a misprint, and suggests that we should read, "he hath bought a pair of chaste lips of Diana, for "cast lips," in AY 3, 4, 10 (219', 16), which would spoil the joke of comparing Dian's lips to cast-off clothes. It cannot be supposed that there was any
variation between (ish) and (k) in this and similar words. In LL 5, 1, 10 (160', 35), he supposes shirrah to represent shirrah.]  

E.

The -ed was "rigorously pronounced," unless the contraction was indicated. Thus purpled, shuffled, were purp-l-ed, shuff-l-ed. [See supra p. 952.]

EA.

Generally ea = ee. [Here Mr. White recalls a handy opinion that ea = (ii), made in a note on LL 4, 1, 60 (145, 148), on finding that Mr. Collier's folio supplied declare as a rhyme to swear in that passage, thus:

To see him kiss his hand! and how most sweetly 'a will swear.

Looking babies in her eyes, his passion to declare.

But in thread, instead, ea was (ii), as inferred from the very frequent misspellings thread, thred, instead, instedc. [The inference is unsafe, because the spelling ea was not well fixed, see supra p. 77.]

In heart, heard, earth, earth, hearth, ea appears to have had "the broad sound of a," this "broad sound" should mean (AA), but (aa) is probably intended, as he spells hart, hard, arth, etc. "The first and last are still preserved, and the others linger among the uncultivated. But heard and earth were conformed to analogy by some speakers and writers, and pronounced heard and airth; and this usage is not yet extinct in New England. Beard appears to have had four sounds, beord (rarely), baerd (the most usual), hard and bard—the sound of the same letters in heard at this day." In creatures, e—a were two sounds [supra p. 947]. See the rhyme: began ocean, Milton's Hymn on the Nativity, st. 5, and: ocean run; Browne's Pastoral, 1, 25, ed. 1772. [See: ocean sound, super p. 934, col. 1, and: physician incision, supra p. 949, col. 2.] Ea was short (e) in leap'd, heart.'

Eau.

[In a note on H4 1, 2, 7 (383', 28), Mr. White conceives that "squires of the night's body" and "thieves of the day's beauty," contained a pun on body, beauty, by giving the latter its modern French sound béauté. But eau in the English pronunciation of that time was not the French, as we have seen, supra p. 138, and the French sound of that time was not the modern one, supra p. 822 and p. 922.]

EI.

was probably always (ee).

EW.

was often (oo), as it is now in show, stress, as shown by rhymes, and spelling shrow = shrew, Albion's England, 1602, p. 41; tow = tow, Is. p. 144; showers = showers, Isb. p. 193, [supra p. 960, col. 2, under the rhymes to So.] But evw was also (uu), "and even show, the preterite, had that pronunciation, which it still preserves in New England." In sue, rue, true, Louis, ew was "very commonly used" for (uu).

GH.

was more frequently (y) than at present. Compare the rhymes: daughter after, Pastor Fido, 1647, p. 150, Rowena and Juliet, ed. Collier, p. 65; taught soft, Browne's Pastorals, 1, 68; and the spelling: daughter = daughter, Lilly's Galathea, act 1, sc. 4. But gh was also silent. The following rhymes are cited from Collier, Coleridge, and Shakespeare, 1860: oft naught, Passionate Pilgrim; taught aloft, Surrey's Forsaken Lover; shaft caught, Chapman's Hero and Leander; aloft thought, Chapman's Hesiod; after manslaughter, Barclay's Ecologe II. [See Shakspere's rhymes, supra p. 963, col. 2.]

H.

Probably more often dropped than at present.

I.

had the sound (ii) in monosyllables and many other places, as shown by the misspellings in the folio 1623: the world to weet (= wit) AC 1, 1, 11 (911', 39); splents (= splits) what it speaks AC 2, 7, 67 (924, 129); the breeze (= brize) upon her AC 3, 10, 6 (928', 14); a kind of weke (= wick) or snuffe II 4, 7, 29 (535, 119), quarto 1604; At whose abuse our flying (= fleeting) world can winke, Churchyard's Charity, 1555; Both neither church, quer (=quire, choir), court, nor country spare, Ibid; In David's Psalms true mitre (= metre) flows, Churchyard's Praise of Poetry, 1595. The spelling sprecht for spirit, sprite, or spright, is very common. "Which the High goat (= he-goat) as one
seeing, yet reserving revenge, etc." Braithwaite's Survey of History, 1638, p. 342. [See Wheeson, supra p. 930.]

IE was generally (ii), but pierce, fierce, were "very generally pronounced purse and firse" [meaning (p's, f's), or (peas, feas), but the xvith century sounds were professedly, (pers, fers)].

L was more often silent than now, as shewn by the spellings fautes = faults, haughty = haughty, Ralph, Rafe = Ralph; but was heard in could, should, would, down to past the middle of xvith century. [In a note on LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 22), Mr. White mentions that l in could, would, is heard in the old pronunciation of the eastern United States, see supra p. 871, col. 2, and p. 961, col. 2, under OO.] The spelling jelious (Albion's England, c. 84, p. 349, ed. 1606) may indicate the sound still retained in rebellions, stallion.

O, OA.

There was great irregularity in the spelling. "Some well-educated old-country folk (Mrs. Kemble for instance) pronounce toad with a broad dissyllabic utterance of both vowels, the first long, the second short—t-o-ud. The same pronunciation obtains in a less degree with regard to throat, road, load, and other like words." But Shakspere used "the simple sound of o" [meaning perhaps oo], but see supra p. 94. One was the same as oen. The modern prefixed w is like the Dorsetshire what, wold, schome, dwont, pint, ewot = hot, old, home, don't, point, coot.

OI was simple i in join, point, boil, etc., down to Pope's time, supra p. 134.

OO.

Early in the Elizabethan era oo expressed "those sounds of u—as in cud and blood, intrude and brood—for which it now stands," that is (a, uu?). The use of o-e, was meant perhaps to indicate the old sound (oo). "Although we often find room spelled rone, we never find Rome spelled Room, or either word rume or rum." The sound (Ruum) was one "of the many affectations" of the xvith th century. Moon, frequently spelled mone, rhymes with

Birrorn LL 4, 3, 70 (148', 230), and probably had the long o sound. [In a note on the passage, he repudiates the notion that Birrorn should be read (Birnon), apparently because the name here rhymes with moon, or because Mr. C. J. Fox said Toulon in the House of Commons; but see supra p. 961. In a note on MN 5, 1, 28 (177', 139), the rhyme: know woo, makes him suppose that woo and woe had the same sound. But see rhymes to woe, supra p. 961, and Salesbury, p. 785. And on KJ 5, 7, 1 (354', 2), reading 'poor brain,' instead of 'pure brain,' he observes: "The original has pore, the commonest spelling of 'poor' in the folio, and in other books of the time, representing the old pronunciation of that word, which is still preserved in some parts of the United States." The Cambridge editors say that in all the copies known to them the reading is pure, and not pore.]

OU had either the sound (ou) or (uu).

QU was (k) in *banquet, quality, quantity, *guay, quern, quintain, *quoff, quod, *quoit, *quote, and perhaps quart, and quit. [Those words marked * are still frequently so pronounced.] LL 5, 2, 142 (154, 279), perhaps contained the pun qualm, calm; as also 2 H 2, 4,11 (419, 40), where the Hostess has calm, meaning qualm, and Falstaff takes the word as calm. [Price, 1668, gives "calm sudden fit, calm still quiet," among his list of differences between words of like sound.]

S "before a vowel had often the sound of sh, as it has now in sugar and sure. Such was its sound in sue, suit, and its compounds, and I believe in super and its compounds, and in supine and supreme. Sever was pronounced shore in the Elizabethan era. Hence, too, shekels was spelled sickels" in the fo. MM 2, 2, 64 (74', 149). [The Cambridge editors quote from Notes and Queries, vol. 5, p. 325, the observation that shekels is spelled sickles in Wye-liffe's Bible. This is not an instance of s and sh interchanging in sound, but of different transcriptions of a Hebrew word (shek'el) which Jerome Latinized into siclus, of course the im-
mediate origin of Wycliffe’s spelling, and hence probably of the folio reading. Referring to LL 4, 1, 37 (144', 109), see supra p. 215, note, he says that in LL 3, 1, 77 (143, 191), she is printed shue. It is not so in the fo. 1623, and the Cambridge editors do not note the form.]

**TH**

probably more frequently had the sound of (t) than at present. Compare the common spellings: nostrils nosethrills, apotocary apothecary, authority authority, t’one the one, t’other the other [t’one, t’other, are thought to have been that one, that other = ’t one ’t other], trill thrill, swarty swarthy, fift fifth, eighth eighth [the last three are quite modern spellings and sounds], Satan Satan, stalwart stalwart, quot quote, quod, quoth. Less usual examples: what’s this, twice in Wyt and Science, Shak. Soc. ed. p. 21 [compare the change of ð to t after d, t in Ormirn, supra p. 490, l. 22, and p. 444, n. 2, but here tys may be simply a misprint]; a pythous piteous crye, Robert the Dervyl, p. 6; in golden trone throne, Seneca’s Ten Tragedies, 1581, p. 124 [compare Salesbury, supra p. 760, n. 3]; th’ one autentique autentique, Daniel’s Rosamond, 1599, sig. Ce 2; dept depth of art, Browne’s Pastorals, 2, 52; Be as cauterizing cauterizing, Tim 5, 1, 48 (761’, 136), ed. 1623 [it is really misprinted as a Cauterizing in that folio, the other three folios read as a cauterizing, cauterizing was Pope’s conjecture, other editors read carcerizing, the instance is therefore worthless]; the Thuskan Tuscan poet, Drayton’s Nymphidia, 1627, p. 120; with amanists amanists, Arendia, 1605, p. 143; call you this gamouth gamut, four times, TS 3, 1, 24 (240’, 71), ed. 1625 [the other folios have gamout, the derivation is obscure]. Observe the interchange of t, th, in Japhet, Batsba, Hithite, Galathians, Loth, Pathmos, Swetnen, Goteham, Gates, Athalanta, Protheus, Antony, Anthenor, “throughout our early literature.” See also in Sir Balthazar Gerbier’s Interpreter of the Academie for Foreign Languages and all Noble Sciences and Exercises, 1648, 4to., where the writer, a Fleming, whose “associations were with the highest-bred English people of his day, . . . intended to ex-

press with great particularity the English pronunciation of the day, and it specially became him to give the best.” Thus he spells leftenant, Nassow. “In this singular book, which is printed with remarkable accuracy, we find words spelled with th in which we know there was only the sound of t, and, what is of equal importance, words written with t which were then, as now, according to received usage, spelled with th, and which have been hitherto supposed to have been pronounced with the ð (th) sound.” The examples are With Sundays = Whit Sundays, may seth = set, will teach = teach, strencht = strength, yought = youth, anathomie = anatomy, fourthy = forty, seventhy = seventy, seventheon = seventeen, dept = depth, height, height, sight, sighted = sight, sighted, rethorike = rhetoric, brought = broth, the French is potage.

To this refer the puns “that most capricious [putting on coper = a goat] poet Ovid among the Goths,” AY 3, 3, 3 (218', 9); and “Note, notes, forsooth, and nothing,” MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 59). Compare “no hearing, no feeling, but my sir’s song, and admiring the nothing of it,” WT 4, 4, 161(324', 625). Let the reader “discover if he can what this means, if nothing was not pronounced nothing. Let him explain too, if he can, the following passage (which no one has hitherto attempted to explain), ‘Armado.—But to have a love of that colour, methinks Samson had small reason for it. He surely affected her for her wit. Moth.—It was so, sir, for she had a green wit.’ LL 1, 2, 51 (138’, 91), except on the theory that the th was pronounced as t, and that the Page puns, and alludes to the green withes which Dalilah vainly used as bonds for Samson. And here compare Gerbier’s [here mis-spelled Bergier’s in the original work] spelling With-Sundays,' and conversely the frequent spelling of the preposition ‘with’ wit in writings of an earlier date.” Notice d for th, and conversely, in murder, further, fathom, hundred, tether, quoth. “I believe that in the Elizabethan era, and, measurably, down to the middle of the seventeenth century, d, th, and t, were indiscriminately used to express a hardened and perhaps not uniform modification of the Anglo-Saxon ð, a sound like which we now hear in the French pronunciation of.
meurtre, and which has survived, with other pronunciations of the same period, in the Irish pronunciations of murder, further, after, water, in all of which the sound is neither d, th, nor t." [He alludes to the very dental t, d = (tʰ, dʰ) common on the Continent, still heard in some combinations in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and the Peak of Derbyshire, and probably much more widely; the Irish seems to be complicated with a post-aspiration (tʰə, dʰə). In Yorkshire water is sometimes (waːtər) and almost (waːtər) and Southerners, in trying to imitate it, call it (waːθə). In the following notes, Mr. White pursues this subject further.] LL 1, 2, enter Moth (137). "I have not the least doubt that the name of Armado's Page is not Moth, but Mote—a congruent epitheton [LL 1, 2, 9 (138, 14)] to one whose extremely diminutive person is frequently alluded to in the play by phrases which seem applicable only to Tom Thumb. That 'mote' was spelled moth we have evidence twice in one line of this play [LL 4, 3, 39 (148, 161), which stands in the original [in the quartos and folios]: 'You found his Moth, the King your Moth did see;' also in the following from KJ 4, 1, 29 (346, 92): 'O heaven, that there were but a moth in yours;' and, in fact, in every case in which the word appears in the first folio, as well as in all the quartos. Wilcliff wrote in Matthew vi.: 'were rust and mought distrayeth' [in Forshall and Madden's ed., Matt. vi. 19, older version, 'wher rust and mouthe distrueythe,' later version, 'where ruste and mouthe destrieth,' where we have the very same diversity of th and t]. Indeed, it seems far from improbable that the two words were originally one, and that 'mote' is not, as Richardson supposes, from 'mite.' For both 'mite' and 'mot[e]' are found in Anglo-Saxon, in which language 'moth' is wæcge [waːtə, moθe], or moðe, according to Eittmüller, p. 222, who refers the word to the root mʊgan, mʊhan, to be able, to cover, to heap up; this accounts for the ə so often found in old writings, and the two sounds (mʊt, mʊth) are similar to the two sounds (draːt, drəθ), see supra p. 963; mite, ags. mite, from mətan, to eat; mote, ags. mot, is of very uncertain origin]. But whether the name is Moth or Mote, it is plain that the pronunciation was mote." In a note on the fairy's name, Moth, MN 3, 1, 49 (169, 165), Mr. White notes that the Moth of the old editions means mote, and quotes from Withal's Shorte Dictionarie for Young Beginners, London, 4to., 1668. "A moth or motte that cateth clothes, tinea. A barella or great bollc, Tina, nsc. Sed tinea, cum e, venereal est, anglicè, A mought;" and from Lodge's Wits Misere, or the World's Madness, "They are in the aire like atoms in sole, mothes in the sun." On TS 2, 1, 16 (237, 43), he remarks that 'Katharina,' had the th sounded as t, as shown by the abbreviation Kate. [So also Jones, supra p. 219.] On pother, KL 3, 2, 9 (862, 50), he remarks: "This word was spelled pouwer, pother, podther, and pudder. In the first three cases it seems to have been pronounced with the th hard; and I believe it to be no more nor less than the word 'potter,' which is used in this, but not, I believe, in the mother country." [But the modern (pad'-ə) favours an old (pud'-ər), which, with the interchange of (d) and (dh), explains everything.] Bermoothes, T 1, 2, 53 (4, 229), is the same as Bermudas. In the introduction to MA, vol. 3, p. 227, Mr. White very ingeniously shows that if we read Nothing as Noting, the title becomes intelligible, "for the much ado is produced entirely by noting. It begins with the noting of the Prince and Claudio, first by Antonio's man [overheard MA 1, 2, 4 (113, 9), and then by Borachio, who reveals their conference to John [heard MA 1, 3, 19 (114, 64)]; it goes on with Benedick noting the Prince, Leonato, and Claudio in the garden [the fowl sits MA 2, 3, 26 (119, 95)]; and again with Beatrice noting Margaret and Ursula in the same place [Beatrice runs to hear MA 3, 1, 3 (120, 25)]; the incident upon which its action turns is the noting of Borachio's interview with Margaret by the Prince and Claudio [see me MA 2, 2, 14 (118, 43); you shall see MA 3, 2, 51 (122, 116); saw MA 3, 3, 57 (123, 160); did see MA 4, 1, 41 (126, 91)]; and finally the incident which unravels the plot is the noting of Borachio and Conrad by the Watch [act 3, sc. 3]. That this sense, 'to observe,' 'to watch,' was one in which 'note' was commonly used, it is quite needless to shew by reference to the literature and lexicographers of Shake-
Shakespeare’s day; it is hardly obsolete; and even of the many instances in Shakespeare’s works, I will quote only one, “slink by and note him,” from Ay 3, 2, 77 (217, 267).” [Compare also LL 3, 1, 6 (142, 25), “make them men of note—do you note me?” Mr. White then quotes the assonance, which he regards as a rhyme: doting nothing § 20.10 (1038), see supra p. 955].

[The whole of this ingenious dissertation apparently arose from the passage:—

“Balthazar. Note this before my notes;
There’s not a note of mine that’s worth the noting.
D. Pedro. Why, these are very crotchets that he speaks;
Note, notes, forsooth, and nothing.”—
MA 2, 3, 15 (118*, 57).

This is the reading of the Quarto and Folios, for which Theobald proposed noting, a correction which seems indubitable. Nothing is given as (nōtĥ-i̲q) with a short vowel, the precursor of our (nōtĥ-i̲q), by both Bullokar and Gill, and although the shortness of the vowel did not stand in the way of Shakspere’s assonance, just quoted, nor would have stood in the way of such distant allusions as those among which it is classed, supra p. 922, yet it is opposed to its confusion with (noot̂-i̲q). Still I have heard a Russian call nothing (noot̂-i̲q), with the identical (oo) in place of (oo) as well as (t) for (th). Acting upon this presumed pun, noting, nothing, Mr. White inquires whether the title of the play may not have been really “Much ado about nothing,” and seeks to establish this by a wonderfully proasic summary of instances, all the while forgetting the antithesis of much and nothing, on which the title is founded, with an allusion to the great confusion occasioned by a slight mistake—of Ursula for Hero—which was a mere nothing in itself. The Germans in translating it, viel Lärm um Nichts, certainly never felt Mr. White’s difficulty. It seems more reasonable to conclude that in MA 2, 3, 16 (118*, 59), and WT 4, 4, 164 (324*, 625), nothing was originally a misprint for noting, which was followed by subsequent editors. It is the only word which makes sense. In the first instance, it is required as the echo of the preceding words: in the second, Autolycus says: “My clown . . . grew so in love with the wenches’ song that he would not stir his petticoets till he had both tune and words; which so drew the rest of the herd to me, that all their other senses stuck in ears; . . . no hearing, no feeling; but my sir’s song, and admiring the noting of it;” where song and noting correspond to words and tune; and this serves to explain the joke in MA, where Balthazar, by saying that “there’s not a note of his that’s worth the noting,” having already punned on note = observe, and musical sound, puns again on noting = observing and putting into music; and in D. Pedro’s remark, the only pun is on crotchets, i.e., either the musical notes or the puns which Balthazar is uttering. The joke on noting, and nothing, supposing the jingle to answer, is inappreciable in both cases. But dismissing all reference to nothing and noting as perfectly untenable, there is no doubt that Mr. White has proved Moth in LL to mean Mote or Atomy, RJ 1, 4, 23 (717*, 57), and in all modernized editions the name should be so spelled, as well as in the other passages where moth means mote. Again, in the passage LL 1, 2, 52 (135’, 94), there can be no doubt that green wit alludes to Dalilah’s green withe. This interpretation is also accepted by the Cambridge editors. But how should wit and withe be confused? Have we not the key in that false pronunciation of the Latin final -t and -d as -th, that is, either (th) or (dh), which we find reprowed by both Palsgrave and Salesbury (supra p. 844, under D and T, and p. 759, note 4)? There is no reason to suppose that wit was even occasionally called (with); we have only to suppose that Mote—who is a boy that probably knew Latin, at least in school jokes, witness “I will whip about your Infamie Vnum cita,” LL 5, 1, 30 (150’, 72) (the Latin in this play is wily printed, by-the-by, and this Vnum cita is sufficiently unintelligible; Theobald reads circum circa; another conjecture is manu cita; perhaps intra extra may have been meant, compare Liv. 1, 26, “verbena, vel intra pomorieum . . . vel extra pomorieum,” but it was, no doubt, some well-known school urchin’s allusion to a method of flogging!—would not scruple, if it suited his purpose, to alter the termination of a word in the Latin school fashion, and make (with) into (with) or (with) to merely add
on the sound of (th), thus (wirith), as we now do in the word eighth = (wirith). We find him doing the very same thing, when, for the sake of a pun, he alters wittoll, as the word is spelled in the fo. MW 2, 2, 83 (51', 313), into wit-old, LL 5, 1, 26 (150', 66). But the word witehe, as wittig, with a long vowel, is otherwise remarkable. It is now called (wirith) by most orthoepists, Perry giving (wirid) and Smart (wiridh). The long ags. i would make us expect (ai), but it is one of the words which has remained unchanged. Even Smart gives (wiridh), which is the complete word, though Worcester writes (wirid). These varieties are due to its being a word which orthoepists are probably not in the habit of hearing and using. The Scotch say (wirid, wadirid). Could witehe have ever been called (wirit)? It is possible, just as rift, sixt, cited by Mr. White, had (t) in ags. and as late as Gill, but have now (th). That th, t, were used in a very haphazard way in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew words in the xvth and even xvith century is well known (supra p. 219), and probably there was great uncertainty of pronunciation in such words, partly through ignorance, and partly perhaps, because, notwithstanding what Bullokar says, supra p. 842, l. 19, th in Latin and Latinized words may have been by a large section of scholars called (t). To this category may be referred the pronunciation of Goth as (goot), AY 3, 3, 3 (213', 9), which is certainly intended. The usages of the Fleming Gerbier are not entitled to much weight. He probably could not pronounce (th), and identifying it with his own (t), which was also his pronunciation of (t), became hopelessly confused in his own Flemish, th and t had the single sound (t). His With-Sunday may be a mere printer’s transposition of letters for Whit-Sunday. There does not appear to be any reason for concluding that the genuine English th ever had the sound of (t), although some final t’s have fallen into (th).—As regards the alternate use of d and th in such words as murther, further, father, etc., there seems reason to suppose that both sounds existed, as they still exist, dialectically, vulgarly, and obsoleteally. But we must remember that (b, d, g) between vowels have a great tendency in different languages to run into (bh, dh, gh). Thus in German, aber, schreiben, become dialectically (außher shrei-bhen). See examples in Pennsylvania German, supra p. 557. In Danish d medial and final is generally (dh), though not distinguished in writing, and similarly g in the greater part of Germany becomes (gh, gh). In the same positions. In Hebrew the pairs (b ’bh, d dh, g gh) had only one letter a piece. Hence (d, dh) forms no analogy for (t, th). The upshot of Mr. White’s researches seems, therefore, to be that writers of the xvth and xviith centuries were very loose in using t, th, in non-Saxon words. That this looseness of writing sometimes affected pronunciation, we know by the familiar example author and its derivatives. Thus Mätzner notes, Eng.Gram. 1,132: “In words derived from ancient languages,” observe the limitation, “th often replaces t: Anthony (Antonius), author (autor), prothonotary (protonotarius); we also find lanthorn as well as lantern (lantner, lat. laterna, lanterna).” Could this last spelling have arisen from a false etymology, arising from the common employment of transparent horn in old lanterns? The h does not appear to have ever been sounded. “Old English often writes t in this way: rethor (rhetor), Sathanas (Satanas), Phalonie, etc. The modern English anthem, old English antem, ags. anten, arose from antiphona.”

U.

“U, when not followed by e, had very commonly that sound (very unfitly indicated by oo) which it has in rude, crude, and the compounds of rude, and of which the ‘furnitour, literatoor, matoor,’ of old-fashioned, though not iliterate, New-England folk is a remnant. Such phonographic spellings as the following, of which I have numerous memorandums, leave no doubt on this point: ugly owly, gun goon, run room, clung clin, spin spoon, curl coorc, and conversely poop pup, gloom gum, gloomy gwny.” [In all but the last two instances the sound was (u), and they are corroboration of the statement that short u was (u) or (v) in the xviith century. See supra p. 167. In a note on Luck, MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 18), vol. 4, p. 101, Mr. White says that previously to Shaksper it was always spelled poewe, pooke, or powne; and in vol. 5,
firmed till the xviiith century. The transition was (-tyr, -tuur, -tar), compare Mr. White's remarks on U.] Compare the spellings _enter_ venture, Milton's _Comus_, v. 228, ed. 1673, also in other books, _nurter_ nurture, _fitter_ future, _tortor_ torture, _wulter_ vulture; _joynter_ jointure 'TS' 2, 1, 127 (239', 372) in fo. 1623; _rounder_ roundure _KJ_ 2, 1, 52 (337, 259), in fo. 1623, _wauter_ wauture _JC_ 2, 1, 63 (771', 246) in fo. 1623; also _monsture_ monster, _Albion's England_, ed. 1602, p. 162. [See supra p. 200, l. 11, and the rhymes: departure shorter, enter venture, supra p. 954. Thomas Gray, 1716-42, in his _Long Story_, rhymes: satire nature, ventured enter'd.]

Mr. White adds: 'Some readers may shrink from the conclusions to which the foregoing memorandum lead, because of the strangeness, and, as they will think, the uncouthness, of the pronunciation which they will involve. They will imagine _Hamlet_ exclaiming:—

——' _A_ taste that wants discourse of raeson
Would have moor'd longer!'
'O, me prophetic soul! me uncle!'
'A broken voice, and his whole foonection shooting
_With_ forms to his consayl, and all for noting!'

and, overcome by the astonishing effect of the passages thus spoken, they will refuse to believe that they were ever thus pronounced out of Ireland. But let them suppose that such was the pronunciation of Shakespeare's day, and they must see that our orthoepy would have sounded as strange and laughable to our forefathers, as theirs does to us.' Of these pronunciations we have no authority for _haive, me, shooting, wit, noting_, as representatives of _have, my, suiting, with, nothing, — (mae) or (mae), (mai) or (mi), (syyt·iq, with, noth·iq),_ being the only pronunciations which external authorities will justify. The example is, however, quoted, as the first attempt which I have seen to give complete sentences in Shakespearean pronunciation, the un-Italicized words being supposed to have their present sounds.

**Summary of the Conjectured Pronunciation of Shakspere.**

It now remains from these indications to draw up a scheme of Shaksperean pronunciation, sufficiently precise to exhibit specimens in palaeotype. Shakspere was born in 1564, became joint proprietor of Blackfriars Theatre¹ in 1589, and died in 1616. He was a

¹ This is the usual belief. Mr. Halliwell, in a letter in the _Athenaeum_ of 13 Aug., 1870, p. 212, col. 3, says that he had recently discovered a series of documents concerning the establishment of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, which dissipate a mass of conjecture and throw much light on the history of the Elizabethan stage. 'It is now certain,' he says, 'that Shakspere,
Warwickshire man, and our chief authority for the pronunciation of the time, Dr. Gill, a Lincolnshire man; but such local and personal peculiarities must be disregarded. What we want to assign is the pronunciation in which his plays were acted, during the last decade of the xvith and the first of the xvinth century. This pronunciation may be fairly assumed to be that determined by the preceding quarter of a century, during which the actors must have acquired it, and, judging from stage habits in the xvinth century, it will probably have been archaic.

Consonants do not present the slightest difficulty, except in respect to syllabic R (p. 951) and L (p. 952), the guttural or mute GH, and S, T. Although we have much reason to suspect a use of vocal R (= a) similar to that now in vogue (p. 196), especially from the influence of final r on the pronunciation of the preceding letters, as in the rhymes pp. 964–6, yet we have absolutely no authority for such a conclusion. Even Cooper’s words (p. 200), which seem to convey the distinctest intimation, are not decisive. Hence no attempt will be made to distinguish R into (x, r), but the modern Scotch (r) will be assumed in all cases. Syllabic R and L will, therefore, be written (er, el). Thus—

> Jun sent mi dep’ryti for Eierland II 3, 2, 73 (610, 260).
> Az feir dreiz ou feier, so pài’ pit’i JC 3, 1, 65 (775, 171).
> Az ei remmber Hen’eri dhe Szki R² 4, 2, 45 (580, 98).
> But whuu iz man dhat iz not aq’geri? Tim 3, 5, 9 (752, 57).
> Faarwel’, komend’ mi tu jur mìsteres RJ 2, 4, 81 (723, 204).
> Jun, dhe grett too ov dhis asem’bel’ C 1, 1, 45 (655, 159).
> Whel shii did kaal mi ras’kal fà’deler TS 2, 1, 45 (258, 158).
> Dhan Bal’qbraks return’ tu Eq’geland R² 4, 1, 4 (375, 17).

As respects GH, there seems to be no doubt that it was still indicated in speech. The interpretation of Salesbury’s words, cited on p. 210, was slightly modified by Dr. Davies in revising p. 779, and it is evident that we must assume the (kh) to have been very lightly touched. All those who are familiar with the various local pronunciations of German, know well that there are extreme differences in the force with which the breath is expelled when pronouncing (kh). Shakspere certainly did not find his utterance of this sound sufficiently strong to debar him from disregarding it altogether in rhymes (p. 963), which however does not shew that it was not pronounced; compare the analogous rhymes (oo, ou), p. 961, and the assonances, p. 955. But we should probably be more justified in following the example of Smith and Hart, who wrote (u) or (u‘), p. 210, than that of Gill, who identified the sound with the Greek x

who is more than once alluded to by name, was never a proprietor in either theatre. His sole interest in them consisted in a participation, as an actor, in the receipts of ‘what is called the house.’” And in the Athenæum of 24 Sept., 1870, p. 398, col. 1, he explains that “this does not mean what is now implied by the ordinary expression of an actor sharing in the receipts of the house. In Shakspeare’s time, the proprietors took absolutely the entire receipts of certain portions of the theatre. ‘The house’ was, therefore, some other part or parts of the theatre, and the receipts of which were divided amongst Shakspeare and other actors, and in which a proprietor had no share, unless, of course, he was an actor as well as a proprietor.”
=(kh), ibid. Hence (n) will be adopted in the examples. See also suprà p. 477, and note 1.

The S was apparently often (z) under the same circumstances as at present. T, S, were also often (s) where they are now so pronounced in French. The numerous examples of "resolutions," pp. 947–950, must be held to prove conclusively that in these cases the modern (sh) sound was unknown or at least unrecognized. See the remarks on fashion, p. 949, col. 2, last entry, and p. 955, and on resolution, imagination, p. 953.

Initial K, G, in kn, gn, was certainly pronounced, and initial WR was probably (rw), but may have been (w'r). There is, however, no internal authority for this conclusion, but on the other hand no puns such as: knave nave, write rite, against it.

Vowels present greater difficulties, and must be considered more in detail.

A was certainly either (aa, a) or (aah, ah). It could not have passed into (ææ, æ), and still less into (ee, æ). The puns with A, p. 923, and the rhymes on A, p. 955, independently of external testimony, can leave no reasonable doubt on this point.

AI, AY, present much ground for hesitation. They must now be distinguished from ei, ey, with which Salesbury confounds them, while Smith makes the difference slight. After Gill's denunciation of Hart's pronunciation of ai, ay, as (ee), p. 122, we cannot admit that sound as general in Shakspere's time, notwithstanding the presumption in favour of Sir Philip Sidney's use of (ee), p. 872, and the obscurity of Mulcaster, p. 912. Wallis and Wilkins, who are both later, and both apparently said (œi), confirm this opinion. We see by puns that the pronunciation (ee) was well known to Shakspere, but we cannot fix it in more than two or three cases. The remarks on p. 924 justify the retention of (ai) for general purposes, that is, the acceptance of Gill's practice. See also suprà p. 474, note, col. 2.

1 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce (suprà p. 917, n. 1) say, "The sound of this guttural must have been atomic and faint, for Baret, Smith and Jonson make it equivalent to h... Its sound must have been disappearing in Shakespeare's time, for in 1653 it was a provincialism (Wallis, p. 31). It is probable that f was frequently substituted for gh." See suprà pp. 963, 967.

2 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce "conclude,—1st that -tion, -tion are dissyllabic, but could be contracted to one syllable; and, 2nd, that they had nearly, if not quite, the modern French sound."—See Gill's remarks on synceresis, suprà p. 937, and n. 3.

3 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say "k before n, and w before h, would seem to have been invariably sounded."
AU, AW, ought to be (au) if ai=(ai). But the usage of language is independent of such analogies, and changes may be complete in one case, but not in the other. Hart finds no difficulty in pairing (ee, au), and Gill, though he wrote (au), apparently meant (aa), p. 146. But he evidently hesitated at times between (au) or (au) and (aa), for he says, referring to "Hall Henriculus, Hale tharehe, et Hall aula," that "exilium est a in duabus vocibus prioribus, in tertia fere est diphthongus." Compare a similar expression respecting the undoubtedly diphthongal long i, supra p. 114, l. 10 from bottom. The (au, au, au) have the true archaic stage twang, and each of them may be occasionally heard, at least before (l), from modern declaimers. Still as I have felt constrained to accept (aa) as the most probable representative of Dr. Gill’s use, and as Ben Jonson, the friend and contemporary of Shakspere, seems to have had no notion of any diphthongal sound (supra p. 146), I have adopted (aa) in Shakspere. There is at least one rhyme, la! flaw, p. 957, which favours this supposition, though it would be quite inadequate to establish it. Puns give no results, p. 923.

E, followed the rule of (ec, ii, e) given supra pp. 225, 227. There was, however, occasionally a tendency to mince it into (i) when short, compare the puns: elept elipt, civil Seville, p. 925, and the rhymes p. 958. This mincing became very prevalent in the xvii th and xvir th centuries, but is inadmissible as an acknowledged pronunciation in stately verse.

1 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, after a long investigation, say: "We must endeavour to explain our facts on the presumption that its sound [that of au] underwent no change. Now this can only be done by supposing that the French a, from 1620 to 1690, represented such a sound as might at once be described as ‘dawn’ and be made equivalent to ‘dawen.’ Such a sound is, perhaps, given to ‘balm’ in Georgia and Alabama.” By dawent, dawen, I suppose these writers mean (aa, AA); by the last-mentioned sound of balm, they possibly mean (ao). They proceed thus: “Soon after 1690 it took another step in the same direction as that which was taken after the wars of the Huguenots, perhaps, and now bore no resemblance to the a in father. It appears, however, that this change had not struck completely into the provinces; for, as the Revolution gradually passed off, this orthoepy also died out, and left the pronunciation as it was during the reign of Francis I. If we accept this theory, our conclusion respecting the English aw will be that it was always pronounced as at present,” that is (AA). They incidentally call the pronunciation of dance as (dzens), which is thought refined by many English speakers, “a prevalent vulgarism” in America. On the sound of French a, see supra p. 826, and on the English conception of the sound so late as the end of the xvir th century, see Sir William Jones’s English spelling of French, supra p. 835. At present there is a great tendency in French to make the sound very thin. The use of (ao) is disliked, and the short sound has dwindled from (a) to (ah), on its road, apparently, to (ae), precisely as in older English. See Tito Pagliardini’s Essays on the Analogies of Language, 1864, p. 6.

2 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that e short “has undergone no perceptible change.” And of the sound of e long, as in Eve, deir, they say: “There can be no doubt that this sound was heard in almost all the words where it now occurs, including ‘people’ and ‘shire’ in combination, for Gill gives to all these words the long sound of the short i. The principal exceptions were words in ea, several in ei, Caesar, cedar, equal, fierce, Grecian, interfere, these, etc., which had the peculiar sound of ea,” explained in the next note.
EA was mostly long (ee) and occasionally short (e). We must here accept the external testimonies, which are clear and distinct. The rhymes, p. 957, are singularly inconclusive as respects the length of the vowel. The rhymes of ea with ee, pp. 957-8, are all clearly false. A few words had the sound of (ii), p. 81. The vocabulary must be consulted for the authorities. All such usages were clearly orthographical mistakes or disputes, the appropriation of ea to long (ee) at the close of the xvth century not having been universally recognized. In heart, heard, the sound of (a) prevailed, see the puns p. 925, but see also the rhymes p. 964, col. 1, and p. 965, col. 2. For the interchange of the sounds (iir, cer) in the terminations -ear, -ere, see the rhymes p. 964, col. 2. In these cases there is no choice but to follow external authorities.¹

EE must be regarded as always intentionally (ii).²

EI, EY, ought to have followed the fortunes of ai, ay, with which we have seen they were once interchangeable. Gill is not consistent. He marks prey as (prai), supra p. 900, but in they he uses (ei, eei), and in receive, conceive simple (ee). The rule that where ei is now (ii) it was then (ee), and where it is now (ee, eei) it was then (eei), will not be far wrong. Neither rhymes nor puns help us here. Hart's ordinary orthography, as shewn by his own MS., supra p. 794, note, proves that ei was to him identical with (ee).³

EO had become (ii) in people, and perhaps in yeoman, of which the modern sound (joomman) is clearly erroneous. We find leopard trisyllabic, Hi 1, 5, 5 (479, 31), supra p. 947. The combination is very rare, and there is nothing to be gleaned from rhymes or puns.

EU, EW, if we believe external testimony, were clearly (y) or (yy), and this view will be adopted. See the observations on the rhymes which apparently militate against this conclusion, p. 962.⁴

I, Y, long will be assumed as (ei). Smith and Shakspere identify I, eye, aye, pp. 112, 926, 963. For Gill's sound Wallis's (ai) has been adopted, but the more indeterminate (ei) has been retained in Shakspere. The short I was of course (i). But rhymes present difficulties. We have a few cases of long I and short I rhyming in closed syllables, pp. 958-9, some of which must be esteemed false, but in

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that "Mr. Marsh, looking at the grammars, at once discovered that it [the sound of ea] was neither the one [long a] nor the other [double ee], but an intermediate sound, like e in met prolonged. [This gives (ea) exactly.]... When ea is found rhymed with ai, it is owing to a common mispronunciation of the latter diphthong noticed by Gill." Shakspere's rhymes of ea with ai, are secure as to be quite valueless, coming under the category of consciously imperfect rhymes, supra p. 956. Even Sidney's, were not frequent, p. 872.
² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not treat this combination independently of long e.
³ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say, "the ei in receive, deceive, etc., was a diphthong in Gill's time,"—these two words are, however, exceptionally pronounced with monophthongal (ee) by Gill,—"it was used interchangeably with ai, as both Smith and Mulcaster observe." See supra p. 120 for Smith, and p 912 for Mulcaster.
⁴ Messrs Noyes and Peirce say that "eu differed from u in 'use' apparently in beginning with the vowel 'end' instead of the consonant y." See below p. 980, n. 2.
others there may have been a variety of pronunciation. The termination -ind seems to have been generally (eind), corresponding to the modern pronunciation. The final -Y, however, offers the same varieties of rhyme as in Spenser, p. 869, and in modern verse, p. 861. There are occasional rhymes with (-ii), p. 959, col. 2, but many more numerous examples of rhymes with (-ei), p. 959, col. 1, without any reference to the origin from French -é, -ie, or Anglo-Saxon -ig. As Gill constantly adopts the pronunciation (-ei) in such cases, I shall follow his lead. Compare the puns on noddy, marry, p. 926.¹

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say of i in in, that "words to which we now give this sound had in general the same pronunciation in Shakespeare's day." On the long i, they first remark on the gliding characteristic of diphthongs, referring to Mr. J. Jennison in Hildard's Reader: "None of our diphthongs are combinations of two vowels, but run from the first sound to the last through an infinite number of gradations. 'Ice,' according to this view, instead of being eh-ce, is more nearly eh, ap, err, end, in, eve," that is, instead of (ai), is more nearly (aəeɪ). "But it is not to be supposed that any abrupt change was made from the Saxon i long to this very complex combination. It is more rational to suppose that the sound grew up by insensible gradations somewhat in this manner," translating the symbols, they become (1. i, 2. i, 3. ei, 4. œi, 5. aœi, 6. aœei). Then quoting Palsgrave as supra pp. 109, 110, they say: "The unmistakable drift of these citations is to the effect that 'ice' was pronounced like i in 'wind,' or perhaps 'end-in-eve,'" that is, as (i) ? or (ei)? Further on they say, "the Palsgraveian pronunciation of 'ice' in words where the i is now sounded long, appears to have been confined with Mulcaster to a few words ending in nd. 'Wind, frind, bind,' he laconically re-

marks, 'and with the qualifying e, kinde, finde,' etc. (Elementarie, p. 133). [Supra p. 913.] So Coote, who, however, like Gill, preferred the longer pronunciation in all words of this class, not excepting 'wind.' 'And some pronounce these words blind, final, behind, short: others blade, finde, behinde, with e, long,' (Coote, p. 19)." They adopt (oi) as Gill's j or long i. These conclusions are not sensibly different from mine. In this relation, the following observation of Ben Jonson, alluded to by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, shewing apparently that he recognized both sounds (mais mees; lis lees), is noteworthy: "Many words ending in Dipthongs, or Vowells, take neither z. nor s. [in the plural,] but only change their Dipthongs or Vowells, retaining their last Consonant: as Mouse. Mice, or Mece. Louse. Lyce, or Lece. Goose, Grece. Foot, Feet. Tooth. Teeth." B. Jonson, Gram. Chap. xiii. But from the same writer conjugating "Pr. Ly. Pa. ley. Par. pa. lynæ or layne," we cannot conclude that layne was pronounced by any one like lynæ, but that lynæ was a form which he preferred, as one may see from his conjugating: "Pr. Fly. Pa. fleæ. Par. pa. flyæ or floææ," where flyæ could never have been the pronunciation of floææ. B. Jonson, Gram. Chap. xix.
p. 925, and the rhymes in -ove, and of long o with oo, both on p. 961. On the other hand, short o often rhymed with (u), and was frequently so pronounced (compare the puns, p. 926), though some of the rhymes, especially those in -ong (p. 962), are undoubtedly false. ¹

OA seems to have been regularly (oo).

OE is only (oo).

OI, OY will be taken as (oi) or (uui), according to Dr. Gill’s usage. When there is no immediate authority, the pronunciation (ai) or (oi) in the xvi th or xvii th century, may be held to imply a xvi th century (ui) or (uui), suprâ p. 134, l. 1, and p. 473, note, col. 2, and infra p. 992, note 2, and p. 995, note 3. The rhymes, p. 963, are not at all conclusive, but seem to indicate an unsettled pronunciation.²

OO was regularly (uu), but there are a few rhymes with long u, see p. 963.

OU, OW, had of course the two sounds (ou, oou), but Shakspeare quite disregarded the difference between these two diphthongs in rhyme, p. 961, and also the difference between (oo, oou), p. 960. In a few instances he has even rhymed (oo, ou), p. 961. It would of course be wrong to conclude from these rhymes that he did not differentiate the sounds (oo, ou), which have been so carefully distinguished in speech down to the present day; and even, though (oo) and (ou) are now beginning to coincide, in an unrecognized pronunciation of long o, the cases of (oo, ou) are kept apart as (oou, au) or (ou, au). Hence I shall here follow my external authorities.³

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not seem to be acquainted with the common English provincial and Scotch sounds (oo, o), although they know (oo, o), the short (o) being the “Yankee pronunciation of ‘whole’ and ‘coat’.” Finding that in Wallis the pronunciation of short o was (a) or nearly (o), they leave the point in doubt whether Gill may not really have paired (oo, a) in error, and have meant those sounds by his o, o. The long o they take without any aftersound or “vanish,” that is, as (oo) not (oou). But the diphthongal o before l, and ou, ove, which are now professedly (ou), they assume “must have been the same with which the Irish now pronounce the word bold.” I have not had an opportunity of strictly analyzing the Irish sound, but it appears to me to be rather (ou), or (ou), with a short first element, than (oou), or (oou), with a long first element. It is probably the same sound as orthoepists in the xvith century analyzed as (au, ou), suprâ p. 160. But if so, it is more nearly the closed sound of ou than the open sound, that is, nearer (ou) than (oou). Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not seem to notice the (ou, u) sounds of o.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce recognize the double sound of i, and quote the passage from Mulcaster, suprâ p. 915.

³ These distinctions are recognized by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, who, however, infer from the passages quoted from Mulcaster, suprâ p. 914, that he agreed with Bullekar and Palsgrave in pronouncing ou as (uu), where most writers gave (ou), just as when i preceded ud he at least occasionally pronounced (ui), and not (ei, i), suprâ p. 913. They also imagine that Shakspeare may have occasionally played on the pronunciation of fool as fool. Mr. Noyes, in a private letter, thinks that the reading foule found in three quartos in H4 4, 2, 7 (402, 21), which is foule or fool in all the other authorities, arose from this source, and that fool is the better reading. The words would then thus run: “such as fear the report of a caliver worse than a struck fool or a hurt wild duck,” where this sound would create an obvious pun. But we have no examples of indisputable puns of this sort.
U long must be taken on external authority as (yy). See remarks on the pun you, u, p. 926, and on the rhymes, p. 962. There is of course just the chance of an (iu) pronunciation, which we know existed, not only from Holyband's express assertion (supra p. 228, note, col. 1, and p. 838), but from the impossibility of otherwise accounting for Wilkins's ignorance of (yy), p. 176. Still the testimony of Gill and Wallis is so distinct that we should not be justified in assuming any but (yy) to be the received pronunciation. But U short was either (u) or (u'). The puns or allusions moody, muddy, p. 926, strongly confirm this. None of the rhymes, p. 962, are convincing.

UI receives no light from the rhyme voice juice, even when supplemented by Hodges's confusion noted on p. 963, col. 1, and the conclusions of p. 136 will be adopted.

1 The possibility of Wallis's (yy) and Wilkins's (iu) coexisting, without either noticing the difference of pronunciation in the other, though both were in frequent communication, is established by the following fact. In Norfolk two, do, are constantly called (tuy, dyu), as I know from personal experience, and much concurrent information. The gentleman who supplied Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte with a specimen of the dialect, republished this sound, and only allowed the existence of (tiu, diu), sounds of which I am ignorant. But I have noticed a confusion between (yy, x) here as elsewhere. Again, it is generally asserted that in Devonshire they call moon (myyn); but Dr. Weymouth, a Devonshire man, denies the fact, and his pronunciation is (myn), as nearly as I could judge. The sounds (x, yy) are constantly confused. See remarks on the Devonshire pronunciation of oo, supra p. 636, note. Kenrick, in his Dictionary, 1773, p. 39, identifies a quickly spoken u with the French sound. Even as late as 1775, Joshua Steele heard French u or (yy) in superfluous, tune, supreme, credulity, though he states it to be "very rare in English," and "seldom or never sounded... except in the more refined tone of the court, where it begins to obtain in a few words." Prosodia Rationale, pp. x. and xii. See below Chap. X. I heard (yy) pronounced in purify in 1870, from the pulpit. Attention should also be paid to an extremely difficult provincial diphthong, common in the Peak of Derbyshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, and probably in many parts of the north of England, which replaces long u. At first a Southerner takes it for (iu), then he is apt to consider it simply (yy) or (uy) or (u), according to his familiarity with these sounds. I have not yet been able to analyze it satisfactorily, but it appears to me to partake of such characters as (yu, yu, un). The first element of diphthongs is notoriously difficult to seize, even when the diphthongs are extremely familiar (supra p. 108), and hence the uncertainty of this sound, which may perhaps be provisionally received as (yu). Yet Mr. Thomas Hallam (supra p. 473, n. 1, col. 2), from whose pronunciation I endeavoured to analyze the sound, himself analyzed it as (mu), which did not satisfy my ear, although the corresponding diphthong (ii) for (ii) seemed, after much observation, sufficiently established. It is possibly to some such intermediate diphthong that all the confusion between (yy) and (iu) is to be traced.

2 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say: "the pronunciation of 'wise' is described with some unanimity as that of the French u, as indeed it may well have been once; but that certainly was not its sound in Shakespeare's day, for Baret describes it in terms of more than ordinary clearness as being a diphthong compounded of e and u." But see the passage quoted and remarks on it, supra p. 168. The short u Messrs. Noyes and Peirce fully recognize as (u) or (u'), which of course they do not distinguish.
These considerations give the following results:

A = (aa a).
AI = (ai), and rarely = (ee).
AU = (AA).
E long = (ee), rarely = (ii).
E short = (e).
EA generally = (ee), rarely = (ii),
and more rarely = (a), occasionally = (e).
EE = (ii).
EI = (eei) or = (ee), rarely = (ai).
EO = (ii) or (ee).
EU = (eu) or (yy).
I long = (ei).
I short = (i).

Any deviations from these customs must have special external authority; and when any combination has two values, either the same authority must be sought, or its place supplied by analogy, derived from observing the direction of change in similar words (pp. 225–240). The usual variations in the orthography of the xvth and early part of the xvith century must of course be allowed for. We have no specimens of Shakspere’s own orthography except his own signature, and no reason to suppose that it would have been more systematic or regular than that of the other literary men of his time.

For the printed orthography of Shakspere’s works, the remarks of Salesbury (supra p. 752 and note 3) should be borne in mind. We have seen that Sir John Cheke attempted a systematic orthography in MS. (supra p. 877, note). Mr. Francis Fry, F.S.A., author of an elaborate Description of the Great Bible of 1539, &c., &c., and editor of a fac-simile reproduction of Tyndale’s first edition of the New Testament, 1525 or 1526, and other works, has recently called special attention to a curious and very rare edition of Tyndale’s New Testament, of which a mutilated copy will be found in the British Museum (press-mark C. 36. a, described in the Catalogue of Bibles, part 13, fo. 1384), and a nearly perfect copy at Cambridge, of which the second title (the first is wanting) runs thus, according to Mr. Fry: “The New Testament, dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by William Tyndale; and fyneshed in the yere of our Lorde God A.M.D. and XXXV.” While this sheet was passing through the press, I received Mr. Fry’s printed alphabetical list of nearly 300 words in this edition, whose orthography differs so materially from that used for the same words in the edition of 1534, that Anderson (according to Mr. Fry, in his Annals of the English Bibles, 1, 456, says, it is supposed to be Gloucestershire dialect, and that the Testament was intended by Tyndale (who was born in Gloucestershire, about 1470), for the ploughboys of that county, whom he said, about 1520, he would make to know the Scriptures better than the priests. On examining the list of words furnished by Mr. Fry, and comparing the spelling with the older pronunciations in the preceding Vocabulary (pp. 881–910), we find the following results, neglecting a few doubtful cases.

AE = (aa a) in: age, baebes, bracke, eage, eacke, eaese, chaste, desolat, faere, faese facee, faether, gauinge, gaeve, greece, haest haastily, haet, haeth, haive, haeven, laede, laeke, laene, laetely, maede, maecce, maekinge, nacked, naeme, partaker, placee, plautes, raee, raeted, raether, saete, saeke, saeme, saaved, saevour, saepe, saeke, shaeme, shapce, spaces, speake, tacee, taeme, tarest, awacee, waere, waest, waeste.

AEL = (aul) in: caelinge, faele, faelely, shaell, tuckeld, waelke.

AS = (a) in: accompaenyinge, aewell, maed, maesters, paert, rewaerde, saete,
The pronunciation founded on these conclusions, and realized in the following examples, may at first hearing appear rude and provincial. But I have tried the effect of reading some of these passages

taecklynyge, vyneaerde, waetech, wreath (all probably errors).

AEX = (a) in : abstaeyne, afraeye, agaeeye, captaeeye, certaeeye, chaene (an error for chaene), claeye, complaeeyers, consacyttes (possibly an error for conseqUTES), contacynd, deyey, dekayey, faelye (an error for faeyle), faeynt (also by error faeont), faeyr, faeryt, fontaeeyne, gaeeye, haeye, laey, laeeye, laeye, maeyntayne, maeyste, marvaeyle, mountaeyne, nayee, obtacyned, pacyed, pacyer, paeyne, paeynted, plaeyne, praeayed, praeyer, praeye, raeyne (an error for raeygne), raeylinge, raeyment, raeye, raeyse, sae (an error for saey), saeyde, saeyinge, saeyld, saeyntes, straeyte, taeyles, trevaeyle, unaeynayed, vaeele (an error for vaeyle), vinayles, waeule (an error for waeule), waeyst, waeyte.

AE = (ee) or (e) is probably an error for EA in: acte, conceavake, deeseval, deesseve, hear (= her,) maedeth, paerle, perceave, sweard, waer (= where, an error for weer?), weepens.

EE, EA, present no peculiarities, but EAE = (ee) is used, perhaps by error, in: in great, and FY in agreement may be an error.

IE, YE are rarely, probably by error, = (ei) in: abyeed, blyend.

OE, sometimes alternating with OU, OA, = (oo) in: aboebe, abroof, accoerde, almost, allooe, clooie, cloee, cloote, attenement, boot, boote boodie, clooie, colee, coote cootes, docar (= door?), hoome hoome, hoephe (moaee is probably an error for moene, moose), noeoe noane, oethe, poele, roeche, roose, soemeee, soclyke, spocke, stoone, those, thoos, tockens, troede, whoom whom, wroote.

OEL = (ool) in: behoelde, boedely boole, coodele, foore, boold.

OE, sometimes alternating with OU, = (uu, u) in: anoerthe, booke, brookes, broother, doeth, doeving, foede, feollesism, foerth, foete, looke looke, moebost, moene, moehter, mouny, oether, roe, shoeld, shoes, stoebbe, stoede, stoole, tocke, touth, woeld (= would), woer (woere = where, is probably an error).

OEX = (uul, U) in: anomyte, apoeyned, and = (oi) in voiceye.

UE = (yy) in: cruess, ruelle, ruelers, trueth.

Now the first inspection of such a list leads to the notion that a systematic spelling was attempted (failing of course occasionally), by which long a, e, i, o, u were to be expressed by ae, ee, ie, oe, uu, uy.

Now it seems that such a method was attempted in several cases, by which long a, e, i, o, u were to be expressed by ae, ee, ie, oe, uu, uy, exactly in accordance with Mr. E. Jones's most recent attempt at improving English spelling (supra pp. 590-1 and notes), and hence that Tyndale's and Cheke's spellings should be placed in the same category. There could have been no attempt at submitting rustic pronunciation, because of the close agreement with the accepted literary pronunciation of the time, But an inspection of the book itself leads to a very different conclusion. Had the author had any systematic orthography in view, it would certainly have predominated, and examples of the ordinary orthography would have appeared as misprints. But the author presents just the opposite appearance. The curious orthographies do not strike the eye on reading a page or two, except as occasional errata, and Mr. Fry's list is the result of a laborious search. The word mastre is said to be nearly the only one which is used with tolerable uniformity, and this might have been used for master, a common form (p. 996, n.). But the systematic character of the spelling, which is clear from the above arrangement, renders it impossible to consider these spellings as merely accidental errors of the press. That they are errors which had been only occasionally committed, and had probably been very frequently corrected in the first proofs, is palpable, but there must have been some special reason for the compositor's committing them. Now the book was most probably printed at Antwerp, and Tyndale was then a prisoner in Flanders. One of the compositors employed on this particular edition may have been a Fleming, with a good knowledge of English, but apt not seldom to adopt his own orthography in place of the English, to represent his own English pronunciation. This supposition would be sufficient to account for his frequently using the Flemish ae, ae, oo, ne, for (aa, uu, oo, yy). That he occasionally used oe for (oo), notwithstanding its Flemish use for (um), may have been due to erroneous pronunciation, to which also must also be ascribed the use of ae for (a) and of nel, oel, for (anl, ouel). We must suppose that his errors were generally seen and corrected at press, but were not unfrequently overlooked, as they might be by the best press readers, and were sure to have been by such careless ones as those in the xvth century. This hypothesis seems sufficient to account for the phenomenon, though its establishment would require a more laborious examination of the printed text than it seems to be worth.
to many persons, including well-known elocutionists, and the general result has been an expression of satisfaction, shewing that the poetry was not burlesqued or in any way impaired by this change, but, on the contrary, seemed to gain in power and impressiveness. Yet, though every real lover of Shakspere will be glad to know how the grand words may have sounded to Shakspere’s audience, how he himself may have conceived their music, how he himself may have meant them to be uttered and win their way to the hearts of his audience, it is, of course, not to be thought of that Shakspere’s plays should now be publicly read or performed in this pronunciation. The language of the xvi th century stands in this respect on a totally different footing from that of the xiv th. Chaucer’s verse and rhyme are quite unintelligible, if he is read with our modern pronunciation.  

The one point of importance to the present investigation is that the orthographies were not due to Tyndale’s, or any English system. As due to a Fleming’s involuntary system, they would, so far as they go, confirm contemporary English authorities, and hence are so far useful to us.

1 Mr. Payne, in his paper on “The Norman Element in the Spoken and Written English of the xii th, xiii th, and xiv th Centuries, and in our Provincial Dialects,” just published in the Transactions of the Philological Society, has many criticisms on the theories of pronunciation here adopted, which have been partly noted, supra, pp. 581–588, and will have to be further considered in Chap. XII.; but as he has given a specimen of the pronunciation of Chaucer which results from his researches, it is convenient to reproduce it here, without comment, for comparison with that on p. 681, and Rapp’s on p. 676. The original is also in palaeotype. Mr. Payne has obligingly revised and corrected the proof of this copy.

whan dhat april | with -is shuures swoot
dhe drunut of marth | nath persed in dhe root and bands vd evri vuen | in switch lipcur of whist vertus | endhen dred is dhu fluor
whan zefirus | eek with -is sweet’ breeth
enspirred nath | in evri noit and neeth
dhur ten der kropes | and dhe zueg sun
nath in dhu ram | -is hulf’ kuurs’ furn
and smaal’ ful’res | maak’vn meoldii,
dhat sleepun al dhe nitt | with oopun if
soo pirk'vth-wen natur | in war krookd'res
shahioqu'en folk | tv goon on pilgrimadizres
and pal'mers | for te seek'en straendzh're
strong'A

to fern’v natur’un | kuth in sun’dri lond’w
and spes-ialii | from evri shir’rev and
of Engelond | to Kantarber'i | dhee wend
dhe woord’ blissful marter | for te seek

dhat nem nth holp’n whan dhat dhee
war seek.

2 The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer modernized, London (Whitaker), 1841, 3vo. pp. xxviii., 331.—The modernizers are various. The Prologue, Reve’s and Franklin’s Tales by R. H. Horne, the Cuckoo and Nightingale and part of Troilus and Cressida by Wm. Wordsworth, Complaint of Mars and Venus by Rob. Bell, Queen Annelida and the false Arcite by Elizabeth B. Barrett, the Manciple’s, Friar’s, and Squire’s Tales by Leigh Hunt, etc.

The initial lines of the Prologue are thus rendered by Mr. R. H. Horne, the italicized words being introduced for the sake of “modernization,” see the revised text, supra, p. 680.

When that sweet April showers with downward shoot
The drought of March have pierc’d unto the root,
And bathed every vein with liquid power,
Whose virtue rare engendereth the flower;
When Zephyrus also with his fragrant breath
Inspired hath in every grove and heath
The tender shoots of green, and the young sun

Hath in the Ram one half his journey run,
And small birds in the trees make melody,
That sleep and dream all night with open eye;
So nature stirs all energies and ages
That folks are bent to go on pilgrimages,
apparent. The best of them breathe a modern spirit into the dead giant, and by a crucial instance shew the vanity of attempting to represent the thoughts of one age in the language of another.

Shakspere’s metre only rarely halts in our present utterance,—although it does halt occasionally from not attending to “resolutions” (see remarks on banished, supra p. 948, col. 1),—and his rhymes are so far from being perfect, as we have seen, that the slightly greater degree of imperfection introduced by modern utterance is not felt. His language, although archaic enough in structure to render the attempts of imitators ludicrous, is yet so familiar to us from the constant habit of reading his plays, and the contemporary authorized version of the Bible, that it does not require a special study or a special method of reading, by which silent letters are resuscitated. As essentially our household poet, Shakspere will, and must, in each age of the English language, be read and spoken in the current pronunciation of the time, and any marked departure from it (except occasional and familiar “resolutions,” sounding the final -ed, and shifting the position of the accent, which are accepted archaisms consecrated by usage,) would withdraw the attention of a mixed audience or of the habitual reader from the thought to the word,

And palmers for to wender thro’ strange strands,
To sing the holy mass in sundry lands;
And more especially, from each shire’s end
Of England, they to Canterbury went,
The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
Who hath upheld them when that they were weak.

Mr. Horne’s introduction gives an account, with specimens, of former paraphrases, and an “examination of the versification and rhythm adopted by Chaucer,” (pp. xxxvii–xcl) written by a man who has evidently a fine sense of rhythm and a sacred horror of mere scansionists. It is well worth perusal, as antidotal to Mr. Abbott’s theories, supra pp. 940, 944. Thus on Prologue v. 184–5 (supra p. 690) he remarks: “The words ‘study and’ are thus to be pronounced as two syllables instead of three; and the four syllables of ‘cloister alway’ are to be given in the time of three syllables. Yet, be it again observed, this contraction is not to be harshly given; but all the words of what we may term the appoggiatura [a most happy expression, giving to a musician the whole theory of the usage,] fairly and clearly enunciated, though in a more rapid manner. One of the best general rules for reading such passages, especially when of such vigour as the foregoing, is to read with an unhesitating and thorough-going purpose, to the utter defiance of old metrical misgivings, and that thrumming of fingers’ ends, which is utterly de-

structive of all harmonies not comprised in the common chord. This rational boldness will furnish the best key to the impulse which directed the poet in writing such lines,” p. lxxxiii.

The following examples of trisyllabic measures in modern heroic verse are borrowed from this introduction, such measures being italicized.

From Wordsworth.
By the unexpected transports of our age
Carried so high, that every thought, which looked
Beyond the temporal destiny of the kind,
To many seem’d superfluous: as no cause, &c.—
Now seek upon the heights of Time the source
Of a Holy River, on whose banks are found, &c.—
His prominent feature like an eagle’s beak—
Which the chaste Votaries seek beyond the grave—
Slowly the cormorant aims her heavy flight—
Ah, when the Body, round which in love we clung.

From Keats.
Charm’d magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn—
Bannot’d with pyramids of glowing gold—
Were pent in regions of laborious breath—
Blazing Hyperion on his orbs’d fire.

From Tennyson.
Smiling a god-like smile, the innocent light—
Reign thou above the storms of sorrow and ruth—
Full many a wondrous grove and secret cell—
And showering down the glory of lightsome day.
would cross old associations, would jar upon cherished memories, and would be therefore generally unacceptable. Hence all recent editions of the English Bible of 1611 and of Shakspere’s Plays and Poems (when not avowedly facsimiles), adopt the current orthography of the time, into which has slipped the change of *whan*, *than*, *then* into *when*, *then*, *than*. A similar attempt has been recently made with Chaucer, but it is not so easy, many of the words having no modern spelling (supra p. 403, note), and the necessity for adding on and sounding final *e*’s, and shifting the place of the accent, for no apparent purpose but to make the lines scan, has a traily weakening effect, which maligns the fine old rhythms.

1 The Riches of Chaucer; in which his Impurities have been Expunged, his Spelling Modernized, his Rhythm Accentuated, and his Terms Explained. Also have been added Explanatory Notes and a New Memoir of the Poet. By Charles Cowden Clarke, crown 8vo., pp. xvi, 626, London (Lockwood), 2nd edition, 1870. The difficulty arising from words having no modern form is evaded by retaining the old form, and giving an explanation in footnotes. The spelling is occasionally not modernized at all. The Prologue commences thus: Whenné that Apríl, with his shouwés sote, The drouth of March hath piercée to the rote, And báthéd every vein in such licóur, Of which virtú engendré is the flowr; When Zephyrus éké, with his sote ¹ breath Insipíred hath in every holt ² and heath The tender croppés: and the youngé sun Hath in the Ram his halfé course yrun, And smallé fowles maken melody,

That slepen alé night with open eye, So pricketh them nature in their courages, Then longen folk to go on pilgrimages, And palmer for to seeken strángé strands, To serve hallows ³ couth ⁴ in sundry lands; And specially from every shire’s end Of Engelond to Canterbury they wend, The holy blissful martyr for to seek That them hath holpen when that they were sick.

1 Sote—sweet. 2 Rote—root. 3 Holt—grové, forest. 4 Courage—hearts, spirits. 5 Hallows—holiness. 6 Couth—Known. 7 Wend—go, make way.

As part of his justification for changing Chaucer’s spelling (or rather that of the numerous scribes) into a modern form, Mr. Clarke says that Chaucer “would even, upon occasion, give a different termination to them [his words], to make them rhyme to the ear in the first instance. An example of this, among others, occurs in the Clerk’s Tale, line 1039” of his version, Tyrwhitt’s and Wright’s editions, v. 8915, "where the personal pronoun *me* is altered into *më*, that it may rhyme with also,” p. v. This charge is taken from Tyrwhitt’s note, and is absurd on the face of it, for those who have dabbled in rhyme know that the first word in a rhyme is generally chosen to rhyme with the second, and not conversely. In the present case the weak *also*, which is not in the Latin original, was evidently inserted for this reason. On reading the context, every one will see that Griseldis, though she meant herself, was careful not to name herself, and hence used *moo* = *more, many, others*, as an indefinite. The passage, as contained in the Univ. Camb. MS. Dd. 4 24, runs as follows, with Petrarch’s Latin annexed, in which also an indefinite *alteram* is used, and not *me*, although there was no stress of rhyme.

O thyng byseke l’jow | and warne alno That ne ne pryke | with so tunentynge

This tendre Mayde | as je han don moo.

**Latin**—

Vnam bona fide precor ac moneo ne hanc illis aculeis agites quibus alteram agitasti.

So much importance had to be attributed to Chaucer’s rhymes in this work, that it was necessary to point out the error of Tyrwhitt and Clarke in this instance. The limits of Chaucer’s habits of varying forms for the sake of rhyme are given, supra p. 254.

The objections to modernizing the spelling do not apply to prose works, such as Sir Edward Strachey’s Globe edition of “Morte D’Arthur,” 1870, because there is no occasion to insert the final *e*, or change the position of the accent, and there is no rhyme to be murdered. It was also possible in this case to insert a more usual word, without sacrificing the metre. This book is a favourable specimen of what can be done to modernize the appearance without modernizing the spirit of an old prose writer, and bring him into many hands which would have never taken up the original.

63
Specimens of the Conjectured Pronunciation of Shakspere, being Extracts from his Plays, following the Words of the Folio Edition of 1623, with Modern Punctuation and Arrangement.

I.—Martshaut ov Ven'is.
Akt 4, Seen 1, Spüish 50. Kom matéiz, p. 179.
50. Por's'a.
Dhe kwal'it' of mer's'i iz not straind, It drop'eth az dhe dzhen't'l rain from nev'n
Upon' dhe plaas bence'dh. It iz tweis best,
It bles'eth nim dat giyz and nim dat taaks.
-T iz mein'tiest1 in dhe mein'tiest. It bikumz'
Dhe throon'ed2 mon'ark bet'er dhan hiz kroun.
Hiz sep'ter shouoz3 dhe foors of temp'oraal pou'er,4
Dhe at'ribytt tu aau and madzh'ester,5
Wheerin' duth sit dhe dred and feer of ki'qz,
But mer's'i abuv' dhis sep'terd swai,
It iz enthroon'ed in dhe harts of ki'qz,
It iz an at'ribytt tu God himself';
And eerth'ei pouer duth dheen shou leik'est Godz,
When mer's'i see'z'nz dzhus't'is. Dheer'foor,6 Dzheu,7
Dhouun dzhus't'is bii dhei plee, konsider dhis,
Dhat in dhe kuurs of dzhus't'is, noon of us
Shuuld sii salvaa'sun. Wii duu prai for mer's'i,
And dhat saam prai'er duth teetsh us aal tu ren'der
Dhe diidz of mer's'i.

II.—Az juu leik it.
Akt 2, Seen 7, Spüish 31. Kom'edeiz, p. 194.
31. Dzh a'a'ke z.
:AA1 dhe world -z a staadzh,
And aal dhe men and wim' en mir' lei plai'erz.
Dheci naav dheecir ek's sits and dheecir en'traanseiz
And oon man in hiz teim plaiz man' i parts,

1 Gill's pronunciation of iżh as (eich) is adopted, so far as the vowel is concerned, in place of Salesbury's (iżh), on account of the rhymes light bite, right spite, might spite, etc., suprà p. 963. For the same reason, the (ch) has been reduced to (h), suprà p. 975.
2 Gill's (thron) is accepted in place of Salesbury's more archaic form (trum).
3 (Shouoz) is preferred to the older (sheuz) on account of the rhymes shew so, woe shew, suppose shews, p. 960, under So.
4 (Temp'oraal) is due to the rhymes fall general, etc., p. 956. (Pou'er) is written to shew the syllable r, p. 951.
5 (Madzh'ester) after Gill, and on account of the frequent rhymes of -y with (ei), p. 959.
6 Cheke and all modern orthoepists write a long vowel in the second syllable. Bullok's short vowel is probably due to a mistaken etymology. The word is not ags., (suprà p. 394.) Ormin always writes it with a long vowel, -fore, and forr with a short vowel. Mätzner, Eng. Gram., 27, 370, quotes it frequently in the divided form, for fere, meaning evidently, that being before, i.e. in consequence of that. The old forp' split up into the two modern forms because, and therefore.
7 This is conjectural. Smith apparently said (Dzhyzz), but there is unfortunately a misprint in his book where the word is cited.
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Hǐz aktz bii'-q̂ ser'-n aadzhez. At ferst, dhe in'-fənt
Myy'-q̂ and pyy'-q̂ in dhe nur'-sez armz:
Dhen,1 dhe wheim'-q̂ skuil'-bwoi with nǐz satsh'-el
And sheim'-q̂ morn'-q̂ faas, kriip'-q̂ leik snail
Unwīl'-q̂ lei tu skuil. And dhen dhe luv'er,
Seiir'-q̂ leik fur'-nas, with a woor'-ful bal'ad
Maad tu nǐz mis'-tres ei'-brou. Dhen, a souıl'-dier
Ful of straindh oodhz, and berd'-ed leik dhe pard,
Dzhee'-lus ּn on'ur, sud'-ain, and kwık ּn kwar'-el,
Sii-k'-q̂ dhe bub'-l repytta'as'-sūm
Lī'-n ּn dhe kan'-ünz mouth. And dhen, dhe dzhust'-iś,
In fair round bel'-i, with guud kaan'p' leind,
With eiz seveer', and berd of for'mał kut,
Ful of weiz saa uz, and modern in'-staansez,
And soo nii plaiz nǐz part. Dhe sikt aadzh shıffs
Intu dhe leen and slip'-erd pan'-talun,
With spek'-tak'lż on nooz, and pouth on seid,
Hǐz juuth'-ful nooz wel saavd, a world tuu weid
For nǐz shrıq shaqk, and nǐz big man'-lei vois,
Turn'-q̂ again' turnd tsheild'-iśh treb'-l', peips
And whis'-tłż in nǐz sound. Last seen of ál
Dhat endz dhis straindh event'-ful historei,
Lz sek'-und tsheild'-iśhes, and miir oblii'-vūn,
Saanz tiith, saanz eiz, saa nz taast, saanz ev'-erei thiq.

III.—Dhe Sεk'-und Part of Kıp Hen'-erei dhe Foorth.

Akt 3, Seen 1, Spītsh 1. Historeiz, p. 85.

1. Kıp.

Hou man'-i thou'-zand of mei puur'-est sub'-dzhekts
Aar at dhis ou'-er asliip'? Őo Slipp, oo dzhent'-l Slipp,
Naat'yyrz soft nurs, non naav' ei freint'-ed dhii,
Dhat dhou noo moor wılt wain'-2 mei ei'-lidz doum,
And stıpp mei sens'-ez in forget'-fulnes?
Whei raadh'-er, Slıpp, leist dhou in smook'-i kribz,
Upon' unceez' paładz3 stretsh'-q̂ dhii,
And nuısh't4 with buz'-q̂ niuı'-leiz tu dhe slum'ber,
Dhen in dhe perf'fymd tsham'-berz of dhe gret,
Un'-de dhe kan'-opciz of kost'-lei staat,
And luld with soundz of swıtt'-est mel'-dci?
Őo dhou dul God! Whei leist dhou with dhe veil
In looth'-sum bedz, and leeyst dhe kıp'-lei kuutsh
A watsh'-kaas, or a kom'-on lar'-um-bel?
Wılt dhou, upon' dhe nciin and gıl i mast,

1 Deficient first measure, see supra p. 927, and p. 928, n. 2.
2 Gill always uses (ai), but as he writes (waiz, waikht) for weighing, weight, he is not certain of the guttural.
3 Pallets may have been the old form and not a misprint. Pallets is modern.
4 Huishe in the folio may have been intentional. Compare whist = huisht. = hushed, T 1, 2, 99 (5', 379).
Seel up dhe ship-bowoiz eiz, and rok ni2z brainz
In kraad1 of dhe ryyd imper1us surdyh,
And in dhe vizitaarsun of dhe weindz,
Whuu taak dhe ruf1an b1l1oouz bei dhe top,
Kurl1iq dheecir mon1strus nedz, and haq1iq dhem
With deef1ni2q klaam1urz un dhe slip1ri2 kloudz,
Dhat, with dhe murl1ei, Deeth itsel1f2 awaaks2?
Kanst dhou, oo pars1al Slip, giv dhei repooz2
Tu dhe wet see1bow1i in un ower soo ryyd:
And in dhe kaalm1est and moost stil1est ne1int,
With aal aple1aanses and meenz tu buut,
Denei et tu a kiq2 Dhen, nap1i Loou, lei doun!
Uneez1 leiz dhe ned dhat weerz a kroun.

IV.—Dhe Faa1mus His1torei of dhe Leif of Kiq
Hen1eri dhen Ee1int.

Akt 3, Seen 2, Spiitshez 92-111. His1toreiz, p. 222.

92. Nor1folk.

Soo faar juu wel, mei lit1l gud lord kar1d1naal.
[Exe1c1ut aal but Wul2z1ei.

93. Wul2z1ei.

Soo faarwel2 tu dhe lit1l gud juu beer m1i.
Faarwel2? A loq faarwel2 tu aal mei1 greet1nes!
Dhi2z1 in dhe staat of man; tudai1 nii puts foorth
Dhe ten1der leevz of noops, tumor1ou blos1munz,
And beerz ni2z blush1iq on1urz thik upon1 n1im:
Dhe third dai kumz a frost, a kil1iq frost,
And when nii thiqks, gud eez1 man, ful syyr1lei1
Hiz greet1nes iz a reip1ni2q, n1ps ni2z ruut,
And dhen nii faalz, az ei du. Ei maav ven1terd2,
Leik lit1l wan1tun bwoiz dhat swim on blad1erz,
Dhis man1i sum1erz in a see of gloo1ri,
But far b1iond1 mei depth: mei ne1n-blooun preid
At leqth brook un1der m1i, and nou naz left m1i
Wee1ri2 and oould with ser1vis, tu dhe mer1si
Of a ryyd streem, dhat must for ever neid m1i.
Vain pumps and gloo1ri2 of this world, ei naat nii!
Ei fiil mei hart nyy oop1nd1! Oo, nou rectsh1ed
Iz dhat puu1er man dhat naqz on prin1se2 faavr1urz!
Dheer iz bitwi1n1 dhat smeil1i wii wud aspei1er tu,
Dhat swiit aspekt1 of prin1se2, and dheecir ryy1in,
Moor paqz and feerz, dhen warz or wim1en naav!
And when nii faalz, nii faalz leik Lyyv1s1fer,
Nev1er tu noop again1.

[Enter Krum1wel stand1iq amaaz1d1.

Whci hou nou, Krum1wel?

1 See supr1a p. 760, note 6.
2 See the rhyme: enter venture, supr1a p. 954, col. 2, and p. 973.
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94. Krum'wel.
Ei naav noo pow'er tu speek, sir.

95. Kar'dinaal.
What? Amaaz'd.
At mei misfor'tyynz? Kan dhe! spir'it wun'der
A greet man shuld decklein'? Nai, an juu wiip,
Ei -m faal'n indiid'.

96. Krum'wel.
Hou duuz jur graas?

97. Kar'dinaal.
Whei, wel.

Ne'ver so tryy'lei nap'i, mei gud Krum'wel.
Ei knou meiself' nou, and ei fiil with'n' mii
A pees abuv' aal eerth'lei dig'niteiz,
A stil' and kwei'et kon'siens.1 Dhe kiq naz kyrrd mii,
Ei um'blei thaq hiz graas, and from dheez shoould'erz,
Dheez ryy'ind pil'arz, out of pî't'i, taak'n
A lod, wuuld suqk a naavi', 'tun mutsh on'ur.
Oo -t iz a burd'en, Krum'wel, -t iz a burd'en
'Tuu new'i for a man, dhat hoops for hev'n.

98. Krum'wel.
Ei -m glad jur graas haz maad dhat reiht yys of it.

Ei hoop ei naav. Ei -m aab'bl nou, mith'qks',
Out of a for'tytyyd of sooul ci fiil,
Tu endyyr' moor miw'ereiz and greet'er far
Dhen mei week-hart'ed en'emeiz daar of'er.
What nyyz abrood?

100. Krum'wel.
Dhe nev'iest and dhe wurst
Iz juur displeez'yyr with dhe kiq.

101. Kar'dinaal.
God bles nim!

102. Krum'wel.
Dhe nekst iz, dhat Sir Tom'as Muur iz tshooz'n
Lord Tsaa'n'schur, in juur plaas.

103. Kar'dinaal.
Dhat -s sum'what sud'ain.
But hii -z a leern'ed man.2 Mai hii kontin'yy
Loq in hiz Heir'n'ess faa'vor, and duu duhst'is

1 An Alexandrine from resolution (p. 932), unless (kon'siens) be contracted to (kon'syens), (see Gill, supra p. 937), which would give a trisyllabic measure, produced also by the modern (kon'shuns).
2 Gill gives both (leern) and (leorn). Possibly (leern) was intended for teach, as a form of ags. laeren, and (leorn) for learn, as a form of ags. leornigan. Hence (leern'ed) is here adopted for doctus.
For tryyths saak and niz kon'siens, dhat niz boonz,
When nii naz run niz kuurs and slips in bles'iqz,
Mai haav a tuumb of or'fanz teerz wept on him.
What moor?

104. **K r u m • w e l.**
Dhat Kran'ner iz returnd' with wel'kum,
Instaald' lord artsh'bishop of Kan'terberi.

105. **K a r • d i n a a l.**
Dhat's nyz 'endid'.

106. **K r u m • w e l.**
Last, dhat dhe laar'di An,
Whuum dhe kiq muth in see'kresel loq mar'red,
Dhis dai was vyyd in oop'n az niz kwii
Goor'iq tu tshap'el, and dhe vois iz nou
Oon'le abuut' her koronaas'sun.

107. **K a r • d i n a a l.**
Dheer waz dhe waint dhat puld me deun. Oo Krum'wel,
Dhe kiq naz gon bi'ond' mii. :Aal mei glooriz
In dhat oon wum'an ei hav lost for ev'er.
Noo sun shal ever ush'er foorth mein on' urz,
Or gild again' dhe noob'l troops dhat wait'ed 1
Upon' mei smeiz. Goo, get dhii from mii, Krum'wel!
Ei am a puur faaln man, unwurthei nou
Tu bii dhei lord and mast'er. Siik dhe kiq!
Dhat sun ei prai mai nev'er set! Ei -v tooul'd nim
What, and nou tryy dhou art; nii w'il advaans' dheii
Sum lit'l mem'orei of mii, wil stir nim—
Ei knoou niz noob'l naa'tyyr—not to let
Dhei hoop'ful serv'is per'ish, tuu. Gud Krum'wel
Ngelek't nim not; maak yys nou, and proveid:
For dhein ooun fyy'tyyr 2 saaft'i.

108. **K r u m • w e l.**
Oo mei lord,
Must ei dhen leev dhii? Must ei niidz forgoo;
Soo gud, soo noo'bl, and soo tryy a mast'er?
Beer wit'nes, Aal dhat haav not harts of e'ern,
With what a sor'ou Krum'wel leevz niz lord.
Dhe kiq shaal haav mei serv'is, but mei prai'erz
For ev'er and for ev'er, shaal bii juurz!

109. **K a r • d i n a a l.**
Krum'wel, ei diid not thiqk tu shed a teer
In aal mei niz'creiz; but dhou mast noorst mii,
Out of dheii on' est tryyth, tu plai dhe wum'an.

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1 The folio prints *weighted*, shewing the confusion then existing between *wait, weight*, suprà p. 987, n. 2.
2 Or (fyy'ter).
Let -s drei eiz; and dhus far heer mii, Krum'wel,  
And when ei am forget’n, az ei shal bi,  
And slipp in dul koould mar’b'l, wheer noo men’siun  
Of mii moor must bii hard of: sai, ei taahht dhii;  
Sai, Wul'zei, dhat oons trood dhe waiz of gloo'ri  
And sound’ed aal dhe depths and shooolz of ou'ur,  
Found dhii a wai, out of niz reak, tu reiz in,  
A syyr and saaf oon, dhoun, dhei mast'er mist it.  
Mark but mei faal, and 'dhat dhat ryy'ind mii.  
Krum'wel, ei tshardzh dhii fliq awai ambis'oun!  
Bei 'dhat sin fel dhe an'dzhelz: noul kan man dhen,  
Dhe im'aadzh of niz maak'er, noop tu win bei -t?  
Luv dheiself last, tsher'ish dhooz harts dhat naat dhii.  
Korupsiun winz not moor dhan on'estei.  
Stil, in dhei reint hand, kar'i dzen't'il pees  
Tu seil'en en'vius tuqz. Bii dzhust and feer not;  
Let aal dhe endz dhou eemst1 at, bii dhei kun'treiz,  
Dhei Godz, and Tryyths. Dhen if dhou faalst, oo Krum'wel,  
Dhou faalst a bless'ed marter. Serv dhe kiq,  
And—prédr'ii leed mii in—  
Dheer—taak an in'ventri2 of aal ei naav,  
Tu dhe last pen'ti; -t iz dhe kiqz; mei roob,  
And mei integ'ritei tu nev'n, iz aal  
Ei daar nou kaal mei ooun. Oo Krum'wel, Krum'wel!  
Had ei but servd mei God with naaf dhe zcel  
Ei servd mei kiq, nii wwoold not in mein aadzh  
Haav left mii naak’ed tu mein en'emeiz!  

110. Krum'wel.  
Gud sir, naav paa'siens.  

111. Kar'd i'naal.  
Soo ei naav. Faarwel.  
Dhe hoopz of kuurt, mei hoopz in nev’n du dwel.  

V.—Dhe Tradzh'edi of Ham'let, Prıns of Den'mark.  

Akt 3, Scen 2, Spiitsh'ez 1-5. Tradzh'edeiz, p. 266.  
1. Ham'let.  

Speek dhe spiu'tsh, ei prai juu, az ei pronounst: it tu juu, trip'iqleı  
on dhe tuq. But if juu moudh it, az man'z of woor plair'erz duu,  
ei rad az liiiv dhe toun'krei'er nad spook mei leinz. Nor duu not  
saau dhe aair tuu mutsh with juur hand, dhus, but yzz aal  
dzhent'leı. For in dhe ver'i tor'ent, tem'pest, and, az ei mai sai,  

1 For this word there is no external authority; I have adopted (eemz) for  
the reasons on p. 451, note, col. 2, l. 18.  
2 The contraction is harsh, but the  
full pronunciation would be harsher,  
and the position of the accent seems  
established by: Forsooth an inventory,  
thus importing Hs 3, 2, 49 (609, 124);  
would testify, to enrich mine inventory  
Cy 2, 2, 6 (952, 30).
dhe wherl-weind of pas'ün, juu must akwee'ær and biget: a tem-
peraans dhat mai giw it smudh'nes. Oo! it ofendz' mi tu dhe
sool, tu sii a robu'stu pas'erwig'-paat'ed fel'oou teer a pas'ün tu
tat'erz, tu ver'-i ragz, tu split dhe eez of dhe ground-l'iqz, whuu,
for dhe moost part, aar kaar'pab'l of noth'siq, but iek'sp'lab'l dum
shoouz, and nuiz.² Ei kud naav sutch a fel'oou whipt for oor-
duu'iq Ter'-ma gaun't; it out'ner'odz Her'-od: prai juu, avoid: it.

2. Fîrst Plai'er.

Ei war'aant juur on'ur.

3. Ham'let.

Bii not tuu team necidh'er; but let juur ooun diškres'ëun bii
juur tyy'tar. Syyt dhe ak'siun tu dhe wurd, dhe wurd tu dhe
ak'siun, with dii's spe's'ioal obser'vaans, dhat juu oorsteip' not dhe
mod'estci of naa'tyyr. For an'i thiq soo overdun' iz from dhe
purpus of pla'iq, whunz end booth at dhe fîrst and nou, waz and
iz, tu nooould az tweer dhe mi'rur up tu naa'tyyr; tu shouo vert-yty
her ooun fee'tyyr, skorn her ooun i'm'aadzh, and dhe ver'i aadzh
and bod'i of dhe teim, nuiz form and pres'yyr. Nou, dii's overdun',
or kum tar'di 'of, dhoouin it maak dhe unsk'ilful laan kan'ot but
maak dhe dzhyyd's'ius griiv, dhe sen'syyr of whitsh oon, must
in juur alou'ans orwain': a nool thee'ater of udh'erz. Oo, dheer
bii plai'erz dhat ei naav siin pla, and nard udh'erz prai, and 'dhat
nei'-lei,—not tu speek it profaan'lei—dhat necidh'er naav'iq dhe
ak'sent of krist'ænz, nor dhe gaat of krist'ian, pa'gan, or Norman,⁴
naav soo strut'ed and bel'ouod, dhat ei naav thouout sum of naa-
tyyrz dzhur-neimen had maad men, and not maad dhem wel,
dheei i'm'iatated nyyma'nt'i soo abnom'nablei.⁵

¹ This is adopted, in place of the modern periyig, because the quarto
generally read periyig, and Mięce, 1688, gives the pronunciation (peri-
wig), which shows that the i in the periyig of the quarto of 1676 was not
pronounced. The first and second folios have peryi-wig, the third and
fourth have periywig. The pronunciation (periyig) given by Jones, 1700,
seems, however, to be really still older, as compared with French perriouqe,
and the orthography peruke. The order of
evolution seems to have been (peryyk',
periig, periywig, periywig, wig); com-
pare modern bus from omnibus,
and the older drake, Old Norse andrìkì,
Matzner, 1, 165; Strattmann, 158.
² Price seems to give (noiz), superia
p. 134, a xviith century pronunciation
confirmed by a xixth century vul-
garism, and indicating a xviith century
(nuiz), which is therefore adopted in
the absence of direct authority (p. 979).
³ Notwithstanding the vulgar (thi-
c'ëtu), which would imply an older
position of the accent, this place is
settled by Shakspeare himself, see AY
2, 7, 30 (214', 137), KJ 2, 1, 83 (338,
374), R² 5, 2, 6 (377', 23).
⁴ All the folios read or Norman, but
the quarto have nor man, which is
adopted by the Cambridge editors.
Both are manifestly erroneous. As Denmark
in this play is at war with Norway, it
is possible that Hamlet may have
meant to put his enemies into the
position of being neither Christian nor
pagan, and that the right reading may
have been or Norwéyan, a Shaksperian
word, see M 1, 2, 5 (788', 31); 1, 2, 13
(759', 49); 1, 3, 35 (790, 98), and
easily confused by a composer with
the better known word Norman, which
however occurs in its usual sense in
this same play, H 4, 7, 20 (383, 91).
⁵ On the insertion of the aspirate in
this word, see supra p. 220. There is
evidently a play on humanity and the
old false derivation ab-hominé, so that
abominably = inhumaely.
4. **First Player.**

*Ei hoop wii haav reformd* dhat *indifferental* with us, *sir.*

5. **Hamlet.**

Oo, reform *it aaltagedh'vr.* And let dhooz dhat plai juur klounz, speek *noo mooor* dhen *iz* set doun for dhem. For dheer bii of dhem, dhat wil *dhemself*v: laam, tu set on sum *kwantitii* of bar'en spektansurz tu laam *tuu,* dhouun *in dhe meen teim* sum *nes'esari* kwest'yun of dhe plai bii dhen tu bii konsid'verd. Dhat *s vil'anus,* and shouz a most pitiful ambis'yun *in dhe fuul* dhat *yyz'ez* *it.* Goo maak *juu red.*

VI.—*Dhe Taam'iq of dhe Shroon.*

1 Akt 4, Seen 1, *Spitshrez 1-47.* Kom'redeiz, p. 220.

1. **Gruumio.**

*Fei, fei on aal tei'erd dzhaa'dz, on aal mad mast'erz,* and aal foul waiz! *Waz ev'er man soo beet'n!* Waz ev'er man soo raiced! Waz ev'er man soo wee'ver! *Ei am sent bifoors* tu maak a fei'er, and dheei ar *kum'iq aft'er* tu warm *dhem.* *Now, weer ei not a litl pot,* and *sunn not,* mei *ver'i lips* meint friiz tu mei tiith, mei tuq tu dhe ruuf of mei mouth, mei *hart in mei bel'i,* eer ei should kum bei a fei'er tu thhou *2* mii; *but ei with bloou'iq dhe fei'er shal warm meiself:* for konsideriq dhe wet'dh'vr, a *taal'er* man dhen ei wil taak koould. *Holah!* *noo'aa!* *Kurtis!*

2. **Kurtis.**

*Whuu iz dhat kaalz soo koould'lei?*

3. **Gruumio.**

*A piis of eis.* *If dhou dout it,* dhou maist sleid from mei shouuld'er tu mei niil, with *noo greece'ri a run* but mei *ned and nek.* A fei'er, gud *Kurtis!*

4. **Kurtis.**

*Iz mei mast'er and niz weif kum'iq,* Gruumio? *Kurtis.***

5. **Gruumio.**

*Oo, ei, Kurtis, ei,* and *dheer'foor fei'er! fei'er!* kast on *noo waat'eri.*

6. **Kurtis.**

*Iz shii soo not a shroon az shii -z repoort'ed?*

7. **Gruumio.**

Shii waz, gud Kurtis, bifoors *dhis* frost. But dhou knouast *wint'rr taamz* man, wum'ran, and beest; *for it nath* taamd mei *oould mast'er,* and mei *nyy mestrir,* and meiself, fel'oon Kurtis.

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1 Constantly spelled *shrow* in the first folio, and compare the rhymes, p. 960, under So.

2 This is Smith’s pronunciation, the only authority I have found. It is a legitimate form, from ags. *pawan,* comparable to (knoon), from ags. *enaawan.* The modern (thaan) implies an older (thaan, than), which, however, is more strictly a northern form.
8. Kurtës.
Awai! juu thrui-insh fuul! Ei am noo beest.

Am ei but thrui insh'ez? Whei dhei hom iz a fuut, and soo loq am ei at dhe leest. But walt dhou maak a fei'er? or shaal ei komplain on dhii tu our mis'tris, whuuz hand, shii bii'iq nou at hand, dheu shalt suun fiil, tu dhei koould kum'furt, for bii'iq sloou in dhei not of'is?

Ei pridh'ii, gud Gruu'mio, tel mii, hou gooz dhe world?

A koould world, Kurtës, in everei of'is but dhein, and dheerfoor, fei'er! Duu dhei dyy'ti, and naav dhei dyy'ti, for mei mast'er and mis'tris aar Al'moost frooz'n tu deeth.

Dheer-z fei'er red'i! and dheerfoor, gud Gruu'mio, dhe nyyz!

Whei—Dzhak bwoi, noo bwoi!—and az mutsh nyyz az dhou wilt.

Kum, juu are soo ful of kuu'katsh'iq!

15. Gruu'mio.
Whei, dheerfoor, fei'er! for ei naav kaant ekstrem' koould. Wheer-z dhe kuuk? iz super red'i; dhe houstrim, rushe'z strooud, kob'webz swept, dhe serv'iqnen in dheirry nyy fušt'lan, dhe wehit stok'iqz, and everei of'iser niz wed'iq garment on? Bii dhe Dzhaks faï'er within', dhe Dzhilz faï'er without,' dhe karpets laid, and everei thiq in or'der?

:Al red'i, and dheerfoor, ei prai dhii, nyyz!

17. Gruu'mio.
First knouu, mei hors iz tei'erd, mei mast'er and mis'tris faain out.

18. Kurtës.
Hou?

Out of dheier sad'lz in'tu dhe durt; and dheerbei' naqz a taal.

1 Hammer transposes within and without, but the result is not very in-telligible. All will be clear if we suppose Gruu'mio to have been struck by an unsavoury pun as soon as he uttered Jacks faïr, thinking of a jakes, so notoriously fouÎ 'within.' The similarity of pronunciation is guar-anteed by Sir John Harrington's "New Discourse on a stale subject, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax," meaning a jakes, 1596. The Jacks and Gills came pat, compare The Bees Book of the Early English Text Society, p. 22, v. 90, "and iangyle nether with Jak ne Iylle," a.d. 1480.
§ 8. Specimens of Shakspere's pronunciation.

20. **K urtis.**

Let -s haa -t, go'd **Gruum'io.**

Lend dhein eer. 21. **Gruu'mio.**

Heer.¹

Dheer! 22. **Kurtis.**

Dhis iz tu fiil a taal, not tu heer a taal. 23. **Gruu'mio.**

And dheer'foor -t iz kaald a sen'sibl taal. And dhis kuf waz but tu knok at juur eer, and biseetsh² a list'níq. **Nou e' bi-gín. Im-pre'i'mís, wíi kaam doun a foul nil, méi mást'r reid'iq biheind' méi mis'trivs.**

24. **Kurtís.**

Booth of oon hors? 25. **Gruu'mio.**

What -s dhat tu dhii? 26. **Kurtís.**

Whei—a hors. 27. **Gruu'mio.**

Tel dhou dhe taal! But hadst dhou not krost mii, dhou shuulstd naav nard hou her hors fel, and shii un'der her hors: dhou shuulstd naav nard in hou méi'erei a plaas; hou shii was bimuíd³: hou mii left her with dhe hors upon' her; hou mii beet mii bikäaz' her hors stum'bld; hou shii waad'ed thruuh dhe durt tu pluk unm of mii; hou mii swoor; hou shii praid, that nev'er praid biheor; hou eí kred; hou dhe hurs'ez ran awai'; hou her brei'd'l waz burst; hou eí lost méi krup'er—with man'i thúqz of wur'dhei mem'orei, whés'h nou shaal dei ín oblii:vún, and dhou return' unekspe're'ienst tu dhei graav.

30. **Kurtís.**

Bei dhis rek'níq mii iz moor shroou dhan shii.

31. **Gruu'mio.**

Eí, and 'dhat dhou and dhe proud'est of juu aal shaal feind when mii kumz noom. But what taak eí of dhis? **Kaal forth Nathan'vel, Dzhoo-sef, Ník'olaas, Féli'ip, Waal'ter, Sygg'ersop, and dhe rest. Let dheer nédzh bii sliik'lei koombd, dheer blyy koots brusht, and dheer gar'terz of an indi'ferent knít; let dheem kurt'sí with dheer left legz, and not prezyym tu tutsh a heer of méi mást'r hors-tail, til dheei kís dheecir hundz. Aar dheei aal red'?'

¹ *Here* is pronounced (heer) for the play of sound in *ear, here, there, hear.* Compare the pun *here, heir,* suprà p. 80, note, and p. 924, col 2.

² See suprà p. 957, col. 2, at bottom.

³ Compare Smith's *(tor-muil) = tur-moil,* and Cooper's *(moil) = moil,* becoming *(moil)* in Jones, suprà p. 134.
32. Kur'tís.

Dheei aar.

33. Gruu'mío.

Kaal dhem foorth.

34. Kur'tís.

Duu ju neer, hoo! Juu must miit mei mais'ter1 tu koun'tenaans mei mis'trés!

35. Gruu'mío.

Whei, shii nath a faas of ner ooun.


Whuu knoous not dhat.

37. Gruu'mío.

Dhou, it siiz, dhat kaaalz for kum'panei tu koun'tenaans her.

38. Kur'tís.

Ei kaal dhem fuurth tu kred'it her. [Enter fouur or feiv serv'iqmen.


Whei, shii kumz tu bor'ouu noth'íq of dhem.

40. Nathan'iel.

Wel'kum noom, Gruu'mío!

41. Fil'ip.

Hou nou, Gruu'mío!

42. Dzhoos'ef.

What, Gruu'mío!

43. Nik'olaas.

Fel'ooou Gruu'mío!

44. Nathan'iel.

Hou nou, ouold lad?

45. Gruu'mío.

Wel'kum, juu; hou nou, juu; what, juu; fel'ooou, juu; and dhus mutsh for grit'íq. Nou mei spryys kumpan'venz, iz aal red'í, and aal thiqz neet?

46. Nathan'iel.

Aal thiqz iz red'í. Hou niir iz our master?

47. Gruu'mío.

Iin at mand, aleint'ed bei dhis, and dheer'foor bii not—koks pas'ien! sci'len! ei neer mei master.

1 Spelled maister in the folio. Two pronunciations (maister, master) may have prevailed then, as (meest'í) is still heard in the provinces, (p. 982, n. c. 2).